



**The Paradox of Poverty in a Paradise of Plenty:
*A gender perspective on chronic poverty in Binga,
Zimbabwe.***

A Research Paper presented by:

Veronica Michito Mudimba
Zimbabwe

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for obtaining the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Major:

**Human rights, Gender and Conflict Studies: Social Justice
Perspective (SJP)**

Full Name of Specialization

**Women, Gender, Development
WCD**

Members of the Examining Committee:

Dr. Nahda Y.T. Shehada

Dr. Rachel Kurian

The Hague, The Netherlands
December 2015

Disclaimer:

This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

Inquiries:

Postal address:

Institute of Social Studies
P.O. Box 29776
2502 LT The Hague
The Netherlands

Location:

Kortenaerkade 12
2518 AX The Hague
The Netherlands

Telephone: +31 70 426 0460

Fax: +31 70 426 0799

Acknowledgements

I owe this paper to the Tonga who contributed towards the idea to produce my thesis.

To my second reader, Dr. Rachel, thank you for the constructive comments you gave me towards the shaping of my paper. They enriched the paper.

Dr. Nahda, my supervisor, thank you for making me look at my paper with another eye. Though I cried most of the times when I met you for the thesis discussions, I realised you wanted the best effort from me. Thank you for your critical questions, comments and suggestions.

NUFFIC, your financial support was invaluable. Thank you for making me realise my dream.

I am grateful to Fanuel and Rosemary Cumanzala for having confidence in me. If it wasn't for you, wouldn't have come to ISS.

Dr. Bernard Manyena, your contributions added value to this paper. I really appreciate.

To my family and friends in Zimbabwe, thank you for the emotional support during my 15 months out of home.

To my lovely friends: Miraji, Esia, Ciata and Jean, you were awesome. Thank you for being there when I needed you.

Finally, I thank GOD for the gift of life, wouldn't have been here if it wasn't for his Grace and Mercy.

Contents

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	<i>iii</i>
<i>List of Tables</i>	<i>vii</i>
<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>vii</i>
<i>List of Appendices</i>	<i>vii</i>
<i>List of Acronyms</i>	<i>viii</i>
<i>Abstract</i>	<i>ix</i>
<i>Relevance to Development Studies</i>	<i>ix</i>
CHAPTER ONE	10
CONTEXTUALISING GENDER AND POVERTY IN BINGA DISTRICT	10
1.1 Introduction	10
1.2. Main Research question	10
1.2.1 Sub-research questions	10
1.3 Definition of key terms	11
1.3.1 What is poverty?	11
1.3.2 Decision-making	11
1.4 Situating poverty in Binga	12
1.5 Methodology	14
1.5.1 Choice of methodology	14
1.5.2 Choice of participants	15
1.5.3 Data collection techniques	15
1.6 Challenges in conducting the study	16
1.7 Organisation of the paper	16
CHAPTER TWO	17
CONCEPTUALISING AND ANALYSING GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT	17
2.1 Introduction	17
2.2 The concept of gender	17

2.3 Analyzing poverty using the GAD approach	18
2.4 Conclusion	23
CHAPTER THREE	24
Persistence of poverty in Binga: Men and Women's perspectives	24
3.1 Introduction	24
3.2 Transition from livelihood security to livelihood insecurity and poverty	24
3.3 Access to water and hunger (poverty)	25
3.4 Land tenure system and hunger	27
3.5 Governance, poverty and hunger	28
3.6 Conclusion	29
CHAPTER FOUR	30
Gendered participatory poverty reduction, access to resources and development options	30
4.1 Introduction	30
4.2 Gendered decision-making in poverty reduction programmes	30
4.3 Gendered access and control of resources	33
4.4 Options for poverty reduction in Binga.	34
4.5 Conclusion	37
CHAPTER FIVE	38
Conclusion	38
5.1 Introduction	38
5.2 Reflection on main research question and relevance of GAD in poverty reduction	38
5.3. To what extent were Tonga men and women involved in decision-making in development processes during and after the Kariba Dam resettlement of 1957-8?	39
5.4 What are the gendered power relations in access and control of resources at household and community level in Binga?	40
5.4 What options does this provide for poverty reduction in Binga?	40
5.5 Conclusion	41
REFERENCES	Error! Bookmark not defined.
Appendices	48

Appendix 1:Table 1.1 (Distribution of participants data)	48
Appendix 2: Photos with the some of the interviews	48
Appendix 3 Table 2.2 (Principles and tools of gender mainstreaming)	50
Appendix 4: Figure 2 (Bbindawuko Kapenta fishing cooperative members	50
Appendix 5: Interview Guide	51

List of Tables

Table 1.1	:	Distribution of participants' data
Table 2.1	:	Gender and development paradigm
Table 2.2	:	Principles and tools for gender mainstreaming

List of Figures

Figure 1	:	The Kariba Dam location
Figure 2	:	Bbindawuko Kapenta fishing Co-operative

List of Appendices

Appendix 1	:	Distribution of participants' data
Appendix 2	:	Photos of the researcher and some of the interviewees
Appendix 3	:	Principles and tools for gender mainstreaming
Appendix 4	:	Interview Guide

List of Acronyms

DA	District Administrator
DID	Development-induced displacement
GAD	Gender and Development
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/ Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
IRR	Impoverishment, Risk and Reconstruction'
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
PPA	Participatory Poverty Assessments
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers
RDDC	Rural District Development Committee
SCUK	Save the Children UK
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
VS&L	Village Savings and Lending

Abstract

The connection between poverty, gender and development continues to attract universal interest in development theory, policy and practice. Part of this interest focuses on the perpetuation of poverty, which is manifest in the socio-economic and political inequalities between the two sexes, mainly as a consequence of viewing men and women as a homogenous social entity. This paper presents results from a study which investigated the gendered perspective on the persistence of chronic poverty in Binga District, north-western Zimbabwe. The findings reinforce the position that poverty in Binga is mainly as a result of the Kariba Dam resettlement of 1957-8. Coupled by the patriarchal system of the Tonga society, the research findings show that there is a gender imbalance (which favours men) in terms of access and control of resources such as land in Binga. This is contrary to the situation before the relocation process which also allowed women to control and access land. The results also show that although women and men have options for poverty reduction, these options are also gendered. I conclude that unless (a) men and women are given equal opportunities in all spheres of life (b) power relations between men and women in terms of resource access and control are addressed (c) roles and activities become ungendered and (d) development agencies engage the Tonga in the project cycles of poverty reduction programmes, poverty reduction in Binga District will remain a dream.

Relevance to Development Studies

Although gender has been a common development concern for the past 20 years (Jackson 1996:489), it has often been mistaken to refer to women only, and yet it involves both men and women. Poverty eradication and the promotion of gender equality were part of the Millennium Development Goals¹, and they are still part of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) topics² which were adopted in New York in September 2015, thereby justifying the relevance of my research to development studies.

Keywords

Gender, poverty, resources, patriarchy

¹ www.un.org/millenniumgoals/bkgd.shtml Accessed 29 October 2015.

² <http://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/topics> Accessed 7 November 2015.

CHAPTER ONE

CONTEXTUALISING GENDER AND POVERTY IN BINGA DISTRICT

1.1 Introduction

The persistence of chronic poverty in Binga District (herein referred to as Binga), which is home to the Tonga people in Zimbabwe, is a paradox. It is a paradox because Binga is a paradise, endowed with vast resources (Zubo 2012:2; Vupenyu 2003:449). It is also a paradox as development resources have been poured into the district to fight poverty, particularly since the independence of Zimbabwe in 1980. The Zimbabwe Vulnerability Assessment Committee (ZimVAC 2015) report states that of the 14 million population of Zimbabwe deemed food insecure at the peak of the hunger period, Binga is one of the worst affected districts. This is not new. Save the Children (SCUK)'s Household Economy Assessment reports (for example, SCUK 2001, 2002, 2003 cited in SCUK 2004) consistently found that about 80-90 per cent of Binga population is trapped in chronic poverty that requires permanent welfare in the form of food assistance every year. In this study, Binga and Tonga people were used interchangeably because I could not discuss the poverty of Binga without mentioning the Tonga who reside there.

This study aimed at investigating and understanding the persistence of chronic poverty in Binga from a gender lens. More specifically, I looked at the persistence of poverty in Binga to bring the role of gender power relations in development. Poverty causes in Binga are unascertained in research, with a few project-oriented local studies conducted by Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and individuals who are involved in development programmes (SCUK 2003; Basilwizi 2003) which then justifies my research study. The available reports on poverty in Binga have been limited in the analysis with the Tonga men and women issues being treated as homogenous (Basilwizi 2003). There however, is a wide gap in scholarly works concerning the gender dimensions of poverty in Binga. This is not to imply that knowledge of the relevant issues is completely lacking. Moreover, most of the researchers tend to be outsiders who may have missed out some of the issues due to their cultural and linguistic backgrounds. As a local woman from Binga, who also understands the Tonga social practices and language, I was better able to explore the gendered experiences of poverty which could have been missed by other researchers.

The study draws from the interviews with women, men and representatives of government, and NGOs. In particular, the study sought the views of men and women who experienced the resettlement process to provide a historical context of the persistence of chronic poverty in Binga. By involving men, women and representatives of government and NGOs not only allowed me to examine the various ways gender issues are framed but also the embeddedness of gender intersectionality in poverty reduction studies. Specifically, this study sought answers to the following questions:

1.2. Main Research question

What are the men and women's understanding of the persistence of chronic poverty in Binga, and how does this understanding differ between genders?

1.2.1 Sub-research questions

- a. To what extent were Tonga men and women involved in decision-making in development processes during and after the Kariba Dam resettlement of 1957-8?
- b. What are the gendered power relations in access and control of resources at household and community level in Binga?
- c. What options does this provide for poverty reduction in Binga?

1.3 Definition of key terms

1.3.1 What is poverty?

Although research into poverty has a long history, exemplified by among others, Both and Rowntree studies in England in the nineteenth century (Madanipour et al. 2015:2), poverty continues to be one of the biggest problem in the twenty-first century and it remains a contested concept (Wagle 2002:155). Hagenars and Vos (1988: 212) view poverty as “having less than an objectively defined, absolute minimum, ... having less than others in society, ... feeling you do not have enough to get along.” The first definition denotes that poverty is absolute, or extreme, which tends to occur in developing countries (Sachs 2005:20), with half the population of Africa living in absolute poverty (Sachs 2005:21). The second definition denotes that poverty is a relative, mainly “construed as a household income level below a given proportion of average national income” (Sachs 2005:20). The third meaning of poverty can be either or a combination of absolute and relative poverty (Hagenars and Vos 1988:212).

Ijaiya provides a distinction between absolute and relative poverty, with the former being associated with the level of income necessary for bare subsistence while the later tends to refer to the living standard of the poor compared with societal prevailing standards of living (Ijaiya 2015:149). Broadly speaking, Wagle (2002: 156) collapses these definitions into three categories: economic well-being; capability; and social exclusion. Economic well-being, the commonly applied classification for measurable poverty, focuses on: “income, consumption and welfare” (Wagle 2002: 156). This involves head-count ratio of people living below the poverty datum line (Ijaiya 2015:149). However, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) measures poverty using life expectancy at birth, educational attainment and standard of living (per capita income) (Ijaiya 2015:149). Indeed, Jeffrey Sachs in his book: *The end of poverty: how we can make it happen in our lifetime*, is concerned with income or calorific poverty (Sachs 2005), but is this the case in Binga?

The capability approach, mainly associated with Amartya Sen, overlaps the economic well-being approach, and focuses on elements that prevent individuals from attaining desired standards of living (Wagle 2002: 156). Sen’s (2001:14) capability approach directs our attention from economic oriented absolute notions of poverty towards a broader focus on lives we can lead. Whatever Sen means, one can infer that all human beings should have minimum and acceptable conditions of living, including enough food intake, access to water, education, health and above all, freedom to command their lives and livelihoods, despite their social status.

The capability approach also directs our attention towards the social exclusion category of poverty. Here poverty tends to be attributed to cultural or religious norms that deny women economic or political rights and access to education (Sachs 2005:60). Thus, poverty is gendered, if not feminized.

As poverty is a contested concept, so are its causes. To conclude this section, however, it might suffice to highlight the causes of poverty, which has relevance to the perceptions of the persistence of poverty in Binga. Ijaiya (2015:150) succinctly summarises causes of poverty into structural and transitional causes. Structural causes are inherent in socio-political structures which impose limits on, among others, access to resources, education, health care, for social groups such as the disabled, orphans, landless farmers, female-headed households. In contrast, the transitional causes are mainly due to reforms such as structural adjustment reforms, and changes in social and economic policies that may have a negative impact on people’s livelihood options. Included in this category are disasters of natural and anthropogenic origin, or their combination, such as drought, civil conflict and environmental degradation which induce transitory poverty.

1.3.2 Decision-making

Decision-making is a contested concept which has various meanings. Contested as it may be, Salinas (1994) cited in Lanao (2007:14) states that from the perspective of citizen participation, decision-making constitutes the capacity to participate in the process of suggesting and prioritising

pertinent ideas or recommendations for their area. These (decision-making) skills comprise the ability to emerge with and make sense of information which is consistent and appropriate to the local context. It also involves recognising important local development initiatives by identifying critical challenges and needs in the environment, formulate sustainable and appropriate optional schemes and initiatives to tackle important local developmental needs and outline significant criteria to evaluate the alternatives and initiatives recommended. This definition will be used throughout the research.

The DHS (Zimbabwe Demographic and Health Survey) 2010/11 cited in Zubo (2013:29) notes that as decision-making is often a difficult process, men and women's capacity to choose what course of action to take with regard to issues that influence their lives is critical to their position in the home and in public spheres.

1.4 Situating poverty in Binga

In the poverty reduction discourse in Zimbabwe, poverty has notoriously become the badge of the Tonga. The poverty of the Tonga tends to be synonymous with demeaning, stereotypical descriptions, such as 'marginalised', 'isolated', 'poor', 'backward', 'minority', 'primitive', 'dangerous', 'degraded' and 'two-toed people' (Manyena 2013:25). In preparing for her visit to Binga while at a Training Centre in Harare³, Doris Lessing (1993: 380) was advised by the staff at the centre, who belonged to the Shona tribe: "you don't want to go there. They [the Tonga] are primitive people. They wear [animal] skins and sleep in the ashes of their fires" Fundamentally, as this paper demonstrates, these descriptions are not gender blind; they tend to be associated with women. But what is the genesis of the poverty, which evoke these descriptions? How do the local people, particularly women who have been on the receiving end, perceive its genesis? These are not easy questions.

