Innovating from the grassroots: Perspectives, constraints and opportunities of development innovation in Zimbabwe

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Abstract

In a rapidly changing world, both economic growth and social development hinge on a country's capacity to address complex challenges with creative solutions, making 'innovation' a key differentiating factor in the competitiveness of countries. This article critically analyses the emerging innovations for inclusive development interventions in Zimbabwe. The article first explores the concept of innovation and inclusive development as a framework for the analysis. The current Zimbabwean socio-economic development trajectory is explored assessing constraints and opportunities for inclusive development. This article critically assesses whether these approaches, including work on pro-poor Innovations for Inclusive Development (I4ID), can be mainstreamed and sustained. It suggests that these new approaches offer powerful insights into robust I4ID transforming marginalised communities' livelihoods.

Keywords I4ID, poverty, Zimbabwe, inclusive development

Introduction

This article discusses the magnitude and key determinants of Innovations for Inclusive Development (I4ID) towards poverty reduction in Zimbabwe, a country in Southern Africa. The article explores the experiences of the I4ID process from a social development angle. In southern Africa it is well established that contemporary rural society is facing a growing suite of interacting stressors, including HIV/AIDS and other health shocks, poverty, food insecurity, weak governance, climate variability and increased extreme events, and land and resource degradation (Masunungure & Shackleton, 2018). The theme of inequality has recently gained increased importance among the priority issues commanding the attention of scholars, policy officials and politicians worldwide (Olukoshi 2016). Unencumbered by policy silos, commercial logics, disciplinary boundaries and other institutional pressures, grassroots groups are free to innovate how they see fit (Smith & Stirling, 2018). This article reviews the possible contributions of inclusive innovation, i.e. innovations that support the welfare and entrepreneurship opportunities of lower-income and excluded groups. It describes how several trends, ranging from the widespread uptake of community and rural development to growing business interest in inclusive innovations, have created more favourable conditions for inclusive innovation. It explores the obstacles and market failures facing inclusive innovations across five dimensions: 1) the types and scale of inclusive

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innovations; 2) access to expertise, knowledge and finance; 3) information about consumer needs; 4) the costs of providing innovations; and 5) market access conditions.

The range of Zimbabwean urban poverty and vulnerability drivers for economic conditions were the 1990s structural reforms, HIV/AIDs, adverse weather conditions, political instability and enduring colonial structures (Department for International Development, 2017). Interventions addressing poverty causes and triggers of vulnerability need to be multi-dimensional in nature (Department for International Development, 2017). This secondary literature-based article elaborates on I4ID processes and reviews existing knowledge about mainstreaming pro-poor development extent and ways for I4ID application. Literature targeted included academic journals, books, newspapers, blogs, reports, research studies and magazines. The article applies both content and document analysis as relevant sources being carefully considered and analysed.

Overview of Zimbabwe's development trajectory

Prior to colonisation in 1890 and then up to 1979, racial land dispossession and political and economic discrimination characterised settler colonial rule. The development strategy was structurally imbalanced and discriminatory, seeking to secure mainly the domestic markets of the white minority and exports, while providing minimum incomes for the subsistence of the black poor and the reproduction of migrant labour (Moyo, 2005, p. 4).

By African standards, at independence Zimbabwe inherited a relatively developed and diversified economy in urban areas, based on a white supremacy philosophy. Kanyenze, Kondo, Chitambara & Martens (2011) note this resulted in the evolution of a relatively well-developed and modern formal sector employing about one million people (a fifth of the labour force) existing alongside an underdeveloped and backward rural economy, the home of 70 per cent of the black population (Kanyenze, et al., 2011). This is the root of the four-fold challenges of structural poverty, inequality, unemployment and under-employment, being experienced in Zimbabwe (Government of Zimbabwe, 2016).

