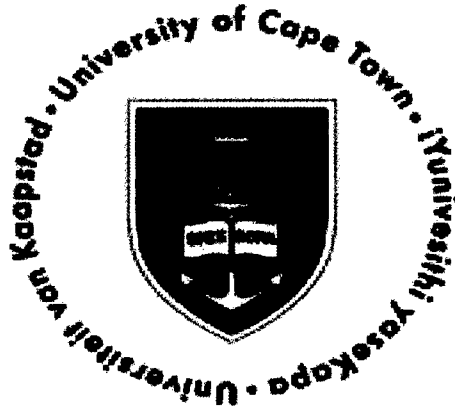


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**UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT**



**“SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN ZIMBABWE: A CASE
STUDY ON THE RESPONSE OF SELECTED NON-GOVERNMENTAL
ORGANISATIONS (NGOS) TO FOOD INSECURITY IN MATABELELAND.”**

A minor dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of
the degree of Master of Social Science in Social Development

for the

Degree of

Master of Social Sciences (Social Development)

by

NOMPILO NDLOVU (NDLNOM014)

Supervisor: Associate Professor Vivienne Taylor

9 April 2009

PLAGIARISM DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed and has been cited and referenced.

Signature: _____

Date: _____

University of Cape Town

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To the almighty creator, who perfects everything that concerns me (Ps 138 v 8a). I am amazed by your steadfast love and your hand upon my life. I give you all the glory and the honour.

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“okungapheliyo kuyahlola”.

ABSTRACT

The following study highlights the institutional failures in Zimbabwe which have resulted in social and economic underdevelopment. As such, poverty in Zimbabwe has manifested in various aspects, particularly food deprivation. This study focuses on the response of two Non-Governmental Organisations to food insecurity in the rural Matabeleland provinces.

The research aims are to: define poverty and food insecurity; understand the reasons behind the food insecurity crisis; describe the extent of poverty and food insecurity; explore NGO responses to the food insecurity crisis and to discuss the impact of these interventions.

This research is guided by Sen's (1999) 'development as freedom' approach as well as literature reviews from various researchers who offer definitions and theories on concepts such as poverty and food insecurity. The researcher also maps out the developmental path that the Government of Zimbabwe has taken through implementing strategies such as land reform, and how these policies have contributed to the food insecurity crisis. The impacts of the food crisis make citizens such as women and children increasingly vulnerable. They have been severely affected and rely on coping strategies to survive food deprivation. NGOs have stepped in to provide humanitarian assistance.

Using a case study approach, ten key informants involved with the two NGOs were interviewed. The research findings are that poverty is multi-faceted and manifests through many interconnected deprivations. As such, food insecurity has become a chronic problem for the vulnerable. The organisations have answered to the food crisis mainly through relief programmes which give people short-term assistance. Rehabilitation strategies through livelihoods and micro-enterprise are medium-term strategies that have been constrained because of the political and economic instability. The two NGOs have not engaged in development-orientated programmes due to the instability in the country and the fact that the long-term development of any country ultimately lies in the hands of its Government.

Recommendations are made to the two NGOs under study, to the government, as well as for further research.

ABBREVIATIONS

ADPs:	Area Development Programmes
AFC:	Agricultural Finance Corporation
AIDS:	Acquired Immuno Deficiency Syndrome
AIPPA:	Access to Information Protection and Privacy Act
AU:	the African Union
BNA:	the Basic Needs Approach
BSA:	the Broadcasting Services Act of 2002
CFSAM:	Crop and Food Supply Aid Mission
CGIAR:	Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research
CIA:	Central Intelligence Agency
CSAFE:	Consortium for the Southern Africa Food Security Emergency
CSB:	Corn Soya Blend
DEA:	Development-oriented Emergency Aid
DFID:	Department For International Development
DRC:	Democratic Republic of Congo
DVDs:	Digital Versatile Disk
ECHO:	European Commissions Humanitarian Aid Office
ESAP:	Economic Structural Adjustment Program
FAO:	Food and Agricultural Organization
FEWS:	Famine Early Warning Sign
FFA:	Food For Assets
FFP:	Food for Peace (FFP)
FWP:	Food for Work Programme
GAM:	Global Acute Malnutrition
GDP:	Gross Domestic Product
GMB:	Grain Marketing Board
GoZ:	Government of Zimbabwe
GoZ NEWU:	the Government of Zimbabwe National Early Warning Unit
HDI:	Human Development Index
HIV:	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HPI:	Human Poverty Index
IMF:	International Monetary Fund
JAM:	Joint Aid Management

MAP:	Market Assistance Programmes
MDC:	Movement for Democratic Change
NANGO:	National Association of Non-Governmental Organisations
NEPAD:	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGOs:	Non-Governmental Organisations
NICs:	Newly Industrialised Countries
NRs:	Natural Regions
OCHA:	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
PAS:	Poverty Assessment Surveys
POSA:	the Public Order and Maintenance Act of 2002
PRAM:	Participatory Rural Appraisal Methodology
PVO:	the Private Voluntary Organisations Act No 63 of 1966
RDP:	Reconstruction Development Programme
RRAs:	Remote Rural Areas
SCF-UK:	Save the Children Fund-United Kingdom
SFP:	Schools' Feeding Programmes
UK:	United Kingdom
UNDP:	United Nations Development Report
USA:	United States of America
USAID:	United States Agency for International Development
UZ:	University of Zimbabwe
VGf:	Vulnerable Group Feeding
WB:	World Bank
WFP:	World Food Programme
WHO:	World Health Organisation
ZANU-PF:	Zimbabwe African National Union- Patriotic Front
ZimVAC:	Zimbabwe Vulnerability Assessment Committee
ZTU:	Zimbabwean Teachers' Union
ZUNDAF:	Zimbabwe United Nations Development Assistance Framework

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM DECLARATION.....	i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ii
ABSTRACT	iii
ABBREVIATIONS	iv
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY	1
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 The context of the study.....	1
1.3 Problem statement.....	5
1.4 The research topic	5
1.5 Motivation/rationale for the study	5
1.6 Research questions.....	6
1.7 Research objectives.....	6
1.8 Concept clarification.....	6
1.8.1 Development	7
1.8.2 Poverty	7
1.8.3 Food insecurity.....	14
1.8.3.1 Vulnerability and Food Insecurity	19
1.8.3.2 Food Insecurity and Coping Mechanisms.....	21
1.8.4 NGOs	22
1.9 Summary of the chapters in the dissertation	25
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW	27
2.1 Introduction.....	27
2.2 The Global Context of Food Insecurity	27
2.3 The causes behind the poverty (food insecurity) faced in Zimbabwe	28
2.4 The responses of NGOs in addressing Food Insecurity.....	42
2.5 Conclusion	49
CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY	50
3.1 Introduction.....	50
3.2 Research design	50
3.3 Research methodology.....	52
3.3.1 Sampling framework.....	52

3.3.2 Data collection	54
3.3.3 Data analysis strategy	54
3.4 Ethical considerations	55
3.4.1 Consent	55
3.4.2 Confidentiality	55
3.4.3 Competency	55
3.5 Limitations of the study	56
3.5.1 Limitations of research design and methodology	56
3.5.2 Limitations of the sample.....	56
3.6 Reflections	56
3.7 Conclusion	57
CHAPTER FOUR: ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS	59
4.1 Introduction.....	59
4.2 Organisational Context	59
4.2.1 Organisation Masibambane	60
4.2.2 Organisation Siyal'amukela.....	64
4.3 Analysis of findings	67
4.3.1 Defining poverty and food insecurity	67
4.3.1.1 Poverty	67
4.3.1.2 Food Security	70
4.3.2. Reasons behind the food security crisis	71
4.3.2.1 National food insecurity.....	71
4.3.2.1.1 Land Reform	73
4.3.2.1.2 Natural disasters.....	75
4.3.2.1.3 The economic situation	76
4.3.2.1.4 Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP).....	76
4.3.2.1.5 The political environment	77
4.3.2.1.6 Man-made disasters	77
4.3.2.2 Regional food insecurity	78
4.3.2.3 Households' food insecurity	79
4.3.3 What is the extent of the food insecurity in Matabeleland?.....	80
4.3.4 NGO responses to Food Security.....	83
4.3.4.1 Relief.....	83
4.3.4.1.1 Vulnerable Group Feeding (VGF)	84
4.3.4.1.2 Food for Work Programmes (FWP)	85
4.3.4.2 Rehabilitation.....	86

4.3.4.2.1 Livelihoods	86
4.3.4.2.1 Micro-enterprise management projects.....	87
4.3.4.3 Development Aid	87
4.3.5 Assessing the impact of the programmes run by the NGOs	88
4.3.5.1 Targeting beneficiaries.....	91
4.3.5.2 Sustainability of the programmes	93
4.3.5.3 Financial and social benefits of these programmes	94
4.3.5.4 Scalability	95
4.3.5.5 Vertical and horizontal interactions.....	95
4.3.5.6 Monitoring and evaluation.....	96
4.3.5.7 Challenges faced	96
4.4 Conclusion	98
CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	99
5.1 Introduction.....	99
5.2 Conclusions.....	99
5.2.1 Defining poverty and food insecurity	99
5.2.2.1 Poverty	99
5.2.2.2 Food insecurity.....	100
5.2.2. Reasons behind the food security crisis	101
5.2.3. The extent of the poverty and food insecurity experienced in rural Matabeleland.....	102
5.2.4 NGOs' responses to the crisis	103
5.2.5 The impact of these intervention strategies	103
5.3 Recommendations.....	104
5.3.1 Recommendations to the organisations	104
5.3.1.1 Siyal'amukela	104
5.3.1.2 Masibambane	105
5.3.2 Recommendations to Government.....	105
5.3.3 Recommendations for further research.....	106
REFERENCES.....	107

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Profile of participants	59
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LIST OF GRAPHS

Graph 1: Food aid programmes implemented in Masibambane in 2006	62
Graph 2: Reasons for National Food Insecurity.....	73

LIST OF MAPS

Map 1: Masibambane's 2006 programme area map	63
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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Interview Schedule for the NGO staff members.....	117
Appendix B: Research concession letter.....	119
Appendix C: Participants consent form.....	120

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

This dissertation focuses on two key issues that concern socio-economic development in Zimbabwe. Firstly, I explore the concept of food insecurity, which is a result of multi-dimensional poverty, and secondly, the responsibility that Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) have taken towards addressing this scarcity along with its impact.

In this chapter, I establish the context of the study and define the problem statement. In addition to this, I will identify the research topic, explain the motivation / the rationale for the study, drawing attention to the research questions, together with the main objectives. I will also define some of the key concepts in the study, namely development, poverty, food insecurity and NGOs. Finally, a summary of the subsequent chapters will be set out.

1.2 The context of the study

The geographical location of this study falls specifically within rural Matabeleland North and South Provinces in the south-western part of Zimbabwe, where I will refer to two NGOs, Masibambane and Siyal'amukela that work in these areas.

Bird and Shepherd (2003:593) cite a study by the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research (CGIAR), which found that nearly two-thirds of the rural population of developing countries (almost 1.8 billion people) live in less-favoured geographical locations. According to the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), 66% of Zimbabweans live in rural areas, which cover 42% of Zimbabwe's total land area.

This land is separated into small land-holdings from which individuals generate a living, usually subsistence farming. Researchers such as Moseley and Logan (2001) have conducted intensive research in Remote Rural Areas (RRAs) of Zimbabwe and found that chronic poverty is related to areas of residence. Zimbabwe's 2005 sectoral classifications showed that 71% of rural residents were very poor, whilst 13% were poor and 17% were not so poor (Wiggins, 2004:13).

According to Bird and Shepherd (2003:607), Zimbabwe is divided into five Natural Regions (NRs), where region I receives the most rainfall (+1000mm/year) and region V the least (less than 450mm/year). Mudimu (2003:33) states that one of the reasons behind chronic and spatial poverty trends, specifically food and income insecurity in rural areas is that “approximately 75% of Zimbabwe’s communal lands are ecologically located in agro- regions IV and V”.

The Matabeleland provinces fall within Zimbabwean natural regions IV and V, where food and cash crop production is uncertain because of low rainfall and poor soil fertility, periodic droughts, along with forested woodland spaces (Mudimu, 2003:24). The 2003 Zimbabwe Vulnerability Assessment Committee hereafter referred to as ZimVAC, reports that all provinces met at least 60% of their cereal requirements through produce, except for the Matabeleland provinces, whose food had to be heavily subsidised through food aid. Although these statistics were a 2003 finding, recent evidence suggests that the situation has progressively worsened, such that the conditions in the rural areas are now desperate (Kavishe, 2008).

Wiggins (2004:13) asserts that one of the failings of the government is that they have often adopted strategies that treat subsistence farmers as a homogenous group, and yet there are significant differences in resource endowment. Mudimu (2003:22) suggests that in areas like the Matabeleland provinces, more emphasis on non-farming activities like ranching, road and dam construction as well as maintenance to enhance irrigation, along with conservation projects through food for work programmes could enhance rural lifestyles, giving them greater access to food and incomes.

Bird and Shepherd (2003:592) mention that business has failed to create any significant employment amongst rural communities because of several constraints, such as funding, transport costs, inadequate infrastructure, telecommunications, as well as high levels of risk and/or exclusion, resulting in cycles of chronic poverty and underdevelopment.

Spatial poverty, which is poverty based on one’s geographical location, is largely experienced in these two provinces in the country. Bird and Shepherd (2003:599) say that spatial patterns of poverty occur because of marked disparities in “government spending, particularly on infrastructure and services” and/or because of political exclusion from mainstream development.

Wiggins (2004:23) suggests that one of the reasons behind the spatial poverty faced in the Matabeleland provinces is related to an ongoing ethnic Shona-Ndebele historical conflict post-independence, which has never been addressed, where "the ZANU government became involved in two overlapping conflicts in Matabeleland...which resulted in 20 000 deaths and disappearances...". The Ndebele people predominantly live in the Matabeleland provinces and make up 14% of Zimbabwe's population. They are the largest ethno-geographical opposition to the Shona people (82% populace) in the Mashonaland provinces (Central Intelligence Agency [CIA], 2008). The 2002 and 2008 general elections substantiated the fact that the ruling ZANU-PF party, led by Robert Mugabe, is not supported in Matabeleland. It is generally believed that the Ndebele have been deliberately left out of the development agenda.

Bird and Shepherd (2003:596-597) found that political exclusion explains the underdevelopment of Matopos, which lies 35 kilometres from Bulawayo, the second largest city, in comparison to the RRAs in Mashonaland. These lie about 100 km from a major city or town.

Rural poverty in Zimbabwe is complex and has manifested through multi-dimensional deprivations, such as the lack of satisfactory access to health and educational services, poor infrastructure, high transport costs, substantial remoteness from strong economic activity, environmental degradation and food shortages, as well as social and political segregation from conventional society (Moseley & Logan, 2001; Mudimu, 2003 and Ireland, Sibanda, Mupetesi & Mhlanga, 2004). Numerous ZimVAC and Poverty Assessment Surveys (PAS) corroborate this. Due to the migration of youth and the adult male population to other towns and urban centres, there are generally more dependants in rural spaces, mainly women and children (Moseley & Logan, 2001).

However, it is not possible to discuss poverty in Zimbabwe as a rural trend only, as it has become a deepening crisis in urban centres as well (Moseley & Logan, 2001:226; Wiggins, 2004:33). Some of the socio-economic challenges faced throughout the country within the last decade will be highlighted.

Zimbabwe has been associated with deteriorating socio-economic, political and humanitarian crises. Some of the indicators include the Zimbabwean Dollar, which devalues regularly because of hyperinflation (estimated at 2.2 million on the 7th of August

2008) and excess mortality amongst the adult population because of a high HIV/AIDS prevalence at 24.6% (OCHA, 2008).

Zimbabwe's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) real growth rate is in recession (-5.7%) and is one of the lowest in the world, struggling along with war-torn countries like the Gaza Strip. Malawi and Zambia are both countries in Southern Africa that in the past looked up to Zimbabwe for economic stability. Currently their GDP real growth rates are at 5.7 and 5.3 respectively, proving that the crisis in Zimbabwe is deepening (CIA, 2008).

The severe economic problems have resulted in an escalated cost of living, where prices are simply too high for people to survive and the poor are becoming less resilient (Ireland et al, 2004). Ireland et al, (2004) found that economic regression has necessitated the closure or downscaling of major employment channels, such as factories and mines, as well as the agricultural sector. According to the Department for International Development (DFID, 2008), unemployment in the country is currently at 80%. Declining purchasing power is becoming more prevalent in most households to the point where food consumption is limited.

The social problems are exacerbated by the fact that the government can no longer provide adequate subsidised basic services for people, such as access to education, health care, water and electricity. The DFID (2008) reports that nearly a quarter of Zimbabwe's 12 311 143 populace has migrated because of institutional failures and poverty. Poor Zimbabweans tend to live illegally in Southern African countries, whilst key service providers like nurses, doctors, teachers and accountants are increasingly leaving behind weakened structures, such as understaffed academic institutions and hospitals (Besada & Moyo, 2008:15). The Zimbabwean Teachers' Union (ZTU) wrote off 2008 as an academic year, whilst cholera attacks have recently emerged as a health crisis in the country (www.znews.com 2008).

Politically, President Robert Mugabe and opposition leader Morgan Tsvangirai from the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) have been in drawn-out discussions about who is legitimately the head of state. The political struggles have undermined the State's ability to govern in the interests of the people.

The current institutional arrangements are such that there will be a transitional power-sharing government between the two parties, where President Mugabe and Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai will have equal powers (“Zimbabwe: a unity”, 2009). There is divergence in opinion about whether this agreement will be successful.

In the last decade, instability has resulted in reduced foreign investments and trade for primary commodities, mainly from the commercial farming sector. This was the key supplier of export goods and employment (Mano, Isaacson & Dardel, 2003). The Zimbabwean economy is mainly agricultural and “there is a strong relationship between the performance of the agricultural sector and the economy” (Mudimu, 2003:18). The World Bank (2008) showed that Zimbabwe’s labour force comprises of 66% in agriculture, 10% in industry and 24% in services.

1.3 Problem statement

Policy choices and the development path taken by the Government of Zimbabwe (GoZ) have led to a number of failures, such as increasing poverty and food insecurity. Because of the dire state of the people, NGOs have stepped in to provide essential services.

1.4 The research topic

A case study of NGOs responses to food insecurity in Matabeleland, Zimbabwe.

1.5 Motivation/rationale for the study

One of the primary contributing factors where the topic selection was concerned is that I am a Zimbabwean who is particularly interested in studying and gaining a better understanding of socio-economic development in my country.

NGOs were chosen for two reasons: firstly, in light of the recurrent political, socio-economic, natural disasters and conflicts faced in Zimbabwe within the last decade, there has been a noticeable increase in the number of NGOs; and secondly their role in developmental work is of importance.

The rural context is significant in this study and has relevance to the current situation. Food insecurity has been an escalating trend since 2000 (Wiggins, 2004:7; FAO/WFP, 2007). It is expected that the findings and recommendations that come out of this study will be meaningful and contain relevant information for the two NGOs under study.

Lastly, this study will contribute to knowledge and policy development. It provides insight on programme responses to food insecurity and related issues experienced by NGOs and citizens. It will also improve our understanding of what happens when the State fails to meet citizens' needs.

1.6 Research questions

The main research question emanating from the problem statement is: To what extent can increasing poverty and food insecurity be attributed to policy choices and failures of Government in Zimbabwe? Based on the above, the study addresses six questions:

- 1.6.1 How are the terms 'poverty', and 'food insecurity' understood?
- 1.6.2 Why is there a food insecurity crisis?
- 1.6.3 What is the extent of poverty and food insecurity in Matabeleland?
- 1.6.4 What are NGO responses to the food insecurity crisis?
- 1.6.5 What is the impact of these interventions? and
- 1.6.6 What recommendations can be made from this study?

1.7 Research objectives

The main objectives of this research are:

- 1.7.1 To define poverty and food insecurity;
- 1.7.2 To understand the reasons behind the food insecurity crisis;
- 1.7.3 To describe the extent of poverty and food insecurity;
- 1.7.4 To explore NGO responses to the food insecurity crisis;
- 1.7.5 To discuss the impact of these interventions; and
- 1.7.6 To make recommendations from the findings of the study.

1.8 Concept clarification

The concepts of development, poverty, food insecurity and NGOs will be discussed in accordance with the views of a diversity of theorists and developmental agents. Poverty, food insecurity and other social development aspects are interrelated.

1.8.1 Development

Theron and Barnard (1997:37) cite Coetzee (1989) and Burkey (1993), who say that development and planning boils down to four questions, namely: Development from what?; by whom?; from whom?; and, in what ways?

Korten (1990) defines development as:

“A process by which the members of society increase their personal and institutional capacities to mobilise, manage their resources and produce sustainable development ...consistent with their own aspirations.”

Thus, development is about empowering people and communities to facilitate their advancement in a sustainable manner. Traditionally, Burkey (1993:35) divided development into economic, political, cultural/social and human development, where economic development was prioritised over other aspects of development.

However, more recent thinking through practitioners, such as Monaheng (2000:127) state that, “the problems of development are multi-faceted and they should be tackled together in a co-ordinated fashion”. Todaro (1994) states that development involves changes in structures, attitudes and institutions, as well as the fact that development should be marked by growth.

Poverty cannot be eradicated if there are no proper development plans in place. An institution’s understanding of development determines the approach that it will take to address poverty and related social ills.

1.8.2 Poverty

There are many definitions of poverty. It is continually being redefined and has had different meanings to theorists during various developmental periods. The shifts in thinking on poverty highlight the various indicators that are often associated with poverty.

In Zimbabwe, the various definitions of poverty have resulted in shifting policies and development strategies.

The income perspective on poverty was popular in the early 1900s, when Benjamin Rowntree tried to quantify economic earning capacity and consumption as a measure of poverty. This approach was primarily about monetary value along with how much a family had to spend on basic necessities (Davids, 2005:37). There was the assumption that economic growth would eventually trickle down to the poor.

Kanbur and Squire (2000:185) cite the Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, which states that poverty is, "the state of one who lacks a usual or socially acceptable amount of money or material possessions". This definition is vague because a 'usual or socially acceptable' amount of money and possessions may differ from person to person and from country to country.

Poverty lines continue to be used in the income perspective as a way of assessing and measuring income poverty. For instance, 60% of the Zimbabwean population is living below the poverty line (World Bank, 2008). This is a high figure because it means that more than half of the population are deprived. Poverty lines have shortcomings in that they are static figures that cannot measure the distribution of income within households or across society. They provide baseless inter-country comparisons. This is because official exchange rates cannot measure relative domestic purchasing power within countries (Hicks & Streeten, 1979:56).

Furthermore, poverty lines fail to recognise the differences between transient poverty and chronic poverty. A study in six villages in India found that "50 percent of the population were poor in a typical year, but that only 19 percent were poor in every year" (Kanbur & Squire, 2000:190). A typical year meant that there were variations for a number of reasons, such as drought or flooding: resulting in less agricultural produce.

Theorists began to favour a measurement based on expenditures such as a dollar-a-day household expenditure per person. This standardised amount has the same shortfalls that poverty lines have, as it only values goods and products sold in the market place.

