



REPORT ON 4 HOUSEHOLD ECONOMY ASSESSMENTS IN ZIMBABWE

**FOR THE SADC-VAC AND ZIMBABWE VAC,
AUGUST 2002**

Covering 4 Food Economy Zones:

1. Highveld Prime Communal
2. Mashonaland "Fast Track" Resettlement
3. Mashonaland Commercial Farm Workers
4. North Great Dyke Informal Mining Communities

Save the Children (UK) – Zimbabwe Country Programme

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The opinions expressed in this report are solely those of Save the Children UK.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- Save the Children UK carried out 4 Household Economy Assessments in the Mashonaland Provinces in collaboration with UNDP, the Department of Social Welfare, AREX and Zvimba Rural District Council between July 19th and August 6th, 2002. The assessments form part of a regional initiative to examine food security prospects in Southern Africa until the next harvest in April 2003, led by the SADC-FANR Vulnerability Assessment Committee.
- The assessment covered prime communal and “Fast Track” resettlement areas, commercial farmworkers, and informal mining communities. The food economy zones covered have a combined population estimated at over 3 million people. Sample communities for the assessment were taken from Zvimba, Goromonzi, Seke and Marondera districts.
- Current access to food and income and expenditure patterns were examined for different socio-economic or wealth groups in each area, and prospects for food security over the coming 8 months were then assessed under a variety of scenarios.

The main findings of the report are as follows:

Percentage of Minimum Food Needs Likely to be Accessed, Aug '02-April '03

Zone	Very Poor	Poor	Middle	Better Off
FEZ 1: Communal	35-45%	60-70%	90-100%	<i>Food secure; not assessed</i>
FEZ 2: Resettlement		45-55%	95-105%	<i>Food secure; not assessed</i>
FEZ 3: Farm Workers	25-40%	35-50%	85-95%	110-125%
FEZ 4: Informal Miners		60-70%	90-100%	<i>Food secure; not assessed</i>

- Food aid will be required for the very poor and poor groups in all of the zones assessed. This equates to 55-75% of the population in communal areas, and 15-25% in Fast Track resettlement areas. Lack of population data prevented the team from being able to state the numbers of commercial farm workers and informal miners affected.
- Already, the poorer sections of the populations have been observed to consume a very undiversified diet, consisting almost exclusively of maize and vegetables. Incomes are also insufficient to enable households to purchase adequate amounts of basic non-food essentials such as soap, clothing/ blankets, and services such as healthcare and education.
- In FEZs 1 & 2, the population is mainly dependent on food and cash crop production, and on casual or agricultural labouring and livestock sales. Harvests in all areas were severely affected by drought, and only a small number (10-15%) of the better off farmers had any stocks remaining by late July. Low production was also a problem in resettlement areas as most new farmers lacked the inputs to cultivate more than 20-50% of their allocated land.

- While the middle and better off should be able to access adequate amounts of food mainly through purchase of grain using cash from crop and livestock sales, the poor will rely primarily on labouring to access food. It is unlikely that opportunities for such work and the payment rates will be adequate to employ all of those needing grain, and their deficits are therefore expected to only be partially bridged.
- For resettled farmers, there is a particular and urgent need for agricultural input credits or other support to production, and also for improved infrastructure and service provision if the land reform programme is to be beneficial to them.
- Food aid needs are estimated based on a specified scenario. Many key variables will influence the food security situation between now and April 2003, and monitoring will be required to verify whether the assumptions used in this analysis turn out to be correct. In particular, it will be necessary to monitor GMB/commercial supplies of grain on the market and their prices, the ability of farmers to access inputs for cultivation, the levels of production in the coming season, and therefore the availability and payment rates for agricultural labouring.
- Livelihoods for commercial farm workers and informal mining communities are income-based, rather than production based. Those who are currently employed in both sectors earn a range of incomes, but the majority are on low wages whose value is increasingly being eroded by increases in the prices of basic commodities. Food and non-food baskets have become increasingly undiversified, and this trend looks set to continue. Nominal incomes in one mining community, for example, rose by only 69% over the last year while the price of maize rose by 324%. Elderly and disabled miners who can no longer work underground are particularly vulnerable in this regard.
- The closure of many commercial farms has had a very serious effect on the welfare of farm workers, and also on communities whose income was supplemented by seasonal employment on farms. Some farm workers have received retrenchment packages, but most have not been resettled and many do not have communal lands to return to. Therefore their long-term future is very uncertain. In the short-term, those who received no retrenchment packages or whose packages have now been exhausted are the most food insecure of all communities visited and are at serious risk. They have no formal incomes, and are largely unable to access casual or agricultural work from newly-resettled farmers.
- The closure of many more commercial farms during the reporting period makes it vital that Government and the humanitarian community rapidly acts to address the situation of former commercial farmworkers who to date have been marginalised by both sets of actors.

INTRODUCTION

In late June 2002, a number of agencies including Save the Children UK, WFP, FEWS-NET, and National Early Warning Units, under the auspices of the SADC-FANR Vulnerability Assessment Committee, agreed to carry out a series of food security assessments across six countries in southern Africa. The six countries were those identified as having been worst affected by drought in the 2001-02 agricultural season, and for whom food aid has been requested under a WFP regional Emergency Operation.

In Zimbabwe, a national questionnaire-based approach was devised mainly for use in the communal areas of the country. As part of its contribution to the assessment process, SC UK agreed to carry out additional assessments using the Household Economy Approach (HEA) in areas that were considered to require more in-depth assessment, and/ or where this alternative methodological approach was considered more appropriate. These areas were identified as informal mining communities, commercial farming areas, new resettlement areas and normally food secure communal areas that border commercial areas. All of these are to be found mainly in Mashonaland East, West and Central provinces. The food security situation in these areas was not only affected by the widespread drought and prevalence of HIV/ AIDS, but was also significantly affected by the wider macroeconomic climate in the country, and by the Fast Track land reform programme.

This report covers 4 food economy zones (areas where most households obtain their food and cash income through roughly the same combination of means), and each is covered by a separate chapter.

ASSESSMENT PURPOSE AND METHODOLOGY

With the drought during the 2001-02 agricultural season, food security has become a serious concern for rural areas of Zimbabwe. However the focus on drought, with less emphasis on the impacts of land reform and macroeconomic problems, risks ignoring the plight of other communities not dependent on their own food production such as commercial farm workers and informal mining communities.

The specific objectives of the current assessment were to:

- Assess and describe households' current ability to access food, non-food items and services in the four selected food economy zones, and predict how this may change in the period until the April 2003 harvest
- Estimate emergency food aid needs by socio-economic group and time period
- Highlight potential non-food emergency needs, and longer-term livelihood support strategies

Methodology

SC UK's Household Economy Approach (HEA) methodology was used for this assessment. HEA is a framework for analysing household food security and a population's needs. Information is collected on the various options and strategies that households in different wealth groups employ to secure access to food and cash

income, and on their patterns of expenditure and how they cope when shocks occur. Implicit in this approach is a clear focus on people's traditional livelihoods in order to build a picture of how the economy in a particular area works, utilising the knowledge of local people in a structured and systematic way.

The fieldwork for this assessment was carried out between July 19th and August 6th 2002, and was led by two experienced HEA practitioners (an independent consultant and a SC staff member). Further assistance was provided by two additional trained HEA practitioners from SC UK and from the UNDP's Relief & Recovery Unit (RRU), and by staff from the Department of Social Welfare, AREX and Zvimba Rural District Council. The teams began by reviewing secondary data, and by meeting with local authorities and key informants in Zvimba, Seke, Goromonzi and Marondera districts. For two of the zones (commercial farm workers and informal mines), baseline HEA information was available through research carried out under SC's Emergency Preparedness programme in 2001. For the Mashonaland Prime Communal zone, older and more limited information was available from the 1996 Zimbabwe RiskMap report. The Mashonaland Resettlement Zone is a new zone created as a result of the Fast Track land reform programme which began in June 2000, and it has not been previously assessed.

Each of these zones spans a number of districts and provinces. For this assessment, sample sites were selected mainly from Zvimba district in Mashonaland West, and from Goromonzi, Marondera and Seke districts in Mashonaland East. One site was covered in Guruve district in Mashonaland Central.

The assessment in each area began with interviews with community leaders to get an overview of the situation, and to identify the different socio-economic or wealth groups in that community. Focus group interviews were then held with a sample of households from each group. These groups were usually gender disaggregated. Interviews were based around a semi-structured format, and focused on typical households' sources of food and income, on the division of labour within households, including roles played by children and women in sourcing food and cash income, and on coping strategies available to the community.

The current assessment quantified food, income and expenditure during the period between April and June/ July 2002. Additional discussions covered seasonal access to food and income, and looked in brief at patterns of access in previous years and at predicted trends between now and April 2003.

Research constraints

There were no significant constraints to the fieldwork in Zvimba district. In parts of Mashonaland East, tensions between newly resettled farmers and former commercial farmworkers on two farms meant that it was only possible to interview one or other of the groups. However, this was not felt to have compromised the overall results.

FEZ 1: HIGHVELD PRIME COMMUNAL

Introduction

The Highveld Prime Communal is usually one of the most prosperous FEZs found on communal lands in Zimbabwe. A variety of food and cash crops are grown here, and maize does particularly well. Given the fertility of the land (it consists of Natural Regions IIa, IIb and III), and the high population density, livestock are not as important a component of livelihoods here as in many parts of the country. The zone is widely dispersed across north/ north-central Zimbabwe and is discontinuous. It is composed primarily of prime communal land located in Mashonaland East, West and Central, as well as small portions of Midlands and Manicaland¹. The total estimated population is approximately 1.2 million people.

The food crisis currently affecting Zimbabwe has not spared these households, however. The drought of 2001/2002 resulted in total maize production falling to around 20-40% of normal levels in most parts of this zone. Cash crops were also badly affected with cotton yields, for example, being insufficient for many small farmers to repay input credit debts. To obtain maize, households are purchasing maize through the GMB or on the local market at ever increasing prices. Most maize is being sourced not at controlled prices, and the price of a bucket of maize has increased by 300-400% since last year (up from Z\$200 to Z\$600 – Z\$800). This is stretching household budgets as households struggle to utilize scarce cash resources for food and non-food necessities.

Poorer families in this region strategically combine household agricultural production with labor on local and commercial farms to earn income. While drought has reduced agricultural labouring opportunities within the communal lands, the current Fast Track land reform programme has also severely reduced critical employment opportunities for many households in neighbouring commercial farming areas. Without adequate inputs to enable them to utilize extra land, resettlement for this group only marginally improves their self-sufficiency.

The combination of these shocks – drought-induced crop failure, high inflation rates for essential commodities and a sharp reduction in the availability of employment – poses a threat of an acute food security crisis for the majority of households in this zone over the coming eight months.

The assessment teams conducted field visits in the provinces of Mashonaland East and West, in the districts of Marondera, Seke, Goromonzi and Zvimba. While this analysis is certainly considered representative of the situation in those districts, a review of secondary data would lead us to tentatively suggest that the analysis may also be valid for similar communal areas in Makonde, Mazowe, Bindura, Murehwa, Wedza and Makoni districts. Assessment teams visited the communal areas within these Provinces, and conducted semi-structured focus group discussions (FGD) and in-depth key informant interviews (KII) among communities identified as typical of those communal areas. Quantitative and qualitative data were analyzed in conjunction

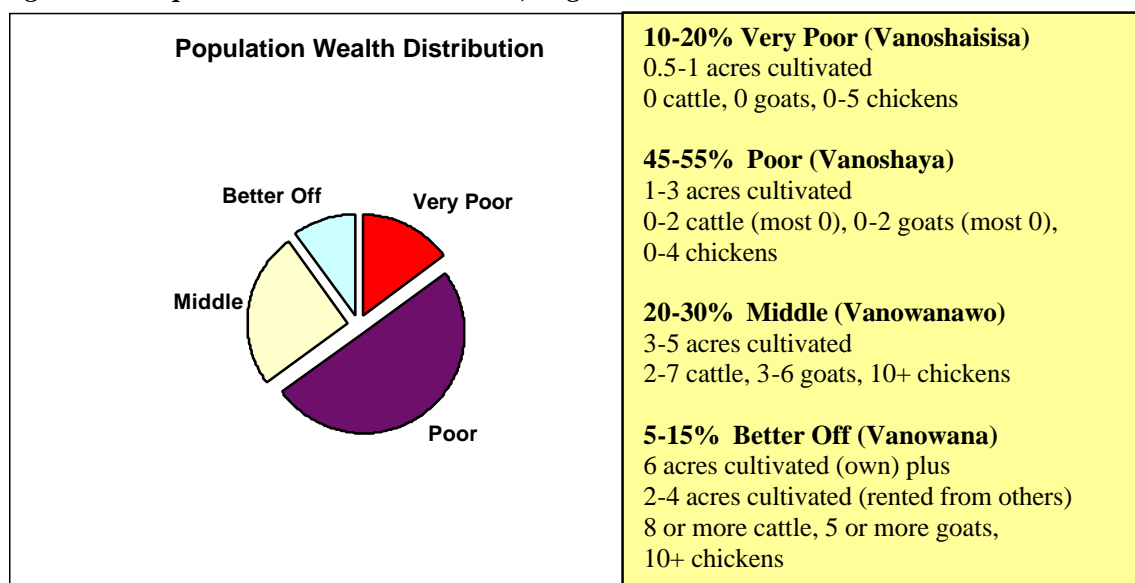
¹ A list of the communal lands included in this zone is attached as Annex 1.

with a secondary data review to compile the food security profiles, conclusions and recommendations presented below.

