TOWARDS A RENEWED MODEL OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT
THROUGH A CONTEXTUALISED SOCIO-ECONOMIC HISTORY OF NKAYI
DISTRICT IN MATABELELAND NORTH, ZIMBABWE

BY

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THE ABSTRACT

In 2016, Matabeleland North, classified as an agro-ecological region had the most extreme recorded cases of poverty at 86% with the highest rate of out-of-school children. Nkayi district, possessed the second highest proportion of food insecure households at 42%. The opening statements present a partial view of poverty. I argue that poverty in Nkayi district is multidimensional and linked to other sustainable development priorities, including education, health, access to drinking water, sanitation and other basic services. The factors that cause poverty form a tangled web and cannot easily be isolated and thus need to be approached from multiple angles. In contextualising the study, the starting point of any rural development initiative is the acknowledgement of the context and collective agency exercised by the communities to be developed. And as such when developing people and communities, an understanding of the self-defined areas that require development must be acknowledged. The study presents a comprehensive socio-economic history of Nkayi district adopting a qualitative methodology, with philosophical underpinnings of phenomenology. The research used an empirical phenomenological method with a sample of 40 community members, 27 government and 9 NGO staff sampled using purposive, snowball and convenience techniques until saturation points. Semi-structured interview guides, open-ended questionnaires and focus group discussions were used to generate data which were presented, analysed and interpreted using the thematic analysis approach. The findings revealed that Nkayi went through various shocks which affected its livelihood; poverty exists in many forms with poor infrastructure, resources and human capital adversely affecting the development of Nkayi. The District has dysfunctional development approaches which affects programmes. In conclusion, the study presents a Resilience-Based Development Model which identifies and amplifies the existing positive traits of post-traumatic societies where resilience and the local knowledge form the foundation for constructive engagement and initiatives with rural communities. The study recommends that government and other development agencies need to prioritise education, infrastructure and other enablers in order to develop rural communities.
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DEDICATION

This research effort is dedicated to the late Vice Chancellor of ZOU, Professor Primrose Kurasha who sowed the seed, watered it to germination stage and supported me up to her untimely passing. She was and remains my guiding star.
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LIST OF ACRONYMS

**HPI:** Human Poverty Index

**MDG:** Millennium Development Goal

**NGO:** Non Governmental Organisation

**ORAP:** Organisation of Rural Associations for Progress

**SDG:** Sustainable Development Goals

**SLF:** Sustainable Livelihood Framework

**UNECA:** United Nations Economic Commission Agency

**VIDCO:** Village Development Committee

**WADCO:** Ward Development Committee

**ZIMVAC:** Zimbabwe Vulnerability Assessment Committee
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CHAPTER 1

THE PROBLEM AND ITS SETTING

1.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the introduction to this study. The background to the study, discusses what triggered the research and highlights the gap and nature of the problem sought to be studied. The chapter outlines the statement of the problem, the purpose of the study, proceeding to the objectives and research questions that guide the study. The significance of the study, assumptions of the study, delimitations of the study, limitations of the study and definition of terms are given within this chapter.

1.1 Background to the Study

Poverty eradication has become the overarching objective of development, as reflected in internationally agreed development goals (World Bank, 2005). Earlier efforts were the adoption of Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) whose first goal was to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger. The latest framework were the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) crafted in 2015, with the first goal on ending poverty in all its forms everywhere (UN, 2015). Poverty is multidimensional and linked to other sustainable development priorities, including education, health, access to drinking water, sanitation and other basic services (UNECA, 2015). According to the Grameen Foundation (2014), the factors that cause poverty form a tangled web and cannot easily be isolated and need to be approached from multiple angles.
The United Nations Economic Commission Agency (UNECA) report points out that extreme poverty is on the decline in many countries. However, progress in poverty eradication remains slow and Africa did not achieve the Millennium Development Goal of halving the number of people living in extreme poverty (UNECA, 2015). UNECA statistics reveal that 48.7 per cent of Africans live in extreme poverty. According to the Zimbabwe Vulnerability Assessment Committee (ZIMVAC) report, an estimated 76% poverty prevalence is widespread in rural households (ZIMVAC, 2014). Statistics revealed that Matabeleland North, an agro-ecological regions had the most extreme recorded cases of poverty at 86% with the highest rate of out-of-school children (UNOCHA, 2016). Nkayi, had the high proportion of food insecure households at 42% second to Lupane at 43% (Zim VAC, 2016). According to UNOCHA (2016: 8), “at the district level, Nkayi (96 percent), Lupane (93 percent), Gokwe South (91 percent) and Mudzi (90 percent) have highest level of poverty prevalence rates”.

Zimbabwe is experiencing both structural and transient poverty. The dynamics of poverty in Zimbabwe are therefore very complex. According to the Human Poverty Index (HPI), which is a holistic measure of the multiple dimensions of poverty; deprivation as measured by the HPI increased from 23 percent in 1995 to 33 percent in 2003 making it hard to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (UN Report, 2010). About 57% of the Zimbabwean populace resides in rural areas with the development gap between some rural and urban areas widening unabated (ZIMSTAT, 2012).

The structural nature of poverty in Zimbabwe lies in the country’s political economy. At independence in 1980, Zimbabwe inherited a dual economy characterised by a relatively well developed modern sector supporting the livelihoods of the minority and a largely poor and
neglected rural sector supporting the livelihoods of around 80 percent of the country’s population, most of whom were women and children. The Zimbabwe Vulnerability Assessment Committee (ZimVAC) rural livelihood assessment report (2012), shows that the main challenges besetting rural communities in Zimbabwe involve a 76% water shortage, 57% poor road, 38% communication networks and food insecurity that tops the list (ZimVAC, 2012).

Historically, Malaba (2006) notes that during the first decade of independence, the then government sought to address some of the historical imbalances using the Growth With Equity, 1981 and the Zimbabwe Transitional National Development Plan, 1982-1985 policies and strategies. Zimbabwe’s first five-year national Development Plan, 1986-1990, which prioritised poverty reduction and government spending was geared towards increased social spending, expansion of rural infrastructure and redressing the social and economic inequalities through land reform. As a result of these efforts, Zimbabwe’s social indicators improved impressively during this period.

According to Malaba (2006), research shows that the period between 1996 and 2006 marked a decade of accelerated deterioration in the socio-economic situation. Zimbabwe experienced unprecedented economic challenges, with the economy having shrunk cumulatively by about 40 percent since 1999, a four-digit year-on-year hyperinflation of 1 070 percentage points in October 2006. In the words of Kavila and Le Rous (2016: 3), “annual inflation reached a record 200 million per cent in July 2008. Thereafter, the Central Statistical Office was ordered to stop publishing inflation figures”. Substantiating, Lombardo (2016) noted that Zimbabwe’s poverty rate rose from 25 to 63 percent between the 1990s and early 2000s which led to the deterioration of infrastructure leading to the isolation of rural communities and thus resulting in a higher
poverty rate. Therefore, this resulted in severely eroded purchasing power of incomes, shortage of foreign currency, low savings resulting in low investment in rural areas, high unemployment levels, decreased social spending et cetera. These factors together with the incessant droughts and hyperinflation pandemic have left the population vulnerable to poverty and food insecurity mainly in rural areas. Located in agro-ecological regions five, with sporadic rainfall patterns for an agricultural rural economy (UNOCHA, 2016), newspaper reports have in the last four years carried reports of the incessant drought ravaging the Nkayi community among other areas (Chronicle: 2012; 2014; 2015).

In contextualising the study, the starting point of any rural development initiative is the acknowledgement of the context and collective agency exercised by the communities. And as such when developing people and communities, there is a need to acknowledge their self-defined areas that require development and their understanding of it. I begin by acknowledging four issues:

1- That poverty has many facets and cannot be reduced simply to a community’s ‘lack of income’ or ‘lack of access to enabling infrastructure’ for example.

2- That existing analyses of poverty have neglected a very important and existential issue: the effects of traumas and group dynamics on post traumatic societies. These include forced migration, ‘lack of engagement’ with or aversion to external actors, the disruption of the social fabric, and the need to reconceptualise sustainable development as a dependent variable in such studies.

3- That understanding the communities’ unique and important socio-economic history helps development practitioners tailor to the needs of particular communities.
Lastly, I will present a model that attacks holistic poverty: poverty has many aspects to and should not be limited to a ‘lack of’ which is the minimalist view. The model reformulates the crux of ‘sustainable development’ and brings new impetus to understanding the rural poor. Only by understanding our contextualised histories can we move forward and develop in an African way.

There has been a multitude of analyses regarding the root causes of underdevelopment and poverty in the peripheral South (Nyoni, 1987; Vivian, 1991; Scoones, 1998, Goldman, 2002; Chifamba, 2013; Abebe and Quaicoe, 2014). Many of these works have focused on issues ranging from active underdevelopment promulgated by external agencies and policies that undermine domestic development trajectories, to the inability of domestic communities to break cycles of poverty due to their exclusion from access to the positive aspects of local development and globalisation (Gore, 2003). Any inquiry into a model of sustainable development necessarily must contextualise socio-economic factors, the nature of poverty, historical factors, cultural considerations, government and nongovernmental mechanisms and interventions. The key area of interest in this study is the district of Nkayi in Matabeleland North. In their seminal work, Ranger, McGregory and Alexander (2002) looked at the post-colonial nuances that characterised this region. I acknowledge that the root causes of poverty are multifaceted and receive their particular hue from specific socio-economic community contexts. The work of Ranger, et al (2000) provide a primary canvass on which to draw our narratives from.

The first objective of this project is, therefore, to analyse the extent to which this socio-economic history helps to understand the nature and perpetuation of poverty in the area of study. I posit that often neglected in analyses of, and mechanisms to address poverty, is the nuanced understanding of the socio-economic histories of rural communities. In seeking to find
sustainable models and strategies of poverty alleviation, it remains essential to investigate its root causes. Unless the origins and nature of structural cleavages within my area of enquiry are addressed and understood, the socio-economic trajectory of Nkayi cannot be explained. As such, one of my working hypotheses is that a model which is informed by community self-realisation and reflection, identification of local solutions to internal and external impediments to development and one that fosters entrepreneurship provides the best explanation and answer to resolving holistic poverty in Nkayi. Tagarirofa and Chazovachii (2013) revealed in their empirical study that the level of community participation was not only minimal, but also top down in contrast to the bottom-up approach stipulated in the Rural District Councils Act (1996). Similarly, Chifamba (2013) found that a relatively low degree of community influence or control over organisations in which communities participate was a barrier to rural development initiatives. The organisations were usually controlled by people who are not poor or recipients of the services.

The study posits that the exogenous generational shocks that were endured by these communities have led to a lack of formal participation in the economy and development. Such shocks pertain to the mass forced migration of people to what is currently Nkayi and Lupane from Matabeleland South, the persistent droughts that have affected the region, the impact of post-independence destabilization (Alexander, McGregor and Ranger, 2000), the lack of cohesive youth programmes that stop trans-generational inheritance of mistrust, rural-urban migration, the negative effects of donor dependency and relocation for greener pastures to other neighbouring countries such as South Africa by young people.
One of the greatest causes of poverty is that people have lost the fundamentals of their culture, identity and approaches to dealing with issues within their contexts. The way people relate to each other and their authorities, how they organise themselves and their resources, how they share knowledge and ideas and respond to challenges and opportunities – all of these are linked to cultural practices and methods. In every society, people have ways of coming together to attend to that which matters most to them. As such, development initiatives in Nkayi since independence have primarily been from ‘the outside in’ via NGOs and government policy prescriptions given that local structures such as village development committees (VIDCOs) and ward development committees (WADCOs) were not functioning (Chirenje, Giliba and Musamba, 2013). The uptakes from these initiatives have varied in their success but the key issue has always been the sustainability, replicability and perpetuation of self-sufficiency in the district.

Between the 1970s and 1990s the principal focus of development practitioners was on social development and participation to the exclusion of economic development of communities. This led to a regression in the achievement of sustainable development goals in that communities remained economically dependent on donor agencies (Banks, Hulme and Edwards, 2015). As such, donor institutions could manipulate communities through conditionalities and external imposition of development goals. For instance, donors determined the situation of boreholes in Nkayi without adequate consultation with local communities, who in turn could not object as they were not in a financial position to challenge. What was missing therefore was a simultaneous system of both social and economic rural development.

The current literature by Norris, Stevens, Wyche, and Pfefferbaum, (2008), Zhou (1997), is however oblivious to various factors which explain why communities quickly respond to
supportive social and economic conditions from both the government and NGO practitioners, while others remain inactive. The available literature neglect the facts and nature of poverty that affects certain communities such as Nkayi. For instance, the population responds slowly to developmental incentives due to a number of factors which destroy enthusiasm, vision and entrepreneurial zeal within these communities. The fear of uncertainty, the inferiority complex, mistrust, passivity, social deviation, self-perpetuating poverty traps and trans-generational inheritance of mistrust has halted development in Nkayi.

Charan and Tichy (1998) note that sustainable development begins with an understanding of the difference between who you are and are capable of doing to change your situation and what outsiders, especially government, donors, development partners, think who you are and what you can and cannot do to change your situation yourself. The two sides see and understand issues totally differently, creating relationships that are not based on mutual respect. They propose a development model that recognises that change begins from within communities. Hill (1988) states that some people believe that they cannot think and prosper because their thought patterns and habits are steeped in poverty, misery, failure and defeat. No more effort is required to aim high in life to demand abundance and prosperity than is required to accept misery and poverty. Additionally, both poverty and development or prosperity are the offspring of thought. Thoughts are a great asset and development resource. If we leave out people/communities’ thinking, ideas, visions, desires and plans to get better, then we are but imposing development and it can never be sustainable. This is because such development’s progression based on people’s thoughts, ideas, knowledge and plans depends on those outside the development process.
Understanding the links between poverty and economic growth in developing countries has been a subject researched and understood for decades. By looking at the various factors, such as intra-community relations, and in particular teasing out the nuances that surround socio-historical shocks and the resultant cycles of poverty, I seek to identify a new approach to sustainable rural development which requires a comprehensively holistic approach. In the age of globalisation and cross market linkages and technological transfers, the concept of sustainable development has changed drastically. Old models of income generating activities or food hand-outs (Scoones, 1998), although necessary, have proven insufficient in breaking cycles of poverty in Nkayi. There is need for societies to identify their sources of underdevelopment through intra-community dialogue, the creation of a proactive philosophy regarding actions that can be taken to address these challenges and make use of Charan and Tichy’s (1998) conception of the ‘Genetic Code’ relating to group dynamics, decision making and entrepreneurship.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The socio-economic history of Nkayi is one that has been characterised by disruption, alienation, exclusion and mistrust. Nkayi communities went through several cycles of alienation as a result of the pre- and post-independence hostilities (Hill and Katarere, 2002). These communities have continuously been frustrated, vulnerable, disengaged from the wider political-economy and have become ‘strangers’ politically, culturally, economically and socially. Development practitioners, NGOs in particular, have been part of the estrangement as programmes were reportedly partisan and exclusive, with conditionalities developed without the dialogic involvement of the community members (Mpofu, 2012); the development programmes were extractive and not sustainable to a people who had gone through a lot of
trauma. The hostilities were not only physical but psychological, thus creating a culture of mistrust towards any outsiders. The descriptions above present several aspects of poverty which go beyond the minimalist view of poverty as ‘a lack of’.

Poverty is holistic, socio-economic and the cycles that perpetuate it are historical. In order to create solutions to holistic poverty I posit that understanding and acknowledgement of all these facets are essential. This is the foundational block upon which we understand sustainable development. Essential to the case study of Nkayi is the acknowledgement that its particular socio-economic history of disruption and violence has not been accounted for in understanding the communities’ ability to engage with the wider national economy and meaningfully with government, development practitioners and NGOs. In addition, these communities have seen the perpetuation of cyclical and generational poverty traps (psychological, economic, and social). I therefore seek to unpack the particular nature of holistic poverty in Nkayi, and present a model through which this poverty can be alleviated and sustainable development attained.

1.3 Purpose of Study

To examine how socio-economic historical contexts contribute to holistic poverty in Nkayi, and to present a model that addresses it.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The current study is guided by the following research objectives and intends to achieve the following;
1. To identify the lived experiences affecting Nkayi’s development.

2. To understand how the socio-economic history of Nkayi has affected its development.

3. To find out the challenges faced by Nkayi community in accessing government and non-government services.

4. To find out the views of Nkayi communities regarding their development problems and their future.

5. To develop a model for sustainable development for the Nkayi District.

1.5 Research Questions

To achieve the research objectives this study is guided and seeks to answer the following questions:

1. To what extent do lived experiences affect Nkayi’s development?

2. How does the socio-economic history of Nkayi communities cause poverty in Nkayi District?

3. To what extent does Nkayi community face challenges in accessing government and non-government services?

4. How does Nkayi community view its development problems and prospects for the future?

5. What model can be developed for sustainable development?
1.6 Significance of the Study

The study sought to show how the socio-economic and historical contexts of Nkayi undermined community participation in local and national programmes, government and non-government interventions and development. Currently, little research has been done on the nature of poverty in Nkayi and there has been a lack of contextualised solutions to it in literature. This investigation would bring in a new understanding of the history and development trajectory of the people of Nkayi and break away from old models of social development to new models of community self-reflection, community mobilisation, strategic linkages and entrepreneurship. It would show the benefits of understanding and implementing development ‘from below and within’ communities, rather than ‘prescriptions from above and without’. The intended beneficiaries of the study were the communities in Nkayi, local government and policy makers, rural development practitioners and NGOs.

For the communities in Nkayi, the study helps them introspect, and gives new insights into how they can own and develop their communities and livelihoods through initiatives that resonate with their own development perspectives and desires. Through their lived experiences, solutions would be generated on how to engage each other, their government structures and other development practitioners.

For the NGO sector, the study gives new insights into how they can engage the Nkayi communities and bring out initiatives that reverberate with the needs of the communities and rate their impact through community wellbeing.
The results from the study may be used as baseline data against which the government could appraise its effectiveness. Consequently, the study may aid the government in formulating pro-poor development programmes for the rural people and beyond. Through dialogue, the government may get to know the areas of concern to the citizens and address them.

For the youths of Nkayi, the study motivates them to break the cycle of poverty and take charge of their destiny, instead of perpetuating the victim mentality. As the leaders of the next generation, the youth should get out of the poverty trap and take charge of developing their communities sustainably, build a future and take care of their present needs.

1.7 Assumptions of the Study

The researcher assumed that for the sake of the analysis, qualitative data generated from the participants in the study areas was relevant information pertaining to their community development and their own perceptions of the causes of poverty, and how sustainable solutions can be profiled.

1.8 Delimitation of the Study

The study was focussed on understanding the socio-economic history and development of Nkayi District through the people who live and work in Nkayi. Participation in the study was delimited to villagers (elderly, youth and business people), government and non-governmental employees of Nkayi District in Matabeleland North Province only. The study did not include those who worked and lived outside the district as data generation was done in Nkayi district.
1.9 Limitations of the Study

In carrying out the study, the researcher acknowledged that there were bound to be some limitations not of the researcher’s own making. It was, therefore, important to identify them and plan on how the researcher would deal with them in a way that protected the trustworthiness and credibility of the study. Below are the limitations and how they were mitigated.

Access to accurate data from participants

The researcher has been in the development work for a long time and aware of lack of cooperation from rural communities and workers when asked about their histories, work and developmental views in their areas. The researcher knew she was dealing with a traumatised society that has experienced a lot from outsiders. The reservations and uncooperativeness usually emanates from fear of being victimised as they do not know who to trust. The researcher realised that it was important to build trust and confidence by assuring the participants that whatever they said would not be divulged to a third party. It was also necessary to make them understand the main purpose of the study, which was academic and developmental purpose and not for exposing or victimising participants in their communities or work. In addition to assuring participants anonymity, the researcher triangulated data and data sources as a strategy to help in securing accurate data.

Participants’ cooperation

The researcher was aware that with the nature of the study, participants could not be taken for granted. It was possible that some selected participants might not have been in a position to participate or might have decided not to participate. The researcher and her team, therefore, kindly requested cooperation and were prepared to re-schedule and conduct interviews and
focus group discussions at the convenience and comfort of the participants. Open-ended questionnaires were followed up and collected after the respondents had completed the forms. The participants participated in the study at their own volition.

**The threat of data overload**

One of the challenges of qualitative research is the danger of generating more data than what is actually required. This was found to be true. Voluminous data were generated from the participants. The researcher minimised the threat by constructing clear, unambiguous and relevant questions which could be easily understood by the participants. The generated data was translated into English and edited so as to remain with relevant data. In addition to these strategies, the researcher adopted the thematic analysis so that the generated data could be analysed from the themes emerging from the data.

**The possibility of researcher bias**

The researcher was aware that qualitative research has data which are subjective. There was active verbal interaction with participants. As the researcher was interacting with the participants there were chances of her personal values filtering into the generated data. This was mitigated through bracketing her feelings out to give the voice to the participants. Bracketing is discussed in Chapter 3.

**The low level of literacy among community members**

Since the researcher involved villagers especially the elderly as critical participants, the low level of literacy was a reality and could have possibly posed some challenges to the researcher in the field. This problem was addressed by translating questions into vernacular as most of the participants did not understand English. The transcripts were later translated to English for consistency in academic writing and presentation. The researcher knew of the indispensable use
of vernacular in order capture the narratives, and allow for a freer expression of opinions and experiences by the participants.

**Logistical issues in a rural district**

Nkayi District is sparsely populated and with many poor roads. Logistical challenges were made worse as the data generation was done during the rainy season. To mitigate this, the researcher organised for her team to stay with the communities so that they could develop rapport and easily move within the wards visiting the participants.

**1.10 Definition of Terms**

To facilitate adequate comprehension of the research study, the researcher considered it necessary to define some key terms that were used considerably in the thesis. The terms worth defining were:

1.10.1 **Sustainability** has two facets. Environmentally, it refers to development that seeks to meet needs and aspiration of the present without compromising the ability of next generation to meet theirs (UNESCO, 1997). Secondly, developmentally, a livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base (Chambers and Conway, 1991). Sustainability is thus a function of how assets and capabilities are utilised, maintained and enhanced so as to preserve livelihoods.

1.10.2 **Development**: accumulation of goods and capabilities that impact positively on the sustenance, freedom from servitude and self-esteem of members of a household (Manyasa, 2009: xiii; Wasilwa, 2015).
1.10.3 **Sustainable development**: development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (Wasilwa, 2015).

1.10.4 **Community**: a collection of households who live in close geographical proximity such as a ward and commune with one another (Wasilwa, 2015).

1.11 **Chapter Summary**

This research was actuated by the poverty realities in Nkayi, the national and global cry for an end to poverty. The researcher’s concern is that poverty is complex and there should be no one panacea to poverty globally, but that initiatives should be within the context of the local communities. The objectives of the study are to identify the lived experiences affecting Nkayi’s development, to understand how the socio-economic history of Nkayi has affected development, to find out the challenges faced by the Nkayi communities in accessing government and other services, to find out what the Nkayi communities perceive as solutions to their development problems, and to develop a model for sustainable development for Nkayi District. The population of the study was cross-cutting to include traditional leaders, youths, business people, government and NGO staff. The intended beneficiaries of the study were the communities in Nkayi, local government and policy makers, rural development practitioners and NGOs. The chapter includes sections on assumptions, delimitation and limitations of the study, concludes by defining the terms used in the study.
CHAPTER 11

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.0 Introduction

The objective of this chapter is to present the contextual background and a review of related literature to the area of study in detail. Through a review of related literature, it seeks to trace the socio-economic historical dynamics that affected inherent societies, contextualise the cultural dynamics that affected intra-community authority relations, the resultant conflicts between and within the state after independence, and to show that these contexts of the communities in which development occurs significantly undermine their participation in national programmes and government interventions. The main problem of identifying different manifestations and root causes of poverty in the study necessitate the contextualisation of the historical and socio-economic background of Nkayi. If one of the main arguments is that there is a generational element to the transmission and perpetuation of poverty, then it remains important to trace the impact of history, and that issues such as violence and forced migration had on this particular case.

I take as my starting point a brief historical overview of the Ndebele who occupied this district and their kingdom in the 19th century under King Lobengula. By looking at the societal and economic structure of this kingdom, I show that the subsequent imperialist wars of conquest by the British South Africa Company in 1893 and 1896, the severe history of forced evictions from southern and central Zimbabwe, the coercive agrarian interventions of the settler colonial state, the nationalist resistance and intense colonial repression of the 1960s, the violence of the
liberation war of the 1970s and finally the devastating post-colonial violence of the 1980s all aid in explaining the ruptured and underdeveloped communities of Nkayi. If the main premise of my enquiry is that there is a particular form of poverty that pervades in the area of study, it remains salient to give the historical context its due consideration.

This chapter presents the socio-economic history of Nkayi, analyses the literature on how people were traumatised, resilience and their implications; the causes of poverty and gives the theoretical framework of sustainable development as the model commonly used to alleviate poverty.

2.1 Models of Sustainable Development

There are various considerations and uses of theoretical frameworks and conceptual frameworks in studies. Parahoo (2006) acknowledged that authors use the terms ‘conceptual framework’ and ‘theoretical framework’ interchangeably while some authors only refer to one. Merriam (2006), considered the theoretical framework as the tailoring component in a study which determines the problem to be investigated, the specific research questions asked, the particular data that is collected and how the data is analysed and interpreted. Similarly, Green (2014) noted that a theoretical framework provides a context for examining a problem serving as the frame of reference or base for observations, definition of concepts and relationships among variables, research design, interpretations and generalisations. Theoretical framework in a study is based on an existing theory or theories (Anfara and Mertz, 2006).
Parahoo (2006) argued that theory generation is the purpose of most qualitative research and as such there is minimal logical shaping of studies using theoretical frameworks. Qualitative studies rely on inductivism which considers an understanding of specific contexts and then move to the general without being blinkered or distorted by existing theories. In the context of the study, theoretical framework refers to presenting the theories available in literature that help in understanding sustainable development and sustainable livelihoods.

2.1.1 A Conceptual Framework for Sustainable Development

According to Jabareen (2008), conceptual analysis identifies seven concepts which together synthesise and assemble the theoretical framework of ‘sustainable development’. The concepts were derived from fragmented multidisciplinary literature and different bodies of knowledge focusing on sustainable development. Each concept represents distinctive meanings and aspects of the theoretical foundations of sustainability. In addition, the concepts have interwoven relations as illustrated in Fig. 2.1.

![Conceptual Framework for Sustainable Development](image)

Figure 2.1: A Conceptual Framework for Sustainable Development Source: Jabareen (2008: 188)
The concept of ethical paradox rests at the heart of this framework. The paradox between ‘sustainability’ and ‘development’ is articulated in terms of ethics. In other words, the epistemological foundation of the theoretical framework of sustainable development is based on the unresolved and fluid paradox of sustainability, which as such can simultaneously inhabit different and contradictory environmental ideologies and practices.

The concept of natural capital represents the material aspect of the theoretical world of sustainability. Natural capital represents the environmental and natural resource assets of development and preservation. The theoretical framework of sustainability advocates keeping the natural capital constant from depletion for the benefit of future generations.

The concept of equity represents the social aspects of sustainable development. It encompasses different concepts such as environmental, social and economic justice, social equity, quality of life, freedom, democracy, participation and empowerment. Broadly, sustainability is seen as a matter of distributional equity, about sharing the capacity for well-being between current and future generations of people.

The concept of eco-form represents the ecologically-desired form of urban spaces and communities. This concept represents the desired spatial form of human habitats: cities, villages and neighbourhood. ‘Sustainable’ design aims to create eco-forms, which are energy efficient and designed for long life. Its common principles could be explained through the concept of ‘time-space-energy compression’, which requires a reduction in time and space in order to reduce energy usage.
The concept of integrative management represents the integrative and holistic view of the aspects of social development, economic growth and environmental protection. According to the theoretical world of sustainability, the integration of environmental, social, and economic concerns in planning and management for sustainable development is essential. It is believed that in order to achieve ecological integrity, that is to preserve the natural capital stock, we need integrative and holistic approaches to management.

The concept of political global agenda represents a new worldwide political environmental discourse reconstituted around the ideas of sustainability. Since the Rio de Janeiro Summit in 1992, this discourse has extended beyond purely ecological concepts to include various international issues, such as security, peace, trade, heritage, hunger, shelter, and other basic services. However, the concept reflects deep political disputes between Northern and Southern countries, where the North demands ‘no development without sustainability’ and the South demands ‘no sustainability without development’. In the developing world this implies pushing for developmental strides before discourse about sustainability. Sustainability is propelled through existing developments such as infrastructure and socio-economic developments.

The concept of utopianism represents visions for the human habitats based on sustainable development. Generally, such utopias envision a perfect society in which justice prevails, the people are perfectly content, the people live and flourish in harmony with nature, and life moves along smoothly, without abuses or shortages. This utopia transcends the primary ecological concerns of sustainability to incorporate political and social concepts such as solidarity, spirituality, and the equal allocation of resources.
2.1.2 Sustainable Livelihoods Framework

The ‘Sustainable Livelihoods Framework’ (SLF) developed by the Department for International Development (DFID) is one of the most widely used livelihoods frameworks in development practice. The SLF was integrated in the programme for development cooperation in 1997. According to DFID (2000), a livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base.

Kollmair and Gamper (2002) pointed out that DFID’s biggest aim is the elimination of poverty in poorer countries. DFID, however, stresses that there are many ways of applying livelihoods approaches. Although the application of the livelihoods approach is flexible and adaptable to specific local settings and to objectives defined in participatory manner, it underlies a number of core principles stated by Kollmair and Gamper (2002) as:

i) People-centred: People rather than the resources they use are the priority concern in the livelihoods approach, since problems associated to development often root in adverse institutional structures impossible to be overcome through simple asset creation.

ii) Holistic: A holistic view is aspired in understanding the stakeholders’ livelihoods as a whole, with all its facets, by a manageable model that helps to identify the most pressing constraints people have to face.

iii) Dynamic: Just as people's livelihoods and the institutions that shape their life are highly dynamic, so is the approach in order to learn from changes and help mitigating negative impacts, whilst supporting positive effects.
iv) **Building on strengths:** A central issue of the approach is the recognition of everyone's inherent potential for his/her removal of constraints and realisation of potentials. Identifying these strengths rather than the needs and problems is the starting point of this approach, in order to contribute to the stakeholders’ robustness and ability to achieve their own objectives.

v) **Macro-micro links:** Development activity tends to focus at either the macro or the micro level, whereas the SLF bridges the gap in stressing the links between the two levels. As people are often affected from decisions at the macro policy level and vice-versa, this relation needs to be considered in order to achieve sustainable development.

vi) **Sustainability:** A livelihood can be classified as sustainable, if it is; resilient in the face of external shocks and stresses, independent from external support, able to maintain the long-term productivity of natural resources and does not undermine the livelihood options of others (Kollmair and Gamper, 2002).