The Basic Needs Approach (BNA), much like the human development understanding of poverty, goes beyond the income perspective, in that the indicators of development are not simply economic, but incorporate a broader understanding of poverty. These include

social indicators, social accounting systems, as well as composite indices that highlight one's 'quality of life' (Hicks & Streeten, 1979:568).

The Human Development Index (HDI) and the Human Poverty Index (HPI) are some mechanisms used to get an indication of what poverty entails. The HPI pays particular attention to the following three variables of human deprivation: longevity, literacy and living standards. For example, the life expectancy in Zimbabwe is currently at 39.5 years, where it was at 63 years a decade ago. This is because of health facilities that are ill equipped to counteract diseases and enhance longevity (CIA, 2008).

However, these definitions of poverty are criticised because they are technical measurements, whilst poverty is a practical problem that needs to be addressed practically.

Nussbaum (2000:57), referring to Sen's work in her capabilities approach, states that 'just by virtue of being human, all people are of equal dignity and worth, regardless of where they are situated in society'. She links capabilities with human rights, social exclusion and sustainable livelihood approaches of understanding poverty. She believes that capabilities include substantial needs where the human being is essentially the rational agent who should be empowered to identify individual needs for certain resources, and that these resources should be converted for the functioning of the individual (Nussbaum, 2000:34).

The capabilities approach does not insist on standardised indicators and definitions, as communities and individuals are different and experience poverty in various ways. Nussbaum (2000) mentions ten substantive needs which she draws from Sen's (1999) 'development as freedom' approach.

The study will refer to Sen's (1999) definition of poverty and development as it offers the most comprehensive understanding of poverty.

In 'development as freedom', Sen says that expanding the real freedoms that a person has, is the primary end and the principal means of development. He further states that development requires the removal of 'unfreedoms' in a person's life. There are five main instrumental 'freedoms' which are interconnected, where deprivation of one freedom will result in deprivations in other freedoms, leading to poverty (Sen, 1999:3, 40). These

include political freedoms, economic facilities, protective security, transparency guarantees and social opportunities.

Political freedoms concern ideas such as democracy and the right to vote, the freedom to choose between diverse political powers, freedom of expression, freedom of press, as well as the ability to examine and condemn authorities. This is significant for Zimbabwe, especially in light of the political occurrences where the legitimacy of democratic elections since 2000 has been disputed (Gatsheni-Ndlovu, 2006).

The Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO forum highlighted the fact that in the 2008 March elections, citizens were subjected to violence and intimidation tactics. These were inflicted by the army and war veterans; opposition parties, particularly the MDC were not at liberty to conduct their campaigns, together with the fact that communication and freedom of the press were not allowed.

According to Chuma (2005:56), legislation such as the Access to Information Protection and Privacy Act (AIPPA) of 2002, the Public Order and Maintenance Act (POSA) of 2002, as well as the Broadcasting Services Act (BSA) of 2002 have been used to dissuade or silence any media prejudicial or critical of the government.

A discredited political system that restricts people's political freedoms can contribute to multiple deprivations and insecurities.

Dreze and Sen (2002) are of the firm belief that a democratically elected body should be able to protect its people from natural disasters and all forms of crisis. Sen (1999:51) states that food shortages do not happen in democratic systems, regardless of how poor the country may be. "Famines are extremely easy to prevent if the government tries to prevent them, and a government in a multi-party democracy with elections and free media has strong political incentives to undertake famine prevention."

Ideally, democracy is a form of protective security in itself, because the government is elected by the people to represent their developmental needs. The government is legitimate and makes socio-economic policies and investments through partnerships and broad consultation which are in the interests of the people. The State is peaceful and

stable, so that the government can focus on running the State and facilitating development without constraints.

When democratic processes are undermined, as was seen in the past in Indonesia and South Korea, the unchallenged rulers make bad economic decisions which result in the neglect of the vulnerable, lack of public participation, transparency and accountability. Unquestioned bad policy choices result in economic recession and this ultimately leads to social problems, such as famine.

In Zimbabwe, the lack of political freedoms has resulted in the government failing to protect its people from poverty (Mano et al., 2003; AU, 2005; Mudimu, 2003).

Transparency guarantees relate to openness and trust amongst different 'parties' or clusters. Sen (1999:40), states that transparency guarantees are an important aspect of development, as they "have clear instrumental roles in preventing corruption, financial irresponsibility and underhand dealings".

The African continent is more often than not, associated with corruption and bad governance. This instrumental freedom is good because it encourages openness amongst people, as well as accountability. For example, several African ministers gather at the African Union (AU) and New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) meetings to openly speak about the food security challenges faced in the continent and to put up structures and policies that monitor and evaluate effective change.

There are different ways within nations to get the people to participate, as well as to encourage an ethos of unity and open communication. For example, South Africa incorporated the 'Bato Pele' or 'People First' campaign, so that citizens could know the channels within which to access local government and share their views or concerns. Similarly, the 'Imbizos' are forums that encourage 'people-centred' involvement in politics and other socio-economic concerns (UNDP South Africa, 2000).

Although there are different institutional ombudsmen in Zimbabwe, and various monitoring and evaluative offices, the government and other stakeholders (such as financial institutions), could learn to be more transparent. There should be

decentralisation of offices so that there is easy access and channels through which people can air their views.

Where *economic facilities* are concerned, Sen (1999:39) states that they do not simply relate to the income and wealth of a country, but also to the economic entitlements of families and individuals. Sen (1981:2) says that one's entitlement to assets essentially involve a person's ability to access things so that they can support themselves. For example, in order for anyone to engage in the private market, their entitlements can be trade based, production based, own labour based and inheritance or transfer based. A person's exchange entitlement is affected by their ownership bundle, where ownership bundles include factors such as employability, income earning capacity from one's own labour and production, access to resources and social security amongst others (Sen, 1981:4).

However, the GoZ is failing to retain civil servants or create new opportunities because of the economic situation. Zimbabwe is no longer supported by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), as they have outstanding external debts totalling \$4.876 billion. They have been struggling to repay these since 2005. The political situation and state of affairs in the country has resulted in external influences imposing sanctions (Besada & Moyo, 2008:6). The lack of income impacts the lives of the vulnerable as they are excluded from exchange in the market and from accessing basic services.

Protective security involves safety nets being made available for people to prevent them "from being reduced to abject misery and in some cases even starvation and death" (Sen, 1999:40). Protective security is characterised by fixed institutional arrangements, such as social grants, pensions and 'ad hoc' arrangements like famine relief in the case of emergencies.

Protective security (both public assistance and social insurance) is one of the most fundamental structures that a government has to put in place as part of a poverty reduction strategy. Whilst there have been formal social security programmes in Zimbabwe, such as the 1998 Social Welfare Assistance Act, provided by the Department of Social Welfare, they have tended to offer limited public assistance to impoverished persons incapable of work and to persons aged 65 or older, or the disabled (Kaseke, 1988:112-24).

Informal social security systems, such as burial societies and community saving clubs have also been in decline over the last couple of years. Most of these structures have been weakened because of the declining economic conditions in the country.

Sen (1981:6) states that social security arrangements are most important in the context of starvation and can be supplemented through rationing or coupons. He asserts that developed countries, such as Britain and America, do not struggle with famines even in difficult times. This is not because of the high average incomes of the people or because of the wealth of these countries; it is a result of exchange entitlements that are reinforced in the social security systems.

Furthermore, Sen shows that social security is not exclusively achieved in neo-liberal countries. Socialist China eliminated starvation by the entitlement system, where social security was available and other entitlements were made for the poor, such as guaranteed employment and the provision of wages with which citizens could buy food from the market. Simply put, a person's ownership bundle determines whether they will starve or not.

It is the responsibility of the State to capacitate its people and strengthen their entitlements. One of the ways of doing this is through enhancing social opportunities.

Social opportunities include arrangements made by society so that individuals enjoy their substantive freedom to an enhanced existence because of better-quality education and health care and access to food. Sen (1999:39) states that these facilities are important because not only do they affect individual lives, they ultimately enhance effective participation in greater economic and political activities. For example, an uneducated person would fail to read and communicate, or engage adequately in political debates. Someone who is food insecure is vulnerable to becoming malnourished, which would have adverse effects on that person's general health and ultimately affect the way that they participate in the market.

After independence, Zimbabwe was hailed as having succeeded in achieving high-quality education, as well as health. The early 1980s were characterised by free education and subsidised health care, in line with the country's then socialist ideology (Kanyongo, 2005:69-70; Moyo & Besada, 2008:2). In the 1990s, education was affordable to the

general population. However, the current Zimbabwean situation is characterised by the vulnerable struggling to access basic health and educational opportunities.

As such, citizens' capacities or ownership bundles are currently insufficient for them to exchange entitlements.

1.8.3 Food insecurity

Food security, like poverty is an evolving concept. Reinhard and Wijayarathne (2002:2-3) show that approaches to food security have progressed since the 1940s in line with the developmental agenda. These approaches include provision of food aid, economic development, food-security insurance schemes, agricultural production, poverty-alleviation programs, the development of women, as well as debates on reducing hunger and malnutrition as human rights concerns.

Food insecurity is a state where one is "without physical and economic access to sufficient and safe food to lead a healthy and productive life" (AU, 2005:1). Furthermore, Maxwell (1996) in Wiggins (2004:37) asserts that the definition should "include that people do not fear loss of food security". It must be noted that some theorists use the terms 'food insecurity' and 'famine' interchangeably, where both words mean the same.

Corbett (1988: 1101) defines famines as "periods where large numbers of households experience severe and unusual difficulty in obtaining adequate access to food and extensive social and economic disruption is experienced". She does note that an extreme definition of famine refers to situations where excess mortality has occurred as a result of starvation and starvation-related diseases. Therefore these are not mutually exclusive definitions, since one stage (the former) may exceed the other (the latter), making them two different stages of the same process.

The UN Development report (UNDP, 2008) states that approximately 5,8 million Zimbabweans, or 44% of the population, are currently undernourished. The country is ranked as having the seventh highest death rate in the world, after countries like Sierra Leone and Lesotho. It is estimated that about 4 000 people die on a weekly basis because of the combination of HIV/AIDS, the food crisis and economic instability.

In 2008, it was established that there are 21,7 deaths per 1000 population in Zimbabwe (CIA). Although it has not been ascertained exactly how many of these deaths have occurred because of scarcity and poverty, it is acknowledged that food insecurity has had the largest impact on these figures. For example, in 2006 mortality rates for every 1 000 live births were at 129 for both sexes in Zimbabwe (WHO, 2006). The underlying causes of death for children under the age of five years are significantly related to undernutrition, and poverty as a whole. Other than the expanding HIV/AIDS mother-to-child transmission cases and neonatal causes, the main reasons for death among children below five years of age are pneumonia, diarrhoea and malaria in rural areas. These are poverty-related diseases.

Furthermore, Zimbabwe has high HIV/AIDS infection rates and therefore heightened mortality rates especially amongst parents. As many as 2 300 000 people are living with HIV/AIDS (DFID, 2008) and this has resulted in significant losses to the productive economic labour force, particularly in agriculture. In the year 2000, the FAO estimated that Zimbabwe lost 9.6% of its labour force, as a result of AIDS (Mudimu, 2003:34). This figure is likely to have increased over the years, as Zimbabwe has the third highest percentage of HIV infections in the world (AU, 2005:9).

Food insecurity and HIV are interlinked; people with scarce ownership bundles or entitlements are likely to engage in risky behaviour in order to survive, such as exchanging sex for money. Similarly, poverty-induced malnutrition results in an earlier onset of AIDS, exacerbating the mortality (FAO, 2003).

As a result, excess mortality has occurred because of starvation and starvation-related diseases.

Food insecurity, like poverty, can be seasonal, especially in the time period leading to the harvest (Wiggins, 2004:37). This period is called the 'hungry season'. Corbett (1988:1099) states that transient food insecurity during the hungry season is both recurrent and predictable. Chronic food insecurity, on the other hand, is an ongoing occurrence that usually affects a minority of the population (Bird & Shepherd, 2003:591).

Bird and Shepherd (2004:591) investigated chronic poverty in rural Zimbabwe and define the chronically poor as those "who had lived below the income poverty line for five years

and/or have experienced severe and multidimensional deprivations for several years". Corbett (1988:1099) believes that chronic food insecurity is more severe and stems from mixed institutional failures such as socio-economic, environmental and political factors. People turn to NGOs as agents of development because of such failures.

Many households in Southern African that were classified as seasonally food insecure are now chronic cases because of economic conditions, HIV/AIDS and natural conditions (Wiggins, 2004:4). Corbett (1988:1101) states that famine in Africa, even in its temporal state, tends to develop over a time period of years, as opposed to months, as in Asia. This prolonged period can hardly be described as seasonal or transient. For instance, what started out in Zimbabwe in 2002 as transient food insecurity due to drought has extended itself into 2008 because of institutional failures (Wiggins, 2004:7).

In this dissertation, a basic definition of food security is used by a cluster of NGOs in the Matabeleland Provinces. This definition was conceptualised by international developmental agencies, such as the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), World Food Programme (WFP) and the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). They state that a person has food security when food is available, accessible and utilised, where:

- **Availability** is "the sum of domestic production, imports (both commercial and food aid) and exports, and changes in national food stocks";
- **Access** "concerns people's entitlement to food, namely the amount they can produce, purchase or obtain through transfers from kin, community or state"; and
- **Food utilisation** is the "effective preparation and consumption of food, the biological capacity of individuals to absorb and utilise nutrients in the food that they eat, that in turn depends in large, part on their health" (Wiggins, 2004:44).

Therefore, someone who is food insecure will lack one or more of the criteria previously listed.

Sen (1981:1) states that starvation is characterised by people not having enough to eat, as opposed to there not being enough food to eat. In essence, whilst the latter may be a cause of the former, it is a minor problem in the bigger scheme of things. Therefore, Sen (1981:7-8) believes that starvation is not influenced or directly affected by the availability

of food, but more importantly by the inability of the State to establish people's exchange entitlements and ownership bundles.

Food insecurity indicators are important, as they correlate with how food insecurity is defined. Wiggins (2004:39) states that most indicators used for measuring food security are still not well developed. The usual indicator used to measure food security is availability. Food accessibility is addressed to a moderate degree, whilst there is hardly any research on the utilisation of food.

The lack of cohesive developed indicators to measure all three aspects of food insecurity equally is problematic simply because one cannot tackle the crisis by addressing one aspect, to the neglect of others. It becomes ineffectual.

At present, there is more developed technology for detecting existing or recent onsets of malnutrition amongst children under the age of five, such as the Global Acute Malnutrition (GAM), which measures wasting (weight for height). Wasting is the most commonly assessed index and it manifests through children being very thin, as they fail to gain weight. They also tend to have the presence of bilateral oedema in their bodies which is associated with kwashiorkor, diarrhoea and pneumonia. This contributes to the loss of children's appetite (FAO, 2007). Wasting is reversible, particularly when food is available through feeding schemes in schools and communities.

The other two primary indicators for malnutrition are stunted growth and undernutrition (low weight for age), where stunted children are short as a result of inadequate dietary intakes and repeated infections. Reinhard and Wijayarathne (2002) and the FAO (2007) state that this type of malnutrition is chronic and tends to be difficult to eradicate, as it is a direct result of poverty, particularly psycho-social development, reduced work capability, as well as low weight at birth inherited from the mother. Undernourished children are either wasted, stunted or have both aspects.

The Food and Nutrition Council (2004) conducted a study throughout Zimbabwe and found that food was most expensive in the rural Matabeleland provinces. As a result, wasting or thinness experienced through hunger increased amongst school children in Bulilimangwe, Matabeleland South (6.7%) and Tsholotsho, Matabeleland North

(6.1%). Stunting and undernutrition for children under the age of five is significantly experienced in Matabeleland North (23%) and Matabeleland South (24%).

However, malnutrition statistics are inadequate indicators in assessing food security, because malnutrition is a consequence of food insecurity and not necessarily an indicator. Besides, food emergencies are initially slow, so that it takes many months to become noticeable in the form of malnutrition.

Since the 1974 World Food Conference, there has been a drive to establish information systems that would provide early indication of food insecurity at worldwide and national levels. The USAID and FAO adopted the food “balance sheet” approach which offers comparable and uniform databases globally as it is reliant on ‘satellite imagery as well as national harvest statistics’ to ascertain food security within different countries (Moseley & Logan, 2001:230).

Most food measurements refer to staple cereals in the country: primarily maize, sorghum and wheat in the case of Zimbabwe. However, such measurements are flawed as they do not reflect other dietary essentials, such as proteins and vegetables. Balance sheets also fail to highlight food insecurity experienced by citizens on the ground level. Whilst a certain amount of food can be recorded at national levels, it does not mean that households are benefitting or are food secure (Mudimu, 2006:3; Wiggins, 2004:37).

The Famine Early Warning Sign (FEWS) indicators are believed to be an improvement on the balance sheet. This is because they take into account the fact that: “Famine is the culmination of a process rather than a catastrophic event; famine has observable indicators that reflect the degree of vulnerability to famine; these indicators vary between time and place, as well as the fact that these indicators appear early enough to allow action to be taken” (FEWS, 1997:12, cited in Logan & Moseley, 2001, 232). Although these indicators are not entirely accurate, they still point towards food security estimates for the nation. Zimbabwe still relies on the FEWS maize equivalency as an indicator of food insecurity.

One cannot talk about food insecurity, without highlighting those that are most vulnerable to it. Food insecurity trends highlight the fact that food insecurity will continue to expand globally because of population growths (AU, 2005:3). This means that those that are

deemed vulnerable to food insecurity will increase. Wiggins (2004:4) gives an example of the 2001-2003 Southern African food security crises, where initially 8 million people were chronically food insecure, but the numbers had doubled by late 2002 to nearly 16 million.

1.8.3.1 Vulnerability and Food Insecurity

Sen (1981:4) states that a person is vulnerable to starvation, as determined by their exchange entitlement or capabilities. Exchange entitlements can be affected by several factors, such as a change in the economy and therefore a recession in wage prices. In Zimbabwe, it is the result of institutional failures.

Similarly, Wiggins (2004:40) says that food security vulnerability is a result of people's exposure to hazards (natural, social, economic and political) and the extent to which they can cope with the effects of these hazards. Furthermore, he believes that these hazards can be either, short, long term or both. Short term hazards are a result of shocks, such as droughts, conflict or ill health in households. Longer-term hazards or trends are mitigated by economic decline and weak governance.

Those that cannot cope with the hazard become the vulnerable.

Shapouri and Rosen (1999:9), like Sen (1981), state that there are different degrees of vulnerability based on the economic class structure and what prospects are open to a person. This is why Nussbaum (2000) believes that in order to alleviate poverty everyone's capability must be enhanced, regardless of where they are situated in society.

Whilst some are food secure, others are only moderately food insecure or adversely food insecure. Likewise, within Zimbabwe, and even in the rural areas of Matabeleland, there are varying degrees of vulnerability in that there are the severely poor, the poor and the non-poor (Bird & Shepherd, 2003:595). This scale enables development practitioners to direct intervention strategies to the different groups' needs.

Mudimu (2003:33-34), as well as the ZimVAC Report (2003:7), stated that households located in remote poor geographical areas, such as conflict zones or low rainfall natural regions are the most vulnerable. The ownership bundles in such areas are usually limited

as citizens do not have access to resources, employment opportunities, stable incomes and adequate education.

When subsistence agriculture is unproductive, educated households can diversify towards other sustaining ventures, like formal wage labour and accumulate more assets (Bird & Shepherd, 2003:598). The lack of education constrains agricultural production as some communal farmers fail to fully utilise technology, policies, and training programmes to enhance produce (Mudimu, 2003:27). These training programmes include methods, such as early and deep tillage, dry farming, early planting, herbicides and insect control.

In rural areas, there is a strong reliance on family labour for agricultural production, especially where draught power (in the form of cattle) is not affordable. For instance, a three-hectare piece of land would require at least three to five adult labourers for agricultural production. Hence, smaller households, especially female headed ones would struggle to feed their families. Similarly, households with high migration of working aged adults from rural areas to stronger economic centres are also affected. Currently, 8 % (or more) of arable land in rural areas remains uncultivated because of a lack of access to resources, labour and draught power (Mudimu, 2003:31).

Conversely, households with large families and many dependants are equally vulnerable to food insecurity as their day to day living costs are likely to be high (Young & Hamdok, 1994:341).

Bird and Shepherd (2003:600) state that social networks are important in rural areas because “in a cash-poor economy, where barter is the main form of exchange, having a good social network takes on a high level of significance”. This is advantageous as communities barter for livestock and labour. However, the researchers highlight that the vulnerable generally have relationships with fellow poverty-stricken households. Their networks enable survival, but not necessarily progress.

Wiggins (2004:2) states that since 2002, the food crisis is more severe than it has ever been before. Households have relied on coping strategies in order to protect themselves from the adverse effects of starvation. Corbett (1988:1100) says “although responses to famines do vary from place to place, there appear to be some typical patterns in these responses”.

1.8.3.2 Food Insecurity and Coping Mechanisms

Coping strategies highlight the extent of a food crisis in that the vulnerable rely on coping mechanisms to protect themselves from hunger. These strategies typically have a three-stage sequence.

In the first stage, households adopt responses that involve the smallest commitment to disposing of assets. Kinsey et al. (1998:94) say that food insecurity can initially be detected in the slight changes that households adopt in their food consumption and production, such as: reduction in the number of meals eaten in a day; reduction in the quantity served at meals; more consumption of wild foods; inter-household transfers and food loans; sale of small stock such as chickens; changes in cropping and planting practices; dependence on remittances from urban to rural-based relatives, as well as migration in search of waged employment.

Kinsey et al. (1998:94) in their study on Zimbabwean rural households found that 30% of the respondents took one meal a day, whilst another 50% cut down to two meals. They also found that a large majority of their households (nearly 70%) reduced the amount of food served at meals. The wild foods referred to consisted of fruit, plants and seeds that grow naturally, as well as wild animals and insects.

In a good harvest year people would not normally rely on these.

As food insecurity progresses, households have to make another shift to the second stage and dispose of more productive assets, such as selling livestock; agricultural tools; mortgaging land, as well as borrowing money at high interest rates from merchants and moneylenders. Corbett (1988:1107) says that at this stage “asset disposal jeopardises the future economic welfare of that household, even if it helps to ensure its current survival”.

He refers to this as ‘distress sales’, because households will have exhausted their exchange entitlements and opportunities of obtaining food with the lowest consequences to their assets. Distress sales are marked by many households attempting to sell their assets at the same time. The prices of those goods then decrease and families have to take the best possible price that is available. They sell their assets at a loss.

In addition to this, households start spending even less money on buying or procuring food and migrate to urban areas in an attempt to make money through non-farm related work.

If the food crisis persists, the households go into the third and final stage, which is destitution. At this time there is significant distress migration or simply relying on humanitarian assistance to protect them from death. Kinsey et al. (1998: 94, 96-98) show how, during different droughts in Zimbabwe, all of these stages and strategies have been reached by food-insecure households.

The following section offers a definition of developmental NGOs. These are agents that are primarily concerned with protecting the vulnerable from poverty, particularly food insecurity.

1.8.4 NGOs

Dauids (2005:67) states that “NGOs are private, self-governing, non-profit organisations promoting people-centred development. They are responsible to their donors and to the communities they work for”. Their primary goal is to advance sustainable development at grassroots level through community participation and collective learning.

