

RAPID DESK-BASED STUDY:

How Social Issues Affect Market
Engagement and Livelihoods
Strategies - Among the Rural Poor
in Zimbabwe



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Contents

| | |
|---------------------------------------|----|
| Introduction | ii |
| SECTION 1 | 1 |
| Key Themes | 1 |
| 1.1 Cross-Cutting Social Issues | 1 |
| 1.2 Gender | 2 |
| 1.3 HIV/AIDS | 6 |
| 1.4 Disability | 7 |
| 1.5 Children | 8 |
| 1.6 Older People | 9 |
| 1.7 Spatial Exclusion | 9 |
| SECTION 2 | 11 |
| Summary / Implications | 11 |
| 2.1 Agricultural Productivity | 11 |
| 2.2 Access to Markets | 11 |
| 2.3 Cross-Cutting | 12 |
| SECTION 3 | 13 |
| Annotated Bibliography | 13 |



Introduction

The purpose of this rapid desk-based study is to inform the development of detailed design work for two components of the new Livelihoods and Food Security Programme being supported by DFID Zimbabwe. The work is specifically intended to help DFID ensure that full consideration is given to relevant gender and social inclusion issues from the beginning of the programme implementation process; and to inform the terms of reference and work programme for the monitoring, evaluation and research unit.

This part of the study has involved a review of social science literature relating specifically to Zimbabwe. A thorough internet search has been carried out of academic literature and grey sources. However, it should be noted that, given the time available for this study (five days), it has not been possible to access sources that are only available in hard copy in Zimbabwe, for example certain Government or NGO reports.

The social appraisal section and gender analysis included in the Livelihoods and Food Security Business Case has been used as the starting point for this work. The available social science literature largely supports the gender analysis in the Business Case and provides some rich contextual detail enabling further implications for programming to be drawn out. It also provides useful cross-cutting social analysis of the agricultural sector, as well as analysis of HIV/AIDS and livelihoods issues. The available literature on certain other dimensions of social exclusion, in particular ageing issues and disability is, however, much more limited.

Section one of this report sets out and analyses the key findings of the literature and is structured as follows:

- cross-cutting social issues
- gender issues:
- other social inclusion issues, including as sub-themes HIV/AIDS, disability, child rights, ageing and spatial exclusion.

Section two summarises these findings and draws out the key implications for promotion of agricultural productivity and market access of poor rural households in Zimbabwe.

Section three presents an annotated bibliography.



SECTION 1

Key Themes

1.1 Cross-Cutting Social Issues

In considering the central question of the study 'How do social Issues affect market engagement and livelihoods strategies among the rural poor in Zimbabwe?', this section draws on a selection of cross-cutting social science studies. These shed light on some of the socio-economic factors and processes that lead to differentiated livelihoods opportunities and constraints for different types of household. The key themes emerging from this group of studies can be summarised as follows.


Agricultural Productivity: Two studies demonstrate how a socio-economic analysis of current agricultural systems and of household endowments and preferences can help us understand whether and why households take up agricultural innovations.

Taking the case of small-holder farmers in Zimbabwe's Zambezi Valley and using research games to elicit farmers' preferences, Baudron et al (2011) examine farmer motivations for taking up (or not) Conservation Agriculture. They find that labour is a key agricultural constraint for farming households; that the key labour peak occurs at first weeding; and that this peak labour constraint is particularly pronounced for 'hand-hoe' farmers (those do not have access to draught animals for ploughing) as they generally lack resources to hire in labour. One particular consequence of this labour peak is that farmers prefer to burn, rather than mulch, crop residues, as mulching further increases the labour burden during planting and weeding at the labour peak.

In general they find a poor fit between farmer preferences and techniques promoted as part of Conservation Agriculture. Some of these preferences are driven by farmer endowments and others by socio-cultural issues. For example, the authors find that one of the reasons for farmers' reluctance to take up inter-cropping with legumes is that farmers associate this practice with poverty and old age and that it does not fit with their perception of a 'good farmer'.

Whilst acknowledging that the particular context of the Zambezi Valley mean detailed findings cannot necessarily be generalised in a simplistic way to other zones, the authors draw two important general conclusions: firstly that in the context of labour and cash constraints agricultural packages that exacerbate these constraints are unlikely to make much headway; and secondly that, in order to be effective, agricultural interventions need to be based on an increased understanding of the rationale of existing smallholder farming practices.

A second example comes from Masakure and Henson (2005) who examine the motivations behind the decision of small-scale producers in three districts of Mashonaland East Province to enter into contracts to produce vegetables for export. It highlights that motivations to participate vary quite markedly even among producers already engaged with this scheme and living in a relatively small geographical area. For one group of respondents, who consist primarily of female-headed households with smaller plots and who experience difficulty in accessing markets, the primary motivation is to manage market risk. A second group, again



made up primarily of female-headed households, but with somewhat larger plots, is driven by both the promise of increased income and the opportunity to manage risk. A third group of predominantly male farmers, with the largest plots, is motivated mainly by intangible benefits, such as skills acquisition and the self-esteem associated with producing for export.

Based on these findings, the authors argue that a full understanding of the range of farmer motivations to engage in contracting is potentially very useful in ensuring that packages are appropriately designed to meet their needs.

Market Engagement: Two studies demonstrate the existence of vibrant informal markets in contexts where formal markets have either never existed or have broken down. The authors argue that a thorough understanding of these 'real markets' is important to the design of effective support to the livelihoods of rural households.

Mavedzenge et al (2008) provide a rich description of the evolution of livestock markets in Zimbabwe from a previously highly formalised system to the current one: fragmented, diverse and complex. The set of players has radically changed, as have the social and political relationships that underpin them. The authors argue that it is important that outsiders do not neglect the existence of these markets in designing programmes of support to livestock marketing. An understanding of how such markets really operate, they argue, is critical to designing programmes that capitalise on their opportunities and address the challenges of viability and returns at different points of the livestock commodity chain.