Various narratives provide insights into the persistence of chronic poverty in Binga. The common narratives have centred on the development-induced displacement (DID) when the Tonga were relocated in 1950s to pave way for the construction of the Kariba Dam. Conyers and Cumanzala (2004:388) attribute the poverty of Binga to the consequences of Kariba Dam resettlement of 1950s which are still felt today. They point to the loss of entitlements to floodplain cultivation, fishing, hunting but also limited access to commercial fishing and tourism industries developed along the lakeshore (Conyers and Cumanzala 2004:388). Lessing encourages people to visit Kariba Dam, "for there is nothing like it anywhere else in the world", but warns the travellers "not to visit the river Tonga, for they will break your heart" (Lessing 1993:381). The involuntary displacement narrative has been reinforced by the minority status of the Tonga and associated lack of political power. Manyena (2006; 2012) attributes the persistence of poverty to lack of political influence as well as the geopolitical construction of the Zambezi valley, which makes Binga population vulnerable to multiple disasters. This vulnerability to disasters is manifest in food insecurity, frequent waterborne diseases outbreaks and increased mortality and morbidity rates resulting from HIV/AIDS. Yet, none of the studies to my knowledge, however, have sought to understand the persistence of chronic poverty in Binga from a gender perspective. Clearly, the challenge with these narratives is their treatment of the Tonga as a homogenous group, which have taken simplistic approaches by not examining the poverty differentials between social groups, using, for example, a gender lens – the underpinning analytical framework of this study. By treating the Tonga as a homogenous social group, it can be hypothesised that such approaches are likely to entrench rather than reduce gender inequalities, which may have significant implications on poverty reduction programmes.

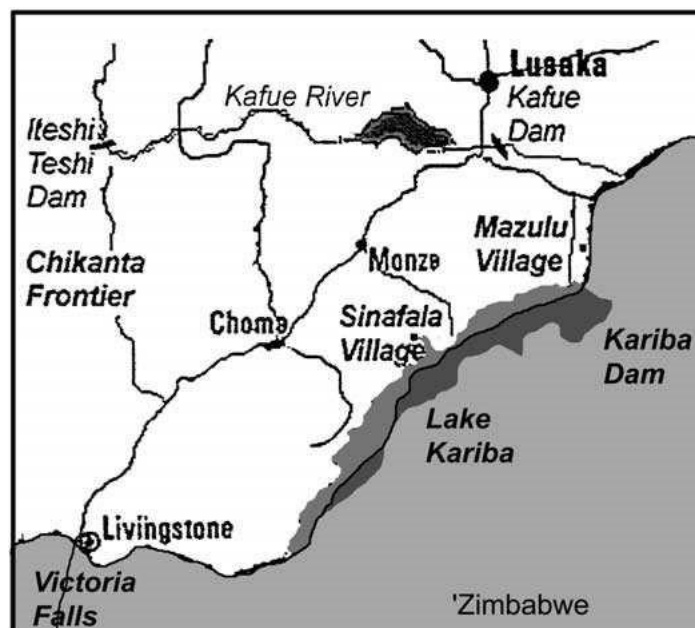
The discourse on the persistence of poverty has generally centered on 1957 Kariba Dam DID. Although there is no precise definition of DID, for the purpose of this study, I use Terminski's (2013:11) definition, who views DID as the eviction of people from their land for development purposes. Also referred by Smith (1995:ii) as "domicide", De Wet's (2006:1) views DID as a situation when people, like what happened to the Tonga, are 'squeezed' out of a place by force for development projects. The result of such actions is impoverishment of the evacuees. This is

³ Harare is the capital city of Zimbabwe.

reinforced by Cernea's (1997) 'Impoverishment, Risk and Reconstruction' (IRR) model. The IRR model identifies eight impoverishment risks associated with displacement: landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, food insecurity, increased morbidity and mortality, loss of access to common property and social disarticulation (Cernea 1997:1569). Although the eight impoverishment risks are distinct, Koenig (2001:11) collapses them into three sets: economic, socio-cultural, and social welfare risks, which were, and still remain applicable to the Tonga displacement. Scholars such as Mehta (2009), however, state that the IRR model was designed for planners, and therefore tends to ignore local definitions of loss, ill-being or impoverishment, including how men and women are differentially negatively impacted by displacement (Mehta 2009:38).

Between 1957 and 1958, approximately 57,000 people (Weist 1995:164) were *forcibly (re)moved* by the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, to pave way for the Kariba Dam (Figure 1) hydro-project to areas far away from the River (Zambezi) (Manyena 2013:34.)

Figure 1: The Kariba Dam location (Source: Cliggett 2001:312)



Funded by the World Bank and other international financial institutions (Baldwin 1966:200 cited in Colson 1971:4), 22 chiefdoms on the Zimbabwean side, were moved to areas far from the river. In these new resettlement areas, there was (and still is) inadequate water (WCD 2000 cited in Manyena 2013:34) and poor soils for agricultural purposes, and the result was that the Tonga would be struck by disasters (hunger) frequently (Manyena 2013:34).

Before the forced removal from the banks of the Zambezi River, the Tonga men and women were seldom victims of hunger (Colson 1971, WCD 2000 cited in Manyena 2013:34). Manyena (2013:34) observes that as a result of the rich silt deposited by the floods on the gardens in the river basin, the Tonga could harvest twice each year. Each household had two fields for summer and winter cultivation and water was available all year round (Tremmel 1994:16). Along this line of reasoning, it would appear the Tonga were food secure before resettlement. This might be a glossed over picture. According to Ncube (2004: 96), there were several famines, which the riverine gardens failed to prevent, suggesting the Tonga could have been victims of hunger, although to a less extent compared with the post-resettlement period.

Nonetheless, the narrative that the Tonga were less poor before the resettlement finds expression in the social organisation of the Tonga. Colson (1999:28-29) states that women's produce were used for subsistence while men's granaries satisfied surplus requirement of the family, making the households food sufficient. Colson (1999:30) describes how the social practices of the Tonga

emphasized a relatively egalitarian ideology; she claims social groups, for instance men and women were involved in decisions that affected them. The level of 'involvement' of these social groups is however not clear. Colson makes two important claims which needs further research on the Zimbabwean side since her work was based on the Zambian side of Kariba dam. Firstly, Colson claims that when displacement takes place for economic purposes, the evacuees' identities change and they become ungendered (1999: 24). This is a hypothesis worth testing, although not necessarily using quantitative approaches but may involve qualitative approaches or their combinations to unravel the power relations. Secondly, Colson (1971) also states that the domestic arrangement of equality between men and women changed following the 1957-8 displacement when the Tonga were resettled. Does this claim apply to the Zimbabwean side?

The DID narrative as a major cause of poverty of the Tonga has been reinforced by marginality. While the Tonga enjoyed the 'splendid isolation' before the displacement, this also meant neglect by the colonial government as there were no schools, clinics or hospitals, even as late as 1957 (Tremmel 1994:16). But, more importantly, the Tonga were thus not only isolated but also politically 'marginalised' (Vupenyu 2003:447). This marginality is still felt today. McGregor (2003) aptly summarises this; she claims that a combination of factors had historically shaped the 'marginality' and 'peripheralisation' of the Tonga in Zimbabwe (then Southern Rhodesia) political space, manifest in their frontier location, the consolidation of Zimbabwe's two major ethnic blocks of Shona and Ndebele, the displacement from the dam, and developmental neglect (McGregor 2003).

While there are several studies on the Kariba resettlement, they all seem to draw from Colson's work. As Colson's studies are based on the Zambian side of the Kariba Dam, it is unclear whether this was the case with experiences of the Zimbabwean Tonga as well. This is an important gap, which may require a qualitative study, using in-depth interviews to reveal the nuances in understanding the persistence of chronic poverty. In contrast, a quantitative study may conceal some of the social relations relevant to understanding poverty in Binga.

1.5 Methodology

1.5.1 Choice of methodology

Premised on the assumption that gender is socially constructed in everyday and institutional practices and "a question of social relationships" (Gildemeister 2004:123), the social constructionist epistemology was deemed more appropriate as knowledge is understood to be a social construction. It helped me establish the "subjective meanings" (Flick 2008: 13), various realities, and experiences as instruments for analysing social "worlds" (Flick 2008:13) of the persistence of poverty in Binga. The social constructionist epistemology, helped me achieve a richer, more in-depth analysis of the narratives, opinions and emotions. This approach also helped me to obtain a "thick description" (Geertz 1973) of knowledge to trace changes in gender inequalities in Binga. Critically, this approach to knowledge construction required me to probe further for interpretations and meanings as this would help me discover the contextual and situated knowledges (Engelstad and Gerrad 2005) on the persistence of chronic poverty in Binga.

Methodologically, when conducting a study such as this, one begins by considering three approaches: the quantitative, the qualitative or a combination of the two (Mason 2006). In this study, I employed the qualitative methodology instead of the quantitative approach. Consistent with Bernard and Ryan (2009), the qualitative approach, allowed me to achieve a richer more in-depth analysis by exploring narratives, opinions and emotions of victims of poverty in Binga. I considered the quantitative approach inappropriate when exploring a topic as complex and fluid as poverty and gender. In any case, a purely quantitative study would involve a survey that would draw on a large sample of participants to produce results that would enable me obtain the requisite confidence levels based on statistical manipulations (Mason 2006). Given the time and resources constraints, I was not in a position to pursue this course. In any case, my intention was not to establish trends and causal effects of poverty in Binga. Rather, it was to produce data through contextual engagement with study

participants than obtaining statistical measurements (Mason 2006) of the persistence of chronic poverty.

1.5.2 Choice of participants

My initial research idea was on how the Kariba dam displacement of 1957-8 shaped the social organization of the Tonga men and women. Based on the data I obtained during my fieldwork, I slightly changed the idea as the data was pointing on the persistence of chronic poverty among the Tonga men and women in Binga, from a gender lens. The participants for the research were drawn from Binga and comprised two sets of participants. Table 1.1 (see Appendix 1) shows the distribution of study participants (interviewees), comprising 26 people (10 females and 16 males). These were purposively selected from seven wards of Binga. The interviewees' names used in this study are all *pseudo* names.

The first set of interviewees, comprised elderly Tonga women and men, aged between 73 and 101 who experienced the situation before, during and after the Kariba Dam resettlement. This set of participants was referred to me by the ward councilors. The physical appearance of some of the participants however, did not match their ages; some looked younger than the ages on the identity cards, while others looked older than their official ages (see Appendix 2). Their ages might not be accurate for two reasons. Firstly, the majority of Tonga men and women born before the resettlement are illiterate; they have not been to school as there were no schools then. Secondly, there were no births registrations before the resettlement, as there was barely any formal settler administration during the colonial era (Chikozho et al. 2015b:246) and therefore the first set of participants did not know their date of birth. In most cases, interviewees associated their date of births to events such as famine, drought or death of a prominent person. One participant said she was told by her parents that she was born when a prominent leader, *Siankwaali*, died. Subsequently, they showed me their identity cards, which had date of births. Interestingly, these date of births were estimated by government officials who issued identity cards after 1980 following Zimbabwe's independence from Britain. In any case, during the colonial period, according to the participants, women did not have any form of identification save for the customary ways through which they were identified according to their husbands.

In order to get a holistic view on the persistence of poverty, the second set of interviewees comprised those from government (District Administrator (DA) and the Ministry of Women Affairs, Gender and Community Development) and NGOs (Basilwizi Trust, Zubo Trust (herein referred to as Basilwizi and Zubo respectively) and Binga Craft Centre) became handy. These NGOs are advocating for the compensation of the Tonga for loss of entitlements as a result of the Kariba Dam resettlement. Interviewing the DA Office, under the Ministry of Local Government and Ministry of Women Affairs, Gender and Community Development, helped me to locate the intersection of poverty and gender from the government officials. I believed that the DA as the ones who inherited the local governance from the colonial authority were therefore privy to know the genesis of poverty in the district. The views from these participants, most of whom were born after the Kariba resettlement, provided an interesting dimension on the persistence of poverty.

Taken together, as the participants cut across the generations, whose views were also triangulated from using data from the literature, this study provided a holistic picture of the persistence of chronic poverty in Binga district.

1.5.3 Data collection techniques

I used semi-structured interviews, observation and secondary data to get insights into the persistence of poverty in Binga. Before going to the field, I developed a guide of interview questions but in order for me to draw more information from my participants, I instead decided to structure my guide around themes: poverty, participation in development and access to resources. Through these, I was able to probe my participants on the persistence of poverty in Binga. Considering the illiterate rate among the first set of participants, the interview questions were translated into CiTonga, the local language, so that communication between the interviewees and I would be possible. The

interview sessions were tape-recorded and later transcribed. The quotations in this research are therefore literal translations from CiTonga to English. Further information about poverty in Binga was taken from the archives of Binga Craft Centre, Basilwizi and Zubo that have been working with the Tonga since 1990, 2002 and 2009 respectively. Through content and interpretive analysis of such material I obtained data especially given the fact that most of my questions were based on recall, as some of the participants could have forgotten what transpired since the Kariba Dam displacement in 1957-8. The archival data helped me in triangulating my primary data to “provide data consistency checks” (Patton 2002: 556). Critically important, using multiple data sources did not only help me to enhance the “confidence” of the “validity” (Foster 1996:91) of my research in terms of research rigor, but it also helped to identify data inconsistencies, which have been “illuminative and important” (Patton 2002: 556). Thus triangulation of the methods was necessary for overcoming weaknesses of one single data gathering method. In support of this line of thing, Flick (2002:16) concurs that triangulation “goes beyond the limitations of a single method by combing several methods and giving them equal relevance.”

Besides the archival material, I also resorted to content and interpretive analysis on the various themes on poverty in Binga which has received some attention within the scholarly articles and newspapers. It should be noted however, that the literature on this subject remains patchy and scanty, making this study essential in contributing to academic work and to cover some of the grey areas that have not been addressed by existing studies. In as much, as it helped in my conceptualisation and theorisation of this study, the mainstream literature focusing on poverty also helped me in situating my study within the wider debates and discourses revolving around this broad theme. Through a sustained interrogation with such literature I was able to identify the scholarly and public policy gaps and shortcomings more widely on this subject.

1.6 Challenges in conducting the study

Although the research was interesting, there were at least three methodological challenges. Firstly, it was difficult to meet and interview the participants because of their daily activities. During one of the interviews, a female participant kept asking when we would finish the interview because she wanted to go and water her garden. I therefore had to work with their schedules so that the interviews would be successfully carried out.

