



Livelihoods after Land Reform in Zimbabwe

Working Paper 3

An Assessment of the Outcomes of “Fast Track”
Land Reform Policy in Zimbabwe on Rural
Livelihoods: The Case of Gudo Ward (Mazvihwa
Communal Area) and Chirere area (A1 Resettlement
Area)

Alexio Mbereko

University of Zimbabwe Lake Kariba Research Station

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Working Paper Series

The land reform that has unfolded in Zimbabwe since 2000 has resulted in a major reconfiguration of land use and economy. Over 7 million hectares of land has been transferred to both small-scale farm units (the A1 model) and larger scale farms (the A2 model). The land reform has had diverse consequences, and there is no single story of what happened and its implications.

The Institute of Development Studies (University of Sussex, UK), the Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies (PLAAS, University of the Western Cape, South Africa), the African Institute for Agrarian Studies (AIAS, Harare), the Centre for Applied Social Sciences Trust (CASS Trust, Harare) and the Ruzivo Trust (Harare) came together to support a small grant competition aimed at generating new case study insights based on original and recent field research by young Zimbabwean scholars. The aim was to bring together solid, empirical evidence from recent research in the field. There were over 70 applicants, and 15 small grants were offered. The result is this Working Paper series. All papers have been reviewed and they have been lightly edited. In all cases however they remain work-in-progress.

Today policymakers are grappling with the question of ‘what next’? How can a new agrarian structure be supported, and a vibrant rural economy be developed? Yet such discussions are often taking place in a vacuum, with limited empirical data from the ground and overshadowed by misperceptions and inappropriate assumptions. We hope this series – together with the wider research work being undertaken by our organisations and partners – will help to enhance policy making through a solid evidence base.

As these papers clearly show, there have been highly varied impacts of the post-2000 land reform: on rural livelihoods, on agricultural production, on markets and the economy, on farm workers and employment, on the environment and on institutions and governance arrangements, for example. And these impacts have played out in very different ways in different places. These papers cover a range of themes and offer insights from across the country.

They add up to a complex picture, but one that offers key pointers for the way forward. They counter the excessively pessimistic picture often painted about Zimbabwe’s land reform, yet highlight important failings and future challenges. We very much hope that they are widely read and shared, with the insights made use of as Zimbabwe charts its way forward.

Professor Ian Scoones, Institute of Development Studies, UK

Professor Ben Cousins, Institute for Poverty Land and Agrarian Studies, South Africa

Professor Sam Moyo, African Institute for Agrarian Studies, Harare

Dr Nelson Marongwe, Centre for Applied Social Sciences Trust, Harare

Dr Prosper Matondi, Ruzivo Trust, Harare

The small grant competition was coordinated through the Livelihoods after Land Reform research programme (www.larl.org.za).

Summary

Post independence Zimbabwean governments have attempted to address inequitable land distribution by implementing the fast track land reform programme. Land reform is important for Africa because large population depend on it for livelihoods. The questions addressed in this paper were; what are the outcomes of fast track land reform on household livelihoods, and the emerging relationships between households and communities in an A1 resettlement area and the village in the communal area from where many new settlers had come? A neighbouring resettlement (Chirere) and non-resettlement (Gudo) area were compared to assess the impact of the programme. The study used the following data collection tools: structured-interviews, in-depth interviews and Focus Group Discussions. Results show that most of the resettled farmers came from Chivi, Mazvihwa and Zvishavane. Respondents in Chirere had to rely on neighbours for borrowing; equipment, money and sharing ideas, while those in Gudo relied on relatives and neighbours. More respondents in Chirere did not have any one to borrow or share ideas with, than those in Gudo. Group affiliation was higher for Gudo communal area (76%) than for Chirere resettlement area (28%). Community members of both areas had some trained in agriculture by AREX. Chirere did not have a business centre, clinic and secondary school in the area. Maximum field sizes in Chirere were 6 hectares, which are fertile for agriculture. Maximum field sizes for Gudo were 3.5 hectares. Agriculture was the dominant source of income for 72.5% of Chirere respondents and 51% for Gudo respondents. Chirere households had high income of US\$72 000 which translates to US\$2 000 per household. On the other hand Gudo had income of US\$30 000 which translates to US\$800 per household. Chirere had significantly higher yields than Gudo. In conclusion the fast track land reform had a positive improvement to the livelihoods of those who benefited if one is to compare the higher income, yields and assets bought by respondents from Chirere resettlement and Gudo communal area.

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Acronyms

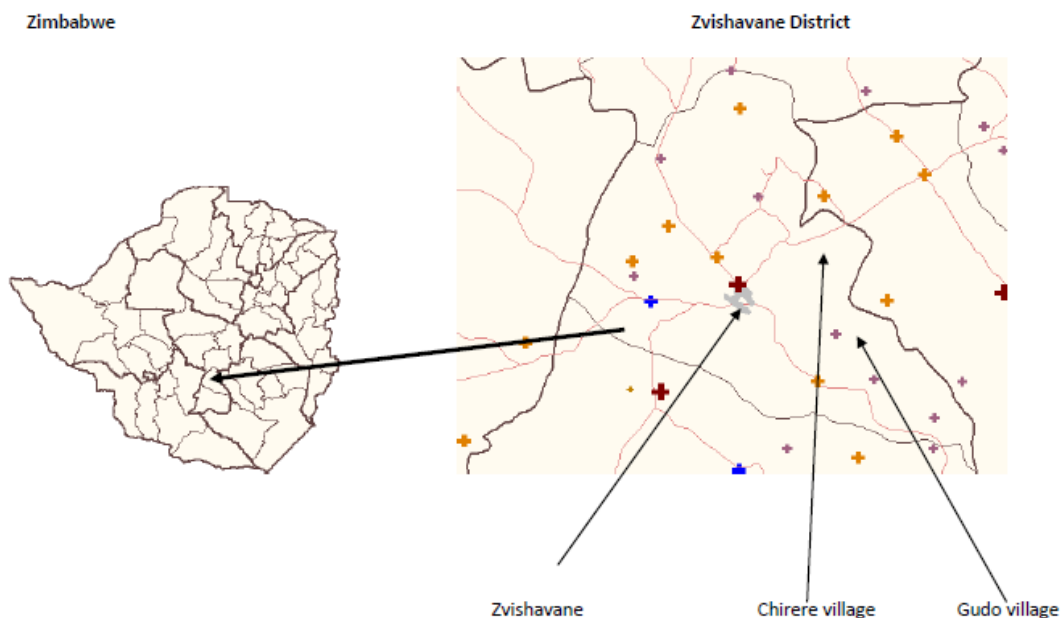
AREX	Agricultural Research and Extension
DFID	UK Department for International Development
GMB	Grain Marketing Board
HBC	Home-based Caregiver
IISD	International Institute for Sustainable Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme

Introduction

Since 2000, Zimbabwe has experienced a major land reform programme, which has radically restructured the agrarian landscape. The title 'fast track' has been used to describe the speed employed in implementing the programme. Amongst other concerns contestations have largely been on whether the land reform delivered promised benefits; poverty alleviation and curbing ecological degradation in rural areas. The fast track model of agrarian reform is poorly understood in Zimbabwe yet has potential to influence land reform in the region (Cousins 2009). Mushonga (2003) observed that aftermaths of post 2000 land reform in Mazvihwa were mixed and interesting. He noted improved livelihoods among 11 study participants who had been included in his study who had been resettled. His research used a very small sample to be able to make a scientific conclusion because it was beyond the scope of his research to comprehensively deal with this subject. This paper presents the findings of a study that sought to understand emerging livelihoods trajectories of resettled farmers and emerging relationships between households and communities in an A1 resettlement area and the village in the communal area to determine outcomes of the land reform programme at family level. The assessment compared livelihoods dynamics and status of Gudo village (communal area) and Chirere village (neighbouring resettlement area). The research was guided by the hypothesis that the resettled farmers have higher incomes derived due to access to productive land, fewer assets and less social connectivity than their counterparts in communal areas.

Case study setting

Figure 1: Map showing the study areas



The study was conducted in Gudo village, Mazvihwa communal area and Chirere resettlement area Zvishavane district, Midlands province (Figure 1). Zvishavane District is in the south-central part of Zimbabwe. Gudo and Chirere villages are located in Wards 16 and 14 respectively. The two wards share a boundary. Commercial farmers dominated Ward 14 before 2000 but

currently resettled farmers dominate. The post 2000 land reform, like all other districts, has affected Zvishavane. Members of neighbouring communal areas like Chivi and Mazvihwa communal areas occupied Kinsale farm and renamed it to Chirere in 2000/1. War veterans and youths spearheaded the farm invasions in the area. The farm belonged to Mr Swannack who practiced mainly cattle ranching and little crop production.