As for land markets, Chimhowu and Woodhouse (2008) highlight the emergence of informal (illegal) land markets in communal areas and draw out the implications for rural households. They find in their study of Svoswe Communal Area, Marondera District, Mashonaland East that land transactions are widespread. Newcomers to this communal area are numerous and communal grazing land is sold to them to enable both house building and farming. Vulnerable incomers, in particular those arriving from urban areas following Government action to clear informal urban settlements, are sometimes charged higher prices for this land than others. Arable land is also rented out by existing owners, particularly to people wanting to grow tobacco, (who prefer to rent land because this crop rapidly depletes soil nutrients). The authors argue that these processes of land commoditisation will tend to increase inequality of land access in communal areas and that in designing interventions to support rural households it is important to take this into account.

Cross-cutting: Cultural and belief systems are intertwined with economic and political processes and may be invoked by interest groups to support their positions

The literature on belief systems and livelihoods is not extensive. One interesting example of how a belief system has practically impacted rural livelihoods is provided by Spierenburg (2005) who documents the role played by spirit mediums in successfully challenging land reform efforts of the state in the 1990s in the area of Dande, Northern Zimbabwe. A younger group of stakeholders invoked their Apostolic Christians beliefs to support the alternative argument in favour of land reform, though these carried less weight in this case. Project staff seemed reluctant to simply over-ride the spirit mediums and force through land reform and the author concludes that fear of witchcraft probably inhibited them from doing so. The strong interactions between witchcraft and economic and social life are documented elsewhere, including by Chireshe (2012).

1.2 Gender

There is a rich literature on gender issues and livelihoods in Zimbabwe. In order to ensure both that key issues are covered and that sufficient space is devoted to particularly



interesting academic literature, this section is divided into two sub-sections. The first summarises key data and information, drawing largely on official sources, grey literature and some older academic literature. It looks at: the breakdown of roles between men and women; their differential access to agricultural assets; and the gendered structure of households in communal areas. The second sub-section draws heavily on recent academic literature to enrich and nuance these findings, to illuminate some of the underlying processes and to draw out implications for programming.

Gender Issues: Summary of Key Points

Gender roles

Whereas men account for nearly three-quarters of formal sector employment in Zimbabwe, women dominate the informal sector and employment in households (Luebker 2008). Women make up **55%** of the agricultural labour force (ZIMSTAT 2012). They have lead responsibility for a range of 'women's crops', including groundnuts, sweet potato and vegetables and tend to exercise more control over these crops; but they also engage very actively in the planting, weeding, watering and harvesting of all household crops. Men tend to be most actively involved in land preparation, including ploughing and harvesting¹.

Women's Workload

Rural women are widely understood to have a heavy burden of work incorporating a range of productive and reproductive tasks, including childcare, cooking and fetching of wood and water. Although the published studies are rather dated, they are nonetheless illuminating. For example, Mehretu and Mutanbirwa (1992) calculate that simply the chores requiring travel outside the home (taking no account of agricultural work or home-based chores) take 30 hours per week of women's time and use up 30% of their calorific intake. Similarly, Tichagwa (2000) reports (based on an earlier study²) that women and girls are responsible for 95% of household water and 85% of firewood transportation; and that the extent of headloading carried out by women in rural households is equivalent to the average rural woman walking 2260km per year with a 20kg load on her head. He also finds that the use of simple transport equipment available to poor households (such as carts and wheelbarrows) is rarely available to support women in these tasks and tends to be confined to the productive sector.


Gendered access to and control of agricultural land and access to finance

Men dominate ownership of agricultural land across all agricultural sectors; for example only 19% of large scale commercial farms are owned by women. This pattern is less pronounced in communal areas, where there is a high proportion of female headed households and plots of land tend to be smaller; in these areas 45% of owners of land are women heads of household (ZIMSTAT 2012). Married women generally do not own land in their own right, but acquire access to land through marriage.

Despite legal protection of women's inheritance rights conflicts with customary law, which was given precedence under the old Constitution sometimes resulted discrimination in practice. Peterman (2012) in her analysis of 2005-6 DHS data finds that in Zimbabwe, whilst

¹ From USAID (2012). *Gender Analysis and Assessment for the Feed the Future Programme*. Harare. See this report for a more comprehensive description of gender roles in the agricultural sector in Zimbabwe.

² See Mudzamba E, 1998, 'Rural Transport Study in Three Districts of Zimbabwe: the Transport Burden on Women and Girls in Zimbabwe's Rural Areas'. ILO/SIDA/GTZ.



56% of widows inherited some property from their husbands, only 37% inherited the majority of his assets. Women's property rights are more strongly underpinned by the new Constitution (2013), presenting an opportunity to strengthen widows' realisation of their inheritance rights.

Women's access to finance

Rural women also face greater challenges than men in accessing financing. Only 4% of women farmers accessed short term loans, compared to 12% of men (2010 ALS reported in ZIMSTAT 2012). In their study, Zuwarimwe and Kirsten (2011) find that male rural entrepreneurs are able to access much higher levels of start-up capital for their businesses, primarily from their own resources or through their family and friendship networks.

Women's Household Decision-Making

Data collected in the DHS (DHS 2010/11) suggests a predominantly joint pattern of intra-household control of cash in Zimbabwe. 30% of rural women report that they primarily decide on how to spend their own cash, compared to 63% who report deciding jointly with their husband. Furthermore 73% report that decisions over the spending of the husband's cash income is decided jointly between the husband and wife. The DHS survey does not examine the degree of influence of each partner in joint decision-making, though these issues are picked up by Manda and Mvumi (2010) in their detailed analysis of households' decision making around grain storage and marketing (see below).

Further Insights from the Academic Literature

This section focuses in some detail on a few particularly interesting insights from recent academic studies.

Insight 1: As well as leading 'women's crop' production, women also have key roles and responsibilities with respect to 'men's crops', the scope of which vary and are the result of complex and private intra-household bargaining.

In their detailed household level case studies of the gender relations surrounding grain storage management and marketing in Binga District, Manda and Mvumi (2010) examine normative gender roles, as well as how these may be varied in practice as the result of complex bargaining processes. Day-to-day management of grain stores is the responsibility of women, who may also be able to veto men's proposals for mid-season grain sales if stocks are running low and/or to exercise control over the proceeds of these sales. Men, on the other hand, are responsible for constructing the grain store, for deciding on large post-harvest grain sales and generally for managing the proceeds of these. Importantly, men also have responsibility for raising income to feed the family should the grain run out before the next harvest.