From 7.5 million in 1982 to 13.1 million in 2012, Zimbabwe's population has almost doubled in three decades (Government of Zimbabwe, 2016). Today, Zimbabwe has an estimated population of 14.2 million people of whom about 10 million live in rural areas. Zimbabwe has a hierarchy of human settlements comprised of metropolitan areas (Harare and Bulawayo), cities/municipalities, towns, and as many as 472 small urban centres in the form of growth points, district service centres and rural services centres (Department for International Development, 2017). Zimbabwe's formal urban areas are well planned and designed. However, recent built environment expansion has proceeded through informal processes led by a variety of actors, including the state, political elites, land barons and dealer developers (Department for International Development, 2017). During the first decade of independence, Zimbabwe pursued a combination of welfarist social policy and state-led economic development with a clear national growth vision.

From 1991 to 1998, Zimbabwe was forced to implement an Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) after it failed to service its external debt to the World Bank and IMF (Chikozho, 2015). Some scholars argue adoption of socialist policies soon after independence led to rapid public sector expansion in Zimbabwe which resulted in ESAP (Marongwe, 2002). The Zimbabwean economic context ranged from a peak of "severe cycle of economic regression and paralysis" in 2008, through stabilisation and recovery from 2009 to 2011 (Chitambara, 2010).The 2011-2012 Poverty Income Consumption Expenditure Survey (PICES) revealed that 72.3 percent

of Zimbabweans are poor, whilst 16.2 percent of the households are in extreme poverty. Poverty is most prevalent in rural areas, where 84.3 percent of people are deemed poor and 30.4 percent extremely poor (United Nations Country Team (UNCT), 2014).

Strong economic growth between 2009 and 2012 – averaging 10 per cent – subsequently decelerated and Zimbabwe continues to experience fragile economic conditions, with contractions experienced across all productive sectors exacerbated by erratic weather conditions that impacted negatively on agricultural production and economic livelihoods. The incidence of drought is a major Zimbabwean rural poverty determinant and between 1959 and 2002, Zimbabwe experienced over 15 droughts, averaging a drought year every 2 to 3 years (Marongwe, 2002). Further, major mining exports continue to be vulnerable to global commodity price fluctuations, further undermining export receipts.

Zimbabwe is ranked 156th of 187 countries in the Human Development Index (HDI). Low levels of per capita income and unequal distribution mean that Zimbabwe continues to be afflicted by high levels of poverty and inequality. An estimated 78 percent of children live in households with consumption poverty, of whom 26 percent are in extreme poverty. Children in rural households are four times more likely than urban children to be in extreme poverty (UNICEF Zimbabwe country office, 2018). The Central Intelligence Agency World Factbook, also quotes 95 percent unemployment (2009) for Zimbabwe, but cautions readers that' "[T]rue unemployment is unknown and, under current economic conditions, unknowable" (Central Intelligence Agency World Fact Book, 2017).

Gender inequalities persist, with female-headed households experiencing higher poverty levels. Children in these households have lower outcomes in health and education and in the long term are vulnerable to violence and early marriage (UNICEF Zimbabwe country office, 2018). Recurrent humanitarian risks include droughts and floods resulting in food insecurity, malnutrition, and disease outbreaks. Climate change effects and the adverse socio-economic environment exacerbate continued fragility and reduce resilience to natural and human induced shocks (UNICEF Zimbabwe country office, 2018).

The International Monetary Fund's 2018 World Economic Outlook (2018) report encourages countries such as Zimbabwe to enhance resilience through an appropriate mix of fiscal, monetary, exchange rate, and prudential policies. The report notes,

> To raise potential growth and enhance its inclusiveness, structural reforms remain essential to alleviate infrastructure bottlenecks, strengthen the business environment, upgrade human capital, and ensure access to opportunities for all segments of society. (The International Monetary Fund, 2018).

As part of international re-engagement, poverty eradication efforts and ensuring inclusive growth, the Government of Zimbabwe, (GoZ) launched an Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (IPRSP) in September 2016. Also, a National Social Protection Policy Framework (NSPPF)'s launched in December 2016 strengthened poverty and vulnerability reduction mechanisms by improved coverage and effectiveness of various social protection programmes (UNICEF, 2016).