The sustainable livelihoods framework sets out to conceptualise:

- how people operate within a vulnerability context that is shaped by different factors – shifting seasonal constraints (and opportunities), economic shocks and longer-term trends

- how they draw on different types of livelihood assets or capitals in different combinations which are influenced by: the vulnerability context, a range of institutions and processes and how they use their asset base to develop a range of livelihoods strategies to achieve desired livelihood outcomes (De Stagé, Holloway, Mullins, Nchabaleng and Ward, 2002).
Figure 2.2: Sustainable Livelihoods Framework Source: DFID (2000)
2.1.2.1 Elements of the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework

2.1.2.1.1 Vulnerability context

The vulnerability context frames the external environment in which people exist. Critical trends, as well as shocks and seasonality, over which people have limited or no control, have a great influence on people’s livelihoods and on the wider availability of assets. Not all of the trends and seasonality must be considered as negative.

Vulnerability emerges when human beings have to face harmful threats or shocks with inadequate capacity to respond effectively. The difference between risk and vulnerability is of crucial relevance for assessing causes of poverty.

GLOPP (2008), defined risk as the likelihood or occurrence of (external) shocks and stresses plus their potential severity, whereas vulnerability is the degree of exposure to risk (hazard, shock) and uncertainty, and the capacity of households or individuals to prevent, mitigate or cope with risk.

2.1.2.1.2 Livelihood assets

The livelihoods approach is concerned first and foremost with people, and seeks to gain an accurate and realistic understanding of people’s strengths (here called “assets” or “capitals”). It is crucial to analyse how people endeavour to convert these strengths into positive livelihood outcomes. The approach is founded on a belief that people require a range of assets to achieve positive livelihood outcomes. Therefore, the SLF identifies five types of assets or capitals upon
which livelihoods are built, namely human capital, social capital, natural capital, physical capital and financial capital.

2.1.2.1.3 Policies, Institutions and Processes

The importance of policies, institutions and processes cannot be overemphasised, because they operate at all levels, from the household to the international arena, and in all spheres, from the most private to the most public. They effectively determine access (to various types of capital, to livelihood strategies and to decision-making bodies and source of influence), terms of exchange between different types of capitals, and returns to any given livelihood strategy (DFID, 2000).

Policies, institutions and processes have a direct impact upon whether people are able to achieve a feeling of inclusion and well-being. Because culture is included in this area they also count for other ‘unexplained’ differences in the ‘way things are done’ in different societies (DFID, 2000). Policies, institutions and processes can determine access to assets and influence decision making processes in communities.

2.1.2.1.4 Livelihood Strategies

Livelihood strategies comprise the range and combination of activities and choices that people make/undertake in order to achieve their livelihood goals. It should be understood as a dynamic process in which people combine activities to meet their various needs at different times.
Different members of a household might live and work at different places, temporarily or permanent (DFID, 2000).

Livelihood strategies are directly dependent on asset status and policies, institutions and processes. Hence that poor people compete and that the livelihood strategy of one household might have an impact (positive or negative) on the livelihood strategy of another household.

2.1.2.1.5 Livelihood Outcomes

Livelihood outcomes are the achievements or outputs of livelihood strategies, such as more income, increased well-being, reduce vulnerability, improved food security and a more sustainable use of natural resources. When thinking about livelihood outcomes, the aims of a particular group, as well as the extent to which these are already being achieved, has to be understood.

2.1.2.2 Applications of the Approach

According to GLOPP (2008), the starting point of a development project based on the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach is a detailed investigation of the living conditions of the target population. A second step is to identify limiting factors, which hinder the adaptation of sustainable livelihood strategies on the one hand and recognise the factors that reduce vulnerability on the other. The project outline takes the limiting factors into account and tries to eliminate them by relying on the available assets and strength of the target community. This community participates in the project planning from the very beginning. Before the planning
gets implemented the framework should be used to anticipate the effects of the project activities, including possible side effects on other population groups (Kollmair and Gamper, 2002).

2.1.2.3 Strengths and Limitations of the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework

2.1.2.3.1 Strengths

Its flexible design and openness to changes makes the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA) adaptable to diverse local contexts (GLOPP, 2008). The SLA might serve as an analytical tool in order to identify development priorities and new activities prior to any development activity. Further, the SLA might be used as a checklist or means of structuring ideas or can be applied in the form of a livelihood analysis to assess how development activities ‘fit’ in the livelihood of the poor (Kollmair and Gamper, 2002).

The core concepts of the SLA represent its strengths. Above all, it places the main focus on the poor people themselves by involving them in all the planning processes and by respecting their opinions. The poor people themselves define their strengths, potential and goals. This is done by adapting a holistic view to encompass all the aspects of poor people’s livelihoods, and by considering that they are dynamic. It focuses explicitly on short and long-term changes and allows pointing out the various processes that permanently influence one another. By directly linking problem causes, like political programmes at a government level, with their effects on individuals, the SLA tries to connect the macro and micro level.
In addition, the SLA does not contradict other current development approaches, rather it combines and takes advantage of their strengths. It relies on participation and pays special attention to gender specific or ecological issues. A livelihood analysis, therefore, applies a broad range of conventional methods and instruments, as for example from Participatory Poverty Assessment (PPA), Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) and Good Governance Assessment techniques” (Kollmair and Gamper, 2002). Thus, the SLA provides a clear and practical perspective on how to reduce poverty and has generated (if used effectively) an exceptional way of integrating the four pillars of development (economic, social, institutional and environmental).

2.1.2.3.2 Limitations

However, there are some limitations within the SLA. A differentiated livelihood analysis needs time, financial and human resources. Development projects often lack these conditions. The claim of being holistic inevitably delivers a flood of information hardly possible to cope with. Additionally, by improving the livelihoods of a specific group, a negative effect may occur on livelihoods of others. This may lead to a normative dilemma on the decision about what to consider as priority.

Reducing the livelihood perspective to a methodological tool contains the risk to look at the two things interchangeably. The SLF still is a simplification of the multidimensional reality of livelihoods.
2.2 Socio-Economic History of Nkayi District

2.2.1 Antecedents: Culture, Poverty and Socio-economic History

The complexity of bringing into focus the determinants of poverty within Nkayi district necessarily requires a mode of analysis which allows to distil contextualised causal factors from the general literature relating to causes of poverty. Looking for example at events, legislation, the violent wars of conquest, dispossession and forced migration, I trace the identifiable variables that aid in explaining the nature of poverty in Nkayi. The Comparative Historical Approach allows detailing through the literature the effects of various historical and present shocks in explaining the contemporary conceptualisations of poverty and its causes.

Additionally, in grounding the approach to finding a holistic way of defining and understanding culture and poverty in this investigation, I agree with Harding, Small and Lamont’s (2010) assertion that “over the past decade, sociologists, demographers, and even economists have begun asking questions about the role of culture in many aspects of poverty and even explicitly explaining the behaviour of the low-income population in reference to cultural factors”. One of the issues that have emerged in the literature is that comprehensive analyses of poverty necessarily ought to be concerned with culture for at least three main reasons. The first is to understand better why people and communities respond, cope with and ultimately escape poverty. Why do people and communities cope with poverty the way they do? Taking the minimalist definition of poverty as material hardship or deprivation, the authors identify coping strategies that emerge such as using family ties, collectivising labour for mutual group benefit (amalima), turning to the state or aid agencies for help, relocating, exchanging goods within friendship networks, and so on (Edwin and Lein, 1997, Newman and Massengill, 2006). What is significant, however, in explaining why different communities differ substantially in the
coping mechanisms that they choose to employ, this heterogeneity results partly from cultural factors. Some sociologists, for instance, argue that people’s resilience, including their ability to cope with stigma, exclusion and marginalisation, is associated with cultural identity and social membership.

Why do people and communities differ in their ability to escape poverty? Small, et al (2010: 9) argue that “the greatest barrier to middle-class status among the poor is sustained material deprivation itself. But there is significant variation in behaviour, decision making and outcomes among people living in seemingly identical structural conditions.” This argument however neglects to consider conceptions of poverty that go beyond material deprivation. To illustrate, the notion of poverty as encompassing psychological, emotional, financial, and generational aspects in addition to financial and material deprivation leads us to other more explicatory avenues. Distinguishing between patterns of coping mechanisms for poor societies in urban and rural settings for example, that differentiation may be caused by factors such as proximity to markets, facilitating infrastructure and health services, access to information regarding economic participation, lack of inclusive economic institutions that create the basic incentives that make a society prosperous and financial planning (Dorren and James), affect both demographic groups differently, as shall be seen later in the paper.

A second salient reason to incorporate the cultural dimension to analyses on poverty is to debunk existing myths about the cultural orientations of the poor. Although the “culture of poverty thesis” has had its many theoretical inconsistencies criticised elsewhere (Valentine, 1968), “basic empirical work is needed to assess many rather straightforward beliefs about the cultural orientations of the poor or ethnic minorities” (Young, 2006). Developing a more
complete understanding of the conditions that produce and sustain poverty requires “analysing empirically with greater detail and accuracy how the poor make sense of and explain their current situations, options and decisions.” In this case, I present culture as a lived and experiential phenomenon, that it creates unique coping strategies and modes of behaviour between actors in a particular community and its conception of the ‘other’ (be it the state, development agencies, local governing authorities etc).

Lastly, it is important to include culture as a variable in a poverty study in order to develop and clarify exactly what is meant by it. Of use in the second half of this project, in which I seek to address socio-economic transformation, is helping determine where individual and community beliefs and preferences come from. Does identity politics play a role in economic outcomes and decision-making? Akerlof and Kranton (2002) draw on the concept of identity to develop a model in which individuals have preferences for behaviour that is consistent with the group identities and derive utility from such behaviour (Benabou and Tirole 2006). Sen (1992) developed the concept of capabilities to understand aspects of inequality in well-being not captured by the traditional notion of utility. These present interesting areas of further study.

The value of cultural analyses into poverty lies in their ability to highlight the form and function of the way in which different societies cope with poverty (Bandura, 2001). While culture is a useful lens through which to view the different mechanisms used by particular communities to escape poverty, there are wider analyses of the latter’s underlying causes (Narayan and Petesch, 2007). In other words, although culture gives the context of poverty, other authors have identified economic, social and political underlying causes of poverty. These other explanations are interconnected and as such overlap in their explanatory value. To illustrate, the economic
concept of distributive injustice (the partisan selection or granting of access to resources, infrastructure, healthcare and so on) in many instances in the developing South cannot be separated from the political realities of poor governance, corruption or violence. Marginalisation of communities, tribes, classes and race; social exclusion of people or institutions from access to the state and the perpetuation of socially malfeasant habits (such as alcohol and drug abuse among the youth) are all manifestations of the multifaceted nature of poverty.

2.2.1.1 A Review of Other Causes of Poverty

Care International (2012) broadly classifies causes of poverty into three categories- the first relate to immediate causes which are those factors that are directly related to physical life and death situations (including natural disasters, famine, physical conflict etc). The second looks at intermediate causes which focus on what people and communities lack (needs based) and as such looks at issues such as access to basic services, lack of adequate skills, levels of productivity etc. The third focuses on the underlying causes which attempt to analyse intermediate cases by raising questions related to systems and the structural underpinnings that govern particular societies.

Extreme poverty does not entail just having unsatisfied material needs or being undernourished. It is often accompanied by a degrading state of powerlessness. Even in democratic and relatively well-governed countries, poor people have to accept daily humiliation without protest. Often, they cannot provide for their children and have a strong sense of shame and failure. When they
are trapped in poverty, the poor lose hope of ever escaping from their hard work for which they often have nothing to show beyond bare survival (Singer, 2009).

Poverty is considered a structural problem in sub-Saharan Africa (Austin, 2006). About 45-50 per cent of the total population live in poverty, and most of this concerns people facing chronic poverty (World Bank, 2000). Three quarters of all poverty is concentrated in rural areas, especially in the so-called marginal regions, which are characterised by unfavourable climatic conditions (i.e. little and irregular rain fall), unfertile soils prone to erosion, and poor infrastructure (IFPRI/WUR/IFAD, 2002). Poor communities are, furthermore, characterised by limited access to education and social services, vulnerability to HIV/AIDS, and an unbalanced family structure, with proportionally more women and young children. Chronic poverty is highly prevalent in remote rural communities.

Chronic poverty means living for more than five years under the poverty line and therefore being unable to maintain reserves or stocks to compensate for income shortfalls (Austin, 2006). Rural poverty in Africa is caused by a number of structural factors. The most important factors are related to low labour productivity, a scarcity of capital and knowledge, high transaction costs and failing institutions. Because of high input costs, decreasing commodity prices and unreliable rainfall, farmers are disadvantaged to invest in improved land use. Therefore, labour productivity remains low and purchasing power for fertilizers and seeds is limited (Austin, 2006). Consequently, a vicious circle of low investment capacity, soil degradation and stagnating labour productivity leads to the perpetuation of chronic poverty.
DiIilio’s (1989) theory on poverty argues that the majority of the poor are hardworking well intentioned people whose potential for positive actions are severely constrained by fear of their surroundings and the social stigma that emanates from it. Structural economic factors include the level and variation of unemployment, median income, and measures of income inequality. The effects of unemployment and increases in median income are well documented and their relationship to poverty is intuitive. The rate of poverty tracks very closely with median income and, in general, rises in median income have positive benefits for all classes, including the poor (Hines, Hoynes and Krueger 2001). Over the last half century, as median income rose, the rate of poverty has decreased in close correlation (Ellwood and Summers, 1986). This relationship lends credibility to the argument that work is the best mechanism for lifting people out of poverty. Indeed, one of the effective strategies for fighting poverty is focussing on ensuring a strong and growing economy. However, for individuals to take full advantage of a strong and changing economy, they need education. Rises in income are positively correlated with educational attainment (Gregory, 2004).

ORAP (2010) believes that poverty is an integrated evil. It is the result of a combination of factors which must be addressed strategically and in a coordinated manner. As an organisation, ORAP (2010) firmly believes that poverty in any form is unnecessary, that it is not inherent to human life, and that it can be systematically and permanently eradicated. The various forms of poverty that ORAP (2010) exists to eradicate are:

- **Material Poverty**: Lack of adequate material needs, assets, infrastructure
- **Social Poverty**: Lack of relationships, Networks, Connections and Social linkages to empower one in all social needs
• **Technological Poverty**: Lacking the technological capacity to improve one’s living conditions

• **Financial Poverty**: Lacking the financial means to meet all basic and essential wants and needs

• **Cultural Poverty**: Lacking the cultural orientation and rootedness with which one navigates life and the world

• **Educational Poverty**: Lacking the knowledge, information, and ideas to propel one forward developmentally; Ignorance.

• **Psychological Poverty**: Lacking the strength and presence of mind to effect self-determination, and to participate in the development process; Inferiority

• **Environmental Poverty**: Lacking healthy, safe, and productive environmental conditions in which life takes place. Lacking the natural resources and means to exploit them for sustaining a decent life.

• **Spiritual Poverty**: Lacking the spiritual sense, values, orientation and practice to generate and re-generate systems of values and morality in a community.

### 2.2.2 Contextualising the Ndebele Kingdom and the British South Africa Company

In order to locate the socio-historical and economic contexts of Nkayi it is necessary to trace the history of the people inherent there. Drawing on Ranger et al’s, (2000) ‘A Hundred years in the Dark Forests of Matabeleland’, one of the prominent points is that, although the Shangani Reserve itself was already sparsely inhabited by various other tribes, it is the forced migration of the Ndebele speaking people from the south of the country that made up the majority of the population and assimilated those who were already there. The history of the Ndebele constitutes
a resource that reinforces memories of colonial violence of 1893 and 1896, the Ndebele evictions from their land under the direction of colonial settler state after the Land Apportionment Act of 1953, the recurring droughts in Matabeleland and the state violence of the 1980’s. Colonial justification for the imperial destruction of the Ndebele state brought discourse of human rights and cultural domination to the Ndebele state.

The invasion of what was termed Mashonaland under Cecil John Rhodes' British South Africa Company (BSAC) in September 1890 was conducted by 200 settlers under the protection of 500 BSAC policemen (the “Pioneer Column”), and there they founded the settlement of Salisbury (Harare). Masholaland was chosen above Matabeleland because the Ndebele forces of King Lobengula were too powerful to attack immediately and directly. In 1891 Mashonaland was declared a British Protectorate by an Order in Council (Parliament of Zimbabwe, Undated). The territory, originally known as Zambezia, was after 1895 commonly called “Rhodesia” and in 1898 was officially renamed “Southern Rhodesia”.

Matabeleland was, for several reasons, the key to the expansionist policies of the British South Africa Company. In the first place, it was the only part of the territory which, by the reputation of assumed goldfields, was likely to attract sufficient private capital for the sort of enterprise Rhodes had in mind, and since Government finance was not possible, private finance was indispensable. The country, as Rhodes used to say, was "mineralised from end to end," according to Carl Mauch and others, and the lure of gold was to be the ostensible reason for an enterprise which (in truth) did not stop at Matabeleland. Phimister (1988) and Ranger (1989) maintain that British imperial interest in the region accelerated in the mid-1880s and were motivated by speculation of a second rand (gold rush). Cecil Rhodes obtained the controversial
Rudd Concession in 1888 from King Lobengula. This document was the bedrock upon which white occupation of the territory, that later became Rhodesia, was built. Rhodes secured a royal charter to empower the British South Africa Company with the intention of occupying Mashonaland and he strategically secured the treaty from the powerful monarch.

The concession formed the basis of the 1889 Royal Charter granted to Rhodes' British South Africa Company (BSAC), which empowered the firm to occupy the region between the Zambezi and Limpopo Rivers. The European pioneer settler column occupied the area in 1890 and Matabeleland was brought under control through war in 1893. Lobengula mounted a number of armed attempts to counter the takeover of his nation. In July 1893, the Matabele War broke out when a party of Lobengula warriors raided a Mashona village near Fort Victoria (now Masvingo), threatening a camp of British settlers. The British High Commissioner authorised the then military force to respond and indeed to continue the advance until all of Matabeleland was occupied and under strict British Control.

The 1893 campaign was wildly successful for Rhodes and the BSAC. Ndebele cattle were considered loot and were divided among Jameson’s volunteers. Each trooper had been promised 6,000 acres of land. By mid-1894, more than 10,000 square miles were docketed for farmland. Towards the end of 1893, whilst the B.S.A.C was conducting initial exploration of the now Zimbabwe, following its virtual annexation of the territory in the name of Queen Victoria, they encountered renewed fierce resistance from the Ndebele who had thousands of belligerent warriors under the command and control of Lobengula (Moocraft and Maclaughlin, 2010). In December 1893 the First Matabele War was raging and the few white men in that part of the country were formed into armed patrols, effectively militias, under structured military
commands (Chirundu, 2010). The band of white men who came to attack the Ndebele men along the Shangani River was led by Allan Wilson. Bulawayo, which was the main town, faced major harassment and the city was immediately abandoned. Jameson ordered the capture of Lobengula, to force the hand of the Ndebele nation and conclude the agreement of mining rights.

Despite the disappearance of their king in 1893, the Ndebele were able to use their remaining institutions to rise against the colonising chartered British South Africa Company in March 1896 (Lindgren 2002). There was resilience and cohesiveness of the Ndebele nation and its level of political consciousness together with their desire to restore sovereignty (Cobbing, 1977). In 1896, Cecil John Rhodes personally played a key role in ending the Matabele insurgency. The Ndebele facilitated some negotiations in Matopo Hills with Rhodes were he in return promised to return their looted livestock and facilitated seed for farming which resulted in the Ndebele emerging from the uprising of 1896 as a cohesive nation (Ranger, 1999). Though the Company made good on most of the pledges it had made to local leaders in Matabeleland, the rebellion or "Umvukela" in isiNdebele, was fought between 1896 and 1897. The Ndebele revolted against the authority of the British South Africa Company. Umlimo a spiritual leader amongst the Ndebele triggered confrontations and calls to battle against the Company. In Chikowero’s review of the colonial war, Umlimo convinced both the Ndebele and Shona settlers that Rhodes and the company had been responsible for the droughts, disease and locusts that were ravaging the country at the time (Chikowero, 2015). Over 2000 men began the war and within a week, 141 settlers were slain in Matabeleland, another 103 killed in Mashonaland, and hundreds of homes, ranches and mines were burned.
The search of minerals was, ostensibly, the main reason for the British South Africa Company to gain control over the area today known as Zimbabwe. The Chief Native Commissioner in 1901 reported that the future of Rhodesia highly depended primarily on the development of the mining industry but the directors of BSAC had already by 1893 become painfully aware that expected gold reefs did not exist at the amount initially hoped for and that the future of the colony could not be based on mineral wealth (Rubert 1998: 1). BSAC, therefore, began to encourage European settlers to open farms in the colony with the aim of transforming Southern Rhodesia into an agricultural settler colony. It was not until 1907 that the promotion of settler agriculture became an official policy (Rubert 1998: 1). Both Ndebele and Shona were involved in agriculture and were doing quite well at it. By 1904 they produced more than 90 per cent of the country’s marketed output and hut taxes contributed 41 per cent of the total state revenues (Phimister, 1988: 66, 68). In 1906 the authorities were of the opinion that far too large tracts of land were designated to the Reserves and concerns were raised that Africans were earning too much working on their own lands, thereby not being available for waged work. Therefore the British administration regarded this as “retarding their progress” and called for revisiting the ‘native question’ and the implementation of the forced migration to the reserves.

In summary, the Ndebele existed as an independent nation up to 1893 when King Lobengula was violently removed from power by the British colonialists. While Mashonaland was occupied in 1890 by the Pioneer Column that culminated in the raising of the Union Jack Flag in Fort Salisbury in September 1890, the Ndebele state remained independent for the next four years. Colonial rule was extended from Mashonaland to the Ndebele state after the Anglo-Ndebele War of 1893 where the Ndebele forces tried to resist the invasion of their state by Cecil John Rhodes’s imperialist forces (Glass 1968). This led the historian Arthur Keppel-Jones
(1983:8-11) to argue that Mashonaland was ‘occupied’ and Matabeleland was ‘conquered. This had far reaching consequences in as far as the domination of the communities in Nkayi continued after the attainment of independence. The manner in which domination and structural violence against people in the area of study by both colonial and post-independence ‘others’ (the BSAC and the 5th Brigade) used similar mechanisms and ideological arguments that the Ndebele had to be conquered.

2.2.3 Forced Evictions and their Consequences

Relating back to the argument that the causes of poverty cannot be delinked from their socio-economic historical bases, the same lens may be applied to the governing structures of the people of Nkayi before their forced eviction from other native areas. Of interest is the role that these structures played in the perpetuation or alleviation of said poverty. The displacement of the people from their land created fissures that related not just to reproductive labour, capital accumulation, or productive capability. It also disrupted the social fabric of communities in ways that would resonate generations later. In order to understand the consequences of legislative forced migration, we first ought to analyse the pre-existing socio-economic system and dynamics that pre-existed in our area of study. An interrogation and rethinking of the Ndebele state in the 19th Century serves to illustrate that societal forms of organisation not only self-perpetuate, but also create varied responses from external hegemonic forces. The manner and circumstance of the defeat of the Ndebele kingdom by the BSAC forces in the late 1800s created one of the pre-cursors and templates that were then used by the post-independence state to perpetuate violence against communities in Matabeleland North, South and Midlands. This remains significant in that if perpetual and generational poverty results, inter alia, from the occurrence of negative exogenous shocks on a community, pre-colonial, colonial and post-
colonial modes of structural violence must be interrogated. In other words, the disruption of a society’s social fabric helps explain how the multi-faceted definition of poverty is perpetuated. In order to analyse the said disruption, particularly the significance of forced migration, it is helpful to detail the pre-colonial socio-economic dynamics of the society itself.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009) notes that the Ndebele cherished their cultural and political independence to the extent of responding violently to equally violent imperialist forces which were intolerant of their sovereignty and cultural autonomy. The fossilisation of tensions between the Ndebele and agents of Western modernity revolved around notions of rights, modes of worshiping God (religion and spirituality), concepts of social status, contestations over gender relations, and general Ndebele modes of political rule. Within the Ndebele state religious, political, judiciary and economic powers were embodied within the kingship, and the Christian missionaries wanted to separate the spiritual/religious power from the political power. This threatened Ndebele hegemony and was inevitably resisted by the Ndebele kingship. In the end, the British imperialists together with their local agents like Cecil John Rhodes, Charles Rudd, John Smith Moffat, Charles Helm and many others, reached a consensus to use open violence on the Ndebele state so as to destroy it and replace it with a colonial state amenable to Western interests and Christian religion (Cameron, 2009). The invasion, conquest and colonisation of the Ndebele became a tale of unprovoked violence and looting of Ndebele material wealth, particularly cattle, in the period 1893 to 1897.

One of the key issues analysed in this chapter is how these conflicts and forced evictions later disrupted the existing modes of primitive capital accumulation within the communities moved to the Shangani Reserve. The institutional violence of the BSAC and later the Rhodesian state
in the form of forced evictions was embodied in the Land Apportionment Act of 1931 which was actioned in the late 1940s. Africans on ‘white’ land were to be removed to the Reserves, by force if necessary. This policy involved suffering, loss of possessions everywhere, but evictions into the northwest were exceptionally harsh. As Ranger et al (2000), illustrate, “the deaths and hardships which resulted from being forcibly dumped in the disease-ridden wilderness were built into the evictees’ collective historical memories.” Given the nature of the Shangani reserve as ‘dark, desolate and far from home’, the black evictees were resistant to moving there and it became clear to officials that “force was going to have to be used to move ‘the Ndebele’ into the Shangani Reserve”. In 1947 the then Minister of Agriculture, Patrick Fletcher, asserted that Africans had to be moved from “all contested areas in Matabeleland: from Matopo, Fort Rixon and Filabusi.”

In the post-war period the long delay in implementing the mass removals that had been implicit in the Land Apportionment Act, and many unofficial conventions since, had steadily accelerated as the demobilisations that followed peace in Europe saw large numbers of European men and their families flooding into the colonies. Vast tracts of land in the Midlands and Matabeleland were affected with thousands of people who had for long lived on the land finding themselves increasingly under pressure to move. The Department of Native Affairs also came under pressure from a government anxious to welcome as many white immigrants as could be enticed to clear land for white settlement.

The Minister of Native Affairs promised the House of Assembly in a 1950 speech that within 5 years all blacks living on Crown land would be moved, and he ordered his department to present a plan to give statistical rationale to this hugely difficult, and in fact short sighted and wholly
impractical undertaking (Muchemwa, 2015). For those that had for nearly half a century lived in the isolated security of the distant reserves, and who in the interim had tamed the wilderness and established niche economies to support their communities, their lives were also about to be disrupted in a manner no less traumatic than the many thousands ordered at short notice, and with limited planning and forethought, to forcibly move their families, belongings and livestock into the reserve.

A major catalyst for this was a powerful article of sister legislation (Land Husbandry Act, 1951) to the Land Apportionment Act that sought to make scientific sense of the irrational system of native reserves (Mukungurutse, 2017). Prior to the 1920s, the reserves were seen as “temporary enclaves which would ultimately vanish as the peasantry was drawn into the exchange economy. After 1923 however, these reserves were seen as the answer to the ‘Native Problem’, that is areas in which Africans could develop in their own manner. This in turn led to the co-option of chiefs and headman in reserve administration under the adoption of a policy of ‘traditionalisation’.

Although in the rural areas the dominant strategy for dealing with the state was passive resistance through tax evasion and the avoidance of wage labour, one of few advantages available to the masses as a consequence of colonialism had been the regulation of life, the rule of law and modern medicine, all of which had set in motion a visible population explosion that was both politically and practically inconvenient for whites. The political ramifications were obvious, and underscored the absolute necessity of denying the black man the vote, but in the context of land it brought to the fore how inadequate and poorly planned the original system of natives reserves had been. An additional complication was the legacy of Imperial protection of
the native people that allowed for no discriminatory legislation to be enacted or any tampering whatsoever with the rights of the natives within the reserves to live by traditional values, which at that time still included unregulated usage of the land subscribed to them. At an earlier time when the native population was able to be reasonably easily absorbed by the amount of land set aside for them pressure and land usage had not presented any particular problem, but by the dawn of the 1950s it had become clear that the reserves were denuded, and that the paternalism of the Native Affairs Department, traditionally a government within a government, answerable not to Salisbury but to Whitehall, was inadequate to enforce competent land practice and disciplined communal growth (Muchemwa, 2015).

Efforts on the part of black activists to point out that vast amounts of land lay under-utilised by whites, was no particular solution. In the view of most white advocates for land husbandry legislation in the reserves there was little point in sending good land the way of bad. This was the case bearing in mind the fact that the black population would continue to grow, and that the demand for land among them would follow unless more of them were weaned off the land, and those that remained compelled to manage it in a way that would be sustainable and productive (Ranger, et al, 2000). In many respects this was sound reasoning, and the basis of nothing less than an agrarian revolution, and like most instances of revolutionary change it could not be achieved if preoccupations with humanity, and indeed the natural law of humanity, were to be allowed to intrude. Thus in 1951 the Land Husbandry Act came into being, which took the powers of land appropriation and management out of the hands of the people, of their chiefs and traditional leaders, and placed it in the hands of the government.
The government then set about devising a protocol under this framework by which too little land could be renewed to accommodate too many people at a juncture in history where any solution to ratify white land hunger had to be made to work. The signature weakness of the law was in stressing the necessity for a new generation of blacks to be weaned off an expectation of land as their primary source of support, and yet at the same time that no provision existed within the defining Land Apportionment Act for the legal existence of blacks in the urban areas other than those that could prove employment.

The main receptacle for the first waves of displaced people was the Nkayi Reserve demarcated as early as 1894, and never developed in any meaningful way to accommodate the inevitable influx of people. The effect of this was most acutely felt in the matter of cattle. By this time the amaNdebele had significantly rebuilt their depleted herd, with some individuals, and in particular those that had settled in north-western reserve a generation earlier, owning significant numbers of cattle. It was decreed on an official level that the previously accepted minimum of 30 acres per head in the reserve could be reduced to 20, in some cases as little as 16, with the number of cattle permitted per household reduced among those established residents of the reserve to 15 head, with those incoming limited to 10 to 12 head. Both groups were compelled to dispose of their surplus, with on average a family being forced to dispose of between 4 to 6 beasts within a year at prices fixed by the Native Commissioner. Within the reserves the trauma was no less acute. There was already arguably a surplus of cattle on the land, with some 77 000 head grazing in an area officially defined as able to support 60 000, with a predicted influx of 20 000 or so head expected to accompany newcomers, meaning a radical exercise in de-stocking which once again would be guaranteed to cut to the very core of the amaNdebele social economy (Ranger, et al, 2000). Even figures earlier mooted as the limit for the human population were
waived for convenience by the Government, and manipulated to accommodate more projected settlers for whom it was acknowledged boreholes and wells would be needed to make the land viable. However, in keeping with the pace of movement of any bureaucracy, these were not in place in time to receive the waves of newcomers. All in all the period was catastrophic in the memory of the amaNdebele affected by the massive upheavals that took place in the late 1940s and 1950s. In Matabeleland these evictions were fairly general, with the numbers recorded for 1951 alone to be in excess of 100 000 individuals belonging to just under 2 000 families moved from areas as diverse Matopo, Insiza, Nyamandlovu and Gwanda, with perhaps the best documented events occurring as a consequence of the formation of the Matopos National Park out of a vast tract of Crown Land. All these issues point to the far reaching consequences of forced evictions of people from different areas into the Shangani Reserve.