Within these broad parameters there is considerable diversity. For example, in some households women have their own stores for grain harvested on their own fields; and the extent of women's control over these tends to be higher in polygamous households, or if the husband is absent. Also, whilst the husband controls the income from bulk post-harvest sales of his grain store, there is considerably more ambiguity and scope for negotiation around smaller mid-season sales from his store. In some cases, husbands are willing to allow women to control these smaller sales; and women seem to highly value these income streams as a means to address urgent household needs and ensure their self-reliance.



This qualitative analysis sheds useful light on the complexity of gender division of roles and responsibilities around grain storage and marketing. The authors argue that detailed context specific understandings of gender roles in grain storage and marketing could help improve the design, implementation and evaluation of agricultural interventions. For example, the analysis suggests that there may be opportunities to support women by tailoring marketing support to suit smaller grain sales later in the season. The article also points out that no grain protectant was being used in surveyed households and that, due to their particular gender roles, this was an intervention that would have been likely to appeal to women; better protection of stored grain would increase women's leverage in bargaining for reduced post-harvest sales and more stored grain, which women could then sell in small quantities later in the season. Furthermore, an innovation that reduced grain store construction and maintenance requirements had been proposed as part of an on-going project, but had only been discussed with men. The detailed gender analysis suggested that this innovation could also have appealed to women. It would have made it easier for men to construct separate grain stores for their wives and women could have used this argument in negotiating for separate stores.


A second example of women's active engagement in markets related to 'men's crops' comes from Hill (2002). The author discusses how in the case study area in Tsholotsho District, women have primary responsibility for seed selection. In 61% of households it is women who are responsible for the selection of maize seed and it is higher than this for all other crops considered. Pair-wise ranking exercises of seeds found that women had a far greater knowledge of traditional seed varieties than men and could identify their labour requirements, taste, yield and storage capability. Communities explained that this traditional knowledge was passed down from mothers to daughters. Women are, however, found to be much less engaged with the formal supply system than men and tend to source seeds from family neighbours and friends, suggesting a missed opportunity to connect the formal seed supply system with the dynamic informal one.

Insight 2: It is important to differentiate the category 'women' in order to ensure that support is tailored to the needs of different groups of women, including women living in male headed households, de facto female headed households and de jure women headed households.

Female-heads of household are likely to engage in different ways than other women in the production of crops traditionally seen as men's crops and, therefore, to face a different set of agricultural productivity challenges. Horrell and Krishnan (2006) interestingly find that female-headed households are just as productive as male-headed households in maize production (once level of inputs is taken into account). There are no allocative inefficiencies, which suggests that these households do not lack know-how. On the other hand, the same study found that de jure female-headed households (mainly widows) achieved lower cotton yields than male-headed households, due to a less appropriate mix and poorer quality of inputs and a lack of extension advice. This underlines the importance of ensuring that women heads of household are able to access services to support cash cropping, as well as traditional women's crops.

Even within the category of 'female-headed households' it is important to distinguish between de-facto female-headed households (where the husband is absent or inactive but alive) and de jure female headed households (where there is no living husband).

Huisman (2003) describes the situation in a communal area of Makoni District in eastern Zimbabwe. He finds that (de jure) female-headed households are the poorest category of household, owning less land and having fewer household amenities and consumer durables than male-headed households. Whilst most households (80%) have cattle, including most de jure female-headed households (68%), the latter group has on



average fewer heads of cattle. After the loss of the husband, 54% of widows experience a decrease in the number of livestock owned. Female heads of household also tend to be excluded from attending meetings with extension personnel and to lack know-how on agricultural techniques. He does not find any similar disadvantages amongst de-facto female headed households. Huisman also points out that within the group of (de jure) female-headed households, divorcees are even more disadvantaged than widows. The latter group are widely considered to be 'social failures', their use rights to land are revoked and agricultural implements and cattle are often taken away.

Horrell and Krishnan (2007), using data from a household survey conducted in Chivi in 2001, also find that de jure female-headed households are more likely to be among the very poor than other households and that de facto female-headed households are not unusually income poor. However, when they examine the asset bases of different types of household, they reach more nuanced conclusions.

They find that, despite their lower incomes, de jure female headed households have similar physical asset bases (with the exception of livestock) and similar levels of crop diversification to male-headed households. The de jure female head is usually a widow and older and there are fewer economically active people in the household, which constraints the household's ability to diversify livelihoods.

On the other hand, whilst not particularly income poor, de facto female-headed households lack assets, particularly those needed for agricultural production, such as labour and farm machinery. These households tend to be quite young and there is usually a spouse and other family members working away, who contribute on average two-fifths of the household income. Again labour is in short supply, constraining the ability of the household to diversify.

The detailed breakdown of different categories of household reveals the importance of contextualised social analysis to understand the particular constraints and opportunities of different types of household and ensure that programming responds to these. It also implies that the programme M&E system will need to disaggregate key indicators by both gender of the individual beneficiary and gender of the household head of which they form part.

It is also interesting to note that, despite the substantial differences between de jure and de facto female-headed households, labour constraint emerges as a key issue for both types of household, according to Horrell and Krishnan (2007). This suggests that designing interventions that either address this constraint, or raise productivity and market access despite it, may be key to supporting livelihoods of these households.

Other Dimensions of Social Exclusion

The following sections considers the following dimensions of social exclusion: HIV/AIDS; disability; age (children); age (older people); and geographic exclusion. Whilst the TORs suggested that exclusion on the basis of faith should be considered, no studies addressing this issue could be identified.

1.3 HIV/AIDS

A group of studies examines the long term livelihood implications for households affected by HIV/AIDS, as well as households' livelihood responses to HIV/AIDS related shocks.

In his longitudinal study, Mushongah (2012) investigates the long-term effects of HIV/AIDS on a sample of rural households in the Mazvihwa communal area in Zvishavane, southern Zimbabwe over a 20-year period. Interestingly he finds that, on average, being affected by



HIV/AIDS has not changed a household's wealth category within the village. On the other hand the effects of HIV/AIDS are highly variable between households, interact substantially with other vulnerabilities and are highly gendered. Women invariably take on an additional burden as care-givers of the sick, diverting their labour from agricultural production, which undermines household livelihoods. Some households subsequently manage to diversify and a few even strengthen their livelihoods following the shock. However, households ranked in the lowest asset group in 1987 are hardest hit by the HIV/AIDS shock. With an already weak asset base, the impact of HIV/AIDS further damages their limited livelihood options; these households either totter towards destitution or the household disintegrates and members scatter.