Description of Population

Because livelihood patterns are relatively similar across the communal areas encompassed by this food economy zone, a single analysis is presented below. To facilitate the analysis of household livelihood security, communities analyzed the distribution of wealth, livelihood patterns and vulnerability by wealth group. Communities identified the following groups:

Figure 1.1: Population Wealth Distribution, Highveld Prime Communal Zone



The *vanoshaisisa* (10-20%) includes those who are the most chronically structurally vulnerable, due to their inability to cultivate or participate in a full schedule of economic activities. These households typically consist of elderly, disabled or ill adult members, who may be caring for additional dependents such as orphans of the HIV/AIDS epidemic. They typically underutilize their allocated land in the communal areas, cultivating one acre at most, and are highly reliant on working for others for survival.

The *vanoshaya*, or the poor (45-55%), comprises the largest percentage of the population. Poor households typically engage in domestic production on their own farms (1-3 acres) as well as a range of economic activities, including: the sale of food and cash crops (including garden produce), agricultural employment on local farms in communal areas, agricultural employment on neighboring commercial farms, construction, brick-making and domestic work. Poor households normally cope with droughts by increasing their reliance on working for others for food; the current crisis hampers that coping strategy by severely curtailing the availability of both local and commercial farm employment, and depleting grain from the market, thereby forcing them to work for cash to buy expensive grain.

The *vanowanawo*, or the middle, are distinguished from the poor by the ability to meet food and income requirements through a combination of their own production (crops and livestock) and economic activities while undertaking little or no agricultural labour for others. Through cultivating at least half of their allocated land (3-5 acres for a typical household), they produce over 75% of their food needs in normal years. While these households benefited from a larger harvest than the poor this year, most households have consumed the entirety of this production and are now reliant upon grain purchase to meet food needs.

The *vanowana*, or the better off, benefit from salaried employment, regular income from crops and livestock, and the capacity to hire labour and land for crop production. They produce a crop surplus in normal years. Due to the time constraints of this assessment, in-depth interviews were not conducted with this group, and they are omitted from the quantitative analysis presented below. Local leaders and community key informants repeatedly confirmed that this group will be food secure from August 2002 to March 2003 due to their harvest of 2001/2002 as well as the continued access to off-farm income. It should be noted, however, that many households in this group will be required to sell cattle and goats at rates above their normal off-take rates to earn income to buy grain, particularly from November 2002 to March 2003. If an upturn in agricultural production is not in evidence during the coming season, the long-term consequences of elevated livestock sales should be considered.

Sources of Food

For the majority of households in these communal areas (55-75%), the 2002 harvest has contributed little to household food security this year. During the period of April to July, poor households consumed 5-15% of their food needs from their own crops, and middle households consumed a quarter (20-30%) of their food needs from their own production. This is inclusive of the 2001/2002 harvest on the main fields – maize, millet, groundnuts, etc. – as well as the ongoing vegetable production from gardens. In an average year, we would expect all of those households' grain needs during those months and for sometime beyond to be met from their own harvest.

In normal years, the very poor and the poor are able to work in exchange for food from better off farmers by harvesting and threshing in April and May. The relatively low contribution of labour exchange to food needs illustrated in Figure 1.2 – an average of 25-35% and 0-10% of food needs for the very poor and poor respectively – reflects the sharp curtailment of harvest work availability in April – May 2002 linked to crop failure.

Households have compensated, to varying degrees, for these shocks by purchasing grain or mealie meal from the GMB, retailers and better off farmers in the area, accounting for 40-70% of total food needs over this period. Shortly after harvest, households sourced grain on nearby communal or commercial farms. The supply of grain from these routes has steadily diminished, and is expected to be very difficult to source in the coming several months.

Figure 1.2: Sources of Food: Highveld Prime Communal Zone, April – July 2002

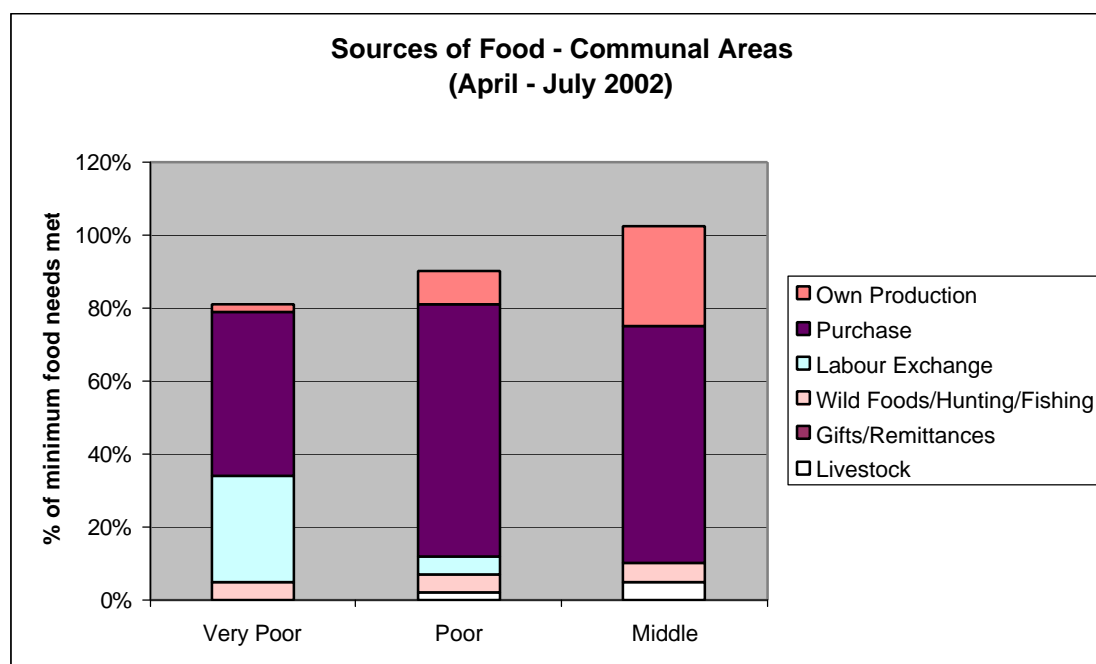


Table 1.1: Sources of Food for Highveld Prime Communal Zone, Apr.–July 2002

Source of Food	Very Poor	Poor	Middle
Own Production	0-5%	5-15%	20-30%
Purchase	40-50%	65-75%	60-70%
Labour Exchange	25-35%	0-10%	0%
Wild Foods/ Hunting/ Fishing	0-5%	0-5%	0-5%
Gifts/Remittances	0%	0%	0%
Livestock	0%	0-5%	0-10%
Total	75-85%	85-95%	95-105%

The contribution of wild foods to the diet is minimal (estimated at <5%) because the foods most commonly consumed are fruits rather than legumes or grains. Households are allowed to kill and consume wild animals (such as wild pigs) that destroy their crops, but legal restrictions limit reliance upon poaching of wild animals and fish for food or income.

Of the grain purchased, only a fraction of it has been sourced through the GMB. Households reported purchasing one 20kg or 50 kg sack of mealie meal every 4-6 weeks. Village authorities have managed the demand by families for GMB grain by allocating the right to purchase grain to households on a rotating basis. The assessment teams did not receive reports from communities about political bias in this system, however grain was observed in one village being sold through the offices of a political party.

All in all, one-half to three quarters (55-75%) of households experienced a food deficit from April to July 2002: the very poor faced a deficit of 15-25% of their food needs, and the poor faced a deficit of 5-15% of their food requirements. The wealthiest 25-45% of households have maintained adequate intake.

Sources of Income

Income generation is proving increasingly difficult. The sale of agricultural produce normally generates 25-60% of total income for households. During the April – June period, however, most of the limited harvest was directly consumed and, for middle households, several sacks sold to generate immediate cash. For very poor and poor households in particular, income from crop sale derives largely from the sale of vegetables by women for local and urban markets, which is proving to be an important income source for these households (Z\$2,000-4,500).

As noted above, very poor and poor households usually rely heavily on agricultural employment during the harvest season for income for the winter months. This year, however, they faced a sharp reduction in employment availability in April/May as local better off households did not hire as expected for harvesting. During the period of June to September, when the availability of agricultural employment decreases, casual work increases to fill this gap. Activities such as construction, thatching and brick-making have provided Z\$1,400-4,900 during this period to very poor and poor households, and up to Z\$7,000 to middle households.

Middle households have reported selling a cow and/or a goat to meet increasing grain prices. They also continued to engage in a variety of income generating activities such as trade, brewing and skilled activities.

Wealthier households reported greater participation in the Government Public Works Scheme (often erroneously referred to as “Food For Work”, though it is in fact a cash-for-work programme), with monthly income averaging Z\$600, Z\$1,250 and Z\$2,250 for very poor, poor and middle households respectively. Officially, households should earn a maximum of Z\$1,500 per month. In contrast to the intended targeting of the program towards lower-income households, community key informants consistently reported that the ability to participate in the program is also allocated by local leaders, restricting participation by lower-income households who are most in need of the assistance, and thereby “spreading” and diminishing the impact of the program. There were also repeated complaints of late payments (up to 5 months after work had been carried out), and uncertainty as to whether further funds were available to continue the programme. Despite this, the programme was widely viewed as an important and potentially life-saving intervention if implemented on an adequate scale.

Figure 1.3: Sources of Income for Highveld Prime Communal Zone, April – July 2002

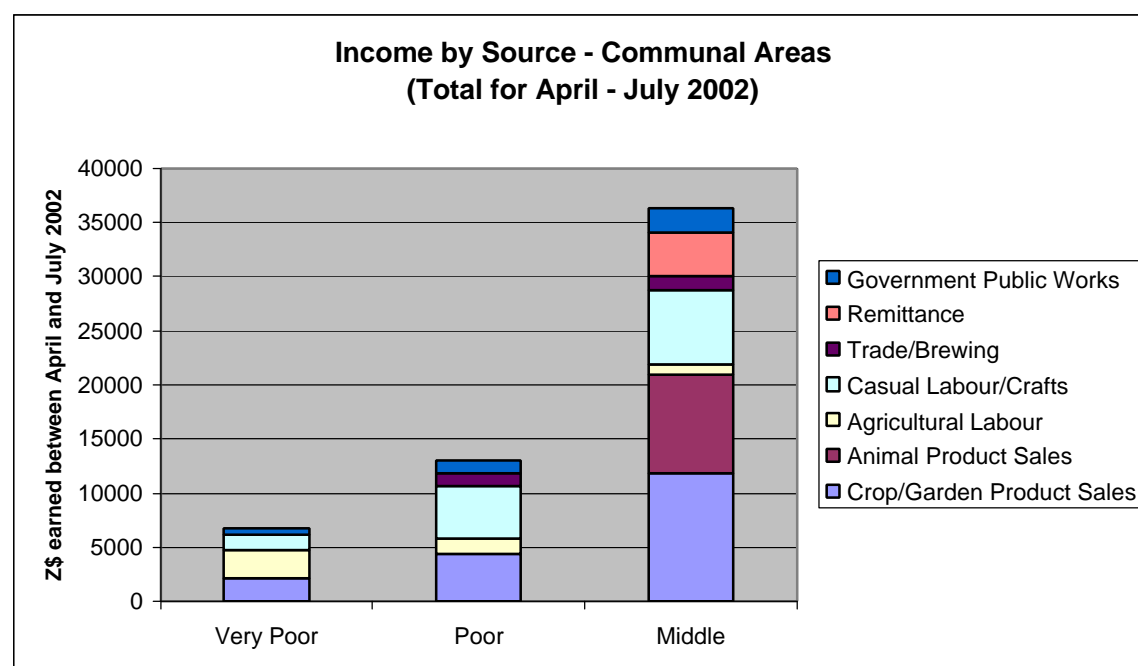


Table 1.2: Sources of Income: Highveld Prime Communal Zone, Apr.–July 2002

Income Source	Very Poor	Poor	Middle
Crop/Garden Product Sales	Z\$ 2100	Z\$ 4362	Z\$ 11783
Animal Product Sales	Z\$ 0	Z\$ 0	Z\$ 9139
Agricultural Labour	Z\$ 2592	Z\$ 1400	Z\$ 1000
Casual Labour/ Crafts	Z\$ 1430	Z\$ 4866	Z\$ 6825
Trade/Brewing/	Z\$ 0	Z\$ 1175	Z\$ 5250
Remittance	Z\$ 0	Z\$ 0	Z\$ 5250
Government Public Works	Z\$ 600	Z\$ 1250	Z\$ 2250
Total	Z\$ 6722	Z\$ 13053	Z\$ 36247

Expenditure

The large majority of food expenditure for most households has been on maize grain or mealie meal, with Z\$100-Z\$1,500 spent on small amounts of dried fish, meat, milk, flour, bread, vegetables, sugar, salt and oil to diversify the diet. Key informants widely reported reducing the dietary diversity since April, resulting in smaller amounts of meat, fish, milk, beans and oil being consumed since April. In effect, the majority of households currently consumes two to three meals per day of sadza (maize meal), combined with vegetables and small amounts of oil, with irregular complementation by the items mentioned above. Expenditure on maize has accounted for at least 80% of all food expenditure for very poor and poor households. Reports of meal frequency varied, with some communities reporting 2 meals consumed per day and others reporting 3 meals consumed per day. Wealthier (i.e., middle and better off) households continued to consume their normal variety of foods for the time being, though some of the middle reported reducing the quantities of non-staple foods purchased.

Expenditure on education varies considerably, with very poor and poor households spending primarily on primary education, and middle households spending on secondary education. Household necessities purchased by all households include matches, fuel and soap. The proportion of income spent on “other” discretionary items is very minor for very poor and poor households, reaching only 8% among the poor.