By broadly locating the disruptions to primitive capital accumulation, we can trace the resultant persistent poverty in Nkayi. In addition, the continuous shocks experienced by these communities (physical, environmental, psychological and administrative) remain persistent.

2.2.4 Nationalism and War/ Post-Independence Disturbances

A reading of Zimbabwe’s liberation history shows that the issue of land was one of the ideological pillars upon which nationalism sprung. Significantly, the people of the Shangani Reserve mobilised against the colonial administration as a way of redressing the negative social, psychological and economic impact of forced migration from their land. Zimbabwe’s historical processes of accumulation by dispossession of land and labour power eschewed accumulation from below and undermined social reproduction (Arrighi et al 2010). The post-independence
policies failed to resolve the national questions of broad-based development, social inclusion and national integration, including substantive democratisation (Moyo and Yeros, 2009). Of particular significance was the form and nature in which mass nationalism was born and the two different ideological underpinnings of the main liberation movements (ZIPRA and ZANLA). The ZIPRA nationalists based predominantly in the west of the country, nationalism was underscored by the ideal of a return to land from which they had been evicted decades earlier, restitution for their destroyed economic bases (cattle and grazing land particularly), re-establishing those kinship ties and socio-psychological community relationships that had been ruptured by the colonial wars and forced migration of previous decades. In determining the impact of war, post-independence violence and continued dispossession and exclusion on the communities of Nkayi, I necessarily must go back to looking at underlying political dynamics. If the pre-colonial period was characterised by conflicts between the colonial powers and local inhabitants, the post-war period took on exaggerated ethnic differences and conflicts over state capture and violence.

The advent of independence across Africa germinated renewed interest in understanding post-colonial nuances, problems of deepening democracy, increased participation of all citizens in political processes and analyses into why democracy was difficult to institutionalise in Africa. As Ndlovu- Gatsheni (2008: 1) argues, “A number of explanations emerged including Eurocentric and Afrocentric pessimistic paradigms that blamed African pre-colonial traditions for bequeathing authoritarian forms of governance and disorder on the continent.” Many of these authors (Chabal and Daloz, 1999) concluded that western cultures were ontologically hostile to good governance and effective administrations. Authors like Mamdani (2003) and Franz Fanon alternatively countered these arguments by emphasising the contribution of the
legacy of late colonialism to problems of democratization in Africa. For instance, the former argued that colonialism divided colonial populations into citizens and subjects and created hierarchical citizenship determined by race, in which the white settlers enjoyed citizenship rights and Africans as subjects suffered under decentralised despotism called indirect rule with the African chief at its apex. The colonial state divided the population into two: races and ethnicities. Each lived in a different legal universe.

The ‘continuities thesis’ is one in which authors have attempted to show that undemocratic ‘traditional’ aspects of social and political organisation continued after independence and are thus to blame for post-independence malfeasance by the state. I however, disagree with this view in this study and add to the thesis presented by Ndlovu- Gatsheni (2008) that pre-colonial governance within the Ndebele state was inherently democratic and its traditions continued to flavour the organisation of the ZAPU/ZIPRA political and military movements during Zimbabwe’s liberation struggle. This is important in that it explains the characteristics of how people in the Nkayi/Shangani Reserves mobilised themselves, viewed their role in the armed struggle, and expressed their expectations after the war and the impact of the post-colonial disturbances on the perpetuation of poverty in the area of study.

2.2.5 Social and Organisational Structures in the Ndebele State

Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2008) argues that the nature of social organisation in the Ndebele state continued and became a tool of mobilisation during the liberation war. The pre-colonial Ndebele system of governance crystallised around the person of the king (inkosi). This reality led some scholars to misinterpret this to mean that the Ndebele king was despotic. There is no doubt that
the Ndebele king was powerful, but not to the extent of becoming an absolute monarch with all power concentrated in his hands. The Ndebele society had developed very elaborate mechanisms which acted as checks and balances on the power of the king. The hierarchy of power facilitated communication between the leaders and the ordinary people. It also facilitated communication between the lesser chiefs and the senior leaders up to the king (see Fig.2.3).

![Hierarchy of power in the Ndebele state](source: Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2008))

Thus although the king was the apex upon which the power hierarchy was organised, other powerful officials checked his power and state policies were subjected to serious debate and consensus. Of primary significance in the Ndebele state were the twin issues of land and cattle. While land belonged to everyone in the state and could not be sold or bought, cattle constituted the most vital branch of production in terms of social status. For instance, the state herd could be distributed to the provinces for people to tend and for those without cattle to benefit
economically through meat, milk, hides, manure etc. I highlight these points to show that forced migration from their traditional land destroyed the economic bases and traditional modes of production of communities in the Shangani Reserve. The dispossession of their cattle destroyed the social and material benefits that characterised Ndebele kinship. Because of the deep-rooted nature of these grievances, particularly as these shocks all occurred within living memory of people in these communities, the advent of nationalism took on a particular resonance in Nkayi.

In analysing the role of nationalism and political mobilisation, it remains significant to note the peculiar political dynamic that like in Angola, Mozambique and Namibia, where liberation was obtained by armed struggle, the security apparatus of the new state was rapidly taken over by guerrilla commanders. Other branches of the state were ‘Africanised’ in due course. But from early on, control over the security apparatus became a political resource for petty-bourgeois struggles. Since there were diverse elements among the security forces with varying inclinations vis-à-vis the independence ‘pact’, any perceived sign of contestation among the parties over the military apparatus, the electoral dispensation and worse, suspicion of South African involvement, at a time when apartheid destabilisation was rife, tended to seriously unsettle the balance. This political dynamic degenerated into a fratricidal conflict in Matabeleland from 1983 to 1987. In effect, petty accumulation impulses, instead of challenging racial inequalities and defending against de-stabilisation, were channelled into a violent, ‘ethnic’ competition over exclusive control of the state apparatus (Moyo and Yeros, 2013).

A particularly salient analysis by Ndakaripa (2014) highlights the role played by narratives and propaganda pre, during and after the liberation war. He notes that “narratives of ethnicity about the pre-colonial era tended to strain colonial and post-colonial relations between the two main
ethnic groups in Zimbabwe, the Shona and the Ndebele, and their largely ethnically defined political parties, the Zimbabwe African National Union - Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) and the Zimbabwe African People’s Union (ZAPU) respectively. The colonial state exaggerated the militant nature of the Ndebele people during the pre-colonial period and blamed them for victimizing the Shona, the motives of which as noted earlier were to justify the need to destroy the Ndebele state and make territorial claims. This contributed to ethnic violence that reached a climax in the 1980s when the colonial white settler regime was replaced by ZANU-PF.”

The demand for African majority rule in Zimbabwe began with the formation of the African National Congress (ANC) in 1957. Joshua Nkomo led the ANC and the National Democratic Party (NDP) which was founded in 1960 after the banning of the ANC. When the NDP was also banned, the Zimbabwe African People’s Union (ZAPU) was formed in 1962, again, with Joshua Nkomo as the leader. Divisions within African nationalism became apparent when ZAPU split in July 1963, leading to the formation of a splinter party, the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) in August of the same year. Several hypotheses have been put forward to explain what caused the ZAPU split of 1963, resulting in the formation of ZANU and these includes: the leadership questions; ideology; and ethnicity. Ndakaripa (2014) argues that ethnicity, which had been solidified by narratives depicting hostile relations between the Shona and the Ndebele in the pre-colonial era, was largely responsible for the 1963 ZAPU/ZANU split and the subsequent conflicts. ZAPU leadership and some of its members claimed that the split was caused by the tribalism of the founders of the new party. In its early years, ZANU was strongest in Manicaland, Masvingo, and partly the Midlands Province. ZAPU, on the other hand, retained its strongest support in Matabeleland, as well as Harare and its surrounding areas. The 1963 ZAPU/ZANU split introduced ethnic violence within the nationalist movement in
Southern Rhodesia. ZAPU supporters who were mainly Ndebele and ZANU supporters who were mainly Shona fought against each other, emphasising the poisoned Ndebele and Shona relations during the struggle.

Mamdani (2005) speaking on political identity, citizenship and ethnicity in post-colonial Africa noted that the colonial state divided the population into two: races and ethnicities. Each lived in a different legal universe as the primary means of divide and rule tactics. These divisions were then re-shaped and institutionalised post-independence in the form of different political parties seemingly based for the most part along ethnic lines. In January 1983 the state sent a unit of the military called the Fifth Brigade to Matabeleland North to search for ‘dissidents’ and ‘enemies of the state’. It detained and tortured villagers, often failing to distinguish between dissidents and those it alleged were their supporters. According to Alexander (2000), the ‘Fifth Brigade justified its violence in tribal and political terms and argued that the way in which it operated shows it had been trained to target civilians. “It attacked ZAPU and other community leaders, chiefs, teachers, nurses, other Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA) units and the police.” In many instances, the Brigade rounded up civilians and forced them to sing Shona songs praising ZANU while beating them with sticks and these gatherings often ended in public executions. According to Ndakaripa (2014: 31) “the largest number of dead in a single massacre involved the deliberate shooting of 62 young men and women on the banks of the Cewale River in Lupane on 5 March 1983.” The following year, 1984 the Brigade was deployed to Matabeleland South where similar atrocities were committed, but more significantly, in its third successive year of drought, the government introduced a strict ban on food imports and drought relief to the area. Authors such as Musemwa (2006) argue that during the 1980s, as a result of the disturbances, no effort was made by the state to develop the region or mitigate famine because it was regarded as a
haven for dissidents. This period in particular left the people of Matabeleland believing that the neglect and violence targeted them as Ndebele people and ZAPU supporters.

The history of exogenous shocks that have been endured by communities in Matabeleland North and South in general, and Nkayi in particular is unique in the country. Understanding contemporary collective physical, financial, psychological facets of our holistic conception of poverty in Nkayi necessitate clarity on complex issues. To illustrate, survivors of the post-independence violence in our areas of study “still have fresh memories and stories of how some of their family members disappeared and remain unaccounted for. Some people have physical scars and others are permanently incapacitated, yet others still suffer emotional and psychological pain. The atrocities affect the offspring of people who were killed or maimed as they are finding it difficult to acquire identity documents required to enrol in school, access public health services, find jobs, open a bank account, own property, or register marriages and deaths. This has created a problem of insecurity, uncertainty and even statelessness among some individuals.” In addition, the targeting of public institutions by the state (schools, administration buildings, hospitals, clinics etc) meant that communities still disassociate with them as contemporary memory still serves to identify these places with violent memory. A look at contemporary rates of school drop-outs of Matabeleland North, having the lowest recruitment rates into the civil service, and disconnection with state sponsored programmes are all testimony to this.
2.3 Community and Sustainable Development

The World Commission on Environment and Development, commonly referred to as the Brundtland Commission (1987), defined the concept of sustainable development as development “that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs”, and at the same time takes into account the needs of the poor in the developing world (Park, 2011). The Sustainable Development Commission has developed six core principles that apply in all work, helping to provide a sustainable development perspective on the overall economic, social and environmental issues facing the country. They apply directly to the development of sustainable communities because of its far reaching social, economic and environmental implications (SDC, 2002).

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Principles For Sustainable Development</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>1. Putting sustainable development at the centre</strong></td>
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<td>Sustainable development must be the organising principle of all democratic societies, underpinning all other goals, policies and processes.</td>
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<td><strong>2. Valuing nature</strong></td>
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<td>We are and always will be part of nature, embedded in the natural world, and totally dependent for our own economic and social well-being on the resources and systems that sustain life on Earth.</td>
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<td><strong>3. Fair shares</strong></td>
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<td>Sustainable economic development means ‘fair shares for all‘, ensuring that people’s basic needs are properly met across the world, whilst securing constant improvements in the quality of peoples’ lives through efficient, inclusive economies</td>
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4. **Polluter pays**

Sustainable development requires that we make explicit the costs of pollution and inefficient resource use, and reflect those in the prices we pay for all products and services, recycling the revenues from higher prices to drive the sustainability revolution that is now so urgently needed, and compensating those whose environments have been damaged.

5. **Good governance**

There is no one blue-print for delivering sustainable development. It requires different strategies in different societies. But all strategies will depend on effective, participative systems of governance and institutions, engaging the interest, creativity and energy of all citizens.

6. **Adopting a precautionary approach**

Scientists, innovators and wealth creators have a crucial part to play in creating genuinely sustainable economic progress. But human ingenuity and technological power is now so great that we are capable of causing serious damage to the environment or to peoples’ health through unsustainable development that pays insufficient regard to wider impacts.

Table 2.1: Principles for Sustainable Development Source: adapted from Sustainable Development Commission (SDC) (2002)

According to UN (2005), the MDGs since 2000 have facilitated the fastest poverty reduction in human history by minimising the half a billion people live below the international line of $1.25/day. This unprecedented growth has been driven by a combination of economic growth, improved policies and the global commitment to sustainable development. World leaders set
new development goals to carry forward the spirit of the MDGs. The SDGs focus on reaching the poorest and most excluded communities. The UN set five big transformative shift of ensuring that no one is left behind and is ensured of basic economic opportunities and well-being. These include: transform economies for jobs and inclusive growth, build peace and effective, open and accountable institutions for all and; forge a new global partnership (UN report, 2013). Sustainable development requires inclusive political and economic institutions that encourage diversity and creativity (Acemoglu and Robinson, 2013).

Community development is a way of strengthening civil society by prioritising the actions of communities, and their perspectives in the development of social, economic and environmental policy. It seeks the empowerment of local communities, taken to mean both geographical communities, communities of interest or identity and communities organising around specific themes or policy initiatives. It strengthens the capacity of people as active citizens through their community groups, organisations and networks; and the capacity of institutions and agencies (public, private and non-governmental) to work in dialogue with citizens to shape and determine change in their communities. It plays a crucial role in supporting active democratic life by promoting the voice of disadvantaged and vulnerable communities. It has a set of core values/social principles covering human rights, social inclusion, equality and respect for diversity; and a specific skills and knowledge base.

Good community development helps people to recognise and develop their ability and potential and organise themselves to respond to problems and needs which they share. It supports the establishment of strong communities that control and use assets to promote social justice and
help improve the quality of community life. It also enables community and public agencies to work together to improve the quality of government.

Park (2011) critiques the concept of sustainable development. Park, advances that the less developed world will account for more than 95 percent of future population growth. Perhaps there is a need to discuss equity between the rich and poor in the present time rather than framing sustainable development as inter-generational equity as we did 25 years ago (Park, 2011). In a traditional sense, sustainable development represented a form of development that could maintain growth over a long period of time.

2.4 Developing Rural Communities through Entrepreneurial Participation

According to Joshi (2016, 2), “the entrepreneurial orientation to rural development accepts entrepreneurship as the central force of economic growth and development, without it other factors of development will be wasted or frittered away”. However, the acceptance of entrepreneurship as a central development force by itself will not lead to rural development and the advancement of rural enterprises. What is needed in addition is an environment enabling entrepreneurship in rural areas. The existence of such an environment largely depends on policies – inclusivity and education promoting rural entrepreneurship.

There are almost as many definitions of entrepreneurship as there are scholar books on the subjects (Byrd, 1987). To some, entrepreneurship means primarily innovation, to others it means risk-taking, to others a market stabilising force and to others still it means starting,
owning and managing a small business. Entrepreneurship is also defined as the capacity and willingness to develop, organize and manage business ventures along with all its risks in order to make a profit. Alternatively, entrepreneurship is seen as a process of discovering new ways of combining resources to do something.

According to Tyson, Petrin and Rogers (1994), the entrepreneur is viewed as a person who either creates new combinations of production factors such as new methods of production, new products, new markets, finds new sources of supply and new organizational forms; or as a person who is willing to take risks; or a person who, by exploiting market opportunities, eliminates disequilibrium between aggregate supply and aggregate demand, as one who owns and operates a business or discovers new ways of combining resources to do something.

To choose the definition of entrepreneurship most appropriate for the rural area context, it is important to bear in mind the entrepreneurial skills that are needed to improve the quality of life for individuals, families and communities and to sustain a healthy economy and environment. Taking this into consideration, each of the traditional definitions has its own weakness (Tyson, Petrin, Rogers, 1994). The first definition leaves little room for innovations that are not on the technological or organizational cutting edge, such as, adaptation of older technologies to a developing-country context, or entering into export markets already tapped by other firms.
Defining entrepreneurship as risk-taking neglects other major elements of what we usually think of as entrepreneurship, such as a well-developed ability to recognise unexploited market opportunities. Entrepreneurship, as a stabilising force, limits entrepreneurship to reading markets disequilibria, while entrepreneurship defined as owning and operating a business, denies the possibility of entrepreneurial behaviour by non-owners, employees and managers who have no equity stake in the business. Therefore, the most appropriate definition of entrepreneurship that would fit into the rural development context, is the broader one, the one which defines entrepreneurship as: "a force that mobilises other resources to meet unmet market demand", "the ability to create and build something from practically nothing", "the process of creating value by pulling together a unique package of resources to exploit an opportunity". This definition combines definitions of entrepreneurship by Jones and Sakong, 1980; Timmons, 1989; Stevenson, et al., 1985.

Entrepreneurship pertains to any new organisation of productive factors and not exclusively to innovations that are on the technological or organizational cutting edge; it pertains to entrepreneurial activities both within and outside the organization. Entrepreneurship need not involve anything new from a global or even national perspective, but rather the adoption of new forms of business organizations, new technologies and new enterprises producing goods not previously available at a location (Petrin, 1991). This is why entrepreneurship is considered in the development sphere to be a prime mover in development and nations, regions and communities that actively promote entrepreneurship development, demonstrate much higher growth rates and consequently higher levels of development than nations, regions and communities whose institutions, politics and culture hinder entrepreneurship. According to Acemoglu and Robinson (2013: 73), countries differ in their economic success because of their
different institutions, the rules influencing how the economy works, and the incentives that motivate people. Entrepreneurship is supported or stifled through inclusive or exclusive economic/political institutions.

2.4.1 Inclusive Economic Institutions

Acemoglu and Robinson (2013) underscore that inclusive economic institutions are those that allow and encourage participation by the great masses of people in economic activities that make best use of their talents and skills and that enable individuals to make the choices they wish. To be inclusive, economic institutions must feature secure private property, an unbiased system of law, and a provision of public services together with infrastructure that provide a level playing field in which people can exchange and contract; it also must permit the entry of new businesses and allow people to choose vocations. Acemoglu and Robinson (2013: 75) contend that “inclusive economic institutions require secure property rights and economic opportunities not just for the elite but for a broad cross-section of society”.

The state is recognised as a key player in promoting inclusivity. Acemoglu and Robinson (2013) point out that secure property rights, the law, public services, and the freedom to contract and exchange all rely on the state, the institution with the coercive capacity to impose order, prevent theft and fraud, and enforce contracts between private parties. Additionally, to function well, society needs other public services: roads and a transport network so that goods can be transported, a public infrastructure so that economic activity can flourish, and some type of basic regulation to prevent fraud and malfeasance. While Acemoglu and Robinson (2013) agree
that markets and private players can provide most of the public services, the degree of coordination necessary to do so on a large scale often eludes all but a central authority.

As engines of prosperity, inclusive economic institutions create inclusive markets which not only give people freedom to pursue the vocations in life that best suit their talents but also provide a level playing field that gives them the opportunity to do so. Additionally, inclusive economic institutions pave way for two other engines of prosperity: education and technology. Sustained economic growth is always accompanied by technological improvements that enable people (labour), land, and existing capital (buildings, existing machines, and so on) to become productive (Acemoglu and Robinson, 2013).

According to Lackéus (2015), education in entrepreneurship is not limited to formal education, but incorporates the skills, competencies and know-how acquired in schools, at home or on the job. Education promotes the adaptation and adoption of technology in diverse lines of business. The low education level of poor countries is caused by economic institutions that fail to create incentives for parents to educate their children and by political institutions that fail to induce the government to build, finance, and support schools and the wishes of parents and children. The price paid by nations for low education of their population and lack of inclusive markets is high.
2.4.2 Extractive Political Institutions

Acemoglu and Robinson (2013) state that, extractive political institutions concentrate power in the hands of a narrow elite and place few constraints on the exercise of this power. Economic institutions are then often structured by this elite to extract resources from the rest of the society. Naturally, extractive economic institutions accompany extractive political institutions. In Acemoglu and Robinson’s thoughts, the masses are not able to make economic decisions they want but are subject to coercion. The power of the state is not used to provide key public services that promote prosperity. The education systems are used to inculcate propaganda rather than promote open thinking.

A juxtaposition of inclusive and extractive economic/political institutions is given between the North and South Korea. Once a single country, the Koreas were separated at the end of the second world war in 1945. South Korea adopted inclusivity pursuing rapid economic growth, channelling credit and subsidies to firms which were successful which incentivised economic booming. On the contrary, North Korea adopted a catastrophically rigid, centralized economy where private property was outlawed, and markets were banned, with freedoms curtailed in every sphere (Acemoglu and Robinson, 2013: 76-7).

Entrepreneurial orientation to rural development, contrary to development based on bringing in human capital and investment from outside, is based on stimulating local entrepreneurial talent and subsequent growth of indigenous companies. This in turn would create jobs and add economic value to a region and community and at the same time keep scarce resources within the community. To accelerate economic development in rural areas, it is necessary to increase
the supply of entrepreneurs, thus building up the critical mass of first generation entrepreneurs (Petrin, 1992), take risks and engage in the uncertainties of a new venture creation, create something from practically nothing and create values by pulling together a unique package of resources to exploit an opportunity. By example entrepreneurs stimulate an autonomous entrepreneurial process, as well as a dynamic entrepreneurship, thereby ensuring continuous rural development.

Ahmed and McQuaid (2005) stress that rural entrepreneurship in its substance does not differ from entrepreneurship in urban areas. Entrepreneurship in rural areas is finding a unique blend of resources, either inside or outside of agriculture. This can be achieved by widening the base of a farm business to include all the non-agricultural uses that available resources can be put to or through any major changes in land use or level of production other than those related solely to agriculture. Thus, a rural entrepreneur is someone who is prepared to stay in the rural area and contribute to the creation of local wealth. To some degree, however, the economic goals of an entrepreneur and the social goals of rural development are more strongly interlinked than in urban areas. For this reason, entrepreneurship in rural areas is usually community based, has strong extended family linkages and a relatively large impact on a rural community.

2.4.3 The Entrepreneurship Ecosystem

Johnstone, Nicholson, Stone and Taylor (1990) view entrepreneurship as a special personal feature, either a person is, or is not an entrepreneur. According to this perception entrepreneurial traits, such as the need to achieve, risk taking propensity, self-esteem and internal locus of control, creativity and innovative behaviour, the need for independence, occupational primacy,
fixation upon goals and dominance, are all inborn. Therefore, policies directed specifically towards promoting the development of entrepreneurship would not help much since the characteristics cannot be acquired by training.

A risk taking propensity is understood as the perceived probability of receiving rewards (personal and financial) as opposed to the perceived probability of incurring a failure (bankruptcy, loss of family ties).

Another view is that some cultures or some social groups are more conducive to entrepreneurial behaviour than others. According to this view, the factors that contribute to the supply of entrepreneurs are an inheritance of entrepreneurial tradition, family position, social status, educational background and the level of education (FAO, 1994; ILO, 2012). Based on research into the origins of business owners, it is believed that persons who come from small business owner families, are more likely to become entrepreneurs than others. According Olayemi and Iwaloye (2008), studies of family position of existing entrepreneurs demonstrate that entrepreneurs are often found among elder children, since according to the explanation, they are pressed to take more authority and responsibility at earlier stages than younger members of the family. The outsider group, ethnic minority, or the outsider individual, the marginal person, who are by a combination of different factors rendered outsiders in relation to the social groups with whom they normally interact, are both viewed as a significant source of entrepreneurship. Whether educational background influences potential entrepreneurs or not is a matter of debate. The popular idea of an entrepreneur is that of a totally self-made man, lacking in formal qualifications. This, of course, is not in conflict with findings that entrepreneurs who are better
educated are more successful than the less educated ones. Apparently two things are involved simultaneously: propensity to start an entrepreneurial venture and skills to run the venture successfully.

ILO (2012) argued that while personal characteristics as well as social aspects clearly play some role, entrepreneurship and entrepreneurs can also be developed through conscious action. Development of entrepreneurs and of entrepreneurship can be stimulated through a set of supporting institutions and through deliberate innovative action which stimulates changes and fully supports capable individuals or groups. Sharma (2013) argued that, controllable variables such as a stable system of property rights and freedom of action in the economic sphere, availability of other inputs in the economy (besides entrepreneurship) as well as education and training, contribute significantly to the development of entrepreneurship. Therefore, policies and programmes designed specifically for entrepreneurship promotion, can greatly affect the supply of entrepreneurs and thus indirectly represent an important source of entrepreneurship.

2.4.4 Rural Entrepreneurship

Many examples of successful rural entrepreneurship can be found in literature. Diversification into non-agricultural uses of available resources such as catering for tourists, blacksmithing, carpentry, spinning, et cetera, as well as diversification into activities other than those solely related to agricultural usage, for example, the use of resources other than land such as water, woodlands, buildings, available skills and local features, all fit into rural entrepreneurship. The entrepreneurial combinations of these resources are, for example: tourism, sport and recreation facilities, professional and technical training, retailing and wholesaling, industrial applications.
(engineering, crafts), servicing (consultancy), value added (products from meat, milk, wood, et cetera,) and the possibility of off-farm work. Equally entrepreneurial, are new uses of land that enable a reduction in the intensity of agricultural production, for example, organic production.

Although agriculture today still provides income to rural communities, rural development is increasingly linked to enterprise development. Since national economies are more and more globalized and competition is intensifying at an unprecedented pace, affecting not only industry but any economic activity including agriculture, it is not surprising that rural entrepreneurship is gaining in its importance as a force of economic change that must take place if many rural communities are to survive. However, entrepreneurship demands an enabling environment in order to flourish.

2.4.5 Behavioural Economics

The Economist (2014) highlights that, behavioural economics has profound implications for development. According to Dhami and Alwahi (1992), behavioural economics is a method of economic analysis that applies psychological insights into human behaviour to explain economic decision making. By paying attention to how people actually think, behavioural economics has qualified some of the underlying assumptions of classical economics, notably that everyone is perfectly rational (The Economist, 2014).

Bertrand, Shafir, and Mullainathan, (2004) point out that standard theorising about poverty falls into two camps. Social scientists regard the behaviours of the economically disadvantaged
either as calculated adaptations to prevailing circumstances, or as emanating from a unique “culture of poverty,” rife with deviant values. The first camp presumes that people are highly rational, that they hold coherent and justified beliefs and pursue their goals effectively, without mistakes, and with no need for help. The second camp attributes to the poor a variety of psychological and attitudinal short-fallings that render their views often misguided and their choices fallible, leaving them in need of paternalistic guidance.

Bertrand, Shafir, and Mullainathan, (2004) propose a third school of thought, the behavioural patterns of the poor. The behavioural patterns of the poor may be neither perfectly calculating nor especially deviant. Rather, the poor may exhibit the same basic weaknesses and biases as do people from other walks of life, except that in poverty, with its narrow margins for error, the same behaviours often manifest themselves in more pronounced ways and can lead to worse outcomes. People in poverty with few resources and limited experience in economic decision-making respond intensely to negative shocks, such as facing a financial crisis, and they often lack planning for future needs because of the pressing immediate needs (Bertrand, Shafir, and Mullainathan, 2004).

Haushofer and Fehr (2014) in discussing findings which suggest that poverty causes negative effects and stress, defined as an organism’s reaction to environmental demands exceeding its regulatory capacity and that this effect may change people behaviourally revealed preferences. Poverty may, in particular, lower the willingness to take risks and to forgo current income in favour of higher future incomes. This may manifest itself in a low willingness to adopt new technologies and in low investments in long-term outcomes such as education and health, all of
which may decrease future incomes. Thus, poverty may favour behaviours that make it more difficult to escape poverty. The pressures exerted by situational factors can create restraining forces hard to foresee and to overcome.

In addition, Haushofer and Fehr (2014) caution that, poverty is characterised not only by insufficient income but also by dysfunctional institutions, exposure to violence and crime, poor access to health care, and a host of other obstacles and inconveniences. This diversity complicates a single and simple account of the relationship between poverty and psychology. Negative income shocks are a pervasive feature of the lives of the poor, and they are particularly vulnerable to these shocks because of limited access to credit markets. The same dysfunctional institutions are predominant in extractive economic/political institutions revealed in Acemoglu and Robinson (2013) which hinder entrepreneurial development and economic emancipation.

According to Martin (2014), poor countries are often funded through low taxes and high levels of aid, which creates an accountability problem. The argument is based on the concept of loss aversion, that is, the insight that humans dislike a loss more than an equivalent gain. One of the implications, according to the author, is that "adding community contributions to external aid programmes could give beneficiaries more ownership over projects and make them more likely to hold local leaders accountable for how development funds are spent" (pp. 30-31). Another link between BE and poverty is evident in ideas emerging around cognitive scarcity. Mullainathan and Sharif’s (2013) research suggests that the condition of economic deprivation can take up precious mental resources, which has a knock-on detrimental effect on judgments and economic choices that could otherwise help poor people improve their plight.
A laboratory experiment by Mani and collaborators (2013: 980) showed that, unlike well-off people, poor people’s cognitive functioning becomes impaired as a result of having to think about financial challenges. She further argues that poverty “captures attention, triggers intrusive thoughts, and reduces cognitive resources”, and they conclude that policy makers should not only focus on monetary taxes, but also reduce “cognitive taxes” on the poor. The World Development report (World Bank, 2015) shows, the poor are more likely than other people to make bad economic decisions. This is not because they are irrational or foolish but because so much is stacked cognitively against them. Thus, the poor in rural communities are more likely to lack the basic information needed to make good choices, such as which fertiliser to use or when to apply it. They are more likely to live in societies which hold mistaken or harmful views, such as that girls should not go to school.