Conceptual framework

A major source of concern among scholars and policy officials is the emergence of inequality that resulted from the global shift in socio-economic policy-making and governance in the early 1980s

that ushered in the neoliberal era (Olukoshi, 2016). Significant breakthroughs in assisting the poor – from jobs in garment and shoe factories, to cash transfers, to microfinance - have however rarely reached the poorest. Globally, the new UN Sustainable Development Goals promise that 'no one will be left behind' is a grand aspiration, but at the same time, an acknowledgement that hundreds of millions have been left behind during an exceptional period of prosperity in the developing world Lawson, Ado-Kofie & Hulme, (2017). The UN Statement of Common Understanding on Human Rights-Based Approaches to Development Cooperation which provides for:

> Participation and Inclusion: Every person and all peoples are entitled to active, free and meaningful participation in, contribution to, and enjoyment of civil, economic, social, cultural and political development in which human rights and fundamental freedoms can be realized. (UNDP, 2017).

In framing Inclusive Development, Oxfam notes it as a pro-poor approach that equally values and incorporates the contributions of all stakeholders - including marginalised groups - in addressing development issues (Oxfam, n.d). Dorward, Anderson, Bernal, Vera, Rushton, Pattison, & Paz, (2009) livelihoods aspiration framework identifies three dynamic livelihood strategies or trajectories that emerge from change: "hanging in", "stepping up", and "stepping out".

"Inclusive innovation" projects serve lower-income groups welfare including poor and excluded groups. While many people have been lifted out of poverty by growth dynamics, poverty and exclusion, which continue to affect millions of people, have not been eliminated. Inclusive innovation has become an imperative for emerging and developing economies countries' socio-economic development (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development(OECD), 2015). Global South households need more income generation pathways due to situations of inequality that are more socially complex than the ones met by the technologically advanced countries (Trojer, Rydhagen & Kjellqvistt, 2014). Technologically advanced countries' innovation systems evolved together with a market economy and state support to reach a certain level of predictability (Trojer, et al., 2014). A richer understanding of poverty often makes analysis, diagnosis, and prescription much more situation specific. Increased complexity then makes communication difficult and requires more analytical expertise (Dorward , et al., 2009).

The inclusive innovation agenda has generated burgeoning interest by a variety of parties in the context of the developmental crisis of the dominant growth model. However, most policy prescriptions are partial – addressing particular products (e.g. renewable energy), particular constituencies (e.g. excluded women) and particular actors (e.g. transnational corporations or civil society organisations) (Chataway, et al., 2013). Poor, marginalised and vulnerable people are more concerned with questions such as, 'What can be done to reduce our bad experiences of life and living?' and 'What will enable us to achieve more of the good things in life to which one aspires?' (Manjengwa, 2012). With high rates of poverty and an increasingly informal economy, the average Zimbabwean has seen a sharp decline in standard of living, which has led to recurrent food security issues. Poverty is more prevalent in rural areas where 68 percent of people live, and the majority of those people depend directly or indirectly on agriculture for employment and food security (United States Agency for International Development, 2018).Innovation is a driver of income growth which under certain conditions benefits everybody in society, but which under different conditions might reinforce social exclusion (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development(OECD), 2015). A Theories of Change approach seeks to address problems inherent

in existing models of analysing change, aiming to uncover and critically interrogate assumptions about how change happens (Valters, 2014). Submission of Theories of Change by implementing agencies to donor agencies, according to Valters are increasingly mandatory.

Transformative social innovation has to engage in politics, challenging existing institutions and norms, (re)negotiating new rules and decision-making arrangements and shifting existing power relations. Social innovation presents incremental, radical or transformational changes to wider social life and is undertaken through networks of people working on things in diverse organizations for varied purposes (DRIFT, 2018).

Literature suggests that technological innovation determines whether or not the growth and development process in a society is inclusive (Osakwe & Mousa, 2017). Innovation is increasingly perceived as crucial for tackling environmental challenges like limiting climate change and global greenhouse gas emissions and maintaining biodiversity. Resilience to shocks, particularly among vulnerable and highly food-insecure communities, is a fundamental platform needed for inclusive development (United States Agency for International Development, 2018). Innovation contributes to addressing environmental challenges through new technology introduction and non-technological innovations. Non-technological innovations, particularly organisational innovation, make environmental technological innovation effective (The Innovation Policy Platform, 2018).