The communal areas in Zimbabwe were characterised by multiple structures namely government, political and traditional structures. The local authorities were composed of elected councillors resident in each ward. Runde Rural District Council is empowered by the Rural District Council Act to preside over all rural Wards in the district. Their responsibilities include; social services provision, sanitation, water, roads, dams and governance functions. Resources in the rural areas were entrusted to lower government structures to manage and monitor day-to-day utilisation of the resources. Bundles of institutions are involved in resources management including government departments, rural council and traditional leadership.

Traditional leadership is in place in both Wards but with differing powers, influence and effect on the people. Gudo village is under the chieftaincy of Chief Mazvihwa of the *Hove* (Fish) totem. Chief Mazvihwa exercises power and influence on resource use and access (Mbereko *et al* 2007). On the other hand, Chirere was reverted to Chief Masunda of the *Nyoni* (Bird) totem after the resettlement. According to oral accounts before colonisation, Chirere was under Mazvihwa area. Mazvihwa was forced to cut his Kingdom and he lost the area north of Save River and gave away part of present day Mberengwa to a son –in-law. The area had been put under commercial farms by the colonial government. This weakened power and influence of the traditional structure in ward 14. The two dominant religions in both study areas were traditional religion and Christianity. It is common for people to practice both religions.

Gudo village is located 45 kilometres south of Zvishavane town. The landscape of Gudo area is characterised by granite outcrops and gently sloping to flat terrain. Gwem'ombe and Runde rivers drain the area. The study area straddles two natural agro-ecological zones namely region 3 and 4. The area receives an annual rainfall of between 450 and 750 mm. The low amount of rainfall complicates agricultural cropping options. In one part, nutrient poor sandy soils support dry miombo woodland dominated by *Julbernardia globiflora* and *Brachystegia sp.* In the other part, heavy clay soils derived from doleritic intrusions support woodlands dominated by *Colophospermum mopane*, *Combretum apiculatum* and *Acacia sp.*

Ward 14 stretches from the eastern up to south-west of Zvishavane town. Chirere village is located 20 Kilometers east of Zvishavane town. Gatsure and Runde rivers drain the area. The landscape is generally flat and broken by primary streams. The area is also characterised by vleis and shallow soil profiles. Chirere is in natural agro-ecological region 3. The area receives an annual rainfall of between 600 and 750 mm. The low amount of rainfall prohibits cropping options. The dominant tree species are *sclerocrya caffra*, *Colophospermum mopane*, *Combretum zeyheri*, *Bauhinia petersiana*, *Combretum fragrouis*, *Uapaca sanzibarika*, *acacia sp.* and *Burkea africanas*.

Outside physical features the socio-demographic characteristics of the two areas are different. In Gudo although there were numerous ethnic groups, the ngowa of Hove (Fish totem) dominated the area, while Chirere is a melting pot for numerous ethnic groups that have diverse cultures. Villages in Gudo show a dipper lineage connection and relationships than those in

Chirere. In Chirere villagers have two distinct groups, those who migrated from towns and those from surrounding rural areas. The resettled farmers are generally younger in age to those in Gudo.

Study methodology and data collection tools

Villages in Gudo were purposively sampled, in order to minimise mileage costs. Every fifteenth household was recruited into the study and household heads or senior household members were interviewed. Fifty households were interviewed in Gudo area and three males and females were selected from every village to attend focus group discussions.

Chirere village was selected because of accessibility by a non-4 wheel drive car and proximity to gatekeeper (Ward councillor). Permission to conduct the study had to be sought from the councillor who resides in Chirere. It would have been costly to report to the councillor in Chirere (along Zvishavane-Masvingo road) and then select a site on Zvishavane-Buchwa road. Chirere resettlement area had a total population of 2 050 people and 860 households. Due to inaccessible roads and desire to save mileage costs, Chirere South, North and West were purposively sampled. The inclusion criteria were the same as of Gudo area. 40 households were recruited into the study.

The study adopted a comparative approach. The study compared livelihoods of a resettlement area and a communal area. The livelihoods framework which has proved successful in policy, project analysis and planning by numerous development practitioners was used in the study (UNDP 1999; DFID 1999; IISD 1999; Korten 1996) and informed the study methodology. The variables investigated were social capital, wealth status, income, livelihoods strategies, benefits derived, resources base and community participation. Indicators of social capital were: resources socially shared, culture of trust, reciprocity, collective action and participation. The following were explored as key issues on livelihoods strategies and benefits; sources of income, livelihoods strategies, impediments to livelihoods strategies and benefits realised. Some of the benefits could be quantified but others were social. Assets acquired were singled out and explored in detail. Assets in this paper refer to non-consumable goods acquired by individuals that define their wealth status. These assets do not have a homogenous value or utility value. Four wealth classes were created by the researcher using experiences from previous experiences in Mazvihwa and other rural settings. The socio-economic classes had the following characteristics:

First (High) class	farm mechanised, big brick houses, above 15 cattle, scotch carts and ploughs
Medium class	brick houses, 6- 14 cattle, scotch carts, ploughs and other farm implements
Low Class	50% of the houses made from bricks, 1- 5 cattle and minor farm implements
Very low class	pole and clay huts, no livestock and few poultry.

Assessments for socio-economic status were done using observations by the data enumerators. Hence the classification had to be limited to observable indicators. Household income calculated for the previous agricultural year. This period coincided with the post dollarisation period. In

coming up with income relative contributions of each source, quantity of yields sold and market prices for the crops were considered.

The study adopted participatory research methods. Face to face structured-interviews were conducted with 90 community members of both communities. The interview guides were structured with open-ended questions. The data captured include socio-demography, capital base, wealth status, livelihoods strategies, benefits derived, resources base and community participation.

Four focus group discussions were conducted with community members. Males and females participated in different focus group discussions in order to capture gender specific issues and to allow open participation by females. Numbers of participants for each focus group discussion were limited to 15. Resource maps were also drawn within the context of focus group discussions (Appendix 2). Similar variables as for the interviews were discussed during focus group discussions.

Quantifiable data was cleaned, coded and entered into an SPSS computer software package. The data was analysed using the same programme. Qualitative data was grouped into themes and analysed paying particular attention to context and discourse.

Livelihood change following land reform

Socio-demographic contrasts

The households were categorised into 4 distinct socio-economic groups ranging from very low to high. There were no major differences in the observed socio-economic status between Gudo and Chirere villages. For both areas, no interviewed household suited the high category, which required a household to display evidence of farm mechanisation. Data from the study showed that most of households in Gudo (44.4%) were in the low category, followed by the very low category (37.8%) and medium category (17.8). Chirere had equal proportions of households in the very low (42.5%) and low (42.5%) category and 15% of the households were in the medium category. While on the other hand Gudo had 46% of the household, which were in the low category, very low 34% and middle 20%.

Twenty males and twenty females were recruited into the study for Chirere. Females constituted 68% of the respondents in Gudo villages. Out of the 90 households, household heads were distributed as follows: 78% male headed, 12 female headed, 9% boy child headed and 1.1% female child headed. Chirere had a higher proportion of households being male-headed 82.5%, unlike Gudo, which had 74%. Gudo had higher proportions of child headed households 14% (12% male child and 2% female child headed) than Chirere with 5% (all male children headed). Majority of the people interviewed from Chirere (77.5%) and Gudo (72%) were married. Interviewed households indicated that 12.5% were single but not cohabiting and 10% had spouses deceased and they were not cohabiting. Gudo respondents indicated that they were single but not cohabiting (8%), divorced but not cohabiting (8%) and spouses deceased but not cohabiting (8%), a smaller proportion 4% said they were single but cohabiting. Most of the interviewed people from Gudo had primary education (52%) as their highest level, 28% had reached ordinary level, 16 had junior certificates, 2% had never attended formal school and 2%

had a degree. Respondents in Chirere made the following indications on their high level of education: 37.5% had reached ordinary level, 37.5% had primary education, 10% never been to school and 15% junior certificate.