2.5 Chapter Summary

As noted earlier, the complexity of bringing into focus the determinants of poverty within Nkayi district necessarily requires a mode of analysis which allows us to distil contextualised causal factors from the general literature relating to causes of poverty. By looking for example at events, legislation, the violent wars of conquest, dispossession and forced migration, this chapter has attempted to trace the identifiable variables that aid in explaining the nature of poverty in Nkayi. In this chapter, I show how the shocks endured by particular communities create and perpetuate said poverty. I took as my starting point the defeat of the Ndebele kingdom by the BSAC and the resultant forced migration of its remnants to the Nkayi/Shangani Reserve. This contextualises the communities in question and allows us to then identify the consequences such as disrupted social cohesion and kinship ties. The dispossession of land through legislative mechanisms by the colonial state (the Land Apportionment Act and the Land
Husbandry Act) add to the concretisation of marginalisation and economic disenfranchisement of the communities in question. The destruction of primitive capital accumulation through looting and forced sales of cattle served to undermine traditional economic modes of production. In arguing that poverty is generational and cyclical, it serves to note that the same applies to wealth creation. The systematic destruction of a community’s modes of production ensures that the next generation begins from an economically disadvantaged position. On the physical and psychological aspects of poverty and creation of mistrust against constructed ideas of the ‘Other’ by our communities (the state, NGOs, development initiatives and programs et cetera), I analysed the role played by fissured nationalism and state-promulgated violence after independence. It is salient to note that all the above shocks occurred within a time period of 120 years. Therefore, it shows the shocks that have collectively been endured by less than two generations of people within our case study areas. The significance of this study in finding solutions to poverty in Nkayi thus lies in its analysis of a lived experience of poverty rather than a conceptual one.
CHAPTER 111

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter covers in depth the methodology used in the study. The discussion in the chapter is structured around the research paradigm and philosophical principles, research method, population, sampling, data generation and data analysis. Ethical considerations and measures to provide trustworthiness are also discussed.

3.1 Qualitative Research

Qualitative research refers to inductive, holistic, emic, subjective and process-oriented methods used to understand, interpret, describe and develop theory on a phenomenon or a setting and is a systematic, subjective approach used to describe life experiences and give them meaning (Morse and Field 1996; Burns and Grove 1998). Brink and Wood (1998:335) cited Benoliel’s (1984) description of qualitative research “as modes of systematic inquiry concerned with understanding human beings and the nature of their transactions with themselves and with their surroundings”. Leininger (1985:5) define qualitative research as the methods and techniques of observing, documenting, analysing, and interpreting attributes, patterns, characteristics and meanings of specific, contextual or gestalt (holistic) features of a phenomenon.

Qualitative research is mostly associated with words, language and experiences rather than measurements, statistics, numerical figures and frequencies. Researchers who use qualitative research adapt a person-centred and holistic perspective to understand the human experience, without focusing on specific concepts. The original context of the experience is unique, and rich
knowledge and insight can be generated in depth to present a lively picture of the participants’ reality and social context (Holloway 2005).

Regarding the generation of knowledge, qualitative research is characterised as developmental and dynamic, and does not use formal structured instruments (Holloway 2005:4-6). Qualitative research involves the systematic collection and analysis of subjective narrative data in an organised and intuitive fashion to identify the characteristics and the significance of human experience (Holloway 2005:47-51). This study used qualitative research instruments namely the in-depth interview, open-ended questionnaire and focus group discussion.

Qualitative researchers are concerned with the ‘emic’ (from within an individual or a social group) perspective to explore the ideas and perceptions of the participants. The researcher examines the experience from the participant’s point of view in order to interpret their words. The researcher therefore becomes involved and immersed in the phenomenon to become familiar with it. The immersion of the researcher helps to provide dense descriptions from the narrative data gathered from the participants, to interpret and portray their experiences, and to generate empathetic and experiential understanding. However, immersion cannot be obtained without a researcher-participant trusting relationship. The relationship is built through basic interviewing and interpersonal skills and prolonged interaction.
3.2 Research Paradigm and Philosophical Principles

A paradigm is a “worldview” or a set of assumptions about how things work. According to Kirby, Greaves and Reid (2006: 12), “a paradigm is a worldview, a general perspective, and a way of breaking down the complexity of the real world. A paradigm is a constellation of theories, questions, methods, and procedures that share central values and themes”. Essentially a paradigm is a place to stand from which to view reality (Patton, 1975).

A paradigm consists of four parts: ontology, epistemology, methodology, and methods (Dammak, n.d). The researcher views these as enablers or lenses that help in explaining and understanding a particular worldview. Hitchcok and Hughes (1995:42) view research methodology as an embodiment of ideas, concepts, frameworks and theories which surround the use of various methods or techniques employed to generate data on the social world. Research methodology has alternative names such as worldviews, epistemologies and ontologies or paradigms which are used for the same subject in other texts (Creswell, 2013).

Saunders (2009) offered that the questions of paradigm take precedence over the questions of method. Creswell (2013) defined philosophical assumptions as the set of beliefs that guide action. According to Creswell (2009: 5), although philosophical ideas remain largely hidden in research, they still influence the practice of research and thus need to be identified. The presence of a basic system of ontological, epistemological, axiological, and methodological assumptions with which researchers approach their research is widely accepted as constituting the philosophical ideas (Guba and Lincoln, 1994; Creswell, 1998; Patton, 2002; Savage, 2006).
According to Creswell (2012), when researchers undertake a qualitative study, they are in effect agreeing to its underlying philosophical assumptions, while bringing to the study their own world views that end up shaping the direction of their research. Creswell mentioned the following four philosophical assumptions: ontology, epistemology, axiology and methodology. The two main assumptions are ontology and epistemology. Macintosh and Perez-Yega (2009) posited that the ‘ologies’ are a way of accounting for the research process and how the data gathered is interpreted from the perspective of your particular theory.

Ontology is defined as a particular theory about the nature of being (theory of being) or the kinds of things that have existence (Concise Encyclopaedia). Macintosh and Perez-Yega (2009) noted that ontology deals with our assumptions about how the world is made up and the nature of things. Corazzon (2014) described ontology as the theory of objects and their ties. Ontology provides the criteria for distinguishing different types of objects (concrete and abstract, existent and non-existent, real and ideal, independent and dependent) and their ties (relations, dependencies and predication). Ontology refers to the nature of reality and human behaviour (De Vos 1998:241). Ontology is summarily about what is assumed things to be constituted of or from.

According to Macintosh and Perez-Yega (2009), epistemology deals with beliefs about how one might discover knowledge about the world, that is, how researchers know what they know. Epistemology is the relationship of researchers to reality and the road that they follow in the search for truth (De Vos 1998:241).
According to De Gialdino (2009), epistemology which deals with the nature of knowledge raises many questions, including: 1. how reality can be known, 2. the relationship between the knower and what is known, 3. the characteristics, the principles, the assumptions that guide the process of knowing and the achievement of findings, and 4. the possibility of that process being shared and repeated by others in order to assess the quality of the research and the reliability of those findings.

This study explored the “essence” about the experienced socio-economic history of Nkayi. In the “epistemic imperative”, the researcher was committed to the uncovering of doxa or the belief patterns of human beings that provide their meaning, guide their actions, and constructed in the act of living. The researcher endeavoured to get as close as possible to participants being studied and often developed rapport so that they could enable participants to open up and thus generate the necessary data. By staying in the community during data gathering enabled the participants to identify with and do away with the feeling of talking to strangers which could inhibit some key information. By using research assistants from Nkayi also enabled an easier reception into the communities, a people who are reserved to strangers because of their experiences with external forces. The research process had no definitive structure and there was also little or no manipulation of participants in the study. Subjective data was assembled based on individual views which was the participants’ experiences of the dispensation and this was done using qualitative instruments. In reaching findings, the qualitative research shunned away from quantifying results using frequencies as it implied importance of issues than others.
The third assumption is axiology. Lee and Lings (2008) defined axiology as the study of values and primarily refers to the ‘aims’ of the research. This branch of the research philosophy attempts to clarify if trying to explain or predict the world, or are you only seeking to understand it. Values affect how research is done and what is valued in the results of our research. In seeking to understand the Nkayi context, the researcher relied on the voluntary consent and in-depth narratives of the participants in line with the objectives of the study. The ethical considerations are discussed in section 3.13 of this chapter.

According to Polit and Hungler (2004), methodology refers to ways of obtaining, organising and analysing data. Methodology decisions depend on the nature of the research objectives and the research questions. Methodology in research is the theory of correct scientific decisions (Karfman as cited in Mouton and Marais 1996).

Mouton (1996:35) describes methodology as the means or methods of doing something. According to Burns and Grove (2003), methodology includes the design, setting, sample, methodological limitations, and the data collection and analysis techniques in a study. Henning (2004:36) explained methodology as coherent group of methods that complement one another and that have the ability to fit to deliver data and findings that will reflect the research question and suit the researcher purpose. According to Holloway (2005), methodology means a framework of theories and principles on which methods and procedures are based. Macintosh and Perez-Yega (2009) point out that methodology deals with the tools and techniques of research. In this study methodology refers to how the research was done and its logical sequence.
Qualitative research is inductive, dialectic and interpretive. During the interaction between the researcher and the research participants, the participants’ world is discovered and interpreted by means of qualitative methods (De Vos 2002).

In this study, the researcher employed phenomenological methodology. Phenomenology is a science whose purpose is to describe particular phenomena, or the appearance of things, as lived experiences (Streubert and Carpenter 2002). The limitation with phenomenological research methodology is that it is difficult to explain because it has no clearly defined steps (Burns and Grove 2003). However, phenomenologists are of the opinion that the clear definition of methodology tends to limit researcher’s creativity (Burns and Grove 2003) by prescribing how the phenomenological research is done.

Phenomenology is underpinned by a number of assumptions namely consciousness, elimination of dualisms, consciousness as temporal, the cultural world as a creation of human meanings. McPhail (1995: 161) pointed out that, for phenomenologists, perhaps the single most important assumption about human beings is that consciousness is the sine-qua-non of human life. Among the various contents of consciousness are imagination, remembrance, perception, and logical forms. The importance of these aspects of consciousness is not in the natural science atemporal conceptualisation of them as separate faculties, but instead in the part they play in bringing signification to experiences. Creswell (2007) argues that phenomenology endeavours to return back to the traditional tasks of philosophy which is to search for wisdom rather than use of empirical science. Remembrance and perception fortified the perspectives on the experiences
of the Nkayi community and imagination and logical forms influenced what they purported as the answers to poverty that can bring sustainable development to their context and beyond.

The second important assumption of phenomenology is the belief that in consciousness, or the meaning making source of living, experiences are constituted holistically (elimination of dualism): there is no substantial difference between the subjective and objective world. This is because consciousness is always constituted in a reality that is not isolated from the experienced world. This assumption clearly divorced with the empirical tradition of dividing the world into material and nonmaterial, or the objective and subjective realms (McPhail 1995). In another sense, Creswell (2007) speaks of a philosophy without presuppositions where phenomenology suspends all judgements about what is real- the natural attitude, until they are founded on a more certain basis.

Another assumption of phenomenology is that consciousness has a temporal aspect to it; each individual consciousness carries the lived experiences of the past within it as well as anticipations of the future. Essentially, there is no stopping point to consciousness in that along with its historicity and futurity, it is always being reconstituted in new experiences. According to Heidegger in McPhail (1995), a part of this assumption is the notion that experiences are lived before they are understood. Thus, it is in the “flow of life” that meanings are lived and only later brought to consciousness. Based on this assumption, the researcher believed that phenomenology was the best philosophy for the study as it followed up on events that had been experienced in Nkayi and that the occurrences had been thought over by the communities at the point of carrying out this study.
The last assumption addressed arose from the previous ones. The cultural world is a creation of the meanings human beings possess in consciousness. This assumption has two parts; firstly, the cultural world is created through the meaningful connections each individual experience in her or his contexts, and secondly, cultural institutions are the creations that have emerged out of life activities (McPhail, 1995). Thus, a phenomenological study necessarily involves a study of the cultural systems in which individuals live. Culture is not something constructed outside of consciousness or the constitutions of meaning, but rather, is co-constructed in lived experiences both on the individual level and the group level. Whereas, Mill (1953) views society and its laws as the response to humans registering sensation in a passive way, the phenomenologists see culture as the result of the active meaning-making systems of individuals as they engage in their daily lives. Thus, the study of human consciousness is both the study of subjectivity and the objective cultural circumstances as constituted in experience of them (McPhail, 1995). Creswell (2007) regards the inclusion of both subjectivity and objectivity as the refusal of the subject-object dichotomy.

3.3 Research Method

The study used the phenomenological research method. According to De Vaus, (2001), the research design refers to the overall strategy that the researcher chooses to integrate the different components of the study into a coherent and logical way, thereby, ensuring that the research problem is effectively addressed; it constituted the blueprint for the collection and analysis of data. The choice of a research design was determined by the research problem. The function of the research design is to ensure that requisite data, in accordance with the problem at hand, are collected accurately and economically. The following section gives insight of the
phenomenological research method and highlights why it was chosen as the appropriate research method for the study.

Creswell (1998: 52) defined a phenomenological study as a description of the meaning of the lived experiences for several individuals about a concept or a particular phenomenon. The investigator is said to set aside all prejudgments and to rely on “intuition, imagination, and universal structures to obtain a picture of the experience”.

According to Lester (n.d), pure phenomenological research seeks essentially to describe rather than explain, and to start from a perspective free from hypotheses or preconceptions. More recent humanist and feminist researchers refute the possibility of starting without preconceptions or bias, and emphasise the importance of making clear how interpretations and meanings have been placed on findings, as well as making the researcher visible in the ‘frame’ of the research as an interested and subjective actor rather than a detached and impartial observer (Plummer, 1983; Stanley and Wise, 1993).

The purpose of the phenomenological approach is to illuminate the specific, to identify phenomena through how they are perceived by the actors in a situation. In the human sphere this normally translates into gathering ‘deep’ information and perceptions through inductive, qualitative methods such as interviews, discussions and participant observation, and representing it from the perspective of the research participants. Phenomenology is concerned with the study of experience from the perspective of the individual, ‘bracketing’ taken-for-granted assumptions and usual ways of perceiving.
Epistemologically as already stated in section 3.2, phenomenological approaches are based in a paradigm of personal knowledge and subjectivity, and emphasise the importance of personal perspective and interpretation. Phenomenological approaches are powerful for understanding subjective experience, gaining insights into people’s motivations and actions, and cutting through the clutter of taken-for-granted assumptions and conventional wisdom. In the words of Mortari (2008), the phenomenological method is important in human research because it avoids the logic of control of positivism and adopts a logic of delicacy towards the lived experience of the other. Indeed, it is because of this logic that the phenomenological method is particularly suited to research related to poverty and well-being, since whenever dealing with suffering and endeavouring to improve the quality of life, accuracy and delicacy are essential.

Phenomenological methods are particularly effective at bringing to the fore the experiences and perceptions of individuals from their own perspectives, and therefore at challenging structural or normative assumptions. Adding an interpretive dimension to phenomenological research, enables it to be used as the basis for practical theory, allows it to inform, support or challenge policy and action.

Phenomenological design is divided into two categories: hermeneutic phenomenology and empirical, transcendental, or psychological phenomenology. The transcendental phenomenology focuses less on the interpretations of the researcher and more on a description of the experiences of the participants (Creswell, 2013). For this study, I adopted the transcendental phenomenology whose characteristics blended well with the objectives of the study: to give prominence to the voice, the description and interpretation of the experiences of the participants. The transcendental phenomenological design shaped the considerably few
participants in the study and the research methods adopted. In gaining a substantial essence of
the lived experiences of Nkayi people, deep and broad research methods were used namely in-
depth interviews, open-ended questionnaires and focus group discussion which allowed the
participants to express themselves fully in their own language and terms without relying on any
set criteria (logic for positivism). By using in-depth research methods, the researcher achieved
the description of ‘transcendental’ constituted by Moustakas. Moustakas (1994: 34) advanced
that transcendental means “in which everything is perceived freshly, as if for the first time”. By
allowing the participants to express themselves wholly in their terms means that the researcher
bracketed her own perceptions or assumptions. For data analysis, Creswell (2013) suggest the
use of statements, meanings, meaning themes and general description of the experience. For
data analysis, the researcher used thematic analysis with themes emerging from the data
generated from field work (see section 3.9).

3.4 Population

Deacon et al. (1999) defined population as, “any group of individuals that have one or more
characteristic in common that are of interest to the research”. Polit and Hungler (1999:37) refer
to the population as an aggregate or totality of all the objects, subjects or members that conform
to a set of specifications with regards to a research study. The study population is also called
the targeted population which is defined as the entire group of people or objects to which the
researcher wishes to generalise the study findings- totality of elements which are under
discussion and about which information is desired (Greenland, 2005). The explorable website
specified that target population refers to the entire group of individuals or objects to which
researchers are interested in generalising the conclusions. The target population usually has
varying characteristics and it is also known as the theoretical population.
The targeted population for this research were the elders, community leaders (councillors, headmen and chiefs), youths and business people in communities; Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), government institutions - professionals who worked for various departments within Nkayi District.

A subset of the targeted population is the accessible population. According to University of Massachusetts (2016), accessible population is the portion of the population to which the researcher has reasonable access to. According to the Explorable website, the accessible population is the population in research to which the researchers can apply their conclusions. It is from the accessible population that researchers draw their samples. Nkayi District has a total of 30 wards (Zimstat, 2012), and has two constituencies namely Nkayi South and Nkayi North. The accessible population was drawn using non-probability techniques (which are discussed in Section 3.6 below) and was composed of 12 wards within Nkayi District: wards 3, 4, 9, 10, 12, 8, 19, 20, 21, 22, 1 and 2.

According to Polit and Hungler (1999:278), the eligibility criteria specify the characteristics that people in the population must possess in order to be included in the study. For communities, the participants had to be residents of the respective selected wards or own a business within the wards. Beyond the residential criteria, the elderly people were chosen to give more insights on the lived experiences from the point of settling in Nkayi or birth. The researcher also believed the middle aged were more cognisant with the present experiences. The youths resided in Nkayi and were between 18-35 years of age. The youths were included because their experiences, insights and desires had a bearing on the course of development for Nkayi, as the future leaders and custodians of the district. For government institutions, the people were workers within the
Nkayi District. Non-governmental organisations had to have operations in Nkayi as obtained from the Nkayi Rural District Council (NRDC).

3.5 Sample and Sampling Techniques

The sample for the study enables the researcher to generate information that is useful for analysis and interpretation. Saravanel (1991) defined a sample as a smaller representation of the whole and this means that a section of the population is selected. Based on it, research and generalisations can be made on the overall population or research universe. Samples for qualitative investigations tend to be small and an appropriate sample size for a qualitative study is the one that adequately answers the research question (Marshall 1996:523). With regards to phenomenological studies, Lester, (n.d) offered that both single case (participant) and multiple participant samples can be samples for the study. However, in multiple participant research, the strength of inference which can be made increases rapidly once factors start to recur with more than one participant. For this research, non-probability sampling was used for sampling the study population.

Fred, Perry and Nichols (2014) states that the two general sampling paradigms are representative (probability) and purposeful (non-probability) sampling. Of interest to this study is purposeful sampling, which attempts to identify samples that are rich in specific information. With non-probability purposeful sampling, the focus was on the quality of the information and was concerned with the unique characteristics of the sample itself apart from any large population. However, an application of findings to other situations was not ruled out. Fred, Perry and Nichols (2014) stress that purposeful sampling paradigm focusses on the specific
characteristics of whom or what is selected for the sample and employs strategies for in-depth data gathering.

Patton (2002) summarises 15 purposeful sampling strategies for choosing a sample to supply the information possible regarding the research questions until a point of saturation is reached. Fred, Perry and Nichols (2014:64) contended that the strategies are not mutually exclusive but can often be used in combination to select the best sample. This research used purposive sampling where the purpose guides the selection, convenience sampling where the cases are selected because they are readily available and also snowball sampling where cases are found via cases already located.

Huysamen (1994) states that purposive sampling is the most important kind of non-probability sampling as researchers rely on their experience, ingenuity and or previous research findings to deliberately obtain participants in such a manner that the sample obtained maybe regarded as representative of the relevant population. A purposive sample is a non-representative subset of some larger population, and is constructed to serve a very specific need or purpose. A researcher may have a specific group in mind with the required attribute, so a purposive sample is one which is selected by the researcher subjectively and usually try to ensure that the range from one extreme to the other is included. In this study, purposive sampling was used for elders, and government institutions.
Marshal (1996) defined convenience sampling as simply one where the units that are selected for inclusion in the sample are the easiest to access. Later, Fred, Perry and Nichols (2014) describe convenience sampling as a method in which, for convenience, the study units that happen to be available at the time of data collection are selected in the sample. This is in stark contrast to probability sampling technique, where the selection of units is made randomly. Convenience sampling is very easy to carry out with few rules governing how the sample should be collected. The relative cost and time required to carry out convenience sample are small in comparison to probability sampling techniques. This enables the researcher to achieve the required sample size in a relatively fast and inexpensive way. The convenience sample helped the researcher to gather useful data and information that would not have been possible using probability techniques, which require more formal access to list of populations.

The convenience sample often suffers from a number of biases. It can lead to the under-representation or over-representation of particular groups within the sample. The results of convenience samples are hard to replicate. In this study, convenience sampling was used for professionals, young people and business people and NGO players.

According to Edwards and Talbot (1999), snowball sampling is the form of sampling where the researcher identifies a small number of individuals with the characteristics that are required. Thereafter, using the initial sample the researcher is led to other participants about whom the researcher knew little about. The researcher acknowledges inconclusive knowledge of the elderly people in Nkayi, therefore, basing on the initial samples, snowball or chaining was used to identify the other elderly people in the selected wards.
Fred, Perry and Nichols (2014) noted that the advantage of snowball sampling is that one informant refers the researcher to one or more informants, so that the researcher has a good introduction for the next interview. This was necessary in a locality where a word from fellow community member could guarantee assistance to the researcher. A disadvantage is that the variation in the sample may be limited because it consists of informants who belong to the networks of the index cases. To address this, the researcher used different entrances into the communities such as social, administrative and traditional leadership.

3.6 Sampling Procedures

This section outlines the steps that were actually taken in selecting the samples from the sampling frame for data generation with the aim to get information rich accounts. Solomon (2015) defined sampling frame as the list from which the potential participants are drawn. According to Nkayi RDC website, the district is made up of 30 administrative wards and divided into two constituencies, namely Nkayi North and Nkayi South with fourteen and sixteen wards respectively. The district of Nkayi has a total population of 109135 people (ZIMSTAT, 2012). Figures from the 2012 Census (ZIMSTAT, 2012: 142) showed that from 20 years and above, there were 18462 (35,4%) and 33686 (59%) male and female respectively in the district. Since purposeful sampling was used in the study, there was no need to worry about the population distribution in the sampled wards for the selected age groups.

The data generation was divided into two phases; the first phase focussed on Nkayi North where 8 wards were selected out of the 14 for interviews. Wards 3, 4, 7, 9, 10 and 8 were selected for the in-depth interviews which targeted at least 5 participants per ward. Focus group discussions
were done in wards 26, 12, 4, 1 and 2. The above stated wards were selected conveniently as accommodation was solicited for the research team which saved time, money and logistical issues/workload (Solomon, 2015). Staying within the wards allowed for familiarisation with the wards and to develop rapport with the communities, which was instrumental in building trust and confidence when it came to participating in the study. By staying in the wards, the team was not viewed as ‘outsiders’.

In each ward, the research team was introduced to the leadership, to whom they told the interview criteria and from the discussion were given numerous potential names from which they determined if they suited the purpose of the study. By asking for numerous names of potential participants addressed what Fred, Perry and Nichols (2014) referred as a disadvantage to snowballing “variation in the sample may be limited because it consists of informants who belong to the networks of the index cases”. The elderly people were purposively selected and from there on chaining was done pin-pointing to other participants. Variation was achieved through interviewing the elderly, the middle-aged, the youths and business people. Also within the wards, different villages were targeted but some could not be reached because of distances and state of the roads which restrained movement.

For the government employees within the wards, convenience sampling was used in selecting them for the study. Different departments were targeted but only a few officials were in the wards at the time of conducting the study. By gathering the views of government employees on the ground who worked hand-in-hand with communities enabled a richer account than totally relying on the views of the people in the offices.
The second phase of data generation was done in Nkayi South. The focus was on government and non-governmental institutions with some interviews undertaken in the wards around Nkayi Centre. Much of the places which were targeted could not be adequately reached because of mobility issues. After obtaining information about the location of different departments and the NGOs working in Nkayi, questionnaires were distributed to the offices that were easily and conveniently accessible. On community interviews, the participants were conveniently chosen in and around Nkayi Centre.

3.7 Data Generation Methods

Lester (n.d) offered that a variety of data collection methods can be used in phenomenologically-based research, including interviews, conversations, participant observation, action research, focus meetings and analysis of personal texts. For this phenomenological study in-depth interviews, open-ended questionnaires and focus group discussions were used as research instruments, with the researcher as a key research instrument.

3.7.1 Semi-Structured Interviews

An interview occurs when a participant is asked questions that have been designed to elicit particular kinds of information (Miller and Brewer 2003). Interviews can be structured, semi-structured or unstructured. Semi-structured interviews are used to collect people’s ideas, opinion and accounts of their experiences. They are not concerned with obtaining coded answers to certain questions. They allow the participant the freedom to answer questions and the researcher more freedom in the way she/he asks questions (Fontana and Frey 2000:652).
Esterberg (2002:87) stated that “semi structured interviews (sometimes called in-depth interviews) are much less rigid than structured interviews. The goal is to explore a topic more openly and to allow interviewees to express their opinions in their own words. It allows for a much freer exchange between interviewer and interviewee.” In investigating the socio-economic history of Nkayi, the semi structured interview was ideal since it allowed interviewees to elucidate on detail which would have been unexpected by the researcher. Since the researcher had participants from different backgrounds, using the in-depth interviews allowed for flexibility in the way the questions were asked in response to the preferences of the participant. The research team was adequately trained and composed in such a way to conduct the interviews in either Ndebele or any other local language.

Bell (1999: 19), commenting on the interview technique highlighted that, a major advantage of the interview is its adaptability and the fact that it can yield rich information, which a written response cannot do. A skilful interviewer can follow up an idea, probe responses and investigate motives and feelings. In the transcendental phenomenological imperative, the in-depth interview technique was advantageous in that the face to face interactions helped the researcher to accurately gain access to the inner feelings and experiences of the participant and also gave the flexibility to adapt to situations and rephrase questions for clarity and note the non-verbal behaviour of participants. Gay (1981) states that by establishing a rapport and trusting relationship, the interviewer can obtain information that subjects would not give on a questionnaire. The researcher was aware of the weaknesses of the interview and circumvented them by using an interview guide coupled with note taking and this helped the researcher to remain focused. The time-consuming disadvantage was skirted by spreading the interviews so that no interview was conducted in a hurried manner. To match the skillset required for
conducting interviews, the research team went through training seminars prior to data generation.

3.7.2 Focus Group Discussions

This study used focus group discussions as a technique for data generation. Krueger (1988) defines a focus group as organised discussions though structured in a flexible way between 6 and 12 participants. The discussions lasted between one and two hours and provided the opportunity for all the participants to participate and give their opinions. According to the Statistics solutions website, focus groups are run by one individual, usually referred to as a moderator or facilitator, and involve a discussion among a group of six to ten participants or respondents and having a typical length of 90 minutes to two hours. Krueger (1988) agreed with Kumar (1987) when he defined focus group discussions as a rapid assessment, semi-structured data gathering method in which a purposively selected set of participants gathered to discuss issues and concerns based on a list of key themes drawn up by the researcher/facilitator.

Busha and Harter (1980) note that focus groups can be used in any research to supplement the main instruments of the research. The FGDs supplemented the main interview data generated from the communities. The researcher felt that it was necessary to get the deeper opinions and feelings of participants to issues in the research for which the interview was inadequate to address. A key deduction from the literary discourse above is that there was no common understanding on either the number of attendants or duration of the focus groups. For this study, the researcher invited between 6-15 attendants and aimed for a duration of 90 minutes for the focus group discussions which was in the range of 1hour- 2hours suggested by Krueger (1988).
Focus group discussions were advantageous in that unlike interviews the comments of one participant could generate comments from other participants which allowed a productive discourse where ideas and opinions would be developed and explored. McNamara (2006) specified that, a large quantity of information can be collected often more quickly and at a lesser cost than via individual interviews. The focus group discussions followed individual interviews, they gave the researcher latitude to seek clarifications on a broad range of issues generated in the preceding instrument. In order to prevent the degenerative effects of FGDs and ensure control, the researcher as the facilitator clearly explained and outlined to the participants the purpose of the discussion and encouraged the participants to stay within the boundary of the purpose. The participants were told to freely air their personal views as there was no one correct view about the issues under discussion.

3.7.3 Open-ended Questionnaires

The researcher made use of open-ended questionnaires in gathering data from government and non-governmental officers. Blaxter, Hughes and Tight (2001: 186) noted that,

“…while questionnaires are strongly associated with the collection of quantitative data through the use of multiple-choice questions and pre-coded responses, they may also include (or be entirely composed of) open-ended questions.”

The physically administered questionnaire was entirely composed of open-ended questions which were compiled from the main interview instrument for conformity purposes but desirable to gather the views of numerous officials in a flexible and convenient manner. In light of the hints given by Blaxter, Hughes and Tight (2001: 204) that “avoid questions which are ambiguous or imprecise” the researcher felt that by using the questions already used in other
instruments, conciseness was achieved and ambiguity reduced. Again, taking note of the hint by Blaxter, Hughes and Tight (2001) that “too many open-ended questions, take too much time to answer properly”, the questionnaire was administered by a research assistant to different offices and latter collected after the officers had finished completing the questions at their convenience and reasonable flexibility.

The questionnaire included a cover letter which introduced the researcher, the purpose of data generation, assured the respondents of confidentiality of their responses and gave instructions on completing the questionnaires. For legibility, the questionnaire was designed using software and the fill-in spaces were varied to give the respondents the hint on how much information was expected for each question. For clarity, on depositing the questionnaires, the respondents were asked to go over the questionnaire and point out any instances where they needed explanation, which enhanced the accuracy of responses and gave room for a variety of all possible answers.

3.7.4 Researcher as Instrument

Researcher-as-instrument refers to the researcher as an active facilitator in the research process (Pezalla, Pettigrew, and Miller-Day, 2012). The practice of qualitative research is acclaimed for its subjectivity where much onus is vested on the researcher in carrying out and reporting on the study. Poggenpoel and Myburgh (2003) offer the researcher is the key person in obtaining data from respondents.
The role of the researcher is acknowledged by Denzin and Lincoln, (2000: 368), who argue that, “central to conducting research and more specifically qualitative research, is the researcher as research instrument”. The researcher is the key person in generating data from participants. It is through the researcher's facilitative interaction that a context is created where participants share rich data regarding their experiences and life world. It is the researcher that facilitates the flow of communication, who identifies cues and it is the researcher that sets participants at ease. This contributes to a therapeutic effect for the participants because they are listened to.

