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Erasmus

**The state of communal farmers' livelihoods and vulnerability in rural
Zimbabwe after the Fast Track Land Reform Program (FTLRP): A Case
study of the Hurungwe District**

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Disclaimer:

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

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AVF	Asset Vulnerability Framework
CFU	Commercial Farmers Union
DFID	Department for International Development
FTLRP	Fast Track Land Reform Program
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
MERP	Millennium Economic Recovery Programme
NERP	National Economic Recovery Programme
SAPES	Southern Africa Political and Economic Series
SLA	Sustainable Livelihoods Approach
ISS	Institute of Social Studies
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
ZCFU	Zimbabwe Commercial Farmers Union
ZFU	Zimbabwe Farmers Union
ZIMSTAT	Zimbabwe Statistical Agency

ABSTRACT

Land ownership is a recognised human right. Being in possession of land can be the foundation for livelihood strategies. Land ownership also has a relationship with vulnerability patterns especially among those communities that depend on farming for their survival. Using a mixed methods approach, this study interrogated the Zimbabwe Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) and its impact on rural livelihoods and vulnerability patterns before and after the year 2000. The sustainable livelihoods framework was employed as a theoretical framework in unpacking the study. The study findings pointed to asset ownership structure as important in determining vulnerability and livelihoods among communal farmers. Those endowed with more assets significantly produced more from their land based activities. The findings also showed that the challenges of the Zimbabwean economy invariably impacted on vulnerability and livelihood patterns. Apparently, any land reform without the necessary support (through finance, relevant assets and the necessary infrastructure) was generally not effective in reducing poverty. Land reform consequently must be complemented by programmes that enabled land beneficiaries to access financing and support in the form of assets that assisted them to utilise their land more productively. It was also noted that due to constrained livelihoods, some beneficiaries ended up resorting to relying on the natural resources through cutting down of trees for resale and engaging in unregulated mining activities. Climate change was a reality as most respondents had a perception that droughts were becoming more frequent and this affected their livelihoods. Any land reform programme hence must be comprehensive in order to have any significant impact on communal farmers' livelihoods patterns.

The Relevance to Development Studies

Agriculture is considered the backbone of Zimbabwe's economy. It is at the very centre of the fight against poverty and development initiatives as land based activities are crucial in unpacking and strengthening the resilience of the rural communities. Using the Sustainable Livelihoods and Vulnerability Framework, this paper attempts to illuminate how the development question must be interwoven into the asset ownership structure of land beneficiaries. The paper puts into perspective the common thinking that land reform is the magic bullet to the development question. Consequently, my paper correlates the asset ownership structure and productivity of communal farmers in rural Zimbabwe who are beneficiaries of the 2000 land reform programme. The land reform question and development policies and programmes are invariably interlinked. There is need for an integrated approach to development in order to have a chance to make a lasting impression on livelihoods and vulnerability patterns.

KEY WORDS: Fast Track Land Reform Program, livelihoods, assets, vulnerability, climate change.

CHAPTER 1

1.1 Background

Up to the year 2000, Zimbabwe's economy was premised on agriculture, manufacturing and tourism. Agriculture was the backbone of the country as most downstream industries were put up as value chains for processing the products from the farms. There is a school of thought arguing that agriculture has been in shambles due to the fast track land reform programme that exploded largely in the period after 2000. Poverty is argued to have dramatically increased particularly in the vulnerable rural communities. At the same time, Zimbabwe has been in the eye of international controversies and emotional debates centering on land reform and the country's evident economic decline. On the other hand, the government has blamed sanctions for the growing poverty and economic malaise. In 1999, around 5000 farmers owned 29% of the land in Zimbabwe and by 2006 less than 400 remained owning less than 1% of the land (Derman 2006). This research is part of the wider efforts to understand get insights on fast track land reform programme with emphasis on livelihoods and the vulnerability patterns of the marginalized rural communal areas before and after the year 2000.

Land ownership or access has generally been a recognized human right in poor rural communities. It is actually an important corollary for rights to livelihood and the realization of other standard economic and social rights that reduces the vulnerability of the poorest blacks in the rural areas. Land thus becomes an important central resource that must be distributed and redistributed by the state. However orderly redistribution is only possible when the state has initiated the land reform process and puts in place a clear land use policy and framework which must be guided by the need to protect the environment and fight poverty. Of note is also the realization that Africans identify themselves through their

association with land (Matika 2014). This was one of the reasons that a protracted war of liberation was wedged with the colonial government.

With the observation that there are many differing claims to land either as market determined or in the form of customary rights, Bird and Prowse (2008) argue that land reform has taken the form of an instrument through which to explore the many faces of poverty and vulnerability in Zimbabwe. How will the FTLRP process be described and understood after the dust has largely settled? Will the land reform programme be described as having transformed Zimbabwe or will it be seen as the precursor to the destruction of a once promising and vibrant economy? These questions still loom large in any discussion of the land reform question in Zimbabwe. Poverty alleviation is also at the very heart of livelihoods in current discourses. The FTLRP has to be interrogated on this dimension in an attempt to understand the impact on the vulnerable communal farmers.

Most of the former commercial farms were allocated to village-based communal farmers (Sachikonye 2003). The question that follows hence is how and whether these have also graduated into viable farmers not solely concerned with subsistence farming. What is it that researchers can learn from these land beneficiaries about how they view themselves when compared to the survival strategies before the FTLRP?

1.2 Statement of Problem

Although the FTLRP improved access to land by the landless citizens, (Buka Report 2003, Utete Report 2003), the impact on livelihood and vulnerability has not been impressive. The provision of social services (such as education, health, agriculture support services) deteriorated in general and actually collapsed in some areas where land was reclaimed

(Sachikonye 2003; Moyo 2004). Farm workers were the hardest hit as they were displaced and forced to join informal settlements where the social and living conditions were poor (Moyo 2004)¹. According to Moyo (2004: 25), “...Indeed, former farm workers are amongst the poorest, the most vulnerable to the effects of HIV/AIDS, the least food secure and the least educated and healthy. Investments into this are just too low to have critical impacts.”

However, beyond the impact on the farm workers, no systematic analysis has been done to understand impact of FTLRP on communal farmers particularly on the poverty alleviation dimension. Communal farmers depend on natural rainfall agriculture and with the effects of climate change seen through increased droughts, livelihoods are more at stake and vulnerability has potentially heightened. The education and health sector challenges give insight into the state of livelihoods and vulnerability of a community. Although schooling rates had generally been lower in farming areas when compared with communal and urban areas (for example as at 1997, before the FTLRP, enrolment rates for farm workers kids averaged 59% compared to 79% in communal areas and 89% in urban areas), schooling rates dropped during the FTLRP by between 15-55% (Sachikonye 2003; Moyo 2004). This is attributable to the loss of income and more importantly lack of access to school facilities due to long distances students have to travel. Health and community support services the former land owners (commercial farmers) provided were disrupted by the FTLRP.

While this sheds some light on the overall picture of livelihoods soon after FTLRP, little has been done to comprehensively understand the livelihood and vulnerability dynamics in light of changes in assets, skills and capital in the context of the FTLRP. In addition, very little analysis on livelihood impact has been done beyond farm communities and general

¹ While this data was provided as at 2004, from 2002 up to now, government's overall capacity to provide social services has since deteriorated drastically due to economic sanctions imposed by key Western partners as well as macro-economic mismanagement. In fact provision of basic social services in urban areas has deteriorated such that most suburban areas in Harare (capital city) go for 3 months without water, refuse collection and electricity.

typologies as given above. Furthermore, since 2004, almost a decade has passed and most of the livelihood impacts of FTLRP are likely to manifest now due to the delayed effect of any policy on poverty.

A thorough, scientific and integrated approach to assessing and understanding changes to communal farmers' livelihoods and vulnerability arising from the FTLRP is an important building block in exploring policy options that enhance the livelihoods and limits vulnerability of communal farmers.

1.3 Research Questions

The Main Research Question

How has the FTLRP impacted on the livelihoods and vulnerability patterns of communal farmers in rural Zimbabwe?

Specific Research Questions

- How has the contracting economy impacted on the livelihoods dimension and vulnerability in relation to the FTLRP in Zimbabwe?
- How does asset ownership impact on livelihoods and vulnerability patterns among the rural poor?
- How have communal farmers reacted to external shocks such as droughts in the quest to maintain their livelihoods?
- What has been the impact of support mechanisms, if any, such as financing and input provision (seeds, fertilizer, pesticides, marketing, and extension) on enhancing livelihoods?

1.4 Research Objectives.

Main Objective

To examine the nexus between the FTLRP (as a land reform strategy) and communal farmers' livelihood and vulnerability patterns?

Specific Objectives

- a) To provide an appraisal of the impact of the FTLRP on communal farmers' assets, livelihoods and vulnerability in order to update the policy and academic debate on the issues.
- b) To better inform the targeting of agriculture and livelihood support schemes in an increasingly cash strained and contracting economy.
- c) To raise an awareness on the community resilience elements constituting the base for community building and strengthening by government and donors.

1.5 Summary

This study is organized in the following manner: The first chapter is introductory and provides a synopsis of some issues on land reform, rural livelihoods and vulnerability. An expose of landlessness in the Hurungwe district in Mashonaland West serves as the case study area and provides a window consistent with the realities in other rural areas. The second chapter is on the theoretical review and the theoretical structure of livelihoods and vulnerability, with special attention on the framework proffered by Scoones. There is also an exploration of Zimbabwe pre and post the fast track. Chapter 3 comprises the methodology and summarizes the mixed method design employed. Chapter 4 is comprised of the quantitative results analysis whilst Chapter 5 contains the qualitative findings. Chapter 6 has the conclusions and the recommendations. The research inclusion criterion was limited to issues on livelihoods and vulnerability in relation to Zimbabwe's FTLRP in communal areas. Land reform admittedly, has been widely researched in Zimbabwe.

CHAPTER 2 THEORETICAL REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 A Theory of Land Reform

Land reform largely refers to measures aimed at redistributing land in favor of peasants and small farmers (Doner 1977). Land reform in that sense is targeted at enabling equal opportunity. It is important as a developmental tool and has the potential to contribute to the improvement of agricultural outputs and supporting decent paid or self employment. However, land reform must be undertaken together with a variety of supporting institutional arrangements. The support can include better credit provision, expansion of markets for agricultural produce and the targeted extension and advisory services. Land reform becomes a transformation of the subsisting land ownership patterns. For Doner (1977), even though there are many definitions of land reform, there are commonalities in the definitions. Land reform aims at diffusing wealth, income or productive capacity across the entire society. The process itself becomes an openly driven transformation of the existing land tenure system. Land reform radically changes and restructures the ground rules in an effort to ensure that land ownership is in synchrony with the macroeconomic development trajectory.

In certain cases, there could be internal obstacles such as restrictive laws; hence land reform policy requires the active involvement of those within the disenfranchised ranks. The legislative environment may also pose problems such as in the case of Zimbabwe where the government could not touch the land owned by commercial farmers due to clauses that had been written in the Lancaster House Constitution. There could also be a lack of specific criteria for land taking, lack of financing to purchase expropriated land, or very complicated and excessive legal procedures. All the foregoing, coupled with inadequate financing and lack of skilled staff in the administrators are some of the hindrances to land reform.

Some internal obstacles can also be at play as land reform must have the active participation of the disenfranchised. Poor rural organization also plays havoc with the efficient administration of any land reform. Unclear laws can also be the source of problems. There must also be clear criteria for land taking and financial incentives to be used in purchasing expropriated land.

Land reform programmes differ from one country to another. The UNDP (2001) specifies that reform programmes in any country must resonate with the challenges posed by the agrarian structure as well as the socioeconomic and political environment where these problems are targeted at being resolved. Land ownership systems hence are a window into the specific historic and geographical conditions, which make any particular country unique.

The intention of agrarian reform is to raise the living standards of the poor. Land redistribution of land is coupled with new registrations of land. Land reform also targets income redistribution through employment creation. Griffin (1976) argues that there is also the intent to enhance productivity of agricultural produce through using modern methods and agricultural chemicals such as insecticides and fertilizers. With land reform also arises the need to enhance supportive infrastructure developments such as through building of roads and irrigation schemes.

2.1.1 .Timelines in Zimbabwe's Land Reform: A Struggling Economy and Livelihoods at Stake

Zimbabwe has a population of over 14.1 million people (World Development Indicators 2013; ZimStats 2012). The Zimbabwe Labour Force Survey (2011:13) outlines that agriculture has been the main employer accounting for 91% of the population in the rural communal areas and around 80% of those in urban areas having a linked with it.

According to Moyo (2004), the British settlers colonized Zimbabwe and gave white pioneers large tracts of land and in the same vein condemned the indigenous (black) to the marginal and infertile communal areas. This is argued to have resulted in significant inequality in land access with 2% of the population owning over 80 percent of the best agriculture land in Zimbabwe (Moyo 2004). A liberation struggle was then waged by the blacks with one of its objectives being the reclamation of the land and the restoration of the right to self-determination for the majority black Zimbabweans.

Successive land reform programs since independence in 1980 up to the FTLRP from year 2000 were mainly concerned with on reassigning property rights from commercial farmers to the government (Sachikonye 2003). Through successive legislative changes (to be discussed later), the government has been legally empowered to own and redistribute land. It then issued 99 year leases to the landless majority, which however still have challenges as financiers argue the leases not to be good enough to be used in lieu of title deeds. The beneficiaries obtained leases for free and as they did not pay anything for them.

The FTLRP was allowed to run its course as the argument then was that land access had been the rallying call for Zimbabwe's second war of liberation from the 1960s to 1979. Against this background, land redistribution has remained a major avenue of empowering citizens, addressing poverty, reducing the vulnerability of the poor communal farmers and improves livelihoods along with other social wellness issues. The FTLRP has also been viewed as a tool to correct the past injustices (where the indigenous populations were condemned to unproductive communal land and 2% of the British settlers owned 80% of productive land) (Moyo 2004).