Migration

Resettlement of Chirere area started in 2000; hence most of the interviewees (63%) had been resident in the area for a period between 6 and 9 years. Twenty percent of the respondents have been resident for a period between 3 and 5 years, 17% have been resident for period between 2 and 3 years. Comparatively most Gudo respondents (54%) had been resident in the area for more than 21 years. Most of the respondents who had stayed in the area for more than 21 years have been born in the area. Equal proportions of respondents indicated that they had stayed in the area for 3 to 5 years (14%), 5 to 10 years (14%), year to 2 years (4%) and less than a year (4%). Ten percent of the respondents from Gudo had resided in the area for a period between 11 to 20 years. All the 40 respondents from Chirere were permanently resident in the area. Gudo respondents showed variation, but majority (90%) stayed permanently in the area, 6% periodically stay in the area and 4% rarely stay in the area.

Most of the resettled farmers in Chirere came from neighbouring areas like Chivi, Mazvihwa and Zvishavane. Most of the respondents maintained contact and networks with their places of origin. One man said “kuno kumatondo ekushavira” meaning the resettlement area was a place where one looks for better livelihood only. This means that the people especially from Chivi and Mazvihwa valued their places of origin. Some even preferred to be buried in their areas of origin rather than in the resettlements. Resettled farmers visited their areas of origin for marriage ceremonies, funerals, memorial functions, traditional functions, visit their family grave sites and friendly visits. During drought periods some families ferried food from the resettlement area to their parents and elderly relatives in the communal areas.

Information about the land invasion reached them and it was close enough for them to come and join the land occupation. The information was mainly passed on within party structures, relatives and friends. Numerous reasons were advanced to explain peasant migration into the Chirere area (Table 1). Majority of the resettled peasants indicated land pressure as the major push factor from the communal areas. Some pieces of land have been passed down from generation to generation and sub-divided in the process. The sub-divided land was then allocated to siblings who either had married or as estate of a deceased relative. The control case of Gudo shows this pattern of land inheritance. Migrations have tended to be intra-Mazvihwa communal area. Most of the respondents reside in the area because it is their place of birth. For this reason they have put up their own homesteads when they became of age and married. Even working people had homesteads in the area; these are viewed as security in cases of job loss or retirement homes. Marriage has necessitated movements in two dominant ways. Firstly when a young man marries he is then allocated a field and is supposed to put up his homestead. Secondly women migrate from their family residence to join the husband mostly at this new homestead. Equal proportion of respondents in both Chirere and Gudo moved to try and avoid family conflicts.

Table 1: Reasons for migration or staying in the study area

Reason for migration	Chirere Resettlement area (%)	Gudo communal area (%)
Land pressure	86	10
Residency by birth		47
Marriage	2	31
Schooling facilities		4
Job loss	5	2
Conflicts with relatives	2	2
Displaced by colonial government		1
Divorce		1
Land reform	5	
Total	100	100

Household assets

Dominant livestock in the study areas were cattle, goats, fowl and donkey. Chirere area had a higher population of cattle than Gudo respondents (Table 2). The household with the highest number of cattle was in Gudo community. Average cattle for the respondents in Gudo and Chirere were 5 and 3 per household respectively. Goats were higher per household in Chirere than Gudo. The household with the highest number of goats was in Chirere area, where the total number of goats was higher than in Gudo (Table 2). Gudo respondents had a total population of 430 fowl, and an average of 11 per household. The household with the highest number of fowls had 57 birds. Chirere respondents had 414 fowls and an average of 9 fowls per household. About 25% and 33% of the respondents in Chirere and Gudo respectively did not have cattle. Although Chirere had the highest population of goats, 31% of the respondents did not have goats compared to Gudo with 20% without goats. Donkeys were not very common in the Gudo and Chirere as evidenced by high prevalence of people without 55% and 71% respectively.

Table 2: Livestock population within interviewed households

	Chirere resettlement area				Gudo communal area			
	Cattle	Goats	Fowl	Donkey	Cattle	Goats	Fowl	donkey
Total	140	187	414	36	183	94	430	30
Mean	3.043478	4.155556	9.2	1.8	4.575	2.410256	11.31579	0.882353
Maximum	13	18	30	14	24	15	57	8
Minimum	0	0	0	0	0	0		0
Standard Deviation	3.306267	3.528814	6.907177	3.458019	4.95046	2.953303	11.65983	1.934765

Assets procured within the last 10 years were assessed. Significant proportions of respondents did not acquire assets during the past 10 years (Table 3). Generally Gudo community respondents had higher proportions that did not acquire any assets than Chirere resettlement. Table 3 shows the 61 assets bought in Chirere and 64% of these assets were bought using income from agriculture. On the other hand Gudo community respondents bought 59 assets and 42% were bought from income derived from agriculture. Most of the respondents from Gudo area bought kitchenware, while Chirere respondents bought farm equipment. Significant

proportions of respondents had procured household property in both Chirere and Gudo areas. Kitchen wares were majority of assets donated in Gudo because of the clubs that promote giving of such gifts. Government donations to Chirere resettlement area account for the higher farm equipment donated than in Gudo. Not everyone in the area received the donated equipment. Farming implements were the most popular assets bought by Chirere respondents. While in Gudo area it was second to kitchenware. It has to be understood that farmers in Gudo have a long history of farming, which means they have most of the basic equipment needed for farming.

Table 3 Asserts procured by respondents within the last 10 years.

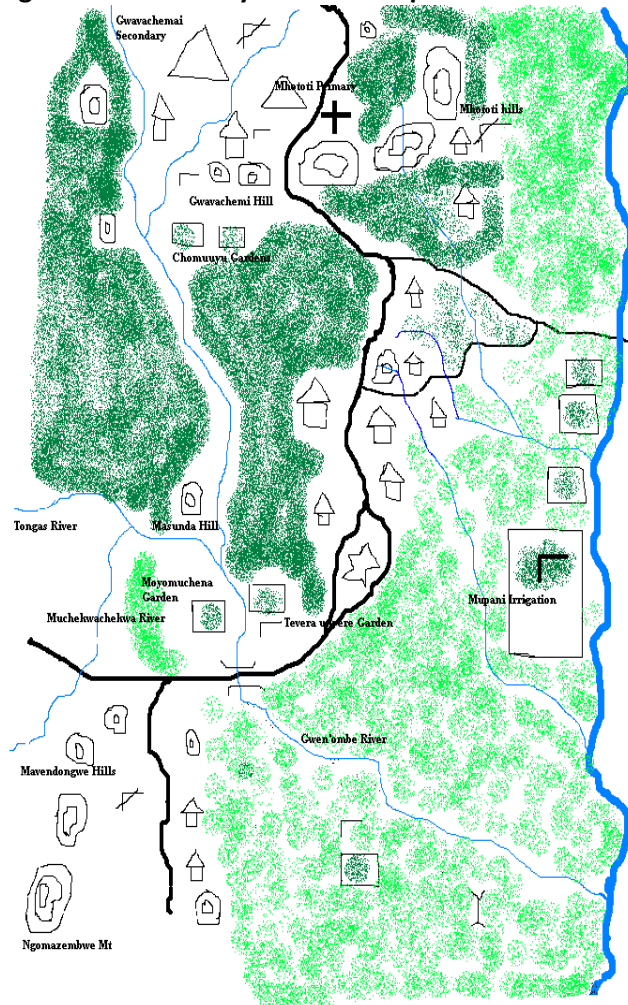
Assert	Asserts bought		Asserts donated		Asserts bought from agricultural proceeds	
	Chirere	Gudo	Chirere	Gudo	Chirere	Gudo
Building material	2 (3)	4 (5)			4 (6)	
Goats	5 (7)	10 (13)	1 (1)		4 (6)	4 (5)
Cattle	4 (6)	4 (5)	1 (1)		3 (4)	2 (3)
Donkey	2 (3)	1 (1)			2 (3)	
Fowl	2 (3)	3 (4)			2 (3)	
Kitchen ware	9 (13)	19 (25)	1 (1)	8 (11)	8 (11)	8 (11)
Farming equipment	12 (17)	4 (5)	5 (7)	3 (4)	11 (15)	7 (9)
Bicycle	2 (3)	1 (1)				1 (1)
Cell phone		2 (3)	1 (1)			
Electrical gargets	5 (7)	1 (1)	1 (1)	1 (1)	2 (3)	
Household furniture	10 (14)	8 (11)			2 (3)	2 (3)
Blanket and clothes	4 (6)	2 (3)		1 (1)	4 (6)	1 (1)
Sewing machine	1 (1)					
Empty drums	2 (3)		4 (6)		1 (1)	
House	1 (1)					
Nothing	10 (14)	16 (21)	23 (33)	37 (49)	28 (39)	50 (67)
Total	71	75	71	75	71	75

Natural resources

Every household is allocated a piece of land to farm on. In Gudo area the traditional leaders play a pivotal role in field allocation. Hence the peasants uphold customary rules. Fertility of fields was said to be poor in Gudo area. Soil fertility was not homogenous within the ward as the southern parts (around Ngomazembwe Mountain and Mavendogwe hills) are less fertile than others (Figure 2). Some peasants farm in the north-western parts where fields were more fertile and can produce good yields if fertility is enhanced. Peasants in Gudo use manure, anthill clay

and fertilisers. Fertilisers were not commonly used because of the non-availability and lack of funds.