Davis (2015) argues that the researcher is instrumental in translating and interpreting data generated from the participants into meaningful information. Noted qualitative methodologists Denzin and Lincoln (2008) describe the social sciences as resulting largely from the “art of interpretation.” with the most important tool in the practice of this art being the researcher herself or himself. Qualitative methods rely much less than quantitative methods on “standardised” instruments and methods. Thus, the researcher is positioned quite closely to raw words and real life, and the researcher as “person” plays an obvious, if not profound role in all stages of research.

In contrast to the above remarks, Poggenpoel and Myburgh (2003) argued that “the researcher as an instrument can also be the ‘Achilles heel’ (weakness) in an educational research project”. Expounding, Poggenpoel and Myburgh (2003) noted that the possible threats are:

“the researcher's mental and other discomfort could pose a threat to the truth value of data obtained and information obtained from data analyses; the researcher not being sufficiently prepared to conduct the field research; not being able to do member
checking on findings; conducting inappropriate interviews; not including demographic
data in the description of the results; the researcher not being able to analyse interviews
in depth; and describing the research methodology and research results in a superficial
manner”.

The researcher's mental discomfort and other discomforts pose a threat to the truth value of data
obtained and information obtained from data analyses, in circumstances where the researcher's
effort to bracket and intuite are fruitless.

The threats presented above are reasonable, with regards to the study, this researcher was
prepared and dedicated to carry out the study. In addition, to circumvent the challenges of the
communities not opening up considering where they have come from, the status of the
researcher as their leader, the researcher used research assistants from Nkayi to assist in data
generation as this eased the fear of opening up and speaking what they thought the researcher
might want to hear. On the threat of sufficient field work, the researcher had samples from both
constituencies within Nkayi district that is Nkayi South and Nkayi North and data generation
was undertaken to points of saturation where participants started repeating themselves. The
population in the study was more representative: the majority of the participants were the
villagers and for triangulation government and non-governmental organisations were included.
Also, different sampling techniques were used.

The research team was well prepared through seminars to conduct in-depth interviews and also
manage that data through scripts and audio recordings and later transcription. On the data
analysis which promptly followed the first phase of the data generation exercise, careful reading
and selection from the existing analytic methods was rigorous with final method being thematic analysis which chosen as it was largely flexible and maintained context within the analysis.

Davis (2015) notes that engagement with the ‘researcher as research instrument’ notion is very much dependent on the researcher’s worldview and their own ontological (way of being), epistemological (way of knowing) and axiological (understanding values) underpinnings of what constitutes acceptable research. Earlier, Piantanida and Garman (1999) underscored that the researcher is as much a part of the inquiry as the intent of the study and the inquiry process, where the researcher’s thinking lies at the heart of the inquiry: professional experiences, personal intellectual concerns, and assumptions about knowledge.

The knowledge assumptions were discussed at length in section 3.2 of this chapter. Van Manen (1990) states that a phenomenological research study attempts to understand people's perceptions, perspectives and understandings of a particular phenomenon. A phenomenological study involves the four steps of: bracketing, intuiting, analysing and describing. The research through qualitative instruments sought pure self-expression from the participants. Through bracketing, the researcher ensured non-interference as she was aware of her own ideas and prejudices about the phenomenon of interest. The questions were clearly laid down across all participants and this avoided leading questions to solicit any expected responses.
3.8 Data Generation Procedures

The research had two data generation phases as hinted in section 3.7. The first phase mainly focussed on interviewing the communities, which used predominantly the in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. The phase was undertaken by the researcher and her team which underwent preparation for conducting in-depth interviews and the process of managing data. The researcher solely facilitated the five focus group discussions because they needed someone with immense knowledge of the context, themes and objectives of the study. However, the investigator had an assistant fully dedicated to note-taking so that she could fully focus on the dynamics and discourse of the discussions.

Because of the status of the researcher as a Cabinet Minister and Member of Parliament for Nkayi North in the District, the researcher did not make any research appointments with the participants, although the permission was requested from the authorities. The reluctance to make appointments was so that the samples could be selected conveniently at gatherings without having to prepare responses beforehand, as it was highly probable they could have done so as they esteemed the person of the researcher. The study wanted to capture the essence of the lived experiences, according to the participants and premeditation could distort the essence. For interviews, all interviews were conducted within the communities – at the homes of the individuals, fields or areas of operation at the comfort of the participants.

To cut on cost, phase one was used to seek permission with government institutions based in Nkayi as the researcher knew of the bureaucracy of the process and permission was granted after three weeks of application.
The second data generation phase mainly focussed on government and NGO institutions in which two open-ended questionnaires were administered. Community interviews were conducted with wards at and around Nkayi centre. Questionnaires were distributed and appointments were made on when to collect the completed forms at the convenience of the participants. Interviews in Nkayi South followed the tone set in Nkayi North where they were conducted within the communities – at the homes of the individuals, fields or areas of operations at the comfort of the participants.

3.9 Data Presentation, Analysis, Interpretation and Discussion Procedures

In qualitative research, the researcher examines the generated data to identify themes and patterns (Irwin, 2013). Three data analysis strategies were defined by Creswell (2013) as: (a) organizing the data collected from the interviews, observation notes, documents, and other sources, (b) formulating themes from the collected data, and (c) representing the results in tables, discussions, or figures. However, graphical presentations are rarely used in qualitative studies because of the nature of the data they generate which is mostly words. The data analysis and presentation is varied based on the qualitative research approach. Mohamed (2017) noted that in transcendent (descriptive) phenomenological design, the research findings are presented as themes portraying a full description of the phenomenon under study as revealed by the study participants. This study made use of thematic analysis.

Braun and Clarke (2006: 6) defined thematic analysis as a method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data. It minimally organises and describes data set in (rich) detail, beyond this, and interprets various aspects of the research topic. Thematic analysis
focuses on identifiable themes and patterns of living and talk and aims to generate descriptions of strategies and behaviours (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995).

This researcher used thematic analysis for presenting, analysing and reporting the data generated from field work. Several authors have written about thematic analysis, with expansive and most comprehensive being Braun and Clarke (2006) who argue that “thematic analysis should be considered a method in its own right”, and went on to write at length about the process of thematic analysis. According to Braun and Clarke (2006: 4), thematic analysis has been a poorly demarcated and rarely-acknowledged, yet it is a widely-used qualitative analytic method, which should be viewed as a foundational method for qualitative analysis. Holloway and Todres (2003: 347) underscore that “thematising meanings” is one of a few shared generic skills across qualitative analysis. Earlier, Boyatzis (1998) characterised thematic analysis not as a specific method but as a tool to use across different methods. In corroboration, Ryan and Bernard (2000) positioned thematic coding as a process performed within “major” analytic traditions (such as grounded theory), rather than a specific approach in its own right.

Braun and Clarke (2006) explain that, unlike grounded theory, discourse analysis (DA), conversation analysis (CA), or, interpretive phenomenological analysis (IPA), a thematic analysis is not tied to a particular theoretical or epistemological position. As a method of analysis, it is essentially independent of theory and can, therefore, be applied across a range of theoretical and epistemological approaches. Thematic analysis is a process for encoding qualitative information, rather than a theoretically informed model for research and analysis (Boyatzis 1998). Thematic analysis is flexible to report experiences, meanings and the reality of participants.
Braun and Clark (2006) define the key terms - data corpus, data set, data item and data extract that are used in thematic analysis. Firstly, data corpus refers to all data collected for a particular research project, while data set refers to all the data from the corpus that is being used for a particular analysis. In this study, data corpus included transcripts of interviews, questionnaires and focus group discussions; data set essentially denoted the same thing as all data that was generated from the research was the data that was used for analysis. All instruments had the same sections entailed in the research objectives, thus, concomitantly applied to all sections of the analysis. The researcher was aware of the need for quality data against maintaining a huge data corpus and bearing in mind that, in qualitative research, all essence is obtained from assortment of views. While, qualitative research methodologists disagree about the amount of the data corpus – that should be coded. The researcher’s choice was informed by Lofland et al., (2006) in Saldana (2009: 15) who offered that “every recorded fieldwork detail is worthy of consideration, for it is from the patterned minutiae of daily life that we might generate significant social insight”. Data item refers to each individual piece of data collected, which together make up the data set or corpus. For instance, in the study, data items were individual interviews, questionnaires or focus group discussions transcripts that were prepared from the generated data. Last, but not least, data extract refers to an individual coded chunk of data, which has been identified within, and extracted from, a data item. Data extracts are conspicuous as selections (quotes or phrases) from the data sets that feature in the final analysis after coding.

Guidelines followed in the thematic analysis were informed by Braun and Clarke (2006). The order of phases, though recursive in implementation, are familiarisation with data, generation of initial codes, searching for themes, review of themes, definition and naming of themes, and finally producing of the report. The following passages give more detail about the phases.
Phase one stipulates a familiarisation with all aspects of the data, where the researcher is immersed into the data to the extent that they are familiar with the depth and breadth of the content. After the initial data generation, transcription of the data was done through typing of the responses. Riessman (1993) advances that the process of transcription is an excellent way to start familiarising oneself with the data. During transcription, the different data items were assigned identity codes so that the names of the participants would not be revealed during data analysis as stated in the ethical issues section of chapter 3. For common understanding, the researcher convened with her team to discuss the patterns of the data generated. Weston et al., (2001) advocate for collaborative effort in the data analysis, their view is that multiple minds bring multiple ways of analysing and interpreting the data: “a research team builds codes and coding builds a team through the creation of shared interpretation and understanding of the phenomenon being studied”.

It was at this sitting that the initial codes where identified from the data. And it was at this stage that striking, rich and significant passages and quotes were highlighted and underlined to easily identify them for analysis. Saldana (2009: 16) offered that, “data can become key pieces of the evidentiary warrant to support your propositions, assertions, or theory, and serve as illustrative examples throughout your report”.

Phase two entailed the generation of initial codes. A code in qualitative inquiry is most often a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data (Saldana, 2009: 3). Miles and Huberman (1994: 56) noted that codes are tags or labels for assigning units of meaning to the descriptive or inferential information compiled during a study. Codes are usually attached to
‘chunks’ of data of varying size – words, phrases, sentences or whole paragraphs. A code represents and capture a datum’s primary content and essence. Codes serve as a way to label, compile and organise your data. They allow one to summarise and synthesise what is happening in data. Miles and Huberman (1994) warned that codes should be valid, that is they should accurately reflect what is being researched, mutually exclusive, in that codes should be distinct, with no overlap, and exhaustive, that is all relevant data should fit into a code.

Saldana (2009) defines coding as the organisation of raw data into conceptual categories where each code is effectively a category or ‘bin’ into which a piece of data is placed. In linking data collection and interpreting the data, coding becomes the basis for developing the analysis where you develop the storyline.

The hybrid model of coding (which includes both pre-set and open coding strategies) was adopted for creating codes in the study. Saldana points out that, before beginning data collection and the coding process, it is good to begin with a “start list” of pre-set codes (often referred to as “a priori codes”). The priori codes are derived from the conceptual framework and list of research questions with the aid of the knowledge of the subject matter and subject expertise. Pre-set codes are codes compiled before delving into what the data says. On the contrary, the open/emergent codes are those ideas, concepts, actions, relationships, meanings, etc. that come up in the data and are different than the pre-set codes. By using the hybrid model, it made analysis easier, flexible and efficient. The compiled coding scheme was refined (adding, collapsing, expanding and revising the coding categories) as the analysis progressed.
Saldana (2009) highlights that the rule of thumb for coding is to make the codes fit the data, rather than trying to make data fit the codes. Therefore, axial coding which is a direct approach for looking at data, was used to help make sure that all important aspects were identified.

One important point to note is that, frequencies (numbers) were not assigned to any category. Krane et al. (1997: 214) warn that value is derived by number, therefore placing a frequency count after a category of experiences is tantamount to saying how important it is; yet in many cases, rare experiences are no less meaningful, useful, or important than common (frequent) ones. The rationale is that the rare experiences may actually be the most enlightening ones.

The third phase involved searching for themes following the initial coding and collation of data. Codes were analysed and organised towards creating sub-themes and overarching themes where necessary. The research instruments had five sections, four of which were crafted from the research objectives and these were used as the major themes or beacons for analysis. The fifth section catered for the bio-data about the participants. The rationale for using these as themes is justified within literature, where the average is four to seven themes to maintain a coherent analysis. Lichtman (2006) in Saldana (2009: 20) projected that most qualitative research studies eventually synthesise into five to seven major concepts. Creswell (2007) began his analyses with a short-list of five to major themes. Lastly, Wolcott (1994: 10) advised throughout his writings that three of anything major seems an elegant quantity for reporting qualitative work. A warning is given against using individual interview/questionnaire questions as sub-themes as this creates a shallow, unappealing analysis.
Phase four reviewed themes, it began after a formulation of the candidate themes and involved the refinement of the themes. The goal of this phase was to come up with something fitting into Patton (1990)’s criteria for judging categories: “internal homogeneity and external heterogeneity”. Internal homogeneity emphasises that data within themes should cohere meaningfully, while external heterogeneity underscores that there should be clear and identifiable distinctions between themes.

In reviewing themes, the validity of individual themes in relation to the data set was considered and that the thematic map accurately represented the meanings evident in the data set as a whole. Where there was discord, encoding was repeated until there was evidence of satisfaction with the analysis.

The next phase entailed defining and naming themes. Within each overarching theme, sub-themes which are essentially themes within themes gave structure and demonstrated the hierarchy of meaning within the data. The names of themes needed to be concise, succinct, and informative to immediately give the reader a sense of what the theme was about (Saldana, 2009: 23).

The final phase began after obtaining a set of fully worked-out themes, and involved the final analysis and write-up of the report. In line with the goals of thematic analysis, the report gave a concise, coherent, logical, non-repetitive, and interesting account of the storyline of the data including extracts within and across themes. Using data extracts to demonstrate the prevalence of themes ensured a display of evidence concerning the themes within the data. Saldana (2009)
offered that extracts need to be embedded within an analytic narrative that compellingly illustrates the story that you are telling about your data, and your analytic narrative needs to go beyond description of the data, and make an argument in relation to the research questions.

3.10 Measures to Ensure Trustworthiness of Data

Cohen (2006) note that triangulation involves using multiple data sources in an investigation to produce understanding. Continuing, Cohen (2006) pointed out that rather than seeing triangulation as a method for validation or verification, qualitative researchers generally use this technique to ensure that an account is rich, robust, comprehensive and well-developed. The main reason to triangulate is that a single method can never adequately shed light on a phenomenon. Using multiple methods can help facilitate deeper understanding. According to Kulkarni (2013), the purpose of triangulation is not necessarily to cross-validate data but rather to capture different dimensions of the same phenomenon. In the same vein, Bryman (n.d) states that the main point is to gain good understanding from different perspectives of an investigated phenomenon.

Meijer (2002) identifies five types of triangulation: data triangulation, methodological triangulation, investigator triangulation, theory triangulation and environmental triangulation. Data triangulation (triangulation of sources) involves using different sources of information in order to increase the validity of a study. Denzin (1978) and Patton (1999) state that methods triangulation involves checking out the consistency of findings generated by different data collection methods. Investigator triangulation involves using multiple analysts to review findings or using multiple observers and analysts. Theory/perspective triangulation - using
multiple theoretical perspectives to examine and interpret the data. Environmental triangulation involves the use of different locations, settings, and other key factors related to the environment in which the study took place, such as the time, day, or season. The key is identifying which environmental factors, if any, might influence the information that is received during the study.

By using six different groups as data sources in Nkayi, the researcher aimed to get deeper understanding as well as a rich, robust and well-developed account of the socio-economic history and development for the Nkayi people. The researcher, through hiring research assistants with varied but complementary skillsets, for the study, was aiming for investigator triangulation and efficiency and effectiveness of the research process.

3.11 Trustworthiness and Credibility

Cohen et al (2007: 133) offer that while earlier versions of validity were based on the view that it was essentially a demonstration that a particular instrument in fact measures what it purports to measure, more recently validity has taken many forms. For example, in qualitative data validity might be addressed through the honesty, depth, richness and scope of the data achieved, the participants approached, the extent of triangulation and the disinterestedness or objectivity of the researcher. In support of the above sentiments, Ary, Jacobs and Razavieh (1996:262), argue that in qualitative research there are no direct means of measuring constructs such as exist in the physical sciences for the measurement of characteristics like volume, length, and weight. Researchers must develop indirect means to measure complex attributes. These indirect means involve tests and scales consisting of a number of tasks that are selected to serve as indicators of the complex constructs.
Golafshani, (2003) suggested that credibility can be addressed by prolonged engagement in the field; persistent observation in order to establish the relevance of the characteristics for the focus; triangulation of methods, sources, investigators and theories; peer debriefing by exposing oneself to a dis-interested peer in a manner akin to cross-examination, in order to test honesty, and to identify the next steps in the research; negative case analysis: in order to establish a theory that fits every case, revising hypotheses retrospectively and member checking: respondent validation, to assess intentionality, to correct factual errors, to offer respondents the opportunity to add further information or to put information on record; to provide summaries and to check the adequacy of the analysis. As already pointed out in the triangulation section, and in line with Golafshani’s sentiments, this study used triangulation of sources and investigators to bring credibility to the research.

In addition, participant validation was used to achieve credibility to the research process. Participant validation occurs during the period of data collection when feedback is obtained from the participants about the accuracy of the data they have given, and also the researcher's interpretation of that data. As the data collection methods were mostly conversational, it was easier to get instant feedback to the responses obtained.

3.12 Ethical and Legal Consideration

The researcher had a moral obligation to strictly consider the rights of the participants who were expected to provide this knowledge (Streubert, Speziale and Carpenter 2003:314). The researcher considered it very important to establish trust between the participants and herself
and to respect them as autonomous beings, thus enabling them to make sound decisions (Burns and Grove 2003:65; Streubert, Speziale and Carpenter 2003:314).

Ethical considerations were an important aspect in this study due to the sensitive nature of the study, possible risks were continuously examined to increase sensitivity to the participants and not to expose them.

Ethical measures are as important in qualitative research as in quantitative research and include ethical conduct towards participant’s information as well as honest reporting of the results. The ethical measures in this study included consent, confidentiality and anonymity, privacy, dissemination of results and the right to withdraw from the study.

The researcher’s request for permission to conduct the study was forwarded to the Ministry of Rural Development, Promotion and Preservation of National Culture and Heritage as Nkayi was mainly a rural district. A written response was obtained which gave permission to conduct the study. The police before agreeing to participate in the study requested the researcher to seek permission from their general headquarters, and the permission was granted before questionnaires were distributed.
Written permission (informed consent) was sought and obtained from participants for the interviews, focus group discussions and questionnaires in line with the suggestions of Polit and Hungler (2004:151). The participants were informed that they had the right to decline participation as it was clearly stated in the consent form.

Polit and Hungler (1999) state that confidentiality means that no information that the participant divulges is made public or available to others. The anonymity of a person or an institution is protected by making it impossible to link aspects of data to a specific person or institution. Confidentiality and anonymity are guaranteed by ensuring that data obtained are used in such a way that no one other than the researcher knows the source (LoBiondo-Wood and Harber 2002:273). In this study, no names were attached to the information obtained, but codes were used for the different instruments.

According to De Vos (2002:67), privacy refers to agreement between persons that limit the access of others to private information. In this study, privacy was also maintained by not attaching participant’s names to the information.

The participants were informed that they could withdraw from the study at any time if they wished to. This right was explained to them prior to engagement in the study, before the interview (Holloway 2005:292). This right is part of the informed consent which is attached in the appendices to the manuscript.
Results are disseminated in the form of a research report. According to De Vos (2002:414), the report should stimulate readers to want to study it and also determine its feasibility for implementation. The report should not expose the secrets or weaknesses of the institutions to the readers, but should recommend improvements of the service.

3.14 Chapter Summary

The chapter described the research paradigm, research design, data generation and analysis, trustworthiness and ethical considerations. The qualitative study was informed by the phenomenological methodology. The transcendental phenomenology was adopted as the research design for the study. The sample was drawn from 8 wards in the district and the population included the villagers, government departments and NGOs. Qualitative research instruments namely in-depth interviews, open-ended questionnaire and focus group discussions were the main research instruments. Thematic analysis was used in the study with the research objectives being the main themes. The next chapter focused on data presentation, discussion analysis and interpretation.
CHAPTER IV

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS, INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the data presentation, analysis, interpretation and discussion of the study. The research used thematic data analysis, with the research questions being the main subheadings, and themes emerged from the data. The subheadings are lived experiences affecting Nkayi’s development, developmental and socio-economic issues of Nkayi, challenges faced by Nkayi community in accessing government and non-governmental services, and views on development problems and future. As the norm in qualitative social research, verbatim quotations (excerpts from transcripts) from research participants were included in this chapter to help clarify links between data, interpretation and conclusions.

For the purpose of maintaining the anonymity of the participants in this study, the researcher opted to use the following codes with digits (numbers) in reference to participants from the various instruments used in the study:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CODE</th>
<th>INSTRUMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>Community Interview</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>Government questionnaire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>NGO questionnaire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FA</td>
<td>Focus group discussion 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FB</td>
<td>Focus group discussion 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FC</td>
<td>Focus group discussion 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FD</td>
<td>Focus group discussion 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FE</td>
<td>Focus group discussion 5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.1 Key to Codes Source: Author (2018)

4.1 Bio-data Information of Participants

The following bio data issues were included in the research instruments because of their ability to impact on the lived experiences. By mentioning their age, gender, qualifications, employment status, the participants enabled the researcher to know the biographical distribution in the study and lent credibility to the findings of the phenomenological study. The following paragraphs present the issues in detail.
The study included the young, middle-aged and the elderly participants. In communities, the youngest person interviewed was 20 years old and the oldest was 96 years old. For the youths, the age range was 20 years to 31 years. The elderly participants were in their 60 years to the...
oldest who was 96 years. The study participants also consisted of the late 30s to mid-50s. By incorporating the young, the middle aged and the elderly in the study provided a balance of insights on the lived experiences. For questionnaire respondents, the age range was from 26 to 55 years and having worked in Nkayi for a minimum of 3 years and the maximum of 27 years.

On gender, the study participants were equitably varied. The researcher tried to diversify and include both female and male participants in the community. However, with government and NGOs the researcher had to include those who were in offices. Male youths were easily accessible than their female counterparts. For the middle-aged group, female participants were easily accessible although the male counterparts also participated in the study. On the elderly, men were fewer than their female counterparts and most were found within their homes.

On education, the elderly people did not have any academic qualifications although they spoke extensively about being farmers and some possessed technical skills. The educational exposure that some of the elderly participants had was in their native lands, since Nkayi did not have any schools during that period. The skills they possessed were passed on to them through mentorship or by experience. Some of the young and middle-aged participants had some educational background although many did not have a full certificate, those with qualifications taught within their communities as teachers and local government employees. The young were still pursuing their education. On the government departments, the participants’ educational qualifications ranged from O’level to doctoral qualifications. In NGOs, the respondents had degrees up to master’s level. The participants had the requisite qualifications for their work.
Many of the participants in the study acknowledged that they came from other places before they (and in some cases their forefathers) settled in the Nkayi district. A considerable number maintained that they had settled (originated) in the district before many other people came through various impetuses to settle with them. The participants who came to settle in the District mentioned that they came from places such as Esigodini, Nyamandlovu, Plumtree, Lupane, Bubi (Inyathi), Insiza (Filabusi and Fort Rixon), Zvishavane, Gokwe, Gwanda and Bulawayo (Robert Sinyoka village). Some of the community participants maintained that they had originated from Nkayi.

On government institutions, many of the participants acknowledged that they did not come from the District but were deployed for official duties in the area, however, there were some who came from the District. The places revealed by the participants were Gwanda, Rusape, Chipinge, Mutare, Harare, Lupane, Kwekwe, Plumtree and Nkayi.

The participants described development in different ways, the tone was more on the need for development however they acknowledged that Nkayi is not where it used to be. Most of the participants conceded that Nkayi was lagging behind in terms of development, being rated amongst the lowest developed in the province. Tshuma (2017) confirms this when he wrote that, “the bleak developmental outlook of Nkayi, rated as the poorest district in the country calls for concerted effort in redressing the developmental challenges that had bedevilled the district”.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Sub-themes</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lived experiences affecting Nkayi’s development</td>
<td>4.2.1 to 4.2.7 (stated in that order)</td>
<td>Community Interviews, Government open-ended questionnaires and FGDs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Developmental and Socio-economic Issues of Nkayi</td>
<td>4.3.1 to 4.3.3.7 (stated in that order)</td>
<td>Community interviews, FGDs, Government and NGO open-ended questionnaires</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Challenges faced by Nkayi Community in Accessing Government and Non-Government Services</td>
<td>4.4.1 to 4.4.4 (stated in that order)</td>
<td>Community interviews, FGDs, Government and NGO open-ended questionnaires</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Views on Development Problems and Future</td>
<td>4.5.1 to 4.5.4 (stated in that order)</td>
<td>Community interviews, FGDs, Government and NGO open-ended questionnaires</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.3: Outline of themes and sub-themes Source: Author (2018)

**4.2 Lived Experiences affecting Nkayi’s Development**

This section focusses on the stated lived experiences of the participants in the study. The participants revealed many issues such as droughts, diseases, transport challenges, unfulfilled promises, living in fear, disturbances in education, forced migration/evictions, post-independence violence, overcrowding, poor economy and lack of economic activities as well as poor arable land. Their responses reflected their experiences from the past up to the present.
The people acknowledged having adapted to the conditions in Nkayi, although many asserted “this was not our land of origin” highlighting some detachment from the area. This statement is in line with Magosvongwe (2013) who states that in the African worldview people take pride in their land of origin. Some of the participants juxtaposed their present areas to the ones which they had originated from, a narration which painted a sombre reality of trying to settle in a harsh foreign land. The section is segmented further into subthemes which seek to illustrate inherent distinct experiences that have affected the socio-economic status of the people of Nkayi.

4.2.1 Land Evictions and Migration Effect on Socio-economic Development of Nkayi

A notable experience from the participants was the land evictions and movement of the people. While migrations have been witnessed since the early years of civilisation, what is peculiar about the Nkayi case is that most of the cases of migration were through diabolic legislative frameworks which favoured the whites. The responses resonated across the participants with the elderly having had first-hand experiences of the period, the younger ones pointed out that their fathers and forefathers had been forcefully migrated from their native lands into Nkayi. Some of the participants had this to say about their origins and the reasons that made them settle in Nkayi:

FG2: My grandfather came from Inyathi which gave birth to Inkayi. “Nkayi was Nkanini-Sahlala ngenkani” (settled here by force). We were removed from our land to give way to settlers so that they could make farms.

FG3: Some from Filabusi were handcuffed. People were put in trucks with all their possessions and dropped (imikhuthulwa) leaving them in poverty without any structures. The whites grabbed all the farms and owned them, some of which were part of our identity and heritage.
N12: The eviction was not a good experience, separation was not good for the people/families. However, since we heeded the call for eviction we settled here closer in Nkayi, while those who refused were forcefully taken to Gokwe-Mateta which is far.

N10: I was about 6 years old. We were moved by the whites through the Land Apportionment Act. We were moved so that the whites could occupy our land which had better agricultural productivity. Adult males were ferried to new places first to find places to settle, then women, children and everything else followed. The livestock/cattle were not trucked.

N20: We are from Bubi and were taken to Hojeni to give way to whites. I was born in Nkayi.

FB1: “Abashangwe” were moved by trucks from Bubi. Our grandfather came from Inyathi to Zinyangeni and Kumba, he was also Lobengula’s soldier. He experienced war in Lalapansi and Mbizvo. Some of our people were left in Zhombe and Sivomo.

Although many of the participants acknowledged the forced evictions through enacted legislation such as Land Apportionment Act and Land Husbandry Act (Ranger et al, 2000). There were some who affirmed that they were already residents of Nkayi when those evictees came to join them. This is what was said, in their words:

N05: Our family originated here in Nkayi. I was born in our area. Although some of the people in this district have come here because of many reasons, when they came they found us here.

N27: When we arrived here, we found people already staying in this area. At first they did not want to mix with us and they would run away. We seemed more modern than them, but with time they started easing up to us.

The above stated extracts attest to what is found in literature on Nkayi. Ranger et al (2000) remarked that “…it is important to note that although the Shangani Reserve itself was already
sparsely inhabited by various other tribes, it is the forced migration of the Ndebele speaking people from the south of the country that made up the majority of the population and assimilated those who were already there”.

The forced migration, however, created a composite tier of culture which becomes difficult to manage in implementing programmes. With other districts, homogenous culture and stewardship is prevalent and thus easy to study and skirt when working with the people. In Nkayi finding people who ‘own’ the area and those who were forced into the area who may feel as not having custodial obligations for the area complicates developmental initiatives and requires careful inclusive programmes to involve everyone thus developing the area and its livelihoods.

In expressing the importance of land for the African communities, Magosvongwe (2013) noted that in the African worldview land is sacredly held, providing unities between the people and their regions of origin, families and country through the rites of birth, initiation into adulthood, marriage and death. In the African worldview, human dignity begins with a proud identification with the land, influencing issues of polity and African metaphysics. In instances where there is forceful evictions, the evictees may not become fully proud and at peace in their new communities and this may have affected Nkayi’s development as the district is made up of people who were evicted from other districts.

In addition to the factors presented above, some movement of the participants was through marriage. Others simply came to settle in Nkayi after they had perceived the area as better than where they previously settled because of its natural environment. A better natural environment
is widely known as a pull factor in movement of people who reckon their localities as worse off. To illustrate the point:

N07: Our family migrated on our own, there was no coercion of any sort. Our family migrated before I was born, so I am not very sure of the dates. We loved the beauty, in this area (part of Nkayi) there were no diseases like in other areas which were depleting livestock.

FA1: Our grandfathers came from Makonde to Nyawuzi to Gababe to Tsholotsho to Mateme during the rule of Mambo.

N13: Our grandfather was a driver in here (Nkayi) in the 1960s and wanted a better place for the family as space was limited at Robert Sinyoka in Bulawayo. He loved this area and thus decided to relocate the family. We have since remained in this area from the time of relocation and have been participating in the community programmes and business activities as we own a business that services the area.

The people who come to settle in an area through perceived pull factors such as a beautiful environment as said by N13 and N07, are more likely to participate in developing their areas than people who are bitter because of forceful migration.

The availability of employment was also stated as a pull factor to be in Nkayi. Employment is a popular pull factor and push factor in movement patterns of the active people. The people who worked in a number of the offices stated that they were in Nkayi for employment. Because of the educational status of Nkayi people and lack of viable economic activities, the people had trekked out of the district and country in search of employment and means of survival. With regards to employment, below is what the participants had to say:
G11: In some government departments, we do not have much influence over where we work, the department does not allow its officers to be employed in their district of origin, and thus they had to work in other Districts. So, this is how we work where we work.