In addition, most of my interviewees were old men and women who directly experienced the Kariba Dam resettlement. Considering their ages ranged from 73 to 101 according to their national identity cards, it was difficult for me to believe their responses as they relied on recall. I had tremendous concerns about collecting data that would be inaccurate because in ‘oral history interviews’ people may forget, exaggerate or even lie. To address this challenge, I triangulated the data I obtained from these interviewees with existing secondary data from books and reports, including those kept by Basilwizi and Zubo, who have been working in Binga for more than a decade.

1.7 Organisation of the paper

This paper is organized into five chapters. This chapter (Chapter one) provides an introduction of the research in which I investigated the persistence of chronic poverty in Binga, which is home to the Tonga following their displacement in 1957-8 to pave way for the construction of the Kariba Dam. In this chapter, I have introduced the background of study, scope of the research, objectives, main research question, sub-research questions, the limitations, as well as the structure of the thesis. Chapter two presents the concepts and analytical framework by reviewing the literature to situate the study within the gender and development body of knowledge. Chapter three and four present the empirical data, discusses the data and provides analysis to the research findings. Specifically, chapter three presents men and women’s understanding of the persistence of poverty in Binga over the past six decades, while chapter four provides a gender analysis of participatory development, decision-making and access to resources. Chapter five concludes the study and considers some recommendations for further research, policy and practice.

CHAPTER TWO

CONCEPTUALISING AND ANALYSING GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT

2.1 Introduction

To gain insights of the gender perspective of the chronic of poverty in Binga, this chapter reviews the literature to gain deeper understanding and knowledge of existing research and identify gaps in the literature. The chapter is structured into two sections. In the first section, I explore the concept of gender and its elements, which helped refine my research questions. The second section builds on the first section by introducing gender and development (GAD), an analytical framework for this study. Considering GAD is wide, as this chapter demonstrates, I only selected a few elements that were of interest to this study. These include power relations, stereotyping, participation in development processes and access and control of resources.

2.2 The concept of gender

Gender is a contested concept, meaning different things to different people. Becker and Vanclay (2003:162) view gender as embracing all aspects of human existence in various situations that involve both men and women's social, cultural and economic relations. Oakley (1972) and Rubin (1975) cited in Moser (1993:3) view "gender as the social relationship between men and women in which women have been systematically subordinated." In this way, Young (1993:138-139) sees gender as a structured set of social behaviour which is underpinned by ideology. Scott (1989:94; 1988:42) views gender as an element of power which functions in a dual way, as a constitutive element of social relationships and as a primary way of signifying a relationship of power.

Whatever contestations exist, the common thread is "a broad appeal to the socially constructed nature of sex and gender itself conceals a range of different positions" (Annandale and Clark 1996:19). On the same note, Momsen (2004:18) observes that gender as a social construction means that the meaning of gender differs from society to society, but the common denominator in all societies is the female subordination. The feminist scholarship, which is accredited for initiating the debate in the 1970s, is premised on the understanding that patriarchy privileges male body as standard while female body, because of its reproductive capacity, is viewed as 'deficient', thus patriarchy conflates biological sex and social gender (Annandale and Clark 1996:19). Feminists questioned this elision by demonstrating that gender is a social construct rather than built directly upon biology or the materiality of the body (Annandale and Clark 1996:19).

Feminism, like many social science theories, has developed into various versions, with at least three main versions: the liberal feminists; radical feminists; and post-structural feminists. For the liberal feminists, there is no intrinsic relationship between biological sex and gender, and therefore conditions should be created that allow women to access valued male roles (Annandale and Clark 1996:20). The liberal feminists tend to be associated with the 'grand narratives' of the modernist thought which draws on some of objective knowledge which is considered legitimate. In contrast, the radical feminists associated with Marxist ideology, which draws attention to the oppressive patriarchal privilege. The radical feminists "endorse a strong connection between sex and gender", by undermining "patriarchal privilege and valuing what is distinctive about female, rather than the male body" (Annandale and Clark 1996:20). Mainly influenced by the work of Foucault, post-structural feminism is critical of both the liberal and radical feminisms. Post-structural feminism draws our

attention to language discourse, rationality, power, resistance, and freedom, knowledge and truth, and the subject (Pierrie 2000: 477) and how these shape gender.

Gender thus presents a vantage position of analysing the persistence poverty in Binga. It enables one to draw on the historical, cultural, and contextual diversity and adaptability in the interpretation of the masculine and feminine as well as their comparative power and political influence (Glenn 1999:5) and its implications on poverty.

2.3 Analysing poverty using the GAD approach

The gender and development (GAD) continues to be one of the frameworks used in poverty analysis. Cornwall (2003), for example, uses GAD to analyse the extent to which gender was incorporated into World Bank supported Participatory Poverty Assessments (PPAs) and Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs). Similarly, I use Table 2.1, adapted from Singh (2007), to analyse the persistence of poverty in Binga, despite the fact that it is endowed with abundant natural resources. The utility of Table 2.1 lies in its breadth and depth as it provides a summary of the evolution, the concepts and the analysis that underpin GAD.

The evolution of GAD was founded in the 1970s following the economists and planners' concern with the failure of modernization theory, particularly how development projects were negatively affecting women in Third World countries (Moser 1989:1809–10). Singh (2007:102) traces the evolution of the gender and development in four phases: women in development (WID), women and development (WAD), gender and development (GAD) and women, culture and development (WCD) (Table 2.1). For the purpose of conceptual analysis, the phases are presented in a neat, linear fashion. In practice, there were some overlaps between the transitions from one phase to the other, with some of the elements of past phases still influential today (Singh 2007:101).

With its focus on the welfare, equity, anti-poverty, efficiency, agency and the empowerment approaches (Moser 1989) and supported by liberal feminists, the WID approach was criticized for focusing on economic utility of women, which translated itself to supporting the capitalist and modernist development agenda (Singh 2007:104). Emerging from these criticisms, the GAD approach was premised on the perspective of gender and gender relations (Kabeer 1995 cited in Cornwall 1997:8). Scholars examined how development remodels these power dynamics (Momsen 2004:13).

Scott's (1988) identifies four different levels for understanding gender which has contributed to our understanding of GAD: level subjective identity, level of institutions and organisations, level of ideology and doctrine and lastly, the level of symbolic meaning to show the different interactions of defining gender. Scott (1988) notes that in as much as gender is viewed in the context of human society, gender should not be confined to the physiological construct of male and female. Instead, it ought to transcend this perspective to encompass both the conspicuous and salient inequalities that exist in their social interaction of the sexes. Critically, it also holds true that power relations swing across the male-female spectrum in accordance with the changes with time (Scott 1988). Scott (1988) further notes that gender analysis should now move from the narrow and simplistic view which restricts it to masculinity and femininity as well the other perspectives which merely regard the dissimilarities in the functions of the sexes. Instead, she opines that an analysis premised on such classifications will result in unnecessary and retrogressive conflict between the sexes at the expense even of other groups of diverse sexual inclination (Scott 1988).

Table 2.1 Gender and development paradigm: from Women in Development (WID) to Women, Culture and Development (WCD)

Element	Paradigm shifts			
	WID	WAD	GAD	WCD
Time period	1960s -1970s	1970s -1980s	1980s to present	1990s - 2000
Historical context	Rise of Western feminist (1968); ‘trickle down’ challenge	Critique of capitalism influenced by Marxism	Criticisms of structural adjustment programmes	Reaction to Western cultural hegemony
Origin	A non-profit group	United Nations (1976–1985)	Third World feminists and social activists	Culture ‘missing’ in development
Influential feminisms	Western liberal feminism	Marxist feminism	Radical and socialist feminisms	Postmodernist feminism
Related theories	Neo-classical economic theory	Dependency theory	Patriarchy and gender stratification	Culture studies, Third World studies
Concepts				
Attitude toward development	Pro-efficiency and anti-poverty	Self-sufficiency and self-organisation	Symbolic of power inequality between men and women	Balance between global and local, values, identity and institutions
Approach to development and women	Integrates development and women's agenda	Rejects both; incorporates women and development	Incorporates social construction of gender	Inclusive (women and development and culture)
Development and indigenous culture	Local culture barrier to growth	Endorses homogeneous culture; economic equality	Oppression maintained through patriarchy	contextual, local values, beliefs
Patriarchy	sees economic role for women as a solution	Denies its importance; class-based discrimination is given more importance	construct with overarching assumption of traditional societies	Considers it one of the many realities in women's lives
Symbolises women	potential to be productive units	members of have-not group of unindustrialised nations	Gender is a social construction,	Incorporates three earlier phases of GAD

Analysis				
Study of women's context	Within modernisation	Part of stratification	Systems of gender stratification	Deconstructed and reconstituted cultures
Role of women (production vs. reproduction)	Equity with men as productive agents	Emphasis on productive roles	Varies	Inseparable productive and reproductive roles
Primary focus (structure/agency)	Structure (social systems)	Collective agency (not specifically women)	Structure (social systems)	Agency and structure; women and social systems
Research focus	Single dimension: economics	Multidimensional, but class is primary	Single dimension: gender	Multidimensional, but culture is primary
Major contributions	Made women central to development process	accurate measurements to assess the position of women	women's existence within the household and labour market	Category, 'women in Third World'; variations in local contexts of women
Criticisms	Ethnocentric; accepts modernisation	focuses on women's productive and ignores their reproductive role	Gynocentric, reductionist understanding of gender	glorifies local culture as opposed to global culture and modernity
Deconstruction of agenda	Conservative, capitalist, economic and productivity bias	Reactionary Third World perspective of perceived neo-colonisation	Revolutionary Western feminist ideology	Pacifistic Third World feminist take on Western feminism

Adapted from (Singh 2007:102–3)

Consistent with GAD, and Scott's (1988) gender framework, gender analysis should go beyond gender roles to include gender power relations. Not only does this help us distinguish gender from a personality or individual characteristic, actions of actors from the sex and gender category but it also increases our sociological understandings of how the social organization of the family shapes gender (Moore 2008:339). Moore (2008: 339) further reminds us that the family might be a starting point for understanding power relations, which might have implications on the perception of poverty and the associated poverty reduction strategies. She asserts that gender structures endure in families because of the way their interactional contexts are created, arranged and sustained by social groups. In many ways, family life represents gender as a signification of difference between men and women, producing an obligation for women to assume conventionally female responsibilities.

To help us further understand gender relations within the context of poverty reduction discourses, Foucault's conception of power and how knowledge sustains power relations, might be useful (Foucault 1980.) In Binga, where poverty reduction programmes tend to be dominated by outsiders, it remains unclear how development actors use knowledge in sustaining unequal power relations between men and women.

Within gender studies, patriarchy, which remains conspicuous in GAD, has been seen as an inherent element of unequal power relations. Kandiyoti (1988:274-275) notes that "patriarchy often evokes an overly monolithic conception of male dominance, which is treated at a level of abstraction that obfuscates rather than reveals the intimate inner workings of culturally and historically distinct arrangements between the genders." If patriarchy, according to Cain et al. (1979:406) is a "set of social relations with a material base that enables men to dominate women", then patriarchy has a significant factor in defining power relations between genders.

Stereotyping, one of the inherent elements of GAD, accentuates power relations. The Tonga have been victims of stereotypes such as being primitive, homeless, men of the bush and that they have tails (Chikozho et al. 2015a:329.) As a result, these stereotypes promote the group exclusivity in the country whereby the Tonga have become largely stigmatized and marginalized in many facets of life in Zimbabwe. Eagly and Mladinic (1989:545) sees gender stereotyping as the attributes that people believe are characteristics of one sex than the other. The potential effect of this, is the segregation of one gender over the other. The effect of this gender stereotype has been that "in the Zambezi Valley, women do not effectively participate in all spheres of human life such as political and economic because of the social practices that see man as being superior and women as inferior to their male counter parts" Government employee (29/09/15). Banchs (2011:32) notes that regardless of one's race, nationality, gender or other personal attributes, the stereotypes attached to them determine how they relate with their social, political or economic environment. This has not been a different case among the Tonga men and women.

Cornwall (1997:8) sees the GAD approach to programming as the involvement of women as equal partners in the development process thereby promoting both men and women's participation in development projects. Cornwall (2002:197) notes that participatory development has prospects of creating new ground for tackling issues of gendered power, institutionalization and representation. For Cornwall, much of GAD's work is conventionally carried out at some remote, with little if any engagement from those affected (2002:200). On the contrary, it is widely accepted that successful development requires the participation from the community. Although participation has become "development orthodox" (Cornwall 2003:1325), it remains a "polyvalent" (Cook et al. 2013:757) term, meaning different things to different people. Despite the differences in meanings, the common thread appears to associate participatory development with involving or "engaging communities" (Burns et al. 2004:2), "local people" or "beneficiaries" (Eversole 2003:781) in development processes. Demeaning as the term 'beneficiary' maybe be, participatory development tends to view these 'beneficiaries' or alternatively 'local development partners' as "active subjects rather than passive objects of their own development" (Eversole 2003:781). Power shift from 'outside' professionals to 'local', 'insider' control of the development process, does not only reduce biases of non-locals but

also ensures local ownership (Chambers 1997; Mohan 2008), incorporation of local knowledge and decision-making, which can also empower locals (Mosse 2001:385-7).

Amongst the ideas incorporated in GAD to address poverty is Arnstein's (1969) much cited typology of participation, a linear taxonomy on a continuum, which progresses from non-participation, tokenism to citizen power. The first rungs of the ladder, manipulation and therapy, describe levels of "non-participation" of communities, with development agencies to "educate[ing]" them (Arnstein 1969:217). Tokenism comprise informing, consultation and placation, and allows the participants' voice to be heard but the decision-making power is still in the hands of the development agents (Arnstein 1969:217). Citizen power, Arnstein (1969) would argue, participation allows for serious engagement between locals with those in power while delegated power and citizen control allow the citizens make decisions on issues that affect them. In contrast, as this study demonstrates, it appears there was little, if any participation of the Tonga pre-and post-Kariba development.

In their analysis of community participation from the assemblage lens, Grove and Pugh (2015:1) conclude that it can no longer be claimed that participation necessarily empowers marginalized people. On one hand, "modernist participation enacts a will to truth that attempts to objectify and control constitutive power through categories such as social capital and vulnerability. On the other hand, performative participation is still entangled in power relations, and has not necessarily developed in ways that might challenge existing power relations, and the designs of the project organiser. Nonetheless, and from an epistemological view, Grove and Pugh (2015), recognize the potential of participation for both researchers and research subjects to challenge uneven power relations in potentially unexpected ways. To respond to this challenge, the methodology of this study was devised in ways that engaged participants, around affirmative bio-politics, so that they would use the participation process to reflect on their situation but also use the results of this study to support their struggles against poverty.