At independence in 1980, the Zimbabwean government took over a land tenure system characterized by a skewed distribution. According to The Zimbabwe Institute Report of 2007, the country's land tenure system was characterised by²;

- *“Large scale commercial farms whose owners could buy and sell land freely., In 1994, only 450 of the country's 4400 large scale commercial farmers were black.*
- *Freehold Tenure of Small Scale Commercial farms owned by blacks who had undergone “Master Farmer” training. One got title deeds after meeting the government stipulated conditions.*
- *Communal areas which were also called native reserves or tribal trust lands (TTLs) where the majority poor blacks who had been displaced by settlers were forced into. 75 percent of the land was in drought prone areas.*
- *State land is owned by the government and is both in urban and rural areas. Most of this land is used for resettlement as well as for social and economic projects.”*

Therefore in Zimbabwe's land policy is potentially a mechanism for socio-economic progression. It becomes a means to address inequality and promoting national economic development and food security. It has a direct relationship with the political and national sovereignty issue (Boudreaux 2010). In addition, the intrinsic and extrinsic value of land ownership by Zimbabweans has been noted earlier on.

This study examines the livelihood and vulnerability of communal farmers in the aftermath of the FTLRP and attempts to compare with what obtained before the programme. Given the history of land dispossession and the successive periods of economic challenges the country

² This was adopted from a paper submitted by the researcher in the course Critical Social Policy for Transformative Development in 2015 titled: EMPOWERMENT OF THE POOR THROUGH LAND REFORM IN ZIMBABWE—CASE STUDY OF SOCIAL PROVISIONING. REPORT ON THE FAST TRACK LAND REFORM POLICY IN ZIMBABWE AS A SOCIAL PROVISIONING SYSTEM: A CASE STUDY.

has faced, it becomes necessary to track the economic programmes and their intractable links with the land question.

The land reform as a system was meant to provide land to landless communal farmers as well as improve their livelihoods. The success of the social provisioning system depends on whether the rural peoples' livelihoods were enhanced or got worse in respect to their *“access to basic economic and other social services such including schools, roads, water, housing, markets, among other things.”*³

Social policy correlates with a government's approach to the development of social services in the setting up of a welfare state (Alcock 2003). The crafting of legislation particularly in relation to land access has been a strategy to consider the needs of the poor. Social policy became an important instrument for impacting on the social and economic conditions of a country and the promotion of the conditions for the development of a welfare state that priorities fighting poverty and reducing vulnerability of the poor communal farmers. In the context of livelihoods, also exist related issues such as poverty, gender and the pertinent collective responsibility question for the community (Coffey 2004).

Mkwandwire (2001) argues that social policy and welfare provisioning need to be viewed within the political context. Therefore, the FTLRP in Zimbabwe needs to be understood in the context of its origins in the liberation struggle and the colonial history. In 1980, the government had taken over an untenable system that had 6,000 white commercial farmers holding 15.5 million hectares of the best arable land. At the same time, around 760,000 communal farmers occupied just 16.4 million hectares in generally very poor areas (The Zimbabwe Institute 2007). From 1980 up to 1992, farms were using the willing seller-willing buyer arrangement up to the time of the Land Apportionment Act. As farmers could

³ Adopted from an assignment in the course Critical Social Policy for Transformative Development; submitted by the researcher in 2015.

challenge the government when their farms were earmarked for forced acquisition, there indeed were many court cases from 1992 to 1997. This held back the land reform and resettlement initiative.

From 2000, there were sweeping changes largely driven by the FTLRP. Government then followed with supporting laws. This period was also the precipitated the economic downturn. Social service provision hence suffered from the onset of the FTLRP.

This study sought to provide a synopsis of the livelihoods and vulnerability issues of the communal farmers in the context of the FTLRP in Zimbabwe. The researcher chose a typical study site that had the characteristics of other areas in the country. The related concepts and theories will also be outlined.

2.1.2 The Dying Zimbabwean Economy, Successive Economic Blueprints and Poverty

It is generally not in dispute that the economy of Zimbabwe has been underperforming according to the IMF, the World Bank, as well as independent economic commentators.

Zimbabwe's economy grew by nearly 10% per annum in the period 1980 to 1981. Zikhali (2008) outlined that such expansion however did last. An average Gross Domestic Product growth of only 4.3% per annum realized from 1980 to 1991.

A succession of economic reform programmes then followed. The Economic Structural Adjustment Programme was unveiled in 1990 and the Framework for Economic Recovery followed soon after in the period 1991 to 1995. The Zimbabwe Programme for Economic and Social Transformation (ZIMPREST) was followed in the period 1998-2000. In November 1997, there was an unbudgeted gratuity to liberation war veterans that saw the value of the currency fall heavily (Davies, Raftopoloulos and Savage 2005). In 1998, the government refused funds the World Bank and other partners. The economy deteriorated throughout to the end of the 1990s.

In February 2000, there was a referendum on a new constitution which the government lost. This resulted in serious changes in the orientation of economic policy. The chaotic FTLRP was accompanied by frequently changing but largely pro-inflationary policies such as the Millennium Economic Recovery Programme (MERP) from 2001-2002, the National Economic Recovery Programme in 2003 (NERP), the Macroeconomic Policy Framework that from 2005-2006. Other programmes followed in 2007, 2008 with the finally Short-Term Economic Recovery Programme running its course from February 2009 to November 2009. These programmes were supposed to improve the economy but in reality, the situation continued to get worse for the government (Robinson 2006). Unemployment spiralled to very high levels and by the year 2000, the percentage of the population in formal employment had gone down a then an all-time low of 10.9% (ZLFS 2011).

The succession of economic policies is in recognition of how the wider macro economy has implications on livelihood and vulnerability as survival strategies in rural Zimbabwe are premised on agriculture activities. When the wider economy is not performing, the downstream effect is increasing levels of poverty, particularly for the marginalized.

2.1.3 The Decade of Total Chaos 1998 to 2008: Effect on Livelihoods and Vulnerability Patterns

The economic performance of Zimbabwe since 2000 has been disastrous. Output of major crops such as maize and tobacco collapsed when compared with the base year, 1980 (Moyo 2004; Robinson 2006). This was coupled with major de-industrialization and the consequent migration patterns this forced. The volume of manufacturing in five years fell to between 33% to only two thirds the levels that were in existence at independence. Output also constricted in other related sectors, such that over 2001-2005, average annual GDP and

employment growth collapsed to negative 5.5% and negative 7.5% per annum respectively (Fashoyin 2008).

Similar to a country at war, Zimbabwe's GDP declined every year from 1999. At the same time, other African countries began growing at reasonable rates of growth with a cumulative gain elsewhere in Africa of +40% of GDP. The cumulative GDP decline in Zimbabwe between 1998 and 2006 was at -37% (Flamini, McDonald and Schumacher, 2009). In the SADC region, Zimbabwe fell from being second only to South Africa, to having a GDP which placed it at tenth (The Zimbabwe Institute 2007). This 2007 report further outlined that in 2004, only Madagascar, Swaziland, Malawi and Lesotho had smaller GDPs and these had smaller populations.

Over the years, the country has had a succession of economic recovery programmes. These programmes have been targeted at resuscitating a dying economy. There was a period of growth and stability in 2009 to 2013 when disputed election results resulted in the ruling party securing the majority of the seats. Estimates on inflation have varied in the period from year 2000 to when it was last recorded in August 2008. However the rate was in the millions. Robinson (2006) argued that hyperinflation that characterized the Zimbabwean economy pushed the cost of living beyond the reach of most households, particularly among the poor. After 2013, the country continued to grapple with deflation, whose consequences are just as bad as inflation. The country's currency was replaced by a multicurrency regime and the worst affected have been the rural communities where not much economic activities are taking place.

Many of Zimbabwe's communal farmers have been suffered due to the serious economic decline. Both large and small farmers could not easily secure farming inputs, neither could they access loans for farming and transport. When finance is available, it is expensive. The quality of roads has continued to decline. Most communal farmers do not have the capacity to save money to purchase inputs. There are also challenges such as limits for withdrawals, even when they sell their products. There is also a whole army of workers who have one foot in farming and the other in some other type of employment. They are simply not very efficient farmers. Such individuals also used to supplement their farming activities with income from the jobs they have since lost.

The performance of the macro-economy invariably has a relationship with life in the communal areas. The high levels of unemployment and a weak economy pointed to increasing levels of vulnerability and an attack on the livelihoods of the communal area inhabitants.

2.2 Livelihoods

The most critical resource for communal farmers is a regular income, especially from paid or self employment in land based activities. Others relied on remittances whilst very few can count on a pension (Sachikonye 2003). Other resources can potentially act as substitutes. With the exception of a pension, none of other sources of livelihoods available could be seen as secure. Moyo (2010), outlines that farmers increasingly face severe environmental risks in the communal areas. Land reform does not distinguish or differentiate livelihoods. Communal farmers live with the reality of fluctuating crop and livestock prices and have no control over the input prices.

Other available livelihoods sources are normally risky or border on being illegal (Moyo 2004; Sachikonye 2003). Commodity markets have their own organization and farmers are often at the mercy of middle men or even vulnerable to theft. Access to social welfare resources in Zimbabwe's rural areas is also at times dependent on the successful negotiation of patronage relations. Most of the local paid employment was in the agricultural sector and this amplifies the effects on poor.

Moser (1998) expounds that contemporary argument on livelihoods rests on the shared assumption that people follow livelihood strategies by using and disposing their assets in ways which are determined by their particular context.

2.3 Vulnerability

The most vulnerable households in rural communal setups are normally those with no access to a guaranteed source of income (Heijmans 2001). They are impaired in following through on a strategy that enables them to reduce the uncertainty through constructing many livelihoods or consolidating. Other vulnerabilities appear to have their source in contingencies such as illness, death, or a dysfunctional family structure. However, there are often structural origins to the poverty and insecurity questions.

Vulnerability implies the existence of a risk related to social and economic liability and the consequent ability to cope with the resultant event which is normally in the form of a disaster. Possession and access to resources in the form of capital, material and human assets is crucial to achieving a sustainable livelihood or recovering fully from a disaster. The households with access to finances, able bodied persons (willing and able to work), and the necessary tools and equipment in a sense have the better chance of recovering quickly from a disaster. The

poorest people are often the most vulnerable as they have generally not much choice but locate themselves in the most disaster prone settings.

With the advent of climate change and unpredictable weather patterns, the communal farmers in Zimbabwe and indeed most of the developing countries are said to be at risk of drought due to lack of guaranteed access to water bodies, lack of resources to support agricultural activities and no control of the market for their goods.

2.4.1 Caroline Moser's Asset Vulnerability Framework- The AVF

In a study of the urban poor in four urban communities in four countries namely Zambia, Ecuador, Philippines and Hungary, Moser (1998) developed an asset vulnerability framework that consists of tangible (labour, housing and human capital) and intangible assets (household relations and social capital). The framework argues that the management of the above complex asset portfolio determines household poverty and vulnerability. A thorough understanding of this framework then assists policy makers to come up with interventions that promote opportunities for the poor to productively use the above assets to cushion their livelihoods. Moser hence argues against limiting poverty analysis in terms of consumption-income measurements to include a whole range of assets available to the poor. Within this framework, vulnerability is defined as people's susceptibility to move into and out of poverty situations. In line with this definition, poverty is quite a static concept in time. A further distinction is made between two concepts of vulnerability namely sensitivity and resilience. Sensitivity refers to the way a system responds to an external shock or event whole. Resilience refers to the speed with which a system recovers from shock or stress. On the basis of the case study of the 4 urban communities in the 4 countries, Moser (1998) identified key household income raising strategies to mobilize assets in response to changing economic circumstances to include; labour, housing, social and economic infrastructure, household

relations and social capital. In Moser's 1998 study, labour was used as an income raising asset in the following ways⁴;

- *Increasing the number of women working mainly in the formal sector*
- *Allocate a disproportionate share of women's time to meet increasing responsibilities*
- *Allocate more time to obtaining services in response to the declining quality of infrastructure*
- *Increase reliance on child labour*

Housing was used as an income raising asset through the diversification of income exploiting home-based businesses and rent seeking. Land was also reserved to accommodate the children of the household.

Household relations were used as an income raising asset through the support of the extended family network and receipt of remittances.

Social capital was used as an income raising asset through the following ways;

- Increase reliance on informal credit arrangements
- Increase informal support networks among households
- Increase community level activity

The most important implication of Moser's approach is that it advocates for policies to be put in place that promote opportunities and removes obstacles and ensures that the poor are able to use their assets productively. This has often been referred to as the asset-institutions opportunity nexus.

Although Moser's (1998) typology was mostly developed for the urban poor, it is very relevant to the livelihood and vulnerability question in Zimbabwe for the following reasons;

⁴ As adapted from Moser's Asset Vulnerability framework of 1998

- The framework provides a platform for livelihood and vulnerability and poverty alleviation its advocacy for policies that promote opportunities for the poor to better manage their assets (the asset-institution-opportunity nexus).

There has admittedly been noticeable growth in asset ownership structure for some of the beneficiaries.

2.5 Communal Farmer

The communal farmers are black indigenous Zimbabweans who benefitted from the FTLRP who formerly resided or still reside in communal areas and practice agriculture largely for subsistence purposes. At times, they may produce excess crops and livestock products which they sale. Some of them were allocated land in former commercial farms during the FTLRP through the lands ministry, local government or political affiliation (The Zimbabwe Institute 2007). They have never really graduated into fully fledged commercial farmers. Communal farmers generally do not possess title deeds to the land under their possession.