G02: I came to work in Nkayi because I was qualified and lucky to get the job that I am doing.

G14: I was transferred to Nkayi to serve the community here.

G23: Nkayi is close to my home area, and has people I understand their background and developmental needs.

N33: We live as fragmented families, our children are out of the country looking for means of survival. All jobs want certificates and our children do not possess such, as education has not been prioritised for many reasons such as distance to schools, attitude towards education and lack of funds to pay fees. To make it worse, Nkayi does not have industries which can employ our people even without education. They have to compete with others in major towns.

The evidence presented above demonstrates how Nkayi is made up of different people from the village level to the officials. Nkayi has not only had people from other areas coming to stay but its very own people have trekked out of the District in search of employment opportunities. Scoones (1998) talks about social differentiation as impacting on development and livelihoods.

The movement of the active population affects development initiatives as the active are the ones who can implement projects.

4.2.2 Droughts and Diseases Effect on Socio-economic Development of Nkayi

The previous sub-theme looked at the land evictions and migration, this subtheme looks at droughts and diseases that were endured by the Nkayi communities and their livestock. Droughts and diseases as lived experiences that culminated in the loss of wealth and economic
base for the people. The effects of droughts are severe where communities do not have many socio-economic alternatives and rely on agriculture for survival. Nkayi’s economy relies much on agricultural activities. McCaston et al (2005) place droughts/famine and disease as intermediate causes of poverty. Below are some key extracts:

N12: We came with livestock: 90 cattle, 30 sheep and ‘15 to 20’ donkeys. In Inyathi, livestock did well, we could even ride on the goats because they were so big. But here livestock does not do well. In Inyathi, we did not know drought, but we experienced it when we came to Nkayi. We also experienced livestock diseases and found a bush called ‘umkhawuzane’ which is poisonous to livestock. For human beings, we also experienced strange diseases. Since there were already people living in the area, we found few wild animals such as wild dogs and hyenas that ate our livestock. The grazing areas were near Gweru river. Sorghum, millet and maize were the main crops that were grown in the area; In Inyathi, sorghum and maize were the main crops we were growing.

N08: We plough and do not get much from the fields either as a result of lack of inputs - fertilisers in soils that do not keep fertility, or, irregular rainfall patterns.

FE5: My father had a lot of cattle, but after the war he lost many of them.

FE6: We lost our cattle (livestock). It was painful, it impoverished/disadvantaged our people.

N13: In Filabusi, our elders did not know food was bought, food came from the granary. In Filabusi, cattle had good grazing lands. Here, cattle succumbed to disease and death after being affected by tsetse-flies, foot and mouth, black leg (‘umkhuhlanewegazi’) being among them. Settling in Nkayi was overcrowded (high population density) unlike in Filabusi where the vast resources and good land allowed people to leave spacially. Here in Nkayi, people are now resorting to farming in rivers because of the poor arable land (unfertile), causing siltation further affecting the environment.
Nkayi district has many diseases such as anthrax, blackleg, new castle and these reduce wealth because there is lack of managing and preventing diseases.

G16: Nkayi used to have many diseases which affected the livestock, now we have managed to contain and we have very few outbreaks in the District.

The evidence above approves the notion that the people of Nkayi are widely known as people who keep cattle. Pekeshe (2013) confirms that cattle are prized possessions in our African societies. Nkayi is an agro-based economy and the prevalence of droughts weakens the very capital of the people. Droughts were prevalent in Nkayi as in other parts of Matabelend which are classified under region 5 which is dry and receives less rainfall.

In Nkayi, there are some who have had positive experiences in farming and getting goods yields. They acknowledged having been equipped with cattle rearing knowledge through workshops and now practising what they had been taught. Livestock production is one of the resilient agricultural activities that can enhance the economic status of Nkayi. A plus for livestock production was that Nkayi was now experiencing less disease outbreaks than what was happening in earlier periods of settlement.

4.2.3 Effect of Disturbances in Education on Socio-economic Development of Nkayi

This section looks at the experiences that affected the growth and development of the minds. According to Hill (1985) the mindset is the greatest development asset, yet Nkayi had its intellectual development restrained through its experiences. Here is what the participants said about their educational experiences:

FC5: Schools were scarce and it was difficult to travel the long distances.
FA1: Nkayi people faced difficulties especially in the issue of education. There was no freedom before 1980, the people had fear. Teachers were captured.

N13: When we were growing up, schools were makeshift, now schools are beautiful and have glass panes and properly roofed structures.

N01: The settlers built schools and educated old people to forget their past.

N13: The area did not have schools when we came. In Filabusi we had been exposed to education and could not proceed with our education. The system was unfair on us, and it is still affecting our children who do not highly regard their education.

N01: Schools have improved, at the start, there were no secondary schools in ward 7.

G11: there has been growth in terms of establishment of schools from one secondary school before independence to 32 to date.

N08: As a widow, life has not been easy. However, I am happy about BEAM (Basic Education Assistance Module) and have been supported in taking children to school. We have also been supported through food aid and seeds during drought. Where support has been extended in paying fees, we are let down by playful children who do not take their education seriously. Nkayi has for a long time been known not to do well in education and this is being carried on to our children. They seem not to see and have motivation to pursue their studies. As a result, we have people from other districts coming in to lead and take positions in our area.

N36: Because our children have never seen the value of education as we grew up without education, we have outsiders coming to get the jobs which should be for our children. Our children are limited to menial jobs which they found us doing.

Q1: Nkayi people have a negative attitude towards education and there is a low education uptake.
Displacement of the people from their original homes to Nkayi disturbed their education, creating generations of under-educated people. According to Deacon (2007), “lack of education may lead to permanent state of lower human capital, lower earnings resulting into poverty traps”. Without education people underperform in a nation that values education, especially without resources that can buttress livelihoods.

What is worrying as stated by participant N08 is that the lack of value for education was showing up in their children. Initially, the parents had their education disturbed through displacements and settling in an area which had no educational facilities, among other amenities which created educational apathy. It was stated that parents did not prioritise education and where children were assisted through BEAM they did not fully aid the learning process through buying books and attending meetings, among other school development programmes. The children have had no role models of success through education to motivate them to take education seriously.

4.2.4 Economic Hardships Effect on Socio-economic Development of Nkayi

This section looks at the economic experiences of Nkayi people. The area did not have many economic activities which aggravated their situation as the whole country has gone through economic turmoil. Other districts boast of exploitable natural resource bases which are unavailable or not viable in Nkayi. Here are the views of the participants:

N01: *The past 20 years have been hard for us, things have changed in Zimbabwe. Because, cash is hard to come by, we now buy using our grain and we are short-changed sometimes.*
N09: Nkayi is far away from the markets and roads are bad which increases the costs of business. People who come to buy from us dictate the prices and since we are desperate we just sell them our produce at giveaway prices. If there were market centres close by and within our reach, prices would be very competitive and employment would be readily available for our people.

N13: We now have 2 schools in the ward, a clinic at Gwelutshena as well as a development centre, and also shops at Gwamayaya. We no longer walk long distances to access services as the basic ones are now in the area, and within reach.

G01: I was educated here in Nkayi at Hlangabeza and I loved the place. I also saw Nkayi people being agriculturally productive, and we have connected since then.

N24: There are no banks in Nkayi centre and also in smaller centres like Gwelutshena. To get some change, sometimes you are forced to buy groceries you do not need.

G11: I believe that there are improved living standards of the community as they are now able to feed themselves and there has been a sign of economic growth considering improved farming methods.

Q1: Economically, Nkayi is a very volatile district. It has nothing to boast about. With the resources that it has, no serious investments have been made in exploiting them. The rates are too high for the local people to participate gainfully in the economy. Many do their work in the shadow of their communal homes.

N07: The state of the country has affected developments in the district. For a while, the council has been selling stands at Gwelutshena but at very high prices. Nothing has happened so far to service the land. With housing developments the growth point would by now be having meaningful services like banks, markets, bigger retailers among other services.

FD3: My father had a lot of wealth, but after the war he lost most of it.
Q1: Despite all the hardships, the district has a large labour supply and is endowed with a lot of natural resources.

G14: I came to Nkayi during the period of economic meltdown and have found the going really tough, as I am unable to operate at my full capacity due to financial constraints and resource unavailability.

The experiences of economic pressure, not affording basic things such as education, health, food, finance and clothing has an adverse effect on individual families and increases their vulnerability. Economic hardships also affect the cognitive, behavioural, emotional, economic and infrastructural development.

The acknowledgement that the lack of resources and active participation in the wider economy by the communities of Nkayi is also affected by lack of meaningful infrastructure and market access. The state of the roads in the district increases the cost of transport for whoever wants to ferry their produce to better markets where they also have to compete with those who incur less transport charges because of proximity to markets and better transport networks. From independence in 1980 to now, those primary producers in Nkayi have been at the mercy of the market, and have been unable to concretely create their meaningful local economic systems. Additionally, the country’s economic recession added to these difficulties in that lack of access to finance, for example, greatly stifles innovation.

4.2.5 Effect of Infrastructure and Communication on Socio-economic Development of Nkayi

This sub-theme looks at the infrastructure and communication developments as experienced by the people of Nkayi. Any community’s development is enabled by the infrastructure it has and
investments are attracted to where there is development. Nkayi’s development prospects have remained low because of the state of infrastructure. Below is what the participants said:

N07: We have seen the worst of transport woes, but now there have been some improvements and transport is now available. However, the state of roads pushes away those seeking to do business in Nkayi.

N22: Transport has improved, it used to take a whole day to travel from Bulawayo but now we take half a day. There are more buses available to service the area. Roads have improved although we need more bridges.

Communication channels have improved, in some areas we can now call even from within the homestead.

N40: Nkayi has the worst of roads which affects our operations as an institution. We don’t enjoy deliveries from suppliers and their visits for maintenance duties are high as they charge for their time. Bulawayo has most of our suppliers and travelling from there takes at least 6 hours using private transport, yet it is just a distance of 236 kilometres to this site.

N35: It’s a nightmare travelling on our roads during the rainy season. Our vehicles are affected becoming costly to repair. Vehicles get stuck in the mud.

Q1: Nkayi has few water sources yet it has many rivers that pass through the district. As an agro-based economy, Nkayi needs water supplies to sustain worthwhile projects.

G12: Infrastructure and communication are a problem and affect service delivery and communications with our officers in the field. We do not have transport for field visits and we have to move to localised areas with network to be able to exchange information.
Nkayi’s infrastructure and communication experiences span across all sectors. The villagers, business, government and non-governmental institutions bemoaned the state of infrastructure which affected livelihoods, business and service delivery.

The findings are in line with Abur, Ademoyewa and Damkor (2015) whose study in Nigeria showed that the cost of inputs, farm size, access to inputs and access to good roads were significant factors influencing farmers’ output and income. Additionally, Ming (2004) notes that redistribution in favour of the poorest 10 percent of the population, improving the productivity of agricultural workers, raising the economic and social status of women, especially of rural women, government policies aimed at reducing systemic discrimination against ethnic minorities, encouraging tourism where possible, and programmes designed to assist the irrigation of croplands are called for in the quest for alleviating poverty in rural areas.

Nkayi’s economy is based on agriculture and forestry activities. Lokesha and Mahesha, (2016) observed that road transport plays an important role in agricultural development. This is because it is the major means of transporting agricultural produce from the farms to the markets as well as to various urban communities. The development of road infrastructure is imperative for agriculture and overall economic growth and improving the quality of life. Good roads can reduce transaction costs associated with agricultural activities and in so doing have the potential to reduce the costs of acquiring inputs, to increase output prices, and to permit entry into new and more profitable activities.
The study concluded that rural infrastructure has an influence on the livelihoods - productivity and income of farmers which translate into the creation of employment opportunities and better welfare for the rural populace if efforts are made to improve the state of infrastructure.

4.2.6 Effect of Violence, Oppression and Fear on Socio-economic Development of Nkayi

Violence, oppression and fear affects the well-being of society. In the words of Scoones (1998), the notion of well-being and capability provide a wide definitional scope for the livelihoods concept. Chambers (1997) reveals that a well-being approach to poverty and livelihoods analysis allows people themselves to define the criteria: self-esteem, security, happiness, stress, vulnerability, power and exclusion. Here is what the participants revealed about their well-being experiences:

FG1: *Our lives never move, we were oppressed by the whites.*

N13: *The liberation war destroyed infrastructure such as dip tanks and schools, which hampered development. After independence, there were dissidents who killed/terrorised people non-selectively. Dissidents were in the area from the time of the Ntumbane battle up to Unity accord. Dissidents could impregnate school pupils, teachers ran away from the area.*

FA1: *[name supplied] was chief in Inyathi, but when we arrived here he was demoted from governing the people that he had come with.*

FA3: *Nkayi people faced difficulties especially in the issue of education. There was no freedom before 1980, the people had fear. Teachers were captured.*

G02: *Nkayi is becoming free and quiet, in this part of Nkayi there is no chaos. I dislike that there are cases of violence/squabbles in some places which is so negative. I wouldn’t want to put myself in the shoes of the victims, how painful it is to suffer the violence.*
FC1: We saw the violence during the liberation war and we were affected as all the forces passed through the area. We again suffered the violence after independence and many of our relatives died and many have never been the same since that time, even though we were lucky to survive. We live in fear, we cannot trust the strangers we do not know. Even though we have agreed to talk to you, we do not know what may happen to us after you have left.

N13: For 25 years I have been living and operating in Nkayi, I have seen the violent nature of the people, fighting is more pronounced around business centres. Before I was married here, I knew Nkayi for its violence through stories from relatives.

Q1: Evident in the district is fear and apprehension due to past political disturbances.

The words of the participants show how violence has affected the well-being of the people of Nkayi. The state of powerlessness, fear and trauma is revealed in the numerous conflicts such as pre and post-independence hostilities experienced and survived by the Nkayi people. There is oppressive fear following the stated experiences that the same things might happen again. The Nkayi people are afraid of cycles of losing control of their feelings, charting their destiny and breakdown.

The results confirm Ndlovu-Gatsheni’s (2008) observation on Matabeleland that the people have been constant strangers in their own land and their own culture and their own space right from Lobengula’s time, colonial times to the post-independence era. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2008) noted that the Ndebele particularism is a product of grievance and resentment. In Ndlovu-Gatsheni’s writings, “Ndebele” is a social construct referring not only to ethnicity or language but geography which is the inclusive and assimilationist thesis.
The violent experiences were not only institutionalised but perpetrated within the communities with people turning against each other. Fighting dampens development as it erodes trust and is divisive between families, villages and communities, especially if there is loss of life of a breadwinner. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2003) also observed that the bitterness and the memory of having lost family members, relatives and friends did not go away with the Unity Accord of 1987.

4.2.7 Effect of Religious and Cultural Experiences on Socio-economic Development of Nkayi

This sub-theme looks at religion as it emerged from the data. The views came from the communal people, mostly the villagers in the study. In the African context, religion is as important as development itself; the religious lenses being instrumental in explaining well-being. This is what the people had to say about religion:

FA1: The gospel was not for the people, it belonged to the whites. People were transported to Zinyangeni for prayers. We were not free in religion, we had to take instruction from the whites.

N40: Our church has both been impacting communities both spiritually and developmentally. We spread the gospel through preaching, building churches, schools and clinics to make lives easier for the people. We fill the gap and help the government as the local people identify projects and the church mobilises resources.

N13: To curb this violence, there is need for more churches within communities because the gospel can change a person. Nkayi has few churches. The church uplifts souls of people and breeds unconditional love and forgiveness which our society longs for because of what we went through.
Religion is an expression of spirituality. ORAP (2010) confirms spirituality as values, orientation and practice to generate and re-generate systems of values and morality in a community. The violence cited by N13 suggests degenerative systems of values within community. The words of N13 above point to forgiveness and to churches as a solution to ameliorating the bitterness within the people of Nkayi.

Alkire (2006) states that religion is no panacea, but aspects of it can complement as well as motivate, obstruct or undermine development. The avenues by which religion influences development activities in different faiths and regions are haunting in their complexity. Religious people and institutions may be agents of advocacy, funding, innovation, empowerment, social movements, and service delivery.

Much of the development in Nkayi on education and health has been facilitated by religious institutions through working with the communities. Institutions such as the Presbyterian, Anglican, Seventh Day Adventist and the Roman Catholic Churches have been establishing mission hospitals, clinics and schools to help Nkayi communities.

Contrary to the positives of religion, participant FG1 noted that they were transported to Zinyangeni for prayers and they were not free in religion. This experience undermines the spirituality of the people. This is confirmed by Alkire (2006) who states that equally, religious people and institutions can incite violence, model hierarchy, oppose empowerment (women should stay at home); deflect advocacy (we care about the next life); absorb funding (build a new worship hall); and cast aspersions on service delivery (they are trying to convert you). One of the key issues that arose after the Gukurahundi period is the fact that although the Catholic
Church was the only religious institution to report on and give voice to the happenings and violence in the area (CRF, 1998), there was no programmatic follow up to deal with the victims and their traumatic experiences. This adds credence to FG1s perspective that religion and its institutions where forced upon them and did not belong.

The study concludes that Nkayi grew as a composite, socially differentiated District through land evictions and movement of people for economic, employment, socially and matrimonial reasons. Culture is presented as a lived and experiential phenomenon, which creates unique coping strategies and modes of behaviour between actors in a particular community and its conception of the ‘other’ (be it the state, development agencies, local governing authorities etc). The diverse origins of the people in Nkayi have meant diverse modes of behavioural patterns shaped by where they originated from and the experiences they have had in the course of living in Nkayi district. Narayan and Petesch (2007) observes that culture is a useful lens through which to view the different mechanisms used by particular communities to escape or cope with poverty.

4.3 Developmental and Socio-Economic Issues of Nkayi

After considering the lived experiences of the people of Nkayi in 4.2, this section looks at Nkayi’s development and socio-economic issues. The participants described aspects of development contextually in political, social, economic, technological and environmental terms. In expanding on the theme, I begin with highlighting the state of the development trajectory.
4.3.1 Description of Nkayi Development

This sub-theme looks at the description of development. The participants described development in different ways, the tone was more on the need for development. However, they acknowledged that Nkayi is not where it used to be. The following are the views of the participants:

Q1: Nkayi’s development is in two parts. Firstly, there are areas which compare well with modern development (clean water, sanitation, food, road network, schools closer to their catchment) predominantly these are in Nkayi South. The other parts are very much under developed and remote with poor road network, no clean water and sanitation, poor communication, high school dropouts and few secondary schools especially in Nkayi North.

FE1: Development is knitted together with culture and improves your quality of life. Development is having good sanitation, knowledge of how to use agricultural facilities, know the value of education. Development is noticeable through improvements of projects, peace, unity, observance of human rights and no violence against women, minorities or communities.

FE2: Development is creating skilled people and employing them. I am a nurse because of development. A development ecosystem is worthwhile if there is a population of skilled people with activities to employ the people.

G11: There has been a steady development from being rated as the worst developed district in the province. Some still refer the District as the worst in terms of development.

N11: Development in Nkayi had been moving at a snail’s pace much to the disadvantage of the people whose livelihoods remain in a poor state.

N27: Nkayi is referred to as being in a state of darkness (komnyam’ ubambile) and this says a lot about the people’s perspective on the state of development in their District.
G15: Nkayi is lagging behind in terms of development, for example, there are no banks to talk about except for POSB.

Most of the participants conceded that Nkayi was lagging behind in terms of development, being rated amongst the lowest developed in the province. Tshuma (2017) confirms this when he wrote that, “the bleak developmental outlook of Nkayi, rated as the poorest district in the country, calls for concerted effort in redressing the developmental challenges that had bedevilled the district”. In making investments, people consider the level of development of the area as the more developed tend to reduce the costs of business while underdevelopment increases costs as these enterprises may not enjoy economies of scale and other discounts. This explains the reason why only retail business were the major economic undertaking in Nkayi.

4.3.2 Nkayi Poverty Outlook

After presenting how the participants described the state of development in Nkayi, this section looks at the outlook of poverty in Nkayi as understood by the people in the study. There is a relationship on many levels between the state of development and wider outlook of poverty which is presented in this analysis. Below are the words of the participants:

N19: The poverty in Nkayi is transferrable between generations as it dwells in the mind more than anything: if the elders are uneducated, parents are bound not to prioritise education. Livestock has been used as display rather than assisting in making families better. Lack of key services such as water also feeds poverty. Poor mind-sets create poverty. The mind-set of whites was that if you know nothing, better go to school; the mind-set of our people is that if you know nothing, better stay at home and wait for relief.
Q1: Poverty is rampant. There are high school dropouts. Most importantly is psychological poverty, low self-esteem and self-efficacy. Also there is political poverty- the educated and elite see politics as a dirty game leaving the less educated to participate.

N01: Poverty is a mind-set. Reliance on donations creates poverty. The lack of sustaining projects breeds poverty. Some people have cattle, but do not want to sell to invest in their children’s education.

N013: Poverty is there for those who do not appreciate taking initiatives. Poverty manifests through lack of education- no writing/ reading skills. The District has many diseases such as anthrax, blackleg, new castle and these reduce wealth because there is lack of managing and preventing diseases.

N06: Nkayi has poverty. It can be seen through: bad roads, lack of dams and irrigation activities to sustain livelihoods, there are no alternatives to sustain livelihoods. Paying fees for our children is a problem. There are no opportunities for continuing education because we don’t have any colleges in the district.

N08: First and foremost, our poverty emanates from the fact that we plough and do not get much from the fields either as a result of lack of inputs -fertilisers in soils that do not keep fertility, or, irregular rainfall patterns. Some of our people are lazy. There is lack of education, to give good developmental mind-sets. There is also a lack of appreciation for education. Therefore, to reform, people-both young and old need educational programmes to get out of poverty.

Many people felt poverty was high in the District while very few thought it partially existed. The high prevalence of poverty is confirmed in an assessment of economic actors in the MSME sector of Nkayi which found that, “In terms of poverty prevalence rate the district is highly impoverished recording 95.6%”. According to ZIMSTAT (2015) the poverty prevalence figure
was 96% as two significant numbers which is in accord with the 95.6% given as three significant figures.

Matabeleland North has the most extreme recorded cases of poverty with the highest rate of out of school children, with the least average rural household income and Nkayi, has the highest proportions of food insecure households (Zim VAC, 2014).

Poverty existed and manifested in different forms. McCaston et al (2005) broadly classifies the causes of poverty into three categories: immediate causes which are those factors that are directly related to physical life and death situations; intermediate causes which focus on what people and communities lack (needs based) and thirdly the underlying causes which attempt to analyse intermediate cases by raising questions related to systems and the structural underpinnings that govern particular societies. From the literature, Nkayi was rated as one of the poorest districts in Zimbabwe having few capital to make a viable economy (Zimstat, 2012).

In describing the poor, Singer (2004) describes the poor as people experiencing a condition of life characterised by malnutrition, illiteracy, disease, squalid surroundings, high infant mortality and low life expectancy. Stark (2009, 386) conceptualised poverty as either an objective level of deprivation that can be measured and analysed across the divide using set standards such as income basket and per capita GDP or a relative deprivation that is best understood within a context. The common indicator in poverty is vulnerability to any shock. Stark (2009) wrote that people so incredibly poor are extremely vulnerable to even minor changes in natural and social-economic conditions as well as to many forms of exploitation and abuse. However, as shown
poverty goes beyond the arguments of the above authors, going beyond lack and statistical measurements which are superficial.

From the participants’ views, poverty is endemic in Nkayi and dependency on relief is rife as argued by Singer (2004). The mentality of relief dependency is confirmed by Beaulier and Caplan (2007) who argue that, “the welfare state perversely harms the very people it intends to help. Giving hand-outs (food and money) to the poor reduces their incentives”. The people of Nkayi lamented that year in, year out, the very same people get relief food aid yet this should not be normal as people should work for their families rather than rely on the hand-outs. The prevalent vulnerability and anticipation made the people easily manipulated through such hand-outs.

From the study emerged cases that are distinguished from the usual material deprivation as a conceptualisation of poverty. The findings contradict Small, et al (2010) who argue that “the greatest barrier to middle-class status among the poor is sustained material deprivation itself”. The nature of the poverty in Nkayi encompassed psychological, emotional, and generational aspects in addition to financial and material deprivation.

The extent of poverty in Nkayi did not only entail just having unsatisfied material needs or being undernourished as alluded to by N19. Beyond the material deprivation was the degrading state of powerlessness and helplessness, the poor people endure and have to accept the overwhelming daily humiliations without protest. Psychologically, such a state of powerlessness and not being able to provide is accompanied by a strong sense of shame and failure. According to Singer (2009), when they are trapped in poverty, the poor lose hope of
ever escaping from their hard work for which they often have nothing to show beyond bare survival.

In addition to the war and conflict disturbances, trauma can be caused by lack of social amenities, such as illness and poor education as well as economic pressures. The existing approaches have been on mitigating rather than deracinating these ills. The reality in Nkayi is that after all these traumas, people need to be helped to get out of those traumas, including the impact of violence. The people were not psychologically assisted to cope, instead there was the project approach to coping. Thus, the consequences of fear became intergenerational. There was no intervention to give the people the other side of positivity, thus fear was perpetuated to become intergenerational. In post war South Africa, people were assisted psychologically to get out of the trauma, Nkayi was left alone to cope, and especially that it is the Government that brought the violence on them. In most cases it was the rulers from Lobengula, Smith and post-independence.

The evidence from the study supports the notion that the causes of poverty cannot be delinked from their socio-economic historical bases. The displacement of the people from their land created fissures that related not just to reproductive labour, capital accumulation, or productive capability. It also disrupted the social fabric of communities in ways that resonated generations later. Nkayi did not have a viable economy to employ its locals and this forced many of the people to trek to other cities and countries in search of job opportunities to provide for their families. Employment availability is widely recognised as a way of escaping poverty and people become poorer when employment is not available to meet family needs.
4.3.3 Factors Affecting Nkayi’s Development

After describing the state of development, the participants highlighted their views on what affected the development of the District. Themes that emerged were drought, poor education system, pests and diseases, corruption, ineffective leadership, high taxes, poor markets and marketing efforts, lack of resources, lack of unity for development, fear, inadequate projects, lack of finance (funds) and development institutions, lack of support for local initiatives/projects, poor infrastructure and communication networks.

The people largely expressed that the state of development was more as a result of external issues which occurred to them. This view has emerged from literature with Alexander, McGregor and Ranger (2000) arguing that “exogenous generational shocks that were endured by these communities have led to a lack of formal participation in the economy and development. Such shocks pertain to the mass forced migration of people to what is currently Nkayi and Lupane from Matabeleland South, the persistent droughts that have affected the region, the impact of post-independence destabilisation”.

4.3.3.1 Banking and Financing Services

This sub-theme considers how financial services affect development in Nkayi. With regards to financing and development institutions, many participants lamented the lack of banking and financial institutions in Nkayi District with communities having to increase expenditures to travel to nearest towns such as Kwekwe, Gweru and Bulawayo.
There are no financial institutions in Nkayi, people have to travel to major cities to get services. Because the services were far away from the people, the people lacked exchange and interactions with financial services.

There are no banks except for POSB and we end up travelling to Bulawayo, Kwekwe or Gweru to access banking services.

We do not easily get loans because they did not have knowledge about applying for money and that it was difficult for them to be assessed if they were fit to get loans as visits to communities by officials needed lots of resources both in time, travelling and welfare.

Getting money is a problem for us unless we travel to bigger towns. This problem has seen us barter trading with our crops or selling our crops at give-away prices because we need cash for things and emergencies we cannot pay with our crops.

The lack of banking and finance services in Nkayi affect development. Smith (2001) confirms the importance of financing services for rural economies: rural financial services are nowadays concerned with a variety of services, including not only agricultural lending but lending to farm households for non-agricultural production and consumption purposes, loans made to non-farm rural firms, rural savings deposit services and other financial services such as insurance. In an agro-based economy, the effect of inadequacy of funds and poor education, is an undeveloped sector contributing to low productivity, poor distribution and low consumption hence to the weak development of the country (Ackar and Ackar, 2016).

It emerged that the people shunned taking loans from financial institutions for fear of losing collateral. This is attributed to low financial education and awareness of existing financial models. The real effect of financial services is felt through outreach and other interactions with
communities who are not necessarily poor but have unbanked assets in the form of livestock and crop produce.

In a study on the impact of rural banking on economic development, Ackar and Ackar (2016) found that for the bank to be able to contribute effectively to economic development, further education of the rural folks must be undertaken so as to enlighten the people about the benefits that come with banking. Until that is done, the banks' impact on economic development remains relatively low.

4.3.3.2 Infrastructure Development

This sub-theme looks at how infrastructure has affected Nkayi’s development. Abur, Ademoyewa and Damkor (2015) state that the role of infrastructure is complex and its effects are indirect. Most of the participants in all the categories lamented the bad shape of infrastructure in the district, the roads were seen as negatively affecting the flow of development into the district with many investors shunning the District because the road network is terrible. Below is what the participants said:

N22: The area has been underdeveloped for a long time. Now there has been a business centre and still developing. We now have an irrigation scheme and boreholes which give us clean water.

G14: Development is moving at a very slow pace although major activities should be agriculturally oriented but without dams it is not possible to do irrigation.
N01: There is some change in the development outlook of the district. The road that we have in the area (ward 7) was constructed in 2005. We still need improvements on the road network and bridges.

N13: Development is slow here in Nkayi. The government is trying by all means but people are responding slowly.

G07: While our department has a will to fix and maintain roads, and having equipment: lack of fuel affects our response to fixing bad roads in the district. Business people have never volunteered fuel to fix roads although the department assists the community with its machinery with the community using their own fuel.

N23: Nkayi does not have much infrastructural developments to talk about. The centre is still a growth point and falls short to be a district centre. Our children walk for over 20 kilometres to attend school and some have to stay with strangers near schools, similar to what boarding schools do. We have few clinics and hospitals to service our District.

N11: Water is a problem in the District yet we have many rivers on which dams can be constructed for water harvesting. We need water for agriculture which is the backbone of our livelihoods because rain is unreliable and there is not much other than agriculture to support livelihoods.

N36: Development is better because we now have schools, hospitals and clinics.

Q2: We waited for a long time for electrification of the area. This affected the technical projects we are doing in the area. Now we finally have electricity but running water remains a problem as our work needs constant water supplies. It is costly to drill boreholes considering the distance that is charged and the dryness of the area.
Infrastructure is the base and catalyst for development. Romp and deHaan (2005) substantiated that there appears to be consensus that infrastructure matters more for growth in lower income countries. Many of the participants spoke about poor roads, energy, and water supply infrastructure as affecting their economic activities in Nkayi district. Charley, Qaim and Smith-Hall (2015) confirm this by highlighting that weak public infrastructure may contribute to poverty and inequality. Their study found that roads are a key factor that affects rural incomes in developing countries. By analysing household data before and after a road construction, it appeared that the road had contributed to decreasing income inequality. The poorest households gained most from the road construction, making it a pro-poor development intervention.