Indeed, the relationship between gender and participation is still fraught with tensions and contradictions. The continued use of essentialised images of "woman-as-victim" and "man-as-problem" (Cornwall 2003:1326) in development, for example, is arguably myopic, and diverts attention from real gender issues to a focus on men and women. The role of Cornwall (2002:197) participatory research and GAD seek explicitly to question the naturalised assumptions and the "structures of constraint" (Folbre 1994: 5) that, for example, associate women with weakness or the poor with ignorance (Cornwall 2002:200).

The "structures of constraint", mainly based on social norms, values and practices, naturalise inequalities between women and men, do not only allocate different roles and responsibilities, including assigning a lower value aptitudes, capabilities and activities conventionally associated with women (UN 2009) but in many ways shape access and control of resources between genders. Although there are various kinds of resources, this study adopted Kabeer (1999:437)'s definition of resources which views resources as not only limited to material resources in the more conventional economic sense, but also the different human and social resources which serve to augment the capacity to decide which options to take.

In its 2009 *World Survey on the Role of Women in Development*, the UN (2009) identifies gender-specific constraints access and control of resources at both the individual and institutional levels. While men from marginalised groups, such as the Tonga of Binga, may experience disadvantages in pursuing sustainable livelihoods portfolios, the UN (2009: 6) notes that "gender often intensifies the effects of other social inequalities in access to resources and opportunities". Gupta (1987) cited in Kabeer (1999:444) notes that in the context of her study of the Jat kinship system in Purijab, that there was no question of a woman owning land: "if she should insist on her right to inherit land equally under civil law, she would stand a good chance of being murdered". The implication is that in this community, access and control of resources between men and women is not equal. Relationships based on gender, and structures of power are at times disadvantageous to women. It has been

established through wide research that there exist gender imbalances in the quest to gain influence over the distribution of economic and natural resources (WCD 2000:114).

While there is agreement in the literature that GAD paradigm aims to transform social and institutional contexts that produce gender injustice and inequalities, the major question has been ‘how to’ operationalise GAD. Gender mainstreaming, though a highly contentious term (Walby 2005: 321), has been one of the dominant approaches, if not “a strategic tool at the global [and local] level to transform policy and the unequal relationship between women and men” (True 2003:370). Walby (2005: 321) further states the added value, and dual function of gender mainstreaming, as both “a new form of gendered political and policy practice and as new strategy for theory development” suggesting gender mainstreaming brings new lens of ‘how to’ achieve gender equality while at the same time questioning or rather deconstructing the assumptions, ontologies, epistemologies and methodologies underlying the practice. These questions may include local definitions of gender mainstreaming, which, being a Western concept, may not exist in languages such as Tonga.

Although studies continue to highlight “institutional barriers or resistances to gender mainstreaming” (Perrons, 2005: 389), the ambition of gender mainstreaming to address all policies horizontally (Woodward 2008: 290) remains attractive. Several principles and tools for gender mainstreaming have been suggested, including those in Table 2.2 (see Appendix 3), but to what extent have these been applied in poverty reduction programmes in remote areas like Binga? The discussion on these issues is picked up in Chapter 4.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has explored issues that are pertinent to this study. Clearly, gender is a multifaceted concept, which continues to develop into various versions. Nonetheless, the common thread is that gender is not about women; it is about the relationship between men and women, but in which women are subordinated. This has implications on how poverty is understood between and across genders. The GAD approach, wide as it may be, is one of the tools that can be used to analyse the persistence of poverty in Binga. Using some of the elements, and in this case – power relations, stereotyping, participation and access to resources – may suffice to provide a clue of men and women’s understanding of the persistence of poverty in their district. These issues are picked up in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

Persistence of poverty in Binga: Men and Women's perspectives

3.1 Introduction

To understand the persistence of chronic poverty in Binga from a gender perspective, this chapter presents, discusses and analyses the findings of men and women's understanding of the genesis of poverty and possible solutions for reducing it in the district. Although it might seem impossible in other parts of the world, for people in this age range (73-101) to be doing any form of work, the Tonga of Binga, Zimbabwe are involved in different forms of work for their survival. Chikozho et al. (2015a:345) presents a demographic data of one group of Tonga women involved in basket weaving and one of the women is 80 years old. To simplify the presentation of the findings, I have organized them according to the themes emerging from the questions I posed to both men and women. These themes are: 'transition from livelihood security to livelihood insecurity and poverty,' 'access to water, and hunger (poverty),' 'land tenure system and hunger,' and 'governance poverty and hunger.'

3.2 Transition from livelihood security to livelihood insecurity and poverty

Poverty was expressed in caloric terms (Sachs 2005:20) as *nzala* or hunger and starvation, with both male and female interviewees, attributing its genesis and persistence centrally to the Kariba Dam resettlement. *Syabwanta* was one of the female participants, who chronicled how 'hunger' had become a recurring challenge in her village. At the time of the field work, *Syabwanta's* age was estimated to be 85 according to the national identity card suggesting during the resettlement period *Syabwanta* could have been in her late 20s. Married at a relatively young age, possibly between 16 and 17, according to the age of one of the girls⁴ she used as an example, *Syabwanta* was in a polygamous marriage, as a second wife, as her husband was also married to another wife, *Siamunkuli*. As a result, during the interview, *Syabwanta* kept pointing to the piece of land that she was 'given' by her husband to cultivate crops. Although it was difficult for her to compare the size of the land for crop cultivation before and after the resettlement, from her narration, the current land for crop cultivation was estimated to be four times less than the land she 'owned' before the resettlement. *Syabwanta* stated:

We had lots of food, we produced food from our fields twice a year. We had three big fields [farms]. My husband had one big field and each of us, his two wives, had one each which were much bigger than these small pieces of land. Our fields were fertile and we grew *nchelela* [green vegetables grown along the river banks] for us to eat during the dry season. *Hunger* wasn't an issue, we only experienced it after relocation.

Syabwanta (female) (13/07/15)

Syabwanta's sentiments, although in some cases expressed slightly different between men and women, and between villages, were repeated by interviewees who experienced resettlement. This was consistent with McGregor's (2003:94) sentiments:

The river was central to all areas of life and not just to security. It was the provider in many ways; the reiterating flood waters allowed the cultivation of riverine gardens and fish were plentiful.

(McGregor 2003:94).

On the same note, *Syabwanta* and McGregor's (2003) sentiments are consistent with Colson who says that "in the 1970s, the women who remembered conditions in the old regime often said the old life was better because river fields were permanent and they had their own land..." (Colson 1999:35.)

⁴ The girl was present at the homestead during the interview.

Syamabuyu, whose age was estimated to be 92 according to his national identity card, reiterated some of *Syabwanta's* views. *Syamabuyu*, who could have been in his 30s during the displacement, had a highly significant recount of how 'hunger' had become a 'permanent visitor'. There was, however, a slight contrast between *Syamabuyu's* views and *Syabwanta's* views, suggesting gender differences, mainly based on the biological differences (Annandale and Clark 1996:19), in the way they viewed the persistence of poverty. *Syamabuyu's* views, like most views from males who took part in this study, referred to several losses as a result of resettlement, but his major loss was entitlements to fishing and hunting, 'a special prize we the Tonga have paid for being what we are [as poor and powerless people]'. Indeed, as Manyena (2013:34) remarks, the "Tonga were the losers". Nevertheless, *Syamabuyu* narrated how he alternated between hunting and fishing. Although hunting was dangerous as Binga was infested with lions, he stated that the Tonga men, including himself had developed complicated skills for hunting bush bucks, kudus and buffaloes to provide relish for their families. He recalled how excited he was one day when he caught about 15 big breams (tilapia) using a basket made out of straws. Some of those that he caught, he sold them through barter trade for corn to meet the needs of his children and his three wives. He compared the life before the resettlement and today by saying:

Who can allow you to go and hunt or fish? You can do that [hunting and fishing] if you want to go to jail. This is not our earth [country] we used to enjoy; it's for people from outside and white people. How can you talk about hunger [poverty] when we lost all [possessions] we had?

Syamabuyu (male) (13/07/15)

Women also recounted how they would catch fish using baskets, locally known as *mazubo*. They would go to a dam called Moombele, where a group of women, say about 20 would line up their baskets and then splash the water to scare fish and then direct them towards the baskets. *Maamwa Mvembe*, an 85 year old widow from Manjolo, did not only express how exciting the occasion used to be but she also emphasised how "we chased hunger [poverty] from our homes" (13/07/15). She also recalled how they would alternate between working on the gardens and fishing. Gardening was done in the morning, while fishing, though not as frequent, was done in the afternoons, after people had eaten their lunch and when the water was warm.

Indeed, it is clear from narratives that the persistence of poverty in Binga requires knowledge and understanding of how the loss of entitlements to alluvial soils, hunting and fishing due to Kariba Dam resettlement, has led to the impoverishment of Binga District (McGregor 2003:99). However, the narratives from this study raises some contrasting points. Although the study demonstrates how gender roles complemented each other to 'chase away hunger' (*Manwa Mvembe* 13/07/15), it appears fishing and hunting were generally a male domain while working in the gardens was generally a female-domain. This brings to question Colson's (1999:24) blanket assertion that relations become ungendered after people are uprooted from their land for economic purposes, in this case, the Kariba Dam project. Yet, clearly, some of the gendered relations, can be traced to the period before resettlement, which have been reinforced by the patriarchy system of the Zimbabwean society (Campbell 2003).

3.3 Access to water and hunger (poverty)

"Water, water, water" echoed interviewees. Limited access to water was an emotional subject. Interviewees gave a distinction between the types of hunger (poverty) – hunger for water, and the hunger for food. The hunger for water, according to interviewees was responsible for hunger for food. Without water, how would one have food? They asked. Limited access to water is a major contributor to the persistence of poverty in Binga. Interviewees recounted how they used to access water from the River before the construction of the Kariba Dam, as water was 'ubiquitous', it was

everywhere, according to *Sali Mumpande*, an 89 old widow from Kariyangwe. *Sali* who lives with her three grandchildren said:

The situation here [in the resettlement areas] is different. Getting water for cooking [food] is difficult – worse when it is not raining [during the dry season]. When it rains, we can use buckets and big dishes to collect water from the rain. When it is dry, we can rarely bath as we used to as water was everywhere then [before resettlement]. In this area, my grandchildren travel long distances to fetch some water. We spend a lot of time looking for water. Water has become *mbonwabusiku* [scarce] – you don't just spill it '*musalama*' [my granddaughter].

Sali Mumpande (female) (15/07/15)

To make matters worse, fetching water for cooking and bathing and working in the fields has remained a female domain, which has taken women's time from attending to other chores. Men, according to most female interviewees, have permanently transferred the 'care' role to the women. Instead of helping out to look for water or food for their families, most men spend their time looking for beer or being with their friends. On that note, according to (Kabeer 2015:195), a fundamental perspective into the gendered elements of poverty highlights the significance of physical labour and the differences in the extent to which men and women can sell their own labour or exercise control over that of others. Nonetheless, male counterparts also reinforced the women's views on the lack of water by blaming the 'whites' who relocated them to the new resettlement areas where there was no water. They, claimed the 'white people' [*makwala*] promised to "*sink boreholes for us but those boreholes were broken down, some of them never functioned, those few that functioned had no potable water*". *Siachakwa Munkuli*, an 89 old man from Chinonge ward, married to three wives said:

Water is a problem here. *Sikanyana* sunk boreholes in some places, but those boreholes never worked. We were used to swimming in the river, not to get water from a pipe. We have tried some gardens along the streams but these are now silted. *Lungwalala* Dam was built about 20 years ago [about 10 kilometres away from *Siachakwa*'s homestead], but we are not allowed to water gardens from that dam – we need to pay for the water [to the government]. Poor as we are, where do we get the money? This is why we are so poor here. Go [telling me] and tell them to bring us our water.

Siachakwa Munkuli (15/07/15)

My experience during the interview with *Siachakwa Munkuli* was similar to Doris Lessing with the fisherman she talked to during her visit about 20 years ago. When the fishermen learned that she was a writer, they suggested "their lives should be described because – they seem to feel – if the [Zimbabwe government] authorities *really* knew, their hearts would be less hard" (Lessing 1993:382). Indeed, lack of water is one of the causes of chronic poverty, and should be heard loudly by the government according to the interviewees. Interviewees, as indicted by *Siachakwa Munkuli*, were emotional and angry about limited access to water. The Tonga feel they were betrayed by the government for not attending to their water problems, particularly that the broken promise that the water would 'follow us' to their new resettlement areas. According to McGregor,

Such anger has come to focus increasingly on the betrayal of promises made in the course of the move by the then Native Commissioner, I.G. Cockroft (locally known as *Sikanyana* because he was a short small man). Cockroft is remembered to have promised the resisting Tonga leaders 'that water would follow them', meaning the state would provide them with new sources of water after the move.

(McGregor 2003:99).

This situation conveys the effects of the involuntary displacement of the Tonga. From the interviewees' responses, no compensation for the losses incurred during resettlement was offered to the Tonga. While both men and women were affected by the resettlement process, the water shortages have affected the women more. The gender roles such as cooking and washing dishes, within the Tonga communities, have 'forced' women to fetch water for the household chores. This means that besides their reproduction and the production roles, women's roles have been increased.

Sachs (2005:36) therefore suggests that within the traditional communities, gender roles have to be strongly differentiated because women get the short end of the deal. While relaying messages to women directly, would have insignificant effects on the relocation plan by the Federal government, it would have made a small difference in that women would have said their needs, thereby expressing the importance of participation of the local people in development programmes.

3.4 Land tenure system and hunger

The male-dominated land tenure system was also blamed for the persistence of chronic poverty in Binga. As already stated in section 3.2, both male and female interviewees recalled how men and women had equal rights to land and property ownership which significantly reduced the risk to poverty before the Kariba resettlement. They stated how the land was passed, regardless of gender, from generations to generations through the clan system. Before the resettlement, land was not owned by the state but instead the Tonga themselves owned it (Ncube 2004). Therefore, it was 'normal' for the Tonga to distribute their land to each other. A mother would pass on a piece of land to her daughter or son, while a father would also pass on land to his son or daughter who would also pass it to his children. Contrary to the period before the resettlement where the Tonga women owned and controlled land (Colson 1999:28) through lineages, after the resettlement (Ncube 2004) the land tenure system was now vested to the state⁵. Thus, the Tonga women were placed in the same basket as the Shona women, who had access to a socially-defined minimum amount of land from their husbands' holdings (Pankhurst and Jacobs 1988:205). Thus a woman's rights to land, although in theory are the same as those of their husbands according to Zimbabwe's constitution, in practice women's access to land is still dependent on her responsibilities as a wife who is expected to grow specific crops such as beans and vegetables for relish (Pankhurst and Jacobs 1988:205). *Chaandu Siansimbi*, an 81 old widow from Chinonge, although she was in her early 20s when the resettlement occurred, narrated how she owned land which she inherited through her lineage.