The Strategic role of NGOs in development work

NGOs have a strategic and significant role in developmental work, especially where the poor are concerned. Benson, Twigg and Myers (2001:201) show that NGOs have a crucial role to play in facilitating development because there has been a shift in the thinking on development conventions that has necessitated more emphasis on this type of work.

Exacerbated conflict and disasters have meant that there is still a great need for NGOs’ focus on development work.

Characteristics of NGOs

NGOs are independent of the government, and are privately run in all aspects. However, they have to enhance local institutions (for example through influencing fundamental strategies) and work within the legal and political norms (Dauids, 2005:70). NGOs do not

function in vacuums and therefore have to have good networks, as well as working relationships with the government and other institutional role players, in order to provide holistic services (Benson, et al., 2001:202).

Davids (2005:71) highlights that “each of these role players should, ideally, operate from a human needs perspective in order to operationalise the principles of people- centred development”. This shows that vertical and horizontal relationships are imperative in order for NGOs to successfully contribute to micro- and macro- development in a nation.

NGOs have to work well with each other, with communities, with the government and other stakeholders.

However, Korf and Bauer (2002:13) emphasise that working with other institutions, such as the government is not always easy, as conflict can arise between these organisations due to differences. In Zimbabwe, the government has monitored the NGOs through the Private Voluntary Organisations (PVO) Act No 63 of 1966 and later, the Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO) Bill (HB13) of 2004. These legislative papers, as commissioned by the government, are seemingly more interested in the formal procedures, such as the registration of NGOs. They set out the standards that the Government expects NGOs to comply with, most of which are bureaucratic.

Siyame (1997:58) supports the notion that developmental NGOs tend to be more capable than governments and other institutions when it comes to practically delivering basic services and reaching those most in need. They are able to identify the poor, empathise with them, communicate, as well as empower these communities to democratically participate in making decisions that concern them.

Davids (2005:70) believes that it is through the utilisation of bottom-up approaches that NGOs achieve participation and partnership with the communities that they serve. He further adds that NGOs are also distinctive because they are inventive, flexible, as well as experimental enough to be able to adapt their resources and technology to varying societies.

Siyame (1997: 58) also asserts that these developmental NGOs in Southern Africa are strong and encourage the poor to engage or participate in their economic growth. These

organisations have an advantage in that they are often backed by several domestic and international donor organisations, and can implement alternatives to State development programmes.

NGOs have access to resources that the government may not necessarily have. Even though NGOs are not profit driven, the profits are used for developmental work within that organisation.

The National Association of Non-Governmental Organisations (NANGO) is a conglomerate originally set up in 1962 under the name of the Southern Rhodesia Council for Social Services. It has gone through various changes; in 1990, it was renamed as NANGO.

NANGO is the country's largest member-based organisation and has over one thousand registered member organisations. According to their website¹, their vision is to facilitate "vibrant, pro-active and creative NGOs that are responsive to the social, economic and political needs of men, women and children in Zimbabwe". NANGO tries to identify opportunities for NGOs to fulfil their goals through the building of members' capacities, resource bases and partnerships. In essence, they create an enabling environment for NGOs through forums where ideas can be shared. They are also an active body in planning, executing as well as re-evaluating socio-economic policies.

Benson et al. (2001: 209) and Davids (2005:70) state that this is an idealistic viewpoint on NGOs. They are not always effective because:

- Their target interventions do not always successfully reach those that need them the most. Local leaders tend to divert projects for their own status enhancement or financial benefits (Davids, 2005:70). Korf and Bauer (2002:8) suggest that in order to combat this problem bargaining processes should be entered into between the NGOs and the local elites to ensure that some projects are tailored for the local leader's benefit, whilst others are strategically and specifically for the very vulnerable. Korf and Bauer (2002:11) also add that government institutions and NGOs are not necessarily the best agents to rely on for the identification of the

¹ www.nango.org.zw

truly needy. The communities themselves must be in charge of identifying the most vulnerable groups.

- Some projects are not relevant to particular societies. Davids (2005:70) says that some NGOs use a well-known approach originally designed for a public sector service but is irrelevant. Benson et al. (2001:209) suggest that NGOs encourage traditional knowledge and sustain cultural practices.
- Some NGOs are not self-sufficient and rely on funding from other donors. Sometimes they lack resources and they may apply programmes they do not necessarily agree with. Some NGOs get limited funding from the government. This adds to the complexity of the situation.
- Some developmental plans are executed in parts, so that they do not form a complete and coherent strategy.
- Lastly, some NGOs fail to work and engage in horizontal and vertical relationships with other NGOs and various stakeholders.

1.9 Summary of the chapters in the dissertation

The dissertation will be structured in the following way:

Chapter One: Introduction to the study

This chapter contains an introduction to the study, the developmental context, the rationale for the study, the problem statement, the research questions, goal and objectives, concept clarification of key terms, such as development, poverty, food insecurity and NGOs. Chapter one answers two of the research questions, namely: How are the terms 'poverty' and 'food insecurity' defined? And, what is the extent of poverty and food insecurity in Matabeleland, Zimbabwe?

Chapter 2: Food Insecurity and NGOs

In this chapter, literature that is offered by a vast number of researchers will be examined especially with regard to the underlying institutional reasons behind national food insecurity. There is also a discussion on the role that NGOs have played in addressing food insecurity. Some of the debates surrounding the developmental work of NGOs will also be discussed. This chapter will address the following research questions:

- Why is there a food insecurity crisis? and
- What are NGO responses to the food insecurity crisis?

Chapter 3: Research design and methodology

This chapter will provide a layout of the research design and methodology, including aspects such as the sampling framework, the data analysis structure, as well as a section on the limitations to the research design and methodology. This chapter sets out the planning that took place to operationalise this study.

Chapter 4: The Organisational Contexts

In this chapter, there will be an analysis of the research findings based specifically on the two case studies. It answers to all of the research objectives, and the specific question: What is the impact of the NGO food insecurity interventions?

Chapter 5: Conclusions and Recommendations

This chapter will offer conclusions to the study, based on the research questions. Lastly, recommendations will be made to NGOs, the government and for further research in this field.

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CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will begin by highlighting the global context of food insecurity. I will then draw attention to some of the development strategies that the Zimbabwean government has put in place since 1980 in order to address poverty, and how these institutional failures have exacerbated the food insecurity crisis. NGO food security intervention strategies through relief, rehabilitation and development programmes will also be critically discussed. Lastly, conclusions will be made.

The research will link the information to Sen's (1999) 'development as freedom approach', which is the conceptual framework of this paper. As stated in Chapter One, 'development as freedom' highlights five main instrumental 'freedoms' which are interconnected. These include political freedoms, economic facilities, protective security, transparency guarantees and social opportunities.

2.2 The Global Context of Food Insecurity

Food insecurity is not a uniquely Zimbabwean problem. In certain aspects, the food crisis can be linked to occurrences experienced globally. For example, 2008 was a year when there were worldwide increases in food prices and petrol. The macro-economic recession experienced throughout the world had large developmental setbacks, especially for the developing countries. It is imperative to give a descriptive reality on how food insecurity is experienced globally.

Food insecurity has become problematic for most developing countries in the last three decades (Shapouri & Rosen, 1999:5). These developing countries fall within Latin America, Asia and Africa. However, the hunger situation in Africa is significantly worse than that which is faced in other parts of the developing world.

The FAO's (2004) State of Food Insecurity in the World research indicates that "27% or 210 million of the African population is estimated to be 'undernourished' or hungry. This percentage has only declined by two percent (from 29 percent) over the ten-year period of

1992-2002". The Asian continent has 16 percent undernourished people, whilst Latin America and the Caribbean have 10% undernourishment (AU, 2005:2-3).

Within the African continent there are different regional experiences of food insecurity with North Africa only facing 4% undernourishment, whilst central and southern Africa experience 55% and 48% respectively (AU, 2005: 4).

One of the most cited food emergencies in the Southern African region occurred in 2002 and was largely experienced in Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Malawi and Zambia, for a multitude of socio-economic reasons. Particular reference is made about how ill-prepared these countries were in their response to the situation. (Mano et al., 2003:4). The countries most affected by food insecurity are Malawi and Zimbabwe.

Several researchers suggest that the food crisis in Zimbabwe has seen a declining trend in the last decade. Wiggins (2004:7) states that in comparison to the previous five-year averages in food harvests, 2000-2004 was categorised by even lower harvests.

Zimbabwe's 2005 FEWS report, the FAO/WFP Crop and Food Supply Assessment mission to Zimbabwe in 2007 and an Insurance Regulatory Information Network (IRIN) report issued in Harare on the 15th of May 2008 all substantiate the fact that rising shortfalls have necessitated that food imports be relied on to fill in food gaps. Shapouri and Rosen (1999:13) highlight that adequate food imports in Sub-Saharan Africa were needed to fill in food gaps and reduce food insecurity. These imports still need to grow by nearly 13% per year in order for food security to be achieved.

2.3 The causes behind the poverty (food insecurity) faced in Zimbabwe

In this section, I address the developmental strategies and policies that the Zimbabwean government has followed in order to address poverty and how these have culminated in the food insecurity crisis.

Mano et al. (2003:20) state that the socio-economic development problems experienced in Zimbabwe are linked to institutional failures, mainly through bad policies. Although the

study particularly focuses on the time period from the year 2000, reference is made to select policies from the 1980s that have relevance to the current situation.

Shifts in thinking about poverty and development have also impacted policy modifications in Zimbabwe since independence.

The 1980s

After Zimbabwe gained its independence from Britain in 1980, the main objectives of the new government were growth and redistribution (Dansereau, 2004:9). South Africa's Reconstruction Development Programme of 1994 is similar to this. Zimbabwe in 1980 was such that 6,000 white agrarian bourgeoisie owned 15.5 million hectares (39%) of prime agro-ecological farmland, whilst one million black households shared 16.4 million hectares (41.4%) of marginal farming land (Moyo, 1995 in Moyo & Yeros, 2005:171).

In essence, "the white minority, at below three per cent of the population, commanded nearly two-thirds of the national income; while the black majority at 97%, took the remaining one third" (Moyo & Yeros, 2005:171). This shows that colonial restrictions and the exclusion of Africans from main stream development still needed to be addressed (Dansereau, 2004:9).

Within the first decade, the State, through their strengthened ties with Russia and China, made reforms which were Marxist-Leninist and included values such as state-owned and controlled education, health and the land. Between 1980 and 1985, in line with the Lancaster House constitutional agreements, a budgetary increase of 37% was channelled towards rural development, namely "research, extension services, roads, marketing depots" and rising producer prices on basic commodities (Moyo & Yeros, 2005:173).

These researchers also highlight that by 1985, peasant farmers were producing 45% (compared to 8%) of the marketed output of beef, maize and wheat. In essence, citizens communally engaged in the market through production-based and trade-based entitlements.

Although Zimbabwe initially tackled poverty primarily through socialist/normative ideals, the GoZ relied on pluralist approach policies, which also included other ideologies like the institutional and residual approaches. This type of development is linked to Sen's

(1999:35) 'support-led' processes. Support-led ideals are developmental in nature because developmental States value:

- a belief in government's provision or the State's ability to intervene in providing protection for its citizens,
- regulating markets, as well as encouraging strong private and public sectors,
- balancing economic and social growth,
- emphasises building strong social institutions so that social needs are addressed,
- social support comes from a proportion of the national income spent on state services, and
- the aim of social policies must be to enable people to actively participate in change. This contradicts the belief that the beneficiaries should be passive or docile recipients of instruction and dispensed assistance (Sen, 1999:281; Mkandawire, 2001 and Gradwohl, 2006)

Zimbabwe followed Sen's (1999:46) ideals; the State did not "wait for dramatic increases in per capita levels of real incomes... *Instead* priority was given to public services that lowered mortality and enhanced the quality of life". Sen (1999) asserts that through providing basic education and health care facilities, countries can achieve economic growth in the long run. There is an example cited by Dreze and Sen (2002: 25-27) which shows how the Indian states of Kerala, West Bengal and Tamil Nadu have grown through support-led processes.

The rationale is that more income-centred opportunities enable the people to become more advanced in their social opportunities. Sen (1999:46) advocates that the 'economics of relative costs' mean that social services are labour intensive and therefore relatively inexpensive for poorer or low-wage economies, as opposed to richer countries that pay significantly higher wages for similar services.

In line with Sen's developmental ideals, the State provides protection for its citizens by spending more on the social and economic sectors. This was the approach to poverty that Zimbabwe first took.

Besada & Moyo (2008:2) acknowledge that the first decade was good as living standards improved significantly. The life expectancy at independence was at 59 years and the economy had grown to 2.9%. This was well above the regional Southern African average

of 1.7%. The country which was predominantly agricultural and the industrial sector was thriving. The economy was strong because of its diversified nature. This also included a well-developed manufacturing and mining sector.

However, Moyo and Yeros (2005:173) highlight the fact that the late 1980s ended in recession. The 'successes' of the 1980s did not endure because of "the combination of international recession, drought, the opposition of important sectors of the domestic economy, in mining and commercial agriculture, and the vulnerability of the economy to outside shocks. These all imposed serious limits on economic transformation".

This necessitated loans increasingly being taken from the International Monetary Fund (Dansereau, 2004:12). Dashwood (2000) stated that one of the problems with the Zimbabwean economy was that it had always been based on the natural weather patterns. When there is drought or flooding, all the economic sectors, such as agriculture, mining, industry and manufacturing are affected and can no longer bring in revenue.

As a result, rural spending was reversed, industry was in stagnation and Zimbabwe's debt service ratio had inflated to 32%. Over and above that, the economic disparities between the minority white elites and the black majority were still quite pronounced. White citizens had the monopoly in all economic sectors, excluding Africans from mainstream development (Moyo & Yeros, 2005:171; Zamponi, 2004:34).

An insignificant amount of land reform occurred in the 1980s under market reform, where the government resettled 58,000 people on three million hectares of low agro-ecologically valued land, out of their targeted 162,000 families for resettlement. They had only succeeded in decreasing white agricultural land to 11 million hectares (29%).

The issue of land has always been at the core of rural development in Zimbabwe, as landlessness has resulted in overcrowding and degradation, increasing poverty, vulnerability and food insecurity.

The collapse of the Soviet Union at the end of the decade resulted in a shift in Zimbabwe's economic and political agenda. The 1990s were marked by the abandonment of welfarist and redistributive government policies in favour of those combating poverty

through neo-liberal or capitalist thinking, as seen in the adoption of the Economic Structural Adjustment Program (ESAP) from 1991-1995.

Subsequent to ESAP, donors drafted the Zimbabwe Agricultural Policy Framework (1995-2000) and later the growth-with-equity policy. These all contributed to further delineating the rich from the poor. Dansereau (2004:12) refers to these market policies as 'externally-driven' development policies whose "objective was to stimulate investment activity and remove existing constraints on growth".

It was hoped that prioritising economic growth would contribute towards alleviating poverty in Zimbabwe, as finance would be available to invest in social opportunities. One of the disadvantages of economic policies is that they tend to develop over a long period of time, before the financial returns are realised. This makes the poor even more vulnerable as they are expected to wait until the financial benefits can trickle down to them.

Any viable policy must consider both the economic and social aspects equally.

Economic Structural Adjustment Program (1991-1995)

The fact that former colonial powers, donor and international organisations, such as the IMF and the WB, were injecting funds into the country put Zimbabwe in a position where the government took up the conditions and advice that came with these monetary boosts into the economy. Moyo and Yeros (2005:166) question whether these reforms contributed to the national welfare, or whether they were a form of neo-liberal globalisation.

External influences may advocate 'blueprint' economic models which may not necessarily be relevant to the unique Zimbabwean context (Wiggins, 2004:20).

Moyo and Yeros (2005:175) and Mudimu (2003:31) show that ESAP strategies encouraged:

- The market liberalisation of prices, interest rates and trade;
- Cutting back on public spending;
- Currency devaluations, greater government debt and fiscal deficits through deregulation and privatisation.

Sen (1999:43) refers to this as a growth-mediated approach to combating poverty. It is contrasted to support-led ideals because a country prioritises economic growth over all other developmental aspects through raising the per capita income; GNP per head; market liberalisation; so that once economic development is realised, then social opportunities and safety nets that protect the poor can be made.

Most developed countries, such as the United States of America (USA) and Britain have invested in social opportunities in this way. China and the Asian Tigers (the Newly Industrialised Countries), initially went the state-interventionist route and invested in support-led growth by improving health, education, research and agricultural development and land reform.

Shapouri and Rosen (1999:5), Dreze and Sen (2002:14) together with the 2005 AU report, show how the NICs through following a developmental model have succeeded in increasing agricultural productivity, and hence reduced food insecurity in the last three decades. This has been accomplished through: investing in costly irrigation equipment; undergoing soil fertility management; research technology and extension; market infrastructure and trade, as well as financing agricultural development. However, Dreze and Sen (2002:14) make the point that the Chinese have achieved economic growth at the expense of human development principles, such as human rights and democracy.

This communist state is totalitarian and the policies that are made do not necessarily allow political freedoms; they offer poor social opportunities; have limited transparency guarantees and protective security. Therefore China fails to adequately address all aspects of poverty.

A growth-mediated approach generally takes many years to achieve. Wallerstein (1979) through his work on the capitalist world economy is critical of growth-mediated approaches in developing countries and believes that they have never delivered substantial results, even within a lengthy time frame.

In the meantime, the vulnerable person remains poor. As such, ESAP as a growth-mediated approach has effectively failed to contribute to development in Zimbabwe since the 1990s. The ESAP has escalated poverty and increased social and economic disparities

(Zamponi, 2004:35). It has proved catastrophic for agricultural and mining productions which are the main foundations of the Zimbabwean economy (Mudimu, 2003:31).

ESAP strategies favoured commercial farmers who benefited from reforms that suggested that agricultural produce must be predominantly channelled towards export-orientated merchandise, from which foreign currency could be gained. Sen (1981:2) states that own-labour and trade-based entitlements characterise neo-liberal principles where a person's ownership bundle is determined by what they can individually benefit from and exchange in the market.

These entitlements advocated through ESAP resulted in commercial farmers purposefully moving away from cereal crop production to cash crops, such as horticulture, tobacco production, cotton and paprika (Mudimu, 2003:32; Zamponi, 2004:35). This meant that national food security was compromised.

The AU Food Security conference highlighted the fact that in agriculture, there are some unequal terms of trade between the developing and the developed world. They state that "farmers in Africa in general face low farm gate output and high input prices" (AU, 2005:15). Primary commodities, mainly agricultural products and minerals, dominate exports in Africa, whilst they import oil, food items and manufactured goods.

Changes in world prices mean that commodity exports are not profitable in comparison to the large amount of foreign currency that is spent importing agricultural inputs such as fertilizer, farm machinery and other important inputs for production. Inevitably, there are foreign currency deficits and these have often resulted in the country cutting back on investments in basic agricultural inputs.

The concept of open markets, as enshrined by capitalists affects, and consequently destroys local food producers, who have to compete with food that is imported into Africa as food aid.

When commercial farmers prioritised export crops, producing food for the consumption of the nation became the responsibility of communal or small-scale farmers. These included communal farmers in Matabeleland. Whilst communal farmers (who own about 42% of the total land mass) have been known in a good year to produce as much as over

two thirds of the country's grain supply, stumbling blocks such as the land issue, were identified as factors that contributed to severe food deficits during ESAP².

The issue of land redistribution during ESAP had not been satisfactorily addressed, and communal farmers still did not have access to sufficient land. In addition to that, the fiscal debt post-ESAP meant that government could not invest in basic agricultural services, such as research, veterinary services and improved access to water, but instead further cut back on these services especially in rural areas (Mudimu, 2003:14).

Wiggins (2004:20) says that the Grain Marketing Board (GMB) closed depots and collection points in remote areas, whilst the Agricultural Finance Corporation (AFC) 'saddled' with much bad debt, denied small farm holders access to formal credit, choosing to work purely with the commercial farmers. This was the case in the Matabeleland provinces, as the poor did not have adequate access to land and the resources for subsistence farming.

As a result, their food security was compromised along with other socio-economic development.

At the end of the 1990s Zimbabwe's macro-economy was more deeply in recession. Moyo and Yeros (2001:175) state that deindustrialisation resulted in downsizing and bankruptcies; deteriorating educational and health services in rural areas. These issues affected the most vulnerable peasants in provinces such as Matabeleland, particularly women's productive and reproductive labour. The HIV/AIDS pandemic had also escalated and people were driven further into poverty.

Marketing boards were commercialised or privatised. For example; the GMB in 2002 at the height of the food crisis was made the sole provider of maize in the country. The GMB bought maize at low prices in an attempt to control prices and this affected food availability, as most farmers kept their stock, as opposed to selling the output at lower than input amounts. This drastically contributed to the food crisis and it compromised the strategic grain reserves of the country at large.

² www.irinnews.org

The strategic national grain reserve ideally stores between six to nine months supply of maize. Mudimu (2003:20) states that these reserves previously cushioned Zimbabweans from the adverse effects of the 1987, 1992 and the 1995 droughts. Due to the macro-economic situation, the strategic grain reserve could not be sustained. Currently, there are no reserves in place.

The 2000s started off with a myriad of problems. These contributed to food insecurity and poverty. Central to all was the unresolved land issue from independence.

The land Issue

According to Mudimu (2003) and Mutumbuki (n.d.), both analysts at the University of Zimbabwe, the fast track land reform policy of 2000 undermined the food crisis problems being faced in the country. Zimbabwe is an agrarian economy, so land management, assets and production play a huge role. Mudimu (2003:9), states that land reform was initially conceptualized to increase food security in three ways:

1. There was a belief by government that small farms and such enterprises would produce more food than the existing large farms,
2. Cutting down on farms sizes meant that more land could be used in the land and agrarian reform exercise, and more importantly,
3. The government through land reform hoped to disempower the few 'elite' commercial farmers who at that time determined the whole of Zimbabwe's produce. Because of that monopoly, and their dislike of the new agricultural policies (e.g. the fact that the Grain Marketing Board [GMB] had gained full control over all grain prices), led to large-scale farmers underutilizing land; or holding the country ransom through affecting food security, employment creation and economic growth.

The underlying assumptions of the land reform were good. As there was mounting pressure on communal farmers to produce food for the nation, it only made sense that they should be given more land. Land reform would address the issue of the 'few elites' that had control over the economy of the nation.

Sen (1981:4-5) shows how landlessness puts the vulnerable in a position where their economic prospects are limited resulting in them falling to the bottom of the economic structure. Landlessness is such that even those who can offer labour, are resource-poor

and therefore cannot even rely on their labour to help them engage in exchange entitlements in the market.

Having land is advantageous and increases one's exchange entitlements because in the likelihood of drought, a land owner still has a resource to make returns within the next season. Therefore it becomes temporal food insecurity. But when one is without land, and simply a labourer on a farm, drought could result in one becoming chronically impoverished.

Similarly, a landowner works for food and eats it, whereas a wage labourer on a farm earns money and has to convert it to food by buying from the market. Characteristic of famines is the fact that there are sharp increases in relative food prices (Sen, 1981:5). This is the case in Zimbabwe. Civil servants work for wages from which they fail to obtain food from the market, as it is both expensive and unavailable because of institutional failures.

Therefore, in order to combat a lack of entitlements for the vulnerable, the issue of landlessness had to be addressed.