Figure 1.4: Expenditure for Highveld Prime Communal Zone, April–July 2002

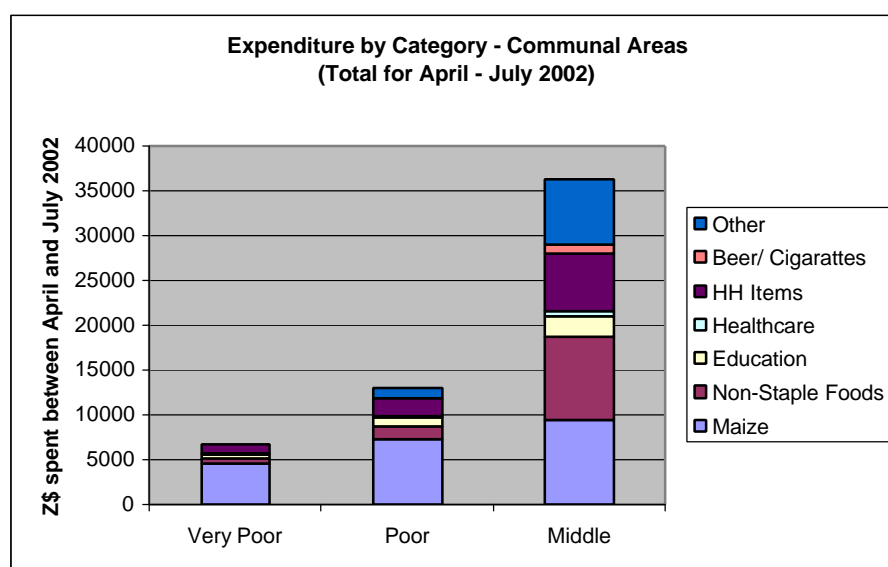


Table 1.3: Expenditure for Highveld Prime Communal Zone, April – July 2002

Expenditure	Very Poor	Poor	Middle
Maize	Z\$ 4561	Z\$ 7278	Z\$ 9416
Non-staple foods	Z\$ 93	Z\$ 1500	Z\$ 9248
Education	Z\$ 311	Z\$ 900	Z\$ 2367
Healthcare	Z\$ 265	Z\$ 265	Z\$ 545
Household items	Z\$ 890	Z\$ 2000	Z\$ 6404
Other	Z\$ 0	Z\$ 1100	Z\$ 8267
Total	Z\$ 6720	Z\$ 13053	Z\$ 36247

Projection, August 2002 to March 2003

Analytical projections are invariably based upon a set of assumptions identified deliberately, and which may prove true or untrue with the unfolding of the projection period. In order to try to “predict” or model the food security status of households in this area, the assessment team conducted analyses of food and income access under three separate scenarios. The detailed assumptions of these scenarios are provided in Boxes 1-3, in Annex 2.

Best Case Scenario

In the best case scenario, incomes and labour patterns largely remain consistent with normal years, the Government Public Works Scheme is sufficient to provide

Z\$1,500/month for all very poor, poor and middle households, and sufficient maize is available for all purchase requirements for all households, at the controlled price of \$425/20 kg. In addition, all animals are sold by households except for 2 cattle among the cattle-owning middle households, which are retained for draught power.

As illustrated by Table 1.4, if these conditions prevailed households would be able to access in excess of their minimum food requirements. The liquidation of animal assets would contribute enormously to food security, providing enough income to meet 500% of food needs.

Table 1.4: Sources of Food for Highveld Prime Communal Zone, Best Case Scenario, August 2002 – March 2003

Source of Food	Very Poor	Poor	Middle
Own Production	0%	0-10%	0-10%
Purchase	140-150%	200%	625-635%
Labour Exchange	40-50%	40-50%	0%
Wild Foods/ Hunting/ Fishing	5-15%	5-15%	5-15%
Gifts/Remittances	0%	0%	0%
Livestock	0%	0-3%	0-5%
Total	190-200%	255-265%	640-650%

Worst Case Scenario

In this scenario, maize prices increase to an average of Z\$1,200/20 kg for the eight-month period, and all grain must be purchased on the black market. Additionally the availability of agricultural and casual employment is sharply curtailed by the inability of better off households to hire labor for farming, construction, thatching or other activities. In this scenario the Government Public Works scheme does not contribute income to local households. It is also assumed that households sell off all of their animal assets to purchase grain.

Table 1.5: Sources of Food for Highveld Prime Communal Zone, Worst Case Scenario, August 2002 – March 2003

Source of Food	Very Poor	Poor	Middle
Own Production	0%	0-10%	0-10%
Purchase	5-15%	17%	140-150%
Labour Exchange	0%	0%	0%
Wild Foods/ Hunting/ Fishing	0-5%	0-5%	0-5%
Gifts/Remittances	0%	0%	0%
Livestock	0%	0%	0%
Total	10-20%	20-30%	150-160%

The very poor and poor groups would face severe problems in this case, but the middle would be able to cope on their own. It is important to note, however, that in the above scenario, it is only the liquidation of all animal assets that provides food security for middle households; if they retain their cattle and goats, they would only be able to access 15% of their food needs and would face as serious a deficit as very poor and poor households. However the selling of all animals, including draught animals, would have an adverse effect on future food production capacity.

Likely Case Scenario

Finally, the “likely case” scenario represents what the assessment team believes will be the most likely set of conditions facing households in this zone over the next eight months, in the absence of a significant increase in food assistance to this population. In this situation, the main assumptions are that only 50kg of maize per household is purchased at controlled prices, with remaining needs having to be purchased at black market rates, and that income from agricultural labour is at 50% of normal. Livestock prices are assumed to drop slightly to 75% of current levels.

The outcomes of Scenario 3 are as follows:

- The majority of households – i.e., the 55-75% of households falling into the very poor and poor categories – face a serious food deficit. Very poor households consume 35-45% of their food requirements, and poor households consume 60-70% of their food requirements, resulting in a 55-65% deficit and 30-40% deficit respectively.
- In order to obtain their minimum food requirements, middle households must sell 1-2 cattle to purchase grain. The implication is that households that do not have 1-2 cattle to sell will be unable to meet this gap, and those with only 1-2 cattle will have to sell their remaining animals, with long-term consequences for the agricultural productivity in the region.

Figure 1.5: Sources of Food for Highveld Prime Communal Zone, Likely Scenario, August 2002 – March 2003

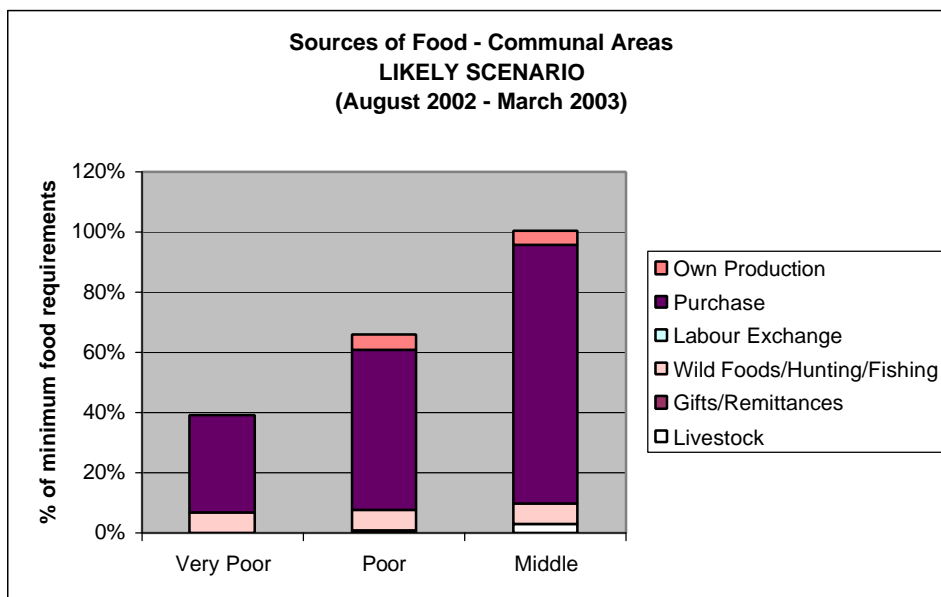


Table 1.6: Sources of Food for Highveld Prime Communal Zone, Likely Scenario, August 2002 – March 2003

Source of Food	Very Poor	Poor	Middle
Own Production	0%	0-10%	0-10%
Purchase	25-35%	50-60%	80-90%
Labour Exchange	0%	0%	0%
Wild Foods/ Hunting/ Fishing	5-10%	5-10%	5-10%
Gifts/Remittances	0%	0%	0%
Livestock	0%	0-3%	0-5%
Total	35-45%	60-70%	90-100%

Recommendations

- Taking the middle of the estimate of the population in each wealth group, we would recommend that 65% of the population – the very poor and poor groups – be provided with food aid until April 2003. Based on needs alone, different rations would be justified for these groups. However, a single ration is more practical, and therefore a 75% ration is recommended. While this would mean that “poor” households could purchase in excess of their minimum needs, in fact it would be beneficial in freeing up income to purchase a more diverse food basket and essential non-food items.
- Agricultural input credit programmes should be considered to boost production, and also in the short-term to assist in creating labouring employment opportunities.

FEZ 2: MASHONALAND “FAST TRACK” RESETTLEMENT

Introduction

The families who have been resettled on the commercial farms in Mashonaland under the Fast Track programme from June 2000 to date have been drawn from both neighboring communal areas and other parts of the country, including urban centres. Assessing the food security of resettled populations presents methodological complications, as the process of land designation and resettlement is as yet uncompleted. According to the most recent figures available², a total of 114,901 households have been allocated land under the model A1 resettlement scheme. Of these, 17,549 households are in Mashonaland East, 10,649 households in Mashonaland Central, and 18,741 in Mashonaland West. An additional 14,286 households have been unofficially or informally resettled countrywide.

Four resettled farms with a total of 332 households were visited by the assessment team. On all of these farms co-existence was being practiced, i.e. the commercial farmer had been left with a portion of land which was still being farmed independently. The situation of the farm workers was also assessed and is presented under FEZ 3 further in this report. The present analysis is based upon semi-structured focus group discussions (FGD) and in-depth key informant interviews (KII) among settler communities. In addition, the analysis was cross-checked using limited available secondary data.

For the farms visited for this assessment, the settler populations arrived in 2000 or early 2001. On 3 farms the new farmers cultivated for the 2001/2002 season only, and in the fourth they had also cultivated in 2000/01. Having farmed for at least one full agricultural season, these communities have established local employment patterns similar to those found in communal areas. Poorer settlers are currently working for better off settlers in agricultural and casual employment, and the resettlement process has given rise to opportunities for construction for those with appropriate skills. Those urban settlers settled in the A1 scheme are relying heavily on local poor households to maintain their plots. Given that the population resettled under the A2 scheme – small-scale indigenous commercial farmers – tend to be relatively well off, emphasis was given to A1 farms in this assessment.

New settlers are struggling to gain access to adequate inputs such as fertilizers and seed to cultivate all of the 5-6 hectares (c. 13-15 acres) of land that they have been allocated. While they tend to farm larger plots than their neighbors in the communal areas – 1-3 acres and 3-5 acres (communal) vs. 1-5 acres and 5-8 acres (resettled) for poor and middle households respectively – they are still only utilizing between 7% and 53% of the land that they have been allocated. The current crisis, which curtails the ability of wealthier households to pay for labor or required inputs, will likely again serve to constrain cultivation in the coming season.

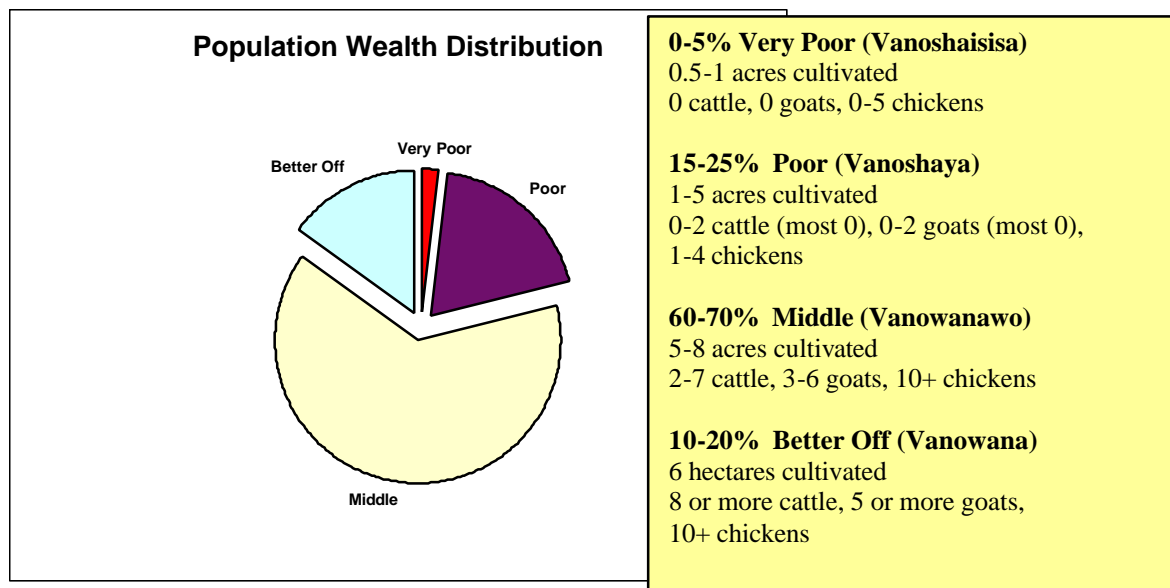
It should be noted that households benefiting from the land reform process tend to be those identified to have adequate capacity to cultivate the land, and thus this process

² “Land Reform Programme: “Fast Track Resettlement” National Report as at 14 March 2002; Ministry of Local Government.

tends to exclude very poor or labour-poor households. Resettled communities reported that only 0-5% of households (in contrast to 10-20% of households in communal areas) fall into the structurally vulnerable, often labour-poor very poor category on the resettled farms. The better off population, meanwhile, is sufficiently rich in terms of cash and livestock as not to be of concern during the current crisis. The present analysis, therefore, excludes this group, and presents profiles for the poor and middle only.