Innovation platforms, combining less powerful people (such as farmers) with more influential actors (such as government or big traders), catalyse common problems or common goals. In international development, dominant change processes analysis and evaluation constrain rather than promote critical reflection. Management tools used within the aid industry – the logical framework (logframe) approach – rarely allow the flexibility to analyse the messy social processes that these interventions are dealing with (Consultative Group for International Agricultural Research(CGIAR), 2013).

Perspectives of grassroots innovations

The following section of the article explores the various dynamics of Zimbabwean grassroots communities' innovations and the extent to which desired outcomes of livelihood security are being realised. Natural resources management, gender, young people, international agencies are some of the key factors significantly contributing to improving inclusive development.

Southern Africa's rural poor earn livelihoods mostly from climate-sensitive rainfed agriculture. Their production is typically limited to a 3 to 6-month rainy season and crops grown are mainly staple cereal crops meant to sustain their livelihoods (Masunungure & Shackleton, 2018). Understanding livelihood pathways requires sustained fieldwork in particular sites in order to understand what changes and why (Scoones, 2014).

Natural Resources Management

Zimbabwe has witnessed a reduction in the quantity and quality of its natural resources resulting from uncontrolled deforestation, siltation, all forms of pollution and poaching of both flora and fauna (Government of Zimbabwe, 2016). Environmental degradation in Zimbabwe is rooted in poverty, which is driven by the economic and conservation dualism of colonial policies. This was manifested in the unequal racial distribution of land, resulting in overpopulation in the communal

areas, most of which have low agro-ecological potential on one hand, and underutilisation of land in the commercial farming lands (Manjengwa, 2012, p. 80).

According to the GoZ, local authorities are mandated to develop Local Environmental Action Plans (LEAPs) for the areas under their jurisdiction. The process however is participatory; calling for the co-operation of all stakeholders in an area, the community, government departments, NGOs, local leadership, environment committees and subcommittees, councillors, industry, private companies, religious groups, etc. in the development and implementation of the plan (EMA Leap handbook). The GoZ recognises and accepts the severe threat of climate change and has made some progress towards developing national strategies and policies to enhance the country's adaptive capacity.

Gender

Gender dynamics represent critical concerns and important opportunities in Zimbabwe. The 2015 Southern African Development Community (SADC) Gender Protocol declared the low political, economic, and social status of the majority of women in Zimbabwe as one of the country's major post-2015 development challenges (United States Agency for International Development, 2018). The total number of people employed in agriculture, fisheries and forestry in Zimbabwe is 3,573,893, of which 45.4 percent are men and 54.6 percent are women. The percentage for females is high because they are mostly unpaid family workers. While men in Zimbabwe eclipse women in terms of ownership of more valuable livestock, decision making and control of livestock production, women's ownership of smaller livestock (like chicken) is greater (Food and Agriculture Organisation, 2017).

By being ranked 118 out of 146 countries by the 2011 Gender Inequality Index, large scale gender disparities characterising all aspects of development are still prevalent in in Zimbabwe. Women carry the heaviest burden of both structural and transient poverty by virtue of their reproductive roles and/or household division of labour (Government of Zimbabwe, 2016).
The quest for gender equity has evolved from the stage of advocacy, negotiation and consensus building, as well as awareness-raising on the importance of gender equity, to the point where gender considerations are an obligation in development programming and implementation. Women's empowerment is essential, not only for the well-being of individuals, families and rural communities, but for overall economic productivity, given women's large presence in the agricultural workforce worldwide (UN Women, 2013).

In Zimbabwe women play a significant role as decision makers regarding commodities such as goats and groundnuts and innovation platforms empower women in agriculture. Well informed and structured, they generate income, improve their livelihood and increase their resilience. (European Union, 2016). From 2012 to 2017 International Crops Research Institute for the Semi-Arid Tropics (ICRISAT), Matopos Research Institute and their partners in Nkayi and Gwanda districts have worked on improving conditions for women farmers in semi-arid Zimbabwe through a series of projects (Homann-Kee Tui, et al., 2018).