Thus, the Land Act of 2000 was adopted by government in a quest to address inequity where access to land was concerned. According to the Lancaster agreement of 1979, the British and Zimbabwean government had an agreement where, up until 1990, the government would resettle people on transferred land through a willing-buyer, willing-seller basis (Dansereau, 2004:17).

The government had hoped to acquire 11 million hectares out of the 16 million hectares of large-scale commercial agriculture where some of the financial reimbursement would come from the British government. The GoZ would then be 'responsible for compensation of physical developments on the acquired farms' (Mudimu, 2003:8).

The willing-buyer, willing-seller approach was idealistic and continued to disempower the poor. A poor person would not have access to the capital that is needed to purchase land.

By 1990, it became apparent that market-based acquisition was progressively slow, and only a minimal amount of land could be procured in this manner. Moyo and Yeros (2005: 167) state that from the outset, the white agrarian capital was never about national gain. It was for private financial and racial supremacy. As a result, only a few commercial farmers were prepared to give up their farms (and livelihoods) by putting them on the market. Usually, the land that was acquired was of low agro-ecological value.

Furthermore, the State could not afford to buy large tracts of land as they were paying off debt and looking into economic growth, which seemingly was not benefiting the poor (Dansereau, 2004:17). Besada and Moyo (2008:4) refer to a donor conference that Zimbabwe attended in 1998 in order to “establish the ground rules for the redistribution of land in a legal, transparent, orderly and just manner”.

At this conference, it was felt that land redistribution was necessary, principally to address social injustices.

By April 2000, illegal and lawless land occupations on farms occurred. The government condoned these actions since they seemingly did not use their jurisdiction to clamp down on the disorderly process. This resulted in Zimbabwe’s relationships with international agencies going sour, as they initially suspended, and later terminated their support for the process in September 2000 (Besada & Moyo, 2008:5).

Mano et al. (2003) believe that a significant amount of poverty in Africa is directly linked to failed symbiotic relationships with other stakeholders. Whilst the role of developing agricultural food strategies largely falls within the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Lands, Agriculture and Rural Resettlement (representing civil servants), other key stakeholders, such as farmers’ associations, NGOs and the Agribank form an essential part of the decision-making process (Mudimu, 2003:6).

Although Zimbabwe is a democratic country, there has been political monopoly by the 28-year ruling ZANU PF, which tends to make and administer sole decisions, especially since 2000 (Mudimu, 2003:6). Besada and Moyo (2008:5) give an example of exclusive decision-making when the GoZ provided the land ministry with a framework where 70% of white farming land was to be confiscated and redistributed to peasants through transfer entitlements, without compensation.

This decision was made and implemented without wide consultation and met up with resistance from NGOs and International agencies.

Political instability impacted the land reform process. Instability usually results in the government lacking the commitment and/or resources to make and implement policies. The poor are also neglected in the process of making decisions that concern them. Whilst agrarian reform should have been a process of “planned development land programmes underpinned by a comprehensive land policy and regulatory framework”, Mutumbuki (n.d.) states that it was disorganized, opportunity-related, spontaneous and ruthless in the way that it was carried out.

According to the FAO World Food Summit of 2002, Zimbabwe “had never had a clearly articulated agricultural policy or one on food security until 2002” (Mudimu, 2003:7). He argues that the lack of a formal food policy and reactionary strategies to unfolding food crises has aggravated the situation.

As such, political interference and instability have also limited economic players from investing in agricultural growth in the country, as there are high levels of risk, uncertainty and insecurity.

The land redistribution process created many food-security problems, intensified poverty in the country and made people more vulnerable to the 2001/2002 drought (Wiggins, 2004:22). More significantly, fast-track land reforms left economic wounds that the country has never recovered from. There was a disruption in the production of both food and cash crops; farm infrastructure was destroyed or looted and environmental degradation increased.

Some white commercial farmers lost their land and abandoned the country, fearing for their safety. Furthermore, “up to two million farmhands and their dependants constituting 15% of the population faced internal displacement and unemployment; urban centres no longer had access to food and raw materials for manufacturing; and the new tenants of the farms (war veterans) had inadequate experience or know-how about the type of commercial farming needed to feed a nation” (Besada & Moyo, 2008:6).

Instead environmental degradation increased as a result of poor land management practices. This also had ramifications on resources such as water, soil, the flora and fauna (Mutumbuki, n.d.): As a result, the 2003/2004 harvest was greatly affected as the country's best farmlands were either left fallow or farmed at low intensity due to a lack of inputs. The Matabeleland provinces were greatly affected by these happenings.

Although some land was redistributed, Mudimu (2003:10) and Wiggins (2004:24) assert that land resettlement schemes well funded by donors failed to increase food production or give people access to land, as there tended to be misuse and diversification of resources to benefit influential individuals or ruling government/party elites, much to the detriment of the poor and vulnerable.

Rural farmers in Zimbabwe still complain about the lack of access to adequate land and sufficient agricultural support services.

Before 'fast-track' reform, the communal farmers had shared a 'symbiotic' relationship with the commercial farmers and therefore were indirect recipients or benefited from the advanced agricultural input system that had been put in place (Mudimu, 2003:10). The government failed to maintain these services and build the capabilities of small farmers before sanctioning the land grabs.

The deflated Zimbabwean dollar made it difficult to process and facilitate loans for communal farmers. Tax revenues and foreign exchange that had previously come through commercial farmers decreased and the country literally went bankrupt (Besada & Moyo, 2008:6). Wiggins (2004:37) states that a country does not necessarily have to be 'self-sufficient' or produce all of its own food in order to be secure. He gives examples of countries like Kuwait and Singapore, which are food secure countries though importing the greater bulk of their food.

Whilst Zimbabwe produced most of its cereals in the past, the macro-economic reality is such that there are insufficient funds to procure basic necessities like petrol, cooking oil and bread. The GoZ is finding it difficult to provide protective security for the vulnerable.

Thus, the land issue has never been effectively resolved. The GoZ, who have a primal role in facilitating socio-economic development in the country continue to make decisions that aggravate poverty and contribute to food insecurity.

Questions are raised about how the government has been managing revenue (or the lack thereof) since the 2000s. The need for transparency guarantees has been a key factor in this situation. Reasons for Zimbabwe's economic instability include institutional failures in decision-making such as Black Friday in 1997, where approximately 50 000 war vets received lump sum cash payouts of 50 000 Zimbabwean dollars. The Zimbabwean dollar lost up to 74% of its value within four hours on the day that these payouts were made (Bond, 2006). These payouts necessitated cutbacks on public spending for the advancement of a few war veterans. This occurrence preceded the land-grabbing process, as war veterans hastily spent their money and turned their attention to acquiring land.

The government's involvement in the Democratic Republic of Congo's war resulted in the country running into further debt, as all of the nations finances were channelled into that cause (AU, 2005:10). The vulnerable were further excluded from mainstream development and their poverty was heightened. The DRC war did not have any social relevance or economic benefits for the poor. Instead, they were the recipients of 'operation Murambatsvina' (*restore order*), which was a violation of human rights and contributed to displacing a significant number of vulnerable people, rendering them food insecure by virtue of the fact that they lost their land rights and/or informal businesses which were a source of income.

As at June 2008, Springfield farm (a camp in Bulawayo), is still home to some of those who were displaced over a year ago. Furthermore, this crisis shows that there was (and continues to be) an evident deficiency of social policies to balance the economic and other macro-constraints.

Currently, one of Zimbabwe's poverty alleviation frameworks is Zimbabwe United Nations Development Assistance Framework (2007-2011). ZUNDAF is a framework informed through the collaboration of the GoZ and the United Nations. It aims to address the current crisis and facilitate longer-term development. In this framework, the government makes a commitment to addressing the multifaceted aspects of poverty, especially the economical and social development of the people.

However, these plans are lacking as they need to move beyond the abstract and incorporate practical implementation processes and procedures. The GoZ tends to roll out policies without solid plans and/or resources. For example, Chinamasa (2009) in Zimbabwe's 2009 budget, mentioned a myriad of socio-economic projects that are projected to combat food security (such as agricultural recovery), but he did not mention how this would be practically done. Swanepoel (2000) referred to the fact that it is the responsibility of the government to make and administer policies in all of their different stages. So the GoZ needs to set realistic plans and be committed to seeing them being fulfilled.

Over and above the macro-economic policies that have already been discussed, food security and agricultural produce in the country continues to be affected by drought and floods. Zimbabwe has always been prone to erratic weather patterns. Kinsey et al., (1998:89) assert that citing drought as a reason for food insecurity is not acceptable because there are numerous ways of working around this phenomenon. These include dry farming, irrigation practices, diversifying crop production and ranching. Mano et al. (2003:4) say that despite early warning signs, the GoZ tends to be very slow or reactionary when it comes to preparedness for natural disasters. They refer to the 2001/2002 drought which they felt was poorly responded to although ample warning had been given.

Mano et al. (2003:4) highlight that there has been scant education and little attention paid towards policies that address environmental awareness, thereby exacerbating natural disasters.

Various developmental strategies that the government of Zimbabwe took have been highlighted, and how they possibly escalated poverty, especially food insecurity. The following section discusses NGOs and the role that they play in addressing food scarcity.

2.4 The responses of NGOs in addressing Food Insecurity

This section considers the proactive role of NGOs in addressing food insecurity. The literature review provides answers to the fourth research question which is: What are NGO responses to the food insecurity crisis?

According to Korf and Bauer (2002:5), most NGOs in Africa tend to address poverty through the relief-rehabilitation-development continuum thinking. This continuum started in the 1980s, based on the natural disaster relief models of those times. Macrae et al., (1997:224) give three basic definitions, where:

Relief operations of any kind, “are primarily concerned with the physical survival of individuals, that is, they emphasise saving lives”,

Rehabilitation assistance, “in addition to having a developmental concern for promoting livelihoods and reducing future vulnerability, also maintains a concern for the preservation of life”, and lastly,

Development activities are those that are “planned with respect to the sustainability and appropriateness of social and economic systems”.

Macrae et al. (1997:224) state that the shortcoming of these definitions is that they do not necessarily consider the wider political atmosphere. This is important because it determines “which instruments and channels aid agencies are willing and able to use in these contexts”. So despite these definitive blueprint solutions, whatever solution is adapted in a country is still very much determined by the State.

For instance, in April 2008, most international aid agencies decided to provide relief for the flood victims in Myanmar/Burma. The government was refusing to accept the relief because they felt that it was not the solution that they needed (Black, 2008). Despite humanitarian pleas, the politics of the day carried more weight.

Similarly, relief was constrained in Zambia, during the 2002/2003 Southern African food crisis, as the ruling power felt that genetically modified food and seed would compromise their food standards and their local seed, making them dependent on the West (Mano et al., 2003:6,13).

Relief is a short-term intervention to crisis, whilst rehabilitation is a medium-term solution, and development answers to the longer-term macro-economic functioning.

Relief is a reactionary way of combating food security, which is swift and possibly the most visible type of work that an NGO can engage in, especially when they are under pressure from donors and the media to produce quantifiable results within a short space of time (Korf & Bauer, 2002:7).

These authors say that NGOs tend to be involved in social welfare types of work, and typically always end up distributing handouts and gifts, such as food, clothing, tools, financial aid and other goods. In Zimbabwe, relief has been one of the most relied-upon means of getting food to those that are needy. NGOs tend to deliver food packages that consist of mealie meal/maize, corn-soya blend, beans, as well as cooking oil (World Vision, 2006).

This is facilitated through different programmes aimed at various vulnerable groups, such as children under the age of five and those that are chronically ill. Examples of programmes operating in Matabeleland include Schools' Feeding Programmes (SFP) and Vulnerable Group Feeding (VGF). Most NGOs favour relief because it is usually what their donors encourage them to do. However, excessive foreign influence can be disruptive and undermine the autonomy of the local NGO. Korf and Bauer (2002:5) also add that "emergency relief is usually unavoidable in most circumstances, but it should only be used in such a way that it does not undermine future development efforts".

Relief is supported by donor agencies because it is an easy technocratic top-down process. Agencies sponsor relief with no conditions attached, and as a result bypass State institutions by giving money to decentralised channels like NGOs (Macrae et al., 1997:226). This does not guarantee that government and other institutions may still not try to benefit or control relief aid.

Black (2008) highlights the difficulties that the United States and the United Nations experienced when they tried to give food aid to victims of cyclone Nargis. The food was suspended by the Burmese military government who tried to control the relief project.

Humanitarian assistance is not aimed at rebuilding State institutions, but rather at immediate survival, so agencies prefer to do this type of work where they are neutral and distant from the political discourses. One question is whether any organisation can truly ever be impartial or apolitical in their views.

Whilst the NGOs in Zimbabwe assert that they are neutral concerning the political situation, the government has allegedly often lashed out at them for being 'anti-ZANU-PF' and for 'inciting the people to vote against them'.

Dorman (2002:81) shows how church NGOs are prominent, well established and have always had a fundamental role in executing development assistance. She highlights the fact that even though they have tried to take an impartial stance, “their agenda’s have shifted over the 20 years of independence from the developmental towards political”. As a result, this relationship has often been conflictual.

Humanitarian aid can be detrimental to growth because it comes with stigmas attached to it and can be used as a political tool, which further victimises the vulnerable. Furthermore, handouts, whilst offering quick solutions to the now, tend to compromise the developmental agenda for the future, as they undermine self-initiative and encourage a recipient mentality (Korf & Bauer, 2002:3-4). These researchers add that aid is often imposed on communities based on blueprint models with little understanding of the social dynamics, causing harm in some instances.

As such, the vulnerable, through aid, sometimes become dependent to the point where this becomes unsustainable. Food aid does not offer one ownership or entitlements, especially so that they can engage in exchange in the market.

The top-down mentality or supremacy of the donors is paternalistic in the sense that communities are often seen as helpless and submissive parties that often need to be saved or directed in a certain direction. This is contrary to true development.

Ideally, development projects should empower the people who are involved in the process of the change that affects them.

Relief can be oppressive as opposed to being progressive. In addition to this, the lengthy manner within which political, socio-economic and natural crises are experienced in Africa, spanning several years, illustrates that relief answers to transient or short-term food insecurity, but cannot provide any real lasting solutions to chronic food insecurity, since this stems from multidimensional institutional failures (Corbett, 1988:1099).

This often leads to the donors themselves getting fatigued (Korf & Bauer, 2002:4).

Rehabilitation answers to micro-economic growth and is seen as a way of encouraging individuals to start moving out of the crisis that has impoverished them through making a

living. Rehabilitation is supposedly seen as a bridge between the immediate preservation of life through humanitarian aid, and the longer term development-orientated aid.

Benson et al. (2001:208) make reference to some rehabilitation plans, most of which tend to fall within a variety of livelihoods, such as vegetable gardening projects, small livestock farming (such as chickens, pigs and goats), as well as sewing clubs or starting a business.

Rehabilitation aims at giving people a chance to start generating finances for themselves. In line with Sen's (1981) ideals on entitlements, rehabilitation offers people a more reliable means with which to engage in exchange entitlements through trade, production, own labour entitlements through various livelihood programmes.

Some of the advanced food security livelihood programmes involve soil and water conservation projects, irrigation schemes, dry farming and crop diversification practices (World Vision, 2006). These benefit communities in that they are largely group projects. They require a lot of training, as well as the initial injection of funding through credit programmes for the procurement of supplies that are initially needed for recovery.

Ideally, rehabilitation is beneficial, as one does not need to wait long before they start reaping the fruits of their labour. It also teaches the vulnerable to take steps to improve their own situation.

Development is both a term and a practice which Macrae et al. (1997), as well as Korf and Bauer (2002:10), believe is widely used, and yet not really understood. Whilst many organisations state that their work is developmental, most staff are not adequately trained to carry it out well.

Development aid means many things to different people. Korf and Bauer (2002) state that some international agencies use this term when they are fatigued with relief and want to get out of their commitment, so they begin to channel their funds into development.

For some NGOs, development aid is a buzz word which NGOs use in order to lobby for funding from international agencies. Developmental aid encapsulates two basic principles, which are: participation and empowerment.

Korf and Bauer (2002:7) state that participation is both a means and an end in itself, much like Sen's (1999) 'Development as freedom' approach. They say that participation is a means of development and is sustainable because the community contributes in several ways, including financially.

Furthermore, they will take the initiative or ownership to see to additional development or the maintenance of assets. Ideally, development is people-centred and 'bottom up' in that the people themselves are involved right from the planning phases through to every other stage thereafter. People get to make decisions for themselves at local levels.

Korf and Bauer (2002:7) further advocate that such participation, inevitably leads to empowerment.

However, participation processes and empowerment cannot be realised or achieved within short timeframes. This is because development aid is unpredictable. One can never put a time period on how long a community will take to become self-sufficient; neither can agencies forecast the kinds of barriers that they will experience in pioneering collective action.

Negotiations have to happen and levels of trust need to be built within communities before they eventually feel safe enough to partner with NGOs. As such, Sen's (1999:46) idea that development can be a support-led process gives priority to the people at grassroots to participate in their own development, and hence empowerment.

Development assistance also falls in line with the basic idea that poverty is multidimensional. So it is addressed by focusing on a variety of interrelated aspects (like Sen's freedoms or Nussbaum's capabilities). This understanding is ideal for countries like Zimbabwe, which are still struggling economically, and yet can no longer wait for significant financial growth in order to start investing in social opportunities, as well as protective security. However, no development strategy can be effective in a country, until the institutional failures, such as bad policy choices and weak governance have been addressed.

Development projects cannot be implemented without institutional recognition. In essence, the position of the donors changes when they have to legitimise the ruling

powers by working under them (Macrae et al., 1997:226). It also implies that these NGOs can no longer remain neutral or impartial to the political happenings of the day.

Developmental assistance programmes tend to be macro-operational with more emphasis on rebuilding national assets, such as the construction of dams, piping for stable access to water, national agricultural recovery, such as research in using local hybrid seeds in certain soil types.

As a result, most aid agencies prefer to administer relief over a lengthy period of time as opposed to engaging in developmental assistance.

Also, developmental aid can be very expensive. Whilst Macrae et al. (1997:226) suggest that developmental aid could in the long run be cost effective and more efficient than relief, I believe that in the case of Zimbabwe, it could be a counterproductive feat. The country's inflated currency makes reforming agricultural production very costly.

Even greater consideration should be taken of the country's instability, due to multidimensional factors, such that developmental progress cannot at present succeed within such an environment. The primal responsibility for development lies in the hands of the government and NGOs need not be held accountable for opting not to engage in this type of work, as they are only assisting the State by providing the vulnerable with immediate and medium-term relief (Swanepoel, 2000: 86).

The long term functioning of the state is not the liability of NGOs, as the GoZ is responsible for the provision of core public services through revenue and State resources.

Besides, development aid on its own would be dysfunctional as a first recourse in countries like Zimbabwe which are food insecure, because it would be anti-humanitarian to speak about development at the crux of the situation, where more immediate solutions are needed (Macrae et al., 1997:225). Instead of an incremental or comprehensive rationale approach to poverty, a mixed approach would be more appropriate.

The relief to development continuum thinking has progressed since 1980. What was initially seen as a linear progression of resolutions where each stage of the continuum was distinctly applied according to set periods has proven faulty. Macrae et al. (1997:225) say

that one of the limitations with adopting sequential (incremental) solutions is that crisis or conflict never occurs in an ordered or linear manner so it cannot be solved in such a way.

Korf and Bauer (2002:5), as well as Macrae et al. (1997:226) suggest that Development-oriented Emergency Aid (DEA) in comparison to the relief-rehabilitation-development concept is 'a more circuitous and multi-dimensional' approach which takes the social, economic and political aspects into consideration. Preuss (1999) in Korf and Bauer (2002:5), say that "one never encounters a simple 'emergency situation' or a 'development situation'; rather elements of each type are found in each phase in varying degrees, during and after a humanitarian crisis or an emergency".

They further add that as most situations are often complex, a mixed set of interventions where relief, rehabilitation and development are all used in a complementary way are likely to be suitable. I concur with Korf and Bauer (2002), but also believe that interventions should not solely be built around relief, rehabilitation and development. Characteristic of NGOs is the fact that they are flexible, as well as innovative. Therefore, they need not necessarily stick within the confines of these resolutions where other contextually more relevant interventions can be found.

2.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has discussed the involvement of the government of Zimbabwe and the way that they have addressed poverty through various strategies. Their institutional failures, especially in policy making from the 1980s have been directly linked to the food insecurity crisis faced in the country and the socio-economic downturn.

The attention now turns to NGO food insecurity interventions through relief, rehabilitation and development programmes. Most NGO responses to food insecurity have largely been through relief and rehabilitation. Development has been left to the State, as NGOs are not party to the political and anti-humanitarian occurrences in the country.

The following chapter provides a layout of the research design and methodology that is used in this study.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the research design and methodology that will be followed in the study, including the use of a case study approach. The ethical considerations that have guided the process of the dissertation will be discussed. Attention will be paid to the limitations of the study. Some personal reflections based on the research journey will be made. Finally, conclusions will be drawn.

3.2 Research design

This section discusses the research design used in order to address the research topic and fulfil the research objectives.

The current study uses a case-study approach, which according to Creswell (1998:61), can be viewed as an examination or in-depth analysis of a particular organisation. A case study approach is advantageous for this study because it focuses on two specific NGOs working within the Matabeleland provinces and highlights their development work from the year 2000, considering defined times and spaces. There are many developmental organisations throughout the whole of Zimbabwe. Time constraints made it feasible to consider and study only two defined organisations.

Mark (1996) highlights that case studies can be used to either discuss unique systems or they can be representative of a variety of organisations within a specific geographical region. Most NGOs in the Matabeleland provinces tend to address food insecurity through similar projects, as they are funded by the same international donors (www.nango.org.zw).

However, I discuss these two organisations as unique entities and not necessarily representative of other NGOs in the same area. Case studies can be comparative so this means that similar NGOs working in the Matabeleland provinces could benefit from the findings of this study.

This study is applied because the research will glean practical findings. Pure research covers theoretical paradigms by providing a foundation for knowledge and understanding, whilst applied research covers practical results.

De Vos (2002:109) acknowledges that the two types of research paradigms overlap. He states that “many supposedly pure research findings (especially in the area of human relations) have practical implications. Conversely, most applied research findings have implications for knowledge development”.

The ‘instrumental’ case study method has been used, which, according to Mark (1996:219), is “used to elaborate on a theory or to gain a better understanding of a social issue”.

Case studies therefore encourage deductive thinking where there is a shift from general thinking to specific situations (Babbie & Mouton, 2001:35). Babbie (2001) in De Vos (2005:272) indicates that “case study researchers in contrast to grounded theorists seek to enter a field with knowledge of the relevant literature before conducting the field research”. Before gathering data from the informants, theory was obtained from desktop research and various secondary sources in order to access previous information and background data.

This information enabled me to be better equipped to incorporate subjective knowledge and interpret it by making comparisons with developed theories.

In case studies, the researcher relies on multiple sources and techniques for gathering data (Creswell, 1998). Although data gathering in case studies is largely qualitative, quantitative research techniques can also be used. This study is qualitative with a reliance on documentary analysis. It is an empirical research project that draws from both primary and secondary sources.

This paper places emphasis on informants, mainly through in-depth interviews with ten key participants from the organisations. The documents include literature reviews, papers obtained from the NGOs, such as annual and evaluation reports, and also information from the departments of Social Services and Agriculture.

Qualitative research is ideal because one has valuable interactions with participants and allows them to share their reality and personal voices. In Matabeleland, where people have experienced exclusion, this study becomes a medium for their stories.