Description of Population

Figure 2.1: Population Wealth Distribution, Mashonaland Resettled Zone



As noted above, the wealth ranking for resettled communities is similar to that for the communal areas, with the exception of land cultivated and the relative proportion of households in each group. In communal areas, the largest group of households is classified as poor (*vanoshaya*), implying reliance upon employment for others to complement the products of household farming activities. In contrast, the majority of resettled households fall into the middle wealth group which, in a normal year, should be able to make ends meet through a combination of their own farming, animals and limited participation in other income-generating activities. This likely derives from the policy of settling households with evident capability to utilize the allocated land, and thus the bias towards settling more economically productive households.

Because of the uncertainty that many settlers feel regarding their tenure on farms involved in the land reform process, many settler households have left their children and cattle in the communities from which they relocated. Thus, the animal assets quoted in the figure above represent animal ownership (and thus the relative value of income derived thereof), rather than animals kept on site. Settlers consistently reported that once the situation stabilizes on their farms and the previous farm owners have left the farm, and provided that schools and medical facilities are constructed in the resettled villages, they will relocate the rest of their families and animals to their new homes.

Sources of Food

Consistent with the points discussed above, resettled households were on the whole more food secure than their neighbors in communal areas during the period of April through July 2002. Owing principally to both their facilitated access to Government/GMB and private company input support for the 2001/2002 agricultural season as well as to access to cash to invest into agriculture, reported crop production provided about half (45-55%) of food requirements for poor and middle households during the past four months, plus an additional small amount of crops for sale by the middle. In addition, small household gardens provide vegetables and in some cases peas, beans or green maize for household consumption.

Household stocks of grain from their own harvests have been depleted for most of these households; key informants reported that those households with remaining stocks will run out of grain stores by September/October.

To complement the food from their own farms, households in this region have relied largely on purchasing grain from the GMB, other settlers, commercial farm workers, or from the local market. Purchase has provided 35-55% of all food needs during this period, and has allowed households to approach or attain their minimum food requirements. As in communal areas, the ability to purchase grain from the GMB is allocated to households by the leadership in the new villages, reportedly on a rotating basis. Due to the spatial distribution of these farms, many farmers reported difficulty accessing GMB grain before June/July when the number of distribution points was increased.

Figure 2.2: Sources of Food for Mashonaland Resettled Zone, April – July 2002

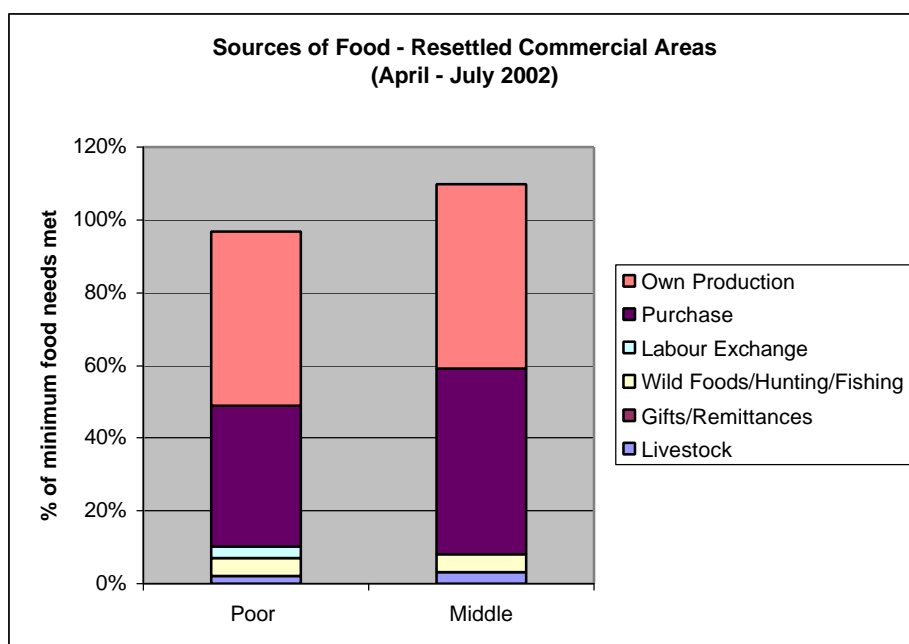


Table 2.1: Sources of Food for Mashonaland Resettled Zone, April – July 2002

Source of Food	Poor	Middle
Own Production	45-55%	45-55%
Purchase	35-45%	45-55%
Labour Exchange	0-5%	0%
Wild Foods/ Hunting/ Fishing	0-5%	0-5%
Gifts/Remittances	0%	0%
Livestock	0-5%	0-5%
Total	90-100%	105-115%

Sources of Income

Absolute income levels among resettled families are somewhat higher than for their neighbors in communal areas due in large part to the increased income from crop sales in the past four months. The difference in income earned from crop sales from April – July is approximately \$1000 for the poor and \$6000 for the middle; it should be recalled that a significantly greater proportion falls into the latter category among resettled communities. Aside from this factor, the relative proportion of income from other categories remains roughly similar, as livelihood patterns among this group resemble communal communities.

Again, as in communal areas, access to income from the Government Public Works Scheme is considerably greater among wealthier households, with middle households earning roughly 2.5-3 times as much average monthly income as the poor from this program.

Figure 2.3: Sources of Income: Mashonaland Resettled Zone, April – July 2002

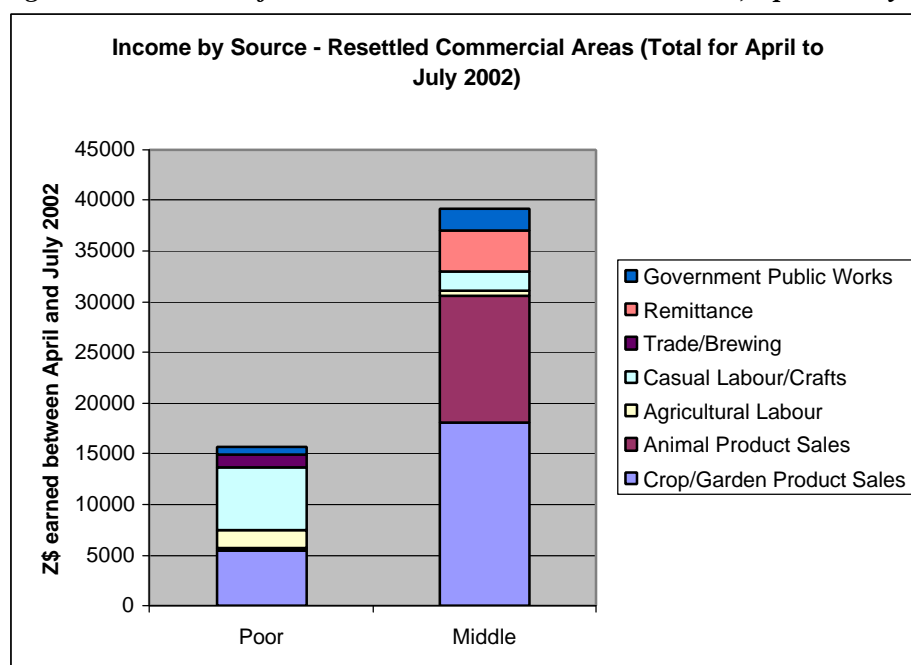


Table 2.2: Sources of Income: Mashonaland Resettled Zone, April – July 2002

Income Source	Poor	Middle
Crop/Garden Product Sales	Z\$ 5443	Z\$ 18110
Animal Product Sales	Z\$ 350	Z\$ 12500
Agricultural Employment	Z\$ 1740	Z\$ 450
Casual Labour/ Crafts	Z\$ 6188	Z\$ 1890
Trade/Brewing/ Remittance	Z\$ 1200	Z\$ 4000
Government Public Works	Z\$ 800	Z\$ 2250
Total	Z\$ 15721	Z\$ 39200

An important difference to note within the zone is that in Zvimba district cotton production is more important than in Mashonaland East. New farmers reported getting very high quantities of inputs for cotton in anticipation of a good first season on their new land. However, largely due to the drought, yields were low and many of the “poor” farmers were not able to harvest enough to repay their debts to Cottco and other companies. As a result of defaulting on their loans, they will not be eligible for private credit for cotton for the coming season.

Expenditure

Given their greater agricultural harvest in the 2001/2002 agricultural season, resettled households spent less of their income purchasing maize, and more purchasing complementary foods and other household items. In contrast to the 80% seen among very poor and poor households in communal areas, resettled households have spent 60% (poor) and 47% (middle) of their food expenditure on maize grain, with the balance going towards complementary foods.

A greater percentage of total expenditure has been classified as “other” (32% and 47% for poor and middle households respectively). It should be noted that much of this is likely to be cash-on-hand, which comes from income derived in large part from crop sales. Those sales followed the harvest and will not be a recurring form of income over the coming months. Thus, this access to discretionary income represents a seasonal phenomenon, and some of this cash may be used in the coming months for household subsistence.

Spending on education is similar to levels in communal areas. The same pattern of attainment by wealth group was reported, with the poor only sending children to primary school, and the middle being able to send some or all to secondary school. On the farms visited, primary schooling facilities did exist, but were generally very basic. Many former farm schools were not registered with the government. New schools are often “satellites” of larger schools in neighbouring areas, using converted farm buildings, and settlers on a number of farms complained of a lack of basic equipment and materials. Secondary schools are typically found in nearby towns or growth points, and the cost of transport or boarding is prohibitive for many poorer families, as is the case throughout rural areas.

Healthcare facilities are usually provided at clinics in the nearest centres, and the transport cost involved also discourages many new settlers from seeking treatment. Some outreach services are provided by Rural District Councils, however. Previously, many commercial farms had healthworkers who provided basic healthcare services.

Figure 2.4: Expenditure for Mashonaland Resettled Zone, April–July 2002

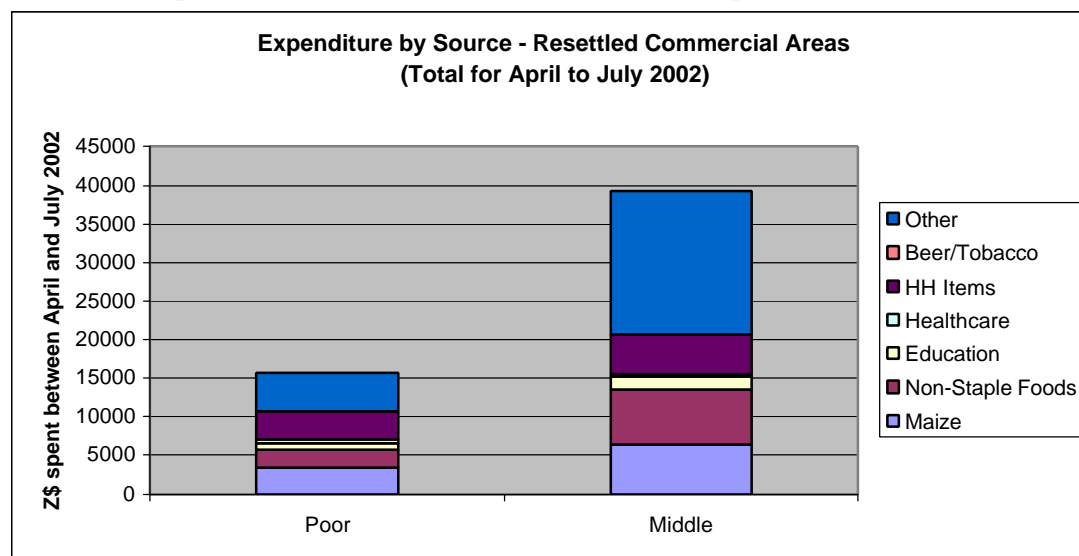


Table 2.3: Expenditure for Mashonaland Resettled Zone, April – July 2002

Expenditure	Poor	Middle
Maize	Z\$ 3456	Z\$ 6368
Non-staple foods	Z\$ 2264	Z\$ 7160
Education	Z\$ 900	Z\$ 1750
Healthcare	Z\$ 440	Z\$ 300 ³
Household items	Z\$ 3580	Z\$ 5064
Other/ Cash-on-hand	Z\$ 5081	Z\$ 18558
Total	Z\$ 15721	Z\$ 39200

Projection, August 2002 to March 2003

As discussed in the previous section, analytic projections such as those presented below are founded upon a series of assumptions that may prove true or untrue over time. In order to try to “predict” or model the food security status of resettled households over the coming months, the assessment team conducted analyses of food and income access under three separate scenarios. Given the similarity in the means of accessing food and income, the same set of assumptions have been used for the Highveld Prime Communal and Mashonaland Resettled FEZs. These assumptions are provided in Boxes 1-3, in Appendix 2.

Best Case Scenario

In this scenario, incomes and labour patterns largely remain consistent with normal years, the Government Public Works Scheme is sufficient to provide Z\$1500/month for all very poor, poor and middle households, and sufficient maize is available for all purchase requirements for all households, at the controlled price of \$425/20 kg. In addition, all animals are sold by households except for 2 cattle among the cattle-owning middle households, which are retained for draught power.

³ This is probably an under-estimation given that the poor reported spending more on healthcare; the middle certainly have additional disposable income which could be used to cover higher health costs.