2.6 The Communal Areas: Livelihoods and Vulnerability

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

Communal rural set ups and their inhabitants make up the major population. Generally, they are the "research site" of most social science research in Zimbabwe. Many studies have illuminated various dimensions of complex rural economies, ecological tensions, land conflicts, class differentiation, ethnic conflicts, and even political violence. The Rhodesian colonial state forced many communal farmers into protected areas in an effort to cut the social and livelihoods support for the end freedom fighters during the armed struggle. The communal areas were then targeted as places that needed constant support from the government to redress the disadvantage of colonial rule and underdevelopment. Resources were channeled for education, health centers, agricultural support and research.

Rural development is also shaped by other structures that govern access to resources and how they are exploited. There has been a history of discriminatory practices that were a function of the patronage system and other power differentials. However, in Zimbabwe, the power dynamics shape the interface between the state and the rural political economy. In the communal countryside, the formal and informal institutions serve to maintain the status quo with the majority of the population in perpetual fear.

The governing framework for the management of natural resource in the form of grazing and farming lands and conservation efforts have not achieved much to enhance the capacity of communal farmers to respond effectively to droughts or floods as driven by climate change. Maize cropping year after year is still a common practice, despite the demonstrated unsuitability for the areas with average to below average rainfall patterns.

Other relevant institutions act ways that generate or promote risk vulnerability. A selection of the key institutions that define livelihoods in this area include those that relate to access to

land and enforcement of property rights and contracts. Access to capital and the commodity markets is also important in addressing the vulnerability question.

The colonial legacy invariably lies not only at the very heart of the glaring inequalities in the means to livelihoods and but also in access to information, welfare provisioning, to law enforcement measures and mechanisms for fair settlement of disputes. There also exist inequalities in rural Zimbabwe in all these issues. Local government institutions worsen the challenges that newcomers or those on the wrong side of the political divide face in gaining access to land and other farming resources.

Importantly, in the resettlement areas, many of the residents would have come from different places and this makes the construction of social networks a very difficult process. When people are not very much aware of the origin of their neighbors, naturally there are high levels of mistrust.

2.7.1 Sustainable Livelihoods and Vulnerability Analysis

There is generally a high correlation between being affected by man-made or natural disasters and being poor. Hence any policy aimed at addressing livelihood must in essence also consider the question of vulnerability. Any policy on land reform with the intention of enhancing rural livelihoods must then be aimed at protecting and reinforcing livelihoods in a manner that makes people more resilient to natural hazards. In the case of Zimbabwe, the incessant economic difficulties impact on building resilience. Consequently, safety must come either through:

- the reinforcement of community wellness indicators such as nutrition, health, and others.
- further support of the normal livelihood strategies and building resilience to the possible impacts of hazards such as changing weather patterns due to climate change;

- or by availability of adequate social protection programmes by government and civil society.

Cannon (2001) explains that livelihoods and social protection are also a function of the *social and political networks* as developed by the people. There is the realisation that different groups have differing levels of access to networks and sources of livelihood. The networks may have varying degrees of cohesion and resilience to disasters. They may also engage in rivalry and disputes, especially over aid and the recovery process (Cannon 2001). This has been a factor in Zimbabwe with media reports mentioning the politicisation of the land reform programme and aid initiatives by both government and civil society.

With disasters unavoidable, it is crucial to make sure that assistance with the recovery is in line with the restoration and reinforcement of livelihoods. The processes must also strengthen self-protection programmes that reinforce social protection through supporting the relevant institutions. However, there are other related issues such as institutional support mechanisms, as noted in the Hurungwe district case study whose results are detailed in Chapter 4.

In the results that follow, the study highlights the fact that people become vulnerable as a result of processes and conditions that may be outside the control of the household or livelihood itself. How vulnerable a household is, becomes a function of how weak or strong the livelihoods are. There is also invariably the question of the breadth of assets that provide the basis for their livelihood strategy.

Livelihoods and vulnerability interface with the socioeconomic and political systems that are an insight into the power relations of any given community. Consequently, Heijmans (2001) suggest the need to trace back from the current endowments for household livelihoods along a causal chain back to the processes and institutions that determine the distribution of safety

and vulnerability in society. Vulnerability is a function of the degree of exposure to risk ranging from high levels to low levels. However, there has been some opposition to the use of the term in this manner as there are implications since disasters, particularly in developing economies such as Zimbabwe often result in victims with limited capacity to recover their normal livelihoods. To that extent not being vulnerable will relate to having capacities to cope and recover more rapidly from a disaster (Heijmans 2001).

2.8 The Conceptual Framework: Sustainable Rural Livelihoods- Ian Scoones

The Sustainable Livelihood approach suggested by Scoones (1998) shifts the aim from the preoccupation with income and consumptions patterns when addressing poverty, to patently centering the role of assets play in the welfare of individuals and society. Focus is on policies that can compensate for the intrinsic inequalities in the ownership of assets. There exists an endeavour to have equal chances for asset that sustain livelihoods through policies that level the playing field and enable access to basic amenities. Asset enhancing is an avenue that hinges on the addition and management of household and community held property (Scoones 2009). This becomes an important aspect of sustainable livelihoods. Assets take the role of enhancing the person's and community livelihoods to realise sustainable livelihoods. In this study, focus will be on the asset ownership structure of the beneficiaries of the FTLRP and how this has a relationship with their livelihoods and also how it distances them or brings them closer to vulnerability.

Asset ownership and building is then argued to be a key component in guaranteeing sustainable livelihoods. Assets play an important role in enhancing a household's economic and social well-being. Policies hence must consequently be alive to the question of asset accumulation by the poor and vulnerable. The consolidation of assets becomes a strategy to

fight poverty. Moser (2005) outlines the state's role in asset building through availing opportunities for their accumulation.

The Zimbabwe FTLRP Zimbabwe could arguably be viewed as an example of a government taking some steps to enable access to land as both an intrinsic and extrinsic asset for the people. Asset ownership potentially makes the rural poor better positioned to tackle poverty. Land reallocation becomes an important step towards reducing vulnerability among the communal farmers. The sustainable livelihoods approach (SLA) as illustrated below seeks to have insights into the strengths (assets or capital endowments) and how they then strive to convert these into positive livelihood outcomes. People must have a variety of assets and this helps in improving their economic indices. Moser (1998) outlines vulnerability as closely related to asset ownership. Assets are an important determinant of poverty and vulnerability. With fewer assets one's insecurity levels increase. Asset building must be included in issues related to vulnerable and livelihoods particularly of the communities in marginalised areas. Livelihoods as Scoones (1998) argues are sustained when people can recover from shocks such as droughts. They are able to maintain their assets whilst at the same time maintain the natural resource base.

The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework

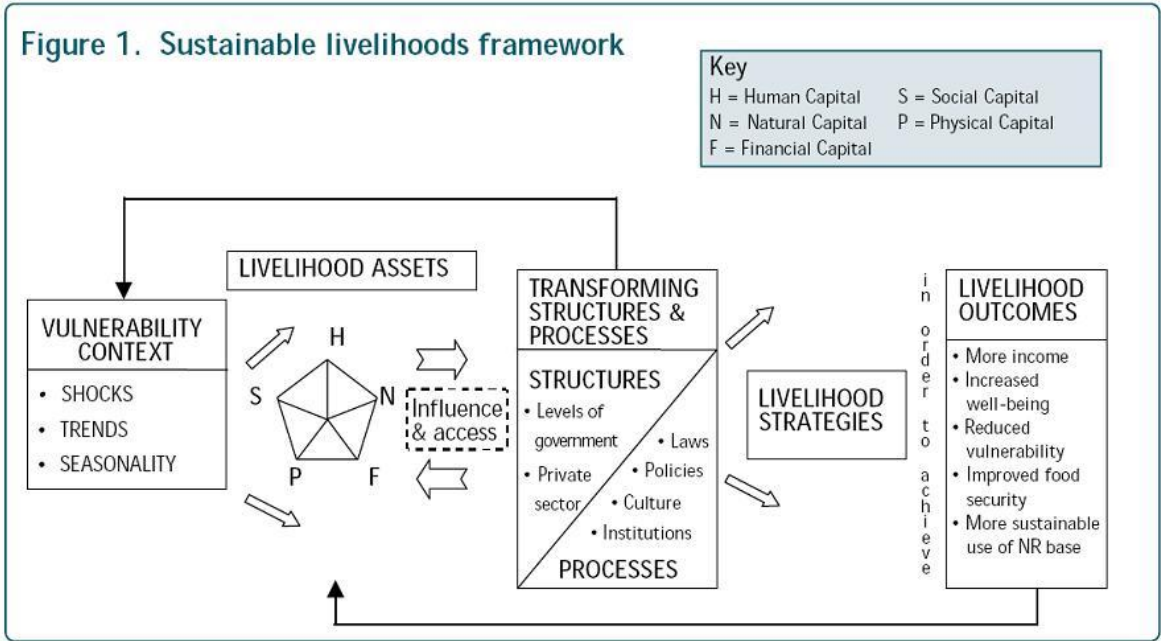


Figure 1 Sustainable Livelihoods Framework

Source: DFID (1999)

CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY

3.1 Background

In addressing the earlier outlined research questions, the researcher used a mixed methods approach. The use of both quantitative and qualitative research techniques is important as it allowed for detailed information in the form of asset ownership structure and quantitative matrices to enable comparisons based on land size and structure. Observation, a cross-sectional survey, key informant interviews and focus group discussions were used in data collection.

The qualitative approach was major feature of the formative stages. This gave the researcher the opportunity to gain very detailed information that could otherwise not have been obtained through the use of a closed ended questionnaire. This research is the culmination of years of observation as the researcher lived in the area for some time and noted transformations that were taking place post the FTLRP in 2000. Poverty and constrained livelihoods have characterized the study area.

It was important that the livelihoods and vulnerability perceptions be studied using triangulation. The study had the major objective of establishing the connection between vulnerability and livelihoods hence the mixed methods approach enabled the exploration of the dynamics of the challenge and gaining of new insights based on the research findings (Gerson and Horowitz 2002:199).

In exploring the links, I have deeply explored the triangular (Vulnerability – Livelihoods- Assets- Shocks) relationships as outlined in the theoretical framework. I also intended to run a correlation matrix as well as regression analysis to note the relationships and the

incremental validity of asset ownership, family size and vulnerability. The regression analysis enabled prediction of productivity based on asset ownership. Determining asset ownership structures is important in understanding livelihoods and vulnerability.

3.2 Case Study Area

A typical case study approach was used to explore the changes in the livelihoods and vulnerability patterns of respondents in Hurungwe district in Mashonaland West (See appendix 4). The choice of Hurungwe was based on the fact that this area was a hotspot and at the very heart of land reform in 2000. In addition, Hurungwe was chosen for the researcher's convenience, as he had worked extensively in the area and had the contacts to assist in doing field work for a potentially volatile subject.

The data was collected in Hurungwe District (Central), Ward 18 in Mukuyu Village A1 where beneficiaries were allocated up to 10 hectare pieces of land. The former commercial farming area is surrounded by former Tribal Trust Lands which include Magunje, Hurungwe West, and Hurungwe East. These beneficiaries have largely retained a communal farming lifestyle when compared with the production levels of the former commercial farmers.

3.2.1 Focus Group Discussion

Two focus group discussions were carried out at Mukuyu Primary School which was convenient as it was a centralised location. Focus groups enabled missing gaps from the cross-sectional survey to be better understood.

3.2.2 Survey

Data collection for the questionnaire was done at Mukuyu Township using availability sampling strategy. This sampling strategy was used as the researcher could not get the sampling frame with the entire population which would have enabled other sampling

techniques to be employed. Convenience sampling after all was ethical as respondents were not coerced and freely participated.

3.2.3 Key Informants Interviews

The researcher interviewed the Director, Crops Research Division. Department of Research & Specialist Services in the Ministry of Agriculture in Harare at their Offices using an interview guide. The Principal Director for Extension Services, in the Ministry of Agriculture, Irrigation & Mechanization was also interviewed and he facilitated the researcher's access to the study area through the local authority and the agriculture extension services worker in Hurungwe.

The former and remaining white commercial farmers are represented by the Commercial Farmers Union (CFU). The researcher interviewed the president of Commercial Farmers Union of Zimbabwe at the Harare Exhibition Park offices.

The Zimbabwe Commercial Farmers union (ZCFU) was also interviewed. The interview was carried out with the Director of ZCFU at Harare Exhibition Park. The Zimbabwe Farmers Union (ZFU) was also interviewed with the researcher interviewing the Chief Economist of the union.

Dr Ibbo Mandaza from the Southern African Political Economic Series (SAPES) was also interviewed as he has written on the FTLRP.

Hurungwe Central Councillor Ward 18 was also interviewed at Mukuyu Primary School.

3.3 Instrumentation

A questionnaire was used for the survey (see appendix 1). For the key informant interviews an interview guide was used (see appendix 2). For the focus group discussion, another interview guide (see appendix 3) was also developed but mainly from the issues raised in the one used with key informants.

3.4 Sampling

Availability and purposively sampling was employed as there was no sampling map and with this kind of research, one is likely to get meaningful responses when respondents freely take part. For the survey, in-depth interviews and the focus group discussion, availability sampling was also used. The sampling strategy was also ethical as it eliminated possible coercion of respondents.

3.5 Data Analysis

The data from the cross-sectional survey using the closed ended questionnaire (Appendix 1) was to be analysed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS version 22). A correlation matrix was run and will be presented in Chapter 4. Data from the in-depth interviews and the focus group discussions was summarised using themes as it was qualitative in nature.

3.6 Ethical Considerations

Research on land issues is bound to be an emotive issue in Zimbabwe. It was important for the researcher to seek authority from the Ministry of Agriculture, Irrigation and mechanization to carry out data collection. This was necessary as security protocols require permission to be granted before getting into the field.