Investigating the period both just before and after the 2004-5 drought, Mazzeo (2011) finds that HIV/AIDS affected households in communal areas of the Masvingo and Midlands Provinces in south-eastern Zimbabwe are somewhat more likely than other households to use sale of cattle as a coping strategy. He argues that, given the key importance of cattle to agriculture in the study zone, this coping strategy risks progressively undermining the livelihoods of HIV-affected households.

Using survey data from the Muzarabani and Bindura districts of Mashonaland Central Province in Zimbabwe, Mutenje et al (2008) find that livestock, particularly poultry and small stock, play a significant role in smoothing income fluctuations due to HIV/AIDS. About 90 per cent of HIV/AIDS-afflicted households, headed mainly by women or children, use poultry and goats as consumption-smoothing strategies when faced with negative income shocks. These sales substantially offset the income shock and the author suggests that promoting small livestock acquisition for sale in times of need would be an effective strategy to support the livelihoods of this group of vulnerable households.

Then Mutenje et al (2011) investigate the role of the extraction of non-timber forest products (NTFPs) as a coping strategy for HIV/AIDS-related economic shocks. He finds that for households in the semi-arid Sengwe communal area of south-eastern Zimbabwe this is an important and widely used strategy (second only to the sale of small stock). On average the income from NTFPs offsets 48% of the households income shortfall related to the shock. The author suggests that, in light of these findings, more attention could usefully be given to sustainable forest management in semi-arid tropical areas hard hit by HIV/AIDS.

These studies indicate the potential of HIV/AIDS related shocks to undermine livelihoods and point to some opportunities to support coping mechanisms that do not undermine long term household livelihood strategies. They also (in particular Mushangah (2012) indicate the ways in which HIV/AIDS and other vulnerabilities are closely inter-linked and serve to reinforce one another. This intertwining of vulnerabilities appears to confirm the appropriateness in Zimbabwe of a targeting approach that is based on vulnerabilities (eg poverty status and labour constraint), rather than categories (such as HIV-affected households).

1.4 Disability

Very little could be found in the literature on the relationship between disability and rural livelihoods. One study (Lewis 2004) documents the particular challenges faced by women with disabilities in accessing micro-finance from organisations outside the disability sector and documents disabled women's experience of discrimination.



1.5 Children

This section address four main sets of issues: household structure; the extent and nature of child labour; the importance of household assets to child well-being; and intra-household allocation and implications for child nutrition.

Household Structure and Poverty

Official statistics tell us: that the vast majority of rural communal households (82%) are poor and 21% are extremely poor; that poor households in Zimbabwe are on average larger, include a higher number of children under 6 and have a higher dependency ratio than non-poor households; and that extremely poor (food poor) households are even larger than poor households, include more young children and have an even higher dependency ratio (ZIMSTAT Poverty Survey 2011).

It is suggested by Matche and Young (2004) that the higher poverty rates of families with more small children may be partly because the presence of young children in the household constrains household livelihood options. In their study of rural household off-farm labour allocation decisions they find that mothers of infants are less likely than other rural dwellers to work off-farm.

Child Labour


According to ZIMSTAT (2011), in rural areas of Zimbabwe 13% of children aged 0-14 are engaged in economic child labour (defined in Zimbabwe as children who work in economic activities for more than three hours per day). The vast majority of these children (92%) work on family farms and 85% are also in school. However, this level of work is likely to interfere with children's studies and/or their need for rest and play.

Interventions to promote agricultural productivity or market access may sometimes increase household labour demands. Given that labour constraint is often a key issue for poor and vulnerable rural households (Baudron et al 2011, Horrell and Krishnan 2007, Mushongah 2012), there is a risk that any additional work burden could be borne by children in the household or that efforts to relieve women's workload may displace work onto children. This suggests that context specific analysis of the current workloads of both women and children should inform the detailed design of support; and that changes in these workloads should be closely monitored as part of programme M&E.

Assets

Crea et al (2013) analyse a data set from Manicaland Province to assess the influence of household asset ownership on the social and health vulnerability of orphans and vulnerable children (OVCs). Findings indicate that asset ownership is associated with significantly lower social vulnerability, in terms of school attendance and birth registration, suggesting that household assets play a protective function for OVCs.

A further group of articles discusses various aspects of asset ownership and inheritance in rural households. Rose (2008) finds that, despite protective legal provisions, orphans often face challenges in realising their rights to inheritance in practice. A wealth of case study information is presented on how these rights are realised (or not) in practice for orphans and vulnerable children living in rural communities across Zimbabwe. Peterman et al (2012) also draw attention to the challenges that widows may face in realising inheritance rights; Mazzeo (2011) and Mushangah (2012) describe the process of asset depletion of some HIV/AIDS affected households; and Huisman (2003) and Horrell and Krishnan (2007) highlight the



lower livestock holdings of female-headed households, compared to male headed households.

Taken together these articles suggest that livelihoods interventions that help very poor and vulnerable rural household to build their asset base (as well as incomes) may be helpful in addressing the social vulnerability of OVC.

Intra-household Allocations and Nutrition

Using a longitudinal data set from rural Zimbabwe, Hoddinott (2006) examines how the impact of coping mechanisms in response to a shock falls variably on different household members. His study highlights how children under two were the most seriously affected by the (relatively minor) 1994-5 drought. Men and older children were unaffected, women's BMI fell but recovered and children aged 12-24 months experienced a slowing of their growth. Children in relatively well-off households eventually recovered this lost growth, whilst those in poorer homes were permanently detrimentally affected.

This article demonstrates how the relationship between food availability and nutrition is mediated by complex intra-household decision-making processes that lead to differential outcomes for household members.

1.6 Older People


There is little literature specifically on the relationship between older age and rural livelihoods. On the other hand, age-related issues do arise frequently in the gender and HIV/AIDS literature. Horrell and Krishnan (2007) in their study of a communal area find that female-headed households are on average seven years older on average than male headed ones.