Under the conditions specified in this scenario, households would still be able to access more than their minimum food requirements. To do so would require using all available income for purchase of grain (except that required for non-food necessities such as soap, paraffin, matches and current levels of social services). This income would derive, for poor households, from working locally; for the middle, it would require selling off cattle.

Table 2.4: Sources of Food for Mashonaland Resettled Zone, Best Case Scenario, August 2002 – March 2003

Source of Food	Poor	Middle
Own Production	0-10%	0-10%
Purchase	165-175%	580-590%
Labour Exchange	40-50%	0%
Wild Foods/ Hunting/ Fishing	5-15%	5-15%
Gifts/Remittances	0%	0%
Livestock	0-3%	0-5%
Total	225-235%	600-610%

Worst Case Scenario

Under the worst case scenario, household food consumption drops sharply for both groups. This results, in large part, from the increase in price of grain to an average of Z\$1,200/20 kg for the eight month period. Poor households would suffer a devastating food deficit of 75-85% of their food requirements. Middle households, the largest population group, would have to sell off most of their animals, including some draught power, to attain their food requirements.

Table 2.5: Sources of Food for Mashonaland Resettled, Worst Case Scenario, August 2002 – March 2003

Source of Food	Poor	Middle
Own Production	0-10%	0-10%
Purchase	5-15%	135-145%
Labour Exchange	0%	0%
Wild Foods/ Hunting/ Fishing	0-5%	0-5%
Gifts/Remittances	0%	0%
Livestock	0%	0%
Total	15-25%	145-155%

Likely Case Scenario

This scenario represents conditions that the assessment team believes will most likely represent the true picture for the coming eight months, barring a significant increase in food assistance to the affected population. Maize requirements are purchased partly at controlled prices, and partly at much higher black market prices; agricultural labouring only provides 50% of normal year income, and livestock prices fall slightly below current prices.

The outcomes of Scenario 3 are as follows:

- Poor households will face a deficit of half (45-55%) of their food requirements.

- Middle households must rely heavily on selling animals – the equivalent of two cattle – to earn enough cash to purchase grain over the eight month period to meet their food requirements. Without earning this income, middle households would only be able to purchase 20-30% of their food requirements, and would therefore face a deficit of 70-80% of their food needs. Thus, cattle sale will prove a critical measure for survival during this period, although the sale of two cattle for households with 2-7 cattle on average has obvious implications for livelihood security and agricultural production in the future⁴.

Figure 2.5: Sources of Food for Mashonaland Commercial Zone, Likely Scenario, August 2002 – March 2003

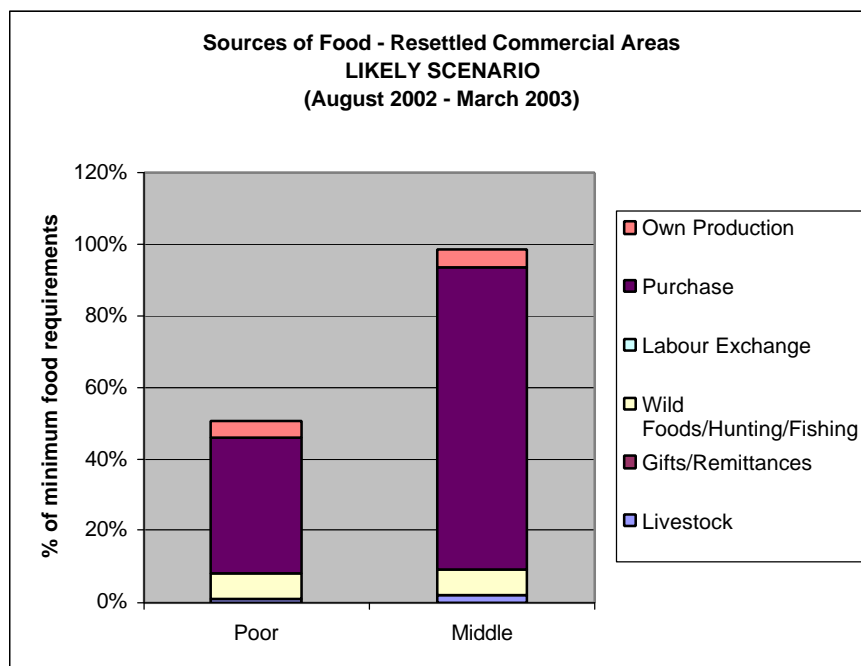


Table 2.6: Sources of Food for Mashonaland Commercial Zone, Likely Scenario, August 2002 – March 2003

Source of Food	Poor	Middle
Own Production	0-10%	0-10%
Purchase	35-45%	80-90%
Labour Exchange	0%	0%
Wild Foods/ Hunting/ Fishing	5-10%	5-10%
Gifts/Remittances	0%	0%
Livestock	0-3%	0-5%
Total	45-55%	95-105%

⁴ Note that the worst case scenario allows for the selling of all draught power, which does not occur in the likely case scenario; hence the middle appear to be able to access more food in the worst case scenario.

Recommendations

- The poor group (approximately 25% of the population) will require food aid from August to the start of April 2003. A 50% ration would be adequate for their needs.
- It is vital that agricultural inputs are made available on credit in a timely manner to newly resettled farmers, particularly those in the poor and middle groups who may not be able to afford them on their own. The land utilised by these groups last year was far below the quantity of land allocated to them. Changes in land tenure alone are inadequate to ensure significantly increased production; providing new farmers with the means of production is essential to ensuring both their own food security and improved national food security.
- The longer term issue of service provision to newly resettled farmers is also very important. Education and healthcare provision in particular need to be improved.

FEZ 3: MASHONALAND COMMERCIAL FARM WORKERS

Introduction

Commercial farmworkers and their families account for almost 2 million people in Zimbabwe, which is marginally more than the combined rural populations of Matabeleland North, Matabeleland South and Masvingo Provinces.

Assessing the situation of commercial farmworkers is awkward given the variety of scenarios existing on farms at present, and the changes constantly occurring. The teams followed a similar approach to that adopted in the previous survey by FCTZ in March 2001, which involved identifying various scenarios and selecting individual farms to act as case studies. 8 farms were visited in total in Zvimba, Goromonzi and Seke. These included:

- farms which are operating normally (2 farms)
- farms where “co-existence” is taking place, i.e. the farmer, settlers and local authorities have reached an informal arrangement whereby the farmer continues operations on a portion of his land while the rest is resettled (2 farms)
- farms which have been issued with Section 8 orders, and which were due to close in early August (2, one of which is also currently in a state of co-existence)
- a farm which is currently in the process of being handed over by the farmer to a new small-scale commercial farmer (model A2 scheme), but where most workers are being retained (1 farm)
- farms which have closed and where workers are being permitted to remain on the land by the new settlers (2 farms)

In terms of livelihoods, the current employment status of workers and the provision of retrenchment packages are the main determinants of food security. Hence we found that 4 types of workers or ex-workers could be classified:

1. Those currently employed as general labourers and receiving monthly wages
2. Those currently employed at more senior levels and receiving monthly wages (e.g. tractor drivers, foremen, etc.)
3. Those retrenched with cash remaining from retrenchment packages
4. Those retrenched without retrenchment packages, or whose packages have now been exhausted

Whether the farm is currently operating or not determines whether the workers are in the first two or the last two categories. The status of the farm in relation to land reform indicates whether the workers are likely to move from one category to another at any time in the near future. Hence where a Section 8 order is issued, workers may currently be food secure, but face the imminent prospect of losing their jobs, which will have a serious effect on their livelihoods.

Given the fluidity of the situation on commercial farms at present, it is currently impossible to estimate the total population in this food economy zone who fall into each of the above categories. However, with the coming into effect of Section 8 notices and the closure of many farms, the number of retrenched farmworkers and their family members is growing very rapidly, and may be in the hundreds of thousands.

Sources of Food

The graph below indicates how the various categories of commercial farmworkers have been accessing their food between April and the end of July, 2002. Minimum food needs are defined as 2,100 kcal per person per day. The graph shows that all except the currently employed senior staff are unable to meet their minimum requirements, with general labourers and the unemployed with retrenchment packages getting 90-95% of their needs, and the unemployed without packages getting only 80% of their needs.

Figure 3.1: Sources of Food, Commercial Farm Workers

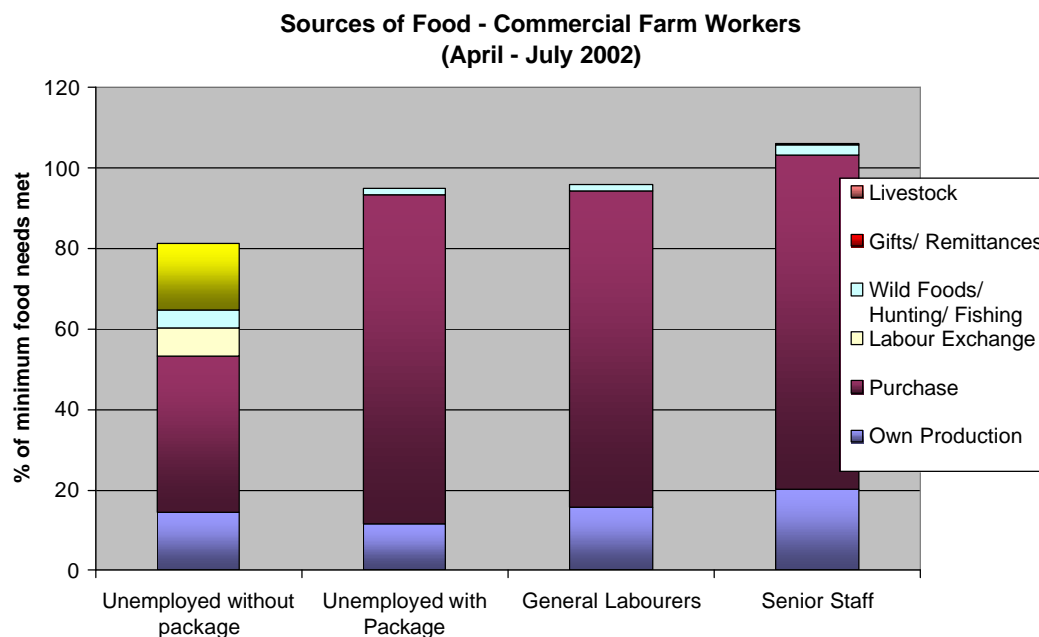


Table 3.1: Sources of Food, Commercial Farm Workers

Source of Food	Unemployed without package	Unemployed with Package	General Labourers	Senior Staff
Own Production	13-17%	10-15%	13-17%	17-22%
Purchase	35-40%	80-85%	75-80%	80-85%
Labour Exchange	5-10%	0	0	0
Wild Foods/ Hunting/ Fishing	3-5%	1-3%	1-3%	1-3%
Gifts/ Remittances	15-20%	0	0	0
Livestock	0	0	0	>1%
Total	75-85%	90-100%	90-100%	100-110%

Groups 2 and 3 are very similar in the sense that those with retrenchment packages are usually able to maintain a similar pattern of consumption to those still employed until their lump sums are exhausted. Once the money in those packages runs out, income and therefore food and non-food consumption tends to drop significantly.

Groups 2-4 all get most of their food by purchasing it with the income earned from employment on the farm, or from their retrenchment packages. On some farms, the

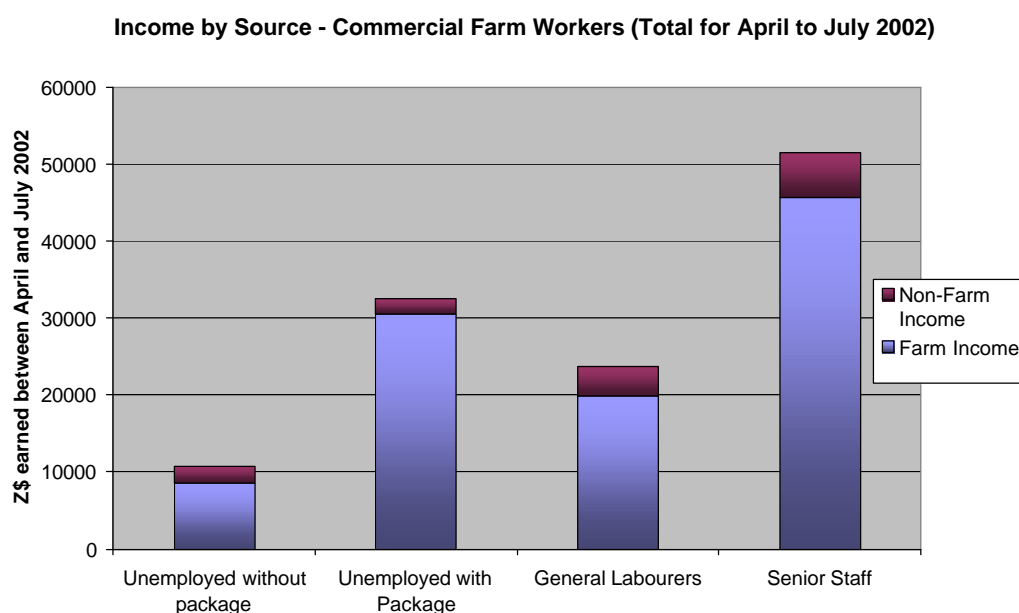
workers are given access to plots of land (typically around ½ to 1 acre) on which they cultivate some maize⁵. This year, as was the case with most of the rest of Zimbabwe, yields were low, and so the maize was typically enough only for two to three weeks of consumption. Most workers also get small amounts of food (totalling less than 5% of their needs) from wild foods, fishing, hunting and from their own poultry.