For the interviews with key informants, the researcher gave an insight into the study and then sought informed consent. The respondents were then advised that they could withdraw from the research at any time. They could choose to answer or decline to answer any questions as posed. They could also stop the interview at any time.

Confidentiality was also assured and their responses could not be attributed directly to them. However, the respondents in the civic sector advised the researcher that he could even quote

their names if he so wished. Dr Mandaza went to the extent of asking the reporter to quote him verbatim if he so wished.

3.7 Study Limitations

The study was confined to the period before and after the FTLRP and thus is limited in the manner it can address questions related to livelihoods and vulnerability. The period for data collection was also quite limited and with the challenges of access, the sample size was invariably limited. Importantly, there is increasingly a movement towards factoring issues related to climate change particularly in building the resilience of communal farmers. The reality is that resilience is very much related with vulnerability and livelihoods enhancements. The research questions hence limited the extent to which the researcher could consider issues on climate change which has become topical in discussions on vulnerability and livelihoods particularly for the worst affected communal farmers in the third world as was the case for the study area.

CHAPTER 4 RESULTS ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

The SPSS Version 22 was used to analyze the survey questionnaire items. The descriptive data is presented in the form of frequency tables and graphs. The quantitative analysis constitutes the first section. The qualitative data from the key informants and the focus group discussions makes up the latter part of this chapter.

4.2 Household Demographic Profiles

Assessing the household characteristics of the respondents isolated the primary indicators of vulnerability and livelihood in the context of the FTLRP in the study area. Table 4.1 presents the general profiles of the households that constituted the sample with regards to gender, age, academic background and other demographic variables.

4.2.1 Gender of Household Head

More males (72.7%) took part in the study compared to females (27.3%). The gender differences can be attributed to the fact that more male household heads in the African Tradition Religion, despite there being more females in the country (52%), (ZimStats 2012).

4.2.2 Age of Respondents

73.9% of the respondents were aged between 30 to 50 years of age. The age distribution is skewed towards the economically active age group, the youth and middle adulthood. The age findings point to the economically active taking farming as an alternative source of livelihood to formal employment, particularly considering the fact that the formal sector is shrinking.

4.2.3 Education / Academic Qualifications

97.4% of the household heads had at most attained Ordinary Level as the highest educational qualification. Of these, the majority (51.3%) were O-level certificate holders. Only 2.6% of the household heads had a tertiary qualification. The sample distribution can potentially show that the majority of the household heads did not have solid professional qualifications which can be a challenge with regards employability outside of farming.

4.2.4 Marital status

Regarding marital status most the majority, 89.2% of the households were married and living together. There remainder 10.8% were either divorced or widows/widowers.

Table 1: Household Demographic Characteristics

Gender (n=46)	Percentage
Male	72.7%
Female	27.3%
Marital status	
Married living together	89.2%
Divorced or separated	2.7%
Widow/Widower	8.1%
Educational level	
Primary level	20.5%
ZJC level	25.6%
O'Level	51.3%
Tertiary Level	2.6%
Household status	
Husband	65.2%
Wife	30.4%
Son\daughter	4.3%
Age in Years	
<=20	4.4%
21-30	4.4%
31-40	30.4%
41-50	43.5%
51-60	6.6%
Above 60	10.9%
Number of years living in village	
<5	0.0%
6-10	19.6%
11-15	15.2%
Above 15	65.2
Number of pupils living in the HH	
3.00	4.4%
4.00	8.9%
5.00	13.3%
6.00	15.6%
7.00	22.2%
8.00	13.3%
9.00	4.4%
10.00	11.1%
12.00	4.4%
15.00	2.2%

4.3 Number of years living in village

With regards to number of years respondents had been living in the area, the majority, 65.2% have lived in the village for more than 15 years. None had lived in the village for a period of 5 years or less. This enabled many to meet the inclusion and exclusion criteria. The researcher needed respondents who could track their lives before and after the FTLRP.

4.4 Household Asset Endowment, Production and Resistance to External Shocks

This section sought to show the extent the link between asset ownership, productivity and recovery from shocks.

Table 2 Household Assets Distribution

Asset	Number of assets									
	1	2	3	4	5	Above 5	Min	Max	Mean	Std
Plough	86.4%	13.6%					1.00	2.00	1.1364	.34714
Car	17.4%	2.2%	2.2%				1.00	3.00	1.3000	.67495
Scotch cart	97.0%	3.0%					1.00	2.00	1.0303	.17408
Tractor	4.2%						1.00	1.00	1.0000	.00000
Hoe	0.0	2.3%	14.0%	7.0%	9.3%	67.5%	2.00	17.00	6.5581	2.84774
Brick houses	11.6%	18.6%	23.3%	37.2%	7.0%	2.3%	1.00	6.00	3.1628	1.23308
Shovel	54.3%	31.4%	8.6%	5.7%			1.00	4.00	1.6571	.87255
Planter	4.2%						1.00	1.00	1.0000	.00000
Other	80.0%		20.0%				1.00	3.00	1.4000	.89443

86.4% of the households had a plough and one in five respondents owned a car. 4.2% had two or more cars. All households had a scotch carts. With regards to tractors and planters,

only 4.2% households owned these. Asset ownership was generally not remarkable. Only a few owned critical farming assets such plough, planters and tractors. With land sizes of over 7 hectares allocated, more valuable assets are required for meaningful production.

Asset ownership is important in recovery from shocks as the loss of one or more assets must still leave the household with the means to eke a decent living. The respondents were generally vulnerable.

Table 3: Crops Grown By Household

	N	Min	Max	Mean	Std
Size of land devoted to crop(Hectares)					
Maize	46	.25	3.00	1.66	.73
Sorghum	2	.25	.50	.38	.18
Rapoko	1	.50	.50	.50	.
Tobacco	40	.40	3.00	1.22	.51
Cotton	0				
Yield(Tonnes)					
Maize	46	.50	15.00	3.68	2.63
Sorghum	1	.45	.45	.45	.
Rapoko	1	1.00	1.00	1.00	.
Tobacco	39	.20	12.00	2.20	2.18
Cotton	0				
Amount sold (Tonnes)					
Maize	17	1.00	12.00	3.23	2.70
Sorghum					
Rapoko					
Tobacco	38	.20	25.00	2.54	4.03
Cotton					
Other	3	.20	.50	.33	.153
Amount of income (Dollars)					
Maize	16	290.00	4080.00	1166.25	960.43
sorghum					
rapoko					
tobacco	37	562.00	12700.00	3803.29	3080.83
Cotton					
Other	3	150.00	1000.00	650.0000	444.40972

Table 3 illustrates the types of crops grown, hectareage cultivated, amount of produce harvested and the income derived from the farming venture. Results indicated that all

households grew maize and a significant number (40), were into tobacco farming which is a cash crop.

These results may indicate that maize is grown largely for consumption, as only 16 out of 46 households sold their produce compared to tobacco where 37 out of the 40 sold their tobacco. The implications of the findings are that a significant proportion of the FTLRP beneficiaries used farming as a survival strategy and tobacco growing was the preferred cash earning strategy.

Table 4: Livestock Per Household

Livestock	Number of livestock							Min	Max	Mean	Std
	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26-30	Above 30				
Cattle	64.3%	30.9%	4.8%					1	14.00	4.62	3.04
Goats	70.4%	14.8%	7.4%	3.7%	3.7%			1	25	5.56	5.87
Sheep	66.7%	33.3%						2	9	4.78	2.11
Chickens	15.4%	15.4%	25.6%	10.3%		7.7%	35.6%	2	86	24.21	22.72
Donkeys	33.3%	66.7%						4	8	6.00	2.00
Pigs	100.0%							2	2	2.00	.
Other	50.0%	50.0%						5	6	5.50	.707

The majority owned between one and five animals of each type as follows; cattle (64.3%), goats (70.4%), sheep (66.7%) and pigs (100%). A significant percentage (43%) of the households had more than 25 chickens and 66.7% owned between six to eleven donkeys. Ownership of animals is important as it has a relationship with vulnerability and the livelihood strategy to be employed. Selling livestock when crops failed is usually carried out.

Sources of Farming Inputs at HH level

Table 5: Source of Crop Seeds

Source	Maize	Sorghum	Rapoko	Tobacco	Cotton	Other
Market	45.7	2.2	0	15.2		2.2
Presidential Input scheme	56.5	0	0			
Granary	2.2	0	2.2			2.2
Relatives/friend	2.2	0	5			
Contractor	2.2	0	0	43.3	1.4	2.2
Other	27.5	2.2	0	28.3		8.7

The major sources of maize seed for the households were the open market and presidential input scheme respectively. For tobacco farming, contractors, other sources and the open market were the major suppliers, accounting for 43.3%, 28.3% and 15.2% in that order. Tables 4.5 and 4.6 reveal similar trends for sources of fertilizers and chemicals.

The implications are that agriculture without subsidies can be an unviable livelihood strategy.

Table 6: Fertiliser Sources

Source	Maize	Sorghum	Rapoko	Tobacco	Cotton	Other
Market	46.7%	2.2%		15.2%		4.3%
Presidential Input scheme	47.8%					
Contractor	2.2%			39.1%	2.2%	
Do not apply				4.3%		
Other	43.5%	2.2%		32.6%		8.7%

Table 7: Farming Chemicals Sources

Source	Maize	Sorghum	Rapoko	Tobacco	Cotton	Other
Market	52.2%	2.2%		15.2%		4.3%
Presidential Input scheme	13.0%					
Contractor	2.2%			4.1%	2.2%	
Do not apply	4.3%			28.3%		
Other	43.5%	2.2%		28.3%		8.7%

The communal farmers advised that the government was only supporting the staple food (maize) and was not doing much with regards to small grains. This has implications for

livelihoods as the small grains were more drought resistant as climate change was becoming a reality with more droughts being experienced since 2000. The farmers hence sourced their own inputs, for both maize and tobacco. Contractors were found to be supporting farmers with inputs for tobacco farming mostly, maize and cotton to some extent.

Table 8: Income Sources Per Household

Monthly	N	Min	Max	Mean	Std
Farming	73.7%	40.00	500.00	212.94	119.33
Remittances	2.2%	452.0	452.00	452.00	.
Yearly	N	Min	Max	Mean	Std
Farming	89.1%	200.0	10000.00	2447.00	1876.15
Piece jobs	4.4%	200.0	12000.00	6100.00	8343.86
Remittance	2.2%	450.0	450.00	54000.00	.

The major source of livelihood for the FTLRP beneficiaries on both monthly and yearly levels was found to be farming and very few received remittances or did part time jobs.

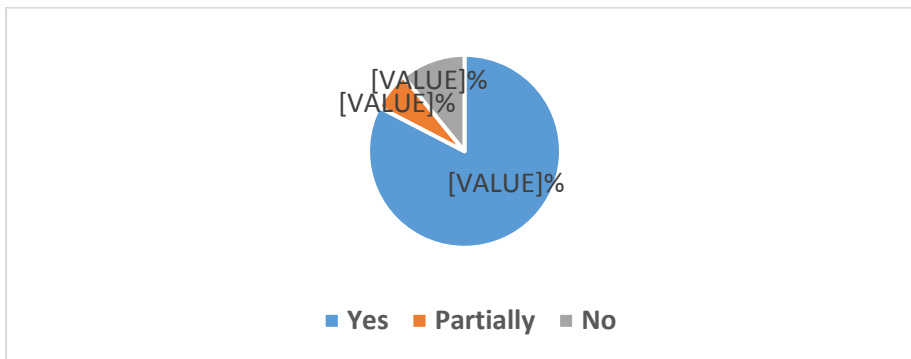


Figure 2 Record Keeping

Figure 2 indicates that the majority, 82.6% of the FTLRP beneficiaries kept records of their farming activities while 10.9% did not do any record keeping. The remainder partially kept records.

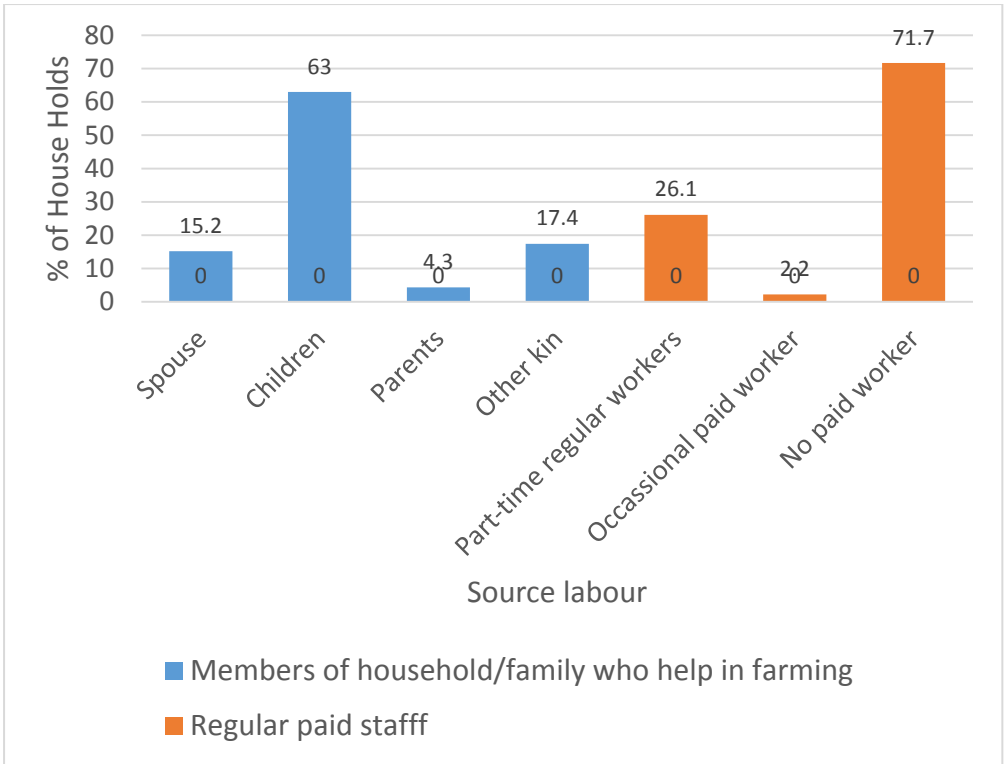


Figure 3 Labour Sources at Household Level

In terms family support, 63% of the households were assisted by their children for labour. 15.2% relied on their spouse and only 4.3% relied on their parents. With regards to regular paid staff, the majority (71.7%) of the surveyed households did not employ any labourers while 26.1% employed temporary workers as the need arises. Most hence derived their labour from household members.