My husband [though late now] and I had their own land each. My husband had no control of my piece of land. I was given this piece of land by my mother who also got it from her mother. I could grow my crops without interference from my husband as he had his own piece of land which he got from his father. How could you be hungry? Only lazy people would not have enough food. After resettlement, I had no land. Land belonged to my husband who came to look for it when we were told to leave while I remained with our children.

Chaandu Siansimbi (female) (15/07/15)

Chaandu Siansimbi's statements are consistent with the literature on how the resettlement disrupted the Tonga land tenure system where many women lost considerable holdings in the valued river land which they had received through their lineages (Ncube 2004:105). Ncube further states that before resettlement:

[...] the Tonga had been accustomed to a system of fixed agriculture based on permanent alluvial fields whose soils required no fallowing, rotation or application of manure for the maintenance of fertility. They were attached to a particular field for generations. Much of this river land was cultivated twice a year, and because of its high yield and permanency, lineages had long-term rights to it.

(Ncube 2004: 104–105).

⁵ The land tenure system in Zimbabwe, through which land ownership, distribution, disposal etc is divided into at least three categories: freehold tenure where all land is owned by a private individual, institution or state; leasehold tenure where the land is leased by the owner for a person to occupy and use the land on the basis of a contractual agreement of lease; and customary tenure where land rights are acquired and held in terms of customary law (Matondi and Dekker 2011).

Thus, the right to land for women was now derived from their husbands (Ncube 2004:105). Indeed, the land tenure rights were “extinguished” (Ncube 2004:105) by the flooding of the river land. More significantly, women’s rights and access to land were seriously violated by the Kariba resettlement because land was apportioned to men only while previously, men and women had equal access to land (Ncube 2004: 105). Further, in 1966, the Delineation Officer for Binga District, observed that,

This [allocation of land to men] has had an effect on the present distribution and ownership of land in the resettlement areas as all, or nearly all, the lands occupied today were *matemwa* [or *intema*] (virgin land cut from the bush) with the result that no women had received land initially in resettlement areas.

(Ncube 2004:105).

While McGregor (2003: 99) warns us not to “overplay the nostalgia for a past life with the river” as if there was no poverty before the resettlement. Ncube (2004: 96) points to the severity of 10 famines between 1882 and 1947, with the negative impact of the 1822/3 famine being one of the extreme one, which reduced women to “eating their skin aprons and many hundreds died”. This assertion is countered by David Livingstone during his visits, who stated that starvation was impossible in the Zambezi valley as the Tonga had the widest range of forest produce ever studied in Africa (Scudder 1971:29; 36; Ncube 2004:99). While it might be true that “fertile riverine gardens may have mitigated hunger, but did not eliminate it completely” (McGregor 2003:99), blaming the persistence of poverty in Binga on Kariba resettlement has salience.

3.5 Governance, poverty and hunger

There is a clear demonstration of frustration among the young generation as they see no benefit in the Kariba Dam scheme. All they see is the continued post-colonial government neglect for the Tonga in general, and Binga in general. This is because Binga is one of the poorest districts in Zimbabwe. It has poor infrastructure and social services compared to the other districts in Zimbabwe (Conyers and Cumanzala 2004:389).

Politicians and the younger generation are in many ways more angry about the subsequent history of state neglect than they are about state intervening to build the dam and forcing their parents away from the river.

(McGregor 2003:99)

To young people, interviewed as part of this study, addressing compensation issues are necessary to address poverty in Binga. One of the academics, who hails from Binga, reiterated by saying:

The persistence of poverty is both historical and current, cutting across the gender divide. The Kariba Dam resettlement took everything away from us. We lost our humanity. How can we not be poor when we have lost our very human existence, when our humanity and dignity are wiped away, when the perpetrators [government, World Bank and the British government] have not been brought to account for their abominable deeds?

Mweembe (male) (23/10/15)

They stated addressing persistent poverty needs radical approaches and formation of local organisations such as Basilwizi and Zubo. These local organisations attempt to strengthen community organisation to confront the government and international community to address the persisting chronic poverty in the Zambezi valley, including Binga. The strategy, according to one of Basilwizi Board members is “to continue to vote for the opposition [political party], maybe the government will hear us” *Muunga* (male) (23/10/15).

One government employee, sees the persistence of poverty as a result of “NGO interventions which are mainly relief efforts such as food handouts that seek to address the results rather than empowering the men and women to determine their own development initiatives” (25/10/15.) In

such a scenario, the underlying problems that cause persistent poverty in Binga are not solved. Furthermore, in NGO interventions, development is top-down, thereby excluding the participation of the local people. On the same note, the interviewees' responses on decision-making before the construction of the Kariba Dam depicts the top-down kind of development that does not factor in the needs of the people who might be affected. Instead the relocation information was disseminated through the traditional chiefs who were unable to resist the relocation. This was supported by *Siachakwa Munkuli* who said:

The message was given to the Chiefs but we are not sure if they were discussions that took place between *Sikanyana* and the Chiefs. All we heard of, is that when the message was passed to the Chiefs, they did not refuse because they were scared of being killed by *Sikanyana's* police.

Siachakwa Munkuli (female) (15/07/15)

Consistent with Terminski's (2013:11) line of thinking that "in countries with an authoritarian form of government, such decisions rarely take into account the interests of the people living in the project's immediate vicinity" such as the Kariba Dam project. Yet, such decisions often affect the people who would have been relocated because of the decisions imposed by the government. Probably, as this project was implemented at the peak of the modernisation approach to development, it was assumed the benefits would 'trickle down' to the local Tonga communities. But, this has not been the case.

Poverty in Binga is not new, what is new, however, are the perspectives from men and women on the persistence of poverty. Although both men and women associate poverty with loss of entitlements, men tend to associate poverty with loss of entitlements to hunting and fishing, while women tend to associate poverty with loss of land and riverine gardens. Such perceptions on poverty are based on traditional gender roles that are embedded in most patriarchal societies that perceive and depict men as belonging to the public sphere and as bread winners with women being confined into the domestic arena.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has presented some of the reasons for the persistence of poverty in Binga. My observation is that the negative impact of the Kariba Dam resettlement, in relation to the loss of entitlement to land, water, fishing, hunting and being resettled in arid areas appears to be central to the persistence of poverty. A closer look at the data, reveals deep-seated problems of gender inequalities in community and government systems embedded in patriarchy. The next chapter explores and analyses the persistence of poverty by exploring the power relations in relation to decision-making, gender-participatory development and access to resources.

CHAPTER FOUR

Gendered participatory poverty reduction, access to resources and development options

4.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the connections between poverty, decision-making and access to resources within the context of gendered participatory development. This chapter is organized into three sections which are: (a) examination of decision-making and leadership issues, (b) examination of access and control of resources across gender as they relate to the persistence of poverty in Binga, (c) a presentation of the options that the Tonga men and women have for poverty reduction.

4.2 Gendered decision-making in poverty reduction programmes

Lack of involvement of Tonga men and women in decision-making dates back to before, the resettlement. The first set of interviewees stated that they were not involved in the planning and implementation of the Kariba Dam construction. Instead, the traditional chiefs were given orders to inform their communities to relocate to the higher grounds when the Dam wall was built. The Chiefs called their kraal heads, and their messengers, who were all male, to disseminate the messages to members of the community about the relocation. Even today, the role of the Chief is still expected to be a man's position. This is supported by *Mumpande*, an 82 year old woman from Simatelele ward.

Recently, there was a girl who wanted to be a chief in Siachilaba. She was told you cannot be a chief unless men are not there. We heard people saying, 'how can a woman be a Chief ... it's a bad omen.'
Munenge Mumpande (female)
(13/07/15)

The participants confirmed that before independence the colonial system continued to work through traditional chiefs (who were men), with little if any involvement of the general public in decision-making. After independence, the participants noted that the government introduced councillors who represented each ward to coordinate development projects. These leadership roles continue to be dominated by men. They stated that if a woman campaigned for a leadership position, she would be viewed as not an upright woman, (*Salia Muunga* 15/07/15) with those women who have tried to assume leadership positions have had their marriages collapse.

...Leadership is for men my dear. How can a woman stand in front of men? What can you tell them? Do you think they can listen to you? They will think you are mad. If you want to destroy your home, go and start saying 'I want to be a councillor...'

Mata Muleya (female) (30/07/15)

The exclusion of women in decision-making positions has led to social and political exclusion of women in the public sphere where decisions affecting their lives are made. In the same vein, Basilwizi (2005) confirms that in the decision-making levels at the Rural District Development Committee (RDDC) and specific positions such as traditional chieftainship, positions are largely a preserve for the male members and usually females are regarded as silent and invisible. Furthermore, the Basilwizi and Zubo (2010) Gender Baseline Survey cited in Zubo (2012), indicates that although statistics are scant, there are significantly few women who are educated in Binga and a few women in leadership positions, far below Zimbabwe's 60% quota for women in leadership positions. CSO

(2012:64) confirms that Binga has a population of 138,074 (63,512 males and 74,562 females). Out of all these females, there is “one female ward councillor which therefore questions her effective decision-making powers out of the 24 male ward councillors” (Government official, 23/07/15.) As a result of the high illiteracy levels, there is little or no participation of women in political arena or any other sphere.

To address these education and leadership gaps, Zubo has been promoting the visibility of women in decision-making positions throughout Binga. This visibility is through the ‘Ward Women Forums’ among its other women empowerment programmes. These forums aim to enhance women’s confidence in raising matters that affect them in their communities (Zubo 2012). There is however, a downside with women’s forums. During my employment with Zubo, I observed that, the agenda for the Women’s Forums is set by Zubo employees with no input from the forum members. The meetings are also initiated and organised by Zubo. In this way, women’s, participation is tokenistic according to Arnstein (1969)’s ladder of participation. In that way, in the event that Zubo’s programmes end, sustainability of the programmes is not guaranteed. Also, the executive committees of the women forums comprises of women only. Excluding men from these forums could be a continuation of viewing “woman-as-victim” and “man-as-problem” (Cornwall 2003:1326), thus relating gender to women. Although there is need for more research, this study contends that the Zubo approach to gender equality tends to be skewed towards the WID than the GAD approach to development which only includes women and excludes men in development programmes.

During the village development meetings, although women attend the meetings, their participation is, ineffective as local leaders, who are often men, do not think women are ‘intelligent’ enough to solve community problems. As such, women in Binga do not have ways of fully expressing themselves on suggestions for development programmes. Lack of women participation has a negative impact on poverty reduction. Razavi and Miller (1995:26) suggest that gender relationships put men in more preferable positions than women in the exercise of cultural responsibilities in both the public and private realm. That being the case, male classification controls women, which makes them occupy an inferior position in society. And for that reason, gender roles significantly influence men and women’s standing in the society. Such a scenario depicts how participation can be a contested issue in the societies.

The situation women find themselves in Binga is consistent with Gergen and Davis’ (1997:91) views. These state that women are prone to face circumstances that induce feminine transaction such as submissiveness while men face situations that bring about the masculine for instance control, and portioning is a consequence of the enduring nature of socially constructed perspectives. In other ways, in traditional societies such as the Tonga society, gender roles also contribute towards women’s deprivation. This is reinforced by (Sachs 2005:37) who notes that traditionally, women who are confined to the home toil on the land and travel vast distances in search of firewood and to fetch water apart from the duty of tending to the children. Women’s status at the crossroads between production and reproduction, between earning a living and looking after the family makes the subject of gender relations critical to the link between economic expansion and human development and hence integral to the development agenda (Kabeer 2015:203). As a result, women find themselves belonging to the private sphere, and spend their time in the domestic space than their male counterparts, thereby closing opportunities for women’s survival. The female gender identity makes women vulnerable to a variety of risks (Kabeer 2015:203) and this constraints women’s access and control to resources that might improve their living conditions. On that note, according to a Poverty Assessment Survey conducted in Zimbabwe in 2003, 68% of women-headed households were living below the poverty line compared with 32% of male-headed households (Zubo (2012:4.)

There are significant benefits to being male, particularly with information (Andreoni and Petrie 2007:73). This, in their opinion, is basically owing to the fact that men are better leaders (compared to women). Men are apt to make huge contributions, and people follow their example and offer more on future occasions (Andreoni and Petrie (2007:73.) Linking this opinion to the research, the government employee (29/09/15) noted that “before and after the relocation process, the decision-making powers concerning development programmes lied in the hands of men because of the gender stereotypes that existed (and still exist) in the Tonga community. As a result of the strong

cultural practices of the Tonga, which see women's roles as being domestic chores and men belonging to the public sphere, most women end up lacking confidence in themselves." In essence, what the government employee meant is that men make decisions in the public sphere while women influence decisions in the private sphere, for example, women decide on what to cook for the family.

Given this background, it is important to note that decision-making in Binga is influenced by gender stereotypes. The gender stereotypes go beyond those internal to the Tonga culture. Although the stereotypes systematically created by 'other' major tribes, Shona and Ndebele, which find their way through the media and development organisations, tend to apply to Tonga people in general (McGregor 2009), women tend to be at the receiving end. Manyena (2013:37) cites a report by Chikosi from the Child Protection Society, which states that:

Belief in witchcraft is still rife among the BaTonga and there are sexual practices linked to it ... men have to be intimate with their daughters to be exorcised of witchcraft ... in some clans men sleep with their daughters after the first menstrual period. This is done to strengthen their magical powers ... Women have to smoke mbanje [marihuana] so that they would perform tirelessly in bed having spent most of their daytime drunk.

If people working in development organisations have such views of the Tonga, and the Tonga women in particular, it is possible to infer that development programmes are likely to be gender blind.

During the interviews, one government employee stated that as a result of the gender stereotypes, "in Binga, women do not effectively participate in all spheres of human life such as political and economic because of the social practices that see man as being superior and women as inferior to their male counter parts" Government employee (29/09/15).

