Leadership in food security: African traditional and humanitarian organisations' leadership perspectives in food aid delivery. A case of Matabeleland in Zimbabwe

Peter Zwidekalanga Khumalo[a1] and Edson Munsaka[b]

a. Graduate School of Business, National University of Science and Technology, Bulawayo, Zimbabwe, b. Institute of Development Studies, National University of Science and Technology, Bulawayo, Zimbabwe
1. Corresponding email: zwide54@gmail.com

Abstract

Relief food aid delivery has failed in Africa to create beneficiary resilience in recurring drought and famine disasters. The deliveries of food aid to starving recipients delay or the food quantities delivered never match the amount and type of food needed. The traditional leadership participation is lacking at designing, planning and very limited at the implementation of the emergency response. Humanitarian relief aid leadership focuses on fulfilling the donor mandates and the rights of beneficiaries to adequate food. It is oblivious to the needs of the food recipients due to the leadership's ignorance of beneficiaries' traditional and indigenous coping methods against famine disasters. African traditional leadership has, however, had household and community coping mechanisms against drought and famine disasters, but the leadership is ignorant about the operations of contemporary humanitarian relief food aid leadership. This research assesses traditional and relief aid NGOs leadership mechanisms that can increase food aid beneficiaries' resilience against progressive drought and famine disasters. The study was qualitative and semi-structured interviews were used to collect data that was analysed using MAXQDA (2018) that generated leadership thematic classifications in response to drought and famine disasters. The traditional and relief aid non-governmental organisations' leadership mechanisms contrasts in the study of food security resulted in three main leadership outcomes, namely Knowledge, creativity and adaptation for traditional leadership and limited outcomes and focus for the non-governmental organisations' leadership. The research also highlights that the basis of the success of the traditional leadership model in ensuring food security is the relationship with and dependence on the natural environment produce.

Keywords: *Community, household, food security, leadership mechanisms, resilience.*

1.0 Introduction

The advent of foreign nationals into Africa has had one key objective, 'to govern the African nationals'. Whilst there are more than three forms of global imperialism that include such as financial imperialism, global colonialism, vaccine imperialism, the methodologies to govern Africans in the food security area have been in three sequential steps; at first they used the slave trade, secondly, they used colonialism and thirdly they are using humanitarian food aid. Most recently the vaccine imperialism has manifested itself with the advent of COVID 19 scourge in which issues of micronutrient deficiencies, overweight and obesity have emerged as significant health and food security concerns (AU, ECA, FAO, 2021). This research is tackling the question: why, for many decades with relief food being delivered to communities in Africa, Africans are still vulnerable to drought and famine disasters.

If, for certain, the intention is to govern Africans, where has humanitarian relief aid leadership failed the African, who, through traditional leadership, were resilient to drought and famine disasters? The slave trade and imperialist colonialism weakened up traditional leadership and created a dependency syndrome so that Africans in a desperate state could be governed. The dependency theory has become Africa's development challenge and whilst it is the proxy of the donor's interests, it is also the pillar of the survival of the humanitarian food aid industry. To sustain the humanitarian food aid industry in which surplus agricultural produce in foreign countries has to be bought using the tax-payer's money and supplied to countries like Zimbabwe. Matabeleland has been one of the recipient areas because it is in Region Five that is a semi-arid region of the country and has, therefore, comparative advantages for this research case study.

1.2 Literature Review

Development communities have neglected leadership by academic managers and there is no well-defined overall consensus about leadership Jackson (2004; Otto, 2001). This accounts for continued vulnerability of African communities to drought and famine disasters. The, open.edu, 2021 highlights the practice of sharing and loans of food in the traditional set-up as key in traditional communities to avert famines at household levels.

In traditional leadership in food security of households the roles of gender differed, but, however, complemented each other as caretakers, food production, storage, monitoring and distribution of the food (Debevec and Gadeberg, 2018; Mkandiwire and Hendriks, 2019; FAO, 2010.The importance of women as caretakers of households, farms and landscapes and their role as in African leadership in food production, storage, monitoring and distribution was cited in literature (Debevec and Gardeberg, 2018; FAO, 2011).Whilst the roles of women and man differed in food security, they however complimented each other (Mkandiwa and Hendriks, 2019). Gobwe, *et al.,* (2015) posits that divorces, family violence and destitution may lead some women and destitute children to become household-heads.