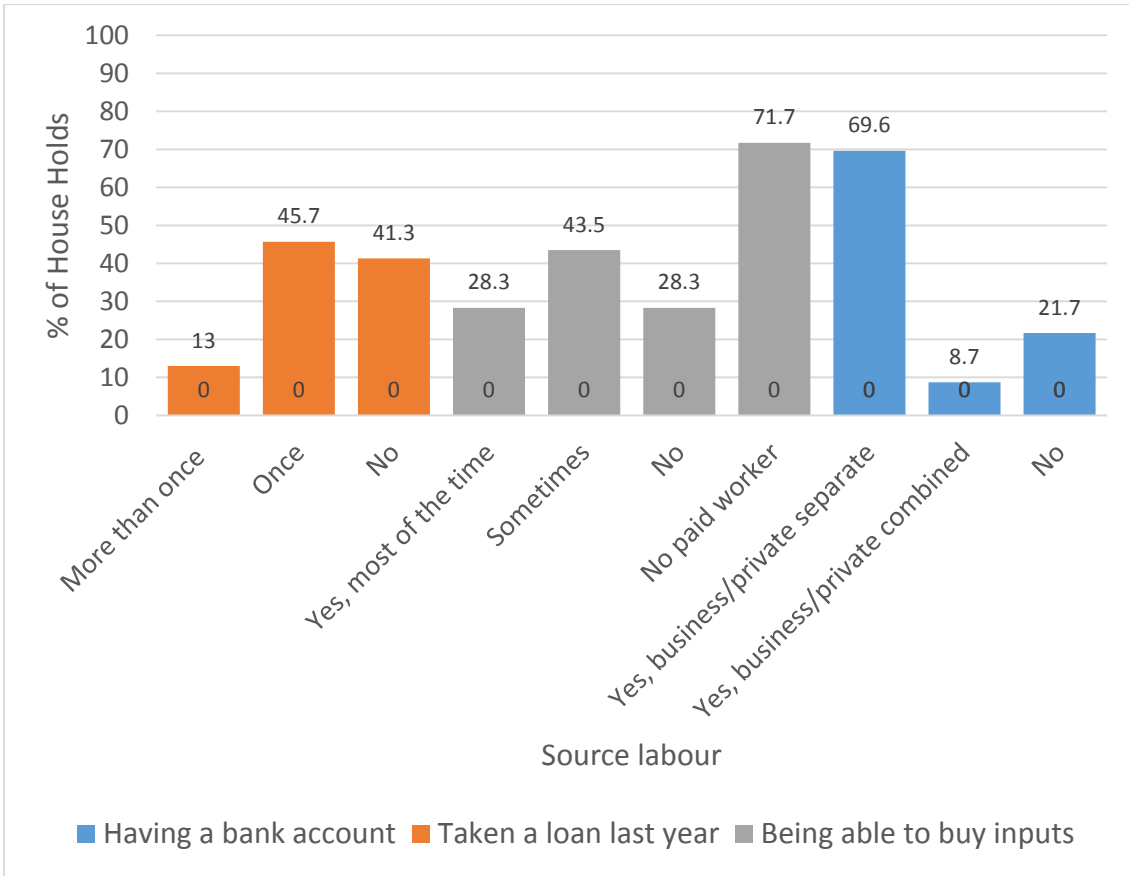


Figure 4. Bank Account Possession and Loan Access

A summary of the findings on whether the household head had a bank account, had obtained a loan and was able to buy inputs are presented in figure 4.4. Results indicated that only 21.7% of the respondents had a bank account, and those with such accounts, 69.6% had separate accounts for the farming business and their private account. Of those who had taken loans, only 21.7% did not use that money to get inputs. Results points towards the fact that farmers are not utilising banks to their full potential and those who borrow money are using it for its intended purposes like purchasing inputs.

Table 9: Number of Paid and Unpaid Workers by Household

Number of workers	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1.00	1	2.2
2.00	3	6.5
3.00	1	2.2
4.00	1	2.2
5.00	1	2.2
6.00	2	4.3
Total	9	19.6
Do not have	37	80.4
Total	46	100.0

Table 9 supports earlier findings that very few of the farmers employed workers whether on a temporary or full time basis. Only five people employed between 1 and 5, accounting for 11%.

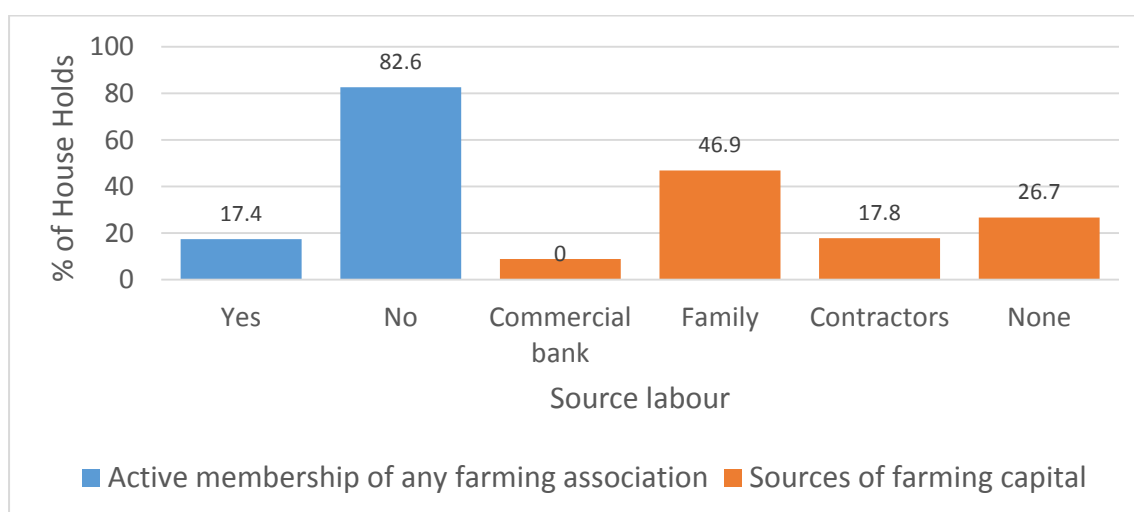


Figure 5 Active Memberships in Associations

The figure above illustrates that the majority 82.6% of the households did not belong to any farming association, only 17.6% did. In terms of funding for the purposes of farming, most of the farmers (46.9%), dependent on family members. Contractors accounted for the 17.8% of

the total variance with this regards. Just above a quarter of the households, 26.7% of the households had no support. Results point to the fact that FLRP beneficiaries do not belong to any farming organization like the ZFU or CFU. Such organisation are sources of support in terms of inputs and farming knowledge when need arises.

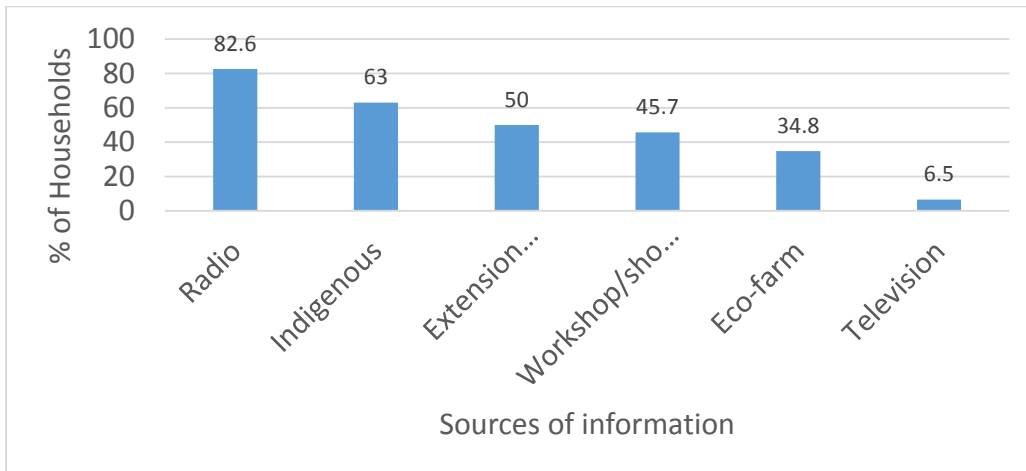


Figure 6 Sources of Farming Information

Results on the sources of information for farming reveal that 82.6% of the households relied on the radio, followed by indigenous knowledge systems (63%), extension officers (50%) and workshops (45.7%). Eco-farm also plays a part in 34.8% of the households, while only 6.5% on television with this regards. Results imply that the FTLP beneficiaries have varied sources of information at their disposal. However a point of concern is the limited number who views television as a source of information.

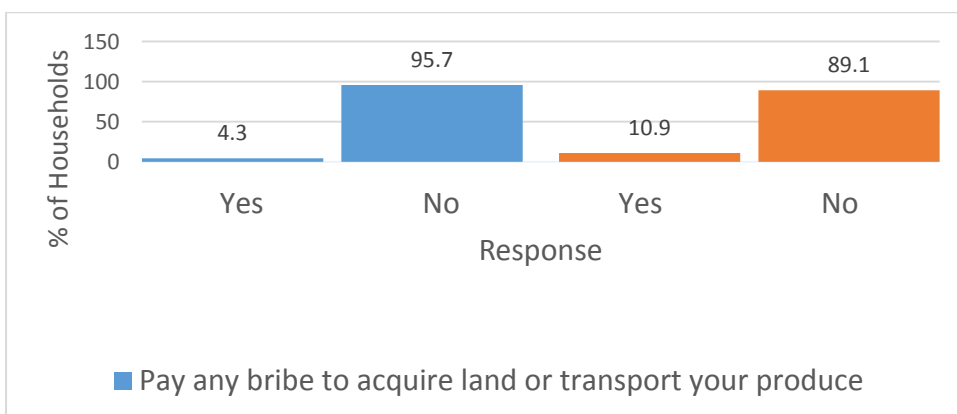


Figure 7 Corruption Perception

Figure 7 Above indicates the prevalence and perception of corruption. The results reveal that only 4.3% of the resettled farmers have paid bribes to government officials for land acquisition or to have their produce transported. In terms of threats of eviction, a significant number 10.9% had received treats. Indications are that corruption could be rampant on the farms.

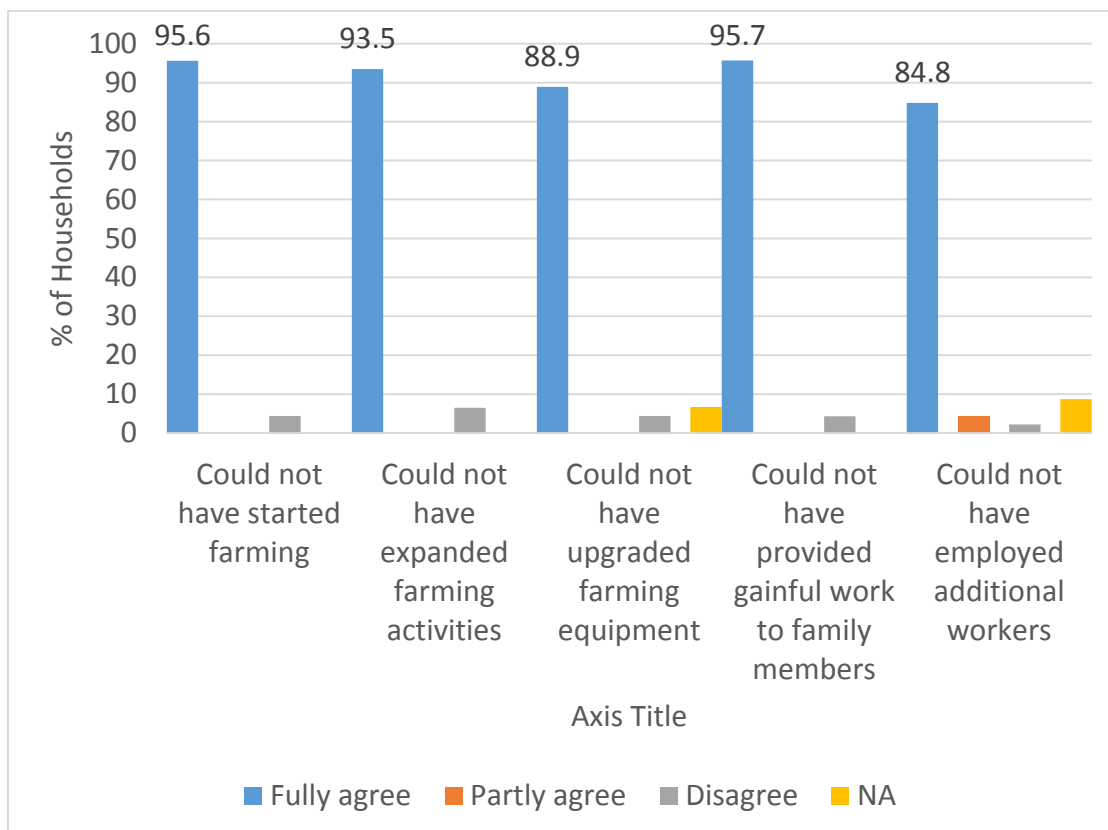


Figure 8: Agreement with FTLRP Statements

Figure 8 indicates that nearly all beneficiaries of the FTLRP were thankful for the programme. The FTLRP had enabled them to start farming, expand their farming activities, upgrade farming equipment, provide gainful work to family members and even employ additional workers