Figure 2: Community resource map of Gudo-Mhototi (Drawn by community)



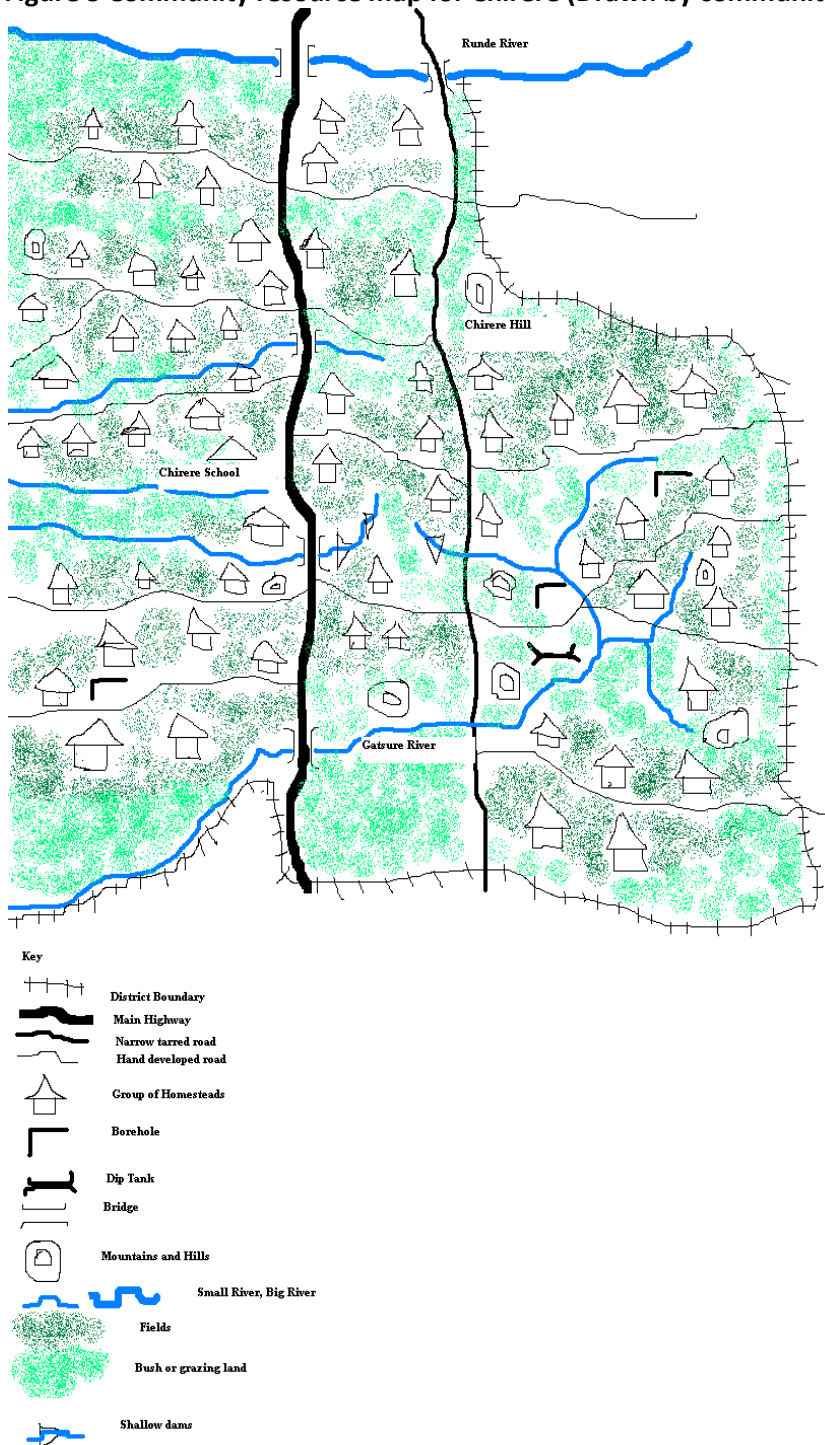
- Key
- 10 Households
 - Hills and mountains
 - functional borehole
 - None-functional borehole
 - Gardening projects
 - Irrigated gardens
 - Dip tank
 - Business Centre
 - School
 - Church
 - Major roads, other roads
 - Major River, Small rivers
 - Grazing area
 - Fields

On the other hand Chirere resettlement peasants have bigger fields and soil fertility is better than in Gudo area. Some of the land in Chirere has only been utilised for a few years. Most of the farmers have not cleared the total field area allocated. Some of the peasants expressed that the undeveloped land is reserved for firewood and grazing. Peasants apply manure, anthill clay and fertiliser in order to improve soil fertility and harvest.

Grazing land in Gudo was concentrated in the eastern part. Cattle from the area graze freely in the grazing area and water in Runde River, which is adjacent. According to focus group discussion respondents, the grazing area has reduced significantly in quality and size since the 1970's. During off agricultural season cattle graze anywhere especially in the fields where they take advantage of crop residue. Farmers also cut maize stalks and reserve them for future fodder when the grass dries. In Chirere, grazing areas were haphazardly distributed. Fields are located close to the homesteads. Pockets of bush exist in between fields and these are used as open access grazing area (Figure 3). Focus group discussion respondents indicated that bushy areas that were part of the allocated fields were restricted to grazing by the field owners' herd. For example, a farmer allocated 5 hectares (ha) and managed to cultivate 2ha then the remainder will be used for grazing of the farmer's herd only. These arrangements were not institutionalised but *de facto* rules observed by farmers. The communal grazing area was said to be deteriorating due to uncontrolled grazing. The area does not have paddocks to allow regeneration of grass. The major problem in Chirere is shortage of water for watering animals.

The water and sanitation situation in Chirere is worse than in Gudo. Gudo has 5 functional boreholes and 3 non-functional ones. The boreholes are fairly distributed (Figure 2). Each household has access to a Blair toilet (pit latrine). However most of the Blair toilets in the area are full or almost full. People continue using them in this state, which defeats their purpose. Runde River runs along the area hence accessible to community members; unlike in Chirere the river cuts across one tip of the area. Gatsura river is a seasonal river that dries from June to the next rain season. Water logging is common in some parts of Chirere. This affects agriculture negatively. In Chirere Blair toilets occurrence is 1 for every 9 households. Some of them are made from grass and poles. Most of the people said Blair toilets had been promised and they were waiting for the donors or government. Black plastics were to be distributed by Ministry of Health to make sidewalls for the toilets. The area has 2 boreholes, which are located in the eastern parts of Chirere (Figure 3).

Figure 3 Community resource map for Chirere (Drawn by community)



Generally cutting down of trees is prohibited unless there is a good reason and permission sought. Permission is sought from the traditional leadership in consultation with environmental officers trained by Rural District Council. Both traditional leadership and council environmental police monitor tree cutting with the latter being trained personnel in conservation. Anyone in

Mazvihwa can access fruit tree bearing trees and harvest the fruits. Fruit harvesting and cutting down of fruit tree is specially protected by customary rules. Fruit bearing trees may only be cut if it does not bear fruits. Firewood may be harvested from dried logs.

Policing of tree cutting is weaker in Chirere than Gudo. Focus group discussion participants indicated that the trees were decreasing at a fast pace (Appendix 1). The decline was blamed on poachers and over use of trees. The respondents claim that people from surrounding Chivi rural areas come and harvest trees and carry them away during the night. Locals claim that they have realised the subtracting effect of the poachers and have joined in the tree cutting so as to benefit from tree resources in their area rather than have outsiders benefiting. Tree selling became lucrative business during the socio-economic hardships. Tree products were commercialised e.g. firewood, tree fibres and logs for making craft artefacts. Tree decline was also due to the high demand of fields and poles for construction. Falling trees for these two activities is acceptable in the area.

Outside human factors, climate variability and change has also been blamed for resource depletion. The rains are erratic within one season for both Chirere and Gudo. This combined with infertile soils affects production worse in Gudo than Chirere. At times excessive heavy down pours erode the topsoil. Low productivity leads to people cutting down trees for sell in Zvishavane and Masvingo from Chirere. Focus group discussion participants blamed drought periods for negatively affecting crops, trees and grass. Hence to them under normal rains trees should be able to sprout and replace the cut tree. Some of the participants blamed the natural resources problems on modernisation and reducing respect for the ancestors and traditional functions.