The impact of HIV/AIDS on grandmothers is also well documented, including in Mushongah (2012). As a result of HIV/AIDS affecting working age adults, the older generation is found to often: lose support from children who were previously remitting money to the village: care for their own children who fall sick with HIV; and then subsequently take on the care of grandchildren when the middle generation dies from AIDS. This burden of care is found by Musongah (2012) to have seriously undermined the productive labour capacity and livelihoods of some of the most vulnerable households in his sample.

In the limited literature specifically addressing age related issues, there are suggestions of a partial breakdown in inter-generational relationships as a result of the economic crisis. Paradza (2009) argues that such a breakdown is occurring and presents case studies of older rural people with urban property who have been engaged in struggles with children over access to rents. Nyikahadzoi (2013) finds that elderly rural household heads are less food secure than younger heads. Given that food security amongst the elderly is positively correlated with their engagement in off-farm economic activities and with their social capital, he recommends interventions to strengthen these dimensions of the livelihoods of elderly-headed households.

1.7 Spatial Exclusion

Bird and Shepherd (2003) look at spatial dimensions of exclusion and demonstrate how both geographic remoteness and geographic marginality due to political/ethnic exclusion can result in spatial poverty traps. They find that, whilst some non-poor households in the remote/excluded areas studied had during the 1990s managed to improve their well-being, most of the poor and severely poor had become worse off. Female-headed households and



severely poor households were less likely than other households to have recovered from the severe 1991-2 drought.

The authors conclude from their analysis that, in spatially excluded areas, livelihood support to the poor should focus primarily on building households' human, social and financial capital in order to enable them to better take advantage of economic opportunities. They also suggest that agricultural extension services could usefully be redesigned to more effectively support the low cash and low labour input regimes of the poor in these areas. For the severely poor in the study area they found the most successful livelihood diversification strategies to be poultry-raising or wage employment (combined with farming).



SECTION 2

Summary / Implications


The added value of many of the high quality studies quoted here lies in their rich, context-specific description and analysis and, as such, it is challenging to summarise key points. Nevertheless it seems useful to attempt to draw out some cross-cutting points and so the following are suggested as key findings and implications of the literature.

2.1 Agricultural Productivity

- i) The design of packages of support to promote agricultural productivity needs to take account of the different endowments and constraints of different types of household. Labour and cash are likely to be key constraints for many poorer and more vulnerable households, including female-headed households, households affected by HIV/AIDS, elderly headed households and spatially excluded households. Packages that take account of and help address these constraints are likely to be more useful to poor and vulnerable households.
- ii) Supporting households to re-build their asset base may be particularly important for some categories of vulnerable household, in particular for very poor, HIV/AIDS affected households that have depleted assets in response to health shocks and for very poor spatially excluded households.
- iii) Gender roles in relation to agriculture are complex and somewhat negotiable. Whilst basic distinctions such as between 'men's crops' and 'women's crops' may provide a useful starting point, it is important that comprehensive context specific analysis of gender roles is carried out in order that the programme appropriately supports women in the wide range of critical roles they play throughout the value chain in relation to all crops.
- iv) The circumstances and agricultural productivity support needs of women living in de jure female headed, de facto female-headed and male headed households are different. It is important that programmes offer appropriately tailored productivity support packages to these different groups of women. For example, widowed female heads of households may take on new roles in cash crop production and require particular support in this area.

2.2 Access to Markets

- v) As well as marketing of 'women's crops', women (even in male-headed households) are also likely to be engaged in the marketing of cereal crops, though in a different way to men. Support to engagement in markets needs to be based on a full understanding of the range of women's roles and tailored to their needs eg they may be interested in selling at different times of year than men and in smaller quantities.
- vi) Again it is important to take account of differences in the needs of female heads of households and women living in male-headed households. For example, female



heads of household who take on the lead role in cereal marketing may benefit from particular support in this area.

- vii) Women sometimes play key roles in seed acquisition and have strong traditional knowledge and informal networks in this area. Effective support could seek to build on and integrate women's existing knowledge and networks with the formal system, ensuring that the formal sector responds to women's as well as men's needs.

2.3 Cross-Cutting

- viii) Women's heavy workload is clearly a key issue. Gender sensitive programming would involve addressing practical gender issues through, for example, arranging the timing and intensity of meetings taking account of women's workload. However, there are also important strategic issues to consider in the design of gender-sensitive interventions. These might include, for example: promoting agricultural innovations that increase productivity whilst also easing the burden of work at points in the agricultural cycle where women predominate; or empowering women to increase their access to labour saving technologies already available to rural households (such as hand carts and wheelbarrows) for the transport of water and wood.
- ix) Given that labour constraint is often a key issue for poor and vulnerable rural households there is also a risk that any additional work burden could be borne by children in the household or that efforts to relieve women's workload may displace work onto children. This suggests that context specific analysis of the current workloads of both women and children should inform the detailed design of packages of support provided by the programme and that changes in both women's and children's workloads should be closely monitored as part of programme M&E.
- x) Within male headed households, women's degree of influence and autonomy in overall household agricultural decision-making is the result of complex bargaining processes. Gender-sensitive programming would seek to fully understand these processes and empower women to strengthen their intra-household bargaining position. It will also be important that (based on context-specific analysis) the M&E system identifies and tracks appropriate indicators of gender empowerment.
- xi) Given the importance of household structure, it is clear that the programme M&E system should disaggregate indicators by both gender of the individual beneficiary and gender of the household head.
- xii) In general it will be critical that programme design is built on in-depth context specific analysis of gender and social exclusion in programme areas and in relation to specific proposed programme activities. The academic literature can provide only general pointers to the kinds of issues that are likely to arise and that merit further analysis.