Group 1 – the unemployed without retrenchment packages – only managed to get around 80% of their minimum needs between April and July. This masks a more serious problem in that this group were still receiving wages in April and May. If we separate out June and July, when this group had no major source of income, their consumption dropped to 65-70% of minimum needs. As their income has fallen, so their dependence on purchased food has fallen. Now they rely on gifts or remittances from relatives on neighbouring farms that are still operating, and on direct payment for labouring for the newly resettled farmers. Both of these sources are unreliable and limited, as neither settlers or other farmworkers have much spare food or income with which to give to or pay unemployed farmworkers.

Sources of Income

Farm workers who are still employed fall into a variety of employment categories, and there is quite a consistent, agreed salary scale which is periodically re-negotiated. The majority of workers fall into the category of “general labourers”. They currently receive a minimum salary of Z\$4,300 per month. This level has been unchanged since December 2001, when it was raised from Z\$3,400 per month, in spite of an inflation rate that currently stands at 114.5%. More senior or specialised staff earn upwards of Z\$6,000 per month, with the average being around Z\$8,000.

Figure 3.2: Sources of Income, Commercial Farm Workers



⁵ FCTZ (2002, p13) estimated that, as of April 2002, approximately 67% of farm workers in the Mashonaland provinces and Manicaland either currently or previously had access to land for cultivation.

Table 3.2: Sources of Income, Commercial Farm Workers

Income Source	Unemployed without package	Unemployed with Package	General Labourers	Senior Staff
Permanent Salary	8,600	0	17,267	41,500
Seasonal Work	0	0	2,050	2,150
Sale of Veg/ Food Crops	0	0	550	2,050
Casual Labour for Settlers	1,300	590	667	0
Agric Labour for Settlers	0	0	0	1,250
Other Trade/ Sales	800	1,340	3,167	4,563
Retrenchment Lump Sum	0	30,550	0	0
Total	Z\$10,700	Z\$32,480	Z\$23,701	Z\$51,513

While most households have one member permanently employed, many wives or older children are also given work on a contract or casual basis during peak periods on the farms. These are mainly the weeding season (December to February) on all farms, and also during the tobacco grading season (May to August) on some farms. A noticeable trend since the last assessment in March 2001 has been the decline in employment of seasonal workers. They are typically the first to be laid off when production on the farm declines, and most farms have reduced production or cut back on costs in one way or another due to the uncertainty prevailing in the commercial farming sector.

The issue of retrenchment packages has been a contentious one. Farmers and the Government have been in disagreement over who should take responsibility for the compensation of workers laid off as a result of land reform. On two of the farms visited, retrenchment packages had been or were about to be paid out to workers. The packages typically include 3 months' salary, plus an additional 2 months' salary for every year of employment. On the two farms where such packages had been agreed, the average payment seemed to be the equivalent of 5 months' salary. (Hence the income for group 2, which includes that lump sum payment, appears higher than that for group 3).

Salaries for permanent workers, wages for seasonal workers and lump sum retrenchment packages have been included on the graph below as "farm income", and they account for 80-95% of total income earned for all groups. Non-farm income includes a variety of income-generating activities, none of which by themselves are very lucrative. These include labouring for new settlers (either on their fields or in construction/ homestead related activities), selling vegetables, selling poultry, mice and fish, and petty trading.

For those who have been retrenched and who either did not receive a retrenchment package, or who received it but have exhausted it by now, the situation is dire. Their total income for 4 months indicated above is just over Z\$10,000, but that includes their wages for April and May (the last months before the farm ceased operations). Since then they have only been able to earn in the region of Z\$1,500 per month. Even

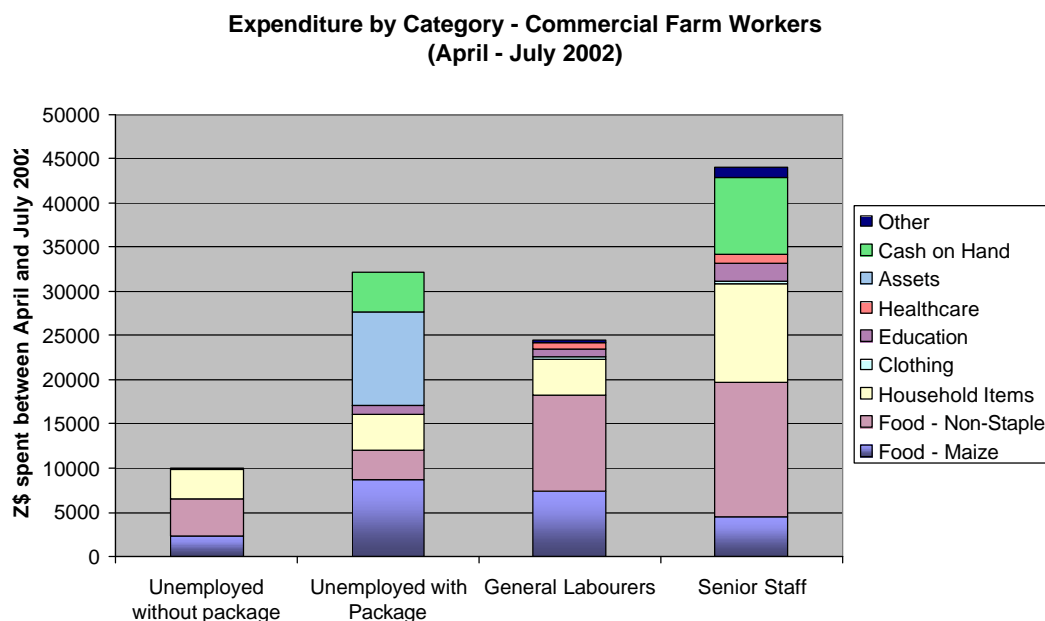
for a small family of four, this is grossly inadequate. Their current sources of income are limited to poultry sales (which are limited by their holdings) and small amounts of casual labouring for the resettled farmers in the area.

Overall, the off-farm income earning opportunities are very limited for current or former commercial farmworkers. As with resettled and communal populations, most activities are seasonal, and the highest-yielding activities are casual-labouring (construction, fencing, thatching, etc.) for resettled populations during the winter season and agricultural labouring, which is expected to be important from November onwards. Perhaps because of the often tense relations between farmworker and resettled populations, there is limited interaction between their respective economies. Those commercial farms that are still in operation tend not to employ settlers, while those limited labouring opportunities that are provided by better-off settlers are usually provided to other settlers rather than former farmworkers.

Expenditure

Having indicated how income is earned, this section describes how people spend their money on food, non-food items and services. Figure 3.3 indicates total expenditure, broken down into a number of categories.

Figure 3.3: Expenditure by Category, Commercial Farm Workers



Expenditure on the basic staple, maize, shows no clear pattern. This is because of the variety of ways that maize or maize meal is accessed, and the different prices at which it can be purchased. In fact, there is little difference between the contribution of maize to a household's diet (in terms of energy requirements) between the various categories of farmworkers. But maize prices were found to vary widely from farm to farm. In some cases maize was grown on the farm and sold at a subsidised price from the farm store; in others, people were close to GMB depots and could access it at the controlled price; and in others people were reliant on sales from settlers or on the black market,

where prices were higher, or they were far away from the GMB and therefore transport costs effectively increased the price.

Overall, there are a number of clear patterns in other expenditure categories:

- Spending on non-staple food items increases with income. Hence, the poorest buy only vegetables and salt, while as income increases other groups add items like kapenta, sugar, cooking oil, beans and meat to their food baskets.
- Spending on household items also increases with income. Soap, paraffin and matches are considered essentials for all groups. As income increases, items such as vaseline and blankets are added, and the quantity of soap purchased increases (the poorest use bars of soap for bathing and laundry, the best off buy more bars and also washing detergent).
- The unemployed without retrenchment packages send few if any children to school; those with retrenchment packages or currently employed as general workers send their children to primary school, but few continue to secondary school; and the children of senior staff usually complete secondary school. On operational farms, there is usually either a farm school or a school on a neighbouring farm for primary level, while secondary schools are only found at the nearest town or growth point. Where the farm had ceased operations, the government had taken over some schools, while others had closed entirely.
- The poorest group could not afford healthcare at all. In many cases, basic health services would have been provided on the farm, but this ceased when the farm stopped operating. The nearest health facilities are now at towns or growth points, and the cost or availability of transport to those centres prevents people from accessing them. The problem of transport when a patient has to be referred to a hospital also arose on some operational farms; the willingness of the farmer to provide transport for his staff varied from farm to farm.
- Only the senior workers and those with retrenchment packages had any cash on hand. The latter had enough to cover minimum needs for approximately one more month. The general workers typically have some debts which have been run up through credit at the farm store. The unemployed without retrenchment packages do not have any access to credit, and therefore neither have debts nor savings.

Projection, August 2002 to March 2003

Projecting forward, the situation for commercial farmworkers who are still employed will be subject to the same variables as the informal mine workers discussed further on, as both groups are essentially dependent on regular income from one source. The key variables for employed farmworkers therefore are as follows:

1. Will they remain in employment? Obviously a primary concern is whether the workers will still be employed, and therefore able to earn their income. Considering the trends in the Fast Track land reform programme, and the closure of many farms from August 9th, 2002 onwards, it must be anticipated that sizable numbers of workers will be retrenched.
2. Will their real incomes remain constant? In other words, will the rate of increase of their wages keep pace with the rate of inflation? It would appear that this is unlikely. The increment received in December 2001 was 34%, and the assessment team were made to understand that no further renegotiation of wage rates is expected until the end of 2002. Meanwhile, the national inflation

rate was 114.5% in the twelve months to the end of June 2002, and the prices of many basic foodstuffs – especially those being sourced on the black market – have increased at a higher rate than this.

3. Will maize and other essential commodities be available on the market to purchase? The availability of maize over the coming 8 months is of great concern. Currently in the areas assessed – which had better production than many areas this year – maize is generally available, albeit at very high prices for some. However, as local supplies from communal, resettled and commercial supplies become exhausted, more people will depend on maize imported by the GMB. It will be vital that the rate of imports matches demand, or even those with cash or other assets will face significant food security problems.

For the unemployed workers without retrenchment money, their situation is more similar to those of poorer resettled and communal farmers than to employed farm workers. They will depend on seasonal income sources to be able to access food, and piecework on the farms of the resettled and, to a lesser extent, on any operating commercial farms will be their main hope from November onwards. Therefore they will be hoping that those who usually employ others are able to source adequate inputs to cultivate the large areas which require extra labour, and that the growing season is good. Due to the tensions existing between settlers and ex-farm workers on some farms, settlers able to employ others tend to favour other settlers over ex-workers when it comes to piecework opportunities, which is an added problem for this group. Fishing is likely to increase in importance between September and November, and some wild fruits tend to become available around that time also.

Worst case scenario:

Maize availability at controlled prices is extremely limited, and black market rates increase to Z\$1,200 for 20kg. Wage rates do not increase in line with inflation. Piecework employment opportunities are very limited, and payment rates are below 5kg maize or cash equivalent per day. Remittances to unemployed workers cease.

Outcome:

Table 3.3: Source of Food, Worst Case Scenario: Informal Miners – Aug '02 – Apr '03

Source of Food	Unemployed without package	Unemployed with Package	General Labourers	Senior Staff
Own Production	0%	0%	0%	0%
Purchase	15-20%	25-30%	50-60%	110-120%
Labour Exchange	5-10%	5-10%	0	0
Wild Foods/ Hunting/ Fishing	5-10%	5-10%	5-10%	0-5%
Gifts/ Remittances	0	0	0	0
Livestock	0	0	0	>1%
Total	25-40%	35-50%	55-70%	110-125%

The unemployed will require 100% rations from August until they find alternative means of accessing adequate food and income (at least until April 2003). General workers will require a 50% ration until their wage rates are increased to reflect the cost of living. Senior staff will not require assistance, as they can cope by switching expenditure from non-essentials to basic foods.

Best case scenario:

Maize supplies are adequate; maize can be accessed at controlled prices (\$425/ 20kg). Piecework employment opportunities are available, but not enough to meet demand; payment rate around 10kg per day or cash equivalent. Remittances are spread among a greater number of unemployed workers.

Outcome:**Table 3.4: Source of Food, Best Case Scenario: Informal Miners – Aug '02 – Apr '03**

Source of Food	Unemployed without package	Unemployed with Package	General Labourers	Senior Staff
Own Production	0%	0%	0%	0%
Purchase	40-50%	50-60%	110-120%	>200%
Labour Exchange	10-15%	10-15%	0	0
Wild Foods/ Hunting/ Fishing	5-10%	5-10%	5-10%	0-5%
Gifts/ Remittances	5-10%	5-10%	0	0
Livestock	0	0	0	>1%
Total	60-75%	70-95%	115-130%	>200%

Employed farmworkers should be able to cope, though dietary diversity could still be a problem for lower paid workers who still cannot afford adequate amounts of oil and protein foods. Unemployed workers will be able to meet some food needs through piecework and various casual employment strategies, but a 50-75% ration would still be required so that the little income earned can be spent on essential non-food items.

Likely case scenario:

Maize supplies are erratic; some is sourced at controlled prices, some at higher black market rates. Piecework employment opportunities are very limited for former farmworkers. Wage rates for employed workers increase, but still lag behind inflation. Remittances decline due to increasing farmworker unemployment.