Safety-nets for self-reliance and caring for others during famine disasters ensure that no-one starves to death in a community (Dabu and Dorosh, 2017; Gatsheni-Ndlovu, 2009). Social relationships, power dynamics and socio-economic status coupled with empathy may influence intra-family food allocation (Manstead, 2018; Liwenga, 2003; Devereux, 2001; Masendeke, *et al.,* 2004). Literature by Liwenga, (2003) quotes van Vlaenderen, (2000) who emphasised the importance of intimate knowledge of the natural environment. Africans believed in the spiritual power for prosperity. They used rituals to appease spirits to mitigate drought and famine disasters (Magezi and Magezi, 2017; Ohajunwa and Mji, 2018).

2.0 Methodology

The research methodology used was qualitative. Semi-structured interviews were used to obtain data from twelve (12) key informants that were identified both purposively and through snowballing. The population of the study was composed of six male traditional leaders from the rural Matabeleland Provinces and six local non-governmental organisations leadership from the Bulawayo Metropolitan Province who have led relief and development organisations operating in the Matabeleland Provinces. The gender split was three female and three male Directors. The point of saturation was attained when progressive semi-structured interviews were no-longer adding new information to the study. Transcripts of recordings in PDF were analysed with the MAXQDA (2018) programme that collated the coded data into themes that were used as subheadings in the presentation results.

2.1 Conceptual Framework

The study was based on the concept that the contemporary food relief aid organisations' leadership operates on the basis of a donor mandate. This mandate requires the leadership to fulfil the rights of human beings to adequate food. It does not necessarily enlist the needs and active participation of the food aid beneficiaries at planning, designing and, to some degree, at the implementation stage. The leadership is accountable to the donors and not to the beneficiaries. Lack of active participation at planning and designing of the response to famine disasters fails to introduce the element of the fulfilment of the beneficiary needs and it creates a non-productive attitude and a sense of dependence. The food aid organisations' leadership model is prescriptive and not contextual whilst the traditional leadership model cultivates creativity.

3.0 Findings

The findings are in four thematic leadership categories; gender leadership roles, indigenous knowledge transfer, community leadership response and humanitarian relief food aid organisations' leadership.

3.1 Gender Leadership Roles

The findings revealed that a nuclear family is composed of the father, mother and siblings for planning and preparing for future droughts and famines. Women had an important African leadership role in the family for food production, storage, monitoring and distribution which are key in food security (FAO, 2011). Women are caretakers of not only households, but also farms and landscapes (Debevec and Gadeberg, 2018). One female respondent said, the home is manned by women. The women also featured in information dissemination from one generation to another about coping strategies to enable survival during drought and famine disasters because they spent most of the time with the children. The respondents acknowledged that for future generations to survive, the transfer of indigenous knowledge was critical. One male respondent said, ''we do not live forever. Our kids should get knowledge''.

Members of the African family had varying levels of responsibility in mitigating drought and famine. Once the woman raised an alarm about dwindling food reserves, the man had to be creative and source food for his family. Whilst the role of men was to source food for the family, there was complementarity between women and men's roles in ensuring food security (Mkandawire and Hendriks, 2019). This preserved the dignity of both the head of the household and the family itself. Sharing food was measured against need. Information about starving families was picked up at play by the children or by the woman during interaction with other women. Consultation was a key leadership mechanism between the woman and the figure-head of the family before she could give food to a starving neighbour's family.

3.2 Indigenous Knowledge Transfer

Indigenous knowledge transfer through generations was done through oral tradition and practice by the young in activities that the father and mother were involved in (Mpofu and Miruka, 2009). One respondent in agreement with Mpofu and Miruka stated that the youth learnt through participation and it was some form of apprenticeship. Sometimes critical information came down to the young through instruction, observation and folklore stories when specific chores had to be done in the homestead or among relatives (Schafer, *et al.,* 2004). When the young observed relatives visiting their home being given grain for food, they learnt that food should be shared through inter-household food transfers and loans (open.edu, 2021).