SECTION 3

Annotated Bibliography

Sources are rated in the following bibliography as 1, 2 or 3. Sources rated '1' are those most relevant to the current study that are also of high analytical quality, which stakeholders might want to prioritise if they have limited time for reading of the literature. Studies rated '2' are also relevant and of generally good quality. Those rated '3' are of more marginal relevance, or may have unclear methodology or be more than ten years old, but are included because they address some key dimension of the TORs, not adequately covered by other sources. It should be noted that this rating system is not a judgement of academic quality, but focuses primarily on relevance for the current purpose.

| Study | Research Design and Methodology | Synopsis and Relevance |
|---|--|---|
| Cross-Cutting | | |
| 1. Baudron, F, Andersson, J, Corbeels, M and Giller, K, 2011. 'Failing to Yield? Ploughs, Conservation Agriculture and the Problem of Agricultural Intensification: An Example from the Zambezi Valley, Zimbabwe'. <i>Journal of Development Studies</i> , 48 (3), 393-412. | Primary and Empirical Survey 1 | The article illustrates how the socio-economic constraints faced by smallholder farmers influence whether particular innovations are or are not attractive to them; and how this varies between types of household, depending on their labour, cash and other endowments. The author argues that programmes must learn from the rationale of existing smallholder production systems if interventions are to be helpful and successful. |
| 2. Chimhowu, A and Woodhouse, P, 2008. 'Communal Tenure and Rural Property: Land Transactions in Svosve in Communal Area, Zimbabwe'. <i>Development and Change</i> , 39 (2), 285 - 308. | Primary and Empirical Case study Survey 2 | The authors argue that access to land in communal areas is increasingly commoditised via informal land markets; and that, as a consequence, common grazing lands are shrinking and purchasing power is increasingly a factor in determining how much land incomers can occupy, whether by purchase or rental. These shifts seem likely to impact on access to land of poor farming households in communal areas. |
| 3. Chireshe E, 2012. 'Witchcraft and Social Life in Zimbabwe: Documenting the Evidence'. <i>Studies of Tribes and Tribals</i> , 10(2): 163-172. | Secondary Document review 3 | This article illustrates through rich examples how the beliefs associated with witchcraft interact with social, economic and political life in Zimbabwe. |



| Study | Research Design and Methodology | Synopsis and Relevance |
|--|--|--|
| 4. Luebker, M, 2008. <i>Employment, Unemployment and Informality in Zimbabwe: Concepts and Data for Coherent Policy-making</i> . Issues Paper No. 32 and Integration Working Paper No. 90 ILO Sub-Regional Office for Southern Africa Harare, Zimbabwe and Policy Integration and Statistics Department International Labour Office, Geneva, Switzerland | Secondary 3 | The interest of this paper lies primarily in that it highlights that, whilst men make up 75% of the formal sector labour force, women and older people cluster in the informal sector. |
| 5. Masakure, O and Henson, S, 2005. 'Why Do Small-Scale Producers Choose to Produce under Contract? Lessons from Non-traditional Vegetable Exports from Zimbabwe', <i>World Development</i> , 33 (10), 1721-1733. | Primary and Empirical Case study Survey 1 | This article explores the motivations behind the decision of small-scale producers currently growing vegetables under contract for export to enter into such contracts. It highlights that motivations to participate vary quite markedly even among producers in a relatively small geographical area, depending on such factors as size of farm, market access and gender of household head; and argues that these findings have important implications for the design and operation of contract production schemes. |
| 6. Mavedzenge, B, Mahenehene J, Murimbarimba, F, Scoones, I and Wolmer, W, 2008. 'The Dynamics of Real Markets: Cattle in Southern Zimbabwe following Land Reform'. <i>Development and Change</i> , 39 (4), 613-639. | Primary and Empirical Case study 2 | It is not the case that livestock markets no longer exist: they are just very different to how they used to be. The authors argue for the importance of grounding support to the livestock sector in an understanding of how informal markets are really operating. It provides a rich description of the evolution of previously highly formalised livestock markets in Zimbabwe to the current fragmented, diverse and complex system with very different players and relationships. |
| 7. Spierenburg, M, 2005. 'Spirits and Land Reforms: Conflicts about Land in Dande, Northern Zimbabwe'. <i>Journal of Religion in Africa</i> , 35 (2), 197-231. | Primary and Empirical Case study 2 | This article describes the role played by spirit mediums in challenging land reform efforts of the state in the area of Dande, Northern Zimbabwe. It also comments on how fear of witchcraft appeared to inhibit project staff in challenging the mediums and how a younger group invoked Apostolic Christian beliefs to support their arguments in favour of reform. Its relevance lies in its rich description of how belief systems and economic/political decision-making processes can interplay in the Zimbabwean context. |
| Gender | | |
| 8. Goebel, A, 2007. 'We are Working for Nothing'. <i>Canadian Journal of African Studies</i> , 41 (2), 226-257. | Primary and Empirical Case study 3 | This article traces changes in livelihoods strategies and gender relations in a resettlement area between 2000 and 2006; and the linkages between these two sets of changes in the context of economic decline, land issues and HIV/AIDS. Whilst some of the issues may be particular to resettlement areas, the challenges of economic decline and HIV/AIDS are equally pertinent in communal areas and thus the findings are likely to have wider relevance, including to communal areas. |



| Study | Research Design and Methodology | Synopsis and Relevance |
|---|--|--|
| <p>9. Horrell, S and Krishnan, P, 2007. 'Poverty and Productivity in Female-Headed Households in Zimbabwe'. <i>Journal of Development Studies</i>, 43 (8), 1351-1380.</p> | <p>Primary and Empirical Cross-sectional comparison Survey 1</p> | <p>Horrell and Krishnan compare the poverty status and agricultural productivity of female headed and male headed households. They further distinguish between de jure female-headed households (where the female head has no husband) and de facto female-headed households (where a married woman describes herself as the household head and the husband is often absent); and draw attention to the importance of disaggregating the category of 'female-headed households' in designing appropriate interventions. The particular constraints faced by different types of household and the implications for agricultural programming are drawn out in some detail.</p> |
| <p>10. Hill, C, 2002. '<i>Seed Selection and Local Exchange Systems: the Case of Tsholotsho District, Zimbabwe</i>', LinKS Project Case Study, FAO.</p> | <p>Primary and Empirical Case Study 2</p> | <p>The author discusses how in the case study area women have primary responsibility for seed selection for all crops (including men's crops) and have a greater understanding of seed varieties than men. She also describes the dominance of informal seed exchange systems that operate between neighbours, family and friends.</p> |
| <p>11. Huisman, H, 2004. 'Contextualising Exclusion: Female-Headed Households in Semi-Arid Zimbabwe'. <i>Journal of Economic and Social Geography</i>, 96 (3), 253-263.</p> | <p>Primary and Empirical Cross-sectional comparison Survey 1</p> | <p>This article focuses on how de jure female-headed households in communal areas of Zimbabwe are affected by the loss of the household head in their access to resources, services and assets. Their socio-economic position is compared with that of other types of household: male-headed households and female-managed households (de facto female-headed households).</p> |
| <p>12. Jackson, C, 2007. 'Resolving Risk? Marriage and Creative Conjuality'. <i>Development and Change</i>, 38(1): 107–129.</p> | <p>Theoretical Case Study 3</p> | <p>This article is concerned with generating theory regarding how marriage can operate as a safety net and form of insurance for women. However, its relevance here has more to do with the Zimbabwe case study on which it draws. The case study illustrates how a particular gender division of labour and responsibilities drove household agricultural decision making (in this case a shift from millet to maize cultivation).</p> |
| <p>13. Manda, J and Mvumi, B, 2010. 'Gender Relations in Household Grain Storage Management and Marketing: the Case of Binga District Zimbabwe'. <i>Agriculture and Human Values</i>, 27, 85-103.</p> | <p>Primary and Empirical Case Studies 1</p> | <p>Manda and Mvumi provide rich information on the gendered roles in household grain store in a Tonga community, how these vary between households of different structures and how they are the result of household level bargaining. The article also draws out some implications of this understanding for programming interventions in support of grain storage. In addition to its particular insights into gendered roles in one phase of the agricultural cycle, this article is of more general relevance in demonstrating how qualitative social analysis can add value to the design of agricultural interventions.</p> |