4.3 Gendered access and control of resources

Critiquing the gendered strata of poverty demands that attention be focused on gender disparities in acquisition and control of the means of survival and security, among families who are side-lined in the distribution of these resources (Kabeer 2015:195). Several organisations claim that Tonga women have been excluded in the development realm for many decades since their resettlement. As a result, the Tonga women have been unable to access resources such as fish, land and other natural resources. Basing its evidence on secondary sources, Zubo (2012:3) suggests that Binga is one of the least developed districts in Zimbabwe, with women and children being among the poorest of the poor. They attribute the poverty among women and children to the cultural norms that generally inhibit progression of these social groups with education. By denying them access to education, in many ways, sustains their inferiority complex making them invisible in the public sphere and subjugated to their male counterparts. To complicate matters, viable crop farming is constrained by limited and erratic rainfall as Binga lies mainly in natural regions IV and V⁶. On that note, meaningful economic opportunities in Binga are hinged on sustainable utilization of natural resources, particularly fishing despite the inaccessibility of natural resources by women for some time. Zubo (2012:4) confirms the unequal access and utilization of natural resources of economic importance between men and women in Binga, with women being unable to access these resources like their male counterparts. The result is that in the case of measuring the poorest households between the women-headed and the men-headed households in Binga, the women-headed households would be poorer than the men-headed households. The reason being men have access and control of resources compared to women's capabilities.

The equal access and exploitation of natural resources is one way that can possibly move the Tonga men and women out of poverty. In this context, (Kabeer 2015:195) suggests that the probability of poor families emerging from poverty depend on (a) their capacity to gather resources such as land and other natural resources, productive machinery, loans among others and (b) amount of labour available, its productivity as controlled by physical strength. The Zubo Feasibility Study on Gillnet and Kapenta fishing (2011) cited in Zubo (2012:5) notes that of the 300 gillnet and kapenta fishing permits allocated to Binga in 2009, all of them were acquired by men in a district where women constitute 52% of the population. And yet, Zubo claims that economic empowerment of women and girls/youths is essential for their overall empowerment. Ultimately, this bridges the gender divide between men and women. Availing opportunities and promoting economic self-reliance for girls and women lead to social and political empowerment (Zubo 2012:5.) In support to this claim, Zubo is supporting a women fishing co-operative called Bbindawuko Banakazi Fishing Co-operative (detailed discussion in 4.4), as a way of dealing with poverty among women who have been unable to access resources such as fish in Binga.

The DA Assistant (21/07/15) confirmed that although the relocation process left emotional marks in the hearts of the Tonga, there are some organisations in Binga that are trying to empower the women and children who suffered more in the whole process. In support of that claim of women and children suffering more, Thukral (1996:1500) notes that in any development project, women and children are affected more because of the inequalities that already exist in the society in terms of literacy, nutrition and health. And this is what he (DA Assistant) had to say:

While the Kariba dam construction relocated the Tonga, and women and children suffered more, at least we appreciate that there are organisations such as Zubo who are trying to empower the women following the resettlement effects. We appreciate the fishing rig that Zubo has bought for women so that they exploit the resources that are at their disposal.

DA assistant (male) (21/07/15)

⁶ Areas characterised by fairly low annual rainfall (450-650mm per annum) and are suitable for extensive farming (Vincent and Thomas 1960 cited in Mazvimavi and Twomlow 2009:23)

As a way of verifying the comments that the government official had said, Zubo confirmed that “the organisation is economically empowering the women and children especially in accessing the resources such as fish, and other natural resources that they were ‘stripped off’ during the relocation process.” Zubo employee (female) (28/07/15)

Contrary to what the government and Zubo employees feel about the women empowerment programmes in Binga, one of the interviewees felt that the help that the organisations are giving out to the Tonga will not completely cover up for the losses that the Tonga incurred during the relocation process. Furthermore, since organisations depend on donor aid, sustainability of Zubo’s programmes might be compromised once donor funding stops.

We thank organisations such as Zubo for helping our daughters-in-law and grandchildren so that they may stand ‘on their own’ but Zubo say that they are given money by other organisations...

Mata Muleya (female) (30/07/15)

Zubo’s economic empowerment approach to women fails to address the post-structural causes of poverty. While unbalanced access and control of resources is one of the causes of poverty in Binga, from the above quotations, poverty in Binga is a result of both internal and external factors such as the unequal power relations in resource access between men and women and dependency of donor aid for the development programmes respectively.

4.4 Options for poverty reduction in Binga.

Having established the causes of chronic poverty in Binga, as outlined in Chapter 3 and in this chapter, I asked for participants views on the options they had on reducing the poverty in their district. The options provided by the participants, although they were slight differences based on gender and organisations, centred on off-farm income generation (through small business enterprises), and mainstreaming gender in development, as a cross-cutting issue, which are implied in the GAD approach and rights-based approaches to development. Most participants identified small enterprises as one of the options for addressing poverty. The small enterprises included crafts (basket-making, wood-carving), fishing, cross-border trading, and small shops, known as tuckshops.

Clearly, the results reveal that the poverty reduction options are strongly ungendered, with little of commonalities between the suggestions provided by women and men. Although basket-making and cross-border trading emerged as one of the key poverty reduction strategies, it was mainly suggested by female participants while men suggested wood-carving, fishing and operating small shops.

Witkamp (2013: 126) observes that “all Tonga [in Zambia and Zimbabwe] are craftsmen and [crafts] women”. However, traditionally, and according to my observation based on experience as a Tonga woman, basket-making tends to be a women domain. The Tonga baskets, locally known as *nsangwa*, have been widely recognised across the world for their attractiveness, fineness of weave, appearance and authenticity which appeals to Western aesthetics (Witkamp 2013: 130). With the Danish government technical support, through the then MS Zimbabwe, a Danish NGO, Binga Craft Centre was established in 1990. Binga Craft Centre is a membership organisation and by 1996, its membership had grown to over 3,000 comprising predominantly women (Witkamp 2013: 137). These women are scattered in small women’s *nsangwa* clubs across Binga. Interviews with a staff member at Binga Craft Centre revealed that *nsangwa* clubs meet at least once a month during the cropping season, mainly on Thursdays⁷, and as many times during the dry season. At the club meetings women share experiences in basket-making, pricing and marketing the products.

⁷ Thursdays are days of rest from working in the fields according to Tonga tradition.

Sells from *nsangwa* are modest. There is however, a clear exploitation of the local women; the local prices of each basket range from US\$1 to US\$3, while the prices outside Binga range from US\$5 to US\$15. The average monthly income of a *nsangwa* producer is about 10-15 US dollars, suggesting an insignificant impact on poverty. Nonetheless, with little available options for women, basket-making was the most viable option. *Salia Munsaka*, from Kariyangwe said:

I don't have any other source of income. There are no rains here, no gardens, the soil is dry. What can I do? Basket-making is the only available option for me. If I sell *nsangwa*, I can get some little money for me to buy food for my grandchildren. What I want is more support so I can sell my baskets in Harare for a higher amount. These people who come and buy from us are cheating us. But, what can we do?

Interviews with men on why they were not involved in basket-making revealed that basket-making was a female domain, as baskets are associated with women activities in food processing. *Siantunda Mungombe* expressed how embarrassing it would be for a man to be seen making baskets. He further stated that "if you are seen making baskets other men would think you are mad or your wife has bewitched you" (18/07/15).

Men's options for addressing poverty through off-farm income were of wide range compared to women. These included wood-carvings such as drums, stools and other artefacts, and fishing. Interestingly, wood-carvers, according to interviews with staff at Binga Craft Centre, were less organised compared to women, since they did not have clubs, the prices of their artefacts sold slightly above *nsangwa* with prices ranging from 3 to 6 US dollars. But, does this suggest men have high bargaining skills compared to women? If so, why is this the case? Is this related to traditional gender roles where women play a subordinate role to men?

Nonetheless, interviews with men revealed that they also had fishing as another option for reducing poverty. For them to venture into fishing, they needed resources, including boats, fishing gears and fishing permits from the government. Moomba, a 38 old man, from Manjolo, who was born after the Kariba resettlement, and whose sentiments were echoed by most of the men I interviewed, said:

Ending poverty in this district is a small thing. If you give me [fishing] boats, [fishing] nets and the [fish] permit to get into the water, I will feed my children and take them to school. This is the only way we can survive. We have the [Kariba] dam – it is our gold mine.

Siamunene Moomba (male) (22/07/15)

Asked why women were not involved in fishing, Moomba, like most of the interviewees, stated that "fishing was a men's job ... women's job was to work on baskets, look after children and go to the fields". By associating women with baskets and men with wood-carving and fishing these poverty reduction options maintain gender inequalities based on patriarchy.

Similarly, Zubo, formed in 2009 to empower women in Binga has initiated steps to break the male dominance in fishing activities and offer women an opportunity to economically empower themselves. In trying to cover this gap of the unequal access and control of resources, Zubo has been encouraging the exploitation of natural resources by women and girls for their economic well-being since 2009 (Zubo 2012.) Interviews with Zubo staff, which I triangulated with their reports, revealed that Zubo has been supporting Bbindawuko, a women cooperative in Kapenta fishing in Simatelele (Figure 2- see Appendix 4). Although the Bbindawuko has faced some challenges in organising their work schedules, which need balancing with household chores, the women have managed to increase their incomes. One of Zubo staff members (female) who has been working with Bbindawuko for three years, said:

In a good month Bbindawuko women realise about US\$2000 which they share amongst themselves. This has helped them to be food secure, send their children to school and build houses. In a bad month, when the Kapenta catches are low they may realise about \$500. Allowing women to venture into commercial fishing is one way of empowering them and reducing poverty (30/08/15).

Bbindawuko members also have access to micro-finance schemes that target women. Village Savings and Lending Groups (VS&L) which comprise 70% women and girls have been established (Zubo 2011-2012) to enable women access capital for investing in livelihoods. The VS&L scheme has helped women and girls to circumvent the security demanded by Micro Finance Institutions and banks, which they do not have.

Establishing a 'women only cooperative', as an option to addressing gender inequalities and poverty, needs critical reflection. 'Women only cooperative' reminds us of the WID approach which has been discredited for its emphasis on equity between men and women within the capitalist context (Singh, 2007) (see Table 2.1). In many ways, while the 'Bbindawuko' approach has clear benefits for women, the liberal feminism associated with WID rather than GAD is likely to (a) reinforce the gender binaries (b) fail to address the deep-rooted issues around power relations and (c) fail to enhance the collective agency of both men and women to address poverty.

For Basilwizi, addressing poverty from a gender lens requires mainstreaming gender into development programmes. According to Basilwizi's (2009:10) Strategic Plan, women in the Zambezi valley, including Binga, "are constrained from participating effectively in the political and economic activities at the local and national levels due to cultural barriers and gender stereotypes which lead to based gender roles". Basilwizi further observes that high illiteracy rate among women reduces them to domestic, subsistence and informal activities that are lowly paid and undervalued.

Gender relations and power dynamics in the households and communities tend to be governed by the male biased patriarchy system. The overall result of these dynamics is that women are likely to have fewer opportunities for accessing education, training, and extension services and for building their own capacities. Basilwizi (2009:11)

With gender mainstreaming generally defined as "the promotion of gender equality through its systematic integration into all systems and structures, into all policies, processes and procedures, into the organisation and its culture, into ways of seeing and doing" (Rees 2005: 560) Basilwizi appears to have adopted a GAD approach. Basilwizi's approach shifts from liberal feminism which emphasises "the promotion of equal treatment and representation" (Gizelis and Krause 2015: 166) and "where positive action sees women in opposition to men" (Rees 2005: 559). In contrast, gender mainstreaming "deconstructs power relations" which "can be used to tackle a wide range of inequalities, not just gender, even though the specific tools used may be different (Rees 2005: 559). To this end, Basilwizi (2009) programmes have focused on the collective voice of both men and women in addressing underlying structural causes of women's vulnerability to shocks and stresses as

well as poverty more widely, particularly through increasing their access and control of the resources that they require.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter has located some of the reasons for the persistence of poverty in Binga. The research revealed the various reasons why there is still persistence of poverty in Binga despite that the district has vast resources that could move the Tonga out of poverty. The options for poverty reduction in Binga have also been presented in this chapter. The next chapter gives a critical discussion of the research findings and concludes the study with some recommendations for further research, policy and practice.

CHAPTER FIVE

Conclusion

5.1 Introduction

This study began with an overall aim of investigating the persistence of chronic poverty in Binga, northwestern Zimbabwe. It was posited that the persistence of chronic poverty in Binga was a paradox, as Binga is paradise of plenty, considering that it is endowed with abundant natural resources. Using the gender and development analytical framework, the study identified the major contributing factors to the persistence of poverty in Binga District. In doing so, the study revealed the internal and external factors that contribute to poverty. Drawing upon the multiple methods, which employed a combination of a review of the existing literature, face-to-face, telephone interviews, including using skype, the study has presented a detailed exposition of factors that contribute to the persistence of poverty. These issues which are embedded in history include those related to the Kariba resettlement, geopolitics, marginalisation, socio-cultural, as well as contemporary development approaches. Examination of these issues highlighted the dominant factors and their interconnected to reinforce the poverty trap. This examination of the persistence of poverty is valuable; it provides a detailed understanding of poverty and wider socio-cultural and structural issues in Binga, particularly issues around equity and social justice. Thus, this study makes an original contribution to the poverty reduction literature and lays a foundation for further studies in Binga and similar contexts more widely.

This concluding chapter summarises answers to the research questions which this study sought to answer. The chapter begins by summarising the answer to the main research question and the relevance of the GAD in understanding the persistence of poverty in Binga. It then goes on to answer the question on the involvement of the Tonga men and women in decision-making in development processes, during and after the Kariba Dam resettlement of 1957-8. Thirdly, it reflects on the effect of gendered power relations in access and control of resources at household and community level in Binga and their implications on poverty reduction. Finally, the chapter examines the options for poverty reduction in Binga.

5.2 Reflection on main research question and relevance of GAD in poverty reduction

Considering men and women are not mere recipients of poverty reduction programmes, understanding GAD conceptually, requires an analysis of “how cultural, political and socio-economic factors interact in shaping masculinity and femininity” (Gizelis and Krause 2015: 170). Using the GAD approach to analyse the persistence of chronic poverty in Binga, at least three issues stand out in answering the main research question.