Participation or apprenticeship, instruction and observation were the main methods beliefs, myths, taboos, norms and indigenous cultural processes were passed on from one generation to the other.

3.3 The Community Response

A summary of informants' responses about the traditional community's responses to drought and famine disaster was as follows. The community had a collective responsibility to respond to drought and famine disasters. The Chiefs advised the community to organise themselves, since the weather predictors or weather foretellers would have warned him about the impending drought and famine. Traditional leaders knew the needs of the people they resided with. Different expert groups with their leaderships played their roles such as food distribution by traditional leadership, predicting the weather, cleansing the environment and rainmaking. Leadership was identified based on the family history; their expertise in a particular activity and/or wealth. Consultation and report giving meetings held under the Chief's leadership were necessary and frequent to transfer information and knowledge. Traditional leadership depended on spiritual beliefs, myths, taboos, norms for guiding their decision making and disaster mitigation strategies. The leadership believed that all challenges such as drought and famine were a punishment by ancestral spirits that needed appeasement through rituals.

Interaction and interdependence were key in preparing and planning a response to the drought and famine disasters. Leadership, courage, wisdom and an ability to bring people together were important inspiration pillars towards achieving the same vision. To the Ndebele people of Matabeleland, food security and coping strategies were guided by the two principles; one that 'no-one was allowed to be hungry in the community' and the second that 'drought and famine was a permanent feature'. One respondent said that there is no reason for someone to go hungry at some point, where and when they find they have nothing to eat. Another respondent explained that the second principle ensured community planning, preparedness, constant availability of and accessibility to food.

3.4 Humanitarian Relief Food Aid

Whilst traditional African leadership proactively made decisions based on what their communities needed, and as one respondent indicated that this enhanced their preparedness and planning for the drought and famine disasters, the relief food aid organisations' leadership reactively responded to fulfil rights to adequate food. Humanitarian leadership model of emergency response creates donor dependency in communities instead of empowering them. Another respondent stated that the Non-Governmental Organisations' (NGOs) employees intend to assist the beneficiaries of food, but they also live to benefit themselves. They are employees. The problem of dwindling funds from donors worries them more than drought and famine. They are accountable to the donor and not the food aid beneficiary. Another respondent stated that the humanitarian relief response to famine is a short term program. Senior leadership of NGOs do not interact with the beneficiary leadership. On-the-field food aid organisations' leadership interacts with traditional leadership on a give-and-receive basis. Another respondent expressed that unlike the traditional leadership, NGO leadership is not fully aware of the needs of the beneficiaries. The humanitarian food aid programmes are planned and administered away from the beneficiaries. Aid organisations' leadership should interact more with the beneficiaries to empower the food recipients. The participation of the beneficiaries would improve their food security.

Figure 1, is a summary of the results obtained through the semi-structured interviews that shows that food security is the central issue and the food security indicators such as food