Household Coping Strategies at Household Level

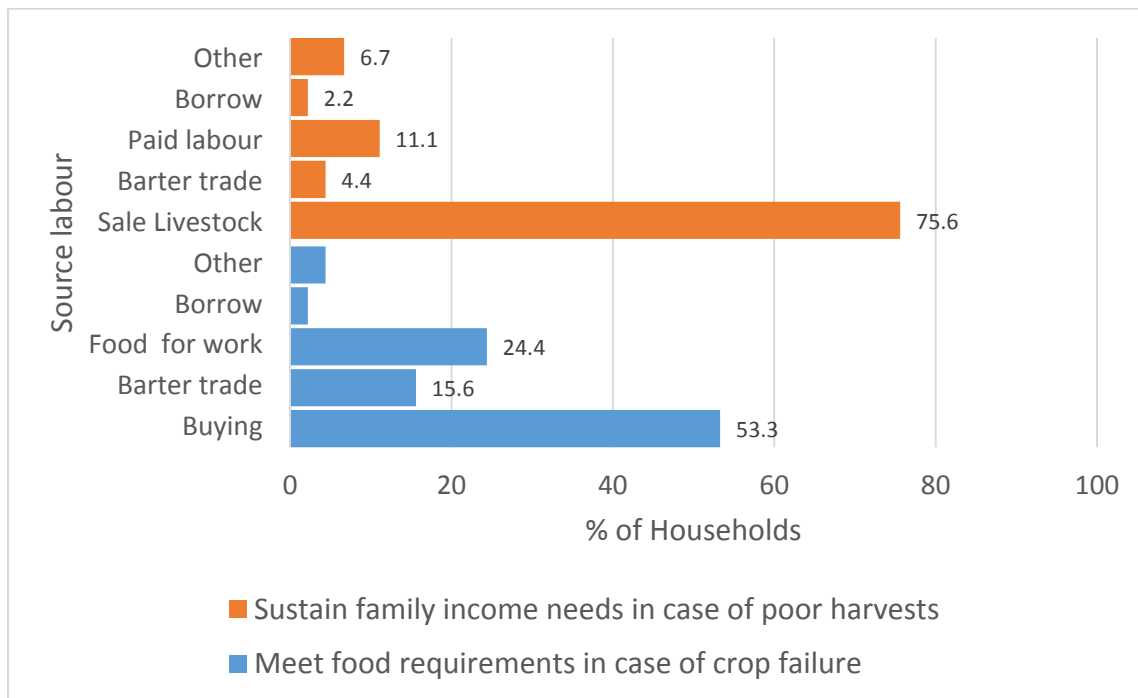


Figure 9 Coping Strategies Adopted for Food in Relation to Shocks

Figure 9 shows the major livelihood strategies adopted to sustain family income requirements and meet food requirements in the event of a disaster, such as crop failure. With this regards most households, 76.6% depend on livestock as a source of family income while 53.3% resort to buying and 24.4% on food for work in the event that crops fail. Results point to the fact that livestock was a major source of livelihood for the respondents.

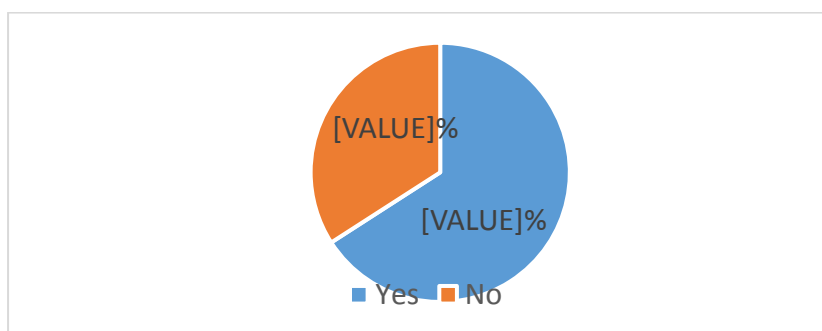


Figure 10 Remittances Received

The majority, 65.9% received help from outside communities (Figure 10). All respondents received training from AGRITEX and GMB (33.3%). GMB facilitates the provision of inputs and food. NGOs are helping with farmer training and provision of food (table 13).

Table 10: Institutions Supporting Livelihoods Strategies

Institution	Form of support			
	Education/Training	Input supplies	Food supplies	Other
AGRITEX	31(100.0%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)
GMB	1(33.3%)	1(33.3%)	1(33.3%)	0(0.0%)
OTHER GVT	1(2.0%)	26(51.0%)	24(47.0%)	0(0.0%)
NGO 1	1(50.0%)	0(0.0%)	1(50.0%)	0(0.0%)
NGO 2	0(0.0%)	0(0.0%)	1(100.0%)	0(0.0%)

4.5 TEST STATISTICS ANALYSIS OF THE CROSS-SECTIONAL SURVEY DATA

4.5.1 The Relationship between Number of people in a Household, Assets Endowment and Production

		Number of people in household	Production	farm asset	Income per year
Production	Pearson Correlation	.543			
	Sig. (2- tailed)	.036			
	N	42	43		
farm asset	Pearson Correlation	.286	.350*		
	Sig. (2- tailed)	.066	.021		
	N	42	43	43	
Income per year	Pearson Correlation	.315		.331*	
	Sig. (2- tailed)	.047	.000	.033	
	N	41	42	42	42
Support from outside	Pearson Correlation	.110	-.109	-.129	-.086
	Sig. (2- tailed)	.495	.491	.415	.595
	N	41	42	42	41

Table above shows the relationship between household composition, household asset endowment and income as indicators of productivity among the beneficiaries of the FTLRP. Results indicated that a positive and statistically significant relationship existed between the number of people in a household and productivity ($r=0.543$, $p=0.036$). Income was also positively related with farm asset ownership ($r=0.33$, $p=0.047$). The implication of the finding could be that households with more members tended to produce more whilst owning a higher number of farm implements had a positive relationship with productivity.

Table 11: Gender Differences on Assets and Productivity

Asset Endowment	gender	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
farm asset	Male	30	13.7667	5.31545
	female	13	9.6923	3.22451
Livestock reared	Male	30	31.8333	2.26635
	female	13	19.8462	2.43627
Total land size	Male	30	5.9667	.41384
	female	13	6.0769	.27735
Income per year	Male	29	4615.8621	54.88605
	female	13	2196.9231	17.30110
Support from outside	Male	30	1.3333	.47946
	female	12	1.2500	.45227

The above table 4.6 shows the distribution of the sample in terms of asset endowment by gender. In terms of farm assets, males had generally more assets (mean=13.77, Std=5.13) than females (mean=9.69, Std=3.22). This has implications for livelihoods.

4.5.2 Plot Sizes

However, in terms of plot sizes, no notable difference was realized females (mean=6.1Ha, Std=0.28Ha) compared to males (mean=5.96, Std=0.41).

4.5.3 Income Levels

On the average males (mean=\$4615, Std=54.88) were getting more income than females (mean=US\$2196.92, Std=US\$17.30). Outside remittances were very few.

Table 12 Independent Samples Test (Asset Endowment and Gender)

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	T	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
farm asset	Equal variances assumed	1.13	.29	2.55	41	.014	4.07	1.59	.85640	7.29231
	Equal variances not assumed			3.087	36.155	.004	4.07	1.31970	1.39829	6.75043
livestock reared	Equal variances assumed	1.66	.20	1.418	41	.164	11.987	8.45320	-5.08440	29.05876
	Equal variances not assumed			1.589	30.214	.122	11.98718	7.54374	-3.41461	27.38897
Total land size	Equal variances assumed	.009	.92	-.876	41	.386	-.11026	.12585	-.36442	.14391
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.02	33.443	.314	-.11026	.10782	-.32952	.10900
Income per year	Equal variances assumed	4.606	.038	1.56	40	.126	2418.93	1548.21655	-710.12337	5548.00136
	Equal variances not assumed			2.17	40	.036	2418.9	1114.97049	160.87420	4677.00379
Support from outside	Equal variances assumed	1.269	.267	.517	40	.608	.08333	.16127	-.24260	.40927
	Equal variances not assumed			.530	21.468	.601	.08333	.15719	-.24313	.40979

Productivity and Gender

Table 4.8: Influence of Gender, marital status, educational level and number of Household members on Production

Model

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted Square	R	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.504 ^a	.263	.514		.40916

a. Predictors: (Constant), number of people in household, marital status, education level, gender

The number of people in a household, marital status, educational level and gender were related to productivity ($r=0.504$) and 26.3% of the differences in productivity are explained by variations in these predictors.

The ANOVA table below shows that productivity could be predicted by the listed predictors. A model can be drawn ($F(4)=3.460$, $p=0.029$) measured at $p<0.05$. The Model and ANOVA tables show the regression model and how the predictors could determine productivity. This has policy implications particularly in affirmative action programmes that could be mooted.

ANOVA^a

Model		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
, 1	Regression	.978	4	.244	3.460	.029 ^b
	Residual	5.022	30	.167		
	Total	6.000	34			

a. Dependent Variable: Production

b. Predictors: (Constant), number of people in household, marital status, education level, gender

Coefficients^a

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	
	B	Std. Error	Beta			
1	(Constant)	5.085	.523		9.725	.000
	Gender	.184	.162	.211	1.132	.266
	Marital status	.064	.087	.137	.731	.471
	Education level	.039	.085	.085	.462	.648
	Number in household	.064	.030	.387	2.150	.040

a. Dependent Variable: total land size

The coefficients table illustrates the incremental validity of number of people in a household, plus education level and marital status.

CHAPTER 5 SUMMARY OF THE INTERVIEWS AND FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter summarises the perceptions of the observations, key informant interviews and focus group discussions. The analysis is in response to the research question, objectives and study questions. The results are targeted at illuminating the research topic, research objectives and research questions as outlined in Chapter 1. The study sought to provide a rapid appraisal on the impact of the FTLRP on livelihoods and vulnerability dimensions. There was also intent to inform the policy and academic debate on the issues. Importantly, communal farmers are generally not affluent and need assistance from government and non-governmental organisations. Such support must be informed by evidence based approaches.

5.1.1 VULNERABILITY PATTERNS BEFORE THE FTLRP

At the FGD held at Mukuyu village, the farmers outlined that *‘Before the FTLRP, we had no basic farm assets such as cattle, ploughs, and harrows. This was partly due to the fact that most of us were young and also that these implements and assets were expensive to purchase.’*

Apart from asset vulnerability before the advent of FTLRP, the farmers outlined that they did not have sound farming skills or training. There were also very few farming education sessions arranged for communal farmers. It was also felt that support from the extension officers used to be very minimal.

The communal farmers supplied labour to commercial farmers for a nominal wage and or food ration. The rations were the same and did not take cognisance of the family size. The wages were also very low. Some discussants highlighted that due to the low wages and

inability to raise more income they could not manage to send their children to school, as result those children were becoming farm labourers.

Another challenge which was exacerbating their vulnerability was the congestion in the communal areas. There was not enough land for crop production and pastures for animals. As a result they lost a lot of livestock the long dry summer spells and in periods when there was little rainfall. Some of the areas they inhabited were also infested with tsetse fly which also worsened the livestock losses.

The responses from the FGD had much resonance with the outline provided by the key informant from the Ministry of Agriculture who said that vulnerability was a factor before the FTLRP as communal farmers did not have access to good farming land. The land availed after independence was under willing-buyer and willing-seller arrangement. This land was very limited and could only be afforded largely by those who had the financial resources. Many of the communal farmers were vulnerable as they not only lacked finance but also the requisite farming knowledge and experience.

5.1.2 LIVELIHOODS PATTERNS BEFORE THE FTLRP

In the FGD it was pointed out that in order to sustain their livelihoods before the FTLRP they; *worked in farms, either working permanently for the commercial farmers or through providing casual labour for a very low wage during the peak farming periods. Some of the men were working in towns and cities employed in the army, transport sector as drivers and other civil service sectors.*

However, even though they were earning part of their income from labouring in the commercial farms, they were also involved in art and craft activities, as well as market

gardening. These survival strategies were performed with a target to raise incomes to meet the household requirements. Some farmers also mentioned that they survived through poaching wildlife and selling the meat in the local communities.

Farming was the mainstay of their livelihoods although despite the fact that they were not producing enough to sustain them to the next cropping season. They ended up borrowing from fellow communal farmers or working in the then vibrant commercial farms where they were paid wages and food parcels.

Cotton production was done on a small scale was one of the main activities which earned them some income. Maize production was also another activity which helped them to produce their own food and they sold the surplus produce to the Grain Marketing Board (GMB). However some respondents mentioned that they were facing challenges in late payments during that period from the GMB.

5.1.3 The Commercial Farmers' View on Vulnerability and Livelihoods in the Context of the FTLRP.

The commercial farmers union's Key Informant had a different view arguing that vulnerability among the communal farmers was due to, *“Poor organization, lack of collateral for crops/investment finance, no room for crop/grazing rotations and the irrigation schemes had largely collapsed.”*

The farmers were already under vulnerability and livelihood strategies were not making them food secure. Before the FTLRP, the communal farmers were argued to be surviving largely on government and donor handouts and remittances from relatives employed elsewhere. The communal farmers also at times depended on commercial farmers as labourers during peak season and this helped to reduce their state of vulnerability.

5.2 Transformations in Livelihoods after the FTLRP.

The communal farmers acknowledged that their livelihoods had indeed changed after they were allocated land courtesy of the FTLRP. They indicated that they were more satisfied with the new assumed standards of living.