Firstly, poverty, which is conceptualised in caloric terms as hunger, is deeply rooted in gender inequalities, which intersect with other inequalities (Kabeer 2015:202). But for Binga, the Kariba Dam DID of 1957-8, is a dominant feature that has been blamed on the persistence of poverty. In chapter 1, the IRR model identifies eight impoverishment risks associated with DID: landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, food insecurity, increased morbidity and mortality, loss of access to common property and social disarticulation (Cernea 1997:1569). These risks intersect with gender inequalities, colonial rule and post-colonial Zimbabwe’s marginalisation of the Tonga men and women to intensify the persistence of poverty. This is consistent with Kabeer (2015:202) who concludes that gender disparity is more invasive throughout societies compared with any other form of gender imbalance though it can manifest in various forms in different societies. As a result,

comprehending the causes of gender imbalances is of concern to all societies in the world, whether affluent or impoverished.

Secondly, 'synonymising' gender with women is another issue which stands out of GAD analysis. This is reinforced by Scott (1988:31) who concludes that in the "recent usage of gender, gender has been a synonym for women" and girls thus "obscuring the ways in which men and boys are implicated in and affected by gender relations. This also reinforces "a gender binary that designates people as either man or woman" (Hauge and Bryson 2015: 290). Implicated in the gender binaries is the rights language, which inform Basilwizi and Zubo interventions, that continue to frame gender as women and girls, who should be empowered to defend and claim their rights. Yet, these approaches to gendered poverty reduction tend to be couched and rehearsed in the language of the donor, based on Western narratives of gender rights, which does not speak to the deep-seated issues around patriarchy in the Tonga society, and because of their superficiality, they end up being tokenistic rather than sustainable empowerment of both men and women.

Finally, the GAD approach helped me to re-examine Colson's (1999:24) claim that the evacuees' identities become ungended post-development induced displacement. While it may be true that when the Tonga "lost their land under the waters of Lake Kariba, women lost their rights to land" (Reynolds and Cousins 1989:60), the claim that identities were ungended might be an overstatement as women were still subject to male domination. As this demonstrates, women interviewees demonstrated how they were informed through their husbands about the impending resettlement instead of being directly informed by the chief's messenger. This male domination is still visible today among the Tonga, with clear gender differences in their perception of the persistence of poverty as well as the approaches to poverty reduction that have been initiated by NGOs and government.

5.3. To what extent were Tonga men and women involved in decision-making in development processes during and after the Kariba Dam resettlement of 1957-8?

As already stated in 5.2 one of the key findings of this study is that both men and women attribute the persistence of chronic poverty in Binga as a result of the relocation process which was caused by the Kariba Dam construction in 1957-8. This is not new as the bulk of the literature on the Zambezi valley tends to associate poverty with the forced displacement. Although the Kariba Dam project would bring development to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (by then), it did the opposite; it increased instead of reducing poverty.

The Tonga lost their entitlements to hunting, fishing, and riverine gardens. They were and continue to be impoverished, and this is likely to run through the coming generations. The resilience to hunger (poverty) which perhaps could have built over centuries was compromised. The adaptation strategies developed over centuries were wiped by the impoundment of the Zambezi River, which inundated their lands and homes. The implementers of the project did not consult the people who would be evacuated. The interviewees confirmed that the Tonga men and women were not involved in the planning of the Kariba Dam construction but instead the message for the relocation only came after the decision for relocation had been passed. Due to fear of victimisation by the 'whites', the Tonga had to evacuate their land. Although the benefits, according to the "cost-benefit" analysis, outweighed the losses (WCD 2000:55), the Tonga suffered a great loss. They lost their entitlements to hunting, fishing, and riverine gardens. The research findings therefore confirm Magadza's (1994:93) description of the socio-economic problems that the Tonga faced as a result of the Kariba Dam resettlement.

5.4 What are the gendered power relations in access and control of resources at household and community level in Binga?

Although the literature (Colson 1999; Reynolds and Cousins 1989) states that women and men had equal rights to land ownership, this changed in 1957-8 “when men cleared new fields, and so controlled them” (Reynolds and Cousins, 1989: 60) following the Kariba resettlement. Further, Reynolds and Cousins (1989: 59) states that Tonga women “have more power and freedom (both in marriage and residence) than many women” as they can inherit land, acquire and control livestock, influence decisions to do with inheritance and succession and become the focus of strong family structures. While this may be the case, due to the matrilineal nature of Tonga society, consistent with Colson (1958: 141) this study found that women still play a subordinate role to men.

Before the wife brings food or beer to her husband, she must taste a bit of the dish to indicate she has no designs on his life or health. The wife accepts the role of the servant to her husband, bringing him water for washing and drinking, and fetching his tools, his food or whatever else he demands. Colson (1958:141)

This trend of women being ‘servants’ of men due to strong cultural beliefs continue to this day. Unbalanced control and access to resources, due to disarticulated power relations which favour men continue to persist in Binga. Drawing on examples of crafts, it is clear that men do not only have more options for increasing their income compared to women but they also have higher bargaining powers in price negotiations as their wares have higher prices compared to those made by women.

More so, the poverty reduction programmes that are championed by both the government of Zimbabwe and international and community based non-governmental organisations, tend to reinforce some of the deep-seated marginalisation of women. Some NGOs, if not most of them, are hired by donors to implement programmes on their behalf, which come with certain set Western agendas. To make matters worse, in Binga where the majority of people need humanitarian aid every year (SCUK 2004), and as also observed by some of the interviewees, NGO activities are more of relief focused which fail to address the root cause of the poverty in Binga. This results in the influx of ‘unsuitable’ aid programmes in Binga, thereby creating a ‘dependency syndrome’ on aid, and hence contributing to the persistence of chronic poverty.

As stated in 5.2, while women empowerment interventions initiated by organisations like Zubo and Basilwizi boost women’s confidence in assuming leadership and decision-making roles, there are problems associated with empowering one gender (women) and leaving out the other one (men). Such a ‘binarised’ approach, which tends to be associated with WID, or putting women in men’s positions, is tantamount to reducing itself to a blame game – “woman-as-victim” and “man-as-problem” (Cornwall 2003:1326). This kind of ‘essentialised’ thinking can lead to circular reasoning: women are victims because men are a problem, and men are a problem and women are victims of men’s problems. Such reasoning has the potential of reinforcing the existing gender relations, and the resultant poverty. To reduce the persistence of chronic poverty, action research, where Tonga men and women set their own agenda, which may involve study tours involving outside Binga, may be one way of creating awareness in addressing the deep-rooted gender inequalities in Binga.

5.4 What options does this provide for poverty reduction in Binga?

Based on the above conclusions, the following are the options for Binga to reduce chronic poverty:

- Although both men and women are victims of Kariba resettlement of 1957-8, the negative impact on women is higher than felt by men particularly considering the loss of land rights. Thus, whatever land reform programmes is being carried out in Zimbabwe, women should be

given priority in land allocation. Further, any compensation programmes for losses incurred as a result of Kariba Dam should prioritise women's needs.

- Although Tonga people have strong cultural beliefs, there is need for organisations like Binga Craft Centre, Zubo and Basilwizi to advocate for women to assume political and community leadership positions, including being traditional chiefs, currently a preserve for males, yet other tribes such as Shona and Ndebele now have women chiefs. The dialogue around these leadership issues should involve both men and women. This is likely to boost the confidence of both men and women in addressing chronic poverty in Binga district.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter presented a summary of the research findings and the recommendations were offered for the eradication of poverty in Binga. The findings were from multiple methods of data collection - secondary data, primary data through interviews and the observation during the field visit. The major research arguments were highlighted. The set objective prior to embarking on this research study was successfully met. While the findings are specific to Binga District, they may inform other contexts more widely.

REFERENCES

- Andreoni, J. and R. Petrie (2007) 'Beauty, Gender and stereotypes: Evidence from laboratory experiments', *Journal of Economic Psychology* 29 (2008) 73-93.
- Annandale, E. and J.Clark (1996) 'What is gender? Feminist theory and the sociology of human reproduction', *Sociology of Health and Illness*, 18(1), pp.17-44.
- Arnstein, S. R. (1969) 'A ladder of citizen participation', *Journal of the American Institute of planners*, 35(4), pp.216-224.
- Banchs, S. 111 (2011) 'Class, Race, Gender and Stereotypes', in R. Fraser, J.P Borum, T. Kerr (eds) *Labor Writes, Work, Identity and politics*, pp.32-35. New York: Suny Empire State College.
- Basilwizi (2003 – 6) Annual Reports, Bulawayo.
- Basilwizi (2009) Strategic Plan 2009-2013: Sustainable Development Support for a Poverty Free Zambezi Valley, Basilwizi, Bulawayo.
- Becker, H.A. and F. Vanclay (eds) (2003) *The International Handbook of Social Impact Assessment: Conceptual and Methodological Advances*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.
- Bernard, H. and G.Ryan (2009) *Analyzing Qualitative Data: Systematic Approaches*. London: Sage Publications.
- Burns, D., F. Heywood, M. Taylor, P. Wilde and M. Wilson (2004) *Making community participation meaningful: A handbook for development and assessment*. Bristol: Policy Press.
- Cain, M., S.R. Khanan and S. Nahar (1979) 'Class, Patriarchy and Women's work in Bangladesh.' *Population and Development Review*, Vol.5, No. 3 (405-438).
- Campbell, H. (2003) Reclaiming Zimbabwe: The exhaustion of the patriarchal model of liberation. Africa World Pr.
- Cernea, M. (1997) 'The Risks and Reconstruction model for resettling displaced populations', *World development*, 25(10): 1569-1587.
- Census Statistical Office (CSO) (2012) Zimbabwe Preliminary Report. Harare: Government of Zimbabwe.
- Chambers, R. (1997). *Whose Reality Counts? Putting the First Last*. London: TDG.

- Chikozho, J., T.R Mubaya, M. Mawere, M. Mudenda (2015a) 'Cultural Harnessing among the Tonga people of North-western Zimbabwe: Breaking out of the shell of stereotyping, reclaiming identity and fostering sustainable development through craft,' In Munyaradzi Mawere and Samuel Awuah-Nyamekye (eds) *Harnessing Cultural Capital for sustainability: A Pan Africanist Perspective*, pp. 329-346. Bamenda: Langaa Research and Publishing CIG.
- Chikozho, J., T.R Mubaya, M. Mawere, (2015b) 'Nyaminyami, The Tonga River-God: The Place and Role of the Nyaminyami in the Tonga People's Cosmology and Environmental Conversation Practices' In Munyaradzi Mawere and Samuel Awuah-Nyamekye (eds) *Harnessing Cultural Capital for sustainability: A Pan Africanist Perspective*, pp. 243-263 Bamenda: Langaa Research and Publishing CIG.
- Cliggett, L. (2001) 'Survival strategies of the elderly in Gwembe Valley, Zambia: Gender, residence and kin networks', *Journal of Cross-Cultural Gerontology*, 16: 309-332.
- Colson, E. (1999) 'Gendering those Uprooted by Development', In D. Indra (ed) *Engendering Forced migration, Theory and Practice*, pp 23-28. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Colson, E. (1971). *The Social Consequences of Resettlement: The Impact of Kariba Resettlement upon the Gwembe Tonga*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Colson, E. (1958) *Marriage and the Family among the Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Cook, B.R., M. Kesby, I. Fazey and C. Spray (2013) 'The persistence of 'normal' catchment management despite the participatory turn: Exploring the power effects of competing frames of reference', *Social Studies of Science*, 43(5), 754-779.
- Cornwall, A. (2003) 'Whose Voices? Whose Choices? Reflections on Gender and Participatory Development', *World Development*, 31:1325-1342.
- Cornwall, A. (2002) 'Making a difference? Gender and Participatory Development', in S. Razavi (ed) *Shifting Burdens: Gender and Agrarian Change under Neoliberalism*, pp 197-205. Bloomfield: Kumarian Press, Inc.
- Cornwall, A. (1997) 'Men, masculinity and 'gender in development'', *Gender & Development*, 5(2), 8-13, DOI: 10.1080/741922358.
- Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment (Number 20) 2013, Harare, Printflow.
- Conyers, D., and F. Cumanzala (2004), 'Community empowerment and democracy in Zimbabwe: A case study from Binga District', *Social Policy & Administration*, 38, 383-398.
- De Wet, C. (ed) (2006) *Development-induced displacement: Problems, policies and people*. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Eagly, H. and A. Mladinic (1989) 'Gender Stereotypes and Attitudes Toward Women and Men', *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 15 (4) 543-558.
- Engelstad, E. and S. Gerrard (eds) *'Gender, Culture and the production of Knowledge'*, Delft: Eburon Academic Publishers.
- Eversole, R. (2003). 'Managing the Pitfalls of Participatory Development: Some Insight from Australia,' *World Development*, 31(5), pp.781-795.
- Flick, U. (2008) *Designing Qualitative Research*. GB: Sage Publications Ltd.

- Folbre, N. (1994) *Who Pays for the Kids? Gender and the Structures of Constraint*. London: Routledge.
- Foster, P. (1996) 'Observational Research,' In R. Sapsford and V. Jupp (eds) *Data collection and analysis*, pp. 57–93. London: Sage.
- Foucault, M. (1980), *Power/Knowledge Selected Interviews and other writings 1972-1977*, London: The Harvester Press Limited.
- Geertz, C. 1973. *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. New York: Basic Books.
- Gergen, M. M. and S.N. Davis (1997) *Towards a new psychology of gender*, London: Routledge Publishers.
- Gildemeister, R. (2004) 'Gender Studies,' In U. Flick, Von. E. Kardorff and I. Steinke (eds) *A Companion to Qualitative Research*, pp. 123-128. London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Gizelis, T.I. and J. Krause (2015) 'Exploring gender mainstreaming in security and development,' T.I. in Gizelis and L. Olsson (eds) *Gender, Peace and Security: Implementing UN Security Council Resolution 1325*, pp. 165-184. London: Routledge.
- Glenn, E. N. (1999) 'The social construction and institutionalization of gender and race: an integrative framework', In M.M. Ferree, J. Lorber and B.B. Hess (eds) *Revisioning Gender*, pp. 3-43. New York, Altamira Press.
- Grove, K. and J. Pugh (2015) 'Assemblage Thinking and Participatory Development: Potentiality, Ethics, Biopolitics', *Geography Compass*, 9(1), pp.1–13.
- Hagenaars, A. and De. K. Vos (1988) 'The definition and measurement of poverty', *Journal of Human Resources*, 23(2), pp.211–221.
- Hauge, C and Bryson, M K. (2015) 'Gender and Development in Youth Media', *Feminist Media Studies*, 15:2, 287-305
- Ijaiya, G. (2015) 'Absolute poverty in Nigeria: an analysis of the future trend', *Africa*, 24-25-26(147 - 161).
- Jackson, C. (1996) 'Rescuing Gender from the Poverty Trap', *World Development*, 24 (3): 489-504.
- Kabeer, N. (2015) 'Gender, poverty, and inequality: a brief history of feminist contributions in the field of international development', *Gender & Development*, 23(2), pp.189–205.
- Kabeer, N. (1999) 'Resources, Agency, Achievements: Reflections on the Measurement of Women's Empowerment', *Development and Change*. Vol.30 (1999) 435-464.
- Kandiyoti, D. (1988) 'Bargaining with Patriarchy', *Gender and Society*. Vol.2: No. 3 (274-290).
- Koenig, D. (2001) 'Toward Local Development and Mitigating Impoverishment in Development-Induced Displacement and Resettlement', Final Report Prepared for ESCOR R7644 and the Research Programme on Development-Induced Displacement and Resettlement organized by the Refugee Studies Centre, Oxford: University of Oxford.
- Lanao, G. S. (2007) 'Leading to transformation? The case of Participatory Budgeting at local level in Ayacucho, Peru', ISS Working Paper General Series No.438. The Hague: Institute of Social Studies.
- Lessing, D. (1993) *African Laughter: Four visits to Zimbabwe*. London: Flamingo.
- Madanipour, A., M. Shucksmith and H.Talbot (2015). Concepts of poverty and social exclusion in Europe. *Local Economy*, 30(7):1-21.