availability, accessibility, food value to the consumers define it. The Figure illustrates that the response to drought and famine disasters, to ensure food security by the family and community leadership, considers elements of leadership structure, implementation process and indigenous knowledge influence. Guided by the beneficiary's needs, key leadership elements of collaboration, consultation, discipline, wisdom and decision making were central in the response to the disasters. On the other hand, humanitarian NGOs are rights-based and guided by donor prescriptions in response to famine disasters with a disconnect between humanitarian relief food aid organisations' leadership and African traditional leadership.
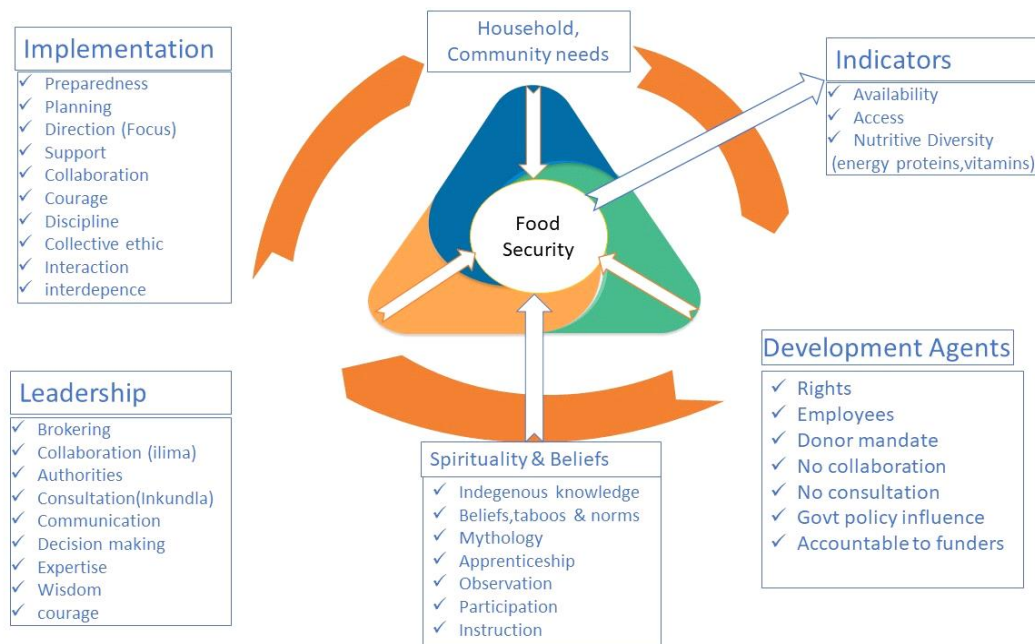

Figure 1-Summary of results
Source: Research findings (2018)

4.0 Discussion of the Results

The discussion of the results is under the thematic groups into which the MAXQDA, (2018) analysis method classified the data. The themes were key in responding to the research questions as each was aligned with each of the four research questions in the study. The focus of the study is on the response of traditional and relief food aid organisations' leadership to drought and famine disasters to improve food security.

4.1 Food Security and Coping Strategies

The leadership of the family was a collective effort in which parents, children and relatives made decisions after consultation. The roles were laid out based on gender, with the woman playing a major role in managing food storage, distribution and passing on indigenous knowledge from one generation to the other. The leadership of the family in issues of food security should include the woman's role. Whilst the children and relatives played some leadership roles as it sometimes became necessary to send or delegate people, the father was the one accountable for the overall food availability to the homestead. The family leadership

structure and organisation to tackle drought and famine disasters could appear as if it was hierarchical because of the position of the father as head of the family, however, it was lateral as it mainly involved next-of-kin networking and interaction. Coping with the famine disaster was enhanced by the leadership that was proactive in that the African leadership planned and prepared for famine disaster times.

The results showed that the head of the family and home, the father, once he was informed that food had run out at his homestead, he wandered away visiting relatives. He was given food to take back to his family. The first point of call was to try and fend for the family with the children being cared for first. The head of the family showed leadership by first making sure that he takes it upon himself to source food for his family. Self-help and self-dependency for the preservation of the family dignity and integrity of the head of the homestead was important. The head of the family used his creative mind to source food for the starving family. He avoided the constrictive nature of the African thought approach of so much reliance on the spiritual power for their prosperity which makes people do nothing about a problem because of the belief that God will provide (Magezi and Magezi, 2017). In the mind of the head-of-the-household was the understanding that he was accountable for the family's livelihoods.

Studies show that some households are headed by mothers who are widows or destitute children as a result of divorces, domestic violence, parental deaths (mainly due to the HIV/AIDS) scourge (Gubwe, *et al.,* 2015). The effect of this is that, the family structure and organisation changes from the usual family made of a father as the family head, mother and children and relatives. The leadership roles of fending for others would be in the hands of the mother or the destitute oldest child since food comes to the family in either of the names. The success of carrying out the leadership role of responding to drought and famine was the same as that of a father and it was centred on being creative.