There were serious resource use conflicts in Chirere than in Gudo. The community was divided over the issue of new households being settled in the area previously marked as grazing area. These people are suspected of bribing the community leadership. The issue has been discussed but the community could not resolve the problem.

Training, education and information

Information is usually relayed during community meetings. Gudo and Chirere areas depend on the councillor, the traditional leadership and extension workers for information. The councillor mainly communicates information on development from NGO's and council. Traditional leaders communicate information on desires of the spirits, messages from mediums, traditional ceremonies and development. Government departments come and conduct educational sessions like health information. Agricultural Research and Extension services (AREX) officers are resident in the area and conduct agricultural training. Both study areas display high attendance levels to agricultural training held in the area. Eighty percent of respondents from Chirere and seventy-two percent from Gudo had attended farmer certificate courses. The farmers volunteer to participate in the courses and there is no exclusion policy. Peasants in both study areas indicated their training needs (Table 4). Most of the Gudo respondents required training in entrepreneurship skills. These were mainly required in the management of small businesses and projects. Demand for agricultural training was lower for Gudo than for Chirere. Need for vocational training like carpentry, metal work, sawing and crafts was higher in Chirere than in Gudo (Table 4).

Table 4: Identified training needs

Area	Responses					
	Health	Agriculture	Entrepreneurship	Vocational training	None	No Idea
Chirere Resettlement (%)	9	34	34	15	9	
Gudo communal (%)	16	22	46	2	8	6

Chirere does not have a trained health worker in the area unlike Gudo. The clinics that serviced Gudo area was manned by registered nurses and trained nurse aids. Chirere resettlement did not have trained peer educators, while Gudo had peer educators. Home-based caregiver (HBC) programmes are in place but suffering from lack of external support. Although the HBC volunteers and peer educators are still in the area they have not received basic sundries to use nor attended refresher courses. It is not easy to get condoms within this area.

Both Gudo and Chirere had developed a culture of innovation. Both communities use numerous equipments which are made from the area by utilising locally available resources. At times the local resources are used together with externally acquired equipment in making tools. Communities make tools such as: hoes, yokes, axes, pounding mill and carts. The few people who can make these implements sell them to others. Both communities relied on external equipment like ploughs culvert and scotch carts.

More respondents from Chirere (80%) than those from Gudo (76%) were involved in community decision-making. Community members participate in various committee meetings and consultative forums, which report to political parties, council, government and Non-Governmental Organisations. The decisions made depend on the interest group; however in most of the forums political parties and council have representation and a say. 54% of 35 respondents in Chirere said those who were members to local committees adequately represented them. On the other hand 78% of respondents in Gudo area said their interests were represented in the local committees.

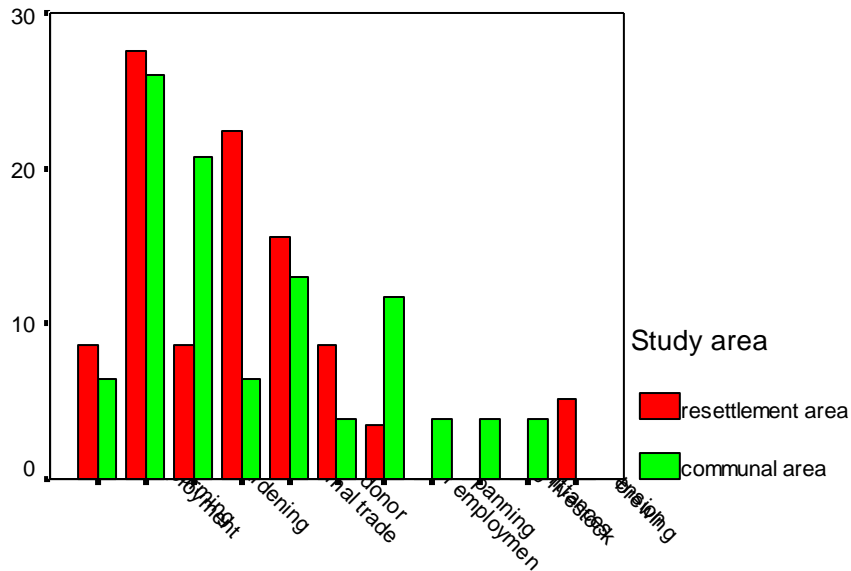
Both wards are represented to council through the councillors. Councillors are elected by the community to represent them. In the two study areas, there were women councillors. Higher proportion of respondents in Gudo (73%) showed satisfaction with the way their interests were represented in external (outside Mazvihwa) institutions, than in Chirere 65%. A senator and a member of parliament also represent interests of the community. These two are not resident in the study area. Traditional leadership also represents the community interests to the outside institutions.

Comparing livelihood strategies

The studied communities areas display numerous activities they were engage in to have an acceptable level of livelihood. Some of these livelihoods strategies bring income, food or other

material wealth required by the household. Focus group discussion data indicated that everyone in the two study areas practiced agriculture to some extent. Some peasants in Gudo are farming for household consumption, most of the times the produce cannot meet household demand. Peasants have reacted by either diversification or not relying on agriculture as a livelihood strategy. Respondents still highly identified agriculture as a dominant livelihood strategy (Figure 4). In Gudo most peasants are now replacing field agriculture with gardens. According to one respondent “We plough the fields so as to safe guard our fields from being taken away by the District Administrator otherwise nothing is coming out of agriculture these days.” A significant population as a livelihood strategy practices gardening. While respondents in Gudo seem to be shifting from agriculture to gardens, Chirere respondents showed increasing investment in agriculture. The economic situation prevailing in the country coupled by poor soils and erratic rainfall discouraged agriculture in Gudo. Although Chirere farmers faced a similar economic and rainfall situation, government better supported them with inputs. Further they feared that their farms might be reposed by government.

Figure 4: Livelihoods strategies used within the last year



livelihoods strategies used within a year

Informal trade and short-term employment are major livelihoods strategies especially for Chirere resettlement than Gudo communal area. Gold panning in Runde River is widely practiced in Gudo communal area more than in Chirere resettlement. Gold panning in Gudo is usually practiced during off agricultural season. This was initially mainly to supplement household income, but for some it is now a key livelihood strategy. Donor assistance also forms part of the two communities’ livelihoods strategies. Gudo areas had a higher presence of donor agents than Chirere. However respondents said donors were not reliable and unpredictable when aid would come. Selling livestock, beer brewing and remittances were identified as key livelihood strategies by respondents from Gudo and not Chirere.

A number of factors affect the ability of the communities to attain the desired livelihoods level. The factors that affect effectiveness of communities' livelihood strategies were both natural and physical (Table 5). Respondents from both Gudo and Chirere areas highlighted lack of financial capital as the biggest problem affecting their livelihoods negatively. Productive and non-productive investments were negatively affected by lack of money. Chirere had proportions of peasants without the necessary equipments to engage into productive activities e.g. farming. Gudo respondents highlighted natural factors as setbacks more than Chirere respondents. These natural setbacks include: soil fertility and unreliable rainfall (climate change).

Table 5: Factors that affected attainment of sustainable livelihoods

		Chirere Resettlement	Gudo communal lands
Factors affecting livelihoods strategies	Lack of Farm Implements	7 (12.9)	3 (4.2)
	Lack of housing		3 (4.2)
	Soil infertility	1 (1.8)	8 (11.4)
	Lack of financial capital	24 (44)	25 (35.7)
	Unreliable rainfall	5 (9)	22 (31.4)
	Lack of employment	1 (1.8)	5 (7.1)
	National politics	2 (3.7)	1 (1.4)
	Animals destroying crops		1 (1.4)
	None	5 (9)	1 (1.4)
	Discipline of children		1 (1.4)
	Unreliable market	5 (9)	
	Land conflicts	2 (3.7)	
	Poor sanitation	1 (1.8)	
	Poor education infrastructure	1 (1.8)	
Total		54 (100)	70 (100)

Communities described some of the limiting factors to improving their livelihoods. Government policies and hyperinflation have also impacted upon the livelihoods of both study areas. A number of farmers lost their savings during the changing of bank notes. The price controls resulted in serious shortages of commodities on the official market. This disturbed the availability of inputs like seed and fertiliser. More important to the farmers was the extremely low prices being offered by the Grain Marketing Board (GMB). The government stops farmers from selling their grain to any other firm or person outside GMB. Most farmers resorted to not selling the crop or smuggling grain on the black market. Man has been reported to selling small quantities of the stocked crop at a time, for multiple times. This is done when the wives are not present usually when they go to fetch water. The cash from these sells is usually used to buy beer. Respondents in Gudo also highlighted that the ban on gold panning was constraining their livelihoods. Gudo focus group discussion participants showed disappointment in what they called *mitemo yanhasi* (Laws of today) like the gender law and the youth protection policy. They

assert that the youth can no longer be controlled. The community was taught that it was a crime for a youth to work on the farm. The youths were also given this information.