Table 3.5: Source of Food, Likely Case Scenario: Informal Miners – Aug '02 – Apr '03

Source of Food	Unemployed without package	Unemployed with Package	General Labourers	Senior Staff
Own Production	0%	0%	0%	0%
Purchase	25-30%	35-40%	80-90%	>150%
Labour Exchange	5-10%	5-10%	0	0
Wild Foods/ Hunting/ Fishing	5-10%	5-10%	0-5%	0-5%
Gifts/ Remittances	0-5%	0-5%	0	0
Livestock	0	0	0	>1%
Total	25-40%	35-50%	85-95%	110-125%

Unemployed workers will require a 100% ration, so that limited amounts of cash can be spent on non-staple foods and essential non-food items and services. Employed workers will be able to afford to purchase approximately 85% of their needs, but will cut expenditure on the relatively expensive foodstuffs that provide most of the protein and fat content in their diets, and on important non-food items such as soap and healthcare. Supplementary feeding for under 5s, primary school children, pregnant

and lactating mothers and the elderly would be recommended to bridge the food gap. Monitoring of real incomes will be very important however, as a 50% food ration for general workers could easily become necessary if wage rates are not increased adequately in the next round of negotiations.

Minimum Consumption Basket for 1 Month (for a household of 5)

The table below shows how much it currently costs a typical household of 5 people to purchase a suggested minimum food- and non-food basket. The food basket is based around Sphere standards, and provides just under 2,100 kcal with an appropriate protein content. The non-food items are estimates by the assessment team based on what was observed in the field. The prices are the averages reported by farmworkers during the assessment, and include some that are subsidised at the farm shop. The last column indicates the total monthly cost for the sort of “survival” consumption basket seen in the worst-off cases during the assessment.⁶

Item	Monthly Requirements	Average Cost per item	Total Cost per month	(Total Cost for observed minimum)
Maize	66kg	\$575/ 20kg	\$1,898	\$1,898
Vegetables	15kg	\$46/ 500g bundle	\$1,380	\$690
Beans	10kg	\$74/ 500g	\$1,480	0
Oil	1.875 litres	\$394/ 750ml	\$985	0
Salt	1kg	\$140/ 1kg	\$140	\$140
Soap	3 bars	\$297/ bar	\$891	\$297
Paraffin & Matches	2 litres & 1 carton matches	\$67/ litre & \$97/ carton	\$231	0
Education	2 children at primary level	\$280/ child/ term	\$140	140
Healthcare	1 consultation	\$70/ visit	\$70	0
Total			\$7,215	\$3,165

Recommendations

1. There is a need for regular and detailed information to be gathered on the status of current and former commercial farmworkers across the country so as to understand how many people fall into the situations described here. This responsibility should not be left to the small number of national NGOs currently focusing on this population, but should be mainstreamed into the current humanitarian agenda.
2. The Government of Zimbabwe needs to take urgent steps to address the situation of retrenched farmworkers, especially with regard to access to land. Currently the numbers of farmworkers being resettled compared to those being retrenched is minimal (1-2%). Thus a new class of destitute landless is being created, and if they are not resettled within the next two months (i.e. in time

⁶ Note, however, that the worst off do not necessarily purchase all that they consume; some is exchanged for labour and some is provided as gifts, as indicated under the “Sources of Food” section.

for the upcoming planting season), they will be dependent on humanitarian assistance at least until the harvest in 2004.

3. There is a need for a review of minimum wages for commercial farmworkers in view of the rapidly increasing cost of living, as the current wages for workers at the lower end of the salary scale are proving inadequate. With inflation at 114.5%, salary reviews are required more often than once per year.
4. Supplementary feeding programmes for children on commercial farms should be continued and expanded if wage increases are not provided.
5. General feeding will be required for those unemployed farmworkers who have not been provided with retrenchment packages, or whose packages have been exhausted. There may be a case for providing rations also in situations where a farm is hosting an increased population as a result of closures of neighbouring farms.
6. Where former farmworkers remain on the old farm in co-existence with newly resettled populations, any humanitarian interventions must be implemented with regard to humanitarian principles and in acknowledgement of the potential for conflict. Targeting must be based on need, and a “do no harm” approach should be adopted.⁷

⁷ See Anderson (1999) for details.

FEZ 4: NORTH GREAT DYKE INFORMAL MINING COMMUNITIES

INTRODUCTION⁸

The area described in this assessment as the North Great Dyke Informal Mining Communities stretches from close to Banket through Mutorashanga in Zvimba district, and into southern parts of Guruve district. A small number of settlements are also to be found on the other side of the Great Dyke, in Mazowe district. The Great Dyke is an area rich in minerals, especially chrome. The center for the mining industry in the area is Mutorashanga, which is approximately 100km from Harare to the south east, 30km from Mvurwi to the north east and 45km from Banket to the south west.

The population of the assessment area is difficult to determine, given the scattered and informal nature of the communities, and the recent increase in population due to movements of former commercial farmworkers into the area. Mutorashanga's population has been estimated at approximately 10,000, and it could be estimated that the total population for the North Great Dyke Informal Mining Communities is somewhere between 20,000 and 30,000. More informal mining communities are scattered around the country in mineral rich areas but have never been enumerated, making it very difficult to estimate the population involved. One indicator is the membership of the Small-Scale Miners Association of Zimbabwe. About 4,000 small miners, with between five and 50 workers are registered with SSMAZ. Taking the lower end of the scale, and an average family size of 5, we could estimate that anywhere between 100,000 and 200,000 people are involved in this type of informal mining. This also does not include alluvial gold-panning, in which up to 300,000 people are involved.⁹

The majority of the informal mining population are of Malawian, Zambian and Mozambican origin. Their children born in Zimbabwe consider themselves Zimbabwean. The mining communities are characterised by a high proportion of young people, typical of any age profile in Zimbabwe, and a large number of elderly, unemployed and unsupported males, many of whom do not have birth certificates or national identity cards.

The area surrounding Mutorashanga was designated as a commercial farming (white) area by the Rhodesian government. Parts of the Great Dyke were left as Crown Land – known as State Land after independence in 1980 - because they were considered unsuitable for agriculture. The State Land area has been extensively mined. Today the area is still designated for commercial farming (without racial exclusivity) and still includes pockets of State Land.

Historically the overwhelming majority of mineworkers recruited to work on the mines in Mutorashanga and elsewhere were from neighbouring countries: Malawi, Zambia and Mozambique. Local workers were reluctant to work on the mines because of the harsh conditions and low wages. Throughout the 1980s and the 1990s the price

⁸ Much of this section is reproduced from the baseline assessment for Mutorashanga (SC UK: 2001)

⁹ Estimates quoted from SC UK (2000)

of chromite, although fluctuating on world markets, remained low, thus reducing profit margins. As a result large formal mining companies adopted a policy of leasing their mining claims to smaller operations that could produce ore at a lower unit cost due in the main to less stringent safety precautions and reduced provision of services to miners.

As a consequence, today mining in Mutorashanga is mainly undertaken by co-operatives and Small And Medium Mining Enterprises (SMMEs) acting as tributers¹⁰ to the two companies that have exclusive prospecting rights to chrome along the entire Dyke - namely ZIMASCO and Zimbabwe Alloys

Zimbabwe Alloys, a subsidiary of Anglo American Corporation, has one chrome operation in the district, Caesar mine, and one gold mine, Sutton. The mine supplies low carbon ore to Gweru for high tensile steel. Zimbabwe Alloys also has contracts with 23 tributers, 5 co-operatives and one syndicate. They are paid according to tonnage and grade. ZIMASCO similarly has a chrome operation in the area, sending a high carbon ore to Kwekwe for a wide spectrum of uses.

Both mining houses directly employ some people, but the actual mining of the ore is contracted out to a number of SMMEs and co-operatives. The SMMEs employ both permanent and casual staff (contractors), while co-operatives are comprised of a minimum of ten members. Both categories of tributers also buy chrome from self-employed individual chrome pickers or “gleaners”. All tributers are subject to the national legislation governing employment, covering among other things wages, payment of National Social Security Authority (NSSA), leave, sick benefits and pensions.¹¹

Three communities were selected for the current research, reflecting both the range of employment structures and the geographical spread of the informal mining communities. These communities were:

- Shunguyagama: a compound with 4 cooperatives, and a population of approximately 2,000-2,500 people
- Rugare: a community working under a single tributer who employs permanent and casual staff, with an estimated population of 800-1,000 people
- Impinge Mine: this is the collective name for a number of communities in southern Guruve district, incorporating 2 cooperatives and 4 tributers, and with an estimated population of over 3,000 people.

MAIN FINDINGS

Population Description

Wealth-ranking exercises were undertaken in each of the settlements assessed. In each case either two or three groups were identified. Where two groups were identified,

¹⁰ A tribute is a lease of a registered mining claim by the claim owner to another.

¹¹ See literature such as VANAD Report (Latham 1994) Mutorashanga Rural Appraisal, (Latham 1998) Desk Study of Children in the Mining Industry (Report prepared for SCF (UK) (1999) etc. for more background information.

they were the able-bodied or employed, who work underground in the mine, and the elderly or disabled, who could no longer work underground and therefore depended on gleaning chrome from scrap heaps on the surface. In some settlements, the “employed” category was divided into two groups: the permanently employed who receive monthly payments year round and some additional benefits, and the casually or seasonally employed who typically do not work during the rainy season when extraction is more difficult and there is less work to do.

When the data for the four settlements was put together it was found that the status of people in the same category in different settlements could vary significantly. This seemed to be because some cooperatives or tributers pay better rates than others (mostly, it appears, due to the management rather than due to differences in the quality of seams). The income levels of all groups interviewed were compared, therefore, and the wealth breakdown has been based on three income ranges that were revealed:

- Poor (10-20% of total population): mainly the elderly and disabled; earn Z\$2,000 to Z\$2,500 per month
- Middle (65-75%): able-bodied workers for the majority of cooperatives and tributers; earn Z\$7,000 to Z\$11,000 per month
- Rich (10-20%): able-bodied workers for the best-paying cooperatives and tributers; senior staff; earn from Z\$15,000 per month upwards

Sources of Income

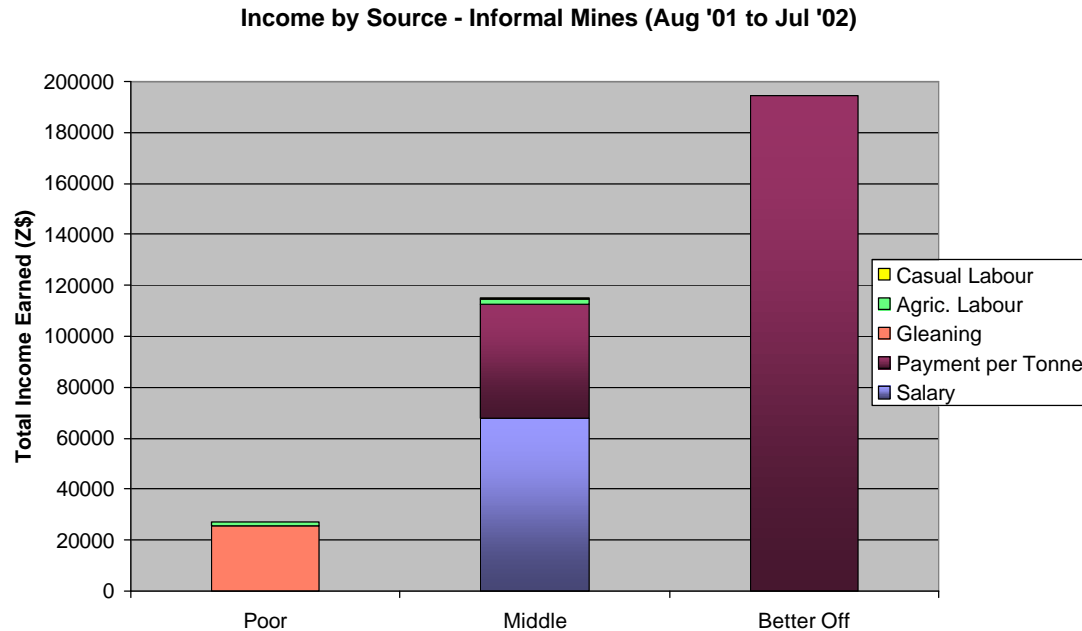
Mining income is derived in 3 different ways. Some people – usually employed by tributers – are paid per shift worked, and typically work between 20 and 26 shifts per month, at around Z\$480 per shift. Therefore they effectively earn a consistent salary every month.

Most people in cooperatives, and some working for tributers are paid by the tonnage of chrome extracted per month. At the time of the assessment (July 2002), the net payment per tonne was mainly in the range of Z\$2000 – Z\$2,200. However one cooperative – which is reflected in the “better off” group - had been paying Z\$3,600 and was due to increase that to \$4,300 for July. An average miner was consistently reported to extract around 4-5 tonnes per month. The payment per tonne by ZIMASCO to the tributers or coops was reported to be Z\$7,000, meaning that the most miners only receive approximately 30% of the value of the ore they mine. Although input costs are high and also have to be covered by the Z\$7,000, it was striking that one cooperative was found to be able to pay roughly 60% of that amount to its members.

The third way of earning income from the mines is by gleaning, i.e. picking chrome from the heaps of waste from shafts that are left on the surface. This activity is typically carried out by those no longer able to or legally prohibited from going below the ground. The payment per tonne collected is the same as that for ore extracted from the shafts, but gleaners are typically only able to collect around one tonne per month.

Earnings from mining now account for practically all of the income (over 97%) for all of the wealth groups in these communities, and these earnings vary very significantly by wealth group, as is indicated in Figure 4.1 below.

Figure 4.1: Income Sources, Informal Mining Communities



The main difference between this year and the baseline picture is that the supplementary earnings from women and older children working on neighbouring commercial farms, which accounted for up to 38% of total household income, have now almost entirely disappeared. Most of the farms in these areas ceased operations last year and have now been resettled. As a result, the total income of the poorest has actually declined since the baseline assessment in February 2002, while that of the middle group has remained largely unchanged, at a time when the cost of living has more than doubled.