If the other siblings in a destitute family were still very young, the principle of shared leadership responsibility failed due to age differences. The extended family was approached to assist with food only when the family head had failed to raise enough food for the family. Assisting the starving family under the leadership of a widow or a destitute child was normally not questioned. In most instances, such families were the responsibility of the other members of the extended family to support and fend to reduce vulnerability to famine disasters. In a traditional African homestead, the bereaved woman or children were cared for by the extended family. Orphans were absorbed into the extended family.

Sometimes the family head was not allowed to use his or her ingenuity to gather up some food for the homestead as the rest of the extended family may have noticed the need to assist that family with food, and they would do so. However, it must be noted that this type of safety-net has weakened due to economic pressures or rural to urban migrations. The creative minds in the family were a coping mechanism that extended to planning and redesigning coping strategies against different challenges that they encountered in the area of food security. The change from growing white sorghum to planting brown sorghum to ward-off flocks of bird pests, because of the unpalatable taste of the brown strain to the birds, is one coping mechanism that was a result of very good internal family schooling from generation to generation. Observation, story-telling, participation in daily family chores were some of the methods leadership used to transfer indigenous knowledge. Creativity was part of the leadership attribute that enabled families to survive through drought and famine disasters.

The research study revealed that under different circumstances when the children asked questions, parents gave diplomatic, but informative answers. One respondent illustrated this by

saying that if a young person asked the father why they are giving food to the aunt's family when they should be having their own food; the father would not say they did not plough their fields or that they are lazy. Instead, he probably would say that they got less food than their family in that year. This creates an up and down communication phenomenon in which the child is trained to care for others and his opinion in the discussion is taken into account in decision making by family leadership. Interaction with the extended family enhanced lateral leadership due to the horizontal communication. The sharing of survival ideas, resources and food is central to collective coping and it sets the foundations of customary safety-nets that are critical in food security (FAO, 2010).

In a household, the family's economic status influenced their leadership mechanisms. The leadership that uses the coping strategy of social stratification that is influenced by the socio-economic status of groups and that score highly on measures of empathy, are more likely to inter-depend and help others (Manstead, 2018; Liwenga, 2003). The research showed that the community leadership's response to drought and famine was based on the expertise in different roles. The leadership expertise in weather prediction, environmental cleansing and rain-making, whilst not interchangeable, was focused on the same vision. This called for leadership pre-planning, preparation, collaboration, interdependence, consultation, trust and faith in the leadership.

The leadership's core responsibility was to ensure that there were food reserves in readiness for any drought and famine eventualities. However, the advent of severe drought and food shortages were considered as punishment from the ancestors who would need to be appeased. The African leadership appeasement rituals in mitigating drought and famine disasters facilitated connectedness to God and ancestors, self and others, the earth, plants and animal life (Ohajunwa and Mji, 2018). One respondent said that the traditional leadership response complemented the spiritual rituals with the physical activities of the living household or community leadership in response to drought and famine disasters with the spirits providing guidance to leadership.

4.2 Sharing as a Value System

This value system was achieved by resource sharing and loaning (*ukusisa*) from those with surplus. In this research study most interviewees stated that sharing food was the core in coping with famine disasters. The traditional leadership system was efficient due to the proximity of the sponsor and the beneficiary with a definite livelihood improvement. The interactions and interdependence within the family enhanced coping strategies and improved food security.

The reliance on social safety-nets for resilience, in-networks such as caring for others, was central in the process of mitigating drought and famine disasters. The Nuer and the Dinka, and the Ndebele had principles that never allowed anyone to die of starvation. (Babu and Dorosh, 2017; Gatsheni-Ndlovu, 2009). Reported by one interviewees, traditional leadership was guided by value systems such as sharing limited by relationships, food availability and access to food.