| Study | Research Design and Methodology | Synopsis and Relevance |
|--|---|---|
| 14. Mehretu, A and Mutanbirwa, C, 1992. 'Gender Differences in Time and Energy Costs of Distance for Regular Domestic Chores in Rural Zimbabwe: a Case Study in the Chiduku Communal Area'. <i>World Development</i> , | Primary and Empirical Survey 3 | This study calculates the time and energy costs of rural chores involving trips outside the household; and investigates the breakdown of these costs between men and women. Whilst this study was carried out more than ten years ago, it is included due to the lack of more recent detailed empirical studies of women's time use. |
| 15. Mutopo, P, 2012. ' <i>Gendered Dimensions of Land and Rural Livelihoods: The Case of New Settler Farmer Displacement at Nuanetsi Ranch, Mwenzi District, Zimbabwe</i> '. Land Deal Politics Initiative (LDPI) Working Paper 8. | Primary and Empirical. Case Study Qualitative Methods 3 | The gendered implications of the displacement of villagers due to a large scale bio-fuels production are discussed. The article is of interest mainly due to the background information it provides on gender roles in agriculture in Zimbabwe. |
| 16. Peterman, A, 2012. 'Widowhood and Asset Inheritance in Sub-Saharan Africa: Empirical Evidence from 15 Countries'. <i>Development Policy Review</i> , 30 (5), 543-571. | Secondary Survey (DHS) 2 | As part of a wider cross-country study, Peterman draws relevant data from the Zimbabwe 2005-6 DHS on the percentage of widows who inherited any and most of the assets of the husband's assets and compares this to 14 other countries. |
| 17. Tichagwe, W, 2000. ' <i>Gender in Rural Travel and Transport in Zimbabwe</i> '. Report for the World Bank | Secondary 3 | This study is more than ten years old, but, given the absence of more recent studies on gender dimensions of rural transport in Zimbabwe, is included here. It includes rich information (based on a series of studies carried out in the late 1990s) on the key roles women play in agricultural transport, including in transporting produce to markets; and sets out some of the constraints women face, including access to basic means of transport, such as wheelbarrows and carts. |
| 18. Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency, ' <i>Demographic and Health Survey 2010-11</i> '. | Primary and empirical Survey 2 | The DHS is useful in providing data on the extent of women's participation in household decision-making, including in particular in how cash earnings are spent. |
| 19. Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency, 2012. ' <i>Women and Men in Zimbabwe Report</i> '. Harare, Zimbabwe. | Secondary data analysis 2 | This ZIMSTAT report includes useful data on women's and men's economic participation in the agricultural sector and their respective access to agricultural and other assets. |
| 20. Zuwarimwe J and Kirsten, 2011. 'Social Networks and Rural Non-farm Enterprise Development and Implication for Poverty Reduction among Rural Households in Zimbabwe'. <i>Journal of Geography and Regional Planning</i> , 4(6), 344-354 | Primary and empirical Survey 3 | This report looks at the access to financial and social capital of male and female rural entrepreneurs in Chimanimani District of Manicaland Province. It finds that men have access to higher levels of start-up capital, which they access primarily from their own resources or through their family and friendship networks. Women in the sample are more likely to access (lower levels of) capital through NGOs. |