Including young people

Youth now comprise 61 percent of Zimbabwe's population, while 41 percent are under the age of fifteen. 23 Referred to as "born frees" – those born after Zimbabwean independence in 1980 - today's youth face dim prospects as they grow up in households with staggering rates of poverty

and declining access to quality health and education services, clean water and proper sanitation, and other basic services necessary to produce productive citizens (United States Agency for International Development, 2018).

The Green Innovations Hub (GiHub) is an incubation space aiming to ignite social change by inviting young people to develop creative solutions that contribute to sustainable development (Mutsiwegota, 2016). The GiHub presents for youths in Zimbabwe a unique opportunity to address the dual challenge of climate change and youth unemployment in the country through innovative solutions which use indigenous, clean and renewable energy whilst addressing social and community needs (Mutsiwegota, 2016). In the GiHub project, young entrepreneurs have design ideas for sustainable products and services that promote renewable energy, environmental sustainability and help fight climate change. Youths could easily become participants in unrest or mass action, as has happened in the past, and this latent energy of youths when facing a multitude of cultural barriers, including entrenched patriarchal and hierarchical structures and norms that prevent them from voicing their views (United States Agency for International Development, 2018).

Challenges

Gaps in robust grassroots led innovation models

Development is often framed in desiccated terms such as interest groups, economic growth, institutional evolution, or technological change, while ignoring the central importance of attitudes and beliefs – people's views and the values that underpin them (Green, 2012, p. 29). Inclusive innovation's success is its reach to a much larger segment of the poor and excluded population than it currently does. As many innovations remain small in scale and scope, innovation scaling up requires initiatives built around financially sustainable business models; and/or participation by lower-income and excluded groups, thereby supporting their integration in the formal economy (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development(OECD), 2015).

Passive participation

Chazovachii (2012) explored passive participation in rural development projects of small dam rehabilitation in Zimbabwe. Chazovachii (2012) applied both quantitative and qualitative methodologies to investigate the impact of the scheme on rural livelihoods. Using random sampling, fifty respondents out of a total of two hundred plot holders were selected. Data was collected using interviews, questionnaires and observation and analysed using descriptive statistics. Chazovachii (2012)'s findings revealed that community participation levels are not only minimal, but are also top down and passive. Chazovachii's (2012) findings suggest the facilitating agents have negative perceptions of viewing local people as passive recipients of externally crafted models of development. Based on these findings and consistent with wider literature, primary stakeholders should be in active participation. Smith and Stirling (2018) argue that without learning to talk planning language, convincing local planning officials to take seriously a group of "amateurs" can be tricky. Access and influence might be eased with an influential political figure intermediating for the micro group.

Lack of motivation to expand inclusive development innovations

I4ID inclusive agribusiness was initiated by the Palladium Group intervention in Matabeleland, Manicaland, Midlands and Mashonaland Central provinces in Zimbabwe (The Palladium Group, 2017). The Palladium Group, an international development projects firm, supplied smallholders with goats for breeding and subsequent buying for slaughter. Smallholders have expertise and a wealth of experience in livestock markets – characteristics that encouraged the Palladium Group to partner with them. According to the Palladium Group, Meatzy smallholders were unwilling to step up to full commercial mode despite showing initial enthusiasm and engaging with the programme's support. Smallholder farmers appeared comfortable with NGO and other donor funded meat orders and very little competitive commercial activity (The Palladium Group, 2017).

On numerous occasions, Meatzy would organise market days with smallholders, only to arrive very late, or sometimes not arrive at all, leaving smallholders very annoyed, some of whom would have walked long distances to the market. Palladium noted that discussing challenges and possible solutions with Meatzy was responded to with familiar enthusiasm and positive action points, only to quickly default to the same inconsistencies soon after.

State and international support and interventions

The UN Country Team (UNCT) in Zimbabwe works to support the GoZ in rebuilding and strengthening national capacities to achieve full economic, political and social recovery to set a higher development trajectory. The UNCT is responsible for ensuring the delivery of tangible results in support of the national development agenda of GoZ and in line with internationally agreed principles and standards. This is done through the Zimbabwe United Nations Development Assistance Framework (ZUNDAF) and the Common Humanitarian Action Plan (United Nations Country Team (UNCT), 2014).