Another interviewee stated that as much as the family would want to share food, the family would weigh their reserves of food against the family size and restrict food sharing. This means that the sharing was to some degree contextual and a principle of exclusion or a contraction of reciprocity would be adopted. This approach reflects some community structural changes in the intra-family food allocation rules that are influenced by social relationship and power

inequalities which, whilst food is available in some households, other families would fail to have access to the food (Devereux, 2001). Studies have shown that in Ethiopia, Botswana, Zambia, communities have resorted to similar measures (Masendeke, *et al.,* 2004).

The food given to the starving family was not expected to be returned. The sense and spirit of gratitude guided the beneficiary family who when in the future they had a surplus of something else, they would share with the donor family. There was, in this sharing matrix, an unspoken principle that guided this behaviour of the beneficiary family; it was the principle that the basket is not returned empty as one respondent stated. It, however, as suggested by several interviewees, was not expected by the donor family that the recipient family pays back the food donated to them. When young children observed this happening and when they participated in moving food between families in the sharing process, they learnt that collaboration among family leaders was necessary when drought and famine struck. The research also revealed that other than through observation and participation, knowledge was passed on from generation to generation through instruction when duties were delegated to the youth.

4.3 Social Networks

The coping strategies changed with the level of severity of the famine and food availability family by family. In severe circumstances there was a voluntary and deliberate closer relationship with the environment and ecosystems. Studies by Van Vlaenderen, (2000), quoted in text by Liwenga, (2003) show that people living in rural areas in developing countries have an intimate knowledge of their natural environment such as climate, soils and environmental processes. The individual families harvested wild fruits, leaves, insects, and wild animals as supplementary food during famine disaster times. Social networks provided leadership with information on locations of wild environmental produce. This assisted family leadership to be organised to avert possibilities of malnutrition or starvation to death.

4.4 Community Leadership

The results showed that solving problems of famine and decision making at any household or community level was a collective, collaborative and participatory process. The sharing of food and ideas was a household and community practice. The community was stratified and it responded to drought and famine with the different leadership expertise. A collective response by leadership was guided by the community's needs. The leadership was non-linear in that anyone in the community could lead. It was consistent in the results of the interviews of the key informants that local indigenous knowledge, differentiated expertise, and a common vision was central in guiding leadership in collectively tackling the drought and famine disasters.

Most of the leadership for each group was by descent. Respect and consultation to a family was allotted according to the levels of social capital gained by the community from the family concerned. A family of witchdoctors (*Inyanga*) could produce a leader for the environment cleansing group. A leader for the weather predictors or foretellers came from a home known for such skills. There was normally unanimity in the identification of the leadership. None of the leaders was considered senior to the others except those with administrative responsibility. Even the administrative leadership worked through the community in that they set up consultation meetings (*inkundla*) for informing each other and passing information from generation to generation. Information transfer was through participation, listening and observation.

The leadership system was circular. The Model of Loci of Leadership in which the domains of leadership, leader, follower and leader, follower, Hernandez, *et al.* (2011), the correct

representation for the traditional community leadership as described above would be the follower-leader-follower dyad. In this arrangement the followers enact leadership behaviour that influences peers to embrace the common vision of the community. This is a leadership system in which leader-follower, follower–leader and the context co-exist. The results showed from a relational angle that the pattern of behaviour of the leadership was for different roles, but with a common vision. The follower and the leader cannot be looked at in isolation as one has to consider the qualitative view of leadership which ushers in the collective behaviour, context, the affect and the cognitive aspects. This approach enhances a comprehensive and integrative understanding of the leadership phenomena (Hernandez, *et al.,* 2011).

In the process of community leadership towards solving the problems of the drought and famine disaster, there are emergent outcomes in the form of knowledge, creativity and the ability to cope with future similar disasters. These outcomes suggest that in the process of responding to drought and famine disasters there is leadership built in the complexity that creates a complete change in the behaviour of beneficiaries in their ability to adapt to future similar disasters. The whole traditional leadership complex matrix, however, stratified per the varied expertise, but focused on the common vision to eradicate famine, collectively transform the beneficiaries in knowledge, creativity skills and adaptability to future disasters. The activities by each stratum are very differentiated but interdependent in the demands for successful leadership in the areas of expertise to achieve the same vision.