Agricultural productivity

About 58% of the respondents in Chirere had secured seed for the coming season. For Gudo 64% had secured inputs for the coming season. Focus group discussion data shows that most of the households select healthy seed from the previous crop to use as seed in the coming season. Some of the seed was placed in kitchens (to be smoked) or ash to prevent it being destroyed by insects. Inputs secured could not meet the demand for the acreage anticipated by the farmers in the coming season.

Documentary review of agricultural productivity in Chirere shows crops harvested and their production per hectare (ha). Maize and sorghum were the most popularly grown crops followed by groundnuts (Table 6). Sorghum accounts for the biggest portion of land under cultivation. The average yield for maize in the area (1.4 tonnes/ha) is lower than the expected standard of the region, which is 4 tonnes/ha. Rapoko had the lowest yield per hectare in Chirere.

Table 6: Chirere area agricultural production

Crop grown	Number of farmers	Estimate Yield (Tonnes)	Area in hectares (ha)	Average yield per ha
Maize	714	992.6	709	1.4
Sorghum	714	1406.6	1082	1.3
Sunflower	28	5.5	11	0.5
G/nuts	607	520.8	434	1.2
Cotton	53	22	185	1.2
Mhunga	101	44.48	55.8	0.8
Rapoko	68	15.6	39	0.4
Cow peas	105	5	10	0.5
Soya beans	15	5	5	1

Respondents were asked their yields from the previous season. Chirere respondents had the highest kilograms of maize, groundnuts, round nuts and mapfunde (sourghum) than Gudo (Table 7). Gudo communal area has higher yields of cotton and mhunga (millet) than Chirere. Both areas have low rainfall, which makes it difficult for most maize varieties to grow well. Sorghum, groundnuts, round nuts and livestock keeping are encouraged by agriculturists. Farmers do not prefer these crops due to their high labour intensiveness and destruction by birds. Furthermore crops like ground and round nuts are labelled 'women's crops', hence man rarely participate in their production. One male focus group participant said '*musha haungambobatwi nemari yenzungu, ndiyo yemamayi iyoyo*', meaning a homestead's livelihood cannot be dependent on proceeds from groundnuts production, women should utilise their proceeds from groundnuts. Women complained that although man plays a minor role in production of ground nuts and other minor crops, they benefit and in some cases control the proceeds from such crops.

Table 7: Respondents production levels for Chirere and Gudo areas

Study Area	Crop	Total (Kg)	Mean (Kg)	Stdev	Max (Kg)	Min (Kg)
Chirere Resettlement Area	Maize	41950	1165.28	1702.89	10000	50
	Ground nuts	22670	755.67	625.66	3000	20
	Mapfunde	42650	1254.41	1242.82	6000	200
	Mhunga	590	196.67	184.48	400	40
	Round nuts	4215	351.25	266.24	1000	15
	Cotton	350	350	350	350	
	Beans	190	95	77.78	150	40
Gudo Communal Area	Maize	36930	998.11	1160.89	5250	30
	Ground nuts	21560	653.33	953.56	4200	10
	Mapfunde	24950	623.75	852	4200	50
	Mhunga	3050	234.62	165.06	700	50
	Round nuts	1270	141.11	99.18	300	20
	Cotton	1800	360	22.36	400	350

Respondents from Chirere and Gudo cultivated a total of 86.76 ha and 52 ha respectively in the 2008/9 season (Table 8). Chirere had the highest maximum land cultivated (6 ha) compared to the 2.34 ha of Gudo. On average each household in Gudo cultivated 1 ha, while in Chirere each household cultivated 3 ha. In the coming season (2009/10) the smallest size of the field is not anticipated to change. The increased field size is anticipated to be 23.81 ha and an average increase of 0.496041 for Gudo farmers. In Chirere hectrage is expected to increase by 41.19 ha and an average increase of 0.857004 ha per farmer.

Table 8: Area put under agricultural production in the last season

	Gudo communal Area		Chirere resettlement area	
	Previous season	Next season	Previous season	Next season
Total ha	52.88	76.69	86.76	127.95
Maximum ha	2.43	3	6	6
Minimum ha	0.4	0.4	0.61	0.81
Average ha	1.101667	1.597708	2.79871	3.655714

Income and sources of income

Both Chirere and Gudo villagers had diverse dominant sources of income that included gardening, agriculture, selling livestock, remittances, informal trade, piecework, salary, gold panning and old age payouts. Agriculture was said to be the dominant source of income by 72.5% of Chirere respondents and 51% of Gudo respondents. In Chirere no respondent had selling livestock, piecework and remittances as dominant sources of income. About 27.5% of Chirere respondents also identified the following as other sources of income; gardening, informal trade, salary, gold panning and old age payout. Other dominant sources of income identified by 49% of Gudo respondents were: salary, garden, selling livestock, remittances, informal trade, piece-work and gold panning. Outside the principal sources of income other sources of income used by respondents were explored. Higher proportion of Gudo respondents had agriculture as their alternative source of income than Chirere (Table 9). Higher proportions of Gudo respondents relied on income from selling garden produce than those from Chirere. Chirere respondents relied on salaries as alternative source of income more than Gudo respondents. Significant proportions for both Chirere and Gudo had no alternative source of income. Cross tabulation of the respondents without other sources of income showed that 71% had agriculture as their dominant source of income, 12% had gardening as dominant source of income. Focus group discussion data from Gudo showed that income sources were changing. Respondents indicated that agriculture is no longer paying very well due to low productivity and low market prices. Selling livestock, informal trade, piece-work and gold panning have emerged as important sources of income in the past 7 years. Although these were practices since history, it has reached a new level where the whole family engage to provide for basic livelihoods needs. In Chirere villagers with a parent formally employed and/or war veteran relied on informal trade, salaries, pensions and payouts outside agriculture. On the other hand villagers with a rural background would tend to engage in piecework, beer brewing and gold panning.

Table 9: Indicated alternative sources of income by interview respondents

		Study Area	
		Chirere Resettlement	Gudo communal area
Alternative sources of income	Gardening	2 (5)	16(23)
	Agriculture	7 (17)	18(26)
	Selling livestock	1 (2)	
	Remittances	3 (7)	5(7)
	Informal trade	7 (17)	8(11)
	Piece work	5 (12)	6(9)
	Salary	4 (10)	1(1)
	Gold panning		2(3)
	Beer brewing	2 (5)	3(4)
	Pensions	2 (5)	
	No other source	8 (20)	11(16)
Total		41 (100)	110 (100)

Chirere households had high aggregate income of US\$72 000 which translates to US\$2 000 per interviewed household. On the other hand Gudo has lower aggregate income of US\$30 000 which translates to US\$800 per household. Mean annual incomes for Gudo and Chirere are significantly different; they are US\$800 and US\$2000 respectively. Chirere respondents had the

highest income of US\$20 000 and the lowest of US\$12. The highest incomes earner in Gudo had US\$9 000/annum and the lowest had US\$24/annum. Chirere had a higher standard deviation of 4387.77 than Gudo with 1594.02. Majority of respondents in both study areas earned below US\$1000 per annum (Table 10).

Table 10: Income levels for the respondents

Area	Income			
	1-1000	1000 - 5000	5001 -10000	Above 10000
Chirere	22	6	2	2
Gudo	29	6	1	

Most of the respondents' income was seasonal. Gudo had a higher proportion of respondents (80%) with income that varied with season compared to Chirere with 65%. Most of the respondents in Chirere had more secure incomes because they were either employed or receiving pension payout or /and war veteran reparation. At the time of the study in both communities there were no organisations that helped with financial capital such as banks or other financial houses. Only 7% and 8% of the respondents in Chirere and Gudo respectively had accessed Agribank loans in the past. About 30% and 34% of the respondents in Chirere and Gudo respectively had credits. These credits were mainly money borrowed from neighbours and relatives.