A delegation of the European Union in Zimbabwe implements the Zimbabwe Agricultural Growth Programme (ZAGP) to the tune of EUR 40 million. ZAGP has the overall objective to contribute to the development of a diversified and efficient agriculture sector that promotes inclusive green economic growth. The ZAGP consists of five outcomes:

- Increased production and productivity of the livestock sector
- Livestock products have better access to markets and are more competitive
- Increased public and private investment in targeted livestock value chains
- Improved agricultural education systems and extension services
- Institutions strengthened to develop and implement institutional and regulatory framework (Delegation of the European Union in Zimbabwe, 2016).

Examples of innovation between local communities, civil society and local government in Zimbabwe are initiatives related to the provision of services (including raising local funds) and technical support from local government. The community raises funds for piping and provides labour, whilst technical expertise is provided by the local government in the form of advice and more complex technical activities, such as connecting into local trunk mains. NGOs support by facilitating engagement between resident and local government, providing local skills training and education on operation and maintenance and procuring infrastructure. A Memorandum of

Understanding formalises the joint commitment from all parties (residents, local government and NGOs).

Future action

One of the major challenges when strengthening emerging Global South innovation systems addressing poverty, is inequality and social relevance (Trojer, et al., 2014). Grassroots innovation introduction can be novel solutions for sustainable developments generated by people active in grassroots settings. Innovation democracy implies the capacity of people to challenge the direction of innovations (Smith & Stirling, 2018). Supporting smallholder agriculture development is one of the most effective ways for rural livelihoods transformation but much less agreement exists on how this can best be done (Walsh & Mombeshora, 2017). A predictable and transparent environment of social, economic and environmental sustainable policies, at macroeconomic as well as sector level, is critical precondition for a transformational development process (European Union, 2016)

Knowledge Management

Knowledge that feeds in to managing uncertainty is derived from a range of traditional, indigenous, local and scientific sources. In such contexts, linear models of knowledge generation from data collection to information generation to knowledge production around one specific stressor in one timescale are insufficient. Consequently, the processes of social learning, as iterative reflection that occurs when experiences, ideas and environments are shared with others, are central to building resilience.

Present-day Africa's economic decline has translated into limited research opportunities, impacting development of an African body of knowledge. South to the North 'brain drain' has compounded the situation, leaving under-capacitated African public institutions. Ironically, the environment shaping livelihoods has undergone considerable strain and changed significantly (Matondi & Rukuni, 2010). Over the last twenty years or so understanding of poverty and of the ways in which people escape from poverty (or fall into or are locked in poverty) has advanced in many ways, and in particular has become more holistic (Dorward , et al., 2009). Knowledge should be mastered, shared as packages of options, as well as points of entry, with development aimed at improving and propagating successes to other sectors (Matondi & Rukuni, 2010). The development of robust and evidence-informed Theories of Change (ToCs) across the programme enhances I4ID.

Addressing the lack of a critical mass of researchers needed to trigger innovation is one way to correcting a number of structural weaknesses in Zimbabwe (United Nations Scientific and Cultural Organisation(UNESCO), 2014). Universities and research institutions lack the requisite financial and human resources to conduct R&D and the current regulatory environment hampers the transfer of new technologies to the business sector. An operational research and learning focus to provide real-time evidence and research informing programming is critical. Investment in research, verification monitoring and the establishment of carefully designed monitoring and information systems at national scale in Zimbabwe will help the I4ID operations that are still in a fragile and transition environment. It is recommended that Government, development partners and the private sector build a centralised database and an open source repository of all initiatives and social,

economic and climate data that is easily accessible, to allow for evidence based programming or interventions (Government of Zimbabwe, 2017).

Moreover, this article recommends that harnessing of transdisciplinary development research (TDR), if approached in particular ways, can produce new knowledge and also foster deeper systemic changes in the knowledge system itself. The idea of TDR for the co-creation of solution-oriented knowledge and recognizes the need to address structural injustices in knowledge systems (Marshall et al 2017).