This study is exploratory because the research emphasizes insight and comprehension, as opposed to the collection of detailed, accurate and replicable data (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 1999:39; Babbie & Mouton, 2001:80). Open and flexible research strategies have been followed. However, Babbie and Mouton (2001:80) state that one of the shortcomings of exploratory studies is that they seldom provide satisfactory answers to research because they are subjective and contain bias.

To combat bias, I relied on 'development as freedom' (Sen, 1999) which is a framework that discusses poverty and specifically food insecurity. Comparing subjective data against theoretical and objective ideas will strengthen this study and lessen any bias.

3.3 Research methodology

3.3.1 Sampling framework

The pre-sampling process meant that I had to decide on the appropriate organisations to approach. A directory for NGOs was relied upon as an elementary tool in identifying relevant organisations working within Matabeleland. The research targeted NGOs that prioritise poverty alleviation and development: NGOs that have existed for longer than five years and are non-profit organisations. Several informants also suggested organisations that they felt would be relevant to this study. Those NGOs whose location was accessible were considered.

Research was conducted on two organisations, i.e. Siyal'amukela* (*we receive you*), as well as Masibambane* (*let's help each other*). These are both organisations that comply with the above listed criteria; are recognised, well documented and conveniently located. These organisations focus specifically on combating food insecurity through a diversity of intervention strategies, especially in rural Matabeleland.

Although this research was conducted in early May 2008, just after the first elections and prior to the re-run elections, consent was obtained from these organisations to conduct the study. The political atmosphere during this time was characterised by instability and

unrest. Some organisations looked at the researcher with suspicion and were therefore opposed to participating in the study.

However, the two organisations where interviews were conducted understood the purposes of this study, especially after any concerns that they had were clarified. All of the facts were corroborated with formal identification documents, such as one's university student identity card.

The participants in the research were selected under a non-probability purposive type of framework. De Vos (2002:207) says that a purposive sample "is composed of elements that contain the most characteristic, representative or typical attribute of the population". After stipulating the ideal participants for the research, I relied on the NGO directors to identify employees that they felt were the most suitable informants because of their 'hands-on' work in the organisation, as well as their familiarity in dealing with poverty and food insecurity.

One of the disadvantages with such sampling could be that the participant's lengthy involvement in the organisation has affected their objectivity to the extent where they cannot identify shortcomings in the organisation, or they are unwilling to portray it in a negative light, thus limiting the credibility of the research findings.

Ten participants were interviewed (i.e. eight NGO staff members, as well as two analysts). One of the reasons for the reduced sample size was that the political atmosphere at the time resulted in the whole research process being difficult to execute. Eventually, four participants from each organisation were interviewed, including the directors. The other two interviewed participants were developmental practitioners from NANGO who have hands-on experience with implementing food security programmes within the communities.

All the informants were chosen regardless of age, race and sex, although employees who had longer tenure in the organisation were chosen over newer recruits. Employees who had worked at least three years and understood the programmes were interviewed.

3.3.2 Data collection

In-depth interviews were relied on as a data-collection strategy. These were individual interviews in which every participant could feel free to tell their story without the discomfort that might be experienced in a larger group, especially when sensitive issues arose. As such, the interviews were semi-structured and contained a skeleton/framework of potential guidelines and questions that I prepared to ask in the interviews

All ten participants were asked the same questions, using one interview schedule (refer to Appendix A). These questions were also relevant to the two participants from NANGO. This strategy encouraged consistency and enhanced the thoroughness of the study.

These questions were well thought-out in chronological order, where one response was intended to trigger another. Whilst taking the guiding role in the interviews, it was ensured that the participants did not feel intimidated or inferior. A relaxed and informal ethos was encouraged in accordance with the guidelines enshrined by Babbie (2004:63).

Consent was obtained to record the participants' responses using a Dictaphone (refer to Appendix C). Pen and paper were also relied on for writing extra notes from the interviews. This enabled the recording of non-verbal cues, such as a smile or shrug, which cannot be captured on a tape recorder.

3.3.3 Data analysis strategy

All of the interviews were transcribed through a process that involved listening to each interview and typing it out verbatim. This analysis followed Tesch's (1990) method of openly coding and sub-coding. Tesch's method requires the reading of the transcripts several times. Themes, categories and sub-categories began to emerge. These fell in line with the main research objectives. This information was compared and then analysed.

3.4 Ethical considerations

There were ethical considerations which guided the process of the study. An ethical approach to research is important, particularly in the context of the selected case studies, as qualitative research can be subjective, have personal involvement and is not observable through experiments. The following ethical considerations were largely obtained from De Vos (2002: 62-63) and Babbie (2004:62-69).

3.4.1 Consent

Consent was obtained to do the research from the relevant organisations. Consent was sought from the organisation's director. This was facilitated through a letter that was sent to the organisations. This stated the purpose of the research. Once consent to conduct the study was granted, the individual consent of the participants was also sought.

At the beginning of the interviews, it was decided that no participant would be forced to do anything that was against his/her will. The participants were also permitted to withdraw from the research at any time, if they felt uncomfortable with the process.

3.4.2 Confidentiality

The interviewee's details were kept anonymous so that their real identities would not be compromised. In this study, the participants were not referred to by their real names. They were identified through pseudonyms in alphabetical chronology, such as Mrs Abongile, Mr Banda, Mr Cele etc. The first four letters represent participants from Masibambane. Mrs Elangeni through to Mrs Hanyani are participants from Siyal'amukela. Lastly, Mr Izaya and Mr Jessenia are members of NANGO. The organisations names have also been changed in order to ensure confidentiality.

3.4.3 Competency

The interviews could not harm the participants in any way, since all issues and information that came out of the research process were dealt with sensitively. Lastly, the organisations that participated in the study were assured that they would have access to copies of the final report if they required them.

3.5 Limitations of the study

3.5.1 Limitations of research design and methodology

- The nature of qualitative research is such that the findings are based on one's interpretation of the participant's words and actions. The interpretation may be subjective or biased and is sometimes based on misunderstood information.

3.5.2 Limitations of the sample

- The qualitative design and the sample size of ten participants (eight NGO employees and two analysts) did not allow one to make generalizations about poverty or food insecurity in the broader provincial and national contexts. This study simply has relevance and significance to the specific NGOs on which the study focused.
- The informants were not diverse in their composition. This research may be lacking since only NGO employees were interviewed, and not the actual recipients of the food security programmes. It would be helpful to hear the opinions, as well as the experiences of the beneficiaries of these programmes. The lack of variety in the sample is attributed to the limited time within which the study had to be completed. It was not possible to spend a few weeks in these remote communities with the beneficiaries of the programmes and/or with a variety of stakeholders. There was also the consideration that research was conducted in Zimbabwean districts far from the urban areas which are not easily accessible. Further research will have to be conducted with these groups of people.

3.6 Reflections

Some personal reflections made during the whole research process will be offered.

This study was a learning curve for me in that I learnt how to work with people and sharpened my researching skills. The study offered me an opportunity to incorporate academic knowledge, as well as the practical experiences that are faced within the organisations and communities. This experience will enable me to be an effective development practitioner.

Through the study, I gained a better understanding of the social development issues that are faced in my community, province and within the country. One of the advantages of undertaking research at home is that there were no language barriers, as we all spoke a common native language, especially where English proficiency levels were low. It also made entry into these spaces and working with the informants a little easier in that they did not see me as an outsider looking in on a uniquely Zimbabwean situation. However, I had to be very careful not to allow bias and individual opinions to affect the research.

However, I did face some difficulties during the study. The reality of research is that most plans and assumptions do not turn out as smoothly or as picture perfect as one would like them to. I had to change some of my initial ideas and realise that a dissertation follows its own course.

For example, contending with a fluctuating Zimbabwean economy meant that Zimbabwean statistics and facts changed regularly. I also hoped to interview six people per organisation, making a total of twelve interviews, but in both cases I was only allocated four people per organisation.

The political situation at the time that the research was conducted was a constraint for many reasons (Early May 2008: post elections). I sensed that many organisations were not keen to participate. There was a lot of mistrust, especially at the fact that I was going to be conducting interviews using a tape recorder. Despite the fact that I had formal documentation, there was still the suspicion that I could have been a government official under mask. At that time churches and NGOs had been, and continue to be, under a lot of attack, supposedly for anti-government voting tactics.

This was compounded by the increasing reports that violence was being inflicted on such people. I had to assure the participants that I was not an informant or any kind of agent and that my work would not expose anyone to violence. There was also the possibility that some of the people that were interviewed were not entirely open or honest with their answers. Perhaps they were trying to be 'politically correct'.

3.7 Conclusion

In conclusion here, I have discussed the research design, including the use of a case study approach for this study. The methodology that guided the process of this dissertation included the sampling framework, data collection processes and data analysis strategies. Some ethical considerations have been discussed, as well as the limitations of the study. Lastly, I have made some reflections on the research journey.

The following chapter contains an analysis of the findings from the case study, especially those that are in line with the research objectives.

University of Cape Town

CHAPTER FOUR ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an in-depth organisational context of the two NGOs under study, in order to give the reader a background on the organisations. In this chapter, an analysis of the research findings is made in response to the main research objectives, which include defining 'poverty' and 'food insecurity'; highlighting the extent of poverty; understanding the reasons behind the food insecurity crisis and discussing NGO responses to these problems.

The impact of these NGO intervention strategies will be assessed. Lastly, conclusions will be drawn.

4.2 Organisational Context

The information about these organisations has been obtained through interviews with the directors and various senior staff members, annual reports, pamphlets and documents that were obtained from the organisations, as well as the websites.

Table 1 contains a profile of the participants from which most of the knowledge was gleaned. As mentioned in Chapter Three, these are not the participants' real names. All of the interviews were conducted at the two organisations' headquarters in Bulawayo.

Table 1: Profile of participants

PARTICIPANTS	AGE	GENDER	ORGANISATION	DATE & TIME OF INTERVIEW
Mrs Abongile	27	Female	Masibambane	05/05/08; 10-11.10am
Mr Banda	36	Male	Masibambane	06/05/08; 2.30-3.15pm
Mr Cele	44	Male	Masibambane	07/05/08; 10-11.00am
Mr Donga	33	Male	Masibambane	08/05/08; 3.30-4.25pm
Mrs Elangeni	65	Female	Siyal'amukela	12/05/08; 12-1.15pm
Mr Fikile	36	Male	Siyal'amukela	13/05/08; 9-9.50 am
Mr Gasela	34	Male	Siyal'amukela	13/05/08; 3-4.15pm
Mrs Hanyani	40	Female	Siyal'amukela	15/05/08; 9.15-10.15am

In addition to these eight participants from the two case studies, I also conducted interviews with two other key informants. Although they do not work for either of these NGOs, they shed some light in their areas of expertise. Both Mr Izaya³ and Mr Jessenia⁴ are members of NANGO and are well informed about the functioning of NGOs specifically in Zimbabwe.

Their role in this study was simply to make some reflective comments on general aspects, such as food security and the NGOs as a body. However, their comments do not form any part of the unique case study analysis and findings. As a result, only occasional reference was made to them.

The following organisational characteristics were reviewed, namely: history; vision/mission statement; goals; programmes, funding and structure. Masibambane and Siyal'amukela are not the organisations real names.

4.2.1 Organisation Masibambane

History: Masibambane is an international NGO that is involved in development in 98 countries, where 25 are in Africa. It was founded in 1950. Although all the diverse organisations in the various countries have different developmental focuses, they share the same vision and mission statement.

The vision: To allow every child and family to live life fully.

The mission statement prioritises:

- working with the poor and the oppressed by advancing sustainable transformational development in communities;
- emergency development which supports people affected by conflict or disaster; safeguarding justice for the vulnerable;
- public awareness which involves empowering the people through informed understanding, giving and participation;
- setting up initiatives that serve the church in the fulfilment of its mission and witnessing to Jesus Christ through their work, encouraging people to respond to the gospel.

³ Interviewed on 16/05/08 from 09.00hrs-10.00 hrs in his office at Organisation Y, Bulawayo.

⁴ Interviewed on 19/05/08 from 11.30hrs-12.30hrs in his office at Organisation Z, Bulawayo.

As such, Masibambane values people, stewardship, responsiveness, a commitment to the poor and Christianity.

Although Masibambane is built on strong Christian principles, the organisation considers itself as more of a developmental NGO than a specific church organisation because their services extend beyond those who are Christian. The organisation does not discriminate, coerce or demand that people hear any religious message or convert to Christianity before, during or after receiving assistance, lest the organisation gives people the impression that aid is being offered in exchange for salvation (Masibambane website).

Masibambane's work is undoubtedly developmental because of their vision and mission statement which prioritises aspects that fall in line with development theory, such as multifaceted and sustainable development for people (Monaheng, 2000).

Masibambane-Zimbabwe, established in Harare since 1975, focuses on Area Development Programmes (ADPs). ADPs include services, such as building dams and irrigation structures in communities. Masibambane Relief offices were opened in Bulawayo in 2002, specifically created in response to the food security emergency that could no longer be ignored in the Matabeleland provinces.

The specific goals and objectives of the Bulawayo Masibambane branch are: to reduce vulnerability to food insecurity through improving and maintaining access to food, productive assets and capabilities amongst vulnerable households.

As such, certain programmes have been put in place to address food insecurity. Davids (2005:70) states that because NGOs are independent of the government, they tend to put strategies in place which are private, yet enhance local institutions by working within the legal and political norms. Similarly, Masibambane, through its international ties, follows different, but complementary poverty-alleviation strategies to those that the GoZ may be implementing.

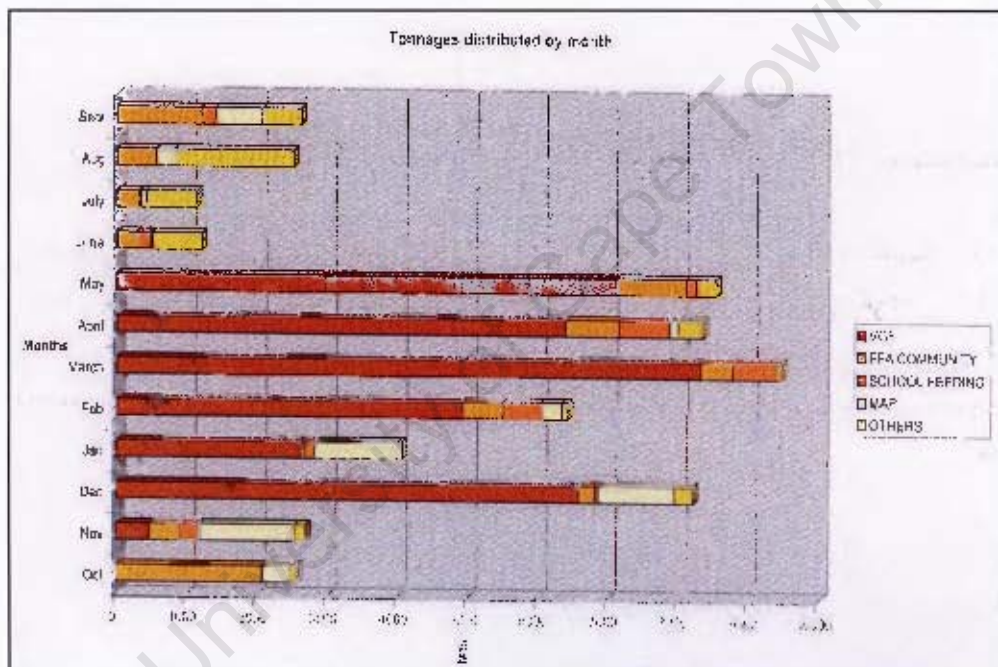
Programmes

Masibambane programmes were initially focused on children, but they now focus on a variety of vulnerable groups of people: regardless of age, gender and tribe. Masibambane

Bulawayo is a relief office and tailors its programmes to food security needs. Relief has many branches to it, namely: food-aid programmes, agricultural recovery and urban programmes.

Food-aid programmes include: Vulnerable Group Feeding (VGF); Emergency School Feeding (ESP); Food for Assets (FFA); Food support to chronically ill; Institutional Feeding and Market Assistance Programmes (MAP). I will provide an overview of select programmes later in the study. The following graph highlights the food-aid programmes that were implemented at Masibambane in 2006.

Graph 1: Food aid programmes implemented in Masibambane in 2006.



Source: Masibambane 2006 Annual Report

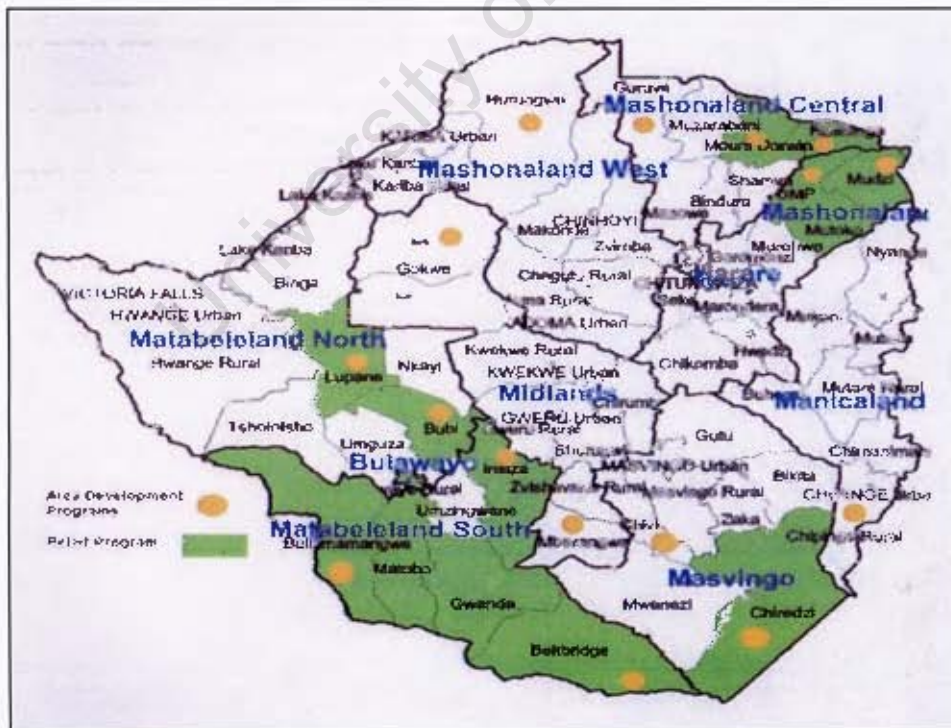
VGF is the most relied on programme during the hungry season, whilst FFA is predominant in other parts of the year. Through these programmes, Masibambane distributed 47 674 metric tonnes of food to over 789 266 people in the year 2006. This is a significant contribution, especially when one considers that 5 800 000 of Zimbabwe's population are undernourished. The need for food aid has increased in the subsequent years. However, Masibambane (since 2006) has moved away from a heavy reliance on simply relief towards a more comprehensive intervention strategy that incorporates relief, rehabilitation and development aid (Masibambane 2006 Journal). This is because relief

was supposed to be a temporary three-year solution, and yet food insecurity has become persistent, needing a more circuitous and multi-dimensional approach (Korf & Bauer, 2002:5).

Agricultural recovery is mostly rehabilitative work. At Masibambane this was pioneered in 2005 through various projects, namely: integrated conservation farming projects; fertilizer and seed distribution; nutrition gardens; irrigation kits; goats, pigs and chicken livelihood programmes and basic skills training. All of these programmes enhance social development so that households become self-sufficient in terms of food production, the soil fertility is boosted and the vulnerable have an opportunity to earn a stable income and learn a skill.

These programmes are practical ways of giving people ownership bundles and enhancing their exchange entitlements in order for them to be protected from famines (Sen, 1981). The following map highlights the areas in which Masibambane runs relief and ADPs.

Map 1: Masibambane's 2006 programme area map.



Source: Masibambane 2006 Annual report.

It is evident that most of the relief programmes benefit the Matabeleland provinces. The map also highlights that ADPs are extensive in rural areas throughout Zimbabwe, and were established 33 years ago.

Funding

According to the website, almost 80% of Masibambane's funds come from international organisations, such as the Consortium for the Southern Africa Food Security Emergency (C-SAFE), Office of Food For Peace (FFP), the DFID, USAID and WFP. The other 20% of the funds are privately raised funds from 10 Masibambane support offices, internationally and South-African based NGO Joint Aid Management (JAM).

Organisational structure

At Masibambane, most of the work in the organisation is executed through 370 permanent salaried staff members that work in various branches of the decentralised offices. Masibambane is strict about staff entry levels into the organisation and they expect the bulk of their administrative staff to have advanced levels of education, especially at tertiary level.

As a result, the organisation, through the qualified staff members rolls out numerous official pamphlets and documents that are available for public inspection and as a means of encouraging transparency. Many of their procedures are formal and mechanical. Most of the employees are Zimbabwean nationals, whilst there are a considerable number of expatriates (20), especially from the developed countries (such as the USA) in top management.

4.2.2 Organisation Siyal'amukela

History: Siyal'amukela was founded in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe in late 1992/early 1993, with a primal focus or commitment to the wellbeing of orphans. However, the director emphasised that Siyal'amukela is family-oriented and therefore supports structures that are holistic and not individually aimed at children.

Siyal'amukela is a relatively small local NGO in comparison to Masibambane, whose focus is the development of people through church organisations and networks.

The Vision: to conscientise the churches to answer to the spiritual, emotional, mental, and material, as well as the physical need in their communities.

They aim to:

- Promote, emphasise and empower the family unit by offering assistance to the vulnerable;
- Bring awareness and education on psychosocial issues such as HIV/AIDS through counsellors and mentorship groups;
- To involve and encourage communities to participate in making decisions that concern them;
- Develop intervention strategies that reduce poverty and create employment through skills training and financing sustainable projects; and
- To work in partnership through networks with various churches and developmental agents.

The vision and the aims encapsulate holistic development which answers to economic, social and spiritual needs. The vulnerable participate in development by being involved in the decision-making and by working within networks.

Programmes

Siyal'amukela is a national NGO, which is privately run, and therefore implements programmes that are independent of the government. Their programmes have always concentrated on socially developing vulnerable family units through mentorship and support networks. The reality of the food situation since 2002 has necessitated that Siyal'amukela tailors their work to addressing sustainable poverty alleviation, specifically food insecurity.

Siyal'amukela responds to the food security crisis by running the VGF, FFA and food support to chronically ill people by means of food-aid programmes.

However, the director asserts that they are not a welfarist organisation that is solely interested in giving people food packages, but are more interested in sustained development and relationships with people at grassroots. Participation and empowerment of the vulnerable are at the core of their values. Therefore, Siyal'amukela focuses to a greater extent on rehabilitation than it does on relief, through the goats and chickens livelihood programmes, conservative farming, skills training and micro-enterprise management programmes.

The programmes at Siyal'amukela are the same as those at Masibambane and other NGOs working in Matabeleland. This is because they receive funding from the same international organisations and therefore run programmes which are stipulated by these donors.

Funding

The Director highlighted that their major and most consistent donor is the Tearfund UK. Tearfund UK gives them 60% of the funding, whilst other international organisations, like the WFP make up the other 25%. Other donations come from private investors and churches (15%). The organisation hopes to generate its own funds through the micro-enterprise programmes so that they can be sustainable.