In their study, Abur, Ademoyewa and Damkor (2015) concluded that rural road infrastructure has an influence on productivity and income of farmers which translate into creation of employment and better welfare for the rural populace.

Manjunath and Kannane (2015) established that the role of availability of infrastructures in rural areas is contributing to agricultural productivity. Along with the provision of infrastructures, fertiliser input continues to play an important role in agricultural development. The study provides evidence in support of greater investment in infrastructures in rural areas while at the same time stressing the need to take steps to maximise the utilisation of existing resources.

Cook (2013) recognise that infrastructure affects growth through a number of channels both direct and indirect. The most evident direct link is through the productivity effect: where an increase in the quantity of infrastructure ought to raise the productivity of other factors. This process can be applied to infrastructural investment in remote areas and result in an increase
and diversified range of private investments in productive activities. Developing infrastructure contributes to improving health and education which increases labour productivity in both the short and longer terms.

Esfahani and Ramirez (2003) conclude that poor economic performance in Sub-Saharan Africa was due to under investment in electricity and telecommunications. Cook (1999) revealed that some of the blame for the poor performance of low income economies has been linked to the adverse effects on infrastructure investment resulting from the pursuit of economic liberalisation and forms of structural adjustment policies in the 1980s, which called for smaller government and reduced public expenditure.

### 4.3.3.3 Agricultural Activities

The previous section looked at the infrastructural issues affecting development. This section looks at how agricultural activities affect development in Nkayi. Nkayi is justifiably an agro-based rural economy as agriculture stands out as the main economic activity in the district. It emerged that Nkayi has a variety of resilient agricultural activities spanning the farming of a variety of crops, livestock and forestry. Here is what the participants said:

**G01:** *The people believe so much in keeping cattle.*

**N26:** *Our people are so attached to their livestock. They are not willing to exchange it for other investments yet the sad reality is that when outbreaks come they wipe out their livestock leaving them poorer.*
N03: I am a farmer and I get better yields by mixing crops. If we have plenty rain, maize does well and without rain the small grains do well. When we are fortunate we have surplus to sell or exchange with other communities, because some areas do not produce much.

N10: We do not have industries to talk about, but we have our returns from agriculture. Different parts of Nkayi have different types of soils which are suitable for different crops. Small grains do well in the District.

N04: We produce much produce from our fields but we have problems selling because of long distances to the major markets, poor roads which increase costs of transportation. At the end we do not get much as the larger share is eaten by transport.

G22: We have been far away from the markets for our produce, the costs of transportation are high. Those who come to buy from us take advantage and pay us little for our products.

Q1: Nkayi has had perennial droughts marked by depletion of cattle/ livestock and poor yields. This is too much for an agro-based economy such that it cannot grow.

Most of the participants acknowledged that the main economic activity in Nkayi is agriculture. Lokesha and Mahesha (2016) stress that agriculture plays an essential role in the process of economic development of less developed countries.

A baseline validation report on Nkayi district confirms the above, stating that livelihoods are centred mainly on crop and livestock production with maize and sorghum as the preferred crops in the semi-arid district (Tshuma, 2017). The report reveals that the main livelihood activities are livestock (beef and goats), vegetable production, crop production, poultry (local chickens and guinea fowls) and lastly basketry.
4.3.3.4 Investment and Market Behaviour

The previous section established that agriculture was the main economic activity in Nkayi sustaining livelihoods and development. This section considers how investments and markets affect development. Below is what the participants said about investments and markets:

**G03:** Nkayi has had low investments and as a result some of the services are not always readily available.

**G01:** The people are taught business skills like money management at Gwelutshena Development Centre which they can leverage for loans. However, the syndrome is that the people see it better to have 20 cattle rather than investing somewhere like education of children or a business venture. They should lose the cattle and invest in business or educate children who will take care of them tomorrow.

**N26:** Our people are so attached to their livestock. They are not willing to exchange it for other investments yet the sad reality is that when outbreaks come they wipe out their livestock leaving them poorer.

**G14:** The district is endowed with large and small livestock that can be utilised to turn around the fortunes of the people of Nkayi.

**N11:** We do not have markets and buyers of our produce, so it becomes difficult to send our children to school and pay their fees.

Dercon (2007) says that risks and vulnerability lead to fear, uncertainty, lack of self-confidence and unwilling to move out of routine business as usual, to new innovative and unfamiliar territory. He further says, “these conditions have been related to peoples past history of negative impacts of drought, hunger, conflict, political instability and oppression. Cohen (2006) further
added that, “people who have gone through disasters, wars, and violent situations lessen their exposure to risk by limiting their activities both social and economic, to those areas that are within their risk management strategies and skills.

The Nkayi baseline validation workshop report (2017) confirms the issue of resources in Nkayi pointing out that the natural endowments of the district are enough to serve as a springboard for sustainable development turnaround. The resources in Nkayi include hardwood forests, gold deposits, wildlife, industrial clay, palm fan, Mbazhe bird sanctuary and wetlands for vegetable production. The report emphasises capacity development of enterprise groups, especially of women and youths and support through seed capital as a way of maximising on utilisation of opportunities around them,

4.3.3.5 Education and Development

The previous section looked at the investment and market behaviour in Nkayi and how it affects development. This sub-theme looks at education and how it affects development. The participants regarded education as having affected the development of the district. Below is what the participants said:

N02: The people here have for a long time not been exposed to education, thus the current mind-sets are not set for development.

Q1: In education, there is very few or low percentage pass rate. These low pass rates mean the local people cannot get jobs in the formal economy where five O’levels are required for employment. The low level of education causes exclusion from government departments.

N08: The lack of education in our people means less appreciation of development and our jobs posts get filled by foreigners.
N16: *Nkayi District is lagging behind mainly because it didn’t have “wholesome education - from primary to higher education readily in the District.*

N13: *People who lack education are weak willed because for us to develop we first need to educate people, some fail to educate their children. Again on the issue of education, what I don’t like is that primary students are taught by Ndebele non speaking teachers which affects the performance and attitude towards education.*

Most of the participants lamented how education was key for development but the people did not undergo formal education. The younger generation has been disinterested in education as marked by the high school dropout rate and even in some cases where they were assisted by BEAM and NGOs. Participant N16 remarked that Nkayi was lagging behind because it did not have education within the district where students would have to pursue higher education outside of the district which is costly for rural communities.

The lack of qualifications of the local people was disadvantaging them when it came to formal employment. The people had become limited to menial jobs and outsiders getting the better jobs in the district. It is pertinent to consider the non-academic skillsets of the people in a rural district as these people have survived for decades without formal education. The talents and skills must be recognised in developing their areas as these have worked for them and sustained their livelihoods.

**4.3.3.6 Unity and its Effect on Nkayi Development**

The previous section considered how education affected development. This section presents the role of unity in development. Below is what the participants said about the state of unity and how it was affecting development:
**N02:** One of the precursors to development is unity. Unity has improved in the area, it was not like this before. With unity, we can achieve more for our district.

**N08:** We have two types of people in the district: those who welcome and those who do not welcome development as it comes to the people. Things happen when they get into the hands of the pro-development people. Those who oppose development pull back the efforts to develop the area.

**G01:** There is very good cooperation in development. The people are responsible in the ward (ward 4). I have been self-sufficient, it could be because I work and I am also a farmer here in the ward. I interact well with the veterinary, education and health departments.

**Q1:** One thing that has affected development is politics and marginalisation of the district. Initiatives happening in other places do not come to Nkayi and if they do they come without zeal and energy to enthral the people.

The participants remarked that unity had improved in the district leading to some notable development as stated by N02. Contrary to the above, other participants felt there was antagonism leading to sabotaging and not pulling together in projects. Wheelan (1998, 142) supports the idea of unity through what he terms organised interests. Nkayi people if they become organised, have the potential to achieve more than disorganised majorities in a community.
The evidence reveals that the lack of accountability and monitoring of projects and workers in the field due to lack of resources was, among other things, fuelling corruption and the abuse of office. Festus, Bassey and Uyang (2014) support this view highlighting that the manifestations and problems associated with corruption have various dimensions which have constrained authentic entrepreneurial development in both urban and rural communities. Among these are project substitution, development programme distortion, misrepresentation of project finances, diversion of resources to uses which they were not meant, even conversion of public funds to private uses, etc. Corruption stalls innovation in materially backward societies.
Moyo (2014) found that the prevalence of corruption in Zimbabwe is chiefly a consequence of a lack of political will to address the problem, and a myriad of complex factors. His thesis argues that political leadership and commitment to fight corruption is one of the most fundamental preconditions for success in the fight against it. Secondly, weak institutions have contributed to the proliferation of corruption in Zimbabwe. Moyo concluded that anti-corruption strategies are effective when they are participative and engage all stakeholders within society, but ultimately it is the level of power and ability to exercise agency that determines any real change.

Awojobi (2016) pinpoints that corruption is the core reason behind African underdevelopment and it laid emphasis on corruption and underdevelopment interface in Nigeria. For Africa to break the impasse of underdevelopment, the paper calls for good governance and the establishment of special agencies to monitor all development projects undertaken by African countries.

4.4 Challenges faced by Nkayi Community in Accessing Government and Non-Government Services

The previous section looked at the development and socio-economic issues of the district. This section looks at the issues and work of the government and non-governmental organisations in Nkayi as the institutions that are purported as the key drivers of development. The participants had varying perspectives on the work of the institutions and the challenges they faced with these organisations. The first sub-theme looks at the delivery of services and mandates by government departments.
4.4.1 Delivery of Services to the communities

This sub-theme looks at the delivery of services by the government institutions in Nkayi. The people were not satisfied with the services from the government departments— the institutions which should be spearheading development interventions. The government institutions cited challenges which were affecting their work. Below is what the participants said:

Q1: Departments fulfil mandates at a very minimal scale- they are underfunded and there is lack of political will. A case in point is the Nkayi- Bulawayo road which has taken over 20/30 years to complete.

G15: Some government departments are doing their best with little or no resources, but some are just cry-babies. Schools, hospitals and clinics are poorly equipped and there is no sewer at Nkayi centre.

FG4: We are not working properly with government departments as mandates are not fulfilled for example, fertilizer and other agricultural inputs have not been delivered to us as promised.

N06: We do not see the quality of the work the government is doing in the area.

G02: Government and NGOs should decentralise, and come to the people, because their messages are very much subject to misinterpretation.

G15: The government departments are not fulfilling their mandate largely because of lack of resources and infrastructure such as schools having inadequate classrooms and staff cottages. Outreach based departments such as Agritex do not have transport to visit farmers hence extension services fail.

FG1: There are not enough Agricultural extension workers. Government offices are ill-equipped. Government offices do not follow up, they do not implement programmes; impose development activities by outsiders for example spraying mosquitoes by outsiders when locals
can equally do the work. We don’t take advantage of opportunities such as Gwelutshena Training Centre. Some leaders are not qualified for their positions.

FG1: We don’t trust government offices, government projects do not reach us, they don’t get to the people.

FG4: We don’t trust government offices, government projects do not reach us. We don’t work well with the government offices; the officials are all from outside our area (district). Officials should not be chosen based on friendships and love.

The communities were also labelled as divided in working with the government and other institutions. Women were the ones who interacted with NGOs as men were uninvolved in the programmes. The only evidence of the interactions were the hand-outs given to communities and thus no real and tangible work such as infrastructure development that was ushered by the agents of development. The participants felt that the failure to get services was due to people from outside working in their districts. The national economic situation affected Nkayi District as well, government departments have logistical problems in getting to the people and also face resource challenges.

4.4.2 Interaction among Stakeholders

The previous subtheme looked at the delivery of services by government institutions. The subtheme considers the interaction amongst stakeholders in Nkayi. Hemson, Meyer and Maphunye (2004) argue that the democratic state has four spheres: the state (the administration), the public sphere (political parties), civil society sphere (civic institutions/social movements) and the primary or individual sphere (individual, family, community). Below is what the participants had to say:
Q1: Communities interact well with my organisation. In some wards we have grassroots structures where we use community dialogue.

Q2: Sometimes we deal with uncooperative government officials and this presents a challenge as our work is successful when we work hand in glove with the government.

G16: The community is interacting very well with NGOs as this is shown by the number of NGOs working in the District such as Care and World Vision.

Q4: Interaction among stakeholders has been good but still the resources such as transport and fuel are inadequate as places are dispersed.

G01: NGOs come to the people explaining what they are doing and addressing people. They, however, need to improve on listening to the people directly rather than through Village Heads and chiefs who may not be educated. Currently information dissemination has been through leadership rather than directly to the people which creates confusion.

N07: We do not work well with some government officials. They come to work with us, yet, they do not speak our language well. Language is sometimes a barrier to our effective communication.

N23: One thing that makes our work and lives a lot easier, is living and working the government and NGO staff. If these people live and work amongst us, it becomes easier for them to understand our challenges and our way of life, such that, they make decisions or write what they write very well.

Most of the participants stated the unfulfilled promises and how the government institutions were falling short of meeting the needs of rural communities and developing the district. OECD supports this notion, pointing out that, “service delivery in rural areas is more costly than in urban areas - a key challenge for governments at all levels”. OECD (2017) state that rural
regions face a particular challenge in the form of relatively high costs of service delivery due to a number of factors:

- Lower density populations,
- Larger distances that have to be travelled by service users and service providers,
- Small numbers of people in any location that preclude economies of scale.

Nkayi is sparsely populated in a non-linear format and some places being far from the road networks. This increases the cost of delivering services and constructing infrastructure as highlighted in section 4.2 and 4.3.

In an inquiry report to ORAP, Mpofu and Dube (2002) point out that in Nkayi, development organisations lose their impact among villagers when there is little communication with staff employees who do not respond to their concerns. The most helpful structure is then field coordinators who live with the villagers so that they know and understand their problems. Villagers valued instances when top officials visited their communities.

### 4.4.3 Resource Availability

The previous section looked at service delivery by government institutions who are the key players in rural development. This section looks at resource availability in order to develop Nkayi district. Below is what the participants said:

**Q3:** The lack of resources affects our work. Because of lack of resources, we end up working half jobs which affects our success indicators.
Q4: The government institutions are affected by poor resource base. The resource base affects motivation and service delivery.

G17: The government does not have money. We are in a harsh economy, hence our operations are affected. As you know, Nkayi is an agro-based economy and our department should be having officers serving and monitoring in every ward, but we do not have the motorcycles to do the job efficiently and effectively.

N06: In our economy, everyone is suffering. The government has not been spared and they are not able to meet all our needs. Sometimes, it makes us feel neglected but it’s our harsh environment.

The study reveals that resources limited development work in Nkayi District. Nkomo (2017) notes that most local authorities, both rural and urban, have very narrow revenue bases resulting in limited budgets, which culminate in poor service delivery.

Presently, Nkayi was not effectively utilising its resource endowments. Most of the people highlighted how the resources they have are not viable economically. Tshuma (2017) supports the view that Nkayi has not been effectively utilising its resources. He argues that the natural endowments of the district are enough to serve as a spring board for sustainable development turnaround. He emphasises that capacity development of enterprise groups especially of women and youth, support through seed capital as a way of maximising the utilisation of opportunities around them.
4.4.4 Development Approaches

The previous section found that resource availability is crucial for Nkayi’s development. This section considers the development approaches that have been used in delivering development to the people of Nkayi. The participants said:

Q1: *We use the bottom-up approach where people develop themselves. People should identify their own development challenges and profile solutions with the help of leaders. Active community participation is the key indicator of success and if communities are able to initiate their own development.*

Q3: *We aim to alleviate poverty through job creation and enterprise formation in the communities in Wards 4, 5, 18, 19, 22 and 29.*

Q4: *We use the community-based approach: bottom-up where identification of projects starts at village level, then ward to district level before implementation. Each ward prioritises what development projects they want.*

G16: *The people of Nkayi need to have interest and take part in the development of their area. By this I mean the people must be proactive from all age groups towards their development.*

G11: *The development approach of the district is enshrined in the Rural Councils Act. The Act bestows much onus on the communities for development using the bottom-up approach, where, the people at grassroots come identify projects which are then taken up to the District level for approval. However, the VIDCOs, WADCOs and Ward Assemblies are not functional in many wards.*

The bottom-up approach stated by the participants is supported as a ‘brilliant development framework for rural development’ (Nkomo, 2017) but, unfortunately, development structures are dysfunctional and fail to develop village and ward plans. The bottom-up framework relies
on community confidence, unity, and participation. The study found that the bottom-up framework was not functioning in most of the areas and there was no coordination of activities.

Development, as envisaged by the Traditional Leaders Act and the Rural District Councils Act, begins at village level through village development committees (VIDCOs), which are supposed to develop village plans. These plans then cascade upwards to ward development committees (WADCOs) chaired by councilors and then the ward assembly chaired by a headman or headwoman.

4.5 Views on Development Problems and Future

The previous theme looked at the challenges faced by the Nkayi community in accessing and providing government and non-government services. This section looks at the views of the participants on the development problems and their future. The people were hopeful that Nkayi still had what it takes to develop into a prosperous district. The first theme looks at skills development.

4.5.1 Skills Development

This subtheme looks at skills development as a way of improving the livelihoods of the people of Nkayi. Below is what the participants said:

Q1: There is need for skills development programmes to create entrepreneurs who can capitalise on the natural resources available in the District.
FA4: Youths should get education. Parents should release us, we also need projects. And we should work at our own place.

Q7: Skills training is the cornerstone for youth development. Currently, there are very few and poorly resourced programmes being carried out.

G7: The district needs robust education and training programmes that ensure adequate addressing of current problems.

N07: Building more training centres which can produce and small and medium entrepreneurs.

G16: Nkayi needs an intensive educational campaign on the youths as a whole in terms of development.

N18: The education system is important in preparing our youths to lead. However, the rates of drop-outs is alarming where some go to towns and live a reckless life and most of them return when they are ill. To go beyond the educational system is counselling services with support from stakeholders like the MPs, Ministers and social welfare.

Q4: Training youths in Agro-based income generating activities (IGA) such as farming-as-a-business. These should be linked to markets. Youths must also be attached to highly productive sectors for them to have experience on the job.

Most of the participants highly regarded skills development through education and training as key for development. This was stated with the youths in mind as the imminent economic players and leaders of the district. This is in line with the notion of Easwara Rao and Jagannmohana Rao’s (2014) that, the youths are not only legitimately regarded as the future leaders, but, are potentially and actually the greatest investment for a country’s development. They serve as a good measure of the extent to which a country can reproduce as well as sustain itself. The extent
of their vitality, responsible conduct and roles in society is positively correlated with the
development of their country.

Confirming the role of skills development on rural youths, Nyika (2016) found that skills
acquired from the programme helped the youths be actively involved in income generating
projects. However, because of the unavailability of a market for their products and resources
for their projects, the youths moved to urban centres where resources and demand for their
products are available.

In an evaluative study on the impact of rural skills development training for poverty alleviation
in Bulilima district, Dube (2013) shows that basic education plays a big role in making
vocational trainings. It was understood that people who had high school education stood a better
chance in understanding training and being able to put it in practice. Dube (2013), found that
people respond better to trainings if they are encouraged to come up with problem solution
themselves and thus giving them a hands on training.

4.5.2 Communities as Development Agents

The previous theme looked at the role of skills development in imparting skills and solving
problems in Nkayi, a district that was largely rated as uneducated. This theme looks at
communities as development agents. Here is what the participants said:

FG1: Unity is the only way forward. Everyone should be a leader. The communities need to
respect those serving as leaders. There is also need for the induction of leaders when they
assume roles so that they become knowledgeable. There is need for road construction.
Q1: People of Nkayi are the authentic resource required for sustainable development, therefore Nkayi residents must take the initiative.

Q5: Community participation is the cornerstone for sustainable development

FA3: We need to stop looking down upon each other, for example, the educated should not look down upon the uneducated as we need each other to develop the region.

G22: Communities should be taught to own the development happening or identified in their area. They should be part of the identification of community needs. They should come out of “angilalutho” attitude and contribute something to development in their schools, dams, boreholes, clinics among other projects. The village and ward structures should feed into the district development plans. Additionally, leadership should speak with a single voice on developmental issues such as land use planning and on the need to come out of dependence.

N08: The problems bedevilling Nkayi’s development can be curtailed “through working together, the people should stop being lazy and do things for themselves (baenzele). We need to be humble to look for help with issues negatively impacting Nkayi. The authorities should avail jobs for the active local people and also bring services to the people. People should focus on development and leave divisive politics aside.

G01: To solve the problems, people need to be enlightened on what development is. Through working together, helping each other and educating each other. Mind-sets are the greatest assets for development.

N03: The people should be taught about development. We also need to change the worldviews of the people by effectively using role models and mentors. Division and disunity among the people has caused most of the underdevelopment that we see, to move forward, we need to break polarisation of views when it comes to development. The people should know their rights and
responsibilities and act in a reputable manner. The leaders should not segregate but be inclusive.

FC5: Education is important—the only requisite for leadership. Parents should encourage their children to read and write. Nkayi people do not like to work that’s why they are not able to lead.

FE3: Parents should be role models to the youths. We need workshops to educate these youths. They should not be involved in elders’ secrets.

FB2: Youths are not supposed to lead. Youths have no respect, they do not respect each other and their elders. They have to prepare themselves.

G16: The youths should be very active in programmes and champion issues of development in every function regardless of what it may be. Programmes and projects must be tailor made for the youths. The youths must be given the opportunity to lead and initiate their goals as the next generation because currently, they are very limited.

FE 4: Development entails unity of people, having unity of purpose and plan together from family to community.

Q4: Involvement of all social classes and groups in planning.

The evidence above reveals that participation of all social classes and groups is key for development. With the community as custodians and advocates of their initiatives, they innately become the development agents without depending on incentives from outsiders.

Emeh, Eluwa and Ukah (2012) confirm the above, pointing out that the philosophy of people’s participation in rural community development is increasingly gaining acceptance as an important instrument for mobilising resources and organising the rural populace to have cogent
interests in providing for their wellbeing. While Nkayi had the bottom-up framework, the disunity and lack of coordination was negatively affecting development initiatives.

Participant N03, revealed the schism in the current community dynamics that are existent in Nkayi and were affecting development. In their words: “Division and disunity among the people has caused most of what we see, to move forward, we need to break polarisation of views when it comes to development.”

The negative community dynamics are confirmed by Tagarirofa and Chazovachii (2013) who, in their empirical study, reveal that the level of community participation was not only minimal, but also top down. This had much to do with the negative perceptions by facilitating agents viewing local people as passive recipients of externally crafted models of development and other factors such as the power dynamics within and between the community and other stakeholders. The research also found preferential treatment of tribal groups by the facilitating agent, intra group conflicts and bureaucratic and political influence as obstacles militating against effective participation.

To demonstrate the central role of communities in community development is the ORAP approach according to which, community groups are not only executing bodies, but are viewed as channels for dialogue on development initiatives, philosophy, approaches and behaviour change (ORAP, 2010).
In a study on the challenges and barriers to community participation in rural development initiatives, Chifamba (2013) found that there was a relatively low degree of community influence or control over organisations in which community members participate, especially given that the services were usually controlled by people who are not poor or recipients of services. Community members needed to have real power to affect the outcome of rural development process as participation was commonly an empty ritual. The study noted that participatory rural development has no predetermined outcomes; it could lead to transformation and change in the social patterns and sometimes it perpetuated and triggered the antithesis of community liberation, devolution and distribution of power among various stakeholder.

The youths, according to G16 should champion and be proactive in programmes as they have the energy and might to safeguard programmes. The disrespectful attitudes among the young people was causing discontinuity and sabotage of programmes. The elderly seriously believed in the potential within the young people as future leaders, and as such needed to be mentored and prepared to manage economic activities and resources in the district.

The incoherent elements characterised as causing discontinuity and sabotage were reported in literature. Chirenje, Giliba and Musamba (2013) reported that the pronounced involvement of communities in the implementation of programmes, coupled with a dearth of ownership of the projects through planning and budgeting, caused lack of commitment to the programmes and at times hostile reaction from the communities. At the end, communities were always at the receiving end when it pertains to losses in the exchange. The study concluded that community
participation was shown to be effective when the local population is involved not as co-operating users but as natural resource managers or owner managers.

Zhu, et al (2009) acknowledge the role of communities as development agents and gave four tools of transforming rural communities. The four tools are “(an) existing village leader who leads by example; new business person who start their business success fully in the village and is able to create local social networks and use the business to involve others; migrant worker returning to home village to share new knowledge and experiences; and lastly, a professional person from institutions outside the village who goes to work with the communities”. Without such catalysts, the factors opposed to development would keep communities down.

It is from the community that cooperatives: a force for sustainable socio-economic development originate. Nyoni (2014) argues for community cooperatives stating that, the rural cooperatives model (Amalima) provides the most efficient vehicle towards socio-economic transformation in Zimbabwe. Nyoni concluded that cooperatives not only form the best mechanism for poverty reduction and socio-economic transformation, but also provide the best avenue for the equitable distribution of resources, decision making and power.

4.5.3 Role of Leadership in Development

The previous section looked at the role of communities as development agents, where their involvement was key for the positive outlook towards programmes. This section looks at the role of leadership in development. Leadership is responsible for serving, making policies,
implementation and monitoring in sustainable development issues. This is what the participants had to say:

**G4:** *Sustainability is a result of proper planning, setting proper policies. So Nkayi should invest in roads infrastructure, education, water sources which are the springboard for development that satisfies even future needs.*

*The council should revive VIDCOs and WADCOs. WADCOs should come up with their 5-10 year development plans at their local level. These plans to be shared with every community member and progress to be reviewed always. Of course, these plans are consolidated at Council. Progress should be monitored and shared.*

**FE5:** *Members of parliament (MPs) should spearhead in solving the problems. We need effective and accurate officers for Nkayi.*

**FE4:** *The MPs can guide and help solve the many challenges that our district is facing.*

**FC3:** *We need competent councillors. Councillors should work properly because they are the foundations/ conduit to see Ministers (higher leadership). Councillors should send programme proposals to the top.*

**Q1:** *Our leadership should create an environment for political and social participation without fear or favour.*

**G16:** *The members of parliament among other leaders need to champion the issues of development and to source and scout for investors.*

The participants noted the importance of leadership in sustainable growth and development of the district through creating an enabling framework –at policy level, politically and socially. The competent leadership structures at grassroots level, from the village, ward, and council level, are crucial for development, in addition to the members of parliament. Ricketts (2005)
reveal that most effective community leaders showed a very strong sense of service to their community, often with no recognition desired. The service dedicated leadership is distinguished from generalised leaders who seek to extract from their communities or at the expense of their communities.

Ozor and Nwankwo (2008), in their study, conclude that for sustained success to be achieved in community development efforts, there is an urgent need for extension policy that formally accommodates the local leaders in all community development initiatives of both governmental and non-governmental agencies.

Martiskainen (2016) support the above showing that community leadership can aid the development of grassroots innovations, which operate in niches and require nurturing. Community leadership benefits from being embedded into social networks, shared vision and decision making, but pre-existing skills and tacit knowledge also play a role. Community leaders can also assist niche building by working closely with intermediary actors.

4.5.4 Sustainable Resource Exploitation

The previous theme looked at the role of community leadership in enabling community development. This theme looks at sustainable resource exploitation as ensuring development.
Nkayi has a number of resources that can be exploited for the economy. Below is what the participants said:

Q7: Agriculture can be done profitably as a business enterprise. There are also mineral deposits and timber industry.

Q7: Conservation of natural resources and employing technologies that preserve natural resources and use of clean energy such as solar.

G15: Investments and development should be open to everyone interested and not confined to few who do not have capacity.

G17: A lot of opportunities lie in the completion of the two highways passing through Nkayi, that is Bulawayo- Gokwe and Kwekwe- Lupane highways.

G7: We need to lure those who can invest and develop the area so that future generations have a base where to start from. For example, employing a lot of qualified science teachers from other areas in order to have ideal science teachers and graduates within the District.

G4: The timber processing plant in Nkayi is only benefitting the Council and not the community. Despite timber being harvested in Nkayi, there is nothing that goes to the community. Organisations working in Nkayi should learn to plough back into the communities.

FE4: Development is also having transport, education, ICT, power, health, security and economic activities in the area.

G15: Investors from other provinces should be allowed to invest in Nkayi, because no development will occur as long as opportunities are given to only those from Nkayi District for example supermarkets, filling stations, lodges and market centres.

Most of the participants spoke about the need to develop infrastructure and setting up industries for value addition of the locally available resources. The participants pointed out that the
policies should be open to everyone who has capacity to invest to set up in Nkayi as quota for locals was not yielding much returns to the present development needs. In maximising resource use, the business model on all assets and agricultural activities was noted as appropriate to uplift livelihoods sustainably.

Mazibuko (2008) states that in ensuring a sustainable use of resources, there should be: democratic access to resources through the recognition of rights not privileges; thinking of the last first through pro-poor policies. The poor should be seen as rational beings forced by circumstances to destroy environment and accepting the fact that natural resources serve as economic assets for the poor, democratising governance institutions to ensure equity through local participation in decision-making; respect for cultural values and indigenous knowledge; sharing costs and benefits; sustainable employment opportunities, hold community facilitators accountable, promote sustainable rural enterprises and developing meaningful rural financing mechanisms.

Jokonya, in ILO news (2016), noted that the rural economy was the bedrock of any economy and the private sector was a major beneficiary of this economy. Through the supply of raw materials the rural economy enabled normal production and the various value chains creating enormous markets for goods and services.
Sustainable development begins with understanding the difference between who one is and the situation you are in but goes on to change the situation. Outsiders think about who one is, what you can or cannot do to change the situation. The two sides see things differently and create relationships that are not based on mutual respect, have outsiders building what should be the responsibility of the local communities.

Before thinking about the best interventions, the local people should see the outside community and perspective in the real world, in the developed world; how the development trends are changing, what is causing the changes and how it’s affecting them as the poor, and what are the resulting challenges and opportunities.

After stepping outside, they need to step back and look inside: what community problems are they facing, which ones are they solving, how are they solving, what development opportunities exist now and in the future and how they can take advantage of them, what competencies do they possess and what new competencies to they need such as IT and what old competencies do they need to deemphasise and let go.

The rationale for the outside perspective is that people are wrapped into their past and own experiences, looking into the inside helps them recognize where they are stuck or discover which practices have limited their competences. People do this because people tend to invest
heavily into their past. The past informs their career paths, even their identities. Tichy (1998) says left alone this old behaviour will defy any new initiatives that are coming even from the outside. Those imbedded behaviour patterns are called culture, including the basic assumptions, expectations, values and myths.