- Magadza, C.H.D. (1994) *Social impacts of the creation of the Lake Kariba in Cook CC (ed) Involuntary Resettlement in Africa: Selected Papers from a Conference on Environment and settlement issues in Africa*, pp. 89-97, Washington DC. World Bank.
- Mandima, J. J. (1999) 'The food and feeding behaviour of *Limnothrissa miodon* (Boulenger, 1906) in Lake Kariba, Zimbabwe', in O.V. Lindqvist, H. Mölsä, K. Salonen and J. Sarvala (eds) *Developments in Hydrobiology Vol. 141: From Limnology to Fisheries: Lake Tanganyika and Other Large Lakes*, pp.172-182. London: Kluwer.
- Manyena, S. B. (2006). Rural local authorities and disaster resilience in Zimbabwe. *Disaster Prevention and Management* 15: 810–820.
- Manyena, S. B., M. Fordham and A. E. Collins (2008), 'Disaster Resilience and Children: Managing Food Security in Binga District in Zimbabwe', *Children, Youth and Environments*, 18(1): 303–331.
- Manyena, S. B., A. E. Collins, F. Mudimba and D. Mudimba (2012) "Are You Serious to Ask Me about Who Owns Wildlife?" Politics of Autonomy over Wildlife Resources in the Zambezi Valley, Zimbabwe. *Forum for Development Studies* 40(1):87-109.
- Manyena, S.B. (2013) Ethnic Identity, Agency and Development: The Case of the Zimbabwean Tonga. In L. Cliggett and V. Bond (eds) *Tonga Timeline: Appraising Sixty Years of Multidisciplinary Research in Zambia and Zimbabwe*, pp.26-65. Lusaka: Lembani Trust.
- Mason, J. (2006) 'Mixing Methods in a Qualitatively Driven Way', *Qualitative Research*, 6(1): 9-25.
- Matondi, P. B. and M.Dekker (2011) 'Land Rights and Tenure Security in Zimbabwe's Post Fast Track Land Reform Programme', Harare, Ruzivo Trust.
- Mazvimavi, K. and S. Twomlow (2009) 'Socioeconomic and institutional factors influencing adoption of conservation farming by vulnerable households in Zimbabwe,' *Agricultural Systems* 101, pp. 20-29.
- McGregor, J. (2003) 'Living with the River: landscape and memory in the Zambezi Valley northwest Zimbabwe,' In W. Beinart & J. McGregor (eds) *Social History & African Environments* pp. 87–105. Oxford: James Currey.
- Mehta, L. (2009) 'The double bind: A gender analysis of forced displacement and resettlement,' in L. Mehta (ed) *Displaced by Development: Confronting Marginalisation and Gender Injustice*, pp 3–33. New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Mohan, G. (2008) 'Participatory development 2nd Edition,' In V. Desai & R. B. Potter (eds) *The Companion to Development Studies*, pp. 45–50. London: Hodder Education.
- Momsen, J.H. (2004) *Gender and development*. London: Routledge.
- Moore, M.R. (2008) 'Gendered Power Relations among women: A study of Household Decision making in Black, Lesbian Stepfamilies', *American Sociological Review*, 73, pp. 335-356.
- Mosse, D. (2001) 'People's Knowledge, Participation and Patronage operations and representations in rural development,' in B. Cooke and U. Kothari (eds) *Participation: The New Tyranny?* pp. 384-393. London: Zed Books.
- Moser, C.O.N. (1993) *Gender Planning and Development: Theory, Practice and Training*. London: Routledge.
- Moser, C.O.N. (1989) Gender planning in the third world: Meeting practical and strategic gender needs. *World Development*, 17(11), pp.1799–1825.
- Ncube, G.T. (2004) *A history of Northwestern Zimbabwe, 1850-1960*. Gweru: Mambo Press.

- Pankhurst, D. and S.Jacobs, (1988) 'Land tenure, gender relations and agricultural production: The case of Zimbabwe's peasantry', In J.Davidson (Ed.), *Agriculture, women and land*, pp. 202–227. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Patton, M.Q. (2002) *Qualitative Research & Evaluation Methods*. 3rd ed. London: Sage Publications.
- Perrons, D. (2005) 'Gender Mainstreaming and Gender Equality in the New (Market) Economy: An Analysis of Contradictions', *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society* 12 : 389–411.
- Razavi, S. and C. Miller (1995) 'From WID to GAD: Conceptual shifts in the women and development Discourse', UNRISD Occasional Paper, 1:27-32, Geneva: UNRISD.
- Rees, T. (2005) 'Reflections on the uneven development of gender mainstreaming in Europe', *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 7(4), p. 555-574.
- Reynolds, P. and Cousins, C. C. (1989) *Lwaano Lwanyika: Tonga Book of the Earth*. London: Panos Publications.
- Sachs, J. (2005) *The End of Poverty: How we can make it happen in our lifetime*. London: the Penguin Press.
- Save the Children (SC)(UK) (2003), *Household Economy Assessments: Binga and Nyaminyami (Kariba Rural), Matabeleland North and Mashonaland West Provinces, Zimbabwe*, Harare: Save the Children (UK).
- Save the Children (UK) (2004) *Household Economy Assessment for Binga*, Harare, Save the Children (UK).
- Scott, J.W. (1989) 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis,' In Weed, Elizabeth (ed) *Coming to terms. Feminism, Theory, Politics*, pp.81-101. New York: Routledge.
- Scott, J.W. (1988) 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis,' In *Gender and the Politics of History*, pp. 28-50. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Scudder, T. (1971) *Gathering among African Woodland savannah Cultivators: A case study of the Gwembe Tonga, Zambian Papers 5*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Sen, A. (2001) *Development as Freedom*. Oxford: OUP Oxford.
- Singh, S. (2007) 'Deconstructing 'gender and development' for 'identities of women'', *International Journal of Social Welfare*. 16(2), pp.100–109.
- Smith, S. E. (1995) 'Domicide: Concept, experience, planning', Unpublished PhD thesis Department of Environment, University of Victoria.
- St. Pierre, E. A. (2000) 'Post structural feminism in education: An overview', *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 13(5), 477-515.
- Terminski, B. (2013) *Development-Induced Displacement and Resettlement: Theoretical Framework and Current Challenges*, Geneva: University of Geneva.
- Thukral E.G. (1996) 'Development, Displacement and Rehabilitation: Locating Gender', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 31 (24) pp. 1500-1503.
- Tremmel, M. (1994) *The People of the Great River: The Tonga Hoped the Water Would Follow Them*. Gweru: Mambo Press, in association with Silveira House.

- True, J. (2003) Mainstreaming Gender in Global Public Policy, *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 5(3), 368-396.
- United Nations (UN) (2009) 2009 World Survey on the Role of Women in Development: Women's Control over Economic Resources and Access to Financial Resources, including Microfinance. Department of Economic and Social Affairs, New York.
- Vupenyu, D. (2003) 'CAMPFIRE is not for Ndebele Migrants': The Impact of Excluding Outsiders from CAMPFIRE in the Zambezi Valley, Zimbabwe, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 29:2, 445-459.
- Wagle, U. (2002) 'Rethinking poverty: definition and measurement', *International Social Science Journal*, 54(171), pp.155–165.
- Walby, S. (2005) 'Gender Mainstreaming: Productive Tensions in Theory and Practice', *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society* 12: 321–343.
- Weist, K. M. (1995) 'Development Refugees: Africans, Indians and the Big Dams', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 8 (2), 163–184.
- Witkamp, G. (2013) 'The Gwembe Tonga Craft World and Development Intervention', In L. Cliggett and V. Bond (eds) *Tonga Timeline: Appraising Sixty Years of Multidisciplinary Research in Zambia and Zimbabwe*, pp.122-148. Lusaka: Lembani Trust.
- Woodward, A. E. (2008) 'Too late for gender mainstreaming? Taking stock in Brussels', *Journal of European Social Policy* 18: 289–302.
- World Commission on Dams (WCD) (2000), Dams and Development: A New Framework for Decision-Making: The Report of the World Commission on Dams, London: Earthscan Publications Ltd.
- Young, K. (1993) 'Planing Development with Women, Making a World of Difference', London and Basingstoke: MacMillan.
- Zubo Baseline Survey (2013) Binga Women Economic Empowerment Project (BWEEP) Baseline Report, Binga.
- Zubo (2012) Binga Women Economic Empowerment Project (BWEEP), Project Proposal, Binga.
- Zimbabwe Vulnerability Assessment Committee Report (ZIMVAC) (2015) Government of Zimbabwe: Harare.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Table 1.1 (Distribution of participants data)

Participant	Gender	Age	Ward/ Organisation	Method of data collection
01	F	85	Manjolo	Face to face interview
02	M	87	Manjolo	Face to face interview
03	F	73	Kariyangwe	Face to face interview
04	F	73	Kaani	Face to face interview
05	M	77	Kariyangwe	Face to face interview
06	M	82	Simatelele	Face to face interview
07	M	85	Kaani	Face to face interview
08	F	81	Chinonge	Face to face interview
09	M	88	Sikalenge	Face to face interview
10	M	101	Sikalenge	Face to face interview
11	M	92	Simatelele	Face to face interview
12	F	89	Kariyangwe	Face to face interview
13	F	75	Chinonge	Face to face interview
14	F	95	Kariyangwe	Face to face interview
15	M	89	Chinonge	Face to face interview
16	M	73	Siachilaba	Face to face interview
17	F	75	Simatelele	Face to face interview
18	F	-	Kaani	Face to face interview
19	M	59	Ministry of Local Government (DA Assistant)	Face to face interview
20	F	38	Zubo	Skype
21	M	40	Basilwizi	Skype
22	M	45	Basilwizi	Skype
23	M	47	Basilwizi	Skype
24	M	48	Ministry of Youth and Gender	Telephone interview
25	M	42	Binga Craft Centre	Telephone Interview
26	M	38	Manjolo	Telephone interview

Appendix 2: Photos with the some of the interviews



Picture Above: Researcher during an Interview with Ntomboni Munga (88years old) from Sikalenge

Picture Above: Researcher during an interview with some of the first set of participants from Kariyangwe- Left (Sali Mumpande -89 years) and on the right is (Mata Munenge-77 years)

Appendix 3 Table 2.2 (Principles and tools of gender mainstreaming)

(Source Rees 2005: 564)

Principle	Tool
Treating the individual as a whole person	Work / life balance Dignity at work Equal pay reviews Modernisation of human resources
Democracy	Gender monitoring Gender disaggregated statistics Equality indicators Transparency in government Legislation on gender balance Consultative procedures National machineries for women
Justice, fairness and equity	Gender monitoring Gender disaggregated statistics Equality indicators Gender budgeting Gender impact assessments Gender proofing Women studies/ gender studies Visioning

Appendix 4: Figure 2 (Bbindawuko Kapenta fishing cooperative members)⁸

⁸ Source, Zubo website <http://www.zubo.org/Causes/untapped-womens-potential-2/>



Appendix 5: Interview Guide

Guide for interviews/ conversations *(during the actual fieldwork activities, these led to more inhibited narrating of stories and ordinary conversations with contemporary topics determining the course of the narrations and discussions.)* These questions were designed in a way that the stories before and after relocation process were gathered. Where there were differences in the lives that were lived before, questions were asked as to why there was a change.

Guide for the Tonga elderly women and men (face to face interview)

1. For how long have you been staying in this area?
2. Do you have a family, if yes, how many females or males?
3. What is your household size?
4. Who is the bread winner in the house?
5. Who cooks food in the household?
6. Who decides on what should be cooked in the house?
7. Where do you get your food from?
8. How many family members stay with you at the moment?
9. Do your family members have specific duties in the house?
10. Before the relocation, did you have elderly that negotiated the building of the dam with the authorities?
11. If yes, how many elders were involved in the negotiation process?
12. What was the composition of these elderly (gender, age, kinship)?
13. What was the role of these elderly?
14. How did you use the opportunity of having the elderly in raising issues about the dam construction?
15. Before you relocated to the new areas, how did you organise yourself as a community?
16. Generally, how was life before the relocation process-did you have water?
17. After the relocation, did you have people to represent you as a community?
18. Do you currently have people who represent your issues with the local government, if yes what is gender composition of these people?
19. Is there any other 'local' things that could be used as a space for the community?
20. What activities (livelihoods options) were you engaged in before the relocation process?
21. What activities are you currently engaged in and if there is a change of options, why the change?
22. How many meals do you have a day now (after the resettlement) and how many meals did you have before the relocation? If there is a difference in the number of meals, why is that so?

23. Who prepares the meals now (after the relocation) and who prepared the meals before the relocation?
24. What type of food do you eat now (after the relocation process) and before the relocation process?
25. How did you respond to your forced and involuntary displacement from your ancestral lands?

Interview Guide for the young generation (NGO and government employees and individuals in Binga District). These interviews were conducted via Skype and telephone.

1. What are the reasons for the persistence of poverty in Binga District?
2. How are men and women involved in decision-making in development programmes of Binga District?
3. In your opinion, what resources can men and women access and control at (a) household level and (b) community level and beyond?
4. What options does Binga have to reduce poverty?