The Organisational structure

Siyal'amukela is a small organisation and cannot afford to employ a lot of people. At most, they have 20 staff members and they work in different pockets throughout Zimbabwe wherever there is a need. Siyal'amukela works specifically through existing community structures, namely various local churches who execute the bulk of the developmental work. Pastors and congregants identify and receive information on families in their communities that are living in poverty.

Congregants volunteer to steer the development process themselves. These volunteers are trained to deal with any social issues arising in these families, mentorship and leadership by Siyal'amukela through various forums or meetings. Relying on volunteers is beneficial for Siyal'amukela, as they are not really decentralised in terms of location, so this helps them to keep abreast of their work.

The volunteers do the data capturing or recording that is needed for the organisation. Some of the volunteers' educational levels are low; therefore Siyal'amukela adheres to local and simplified record-keeping techniques. The lack of adequate record keeping through unqualified staff members has had an effect on the Organisation because they do not have many formal documents and therefore transparency is compromised.

Siyal'amukela, through their programmes serve about 35 000 people. Thus, they are contributing to the needs of Zimbabwe's undernourished and poor people.

The two organisations have common characteristics. First, they are Christian organisations. Second, they work in the same areas. Third, they have instituted similar programme responses to food insecurity and poverty. The distinctiveness between the two organisations lies in their institutional capacity. Masibambane is significantly larger and has more access to resources than Siyal'amukela. As a result, Masibambane offers more programmes to benefit a greater number of people. This is connected to the fact that Siyal'amukela is a local NGO, whilst Masibambane is an international one.

4.3 Analysis of findings

The format within which an analysis of the findings will be made, answers to the main questions that the study addresses. The responses to each are reflected in the themes. These findings, obtained through open-ended questions, are analysed using Sen's work on poverty and other theorists referred to in the literature review.

4.3.1 Defining poverty and food insecurity

Responses to the question: "How does your organization understand the terms poverty and food insecurity" are discussed in this section.

4.3.1.1 Poverty

All the participants in the study agreed that poverty is a broad concept and means different things to different people. Whilst food security may be one of those aspects, it is not the only one. I highlight Mrs Abongile's response, as it summarises the basic perception amongst the participants that poverty is experienced "*when the poor are deprived of anything. People usually think it's food, but it also involves aspects such as education and human rights etc. Also that person has limited work capacity and limited assets and cannot sustain themselves*".

Other indicators of poverty, according to three Siyal'amukela and two Masibambane employees, included aspects such as literacy levels, support systems, livelihoods, income rates, as well as asset ownership. The majority of the participants pointed to the fact that poverty has a snowball effect in that when one is deficient in something, they will usually experience many other deficiencies as a result of that deprivation. This understanding reiterates 'development as freedom', where Sen (1999:40) states that various aspects of

poverty, namely: economic facilities, social opportunities, political freedoms, protective security and transparency guarantees are interconnected.

One can see from the responses that the various substantial freedoms were highlighted when participants spoke of education, income rates and human rights. Participants hardly made reference to transparency guarantees as an aspect of poverty. This is because the State is in crisis, such that human rights violations as well as a lack of freedom of information and the media exist in the country.

Mr Izaya's definition was unique. According to him, "*poverty is where there is lack such that communities are unable to do their own development without external support*". Mr Izaya makes the link between poverty and development; but his assessment is such that development necessitates the intervention of external parties. Mr Izaya made reference to the need for external influences because he felt that the GoZ as an agent of development had failed to facilitate the process and was now in dire need of assistance from international bodies.

The socio-economic situation in Zimbabwe, as highlighted in Chapter One, has deteriorated to the point where the State has failed to provide its citizens with basic needs, such as education, healthcare, democracy and social protection. One questions whether the governance structures that are responsible for Zimbabwe's recession can possibly bring the country out of poverty now.

Whilst intervention is essential, development initiatives can and should come from the communities themselves, working in partnership with the local government and possibly other stakeholders who may be internal and/or external. The problem with relying on external intervention is that development agents from outside, looking in on a unique situation, tend to answer to poverty in a reactive manner. This is usually relief which can create dependencies and undermine local initiatives.

International organisations, because of their funds are known to apply blueprint models that are irrelevant to that community, are unsustainable and undermine the government (Davids, 2005). Essentially, the government in any State is responsible for development because they are elected by the people to realise and facilitate their needs.

The State also has control of assets, such as land and the ability to formulate, as well as implement policies that address poverty (Swanepoel, 2000:89).

In a functioning democracy such as South Africa, it is possible to achieve sustainable development through partnerships between the government and its people. For example, Vrygrond Community⁵ in Cape Town was crippled by extreme poverty. This manifested in a variety of ways, namely lack of education, unemployment, drug and alcohol abuse, as well as financial strife.

The initiative in Vrygrond involves a partnership between government, the community and the Trust putting developmental strategies in place, such that by December 2008 significant development has occurred in the community. These include building 1600 RDP houses for about 9 000 residents, several crèches, a primary school, a library, soup kitchens, as well as home-based care for the chronically ill (Schrire, 2007).

The community received considerable financial support from Government and the Trust, but they participated in the development planning process and the decision-making. Some of the houses in the community were built by residents, empowering them at grassroots level. Poverty is a multidimensional problem that can be alleviated, without necessarily relying on external support, by partnerships between the government and its people through a variety of strategies.

However, this is not happening in Zimbabwe, because of institutional failures, particularly the lack of commitment to long-term development through implementing policies that reflect the needs of the people. The State has also failed to invest in development and build the capabilities of the communities so that they can effectively participate in their own development.

Five participants referred to the fact that poverty and vulnerability are interlinked, as poverty almost always affects the most vulnerable groups of people. Mr Cele listed special groups of people that Masibambane considers as vulnerable. These include: *“the chronically ill, those with limited remittances, female and child-headed households (de*

⁵ I recently completed a three-month internship in Vrygrond community from the 1st of September to the 30th of November 2008, studying the socio-economic development in the community.

jure), elders, the terminally/chronically ill, the widowed, as well as high-dependency households”.

Mrs Hanyani listed similar groups of people, emphasising the widowed, female and child-headed households, as well as the chronically ill. Mrs Hanyani stated that vulnerable households experiencing severe poverty tend to have a high number of dependencies, especially as a result of HIV/AIDS. The findings from these two organisations substantiate Wiggins’ (2004:40) research, which identifies the same groups of people as vulnerable, and that the vulnerable are the most likely to be affected by poverty.

Mudimu (2003:33-34) and ZimVAC (2003:7) highlight that some people are vulnerable to poverty simply because of geographical location. This is the case in Zimbabwe in that rural residents are poorer than urban ones; hence the concentration of NGOs in such areas.

Conclusively, this section reiterates three main findings in line with Sen’s work. Firstly, that poverty in Zimbabwe is an outcome of multiple and interconnected deprivations. Similarly, the findings reinforce Kanbur and Squire’s (2000) views, that the term poverty has evolved and means different things within various contexts. The second is that poverty is both a result of the institutional failures of the State and their inability to create the conditions for citizen participation in development. Lastly, poverty affects the most vulnerable people the worst, especially women, children and the rural populace.

4.3.1.2 Food Security

All of the participants from Masibambane and three from Siyal’amukela understood food security to have three basic components such as availability of food, accessibility to food and the ability to utilise food to sustain them. This is in keeping with definitions cited by Wiggins (2004:37) and big donor agencies like USAID and WFP. Two participants, (Mrs Abongile and Mr Gasela), also recognised food affordability as an equally important component of food security.

Mr Cele further added specific nuances when he asserted that *“people have enough food when each family member has access to 125g of mealie meal per day multiplied by the number of days in a month, plus a surplus for visitors etc”*. These amounts meet the terms

of UN food security standards. Mr Izaya made a critical point when he mentioned that *“the biggest problem where food insecurity is concerned is that people only look at maize. If there is no maize people are said to be food insecure. I believe that when one has access to veggies and fruit, then they are not food insecure”*.

Mr Izaya says that too much emphasis is given to maize quantities when there is a greater variety of food that can be considered. Similarly, Wiggins (2004:39) discusses the fact that although all three components of food security should matter equally, food availability at national levels has always been given priority. In Zimbabwe, the lack of maize is the greatest indicator of food insecurity as mealie-meal is the staple diet.

Participants from both organisations highlighted that they try to ensure that food accessibility as well as the utilisation of food are equally prioritised. They are pioneering programmes in that direction.

The main findings from this section link with the existing literature, as the participants highlighted that food security has three aspects, namely: availability, accessibility and the utilisation of food, where the availability of maize is prioritised as an indicator of food security.

However, this is not the only definition of food security that is relied on in these organisations.

4.3.2. Reasons behind the food security crisis

Food insecurity can be experienced at national, regional and at household levels.

4.3.2.1 National food insecurity

I addressed national food insecurity by asking the following question: “Why do you think there is food insecurity in Zimbabwe?”

The majority of the participants stated that there are compounding reasons for the crisis. Most participants in the study stated that the GoZ has failed to adequately address poverty in the country. Mr Jessenia from NANGO said that the primary responsibility of steering

socio-economic development in Zimbabwe lies with the government. NGOs and other development agencies can only ever play a complementary role to that of the government, which has autonomy, decision-making power and access to state resources. Swanepoel (2000:86) substantiates this understanding when he says that “the State definitely has the biggest and strongest role in the development of the nation” especially in making policies for the people.

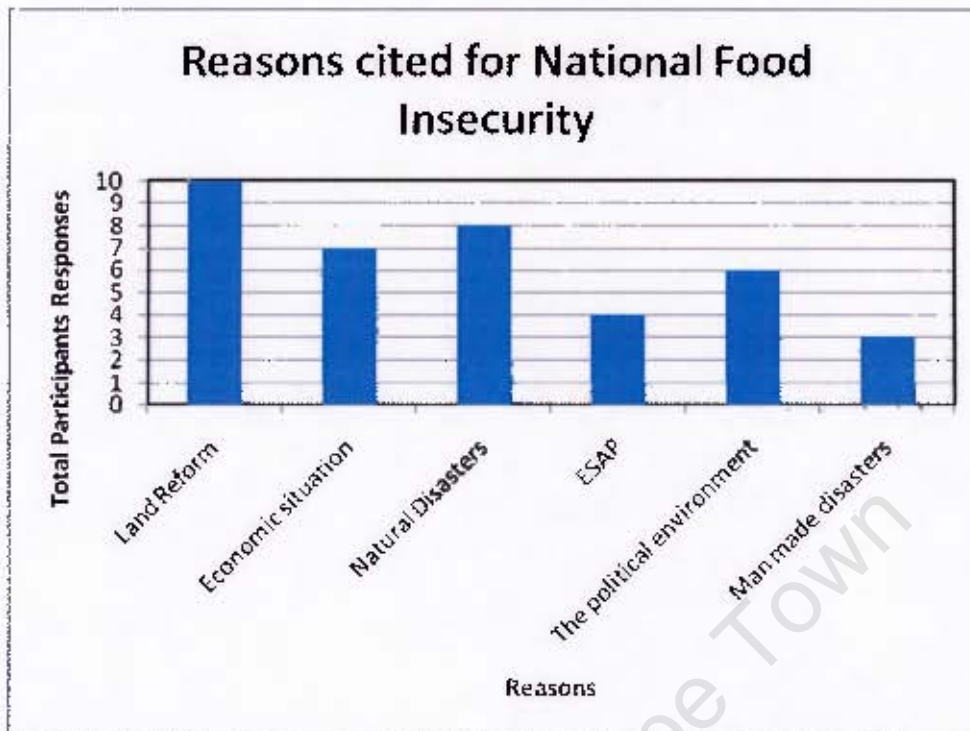
However, most developing nations do not have the capacity that is needed to facilitate growth, and therefore have to rely on external conditional assistance. In such cases, the government must take a slightly lesser role and try to work with other structures which may not necessarily support nation building (Swanepoel, 2000:93).

Moyo and Yeros (2005:166) believe that developing countries are never truly independent or in isolation of external influences (a form of neo-liberal globalisation), and therefore can never truly have national sovereignty. For example, the fact that Zimbabwe is a former colony of Britain or borrows money from the IMF and the World Bank suggests that some of the State’s autonomy, responsibilities and development trends are impacted by external influences or circumstances.

These contributory factors highlight how governments tend to make policy choices that affect the wellbeing of their citizens based on the recommendations and governance of external institutions. This research will address the specific institutional failures that were identified by the ten participants in the study during their interviews.

Graph 2 (on the following page) highlights the various institutional failures cited by the participants as reasons for national food insecurity.

Graph 2: Reasons for National Food Insecurity



Land reform and drought were cited as the most prevalent reasons behind the food insecurity crisis in Zimbabwe. The economic and political struggles were also referred to repeatedly. These factors will be discussed.

4.3.2.1.1 Land Reform

All of the participants referred to the land issue as the catalyst behind national food shortages. Ideally, land reform was supposed to alleviate poverty by giving the poor access to land. It was hoped that subsistence agricultural livelihoods would improve the food security of the most vulnerable, and economically empower them especially as the white minority (3%) of the population commanded nearly two-thirds of the national income, whilst the black majority took the remaining one-third (Moyo & Yeros, 2005:171). The historical question of land repossession and the political issue of land grabs and violence are discussed in Chapter Two. In this chapter, it was highlighted that the land issue is serious and that addressing it will be a resolution towards food insecurity and poverty in the country.

Mrs Hanyani echoed the predominant thinking amongst the participants when she said

“The land reforms of 2000 were not well planned or managed, such that many people who were productive on their land were evicted. Some of the new

occupants do not know how to fully utilise the land, so you see grass growing and the land is not cultivated. Statistics say that in Zimbabwe we used approximately 1.8 metric tonnes of maize/year to sustain the population, but the year following farm invasions and subsequent years, we have only ever been able to produce a third of that amount.”

Mr Banda reiterated this when he said that “*commercial farmers withdrew and people who didn’t necessarily have the know-how took over. This peaked during the 2002-2003 period. There was also a problem of not having capacity, resources as well as experience”*.”

In essence, they highlight that land reform as a policy was not implemented properly. Swanepoel (2000:89) states that the role of policymaking lies in the hands of the State and that policy must reflect the needs of those it is intended for. Swanepoel (2000:89) adds that policies usually end up revolving around or focusing on the ruler. In Zimbabwe, it can be argued that the land reform was a political strategy to gain votes from the rural poor, and that there was never any commitment from the government to alleviating their situation.

Policies that were meant to empower the poor, eventually made them more vulnerable, as government cronies took over land rights and failed to produce adequate quantities for national consumption. Those that received land through redistribution were not taught how to utilise that land effectively.

Essentially, land reform resulted in the vulnerable being in a worse off state than originally. They remained asset poor because they did not benefit from the land redistribution, and as a result, their economic situation failed to improve.

The fact that there was no clear accountability or transparent implementation of the land reform policy highlights the failure of the State. Rakolojane (2000: 20) emphasises that development in rural areas cannot take place without addressing landlessness. When a government makes a policy, it needs to facilitate all of the different stages, i.e. from the planning stage, to policy design, policy analysis, as well as monitoring and evaluation.

The GoZ cannot hide behind the argument that war veterans took over land without any authorisation from the government. The government had the authority and the jurisdiction to end land invasions, but they did not.

From the foregoing links between land reform and food insecurity, the participants reinforce Mutumbuki's (n.d.) and Mudimu's (2003) assertion that land reform contributed to national food insecurity because farm production fell as infrastructure and machinery were destroyed and environmental degradation heightened. There was also a lack of capacity, resources and experience in the new land owners.

Swanepoel (2000) states that such problems usually stem from policies that are not well thought out and implemented. This is still the case in Zimbabwe.

4.3.2.1.2 Natural disasters

Droughts and floods were also seen as impacting on food insecurity. Eight participants attributed the 2002 drought as the catalyst for the food insecurity crisis. Mr Banda said *"It just came as a result of drought. Drought is still there since then. We have stayed for some time without rain. Or else the rains come late and they come in such abundance that they kill the crops"*.

Whilst drought is mentioned by the participants, Kinsey et al. (1998:89) believe that citing erratic weather patterns as a reason for food insecurity is not sustainable. This is because drought has always occurred in the country; as it is part of the climate. They also believe that there are numerous ways of working around this phenomenon, such as dry farming, irrigation practices, diversifying crop production or ranching.

Mano et al. (2003:4) assert that the GoZ tends to be sluggish or reactionary when it comes to preparedness for natural disasters, despite the early warning signs they receive. Reinforcing the bad policy choices made.

4.3.2.1.3 The economic situation

Seven participants made reference to the economic situation in the country as one of the reasons for the food insecurity that is being experienced. Mr Fikile said the following in his interview: *“We have the economic situation in the country, which I am sure you are well aware of... If people that are working cannot afford to buy food, then what are the chances of the poor being able to do so? Most of them do not have regular incomes”*. From the quote by Mr Fikile, one can see that food is not affordable, even when it is available. People’s salaries (especially civil servants) are not enough to procure the basic necessities. Additionally, any business ventures become unfruitful due to the inflation rate that rises daily. Thus reinforcing Zimbabwe’s high unemployment rates and out-migration to other countries in search of paid work.

From the foregoing links, one can see that macro-economic mismanagement has resulted in hyperinflation and the devaluation of the Zimbabwean dollar. This in turn is a result of the State’s inability to link social and economic policy objectives in the interests of the people.

Furthermore, the participants’ responses reflect Sen’s (1981) understanding of entitlements, where people’s exchange entitlements need to be enhanced especially in times of famine, as food prices in the market outweigh salaries. The downturn in economic facilities has resulted in other freedoms being compromised and the vulnerable being the most affected.

4.3.2.1.4 Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP)

Four participants highlighted ESAP and stated that the economic situation has been irredeemable since that particular economic policy. This was a neo-liberal policy taken up by the GoZ on the advice of the IMF and the World Bank. It failed to salvage the economic decline, but set it back further. The participants felt that they would have benefited more from social policies that protect citizens from food shortages by protecting the economy.

This finding highlights Sen’s (1999:43) idea that growth-mediated plans, whilst beneficial, are not necessarily the best, nor the only policies that can be adopted in certain contexts. A support-led approach may have been better for the Zimbabwean context

where the government would not wait for ‘dramatic increases in per capita real incomes’ but increased the quality of life for its citizens through the ‘economies of relative costs’ (Sen, 1999:46).

Furthermore, this finding shows that external actors and international institutes cannot be expected to rebuild a nation. Whilst they can offer direction, their advice may not be the most appropriate solution for the context. ESAP was not a helpful strategy for Zimbabwe.

4.3.2.1.5 The political environment

Six participants referred to democracy and governance as the reason behind national food insecurity. Mr Izaya stated that the political environment has made it difficult for any progress to be made where food security is concerned. Because of political sovereignty, strategies such as the GMB having a monopoly and buying maize at state-controlled prices, has resulted in farmers not making a profit from the farming business.

Mr Banda said “*some farmers deliberately began to hoard their produce*” and this aggravated scarcity. Sen (1981) refers to such a situation as one where people’s entitlement to the market through trade and own-labour entitlement is inadequate because of control. Thus, citizen’s ownership bundles are limited.

There are two main findings from this section. Firstly, that whilst Zimbabwe is a democratic country, some decisions have been made autocratically and have resulted in a State-controlled government (Mano et al., 2003; Mudimu, 2003). Sen (1999) says that transparency guarantees and political freedoms should encourage accountability and inclusion of the citizens in decision-making. These have been neglected in Zimbabwe. Secondly, political instability in the country has resulted in foreign investors withdrawing their support, as it is not conducive for business, further exacerbating the economic decline. As such, the government has become caught up in political contention and lost their primary focus of running the State effectively on behalf of its people.

4.3.2.1.6 Man-made disasters

Mr Jessenia believes that Operation Murambatsvina (*restore order*) in 2005 aggravated the situation, as it resulted in many people being internally displaced. He cited a squatter camp in Matabeleland where they assisted 3009 people (documented cases). Mr Jessenia

said that people came in ‘droves’ looking for help as they had lost their livestock and other goods. The informal traders lost their livelihoods. Simply put, they were instantly impoverished and at risk of food insecurity.

Another disaster which three participants mentioned was the Black Friday in 1997. As stated in Chapter two, approximately 50 000 war vets received cash payouts of 50 000 Zimbabwean dollars. Within four hours of these payouts, the Zimbabwean dollar lost 74% of its value (Bond, 2006). Zimbabwe’s involvement in the war in DRC also contributed to its economic decline.

This finding reiterates the fact that there has been a lack of transparency guarantees; and political freedoms have been abused by the State, where State funds have been used in a manner that did not necessarily benefit or develop its citizens.

After discussing the reasons for food insecurity at national levels, the participants were asked what they thought were the reasons for the food insecurity in the Matabeleland provinces.

4.3.2.2 Regional food insecurity

Spatial and environmental dimensions to poverty are important. Four participants referred to the fact that rural Matabeleland North and South are remote, so that accessibility to food can be difficult, especially in times of crisis.

The Matabeleland provinces are located in geographical areas IV and V (which are very low rainfall areas). This is problematic because these “*areas are dry and are meant for ranching as opposed to farming. The land is not suitable for growing crops*” (Mr Gasela). Mr Donga further added that:

“Maize is not suitable to be planted in the Matabeleland provinces. It grows well in Mashonaland. Sorghum is more suitable for our soil, but the people insist on growing maize as opposed to crop diversification. The problem is that if you plant sorghum alone, all the birds from the forest will come and eat everything. But if everyone plants it, the birds will eat a little. So it’s a case of planting the wrong foods in the wrong soil.”

Mr Fikile alluded to the fact that *“as people cultivate the land, they cause erosion”*. Some of the participants also agreed that environmental degradation through overgrazing is rife.

Furthermore, Mr Izaya, as well as Mrs Abongile, stated that the government and other stakeholders have withdrawn investments in the rural areas in water development for agricultural purposes. These included the construction of dams to facilitate irrigation and watering points for the livestock, as well as boreholes so that communities could have access to safe drinking water.

Therefore, the participants highlighted the fact that food insecurity is experienced in rural areas because of remoteness, environmental mismanagement and a lack of investment, thus reiterating Bird and Shepherd's (2003:599) analysis of rural Zimbabwe.

Bird and Shepherd (2003:596-597) and Wiggins (2004:23) suggested that the Matabeleland provinces have been politically excluded from the mainstream development, as they make up the largest opposition group culturally and politically. Mr Donga insinuated that there is preferential treatment given to other provinces and this has manifested in Matabeleland always bearing the brunt of food shortages.

As this is a politically laden statement, the participants generally did not talk about it. There is a possibility that they felt uncomfortable sharing such sentiments.

4.3.2.3 Households' food insecurity

It is important to focus on households because that is where the reality of food insecurity in rural Zimbabwe is experienced. In households, Mrs Abongile, Mrs Elangeni, as well as Mr Fikile, said that HIV/AIDS had greatly affected household food security. The following two quotes from Mr Fikile illustrate this:

“One significant factor that contributes towards the food shortages in the households is that you have orphans that have lost both parents perhaps due to HIV/AIDS or the parent is sick so they cannot look after their own or fend for their own kids.”

He adds that:

“We have child-headed families where it can be a ten or twelve-year old who is in charge of the home. He/she may be looking after four other kids and all these

children are supposed to be going to school... that is where you find a great number of children dropping out of school to look after the younger ones."