Indigenous Technical Knowledge (ITK) harnessing

ITK is an integral part of the development process of local communities. Building on local knowledge systems is the first step to mobilise such capital. ITK is an underutilised resource in the development process. Learning from ITK, by investigating first what local communities know and have, can improve understanding of local conditions and provide a productive context for activities designed to help the communities. Sometimes grassroots innovation is an entirely indigenous endeavour, with people creating their own technologies, methods and organizations in order to realize a community need or aspiration (Smith & Stirling, 2018).

ITKS Discourses in Zimbabwe

The Environment Management Agency Zimbabwe offers the below typologies of ITKS in Zimbabwe:

- Burial places, were accorded special reverences because of their status as spaces where the dead who became spirits of the clan resided. They were held to be sacred and extraction of resources from such areas constituted gross desecration of their sacral significance and could attract secular, political and religious censure. … Africans generally believed that ancestral spirits could be evaded maintaining a universal omnipotent surveillance over the affairs of the living
- Ancestral spirits were believed to unleash divine (visitations) upon those who in their extraction and utilisation of resources violated the rules of the land. Spirits were also believed to inhabit certain flora and fauna as their hosts. *Afzelis quanzesis (*Mugoriwondo), for instance, was believed to play host to rain spirits while *Ficus Capensis* (Muonde) and Cusonia Spicatus (Mushenje) were favoured by hunter spirits.
- Water bodies and similar norms and taboos also protected the aquatic life and resources in them. Some pools were believed to host lion clan spirits (*Mhondoro*) and people fishing in them were limited to not more than two fish. Violating these resource exploitation regulatory norms did not only attract the sanctions of the spirits but were also punishable by the chiefs, headmen or other of their lesser officials as they perceived any violation as likely to attract the wrath of the spirits against community in its cooperates.

(Environmental Management Agency of Zimbabwe, n.d)

Internal Savings and Lending clubs (ISALs) and Income Generating Activities (IGAs).

ISALs and IGAs should be a key component of livelihood programmes. The psychological reassurance provided by such credit should not be under-estimated. For households unable to

move along the graduation trajectory, accessing credit enables expansion of their production/businesses. However, later they need access to larger amounts of resources (International Organisation Development Ltd, 2013). UNDP in collaboration with the Ministry of Small and Medium Enterprise has prioritised the capacity strengthening of Savings and Credit Cooperative Organizations (SACCO) members, with 1,069 people receiving training in business management, and 1,017 in cooperative management skills (United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Zimbabwe Country programme, n.d).

Stakeholder engagement

Stakeholder engagement supports the development of strong, constructive, and responsive relationships critical for sound project design and implementation. Effective stakeholder engagement enhances project acceptance and ownership and strengthens the social and environmental sustainability and benefits of supported interventions (UNDP, 2017). A holistic picture is needed as poorly coordinated, national and regional policies and strategies sometimes reinforce the structural and political factors that contribute to vulnerability and poverty in the first place (UNDP, 2017). To fully understand how different contexts, policies and multiple stressors shape vulnerability and to capture local people's own experiences, local-level, placed-based case studies that link social and ecological change and vulnerability are essential (Masunungure & Shackleton, 2018).

Community Based Planning

Community based planning should be a key component of a community based approach. Well managed, such processes can play an important role in bringing communities together, especially in areas that may traditionally be politically partisan (International Organisation Development Ltd, 2013, p. 80). Local level, social–ecological complexities require systematic unpacking to identify and promote sustainable pathways and trajectories into the future. In particular, how different economic and policy contexts play out in either blocking or enabling sustainable livelihood responses in these constrained arid and semi-arid environments, needs further enquiry (Masunungure & Shackleton, 2018).

Conclusion

This article has discussed the various sources, patterns and determinants of vulnerability and of I4ID.The article has highlighted the experiences of I4ID process from a social development angle. Obviously, there is need for more empirical and theoretical work to understand the co-evolution of policy and practice related to innovations (Trojer, et al., 2014).However for realisation of I4ID outcomes departure from a remedial and piecemeal approach to poverty alleviation towards a more developmental and sustainable social assistance framework is critical. This is achievable through an enabling socio economic environment that fosters innovations for inclusive development.

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