Money without immediate use was saved in many different ways by different proportions of the population. Most of the respondents had not saved money in the past 10 years. Gudo had a higher proportion of respondents who had not saved money, than those from Chirere (Table 11). Amongst those with money to save most of them kept their money in the house. Buying of livestock was also another important way of saving money. The livestock would be sold whenever cash was required. Those who keep their money in the bank are higher in Chirere than Gudo because of salaries, pensions and war veteran reparation. An important minority of households in Gudo gave their parents money to keep on their behalf even if they were married and had their own families.

Table 11 Ways used to save money for future purposes

	Responses					
	No Savings	Buy Livestock	Keep in the home	Bank	Money spinning clubs	Give parents to keep on their behalf
Chirere	52.5	7.5	35	5		
Gudo	56	8	28	2	2	4

Risks and strength of each method of saving money was examined in focus group discussions. Livestock was considered vulnerable to the effects of climate. Mainly cattle die during drought periods; hence the peasant might lose their income. Most of the peasants tend to buy goats, which are drought resistant and easy to sell. Further saving money by buying livestock is affected by market price. When people know that you are selling livestock in a hurry to cover a

problem they tend to distort the prices. In some instances, no one might want to buy the livestock. People were happy keeping foreign currency in the home or having someone keeping it on ones behalf since it cannot be changed by the reserve bank. Numerous households lost their income when notes were changed by the reserve bank. Women complained of husbands who would come and take the money and use it for beer drinking. Banks were considered to be for those with a lot of money, since banks are charging exorbitant charges. The high inflationary environment that prevailed in the country prohibited peasants to save their money there. Money spinning clubs used to be more common in the past but now most are non-functioning due to members who defaulting payments.

Physical infrastructure

The study explored status of infrastructures necessary for a sustainable livelihood. There were differences between Chirere and Gudo in the type of infrastructure available, access, potential benefits and quality. Gudo area has a wide hardened gravel road that meanders through the ward. Buses, product carriers and other vehicles use this road to provide transport services to the area. At the time of this study the buses services had been cut and people relied on small cars that illegally offer public taxis services on the road. Small service roads branch from this main road to service homesteads far away from it. These roads are designed to suit movement of goods and people by scotch carts. While in Chirere the Zvishavane- Masvingo main highway cuts through the area. An old disused narrow tarred road runs parallel to the highway¹. Small scotch cart roads have been hand-made by residents to access areas were the displaced farmers had not made roads before. Lorries find it difficult to navigate through the hand-made roads. Goods and people have to be transported to the main tarred road either by foot or scotch carts.

Chirere does not have a clinic/health centre, electricity, landline phones and shops within the area. For health services residents have to travel to Chivi rural areas or Zvishavane. For services offered by grocery shops, beer outlets and grinding mills residents have to travel outside the boundaries of Chirere area either to neighbouring Chivi business centres or Zvishavane town. Although 24kv power line passes through the area, the area does not benefit from electricity services. Mobile phone services are available in the area. The study did not quantify homesteads with mobile phone, but they are the minority. The area has one primary school. The school is under construction.

Gudo community had the following services schools, shops, clinic, telecommunication and electricity. Gudo has both primary and secondary school services. Services at the schools are being affected by the poor remuneration of teachers who now demand payment from the community. Parents have to pay up to \$4 per week to provide honorarium for teachers in addition to the government salary. The shops mainly provide grocery, milling and beer outlet services. The business centre lacks other services like hardware shops, banks and others. Gudo community had two clinics one within the ward and another at Mutambi, which is 3 kilometres from the business centre. From observations fewer people had mobile phones in Gudo than in Chirere. Mobile services in Gudo are not as good as in Chirere due to poor signal strength.

¹ The narrow tarred road was constructed during the colonial era. The road was abandoned due to feasibility problems in its expansion e.g. unsuitable sites to construct bigger bridges. The department of roads constructed an alternative dual carriage road that is presently used as the Zvishavane-Masvingo highway.

Landline phones infrastructure is present in the area though it is not functional for most of the time.

Respondents rated the quality of infrastructure they accessed (Table 12). Roads were poorly rated by most of Gudo respondents, 22% rated them as average and 14% as good, while most of Chirere respondents thought the roads were of average quality. Most of the respondents from Chirere said the schools were of bad quality, while those from Gudo said their schools were of average quality. The respondents from Chirere and Gudo rated shops as bad and average respectively (Table 12). Both Chirere and Gudo respondents poorly rated clinics. Both communities poorly rated electricity services.

Table 12: Community ranks of quality of services

Perceived status of:	Area	Bad	Average	Good
Roads	Chirere	14 (35)	15 (37.5)	11 (27.5)
	Gudo	32 (64)	11 (22)	7 (14)
Schools	Chirere	20 (51)	14 (36)	5 (13)
	Gudo	10 (20)	24 (48)	16 (32)
Shops	Chirere	23 (85)	2 (7.5)	2 (7.5)
	Gudo	5 (10)	24 (50)	19 (40)
Clinic	Chirere	29 (100)		
	Gudo	32 (65)	15 (31)	2 (4)
Telecommunication	Chirere	19 (83)	3 (13)	1 (4)
	Gudo	22 (76)	7 (24)	
Electricity	Chirere	15 (100)		
	Gudo	39 (93)	1 (2)	2 (5)

Social networks

Social networks have developed to differing degrees within the two communities studied. This could be attributed to duration of stay in an area and the kinship ties in village composition. In Gudo communal area villages are composed of relatives and few unrelated people who are usually clustered. Those who were not relatives long ago have come to be relatives because of marriages. The people normally cooperate on funerals, projects, illness, food security and traditional functions. Participants to a focus group discussion in Gudo indicated that the economic hardships increased cooperation amongst people. Unlike in Gudo, villages in Chirere are not composed of relatives but unrelated people. The peasants were allocated homesteads regardless of their culture and ethnicity. However some neighbours have developed very good relations while others have not. The community cooperates on funerals, projects and some traditional function. Everyone has their own custom and ways of coordinating traditional functions. The rest of the community are normally invited to witness and have no role in functions that are not of their tribe. However there are functions of the land performed by the chieftaincy lineage that people attend to show respect but are not compulsory.

Three indicators were used to measure the functionality of social networks namely: help with ideas, borrowing arrangements of equipment and cash. Equipment used for agriculture and other productive work were commonly borrowed such as plough, plough parts, hoes, pick, field rakes, wheel barrows and scorch carts. Those without cattle or donkeys would borrow or hire

from those they have established networking relations. Focus group discussion participants indicated that in Gudo area equipment or cattle were not hired out in the past, but it is a recent practice. The economic hardships have forced people to demand for payment either in cash or goods in exchange for using ones property. The payment system is also being used to deter those people not in a good relationship with others or the one with the equipment.

In both Chirere and Gudo borrowing networks have necessitated creations of groups that cooperate. The difference between the two areas is that in Gudo these groups were wider and with flexible boundaries, while groups in Chirere were geographically controlled and with rather stiff boundaries. Most of the respondents from Gudo borrow equipment from their relatives, while a few others borrow from their neighbours (Table 13). On the other hand, most of the respondents from Chirere borrow equipment from neighbours and others borrow from relatives (Table 13). Chirere has a larger proportion of people with no one to ask for help with equipment as compared to Gudo. Assistance with cash is on the declining trend in Gudo community, because households rarely have money to spare. In the recent years borrowing the local currency did not make sense due to the high inflationary environment. Gudo community members preferred to lend crops. The one in need of the money would sell the crop and would repay using the same quantity of crop. Equal proportions of Chirere respondents borrowed money from relatives and neighbours, 5% from local leadership. Thirty percent of Chirere respondents borrowed money from relatives, 18% from neighbours, 6% from local leadership and 2% from burial society. Both Gudo and Chirere had high proportions of respondents who did not have anywhere to get assistance with cash, 44% and 43% respectively.

Table 13: Borrowing and sharing arrangements within the study areas

Issue	Area	Responses						
		Councillor (%)	Relatives (%)	Neighbours (%)	Arex Officer (%)	No one (%)	Traditional leadership (%)	Burial society (%)
Borrowing equipment	Chirere	3	21	34	3	34	5	
	Gudo	8	39	18	6	25	4	
Sharing ideas	Chirere	10	33	20	8	20	10	
	Gudo	8	48	10	2	14	18	
Borrowing cash	Chirere	5	26	26		43		
	Gudo	4	30	18		44	2	2

Ideas are numerous and people tend to discuss issues depending on the expected assistance being sought. Sharing ideas in this context meant a person one confides in and/or discusses their problems in order to develop or improve oneself. When households had domestic problems they usually approached family structures to resolve them. When members of the community had problems, elderly members of the community were approached to address the issues. If the issue or problem cannot be addressed at this level it is therefore referred to the traditional leadership structures. There are however differences between Chirere and Gudo households in regard to whom they relied upon for ideas. In both areas households mainly relied on their relatives. Different proportions of respondents in Gudo community relied on a number of people for ideas namely: relatives, traditional leadership, neighbours, councillor and Arex officer. Similar people were used for ideas by the Chirere community but by different proportions to those for Gudo area (Table 14). Higher proportions of respondents from Chirere

relied on neighbours than on traditional leaders. This is the opposite of Gudo communal area respondents.