Low levels of education and household size further compound this situation because no one has access to formal employment and steady incomes. Two participants stated that large households with an abundance of dependants tend to experience food insecurity.

Lastly, the majority of the participants established that food insecurity is experienced by families that do not have an abundance of support systems. Bird and Shepherd (2003:600) believe that social capital has to do with income and livelihoods, such that the poor will usually have relationships with fellow poverty-stricken households, where their networks enable survival, but not necessarily progress.

In conclusion, household food insecurity is affected by low educational levels, household size, and more importantly, HIV/AIDS. These factors contribute to chronic poverty, as social opportunities, such as access to health care and education are compromised by the disease. There is financial strain on the families' ability to engage in the market and there is no social protection offered to vulnerable families. These tie in with Sen's (1999) idea that substantial freedoms are interlinked, and where there is deprivation in one area, others are also affected.

Furthermore, global, national and regional poverty trends tend to severely affect poor households making them even more vulnerable. In Chapter One, reference was made to the social and economic statistics of Zimbabwe, and it has been proven that the poor continue to be affected by the situation in the country.

4.3.3 What is the extent of the food insecurity in Matabeleland?

Food insecurity is extensive in rural areas. This is because in the year 2006 alone, Masibambane handed out food baskets to 327 000 beneficiaries, whilst Siyal'amukela handed out to about 35 000 recipients. The majority of the participants said that the food insecurity crisis is extensive and it is a global concern. Mrs Elangeni stated that *"you just have to read a newspaper, search the net or something if you want to get an idea of how bad the food situation is. It is quite dire."*

Six participants expressed that there has been a reliance on consumption smoothing practices. Consumption smoothing practises include various coping mechanisms that households adapt in order to protect themselves from starvation. These highlight the extent of the food insecurity. Mrs Elangeni said that:

“The people seem to be living as though they have gone back to the Stone Age. They are surviving on wild fruit. If you go to the rural areas...sometimes you think that people are exaggerating, but you will see that they scramble for the same food which baboons in the forest are eating. This same food is currently being sold on the black market at exorbitant prices, as you saw in Bulawayo. In the past, such food was never sold.

Mr Banda stated that:

“Locally, people go around scavenging... although it’s a strong word, it’s true. People spend their days walking around trying to find where the cheapest mealie meal is etc. The black market is expensive.”

The change in diet is most commonly seen where there is dependence on naturally growing fruit to subsidise meals. The utilisation of food has become compromised in that the variety and essential components that are needed in a diet are being neglected. Mr Fikile stated that *“people in Zimbabwe are currently eating sadza⁶ for breakfast and supper. In summer maize”*, which he further added may be an unbalanced diet. This quote also illustrates the fact that many households have had to cut out on the number of meals in a day. Some eat twice a day, e.g. breakfast and supper, whilst others have severely cut down to one meal a day. It was also stated that meal portions have become considerably reduced in size.

Other predominant coping mechanisms that were highlighted are:

- that a poor person (especially in the rural areas) will send their children off to those that they perceive as better off/or rich in the urban areas. The reality at present is that people in the urban areas themselves are struggling to procure food.
- There is a tendency to rely on relatives in the diaspora especially South Africa and Botswana. These relatives support families with cash or kind.
- Breadwinners go to work for food. They eat at work and carry some back for children at home.

⁶ Sadza is the staple diet consumed in Zimbabwe. It is made from maize meal, where maize has been ground and cooked with water until it is stiff. In South Africa it is colloquially known as ‘pap’.

- There is sharing amongst community members. Even those that have little pass on to others who have less.
- There has been migration from the rural areas, especially young men towards the urban centres in search of work, and lastly,
- Some families have started consuming their livestock or selling it together with property at a loss. These are distress sales.

There is a lack of empirical research on the impact of food insecurity and mortality on people. However, it is acknowledged that the death rate over the years has largely been impacted by food insecurity. It has been mentioned in Chapter One that approximately 5.8 million Zimbabweans (44%) of the population are currently undernourished. It is estimated that about 4 000 people die on a weekly basis because of the combination of HIV/AIDS, economic instability and the food crisis (UNDP, 2008). In 2006, mortality rates for every 1 000 live births were at 129 for both sexes in Zimbabwe, where it had been reduced to 62,25 deaths per 1000 live births in 1999 (CIA, 2000; WHO, 2006).

The underlying causes of death for children under the age of five years are significantly related to undernutrition, and poverty as a whole. The main reasons for death among children below five years of age are pneumonia, diarrhoea and malaria in rural areas. These are poverty-related diseases.

Currently, there are 21.7 deaths per 1000 population in Zimbabwe, where high HIV/AIDS infection has heightened mortality rates. Food insecurity and HIV are interlinked, as poverty-induced malnutrition results in an earlier onset of AIDS, exacerbating mortality (FAO, 2003). As a result, excess mortality has occurred because of starvation and starvation-related diseases.

In conclusion, the coping mechanisms adopted in the Matabeleland provinces are similar to the ones Corbett (1988) refers to. The research findings suggest that the majority of people have gone through all three stages in their reliance on coping mechanisms. These coping mechanisms seemed to follow distinct phases, where the initial responses reflected slight changes in food consumption, to more significant recourses such as the disposing of assets and migration (Kinsey et al., 1998:94). The most extreme cases have manifested in nearly a quarter of Zimbabwe's population that have risked death to cope, by fleeing the country and residing illegally in Southern Africa under difficult circumstances.

4.3.4 NGO responses to Food Security

NGOs have responded to the food security crisis mainly by setting up programmes that answer to immediate dietary needs and medium-term livelihood arrangements. Some of the programmes that the two organisations have implemented as a response to food insecurity will now be discussed.

Both Masibambane and Siyal'amukela state that their role and responsibility to addressing poverty in Zimbabwe are primarily to fill in socio-economic gaps which the government may be failing to meet. Mrs Abongile said that since the year 2000, they have been functioning as humanitarian organisations whose focus is emergency aid relief and rehabilitation. Mrs Hanyani said that *"Siyal'amukela does not try to solve the country's institutional problems; instead we want to ensure that the most vulnerable are protected..."*

4.3.4.1 Relief

In response to the 2002 drought, Masibambane prioritised relief. On a policy continuum, relief is more on the residual side than it is on the normative or institutional side because it focuses on welfare. Mrs Abongile affirmed *"that immediate relief is our main emphasis. We feel that a person must at least get a meal or access food...from there we develop other programmes"*. Mrs Abongile stated that when relief started in 2002, the organisation had *"an exit strategy so that when things normalised we would turn our attention to something else. We haven't exited yet"*.

Instead, the situation has become chronic and has spanned a lengthy period of time. Masibambane since 2006 has tried to adopt a more cyclical and multi-dimensional approach to poverty by incorporating rehabilitation strategies concurrently with relief.

Siyal'amukela's strategy from the onset was multi-dimensional in that they incorporated all aspects of development as part of their strategy. In fact, Siyal'amukela tries to avoid relief as much as possible. Mr Fikile said the following:

"Relief is not really our thing. We resort to it if there is a desperate situation or if some of our Friends (sponsors), be it here or outside, say that they want to put some money into drought relief. Then we do that. It can be a period of six months;

it could be three months depending on the given amounts. It is not a regular thing. We do not have it on a yearly basis, particularly focusing on the times when there is no food.

Mrs Hanyani from the same organisation reiterated that the 2002 emergency required initial reliance on relief, but it is too irregular and it does not give any lasting solutions. She says *“we give them food for six months, then what happens after that time? We realised as an organisation that after feeding the people, they were exactly at the same point that they were before the feeding.”*

The relief strategies that both organisations particularly rely on in the rural areas are the Vulnerable Group Feeding (VGF) and the Food for Work Programme (FWP). Their work in these projects is basically the same, except for the fact that the organisations try not to work in the same area in order to avoid duplication of efforts, as well as spending all their resources in one location. These programmes will be discussed and an assessment of them will be made in the next section.

4.3.4.1.1 Vulnerable Group Feeding (VGF)

The food is specifically packaged for the vulnerable. According to Mr Donga, the vulnerable include *“those that aren't able to sustain themselves and have no coping strategies”*.

Siyal'amukela and Masibambane feed the vulnerable with the same type of foods. This is owing to the fact that they have the same sponsors. Mr Donga said *“WFP give cereals like maize, sorghum or mealie meal; veggie oil; sugar beans or pulses, as well as corn soya blend (CSB) which is a form of porridge. This food meets dietary requirements. However, the issue of diversifying is a challenge. It doesn't offer much by way of variety, but it does help them as vulnerable groups”*.

The food meets dietary requirements, as beans are the main source of protein, whilst the vegetable oil is used for cooking. CSB is a nutritional porridge that was introduced by the WFP after the NGOs realised that a significant number of the beneficiaries were sick with HIV/AIDS, so they struggled to swallow solid foods. Mr Fikile also highlighted the fact

that there are often maize shortages, so they have learnt to incorporate other cereals or carbohydrates, such as sorghum into the food packages. Mr Gasela said the following:

“...when we give them this food, our assumption is that they are not solely dependent on it. We assume that they get some ‘mfushwa’ (which is a dried green vegetable that grows naturally during the rainy season)...they get some ‘macimbi’ (squeezed and dried mopane worms), fish and milk even from the goats. This is how they get a bit of variety in their food.”

The participants highlight that basic food stuffs are distributed to the vulnerable through the VGF programme. This programme supplies all three food insecurity components (as defined by international organisations) in that food is made available and accessed by the poor through distribution, and it is utilised in such a way that it meets dietary requirements. In essence, these NGOs are providing a service that falls in line with their definition and understanding of food insecurity.

Secondly, contrary to Korf and Bauer’s (2002:4) assessment that food aid undermines self-initiative and encourages a recipient mentality, the VGF programme, as described by the participants, requires the vulnerable to take ownership and the initiative to supplement their food and not totally rely on the handout. In order for people to be able to take leadership and participate in development, they need to first have their basic needs such as food and water to be met. Assistance is part of meeting the structural inequalities.

4.3.4.1.2 Food for Work Programmes (FWP)

This programme is also under the relief bracket. Able-bodied community members are encouraged to identify projects that they would like to work on, and they are compensated by being given food. These food security programmes include irrigation schemes and dam-rehabilitation programmes. Mrs Abongile said that these programmes offer temporal work, as *“the numbers of people that benefit from these programmes depends on the volume of the work. For example, if you are building a two km. canal, you wouldn’t hire 300 people to do that work, as much as one would like to create employment”*.

Mr Gasela stated that this type of work has slowed down recently as a result of the socio-economic climate and politics.

From the foregoing links, one can see that FWP contributes to the ownership bundles of communities by giving them access to employment and infrastructure (such as dams) that enable the vulnerable to obtain food through trade and own labour entitlements. FWP are just one part of a temporary response in the development process. However, the sustainability of these programmes and their scaling up to respond to those experiencing the problem appear to be difficult because of the multi-dimensional deprivations caused by institutional failures.

4.3.4.2 Rehabilitation

Rehabilitation addresses micro-economic growth by encouraging individuals that have been impoverished by a crisis to start making a living. Rehabilitation programmes also respond to the psychological and the emotional displacement of people as a result of internal conflicts. Amongst the two NGOs, rehabilitation is mainly facilitated through livelihood programmes, as well as micro-enterprise projects (Benson et al., 2001:208).

4.3.4.2.1 Livelihoods

Both Masibambane and Siyal'amukela adopted the livelihoods programme within the same time frame three years ago. Livelihoods are seen by both organisations as a more permanent answer to the food shortages experienced in the rural areas, as they empower people and result in self-sufficiency. The livelihoods programme for these two organisations includes the goat and chicken projects. These are small livestock whose reproductive cycle occurs in a shorter period compared to larger livestock such as cattle.

The goat project involves giving three female goats to beneficiaries, which are returnable after a period of two and a half years. These are then redistributed to other families. Mr Fikile explained that female goats are given because they are reproductive.

In rural communities, there is common sharing of the male goats in order to facilitate reproduction. The organisations try to source superior goat breeds like the 'boer' goats and some dairy goats so that they can breed with the indigenous breeds.

The chicken projects follow a similar pattern. Ten chickens, including a cock, are distributed to families. The life cycle of a chicken is significantly shorter than that of a

goat (about 16 weeks); therefore, this project ideally should benefit families within a shorter time frame.

Some of the chicken and goat programmes are not run at individual household levels, but as community projects. These are participatory and empowering exercises for communities.

4.3.4.2.1 Micro-enterprise management projects

The micro-enterprise management programmes include small businesses or skills training in enterprises such as teaching people candle making, sewing, funding a vending venture and vegetable gardens. The beneficiaries are those that want to learn a trade and have usually left school.

Mrs Hanyani said that they do not suggest projects for people. They only work with individuals who have come up with ideas, and need funding or support. Where resources are available, the organisations come to help. This has not been effective, primarily due to the fluctuating economic situation. It is discussed briefly.

In conclusion, rehabilitation projects through livelihoods and micro-enterprise management projects are medium term solutions which empower people to make a living for themselves. These tie in with Sen's (1981) work on enhanced entitlements and increased ownership bundles. The provision of goats and chickens, or learning a skill, encourages self sufficiency and a means through which the poor can engage in the market.

4.3.4.3 Development Aid

Development aid includes macro-economic investments and the rebuilding of national assets, such as the construction of dams, piping for stable access to water and national agricultural recovery, all very costly exercises.

Both organisations stated that they have not been involved in developmental aid recently. These programmes have diminished because of financial ramifications, as well as the current political instability.

There are two main findings from this section that tie in with the literature. Firstly, that development cannot take place within a conflictual and unstable environment. Secondly, that development projects cannot be implemented by NGOs without the recognition or legitimisation of the ruling powers.

The position of the donors changes from independence to having to work under and in collaboration with the ruling powers (Macrae et al., 1997:226). It also implies that NGOs can no longer remain neutral or impartial to the political happenings of the day. In Zimbabwe, failed vertical and horizontal relationships (amongst developmental agencies and the government), have resulted in international agencies taking a stance against the occurrences in the country and therefore refusing to engage in development-oriented aid.

The State has also failed to capacitate the people so that they can facilitate development, without any need for external intervention.

4.3.5 Assessing the impact of the programmes run by the NGOs

The programmes run by the NGOs will be assessed using Taylor's (2000) conceptual framework for analysing socio-economic development. The impact of these programmes will be assessed by discussing the following: the targeting of beneficiaries; the sustainability of these programmes; the financial and social benefits of the programmes; scalability; vertical and horizontal interactions; monitoring and evaluation, as well as the challenges faced.

Relief projects are making a significant impact on people's lives in rural Matabeleland. For instance, it was stated earlier that the VGF programme at Masibambane benefits about 327 000 people, whilst 35 000 recipients receive food from Siyal'amukela. These are not static figures, especially when one takes into account factors such as death or increasing household size through births. These figures also fluctuate depending on the available resources.

Both organisations have exceeded their targets, as those who receive food aid tend to share it with other families in the community, meaning there are even more beneficiaries. Mrs Elangeni stated that the sharing of the food is a cultural practice, but it is also

counter-productive to the whole relief process, as families themselves cut down on their basic supplies.

In light of the fact that the Matabeleland North and South Provinces have population totals of 701 359 and 654 879 respectively, one can see that these programmes are making a significant impact, as a large number of people in rural Matabeleland receive food. They are not the only NGOs working in these areas, but they take responsibility for quite a substantial number of people.

One of the reasons why the relief programmes are effective for these NGOs is because they answer to the objectives of the organisations. Both organisations give food aid as a means of providing short-term and immediate relief to the vulnerable. As such, they contribute to development by reducing malnourishment in communities. Based on the aim of providing instant and nutritional food aid to the vulnerable, both organisations have been successful.

Many researchers working in development tend to frown on relief. Korf and Bauer (2002:3-4) argue that handouts hamper the greater developmental agenda in the long run by undermining self-initiative and creating dependency as well as top-down paternalistic mentalities. They also state that relief is usually imposed with no real understanding of the community dynamics at play. However, in the case of Zimbabwe, relief is a response to a humanitarian crisis and in the absence of relief, the situation for many would be dire.

The participants' views differed slightly. Whilst Siyal'amukela staff members were against relief, they acknowledged that there is a need for it in some instances. Mr Fikile felt that aid assists some people to the detriment of others. He stated that NGOs seem to be the powerful ones

"...basically aid gives you power...having a bag of maize and wanting to give it to someone gives you power and we don't want to seem powerful or to give someone power over others. It makes people very vulnerable... very vulnerable. You can't queue in public when it's your turn to receive food. Most people would rather send a little child to fetch the food."

Mr Gasela highlights what the powerful do, as they give relief to the less powerful: *"people are told you go there, stand here etc. Instructions are dished out to them left right*

and centre...the mere fact that people have to stand in a line to receive food is repressive”.

Siyal’amukela has embarked on a pilot study in some of their communities where participation and empowerment processes are being pioneered, even during the food distribution procedure. They tried to get everyone involved, such as the children in unpacking the goods from the truck, some community members being the ones that do the recording or distribution themselves as opposed to the NGO leaders being the ones in charge of everything. Mr Gasela says that it was a success in that the self-esteem of most of their beneficiaries improved when they received handouts and they felt less stigmatised.

Masibambane acknowledges that relief does have some disadvantages, but they feel that it also has a lot of advantages, such as protecting people from starvation. All of the respondents from Masibambane rejected the ‘dependency syndrome’ theory, citing that *“the situation in Zimbabwe is a complex humanitarian one. As it is in the immediate term, immediate measures must be taken. How can that be creating dependency?”*(Mr Banda).

Mrs Abongile believes that it cannot be dependency because there are factors at play that are preventing people from doing the things that they would normally have done for themselves. She asserts that *“no one can change the weather patterns, no matter how much ploughing they do”.*

Mr Donga pointed out that the beneficiaries do not receive food out of a place of dependency. *“People feel belittled or downgraded. There is no dignity for them when they receive food. It’s really difficult for them to be in that space where they cannot take care of their basic needs”.* He further stated that people who are able-bodied can upgrade from VGF to the food for work projects.

Hansch (2005:1) asserts that contrary to popular belief, food aid interventions are not simply palliative (that is helping to reduce any immediate suffering), but they also have a great impact in that they have longer term investments in the reduction of health hazards, such as malnutrition. This is not just ‘a short-term containment of a nuisance’.

The findings from the participants are that there is a context (such as Matabeleland) within which relief is essential for survival in the short term. Emergency relief can then lead to longer-term development strategies. Ideally, relief is part of a continuum on one end, with comprehensive institutional responses at the other end.

4.3.5.1 Targeting beneficiaries

The participants were asked: “What criterion was used to identify the recipients of these programmes and was its application effective?” This question was asked in order to ascertain who is considered to be food insecure and whether the target interventions are being received by the people that need it the most. The significance of this question is also that it highlights the general poverty and socio-economic conditions that exists in Zimbabwe.

Throughout the interviews, some participants highlighted the fact that horizontal and vertical interactions amongst stakeholders are a necessary part of the planning processes of identifying what areas to work in, as well as who the vulnerable are. The UN through its various partners, the State, as well as NGOs each refer to the Crop and Food Supply Aid Mission (CFSAM) report which makes an assessment of food security levels in districts.

Mr Cele said that districts are colour-coded in red (most vulnerable districts), then pink, yellow and lastly green (districts that need the least help). This process is then repeated at ward level and at individual community levels. The red districts need the most assistance and therefore are targeted by NGOs as beneficiaries of various programmes.

At community levels, food insecurity is identified through relying on reports and statistics obtained from the national organisation ZimVAC. ZimVAC conducts research, gathers statistics after a harvest and decides if an area needs assistance. Representatives from both organisations said that one of the shortcomings with ZimVAC reports as indicators of food security, are that they tend to rely on figures such as income levels. These figures are meaningless, especially when one considers the variations that are evident when these figures are shared or spread according to families. Income levels also do not take into consideration the unavailability or inaccessibility of food.

Wiggins (2004:39) previously established that most indicators used for measuring and assessing food security are still not well developed. Even at national levels, the whole process can be both inaccurate and unreliable. Mr Cele stated that

“Sometimes ZimVAC offers more stats than reality. The samples are not always representative of the population. They don’t consider the asset base; child-headed households, as well as HIV/AIDS orphans. I also think that they hurry. We do our own assessments through the Monitoring and Evaluation department. ZimVAC acts as a basis because it is a government programme which we are supposed to follow, but we prefer to use it as a guideline.”

Mr Cele pointed out that Masibambane considers aspects, such as livelihoods, age groups, income rates and asset ownership when they are targeting beneficiaries. Asset ownership is ascertained through an interview and is defined in accordance with the way that the community defines poverty. Poverty is an evolving concept and its definition varies in different communities.

Most of the participants agreed that the selection processes of beneficiaries are most effective when they involve community participation. Mr Cele states that the communities ‘rank themselves’. This is called the Participatory Rural Appraisal Methodology (PRAM). Both Masibambane, as well as Siyal’amukela, rely on this strategy. It is a process that facilitates easy registration, selection and the targeting process.

Like any system it has its pros and cons. One of the advantages of such a system is that the community will usually be well aware of who is in dire need, versus those that are better off. It is participative, bottom-up and empowering for community decision-making. Furthermore, Mr Gasela adds that *“...although vulnerability means different things to different people, we allow the communities to make identifications, based on their social norms”*.

However it can also become a very conflictual process where elites, such as kraal heads, try to benefit from these programmes or deny truly vulnerable people access to food as a way of punishing them (for example for political reasons). According to Mrs Abongile, there always has to be a representative of the organisations, as well as the WFP, to help with the facilitation as *“there are often squabbles and victimisation of those that have*

received food over those that didn't". This shows the very conflict-ridden nature of these meetings.

4.3.5.2 Sustainability of the programmes

Relief is not financially sustainable because it requires constant funding from donors. However, it can be argued that the whole point of relief is to ensure physical survival and the whole concept of giving people food was never meant to be a financially sustainable venture. Masibambane is fortunate in that it is well endowed with resources because of the abundance of donors. For the most part, Siyal'amukela relies on one main donor.

Where rehabilitation is concerned, livelihood programmes are also proving successful in terms of enhancing socio-economic development amongst poor households. Both Siyal'amukela and Masibambane started these projects in 2006, so they are still in their inception stages.

At Siyal'amukela, 170 families have benefited from the goat project thus far. The first redistribution of goats to other families is planned to take place at the end of the year (that is 2008). It is then that the success of these programmes can be evaluated. However, Siyal'amukela members are convinced that the chicken and goat projects will be one of their most sustainable programmes. Mr Fikile made the following calculation:

"In a year goats reproduce twice and during high rainfall seasons, most of the goats can give birth to two kids. But let's say for whatever reason they just give birth to one, you are looking at three goats gained. Within the first year these 3 female goats, if they give birth twice, will produce 6 kids per year. In two years, you are looking at 12 kids...and in two and a half years, you are looking at something like 18 kids. And even if...say...five or half of that amount die, the family remains with about five."

Masibambane has empowered 4 000 families through the goat project and 10 000 recipients through the chicken project. In 2008, the chicken project at Siyal'amukela was planned to benefit 300 families. However, this number has increased to 600 families, as the volunteers suggested that five chickens be distributed per family instead of ten.

This was so that they could ease the backlog of increasing numbers of families trying to get into the programme. This shows that the livelihood projects are either in demand, or

the general situation has become so desperate such that people have no other alternatives for survival. It is hoped that the chicken and goat projects will glean good financial returns.