4.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter was focused on data presentation analysis and interpretation. Thematic analysis was used to come up with a thick description of the socio-economic history and the developmental views of Nkayi District. The research objectives were used as the main themes to guide the presentation and analysis while the sub-themes emerged from the generated data. The data was analysed, interpreted and discussed against the background of what other researchers have said in literature concerning the socio-economic history of Nkayi, poverty and sustainable development.

The findings showed that Nkayi went through various shocks which affected their livelihoods, poverty exists in many forms and infrastructure, resources and human capital is adversely affecting the development of Nkayi. The District has a dysfunctional bottom-up development approach which affects the programmes. This chapter leads to chapter 5 which focuses on study summary, findings, conclusions.
CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION(S) AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the summary of the study, findings, a section on the resilience based model and recommendations for the study. The subheadings for findings are lived experiences affecting Nkayi’s development, development and socio-economic issues of Nkayi, challenges faced by Nkayi community in accessing government and non-government services, and views on development problems and future.

5.2 Summary of the Thesis

Chapter 1 presented the background to the study where the justification of the study was discussed. The problem and research questions, significance of the study, delimitations and limitations were discussed.

Chapter 2 focused on a review of related literature. The literature was discussed from the local, regional and global perspectives with regard to the issues concerning views on the socio-economic history of Nkayi, development and poverty alleviation. In addition to this, the related literature also covered concepts of sustainable development, entrepreneurship and resilience in the development of rural districts.
Chapter 3 of the study, the researcher presented the research methodology that was used in this study which was purely qualitative and influenced by phenomenological methodology. The sample that was used in the study comprised of the community members (elderly and community leaders, youths, business people,) 12 NGO staff and 27 government workers in Nkayi district. An accessible population was drawn using non-probability techniques and composed of 12 wards namely 3, 4, 9, 10, 12, 8, 19, 20, 21, 22, 1 and 2. This resulted in a total sample of 99 purposively, conveniently and snowbally selected participants. The data generation tools that were employed included the researcher herself as the main tool, a qualitative questionnaire with open questions for government and non-governmental organisations, interviews and focus group discussions for community members.

Chapter 4 presented, analysed and interpreted the generated data. This was done in compliance with the demands of qualitative research that used thematic analysis. Data was therefore categorised and thematically discussed and interpreted. Related findings emerged from socio-economic history and development related themes. The research findings ushered in new views concerning sustainable rural community development and poverty alleviation in Nkayi District.

5.3 Summary of the Findings

Data presentation, analysis and interpretation was guided by the main research questions whose themes were: lived experiences affecting Nkayi’s development, developmental and socio-economic issues of Nkayi, challenges faced by Nkayi community in accessing government and
non-governmental services and views on development problems and future. The findings were based on what the participants testified to be their lived experiences as well as views. Additionally, I corroborated conception of poverty as holistic and omnivorous in its various forms which exists in the Nkayi district:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Material Poverty</strong></th>
<th>Lack of adequate material needs, assets, infrastructure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social Poverty</strong></td>
<td>Lack of relationships, Networks, Connections and Social linkages to empower one in all social needs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Technological Poverty</strong></td>
<td>Lacking the technological capacity to improve one’s living conditions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Financial Poverty</strong></td>
<td>Lacking the financial means to meet all basic and essential wants and needs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cultural Poverty</strong></td>
<td>Lacking the cultural orientation and rootedness with which one navigates life and the world</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Educational Poverty</strong></td>
<td>Lacking the knowledge, information, and ideas to propel one forward developmentally; Ignorance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Psychological Poverty</strong></td>
<td>Lacking the strength and presence of mind to effect self-determination, and to participate in the development process; Inferiority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Environmental Poverty</strong></td>
<td>Lacking healthy, safe, and productive environmental conditions in which life takes place. Lacking the natural resources and means to exploit them for sustaining a decent life.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Spiritual Poverty</strong></td>
<td>Lacking the spiritual sense, values, orientation and practice to generate and re-generate systems of values and morality in a community.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.1: Types of Poverty Source: Author (2018)

5.2.1 Lived Experiences Affecting Nkayi’s Development

The study found that Nkayi people had experienced many shocks and had become a complex social system. There were some who affirmed that they were already residents of Nkayi when
those evictees came to join them. Several of the participants experienced the land evictions and movement of the people from their native areas. From the results, what was peculiar about the Nkayi case is that most of the cases of migration were through diabolic legislative frameworks which favoured the systems at the time. Some additions to the social system were through marriage, better environment and employment.

The people who worked in a number of the offices stated that they were in Nkayi for employment. Because of the educational status of Nkayi people and lack of viable economic activities, the people trekked out of the district and country in search of employment and means of survival. Nkayi has not only had people from other areas coming to stay but its very own people have trekked out of the District in search of employment opportunities.

Nkayi is an agro based economy and the prevalence of droughts weakens the very capital of the people. Droughts and diseases as lived experiences culminated in the loss of wealth and economic base for the people. The effects of droughts are severe where communities did not have many alternatives and solely relied on agriculture for survival.

The displacement of the people from their original homes to Nkayi which did not have schools and other social amenities disturbed their education, creating generations of under-educated people. Lack of education led to permanent state of lower human capital, lower earnings
resulting into poverty traps”. Without education the people underperform in a nation that values education, especially without resources that can buttress livelihoods. The lack of value for education was showing up in their children as they had no educated and successful role models to motivate them to take education seriously.

The study found that Nkayi district did not have many economic activities which aggravated their vulnerability as the whole country has gone through economic turmoil. Other districts boast of exploitable natural resource bases which are unavailable or not viable in Nkayi. The experiences of economic pressure, not affording basic things such as education, health, food, finance and clothing has an adverse effect on individual families and increases their vulnerabilities to pressure.

Nkayi’s development prospects have remained low because of the state of infrastructure. The villagers, business, government and non-governmental institutions bemoaned the state of infrastructure which affected livelihoods, business and service delivery. Nkayi’s economy is based on agriculture and forestry activities. Another finding was that persistent violence shocks have affected the well-being of the people of Nkayi. The state of powerlessness, fear and trauma is revealed in the numerous conflicts experienced and survived by the Nkayi people. There is oppressive fear following the stated experiences that the same things might happen again. As a result, Nkayi people seem afraid of other cycles of violence leading to their breakdown, losing control of their feelings and the ability to chart their destiny.
The violent experiences were not only institutionalised but perpetrated within the communities with people turning against each other. Fighting dampens development as it erodes trust and is divisive between families, villages and communities especially if there is loss of life incurred, more so, the life of a breadwinner. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2003) observes that the bitterness and the memory of having lost family members, relatives and friends did not go away with the Unity Accord of 1987.

5.2.2 Developmental and Socio-Economic Issues of Nkayi

The study found that the participants conceded that Nkayi was lagging behind in terms of development, being rated amongst the lowest developed in the province. This is supported by Tshuma (2017) who noted that “the bleak developmental outlook of Nkayi, rated as the poorest district in the country calls for concerted effort in redressing the developmental challenges that had bedevilled the district”.

Many participants felt poverty was high in Nkayi district. In terms of poverty prevalence rate the district was highly impoverished recording 96%” (ZIMSTAT, 2015). From the participants’ views, poverty is endemic in Nkayi and dependency on relief was rife. The prevalent vulnerability and anticipation of relief made the people easily manipulated through such handouts. The study found that the nature of the poverty in Nkayi encompassed psychological, emotional, and inter-generational dependency aspects in addition to economic and material deprivation.
According to Dencon (2007) “People who go through disasters, wars and violent situations limit their exposure to rule by limiting their activities, social and economic to those areas that are within their risk management strategies and skills”.

In the case of Nkayi, according to some participants, there was deep sadness, shame and embarrassment which was never expressed as people were not allowed to cry after losing their beloved ones during the conflict. These experiences directly affected people’s development. This fear and withdrawal is evident in the youth. They are reluctant to join the police and the army. According to Gatsheni Ndlovu (2008), this is a results of how the people from these communities were treated in these institutions.

In terms of development or investment, Nkayi has no industries, no big or small mine. People depend on subsistence agriculture as Deacon (2007) observes, after trauma, the best the poor can do is make choices that perpetuate poverty by choosing low returns, low risk and low portfolio activities and assets.
5.2.3 Challenges faced by Nkayi Community in Accessing Government and Non-Governmental Services

The people were not satisfied with the services from the government departments- the institutions which should be spearheading development interventions. The communities were labelled as divided in working with the government and other institutions. Women were the ones who interacted with NGOs as men were not involved in the programmes. The only evidence of the interactions were the hand-outs given to communities and thus no real and tangible work such as infrastructure development that was ushered by the agents of development.

Most of the participants stated the unfulfilled promises that they had and how the government institutions were falling short of meeting the needs of rural communities and developing the district. OECD supports this notion, pointing out that, “…service delivery in rural areas is more costly than in urban areas - a key challenge for governments at all levels”. Nkayi is sparsely populated in a non-linear format and some places are far from the road networks.

The study reveals that resources limited development work in Nkayi District. Nkomo (2017) notes that most local authorities, both rural and urban, have very narrow revenue bases resulting in limited budgets, which culminate in poor service delivery.
Nkayi was not effectively utilising its resource endowments. The participants highlighted how the resources they have are not viable economically. Tshuma (2017) supports the view that Nkayi has not been effectively utilising its resources. He argues that, the natural endowments of the district are enough to serve as a spring board for sustainable development turnaround. He emphasises that capacity development of enterprise groups especially of women and youth, support through seed capital as a way of maximising on utilisation of opportunities around them.

The study found that the bottom-up approach was the framework recognized for development in the District, but, unfortunately, development structures were dysfunctional and failed to develop village and ward plans. The bottom-up framework relies on community confidence, unity, and participation. As a brilliant development framework, the bottom-up approach encouraged ownership as development initiatives are critiqued at the local level. Development, as envisaged by the Traditional Leaders Act and the Rural District Councils Act, begins at village level through village development committees (VIDCOs), which are supposed to develop village plans. These plans then cascaded upwards to ward development committees (WADCOs) chaired by councillors and then the ward assembly chaired by a headman or headwoman.

5.2.4 Views on Development Problems and Future

The study found that the people were hopeful that Nkayi still had what is necessary to develop into a prosperous district. The participants largely echoed that the communities should learn to
be possessors and stalwarts of their development as outlined in the Rural Councils Act (1996). The evidence above reveals that participation of all social classes and groups is key for development. With the community as custodians and advocates of their initiatives, they innately become the development agents without depending on incentives from outsiders.

The study found that the socio-economic catalysts that enable development were viewed as key for the sustainable development of Nkayi. The catalysts were: rebuilding the social amenities, policy implementation and monitoring, skills development through formal and informal education, youth development and empowerment programmes, leadership development programmes, market creation and value addition, infrastructure development, development institutions and cooperation.

The study found that the disrespectful attitudes among the young people were causing discontinuity and sabotaged of programmes, although the elderly seriously believed in the potential within the young people as future leaders, and as such the youths needed to be mentored and prepared to manage through youth development programmes. Through inclusion and training, the youths would champion and be proactive in programmes as they had the energy and might to safeguard programmes.

The study also reveals that it is from the community that cooperatives, a force for sustainable socio-economic development originated. Nyoni (2014) argues for community cooperatives stating that, the rural cooperatives model (Amalima) provides the most efficient vehicle towards
socio-economic transformation in Zimbabwe. Nyoni concluded that cooperatives not only form the best mechanism for poverty reduction and socio-economic transformation, but also provide the best avenue for the equitable distribution of resources, decision making and power.

5.3 Towards a Renewed Model of Sustainable Development: a Resilience-Based Development Model

This model recognises and is informed by the many good work written in sustainable development such as (Jonathan Harris) Sustainable Livelihoods (Ian Sooner) and Resilience (Alastair McAslan 2017). Their findings are relevant to this study in as far as they deal with the issues of social justice and people’s rights, environment and economic wellbeing of the poor.

However, Hove (2004) says that the weaknesses of sustainable development theories and practice is that they lack an understanding of context and facets that have been prevalent in that locality. McAslan (2010) acknowledges that there is still little agreement in the definition and application resilience.

For the purpose of this model, context is key; and its working definition of resilience is from Wikipedia which says that a community has resilience if it “has an innate ability to recover. The context of Nkayi is, historically, that of an excluded, isolated, traumatised area that was
suspicious of outsiders’ development intentions. History and trauma should be taken into account in the context of development. Despite all the Nkayi people have gone through they have shown resilience- innate ability to bounce back after setbacks.

The Resilience-Based Development model follows three phases:

1. An analysis of the communities’ socio-economic history and self-reflection through community dialogue;

2. Creating and formulating pathways and activities that enable identified priority areas to be addressed and,

3. Continued reflection and implementation of the communities’ goals and objectives through linkages with government, business and other non-state actors.
5.3.1 Socio-Economic Community Context

As acknowledged earlier in the paper, in explaining how people, external actors, (such as government or development practitioners) achieve an understanding of their socio-economic history is important. Empowerment and development initiatives necessitate an awareness of history and its impact on communities (such as resultant lack of education, creation of poverty traps et cetera). Additionally, it requires an understanding of the existent positive attributes that may have resulted from that particular socio-economic history, which in the case of Nkayi is the incessant resilience that has helped the communities survive through various exigent shocks and traumas. I argue that by building on the positive aspects that a community has is the
foundational issue of any development initiative. In other words, amplifying what a community already does well without outside help is the starting point of the model.

Heijman et al. (2007) introduced the concept of rural resilience. Rural resilience refers to the capacity of a rural region to adapt to changing external circumstances in such a way that a satisfactory standard of living is maintained, while coping with its inherent ecological, economic and social vulnerability. Assessing resilience and the ability of the Nkayi community to positively adapt or successfully cope requires an analysis of a range of factors including an evaluation of the historical experiences and responses to various shocks. In the study I identified five different manifestations of resilience exhibited by the Nkayi communities which include:

- **Emotional resilience** - ability to adapt to stressful situations or crises
- **Psychological resilience** - ability to successfully adapt to life tasks in the face of social disadvantage or highly adverse conditions
- **Economic resilience** - ability of an economic system to cope, recover, reconstruct itself from the effects of shocks
- **Social resilience** - the way communities organise themselves and their support networks to help each other
- **Cultural resilience** - the maintenance of traditional cultural traits such as language, storytelling and song and dance.

The model takes as its starting point plugging into and amplifying the positive aspects of this resilience through continuous dialogue with the communities. In doing so it borrowed from the ORAP development process which includes following concepts Zihluze (examine yourself), Ziqoqe (mobilise yourself), Zenzele (do it yourself), Zimisele (commit yourself), Ziqhatshe (be
self-employed), *Zimele* (be self-reliant/independent), *Ziqhenye* (be proud of yourself and your achievements) and *Qogelela* (little by little, one day at a time, save/invest or mobilise resources). These concepts are dynamic and originate from people’s own practices, rooted in their social traditional structures, language and culture. The ORAP philosophy is based on the premise that rural people are the fulcrum in the development process. At every stage the group members / individuals identify the challenges, formulate strategies, implement activities, increased income and scale up or diversify activities. The ORAP philosophy is based on the premise that rural people are poor because they have been dispossessed of their traditional knowledge, language and way of life.

![Figure 5.1: ORAP Philosophies Source: ORAP (2010)](image)

Additionally, any development approach necessarily must ensure that communities are aware of their history and its impact on their well-being, rights to access existing resources, have a right to participate in the creation and distribution of these resources and have the right to eliminate inappropriate structures in their village organisations. In other words, by being
sensitive to their rights on the national and global spheres (such as the constitution and access to government programs etc), communities gain confidence in creating models that work for them.

One of the key aspects of community self-reflection is the concept of community cognitive dissonance: the ability through dialogues to view themselves from the point of view of the development practitioner of other communities in order to gain perspectives about what is happening outside their own spheres. This enables and empowers them to concretely ask questions such as ‘how are development trends changing globally?’ ‘what are the resultant challenges or opportunities?’ ‘how do we as a community take advantage of and which competencies do we need to learn (uses of ICT in agriculture for example) or unlearn (outdated agricultural practices in the age of climate change for example)?’

5.3.2. Creating Pathways and Activities

The second step of the Resilience-Based Development Model focuses on the actionable pathways or activities that can then bring about tangible short, medium and long term benefit to the community. In Nkayi it was identified that the three key issues that the communities identified as essential are education access and changing youth perceptions towards it, access to enabling infrastructure and government service delivery. Providing lasting solutions to these development enablers through the strengthening of pro-poor and inclusive institutions or provision of services then creates an informed basis for the community to participate. In other words, the ‘buy-in’ from the communities is increased in that these enablers are contextualised
and are prioritised by the communities themselves. Traditional ‘cookie-cutter’ approaches to development that does not contextualise socio-economic history in their formulation are bound to have reduced ‘buy-in’ from communities as evidenced in our case study.

Additionally, traditional approaches to sustainable development have not adequately dealt with the effects of injustices, the impact of history on the ‘person’, the spiritual, psychological and intellectual side of the marginalised and excluded. By being prescriptive without context, many of these approaches overlook the importance of resilience and the need to build on it. The study concluded that rural infrastructure have an influence on livelihoods- productivity and income of farmers which translate into creation of employment opportunities and better welfare for the rural populace.

5.3.3 Resilience-Based Development

This model builds on the foundation of existing resilience as the foundation on which external actors can positively reinforce and amplify development initiatives. As Scoones (1995) notes, “resilience in the face of stresses and shocks is key to both livelihood adaptation and coping. Those who are unable to cope (temporary adjustment in the face of change) are invariably vulnerable and unlikely to achieve sustainable livelihoods and development.”
One of the key areas of resilience shown by the Nkayi community is in the area of livestock as the basis for their economic development. Without outside interventions, the district has the highest number of rural cattle which it achieved through the refining of traditional and indigenous knowledge systems. Throughout the research many participants lamented the looting of their cattle during the periods of forced migration had on the community’s pride and economic base. Through 120 years of exogenous shocks, the community has therefore been able to re-stock through cultural practices such as ‘ukusiselana’- rotating herds amongst each other to ensure that those without can benefit from community-held animals. The resilience-based development model thus guides development practitioners to focus on the key strengths displayed by the community in their programmatic approaches and thus be able to best tailor interventions in a contextualised and community-defined manner.

Without a clear and concrete psychological mapping of a post-traumatic society to understand its own place and space in the national agenda, there is always an aversion and mistrust to development initiatives from ‘outsiders.’ This was due to 120 years of lived experiential traumas and environmental shocks that the Nkayi people have endured. There can be no truly impactful development if as practitioners we create policies and programmes that fail to understand and appreciate the effects of socio-economic history of a people. In a community that has a vivid history of political and social alienation, of resentment, grievances and pervasive fear the perpetuation of poverty was shown and documented. Ranger et al (2000) and Gatsheni-Ndlovu’s (2008) conclude that without understanding a marginalised peoples lived experiences one cannot break the systematic and generational cycles of poverty. What the Resilience-Based Development Model attempts to do is to bring to the fore the importance of socio-economic
history and to encourage the self-reflection of communities, which in turn helps them *drive* the development process in partnership with ‘outsiders’ rather than to be sceptical. It also allows the development practitioner a clearer and richer understanding of the communities’ needs and priorities.

5.4 Recommendations for further Study:

In light of the findings for research question one, which focused on the lived experiences affecting Nkayi’s development, the researcher recommends that the Government gives priority to Nkayi people to work and fill vacancies in the district. This inspires and motivates the younger generation to consider their education and future with the due diligence it deserves. Considering the Agro-based economy of Nkayi, the government, private players and development agencies can set up economic activities downstream and upstream of the agricultural value chain. These developments create options for participating in the economy and sustaining livelihoods. Additionally, this catapults the populace of Nkayi to the forefront in the national economy and break the cocoon, complex social system and mistrust that has existed in the local people.

On the developmental and socio-economic issues of Nkayi, the researcher recommends that the Government and other development agencies need to give priority to the education facilities, infrastructure and other socio-economic catalysts, as their neglect has caused more trauma and reinforced exclusion. The road networks, particularly the Bulawayo-Nkayi-Gokwe, Kwekwe-Nkayi-Lupane, and Gokwe-Kana-Lupane roads need to be upgraded, tarred and well
maintained as the trunk roads in the District. Road and communication infrastructure are key to attracting and sustaining economic activities in any region. The researcher recommends a shift from ‘aid that prolongs dependency and manipulation’ to cultivating entrepreneurship which expands economic activities and social capital. The people shift, with no reliance on low returns, low risk and low portfolio activities and assets.

The researcher also recommends that communities should pull together and be united when pushing for their development agenda within themselves or with their Government or other agencies. A well mobilised, organised and united community is a trailblazer in development. Communities have more mileage when they have ‘organised interests’ guiding their development agenda. The bottom-up development approach need to be revived noting that it encourages ownership and proactivity from communities. For the rural council to increase its revenue base, there is need to work on projects including land plans so that they maximise on land-use and rates. The existing growth points and business centres at Gwelutshena, Mateme, Zenka may be marketed and subsidised to locals and other players to encourage development.

The researcher further recommends that Nkayi should build upon the hope that it possesses and encourage participation by all social classes and groups in development. Projects that are implemented need to be meticulously monitored and assessed to make sure that objectives are attained within the set timelines. The researcher believes lack of monitoring has left many projects as white elephants. People working in the District should be monitored as well. Cooperative development should be taken with due care and investment as a springboard for development and entrepreneurship. Cooperatives spread business risk and are a platform for
equitable distribution of resources, decision making and power. Cooperatives should focus primarily on the key buoyant activities that have sustained the communities, as an example, livestock has been resilient in Nkayi. There should be inclusion of youths, in addition to development on assorted skill-base. The researcher also recommends outreach to the District by institutions such as the army and police to raise awareness, confidence and encourage the youths to join the forces.

The researcher recommends that there be further research on the youth trapped in intergenerational poverty. Recommendation is made to research on actual resilience of the Ndebele in Nkayi and how it can inform the resilience based economic development drawing lessons from their livestock.
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Appendix 1: Candidate’s ZOU Research Letter

ZIMBABWE OPEN UNIVERSITY

30 November 2016

To whom it may concern:

HONOURABLE SITHEMBISO G. NYONI (P/13/3761/ED) DIRECTORATE
REFERENCE (P/13/15/2064)

The Honourable Sithembiso G. G. Nyon, P/13/3761, Directorate Reference Number DOUN/15/2064, is a bona fide Higher Degree candidate registered for the Doctor of Philosophy programme with this University. She is conducting research under the theme “Towards a Renewed Model of Sustainable Development: Contextualising the Socio-Economic History of Nkayi”.

Any assistance offered to her to facilitate her study will be most appreciated.

[Signature]

Dr. A. S. Chibada
Director, Higher Degrees Directorate
Appendix 2: Letter of permission to carry out the study

All communications should be addressed to:
“The Secretary for Rural Development, Promotion and Preservation of National Culture and Heritage”
Telephone: 783 488

Ministry of Rural Development, Promotion and Preservation of National Culture and Heritage
Maizevi Building
158 10th Floor
Cnr Livingston/ 5 Avenue
Harare
ZIMBABWE

1 August 2017

Hon Sihembiso GG Nyoni
Minister of Small and Medium Enterprise Development
Liquenda House

Honourable Minister

APPLICATION FOR PERMISSION TO CARRY OUT A RESEARCH STUDY IN NKAYI DISTRICT: SITHEMBISO GG NYONI (P1513756M), ZIMBABWE OPEN UNIVERSITY

We refer to your letter to us, dated 01 August 2017, in the above regard: also congratulating you for undertaking such an important research in advancing development efforts in the area of your choice and focus.

Kindly be advised that permission has been granted for the research to be undertaken on the terms that you propose, to cover the Nkayi area and its environs.

The Honorable Minister Abednego Neube, to whom your correspondence was originally directed, takes great pleasure in supporting this noble undertaking and wishes you well in your studies.

Yours Sincerely

G Magosvongwe
SECRETARY FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT, PROMOTION AND PRESERVATION OF NATIONAL CULTURE AND HERITAGE
Appendix 3: Interview Guide for Villagers

Introduction

My name is Sithembiso G. Nyoni, a Doctor of Philosophy Candidate with the Zimbabwe Open University. I am conducting a study under the theme “Towards a Renewed Model of Sustainable Development: Contextualising the Socio-Economic History of Nkayi”. It will be appreciated if you can find time to respond to these questions. Your responses to the questions will be kept private and confidential.

Instructions

The interview can begin once the interviewer has taken the interviewee through the consent form and the form signed by the interviewee.

Section A: Bio Data of Research Participants

1. What is your sex?

2. How old are you?

3. What are your educational qualifications?

4. What is your employment status?

Section B: Lived Experiences

5. Where did you or your family come from before settling in Nkayi?

6. What made you settle in Nkayi?

7. How did you get to be in Nkayi?
8. How old were you when you or your family moved to Nkayi?

9. What do you like or not like about Nkayi? Why?

10. What can be done about the above? By who?

11. Describe your experiences of living in Nkayi District?

**Section C: Development and Socio-Economic History of Nkayi**

12. How do you describe development in Nkayi?

13. What do you think has affected Nkayi’s development to its current levels?

14. What lacks in developing Nkayi?

15. What have affected investments into Nkayi District?

16. How would you describe what you do for a living? Why are you in this line of work?

17. What is your understanding of poverty in Nkayi?

18. Do you think Nkayi’s active population is employable? What can be done to make them get jobs in the District?

**Section D: Challenges faced by Nkayi community in accessing government and non-government services**

19. Do you think government departments are fulfilling their mandate in the District? If yes, to what extent? If not, what can be done to improve?

20. How well do communities interact and relate with external organisations that seek to bring development to the area? If yes, how? If no, what can be done to improve?
21. Do you think these organisations [government and non-governmental (Inhlanganisi ezemeleyo)] serve the interests of Nkayi?

22. How do you communicate with government departments and other organisations that work in Nkayi?

23. What kind of challenges do you encounter that affect the development of the district?

Section E: Views on development problems and their future

24. How and by whom can the above challenges be solved?

25. How do you think life can be made easier in your District/community pertaining to issues of development?

26. What opportunities (amaxeshaentuthuko/ amathubaokuthuthuka) do you see for Nkayi in the future? Who should create them? How?

27. Do you think the youths are being prepared to lead and develop the region for future successes? If not what can be done to improve? If so how?

28. What strategies can be used in ensuring sustainable development (development that satisfies the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to satisfy theirs) in Nkayi?
Appendix 4: Government Questionnaire

Introduction

My name is Sithembiso G. Nyoni, a Doctor of Philosophy Candidate with the Zimbabwe Open University. I am conducting a study under the theme “Towards a Renewed Model of Sustainable Development: Contextualising the Socio-Economic History of Nkayi”. It will be appreciated if you can find time to complete this questionnaire. Your responses to the questions will be kept private and confidential. Please kindly complete and return to the researcher.

Instructions

a) Please answer all questions.

b) Use the notes section (provided spaces) to give responses to the questions.

Section A: Bio Data of Research Participants

1. How old are you? ............................... 

2. What is your sex? ............................... 

3. What are your educational qualifications?

..........................................................

Section B: Lived Experiences

4. How long have you been working in Nkayi?

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5. Where do you come from?

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6. What made you settle to work in Nkayi?

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7. What do you like about Nkayi?

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8. What do you not like about Nkayi?

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9. Describe your experiences of working in Nkayi District?

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Section C: Development and Socio-Economic History of Nkayi
10. How can you describe development in Nkayi?

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11. What do you think has affected Nkayi’s development to its current levels?

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12. What has affected investments into Nkayi District?

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13. What do you think about the employability of Nkayi’s active population? Are there statistics in percentages to show employment levels?

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Section D: Challenges Faced by Nkayi Community in Accessing Government and Non-Government Services

14. Do you think government institutions are fulfilling their mandate of developing the District? Give reasons to support your response.

15. How well do communities interact with non-governmental organisations that seek to bring development to the area? Give reasons to support your response.

16. Do you think these organisations (government and non-governmental) serve the development interests of Nkayi?
17. How do you communicate with communities and other organisations that work in Nkayi?

18. What kind of challenges do you encounter in delivering services and development to the district?

Section E: Views on development problems and their future

19. How can the above challenges be solved? By whom?
20. How do you think life can be made easier in your District/community pertaining to issues of development?

21. What opportunities for development do you see for Nkayi in the future?

22. Do you think the youths are being prepared to lead and develop the region for future successes? If yes, how? If not what can be done to improve?
23. What strategies can be used in ensuring sustainable development (development that satisfies the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to satisfy theirs) in Nkayi?

***The End***

***Thank you for your time***
Appendix 5: NGO Questionnaire

Introduction

My name is Sithembiso G. Nyoni, a Doctor of Philosophy Candidate with the Zimbabwe Open University. I am conducting a study under the theme “Towards a Renewed Model of Sustainable Development: Contextualising the Socio-Economic History of Nkayi”. It will be appreciated if you can find time to complete this questionnaire. Your responses to the questions will be kept private and confidential. Please kindly complete and return to the researcher.

Instructions

The interview can begin once the interviewer has taken the interviewee through the consent form and the form signed by the interviewee.

Section A: Bio Data of Research Participants

1. How old are you? ............................

2. What is your sex? ............................

3. What are your educational qualifications?

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Section B: Lived Experiences

4. Where do you come from?

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5. What made organisation settle to work in Nkayi?

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6. How long has your organisation been working in Nkayi?

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7. Which areas (development concerns) do you work in here in Nkayi?

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8. In which wards does your organisation operate in?

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9. What do you like or not like about Nkayi?

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10. Describe your experiences of working in Nkayi District?
Section C: Development and Socio-Economic History of Nkayi

11. What is your model for (approach to) development?

12. How can you describe development in Nkayi?
13. What is your view (description) of poverty here in Nkayi?

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14. What, in your view has affected Nkayi’s development to its current levels?

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15. What is your opinion about the employability of Nkayi’s active population?

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Section D: Challenges Faced by Nkayi Community in Accessing Government and NGO Services

16. Do you think government institutions are fulfilling their mandate of developing the District? Give reasons to support your response.

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17. How well does your organisation interact with the communities as you seek to bring development to the area? What challenges do you face in your operations?

18. What are the key indicators of success for your programmes?

19. What kind of challenges do you encounter in delivering services and development to the district?
Section E: Views on Development Problems and Future

20. How can the above challenges be solved? By whom?

21. How do you think life can be made easier in your District/community pertaining to issues of development?

22. What opportunities for development do you see for Nkayi in the future?
23. Do you think the youths are being prepared to participate, lead and develop the region for future successes? If yes, how? If not what can be done to improve?

24. What strategies can be used in ensuring sustainable development (development that satisfies the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to satisfy theirs) in Nkayi?

***The End***

***Thank You for your time***