They argued that they were better off than they were before the advent of the land reform programme. The major change they highlighted was possession of land, which had intrinsic and extrinsic value for them and this made them chart the trajectory of their livelihoods as they were better able to plan on land use.

On the other hand, the key informant at the Commercial Farmers Union was of the opinion that after the FTLRP most communal farmers were sustaining livelihoods through gold mining, sale of natural timber and gum trees from the plantations developed by the former commercial farmers, wildlife poaching activities and remittances. The union argued that this was seen in the depletion of the strategic grain reserves which was a rarity at the height of the commercial farming period. It was outlined that most of the land based activities had an adverse impact on the environment as portions allocated were too small to sustain meaningful farming activities. The absence of tenure was also seen as a threat to livelihoods as the farmers could be moved at any one time as the displaced white farmers held title deeds to their farms and were awaiting compensation in some cases. Without security of tenure, there cannot be meaningful investment into farming by the communal farmers.

The key informants at the CFU and at the Ministry of Agriculture argued that vulnerability was also in some situations not reduced after the FTLRP as some of the new farmers *“damaged the infrastructure, the buildings, irrigation facilities, the fences which surrounded farms and other assets. They largely failed to co-exist and make use of the infrastructure as groups for their own benefit. The reality has been that the FTLRP did not reduce the vulnerability of the then communal farmers.”*

5.2.1 Asset Structure: Better homes

Through land acquired, they had managed to raise enough incomes to put up decent houses. They had also equipped their homes with modern furniture including radios, televisions and other gadgets they previously could only dream of.

5.2.2 Access to Information and Education

Education is a very crucial variable in livelihood and vulnerability. The farmers could now access the latest information on weather patterns and crops to grow through the information and education programmes as obtained from the media.

The communal farmers also outlined that they were now in a position to pay for their children's education.

5.3 Asset Ownership Structure, External Shocks and Livelihoods after the FTLRP.

In the FGD, the respondents outlined that within their group, there were now:

“Proud owners of tractors, motor bikes, scotch carts, irrigation equipment, cell phones and cars. We also could only dream of owning a cell phone but now it is strange for anyone not to have their own handset.”

The farmers outlined that they had also managed to organise themselves into groups and had managed to raise the funds required for the electrification of their homes.

5.3.1 Related Developments: Electrification of homes and the potential for other diversified incomes

Access to electricity had spawned other economic related activities such as welding at the homesteads. Welding had then become a major source of funds. Income diversification is crucial to recovery from external shocks. Welding does not depend on rains as farming activities do so sustained livelihoods can potentially be achieved.

5.4 Related Support Services: Access to Social Welfare Services

The farmers also pointed out that they now had better access to health services as hospitals and clinics were being put up with the assistance of the rural district councils. Grinding mills

were also more accessible as most farmers had acquired them after selling their crops. Some shops, owned by communal farmers were also coming up. This latter pointed to diversified livelihoods.

5.4.1 Agricultural Extension Services Support

In terms of enhancing of the farming skills and knowledge, the resettled farmers advised that they received much support from extension officers in their respective areas. They also attended workshops and agricultural shows in the province and in Harare, the capital city.

The respondents commended the FTLRP as having played a major role in transforming their livelihoods. They were convinced that the land reform programme had indeed raised them from dire poverty.

5.5 Better Environmental Preservation Through Decongestion of Rural Areas

With the advent of the FTLRP, they were now better positioned to increase the sizes of their cattle herds as they had moved from congested zones. With bigger grazing fields available, they could consider cattle breeding, which they could not do in their former areas. A larger herd size enabled sustained livelihoods as some of the cattle could be sold when crops failed.

5.6 Livelihoods and Vulnerability in the era of Climate Change and its Shocking Effects

The farmers at the FGD acknowledged that climate change was a reality and was significantly affecting their major source of livelihood, which was land based economic activities.

They outlined that:

“Farming was now threatened by climatic changes as each rainfall patterns had become erratic. In 2015, we planted in October but that crop was affected by a long drought spell that became only better after the Christmas period. We had to plant again January 2016.”

This has implications as food security at household level was no longer guaranteed. The harvests in some cases were no longer enough to ensure that they would have enough grains to sustain them until at least the next cropping season.

As relying on farming could no longer make families food secure, the successive droughts and floods at times heightened the vulnerability of some households.

There was a sense that it was not only crop production which was at stake due to the adverse weather patterns but animal production was also at risk. There was potential to lose cattle which are a source of wealth and a major asset as pastures were not regenerating fast enough after sustained periods without rains.

When the crops failed there was also nothing left as fodder for cattle to graze on during the dry spells when natural grass cover was sparse. Water was also a challenge as cattle need at least 15 to 40 litres (Froes and Small 2001).

Farmers were at the risk of losing livestock as a result of the dry spells. In periods when crops would have failed completely due to the adverse weather patterns, some farmers were forced to resort to barter trade. They would exchange their livestock for maize and other cereals with dealers who would come with grains to the area. The visits would be timed for the period when most farmers were food insecure forcing them to change their, livestock for grain at concessionary rates.

To address the challenges as emanating from the changing climatic conditions, the farmers pointed that they were actively making use of irrigation facilities and buying more irrigation equipment, for those fields that had water bodies nearby. They did this in order not to rely on natural rain fed crop production which was the risk of the adverse weather patterns.

At the FGD, the plea was the:

“The responsible authorities in the government, particularly the line ministries concerned with agriculture needed to prioritise drilling of boreholes drilled in the resettlement areas as these would guarantee success in farming activities. With constant water supply, it is possible to survive purely on farming.”

The respondents also mentioned that they were also actively looking at maintenance of the environment in order to reduce the devastating effects of climate change. To that extent, they had committees which ensured that conservation agriculture was practised. Conservation was also important in order to protect the local tree species which took long to grow unlike the exotic gum trees which they argued to be not suitable as it had a negative effect on the water table due to its aggressive growth patterns.

Deforestation was now a criminal offence and the local committees worked closely with the Environmental Management Authority officials in protecting the indigenous tree species. Siltation was also noted to have been a problem soon after the year 2000, and most dams dried up as they were silted. Only after the farmers were made aware of conservation did they become more proactive in the management of the environment.

They advised that they were, *“embarking in both afforestation and reforestation. We also do farming activities at least 30 metres from the river banks. We are maintaining contours and roads on the farms.”*

The key informant at the Commercial Farmers Union however argued that climate change was not a major issue as good farmers would quickly learn to adapt and change the farming strategies in line with the changes in the seasonal patterns. It was pointed that rainfall patterns had been largely normal since 2000 except for the periods when the El Nino phenomenon was experienced. On the other hand the La Nino pattern brought with it above normal rainfall and

by now the farmers should have adapted. Hence from the perspective of the commercial farmers union, variations in rainfall patterns could not be a sustained argument to cite in response to falling productivity levels.

5.7 Improved livelihoods after the FTLRP among communal farmers

The key informants stressed that the communal farmers in A1 schemes were embarking on economic activities as groups. They were now involved in activities such as aquaculture (fish keeping), apiculture (bee keeping), poultry production and market gardening at meaningful scales through pooling of resources and knowledge.

As women were the most vulnerable group, it was suggested that future land allocations be mindful of the fact that only 20% of the beneficiaries were women but they were the most active in farming activities.

In order to reduce vulnerability and improve their livelihoods, the respondents in the FGD highlighted that there was need to prioritise the following issues;

- Provision of relevant training,
- provision of tractors,
- provision of markets for their produce with sustainable prices and paying on time,
- provision of irrigation schemes,
- rural electrification,
- banning black markets,
- monitoring marketing of produce and reduce the number of middlemen along the marketing channel and ensuring that there is little or no role for political influence along the marketing channel.

There was also an urgent need for infrastructure maintenance particularly;

- The roads,
- schools,
- hospitals and clinics,
- boreholes.

The community also acknowledged that they needed not only to practice climate-smart agriculture, but to also keep improving their methods of production in order to maintain the environment whilst increasing the productivity.

The Commercial Farmers' Union key informant was of the view that much could be done to assist the communal farmers who had benefitted from the FTLRP. There was need to enhance what the respondent termed 'collective entrepreneurship'. Where possible the farmers needed to pool their resources and consequently also spread the risk of adverse conditions.

5.8 The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework Analysis: An Interrogation of Scoones Using Hurungwe District Findings

Using the framework suggested by Scoones (1998), it is the researcher's contention that based on the findings from the field was as follows;

Contexts, Conditions and Trends: Zimbabwe history of dispossession, toxic political climate driven by poor economic performance, wide gap between the poor (vulnerable) and the richer commercial farmers. The communal farmers were also originally zoned in areas with poor soils and rainfall patterns.

Livelihood Resources: The communal farmers had very little, if any financial capital. They however had close social ties which ensured that they identified themselves as a marginalised group hence the movement en-masse to commercial farms.

Institutional Processes

and Organisational Processes: Limits on number of livestock due to limited grazing resources and amenities for livestock health.

Livelihood Strategies: The FTLRP offered a chance to intensify agricultural activities and extensification due to the availability of larger plots for farming activities. There was also a diversification of livelihood strategies through extension to cash crops such as tobacco when previously; focus was only on food crops such as maize growing. Other legal and illegal operations extended into gold panning and flora and fauna poaching.

The migration patterns were a natural result of the movement of beneficiaries: from the communal lands into the former white-owned commercial farms.

Sustainable Livelihood Outcomes: Livelihoods- Poverty reduction (seen in the context of enhanced asset ownership by the beneficiaries. Better homes and irrigation infrastructure investments.)

Sustainability- There is a heightened sense of conservation agriculture and the need to protect the flora and fauna though initially poaching was a problem. Education and awareness campaigns were important in this aspect.

CHAPTER 6 Conclusions, Discussion and Recommendations

6.1 Conclusion

Any discussion on livelihoods and vulnerability of the communal farmers in rural Zimbabwe is incomplete without unpacking the nexus with the FTLRP. There is an indication of the intractable relationship between land reform and food security in resettled communal farmers. The findings show that the land reform programme impacted positively on household food security in some, but definitely not in all the cases. This was aided by the availing of larger and arable lands in relatively better agro-ecological regions. Most of the beneficiaries came from congested communal areas with very poor soils and not enough grazing lands. The beneficiaries had also managed to expand and enhance their livelihood options through other activities such as gold mining which the government is now moving to regulate. The better yields have guaranteed improved food reserves for the farmers.

The expansion of the rural economy by the state is now paramount and policies that support income generation initiatives for paid or self employment particularly in areas with irrigation can improve people's disposable incomes. There is a potential to use model areas where the FTLRP has been a success where households have food self sufficiency even in the face of serious droughts exacerbated by climate change realities.

The study noted that the Zimbabwe Fast Track Land Reform Programme, particularly between 2000 and 2002 was indeed a shock to the system in the redistribution of land to the poor. Notably, this programme could have addressed some of the country's hitherto unresolved legacy of historic land inequities coupled with social and racial imbalances. It is not in doubt that there was a broadening of the base of economic participation (Moyo 2010).

My findings are in line with those of Chitsike (2003) whose results indicated a direct association between poverty reduction (as enhanced livelihoods), land reform and the household food security question. These issues, for the case of Zimbabwe and improving the resilience of communal farmers are intractably linked. Indeed land reform can be a vehicle for fighting household poverty and food insecurity and in the process also reduce vulnerability. Most of the resettled communal farmers in the study area indeed showed that they were now food secure and had expanded their livelihood activities. Their asset bases had also grown to a level they could not even imagine had they not participated or benefitted from the FTLRP.

6.2 Discussion

There are widely divergent views on the impact of the FTLRP on livelihoods. The dispossessed white farmers and the communal farmers' perceptions were apparently at tangent. There is a sense that there are no commonalities or meeting of minds with the Commercial Farmers Union lamenting that conservation was now at an all time low. There was also the argument that climate change was just an excuse as the good communal farmers would still be able to adjust to adverse weather conditions.

On the other hand, the communal farmers, who were beneficiaries of the FTLRP, argued that an improvement in asset ownership has gone a long way in improving their resilience. With better and varied assets, they argue that they are better able to cope with droughts and the hunger that is associated with longer dry spells. They also argued that they have diversified their livelihoods activities through involvement in mining and other land based activities which has reduced their vulnerability to natural shocks such as droughts and floods.

Poverty is arguably and predominantly a rural phenomenon faced with the reality that 70% of Zimbabwe's population resides in communal areas (Zimstats 2012). Livelihoods in the communal areas are largely agricultural and depend on access to arable land and the supporting resources such as water bodies. With over 65% of the population living in the communal areas, they face high levels of poverty and were only better off than the former farm labourers up to the year 2000.

There is still much subsistence food crop cultivation in the resettlement areas. Low incomes and lack of security of tenure are everyday realities. The forays into mining, animal and wood poaching are all in an effort to enhance livelihoods strategies and reduce vulnerability levels.

Livelihood adaptation, vulnerability and resilience indeed have linkages. Sustainability is said to be realised when there is enhanced ability to manage and recover from stresses and shocks. This is necessary when defining sustainable livelihoods. Davies (1996) underscores that resilience to the stresses and shocks is important to both livelihood adaptation and coping. Resilience is particularly crucial when addressing the question of food security at household level. Households which have become more food insecure are said to be more vulnerable and require much more intervention rather than just the availing of land for agriculture as done during the FTLRP. Clearly the inputs support schemes were not enough to ensure that in future the vulnerable households would become more food secure. With the advent of land reform, the communal farmers were expected to graduate to sustainable livelihoods but the range of opposing forces, such as the adverse weather patterns force a rethink on how such communities can be assisted to improve their resilience. The response patterns in the affected include the extent of the avoidance of food insecurity and resistance to environmental challenges (Payne and Lipton 1994: 15). From the findings, there is a sense that the

communities argue that they could do more to better respond to the challenges posed by the environmental factors as driven by climate change.