However, Mr Donga stated that livelihood projects themselves have their own financial challenges; specialised animal-husbandry food, medicines and maintenance materials are proving difficult to access and afford in the country. Furthermore, drought and other natural disasters contribute to casualties amongst the flock.

Mrs Hanyani added that some families sell or eat the goats and chickens prematurely, before they have multiplied adequately, because of hunger.

4.3.5.3 Financial and social benefits of these programmes

The Zimbabwean economy has collapsed and devalues regularly because of hyperinflation. This has meant that projects such as the micro-enterprise management programme are constantly running at a loss and are failing to bring substantial economic returns. Mrs Hanyani said that the micro-enterprise project is unsuccessful and it has failed to bring people out of chronic poverty. She asserted that unless the economy stabilises, the participants cannot save or generate any real financial returns.

However, the money gained through rehabilitation projects is used within the household to cover expenses, such as education or to buy food. One of the greatest economic benefits that these families have received through the various programmes is that money that would have been used to procure food (for example before relief) can now be diverted to other purposes.

Although the financial benefits have not been substantial, all of the participants agreed that there have been substantial social benefits that have come about as a result of these programmes. Masibambane gave me numerous DVDs where beneficiaries from a variety of programmes testified to the fact that they are now better off because of the intervention of these organisations. Some are grateful for just being able to receive basic food supplies.

The orphans at Siyal'amukela were inspired by the fact that they received unconditional support through the volunteers that check up on them on a weekly basis, assuming the role of guardian in their lives. Mrs Hanyani highlights how rewarding it is to hear and see people's lives progressing. She acknowledged that although growth is slow, it is good to know that a difference has been made in someone's life.

The other social benefits were: friendships or relationship within communities; the opportunity to learn a trade; psycho-social training, as well as counselling on social issues such as HIV/AIDS; basic veterinary training and life skills; being given the opportunity to go back to school, and the fact that people felt empowered to participate and get more involved in decisions that concerned them.

Four participants stated that the levels of self-organisation amongst the communities had improved. Sometimes they go back to those areas to find that these structures are still in place or being maintained. Another social benefit that the majority of the participants referred to was the hope that some of their beneficiaries would receive the gospel of Christ.

4.3.5.4 Scalability

These organisations have definitely been empowering a significant number of people and communities. The relief programmes empower the most people. The livelihoods and micro-enterprise projects are small, but that is due to the fact that they are still in their conception stages. There is room for growth. Both organisations said that they were willing to scale up their work if there was a need and resources were made available.

4.3.5.5 Vertical and horizontal interactions

Vertical and horizontal interactions refer to relationships amongst NGOs and other agencies or bodies such as the government or international organisations.

Masibambane and Siyal'amukela are both members of NANGO, which is a huge conglomerate of NGOs in Zimbabwe that seeks to establish relationships, share and discuss developmental ideas. Participants from both Masibambane and Siyal'amukela stated that although their organisations did similar work, within the same geographical

spaces, they do not combine their resources and work together in the literal sense. The NGOs prioritised relationships with their donors, the State, other stakeholders and the community in an attempt to achieve holistic development.

4.3.5.6 Monitoring and evaluation

Mr Gasela highlighted the fact that he has a 'mammoth task' in trying to keep abreast in monitoring and evaluating Siyal'amukela's different programmes throughout the country. Siyal'amukela struggles because there are too few staff members involved in monitoring. Although the volunteers attempt to give documented feedback, some are not as effective, accurate and timely in recording as could be hoped. Mrs Elangeni suggested that staff members and volunteers need to be trained once again in this area.

Another challenge is that Siyal'amukela is still in the process of adapting international monitoring and evaluative techniques to make them contextually relevant. Siyal'amukela occasionally has an external auditor to come in and monitor, as well as assess the organisation's effectiveness.

Masibambane has the advantage in that they are a more formalised organisation in comparison to Siyal'amukela. They have a greater staff contingent that looks after monitoring and evaluative tasks, both internally as well as externally. They have access to more resources and technologies that make their work less complicated. However, Mrs Abongile said that there are still loopholes and areas where efficiency in monitoring could be enhanced.

4.3.5.7 Challenges faced

The greatest challenge for the implementation of all these programmes continues to be the policy challenges, where there have been institutional failures in planning and effectively implementing policies that enhance development. There have been issues in promoting 'development as freedom' as the social opportunities, transparency guarantees, protective security, economic facilities and political freedoms continue to deepen in the country.

For example, NGOs have a history of conflict with the government. As much as they work together with them, they have had to deal with threats of being closed down. The

political violence that occurred after the March elections resulted in NGOs stopping most of their work in the rural areas. Mr Fikile made the following statement:

“Last month (i.e. march/April) we stopped distribution...because a number of our co-ordinators working in the communities called to say ‘please don’t bring food... otherwise it will seem like we are holding meetings that push an anti-government rhetoric and undermine them through food distribution. We do not want to have a visitation at night’. The politics have affected us. We are not even sure whether we will resume distribution this month (i.e. May). We are still looking at the situation. In the meantime, the hungry are still hungry.”

Mr Gasela had been arrested a week before we conducted the interview. He was returning on his way from conducting a monitoring and evaluative assessment in a rural area near Gwanda. He said:

“I had a personal experience coming from distributing in one of the rural areas; it was quite far out and rather remote... I saw a few beneficiaries, did a couple of interviews with people as we discussed ideas of transformation etc I got into the car. On my way back, some 20 or so kms from the area I had been in, I came across a road barricade. They (the police) were waiting for me as they had heard I was talking to people. I had to go/was taken to the station. I was asked a lot of questions...Who are you? ...What are you doing here? ...The report that we heard is that you are putting on shades and addressing people. But it was in the bush, so I wondered how they got that information.”

Both Mr Fikile and Mr Gasela were visibly uncomfortable when they spoke about their experiences. Mr Fikile was literally whispering.

Until such as time as the country stabilises socially, politically and economically, no lasting or holistic development can be achieved. There are implications for the government, NGOs and welfare organisations as well as citizens to contribute to development through co-ordinated and committed efforts within their defined roles.

4.4 Conclusion

In conclusion, I have given an in-depth organisational context and responded to the main research questions, which are: defining poverty and food insecurity; exploring the reasons behind the food security crisis; highlighting the extent of the food insecurity experienced in rural Matabeleland; discussing NGO responses to the crisis through relief and rehabilitation programmes and critically assessing the impact of these intervention strategies.

The main findings of this chapter are that Zimbabwe's food insecurity crisis is a result of multiple deprivations. The findings reinforce Sen's (1999) 'development as freedom', in that a deprivation of one freedom, results in a deprivation of others. In Zimbabwe, political freedoms, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees, as well as protective security, have all been in decline because of institutional failures.

Although NGOs come in with short and medium-term solutions, the real responsibility of facilitating long-term development lies with the State. Furthermore, the socio-economic context has determined the type of intervention that takes place in Zimbabwe. This is predominantly relief and rehabilitation.

Whilst such programmes make an impact, they are insufficient to enhance people's ownership bundles and their exchange entitlements. They also cannot combat the evolving and multi-dimensional aspects of poverty as identified by Kanbur and Squire (2000).

The following chapter offers concluding remarks and recommendations.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This study has highlighted the institutional failures, especially through policy making, that the GoZ has made, which have resulted in recessive socio-economic development in Zimbabwe. It also looks at the responses that selected NGOs have made in addressing poverty, specifically food insecurity, in Matabeleland through the provision of essential services.

Conclusive remarks, based on the research objectives, are:

- To define poverty and food insecurity
- To explore the reasons behind the food insecurity crisis
- To highlight the extent of the food insecurity crisis in Matabeleland
- To discuss NGO responses to food insecurity, and
- To critically assess the impact of these intervention strategies

All these objectives have been addressed by reviewing literature and through in-depth interviews with the ten key participants. Sen's (1999) 'development as freedom' approach was relied on as the conceptual framework of this paper.

Lastly, recommendations will be made to the organisations, to the government and for further research.

5.2 Conclusions

This section highlights the findings and conclusions that have been drawn from the case study. These findings enabled one to better understand the issues researched, as they have significance for people experiencing poverty and food insecurity.

5.2.1 Defining poverty and food insecurity

5.2.2.1 Poverty

The term poverty has evolved throughout the different developmental periods: from income-based perspectives to human development, capabilities approaches and the

'development as freedom' approach. The development as freedom approach states that there are many facets to poverty that are interconnected, where the lack of one component usually results in the lack of others. These faces of poverty (or 'unfreedoms', according to Sen, 1999), included political freedoms, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees, as well as protective security.

The research highlighted each of these aspects and gave examples of the 'unfreedoms' that are experienced in Zimbabwe and how they have adversely contributed to the socio-economic development in the country.

Both Siyal'amukela and Masibambane staff members gave definitions of poverty that substantiated Sen's theory. They referred to the fact that the poverty they are dealing with in the rural communities is complex and multi-dimensional, ranging from a lack of human rights, poor education and food insecurity. Whilst the participants highlighted all of Sen's freedoms, there was minimal reference made to transparency guarantees. This is an area that needs to be addressed and included in future policies, as better communication, openness, participation and unity would facilitate improved relations between government and its people. Transparency guarantees are an important aspect of development, as citizens are protected from corruption and financial irresponsibility from the State.

Furthermore, new policies will have to address poverty in line with evolving definitions.

5.2.2.2 Food insecurity

Food insecurity is an aspect of poverty, in the same way that poverty aggravates food insecurity. As poverty continues to expand in Zimbabwe at national, regional and household levels, so does food insecurity. Food insecurity has three basic components. These are availability, accessibility and the utilisation of food.

The two NGOs basically used this as the standing definition although there were other tools to identify and monitor food insecurity such as balance sheets, famine early warning signs and ZimVAC assessments or indicators. Other NGOs working in this field could benefit from adopting these diverse measurements.

It was found from both literature and the participants that food insecurity in Zimbabwe tends to affect the vulnerable. These are people that are exposed to hazards and have no

coping mechanisms or protective security. The group of people characterised as the vulnerable in the country continues to expand such that the government must now address the short, medium and long-term needs of its citizens, and decrease the increasing number of vulnerable citizens through a comprehensive approach. This comprehensive approach to food security should include addressing issues such as health, education, infrastructure and access to waged work, which are all vital components of development (Sen, 1999).

5.2.2. Reasons behind the food security crisis

There were many common reasons cited for the crisis. These are all interlinked or causal factors. Ultimately, food insecurity is a result of institutional failures.

At national level, it was found that land reform was the most significant cause for food insecurity, along with natural disasters, such as drought and flooding. The Zimbabwean case study illustrates the important interconnections between land, poverty and food insecurity. The land issue which has been unresolved since 1980, was such that the vulnerable remained asset poor and had no exchange entitlements or ownership bundles with which to engage in the market through trade, labour, own-production and/or inheritance.

Land is at the core of rural development. Access to land enables one to exit chronic poverty, as one can produce one's own food or use their produce in the market, thereby improving the economic prospects of the vulnerable and cushioning them from hazards. As such, land reform was prioritised. However, it was chaotically implemented, so that there were reductions in the amount of food produced in the nation because land was left vacant and/or the new occupants did not have the know-how to produce food for the nation.

The Zimbabwean economy is agro-based, such that a decline in agricultural productivity inevitably affected the macro-economy, since there was no longer any produce for trade and the manufacturing industry. ESAP was a neo-liberal policy that some participants felt further aggravated the economic situation. New policies that are contextually relevant need to be drawn up in order to reverse economic regression. However, this can only happen when there is a commitment from the State, working within a stable environment.

Lastly, the political instability and conflict in the country has resulted in foreign investors withdrawing their investments, resulting in foreign currency deficiencies. These were needed to procure food.

At regional level food insecurity is heightened by the fact that rural communities are geographically remote and are located in natural regions IV and V, which are low agro-ecological areas. Access to food becomes difficult. The various interconnected institutional failures, for example in education, health care and infrastructure have led to the GoZ cutting back on agricultural expenditure for communal farmers in rural areas.

This finding highlights the fact that specialised agricultural policies for the rural areas and specific provinces need to be made and implemented by local government. This is because different geographical locations need varying solutions; therefore a blueprint policy is inadequate to address all areas. For example, the Matabeleland provinces could benefit from ranching and animal husbandry farming styles, and yet, these provinces continue to prioritise subsistence maize production like the rural areas in natural regions one, two and three, which are better suited for those crops.

Bird and Shepherd (2003:596-597) and Wiggins (2004:23) have also referred to the fact that the Matabeleland provinces have been politically excluded from mainstream development.

At household level, education, household size, HIV/AIDS, as well as access to social capital all contributed to food insecurity. These are all social problems, illustrating that the social aspects of development have been neglected. As such, government must look at existing policies and review whether what is happening at the ground level is equal to what is found in the policies. Furthermore, any new policies should strengthen both the economic and social developmental aspects equally.

5.2.3. The extent of the poverty and food insecurity experienced in rural Matabeleland

The extent of the food insecurity in Matabeleland is seen in the way that people are relying on consumption smoothing practices. These mechanisms include a change in diet, such as the consumption of wild fruits, cutting back on the number of meals consumed in

a day and meal sizes, a heavy reliance on food aid interventions and remittances from relatives in the diaspora.

The most noteworthy coping mechanisms included shedding of assets such as livestock and resources in distress sales, which contribute to income and asset poverty. Furthermore, the reality in Zimbabwe is that there has been mass migration from the rural areas to the urban areas, and an even greater exodus to neighbouring countries.

The urban areas are overcrowded and cannot sustain the people. In the case of those fleeing the country, the remaining structures are weakened, as professionals such as nurses and teachers have left the country in order to survive.

5.2.4 NGOs' responses to the crisis

The research has highlighted the specific programmes that the two organisations have relied on in an attempt to tackle food insecurity. It was found that Masibambane and Siyal'amukela have largely relied on relief as their intervention strategy to address food scarcity.

The social and economic regeneration of the recipients has been pioneered through livelihood and micro-enterprise management projects. These projects offer practical ways of enhancing the capabilities and entitlements of the vulnerable through job creation and education amongst others. These rehabilitative strategies have faced challenges because of the socio-economic and political conditions.

Similarly, macro- developmental projects through development oriented-aid have currently been on hold, as there are financial and political considerations.

Masibambane and Siyal'amukela stated that they are humanitarian organisations whose role is to complement and fill in socio-economic gaps; therefore they believed that their programmes were adequately answering to their set objectives and responsibilities.

5.2.5 The impact of these intervention strategies

The findings suggest that relief has had a positive impact and has answered to the physical survival of a significant number of people through providing food for the

hungry. Relief strategies which were initially a response to transient poverty (as a result of the 2002 drought) have become the solution to a chronic problem.

Rehabilitation programmes, through the goats and chicken projects, have been successful too. However, micro-enterprise projects have not yielded as many economic benefits as was hoped for, but they have been moderately successful. The recipients have gleaned social benefits from all the programmes in a variety of ways, namely empowerment, participation, skills training and psychosocial counselling especially around issues like HIV/AIDS.

The programmes were also assessed for aspects such as scalability, sustainability, as well as the monitoring and evaluation processes. It was found that financial and technical limitations have hindered the progressive functioning of some of the programmes.

5.3 Recommendations

5.3.1 Recommendations to the organisations

Both organisations need to consider revising their organisations' specific objectives in order to align their programmes to these objectives. The roles of NGOs in Zimbabwe and their goals are constantly shifting in light of the deepening socio-economic needs. Similarly, their objectives need to be tailored in line with new developmental focuses and needs.

5.3.1.1 Siyal'amukela

- Siyal'amukela could benefit and maximise their work better if they decentralised their offices. They have one main office in Bulawayo, and yet their work spans a wide geographical area throughout Zimbabwe.
- The organisation needs to have more formalised structures in place, especially with regard to procedures and documentation. The volunteers and staff members could also benefit from training. This could assist them in processing their records.
- Siyal'amukela lacks resources, man power and technology which are needed in order for them to be more efficient at monitoring and evaluating their programmes.

5.3.1.2 Masibambane

- Masibambane is still very technocratic, bureaucratic and top-down in the way that they work. The organisation could benefit from more grassroots interactions with community members. This would encourage participation and empowerment of these communities. It would also enable them to run interventions that answer to the needs of the people rather than the perceived needs.

5.3.2 Recommendations to Government

- Government should enhance better communication channels with bodies such as NGOs in order to coordinate their development strategies cohesively. At present, the PVO Act and the NGO Bill are seemingly more interested in bureaucratic processes, such as the formal registration procedures of NGOs. Opening up dialogue would enhance better working relationships between the two bodies, which are currently riddled with conflict and mistrust. This would go a long way towards enhancing smooth service delivery by NGOs.
- A new multi-dimensional policy that looks to poverty alleviation should be implemented. A comprehensive approach to poverty and food security would address all of Sen's (1999) 'unfreedoms'. Since 1980, the State has shifted its development agenda, seemingly from a socialist, to neo-liberal, to developmental and now to an autocratic state. However, these policies have been administered in mixed approaches and have not been given enough time to mature as the five-year time frames are unrealistic for long-term development. Over and above this, a new policy would be advantageous especially in light of the fact that Zimbabwe now has a unity government. It would therefore reflect the voices of both MDC and ZANU as the joint rulers of the State. However, such a policy should only come into play when broad consultation and people participation at the grassroots level has occurred. Proper monitoring and evaluation processes also need to be put in place in order to address the lack of transparency guarantees. Furthermore, policies must be communicated and made attainable to the people.
- Another area that needs to be addressed involves the matter of protective security for the poor. The GoZ needs to start answering to the practical needs of the poor: adequately and immediately. This could include making more grants and social

opportunities available to the poor. Other reforms could be to subsidised food prices and implement zero tax rates so that citizens can enjoy economic facilities. Furthermore, plans need to be made that grant subsistence farmers access to finances so that they can grow food, buy equipment, seeds, and other agricultural resources.

- Ideally, the country needs to stabilise socially, economically and politically in order for any real development to start happening. It is hoped that the unity government is committed and capable of facilitating the growth that is much needed in the country.

5.3.3 Recommendations for further research

The research has critically discussed and enhanced our understanding of the institutional failures that have occurred in Zimbabwe, resulting in socio-economic underdevelopment; it contributed to policy development; and provided insight on programme responses to food insecurity and related issues experienced by NGOs and citizens.

However, there are limitations to the study. The following recommendations highlight areas which could further the research.

- This qualitative study presents the subjective voices of 10 participants. Quantitative research would complement the qualitative aspect by providing specific statistics and comparable figures.
- Furthermore, conducting this research on a larger scale to include more NGOs working in Matabeleland would make this study more representative of the parent population.
- It is recommended that any further study should attempt to access diverse organisations, so that comparisons can be made. Masibambane and Siyal'amukela programmes and ideologies are similar, except that one organisation is larger than the other, hence making it difficult to make a comparative analysis of the work that the two organisations are doing.
- Lastly, further research could include interviewing the beneficiaries of these NGO programmes. It would be interesting to know from the recipients themselves, what impact these interventions have made on their lives.

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APPENDIX A:

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR THE NGO STAFF MEMBERS

RESEARCHER: NOMPILO NDLOVU

SECTION 1

Introduction

- Introduce self
- Explain the purpose of the research
- Assure the participant about ethics and confidentiality, pseudonyms etc
- Encourage participants to answer as honestly and openly as possible
- Inform participants of the right to terminate interview at any stage
- Inform participants that a copy of the report will be given to the organisation
- Negotiate the use of a tape recorder
- Remind participant that the interview will take approximately 45minutes to an hour

SECTION 2

Demographics

- Name:
- Gender (don't ask, just remember to record it for the purposes of your profile of participants)
- Age: How old are you?
- Language: What language do you speak?
- Population group: what population group do you fall under?

SECTION 3

The Participant

- Tell me a bit about yourself?
- What department of the organization do you work for?
- What does that job description entail?
- How long have you worked at this organization?

SECTION 4

Poverty and food insecurity

- How does the organization understand the terms poverty and food insecurity?
- Why do you think there is food insecurity in the areas that you work in?
- Please try and describe the extent of the food deprivation in these communities?

- How does this affect the social and economic development of the people and community?

SECTION 5

The NGO responses to the food security crisis

- Please tell me about the programmes and plans that your organization has put in place to address food insecurity?
- Targeting: What criterion was used to identify the recipients of these programmes and was its application effective?
- Scalability or programme/s- scaling up with similar results?
- What was the level of self organization, and what were the factors that shaped this?
- Are the programmes sustainable (financial, capabilities, institutional capacity, other)?
- Does the programme empower people equally?
- Would you say your programmes have been successful?
- How do you monitor and evaluate effectiveness of the programmes?

Other probes are: how long have the programmes been running? What kinds of food and resources are supplied to the recipients? What are the social and economic benefits to the recipients?

SECTION 6

The NGO and Environment

Find information about the organization e.g. the history, statistics, and staff complement etc, so that you don't have to ask too many question, also get an extensive copy of the organization's vision, mission statement etc.

- Is the NGO working in partnership with other organizations or bodies? (vertical and horizontal relationships)
- Would you say that your staff is adequately trained for programme delivery?
- How does the NGO access resources such as finances, vehicles, land, foodstuffs etc
- What challenges/hindrances has the organization faced?
- How have these challenges been overcome?
- Please describe the kind of environment (political, socio-economic etc) that your organization works in?
- Has this environment had a positive or negative role towards your developmental agenda?
- Does the organization have any plans to expand? How?
- Any recommendations?

APPENDIX B:

RESEARCH CONCESSION LETTER

To whom it may concern,

RE: Master's Thesis

My name is Nompilo Ndlovu and I am currently studying at the University of Cape Town (UCT). I am in my second year of Masters. During this year, I am writing a thesis whose topic is: A case study of NGOs responses to food insecurity in Matabeleland, Zimbabwe.

I would like to conduct some research in your Organisation. I hope to be able to conduct interviews with a few employees from the Organisation who work in the programmes/departments that address food insecurity. The information received will purely be for academic purposes. That is to say, I do not intend on availing any information to the media or any other organisation at that. Infact, I will not use the names of any employees in the analysis, but I will use fictitious names so that their identities are not compromised. As a researcher, I comply with the ethical standards that are expected of me. I promise to ensure that there is consent, confidentiality and competence during and after the whole research process.

I will call the organisation within 48hours, in order to find out if my request has been successful. I will also use that opportunity to clarify any questions or answer to any concerns that you might have. I have also attached my personal details, in the likelihood that you need to contact me.

Thank you very much. I look forward to your positive response.

Nompilo Ndlovu (Miss)

Zim Cell #

Zim Landline #

S.A Cell #

Email Add: ndlnom014@uct.ac.za

APPENDIX C:

PARTICIPANTS CONSENT FORM

Research Topic

A case study of NGOs responses to food insecurity in Matabeleland, Zimbabwe.

I agree to take part in the above research project. I have had the project explained to me; I understand that agreeing to take part means that I am willing to:

- be interviewed by the researcher
- allow the interview to be audio taped.

I understand that any information I provide is confidential, and will be used for academic purposes only and that no information that could lead to the identification of any individual will be disclosed in any reports on the project, or to any other party.

I am aware that my participation in this interview is voluntary. If, for any reason, at any time, I wish to stop the interview, I may do so without having to give an explanation. I understand the intent and purpose of this research.

Participant's signature

Date

Interviewer's signature