Group affiliation was higher for Gudo communal area than for Chirere resettlement area. Gardening cooperatives dominated the groups in Gudo area among cooking oil processing, sewing and money spinning clubs. The community considered the irrigation project as the major project in Gudo area. However some of these projects are no longer fully-functional. For example the irrigation engine is no longer functioning hence people have to fetch water using cans and buckets. Groups were not well developed in Chirere. Working groups had been created for members to cooperate and provide labour to each member on need basis. These groups were abandoned by most of their members due to internal problems. Although the group labour was within a defined group in Chirere area, Gudo community had similar labour arrangements but without a defined group. In Gudo any community member willing to work was invited and the host would prepare food, brew beer and *mahewu*.

Vulnerable groups in society were assisted by external organisations especially non-governmental organisations (NGOs). The vulnerable groups included orphans and vulnerable children, people living with HIV and AIDS and food insecure households. Africare and churches provided basic needs for orphans like food, clothing, school fees and uniforms. Helpage helped the elderly beyond 60 years of age with money, food and health training. On the other side Chirere has a thin presence of external organisations. Helpage, Care international, DAAC and Red Cross were identified as having operated within Chirere in the past 5 years. Care International and Red Cross conducted a one-off food distribution exercise in Chirere. DAAC only operated in the area up to 2005.

Memberships to groups have helped people in Gudo to establish horizontal and vertical linkages to other institutions. Cooperatives have borrowing arrangements amongst themselves. Cooperatives also amalgamated in order to source for inputs where membership of an individual group does not warrant assistance from institutions. In one case the AREX officer had to increase the membership of irrigation project from 8 to 38 so as to qualify to apply for help from state and non-state institutions.

The respondents identified numerous benefits derived from being a member of a group (Table 14). More respondents from Gudo than those in Chirere derived food from their numerous groups. A number of respondents from Chirere and Gudo areas belong to groups but do not derive any benefit from them.

Conclusions

Previous studies showed that since the 1980s willing-buyer and willing-seller policy up to the new fast track land resettlement policy, the new communities created were constituted by people from a mix of ethnic groups, various areas of origin – both urban and rural - and from different districts and provinces (Chaumba *et al* 2003; Barr 2004; Peters 2007). This situation leads to weak social connectivity, which is an important aspect of rural livelihoods. Results of this study showed deeper social networks and relations amongst Gudo communal area than their counterparts in Chirere resettlement area. This is due to the more diverse ethnic backgrounds and unrelated people habiting in Chirere area. Gudo communal area is dominated

by kinship relations, which are characterised by blood, totem or marriage. Although social relations are more embedded in Gudo, they are developing in Chirere. Few people are blood relatives and at times they stay far away from each other. Marriages within the area were few; hence totem relations became most important connecting factor. These relations have informed borrowing and sharing arrangements as the data above demonstrate higher borrowing and sharing amongst Gudo villagers than Chirere resettlement. Barr (2004) made similar observation that one of the tasks facing the newly resettled villagers in the 1980s was to forge social relationships and thereby transforming their new co-villagers from strangers into neighbours and their villages from mere clusters of homesteads into effective communities.

More respondents from Gudo were members of social groups, which helped create rapport and inter dependence amongst community members. This facilitated easy cooperation in labour provision, sharing equipment and assistance with food. Chirere villagers had higher connectivity with urban institutions like the war veterans association, the grain marketing board (GMB) and their workplaces (for those working). This is not unusual since their livelihoods and existence on the farms were anchored on the role of these institutions to provide inputs and to maintain the status quo (Raftopoulos 2001; McGregor 2002; Chaumba *et al* 2003). Most of the resettled people claimed links with their communal areas of origin which were Mazvihwa and Chivi in most cases. Customary functions, funerals and kinship ties informed the back and forth network that existed between communal and resettled areas.

Rural communities in Zimbabwe derive much of their livelihoods from agriculture (Masiwa 2004). Hence it formed the pinnacle of their livelihood strategies. One of the aims of the fast track programme was to ensure that resettled farmers were more productive than those in the communal areas. The data presented above show that resettled farmers were more indeed productive. Similar levels of investment and rainfall existed for both areas. Chirere produced more due to government attention on resettled farms and more fertile soils. Households normally diversified their livelihoods strategies, especially responding to unfavourable policies in agriculture and climate variability. The study showed that farmers in Gudo were shifting their priority from agriculture to gardening. This is understandable since agricultural products did not fetch rational prices on the official markets. Those in Gudo also turned to gold panning. In Chirere households with urban connections relied on salaries and pensions, while those with rural background relied on gold panning and short labour contracts. Remittances from siblings in urban and/or outside the country formed an important livelihood strategy although the assistance was said to be inconsistent.

Benefits derived by households as an outcome to the fast track land reform have been a subject of debate. The findings of this study have confirmed other studies that recorded higher income for resettled farmers. A number of resettled farmers are either employed or pensioners and these income sources add to their improved farm income.

Other studies have indicated poor infrastructure that characterise the resettlement areas (Derman 2006). Due to the fast track nature of the land reform there was neither time nor resources to develop infrastructure. Chirere resettlement was no exception; its physical capital is very low. The area has no business centre, school, clinic, electricity and a good road network. The area has a proposed business centre, but it has not been developed. Gudo had fairly developed infrastructure. Although at the time of data collection there was no bus services, but

the roads were fair so much that crops could be transported to the main tarred road easily. Due to low socio-economic status, communication channels were limited to councillor, traditional leadership and other people. In Chirere the medium socio-economic class had access to electronic media such as radios.

Land is embedded within a range of “socially constructed meanings, values and relationships” (Aliber et al 2004, 20). Some resettled farmers joined the A1 schemes because they needed to possess land which was defined in their names not lineage. Others joined the schemes because they needed more productive land to farm on. Chirere had higher resource base than Gudo communal area. The Gudo resource map shows the large cultivated area versus a small concentrated grazing area. The land has been sub-divided into small fields during inheritance; as a result small fields of three hectares and less characterise the area. Although Gudo had fertile and rich soils as well as diverse vegetation, utilising methods leave a lot to be desired. Chirere had weak resources management systems. As a community they had failed to deal with tree cutting, erosion, siltation and wild animal poachers. Although they can boast of high yields with minimum input in soil fertility, for how long shall this situation continue without depleting the soil? Other farmers use manure and anthill clay to improve soil fertility and others do not use anything. The water and sanitation situation in Chirere is dire and needs investing into to facilitate for development.

The question of land tenure and rights has not been dealt with in the A1 model studied here. Western concepts of investment and sustainable livelihoods hinges on property rights, more secure property rights will encourage investment and granting of loans. The resettled farmers’ tenure arrangement just like in the communal areas still remains common property with the state jurisdiction.

In conclusion the study has compared livelihood strategies of Chirere and Gudo, which are resettlement and communal areas respectively. The resettlement site has low social networks and poor physical infrastructure. On the other hand it has shown to be more productive than the communal area due to a better resource base, particularly the fertile soils. However, if proper management of natural resources is not instituted, the superior resource base will be depleted. Household income is higher for Chirere than Gudo communal area.

The fast track land reform therefore had a positive improvement to the livelihoods of those who benefited, if one is to compare the higher income, yields and assets bought by respondents from Chirere resettlement and Gudo communal area. Thus, the fast track land reform has potential to boost agricultural production if the correct infrastructure and policy framework is instituted. Farmers in Chirere and Gudo are socially and economically different groups pursuing different livelihood strategies despite the apparent similarity that both focus on small-scale agriculture. Hence policies need to take note of the differences since duplicating a policy for one area might not work in another.

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Appendix: Photographs

Trees cutting in Chirere resettlement are done for numerous reasons including; clearing fields and/or sell firewood to Zvishavane and Masvingo:



Gudo community members drawing a resource map:



Full list of Livelihoods after Land Reform in Zimbabwe Working Papers

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