4.5 Relief aid leadership

Humanitarian aid NGOs leadership makes an emergency/relief response to drought and famine prescriptive. The humanitarian aid organisations' leadership to alleviating vulnerable people from sudden disaster emergencies requires recurring assistance to improve people's livelihoods. This creates the donor dependency syndrome. Relief food aid does not rehabilitate or create resilience in the beneficiaries. Discussions during the semi-structured interviews revealed that weaknesses in humanitarian aid organisations' leadership are that the relief action is short term. Humanitarian leadership has no empowering collaboration with beneficiary leadership at decision-making levels and because of that, the relief food aid leadership does not meet the needs of the food recipients that would increase their resilience against famine disasters. Participation in designing, planning and implementation of the relief programmes by traditional leadership would transform the beneficiaries towards self-reliance.

Relief food aid leadership is employees that do not have time to interact with the beneficiaries for purposes of empowering them. They exist to fulfil the mandate of ensuring that the starving masses access their right to adequate food and are accountable to the donors who pay for the food using tax-payer's money. Sustainable food security measures through humanitarian aid organisations leadership, as per the interview discussions, are hampered by Government bureaucracy in which traditional leaders' authority over the receiving and distribution of food is weakened through overlooking and undervaluing indigenous knowledge systems, beliefs, norms, taboos, and cultural processes. The argument is that; the recognition of local knowledge has the advantage of minimizing value in aid delivery. It allows aid food recipient communities to participate in decision making, leading to reduced dependency on humanitarian relief food aid.

The dichotomy in leadership lies in traditional leadership's failure to understand the humanitarian aid processes and both the donors and local humanitarian NGOs' lack of acceptance and understanding the culture of the food aid recipient communities (Maxwell, *et al*., 2011; Hofman, *et al*., 2004). Most interviewees were agreeing that it is not possible to

transform humanitarian aid organisation leaders as they operate based on the donor mandate. Thoughts were also sounded out that the NGO leadership is not keen to empower the aid beneficiary communities and families, because the humanitarian aid organisations industry survives on handing out food to the starving families and communities.

There were contradicting opinions by the respondents in the research about the levels of contact contemporary humanitarian food aid leadership has with the leadership of beneficiaries of the food aid. Some respondents were partly in agreement with literature which expressed that ''aid agencies engage with communities and genuinely listen to their needs. However, this ''listening'' meant finding out how to present what the agencies want to deliver in ways that make them acceptable.'' (Jeater, 2011). The shift to cash transfers from use of oceanic transportation of relief food has improved lead-time efficiency and cost-effectiveness of delivery (Nikulkov, *et al.*, 2016).

The NGO leadership, in its quest to be accountable, is in-ward looking focussing on the value for the tax-payer money that would have been used to buy the food to be given out as aid (Jeater, 2011). The humanitarian aid organisations reflect vested interests of the donors to the extent that beneficiaries become the product and not the clients. Food aid delivery then becomes a policy making agenda guided by The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ISESCR, 1966), that makes the right to adequate food legally binding because of its emphasis on rights to adequate food for the recipients and not their needs. This is a victims' approach since it negates the needs of the food aid beneficiaries which would make food aid to have an empowering investment outlook on beneficiaries of food aid.

5.0 Conclusion

The conclusion from the study is that there benefits to both leaderships, the traditional leadership and the humanitarian organisations' leadership in food aid delivery. The understanding of how humanitarian food aid organisations leadership process mechanisms by traditional leadership and the simultaneous acceptance and knowledge of traditional leadership mechanisms in response to drought and famine disasters will improve food aid beneficiaries' resilience against the recurring scourges. The Non-Governmental organisations' leadership extends their mandate beyond fulfilling the rights to adequate foods to include the needs of the beneficiaries to mitigate the risks that come with the recurring disasters. The merging of the two leadership mechanisms creates a change in beneficiary leadership behaviour that is influenced by the emergent outcomes of a gain in knowledge, creativity of and adaptability by traditional leadership to mitigate the progressive drought and famine disasters.

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