| Study | Research Design and Methodology | Synopsis and Relevance |
|--|---|--|
| HIV/AIDS | | |
| 21. Mazzeo, J. 2011. 'Cattle, Livelihoods, and Coping with Food Insecurity in the Context of Drought and HIV/AIDS in Rural Zimbabwe'. <i>Human Organization</i> , 70 (4), 405-415. | Primary and empirical Survey 2 | Investigating the period both just before and after the 2004-5 drought, the study finds that HIV/AIDS affected households were somewhat more likely than other households to use sale of cattle as a coping strategy. The author argues that, given the key importance of cattle to agriculture in the study zone, this coping strategy risks progressively undermining the livelihoods of HIV-affected households. |
| 22. Mushongah, J, 2012. 'Dimensions of Vulnerability: The Impact of HIV/AIDS on Livelihoods in Southern Zimbabwe, 1986–2007'. <i>Journal of Southern African Studies</i> , 38 (3), 551-577. | Primary and empirical Longitudinal Survey and case studies 1 | Using village studies conducted in the 1980s as a baseline, this article investigates the long-term effects of HIV/AIDS on a sample of rural households in southern Zimbabwe over a 20-year period. Whilst on average being affected by HIV/AIDS has not changed a household's wealth category within the village, the effects are highly variable between households, with the households that were already in the worst-off category being hardest hit. The study uses case studies to investigate how HIV/AIDS interacts with other vulnerabilities in its effects on livelihoods; and draws out some implications of the findings for rural livelihoods programming. |
| 23. Mutenje, M et al, 2008. 'Livestock as a buffer against HIV and AIDS income shocks in the rural households of Zimbabwe', <i>Development Southern Africa</i> , 25, (1), 75-81. | Primary and empirical Survey 2 | This study investigates the extent to which livestock sales are used as a mechanism to cope with HIV/AIDS related shocks. It finds that HIV/AIDS affected households have an increased tendency to sell livestock, mainly to meet increasing food and medical costs and funeral expenses. Poorer households, particularly the female- and child-headed ones, rely more heavily than other households on the sale of poultry and goats. |
| 24. Mutenje, M et al, 2011. 'Extraction of Non-timber Forest Products as a Coping Strategy for HIV/AIDS-afflicted Rural Households in South-eastern Zimbabwe'. <i>African Journal of AIDS Research</i> , 10(3), 195–206. | Primary and empirical Longitudinal Survey 2 | This article examines the role of the extraction of non-timber forest products (NTFP) as a coping strategy in response to HIV/AIDS related shocks. It finds that NTFP extraction is an important coping mechanism for HIV/AIDS affected households, offsetting on average nearly half the shock-related income shortfall. The author argues that an implication of this is that sustainable forest management is of importance in semi-arid communal areas that are hard hit by the HIV/AIDS epidemic. |
| Disability | | |
| 25. Lewis, C, 2004. 'Microfinance from the Point of View of Women with Disabilities: Lessons from Zambia and Zimbabwe'. <i>Gender and Development</i> , 12 (1), 28-39. | Secondary Case studies 3 | Based on discussions with women beneficiaries of a project providing micro-finance to women with disabilities, this article highlights some of the challenges that disabled women face in accessing micro-finance from organisations outside the disability sector. It is one of very few articles found that addresses issues of disability and livelihoods. |
| Children | | |



| Study | Research Design and Methodology | Synopsis and Relevance |
|---|--|---|
| 26. Crea, T et al, 2013. 'Asset Ownership among Households Caring for Orphans and Vulnerable Children in Rural Zimbabwe: the Influence of Ownership on Children's Health and Social Vulnerabilities'. <i>AIDS Care: Psychological and Socio-Economic Aspects of HIV/AIDS</i> , 25 (1), 126-132. | Secondary data analysis Survey 2 | Using a data-set from a community-randomised trial of a conditional cash transfer conducted in Manicaland Province in 2009 and 2010, the authors analyse the influence of household asset ownership on the social and health vulnerability of orphans and vulnerable children. Findings indicate that asset ownership is associated with significantly lower social vulnerability, in terms of school attendance and birth registration, yet assets do not have a direct impact on health vulnerability. |
| 27. Hoddinott, J, 2006. 'Shocks and their Consequences across and within Households in Rural Zimbabwe'. <i>Journal of Development Studies</i> , 42, (2), 301–321. | Primary and empirical Longitudinal Survey 1 | This study examines how coping mechanisms in response to climate-related shocks vary between households depending on their initial level of assets; and also how the impact of coping mechanisms falls differently on different household members. It highlights how as a result of the relatively minor 1994-5 drought: men and older children were unaffected; women's BMI fell but recovered; and children under two experienced a slowing growth, with permanent detrimental effects for children in poorer households. |
| 28. Matshe, I and Young, T, 2004. 'Off-farm Labour Allocation Decisions in Small-Scale Rural Households in Zimbabwe'. <i>Agricultural Economics</i> , 30, 175-186. | Primary and Empirical Survey 2 | The article investigates the factors that influence rural household decisions about allocation of labour to off-farm work; and how off-farm labour allocations vary depending on the gender and age make-up of households. The relevance of this article lies particularly in its findings that: women are less likely to engage in off-farm work; that this is particularly pronounced for women with infants; and that when they do work off-farm women are clustered in low paid, low productivity occupations. |
| 29. Rose, L, 2008. ' <i>Children's Property Inheritance in the Context of HIV and AIDS in Zimbabwe</i> '. FAO, Rome, | Primary and secondary Case studies 2 | This paper describes children's rights to property and inheritance and then presents a wealth of case study information on how these rights are realised (or not) in practice for orphans and vulnerable children living in rural communities across Zimbabwe. |
| 30. Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency, 2011. <i>Child Labour Survey Report</i> , Harare, Zimbabwe. | Primary and empirical 1 | This report provides data on current levels of child labour, nationally, in urban and rural areas and in each Province. 13% of rural children aged 0-14 are engaged in economic activities for more than 3 hours per day, almost exclusively on family farms. This data provides a useful backdrop against which to consider the risk of whether any particular proposed agricultural intervention might exacerbate the burden of work for children, particularly given the findings of other studies that labour is a key constraint for many poor rural households. |
| Elderly | | |



| Study | Research Design and Methodology | Synopsis and Relevance |
|---|--|--|
| 31. Nyikahadzoi, K, 2013. 'Enhancing Social Support System for Improving Food Security Among the Elderly Headed Household in Communal Areas of Zimbabwe'. <i>Journal of Food Research</i> , 2 (3), 46-54. | Primary and empirical Survey 3 | The study finds that rural elderly heads of household have lower food security than other household hold heads; and that amongst the elderly food security is positively correlated both with social capital and with engagement in off-farm rural economic activities. |
| 32. Paradza, G, 2009. 'Intergenerational Struggles over Urban Housing: the Impact on Livelihoods of the Elderly in Zimbabwe'. <i>Gender and Development</i> , 17 (3), 417-426. | Primary and empirical Case studies 3 | The author argues that, in the context of economic decline, the traditional security of older people through remittances, pensions and subsistence farming is breaking down. She looks particularly at the case of elderly rural residents who own urban property and presents case study examples of inter-generational struggles over the income from this property. |
| Spatial exclusion | | |
| 33. Bird, K and Shepherd, A, 2003. 'Livelihoods and Chronic Poverty in Semi-Arid Zimbabwe'. <i>World Development</i> , 31 (3), 591-610. | Primary and Empirical Longitudinal Survey 1 | This study looks at spatial dimensions of exclusion and demonstrates how either geographic remoteness or geographic marginality due to political/ethnic exclusion can result in spatial poverty traps. It draws out implications for programming, including the need to give some priority to low cash and low labour input regimes when designing extension programmes for such contexts. |