6.3 Recommendations

An assessment of the Zimbabwe FTLRP on vulnerability and sustainable livelihoods framework points to the need to revisit how national and international policies on rural development are crafted and implemented. Land reform has to be seen within the context of the wider political and economic agenda setting. There is a sense that fighting rural poverty and building resilience among the poor and marginalised requires a committed and clear effort that is responsive to the question posed by climate change. Changes in climate will affect the poorest nations as the vulnerable and food insecure families have low resilience. Zimbabwe's dire economic state is best exemplified by the vulnerability patterns among the communal farmers who make up the majority of the population. The political systems and climate change realities mediate and shape policies and actions in the struggle against poverty.

The question of private property rights continues to be a challenge of the FTLRP. The former commercial farmers still hold titles to their farms and this makes it very difficult for financial institutions to extend farming loans to communal farmers based on an unclear 99 year lease as offered by government to beneficiaries. In the 2016 mid-term budget review, the minister of Finance, Patrick Chinamasa advised that \$42.7 million had been used to compensate former white farmers (The Zimbabwe Government Mid-Term Review Policy Statement 2016).

In addressing livelihoods and vulnerability in the communal farmers, there is need for more dialogue with the beneficiaries. The planning for sustainable livelihoods is a dynamic

approach as each community has a different definition to determine what makes up livelihood and vulnerability. The concepts are quite context specific and consequently require the active participation of all the stakeholders and then collaboratively agree on the way forward. Even this research only succeeded in highlighting the asset ownership structure and how the livelihoods transformed from the period preceding the FTLRP.

Governments and aid agencies need to prioritise poverty reduction using the sustainable livelihoods approach. The communal farmers need support particularly in the context of increasing disasters as seen in the context of drought in Hurungwe district. The support will serve to reinforce the linkages between sustainable livelihoods approaches and the reduction of vulnerability. Currently, there is very little, if any support from government in the fight against poverty and for promoting sustainable livelihoods. In order to realise sustainability there is need to tackle the vulnerability questions. For some families poverty continues to be a perpetual state of affairs.

Sadly, the present efforts on humanitarian assistance continue to be geared at supporting the communities when they should be building up their preparedness and resilience through reductions in vulnerability and the attendant improved sustainable livelihoods. There is need to ensure that the question of climate change and the related natural disasters are clearly flagged out as some of the plethora of threats to efforts on realising poverty reduction. Though there is an acknowledgement that the asset base has greatly improved, there is still a sense that vulnerability of the communal farmers to weather shocks needs to be reduced. It is noted that natural disasters have become more frequent in the poorest communities. The poor will continue to be hardest hit as often, they only have access to low cost assets such as land and livestock, which are invariably more prone to the disasters of changing weather

patterns. In some extreme cases, even the housing is substandard as there is no assurance they would not be moved, and the government has not aggressively urged beneficiaries to build permanent structures.

The need to enhance ‘vulnerability mapping’ to natural risks has to be grounded in the sustainable livelihoods approach (SLA) with clear goals to reduce the identified issues of vulnerability that are due to poverty. The asset ownership structure must enhance their preparedness to shocks on food security. Ownership of cars and livestock is clearly not enough to then claim that this has improved livelihoods and reduced the vulnerability of the communal farmers. This was shown in the analysis when those with farming implements tended to produce more. Any land reform without the requisite support for real and modern farming implements is unlikely to have a clear impact on livelihoods and vulnerability patterns. Governments must be prepared to fund farm mechanisation in order to enhance productivity levels. Large pieces of land will not be efficiently managed with archaic farming methods.

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APPENDIX 1

SURVEY OF HURUNGWE FTLRP BENEFICIARIES

LOCATION AND ADMINISTRATIVE ISSUES

Name of interviewee	Date	Name of ward

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

1. Gender of household head		1 = Male	2 = Female
2. Marital status of household head	1 = Married living together	3. Education level of household head attained?	1 = None
	2 = Married living apart		2 = Primary level
	3 = Divorced/Separated		3 = ZJC level
	4 = Widow/widower		4 = O' level
	5 = Never married		5 = A' level
			6 = Tertiary level
4. Age of respondent _____ —	5. Number of years of living in the village _____	6. If applicable: Year of coming to Hurungwe _____	7. How many people are living in your household _____

8. Household status of respondent

1 = Husband 2 = Wife 3 = Son 4 = Daughter 5 = Grand 6 = Other
(specify).....

HOUSEHOLD ASSET ENDOWMENTS AND PRODUCTION

1. Farm assets (fill the spaces provided)

Asset	Plough	Car	Scotch cart	Tractor	Hoe	Brick houses	Shovel	Planter	Other (Specify)
Quantity									

2. Livestock reared

Livestock	Cattle	Goats	Sheep	Chickens	Donkeys	Pigs	Other (Specify)
Quantity							

3. Total size of land owned _____

4. Crops grown

Type of crop	Size of land devoted to crop	Yield (tonnes/kg)	Amount sold	Amount of income (dollars)
Maize				
Sorghum				
Rapoko				
Tobacco				
Cotton				
Other(specify)				

5. What is your source of inputs of crops mentioned above?

Crop	Seed	Fertiliser	Chemicals
	1=Market 2=Presidential Input scheme 3=Granary 4=Relatives/Friends 5.=Contractor 6=Other	1=Market 2=Presidential input scheme 3.=Contractor 4=Do not apply 5=Other	1=Market 2=Presidential input scheme 3= Contractor 4=Do not apply 5=Other
Maize			
Sorghum			
Rapoko			
Tobacco			
Cotton			
Other(specify)			

6. Sources of income

Source of income	Estimated income/month	Estimated income/year
Farming		
Other 1		
2		
3		
4		

7. Do you keep any records productivity for your yearly crop output ?

1=Yes 2=Not updated or irregular 3=Partially (e.g. only sales) 4=No

8. Which other members of your household/family help in farming?

1=None 2=Spouse 3=Children 4=Parents 5=Other kin

9. Did you have regular paid staff to assist you in the last year?

1=Full-time paid worker/s _____ 2=Part-time regular worker/s _____
3=Occasional or irregular paid worker/s _____ 4=No paid workers

10. Have you taken a farming loan in the last year?

1=More than once or a loan for more than 1 year period 2=Once
3=No 4= Cannot tell/cannot remember

11. Are you able to buy farming inputs on your own?

1=Yes, most of the time 2=Sometimes/approximately 3=Rarely 4=No

12. How many paid and unpaid workers did you add in the last two years(If any)? _____

13. What are your sources of farming capital, other than your own savings?

1=Commercial bank 2=Moneylender 3=Family 4=Contractors 5= None

14. Are you an active member of any farming association?

1=Yes 2= No

15. What are your regular sources of farming information?

1=Radio 2=Television 3= Eco-farmer 4=Internet 5= Indigenous
6= Extension officers 7= Workshops/Shows
8=Other_____

16. Do you have a bank account?

1=Yes, business and private separate 2=Yes, business and private
combined
3=Microfinance only 4=No

17. Have you paid any bribes/unreceipted payments to police/government officials to acquire land or transport your produce?

1=Yes 2=No

18. Have you ever experienced any threat of eviction from your plot?

1=Yes 2= No

19. Please indicate your agreement with the following statements about the FTLRP:

a) Without FTLRP, I could not have started farming in Hurungwe?

1=Fully agree 2=Partly agree 3=Disagree

b) Without FTLRP, I could not have expanded my farming activities.

1=Fully agree 2=Partly agree 3=Disagree 4=N/A

c) Without FTLRP, I could not have upgraded my farming equipment.

1=Fully agree 2=Partly agree 3=Disagree 4=N/A

d) Without FTLRP, I could not have provided gainful work to family members.

1=Fully agree 2=Partly agree 3=Disagree 4=N/A

e) Without FTLRP, I could not have employed (additional) workers.

1=Fully agree

2=Partly agree

3=Disagree

4=N/A

f) What would you propose to improve the FTLRP programme?-

HOUSEHOLD COPING STRATEGIES

1. What coping strategies have you adopted to meet family food requirements in case of crop failure?

1 = Buying 2 = Barter trade 3 = Food for work 4 = Borrow
5 = hunting/ gathering 6 = Hand outs 7 = Other _____

2. What coping strategies have you adopted in order to sustain your family income needs in case of poor harvests?

1 = Sale livestock 2 = Barter trade 3 = Paid labour 4 = Borrow
5 = Selling firewood 6 = Mining 7 = Hunting/gathering for sale 8 = Craft

work

9 = Other _____

3. In the face of livelihood challenges affecting your community, are you receiving any kind of support from outside community?

1 = Yes 2 = No

4. If your answer is yes to Item 3 above, please fill in the table below to identify the institution and the kind of support you receive

Table Supportive institutions towards livelihood challenges

Institution	Form of support			
	1= Education/Training	Input supplies	Food supplies	Other
AGRITEX				
GMB				
Other GVT				
NGO 1				
NGO 2				
Other				

5. What suggestions would you like to make to any of the institutions in order to enhance the community's livelihood and vulnerability?

Community members should:

Government should:

NGOs should:

Others should (please specify)

Thank you

APPENDIX TWO:

Structured Interview Guide for Key Informants

- Do you think there is any change in the livelihoods and vulnerability of communal farmers after FTLRP?
- Do you think there is any change in vulnerability of communal farmers after FTLRP?
- To what extent can this change in livelihoods and vulnerability of communal farmers be attributed to FTLRP?
- To what extent can this change in vulnerability of communal farmers be attributed to FTLRP?
- Is there any change in the livelihood strategies employed by communal farmers before and after FTLRP?
- If yes, what are the changes and to what extent are these new strategies impacting on rural livelihoods?
- How has climate change after FTLRP impacted the livelihoods and vulnerability of communal farmers?
- How has economic environment after FTLRP impacted the livelihoods of communal farmers?
- How has political environment after FTLRP impacted the livelihoods of communal farmers?
- What can be done to promote sustainable livelihoods and reduce vulnerability of communal farmers?
- What can be done to reduce vulnerability of communal farmers?

APPENDIX 3

Focus Group Discussion Guide

What have been the changes in the livelihoods and vulnerability patterns after the FTLRP?

What strategies are you employing to improve your livelihoods and reduce vulnerability?

What has been the impact of movement onto the farms particularly on the flora and fauna?

How is climate change, economic and political environment affecting your efforts to sustain your livelihoods and reduce vulnerability?

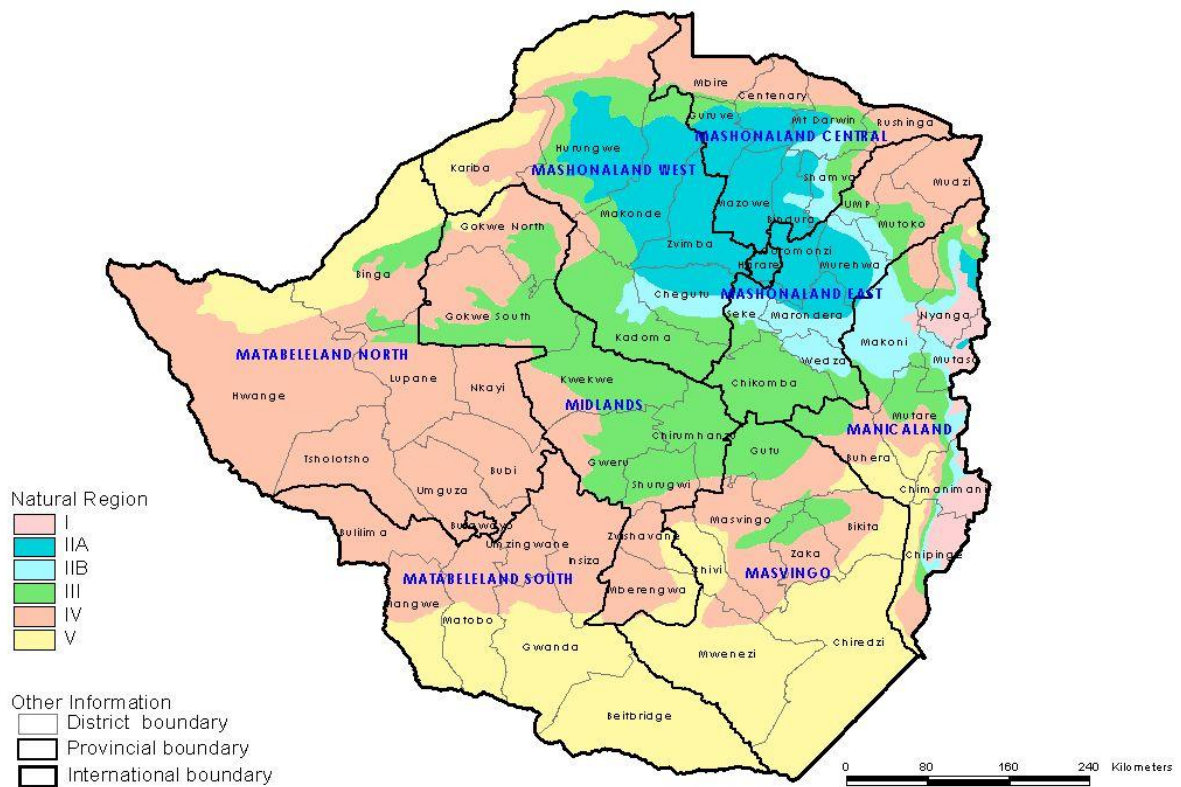
What can be done to improve the lives of A1 farmers?

Is there anything else you would want to mention about the 2000 land reform programme?

APPENDIX 4

MAP OF ZIMBABWE SHOWING STUDY SITE: HURUNGWE DISTRICT IN MASHONALAND WEST

Map 1: Zimbabwe Agro-Ecological Zones



Source: FAO