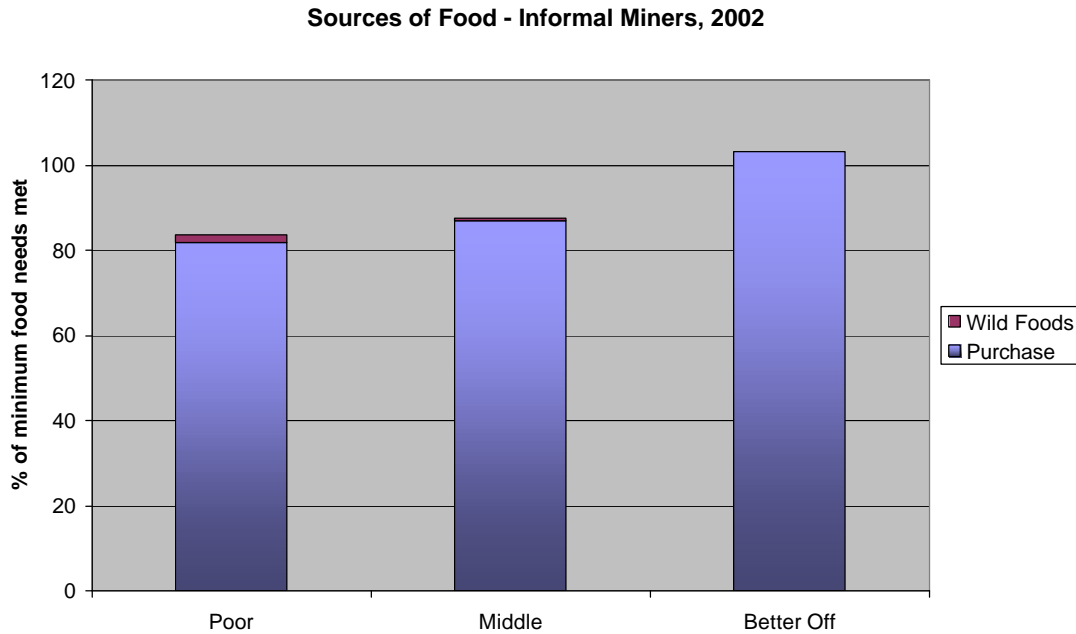
While such a loss of income is inevitably damaging to livelihoods, the seasonality of earnings for some groups makes this particularly concerning. During the peak of the rainy season – between December and February – the extraction of ore is difficult as mine shafts get flooded, and mining income therefore drops significantly. But that was precisely the period during which labouring opportunities were available on commercial farms as crops were being weeded. Given the small-scale nature of farming by the newly-resettled farmers, they do not require similar amounts of additional labour during the period, therefore that source of income has been lost. Many mining families will face serious problems during the coming wet season as a result.

Sources of Food

Mining families do not engage in any significant cultivation given the nature of the soils in this area and the lack of fertile land. Neither are there many opportunities to work in exchange for food. Therefore almost all food is purchased using income from

mining, with a small amount of wild foods (mainly leaves and vegetables) also contributing to the diet in terms of palatability and micro-nutrients. The graph below indicates the percentage of minimum food needs – defined as providing 2,100 kcal per person per day – that were met over the past year from these sources.

Figure 4.2: Source of Food. Informal Mining Communities



Both the poor and the middle groups are not currently meeting their minimum requirements, reaching only 80-85% and 85-90% of their needs respectively. The details of the food basket gathered during interviews indicate that the shortfall comes mainly from non-staple foods, which are very important in providing a balanced diet. Most families have not had to significantly reduce maize consumption, and maize contributes roughly 70-80% of the calories being consumed.

One feature of this graph that needs explanation is why, in spite of very significant income differences, there is little difference in food intake between the poor and middle groups. There are two main reasons for that. First, household size is typically smaller among the poor group than the middle (3-4 people, compared to 5-6), and therefore the smaller income is also being spread among a smaller family. Second, the additional calories for the middle come mainly from non-staples such as kapenta, meat, beans, sugar and oil, which are far more expensive.

Expenditure

Figure 4.3: Expenditure by Category, Informal Mining Communities

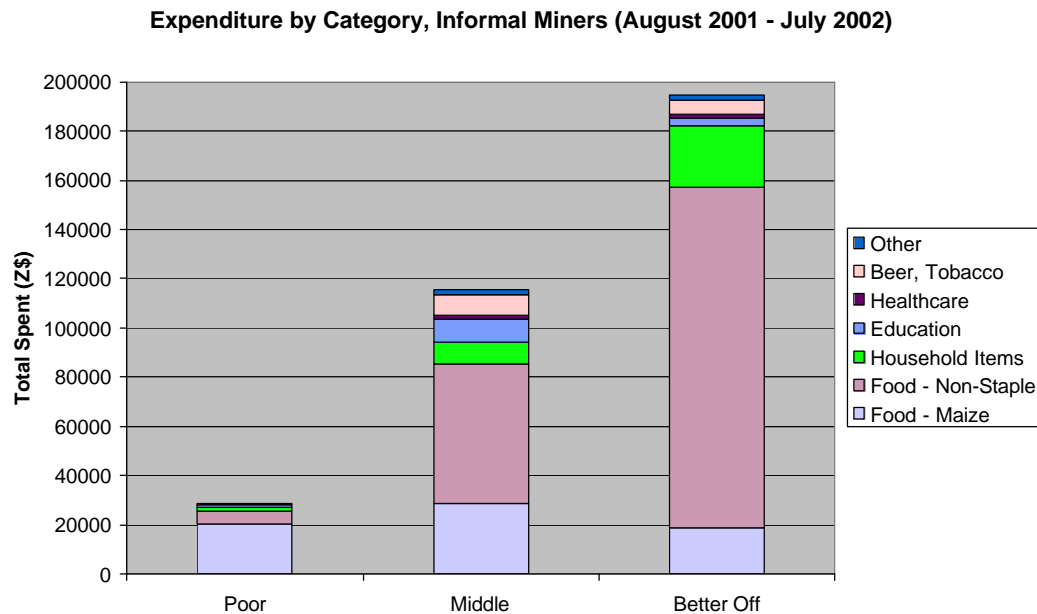


Table 4.1: Expenditure by Category, Informal Mining Communities

Category	Poor	Middle	Better Off
Food - Maize	20,100	28,438	18,720
Food - Non-Staple	5,370	56,755	138,444
Household Items	1,500	8,883	25,080
Education	1,275	9,444	3,000
Healthcare	240	1,830	1,440
Beer, Tobacco	0	8,207	6,000
Other	0	1,842	2,000
Total	28,485	115,399	194,684

A similar pattern as was seen for other zones can be observed in the spending on different categories of items between the three wealth groups here.

- There is little difference in spending on maize, the staple food. The cost of maize or maize meal in this area, however, tends to be higher than in other food economy zones within the same districts. This is mainly because there are few local sources of maize; it has to be bought from GMB depots or retailers in Banket or Mvurwi, and the transport costs involved raise the price. Some vendors bring maize to the area, and there were sales from one commercial farm that is still in operation, but their prices are set at a level that matches or exceeds the transport-inclusive price from Banket or Mvurwi. Most maize was in fact being sourced from GMB depots or retailers in towns.
- Spending on non-staple foods does vary very much in accordance with income levels. The poor only purchase vegetables and salt; the middle purchase some kapenta, beans, bread, sugar and oil in addition; while the better off can afford greater quantities of these items, as well as additional items such as meat, eggs, milk and Mazowe orange.

- As was reported in the baseline, spending on beer is particularly high in mining communities considering income levels. Men justify their spending on beer on the basis that work underground in the mines can be very dangerous and stressful, and they use beer as a means of easing their stress. The impacts of this on household food security are obviously negative, as it leaves less income available for spending on basic needs. However, this problem would more constructively be viewed in relation to the mental health of miners rather than as just indicating irresponsibility on the part of men.
- Spending on household items also varies with income. Soap accounts for most the expenditure in this category, with vaseline, paraffin and blankets being added as income rises. Most households no longer can afford blankets, and reported sleeping in their clothes, or with fires lighted to stay warm.
- For education, children tend to be sent to primary schools in some of the larger mines which have their own schools. Only some of the children of the middle group, and most of those of the better off group are sent to secondary school. There are secondary schools in Mutorashanga and Sutton Mine, but children from Impinge Mine (Manyara and Kaguvi) who attend secondary school are typically sent to board in towns or communal areas as there are no secondary schools nearby.
- Healthcare is provided through a number of clinics in various mines around Mutorashanga. Many cooperatives have a system whereby members pay a monthly contribution which entitles them to access facilities in designated clinics. In Impinge, there are no healthcare facilities at all. Those who can afford the transport costs go to Mvurwi, but the community in Manyara reported that they rely primarily on traditional remedies using local leaves rather than seeking formal treatment. The health situation is of concern in many settlements visited, as water supplies are often inadequate (there are few taps or boreholes, and even fewer that are currently functioning), and sanitation facilities are poor to non-existent. Considering the combination of poor diets and a poor public health infrastructure, it would take little for disease outbreaks to have serious consequences in these settlements.

In most interviews, households were asked to indicate how their spending had changed over the last year as prices increased. Their responses were very consistent with a comparison between the current assessment findings and those of the baseline in February 2001. For all groups the range and in some cases also the quantities of goods and services consumed had decreased quite significantly. This was most noticeable in terms of the food basket being purchased. Items such as potatoes, rice, tea and meat had been cut out of spending for all except the best off households. The quantities of other foodstuffs such as oil, sugar, kapenta, bread and flour had been substantially reduced and, for the poor group, removed entirely from the diet. The purchase of non-food items had also been affected. Most people can no longer afford new clothes or blankets, they cannot afford new assets, furniture or utensils, and some have reduced spending on essential services such as health and education.

Projection: August 2002 – March 2003

Given the means by which informal mining communities access their food needs, their food security over the period to the end of March 2003 is essentially dependent on the ability of their income to cover the costs of their basic needs. There are no options for accessing additional income. With the current inflation rate, the key determinant therefore is whether their incomes from mining will keep pace with inflation. Evidence from the last 12 months would suggest that this is unlikely. Wage rates tend to be negotiated on an annual basis, while the price paid per tonne of chrome is reviewed every 4-6 months, depending on the cooperative or tributer. For example, in Rugare maize grain prices have increased by 324% between July 2001 and July 2002 (from \$185 to \$600 per bucket), while the price paid per tonne of chrome has only increased by 69% (from Z\$1,300 to Z\$2,200).

The pattern of informal mining communities becoming increasingly impoverished looks set to continue, therefore. The poor group are at a stage where any further deterioration in the real incomes will start to impact more severely on food intake, as maize is one of the only items left on which cuts in spending can be made. The middle group could potentially survive on lower real incomes, but their food intake is already below recommended minimum levels. The better off have quite a lot of capacity to cope with reduced real income by cutting expenditure on non-essential items.

For those who are not on permanent contracts, i.e. casual employees of tributers and most cooperative members, incomes are likely to be severely reduced during the rainy season as ore extraction becomes more difficult. The fall-back option of employment on commercial farms is no longer available, therefore many households will face significant food security problems between December and February/ March, depending on how long the rains last.

As with all groups dependent on purchases, the physical availability of maize in the market will also be a key variable affecting food security. The mining communities are at a particular disadvantage by being at a distance from the main centers of Banket and Mvurwi, meaning that in a situation of limited supply they will be among the last to hear about the availability of stocks.

Worst Case Scenario

Nominal incomes remain unchanged, while inflation continues at the current rate or increases. Maize becomes largely unavailable at controlled prices, and is accessed at a price of Z\$1,400 per 20kg bucket (higher than in other zones due to transport costs).

Outcome:

The poor could purchase 45-55% of needs, but that would be maize alone, without any protein or fat foods. The middle could purchase 75-85% of their needs, but this would be almost exclusively maize, and there would be significant cuts in non-food spending. The better off could cope by switching expenditure from non-essential items.

Food aid would be required for the poor and middle groups until households can access food independently again (which will not necessarily be related to the next

harvest in April 2003). A 75-100% ration would be recommended for the poor. A maize ration alone would be required for the middle, as their remaining incomes could cover other items in the diet. The better off should only be given assistance if no way can be found to put maize on the market for them to purchase.

Best Case Scenario

Real incomes remain unchanged (i.e. nominal incomes increase in line with inflation). Maize is widely available for purchase at controlled prices.

Outcome: The permanently employed middle and better off groups will be able to manage on their incomes. The poor will still require outside assistance, as they will still fall short of their minimum needs. A 50% ration (or cash equivalent) would be appropriate for the poor from the present time until an alternative way of boosting their income can be found. That ration would need to be increased to 75% and to be extended to those in the middle group not on permanent salaries, as their incomes will decline in the rainy season. Supplementary feeding for under-5s and other standard vulnerable groups should be implemented concurrently.

Likely Case Scenario

Real incomes continue to decline, with increases in payment rates lagging behind inflation rates. Maize supplies are erratic; some is sourced at controlled prices, some at higher black market rates.

Outcome: Similar but marginally worse than the best case scenario. The poor could access 60-70% of their needs through purchases, but almost all of that comes from maize alone. The middle on permanent salaries would be able to access 90-100% of their needs from their incomes. Those who are employed seasonally will not be able to access food during the rainy season as their incomes decline almost to zero.

A 50% ration (or cash equivalent) would be appropriate for the poor from the present time until an alternative way of boosting their income can be found. That ration would need to increase to 100% and to be extended to those in the middle group not on permanent salaries, as their incomes will decline in the rainy season unless alternative income-generating activities can be supported for them. Supplementary feeding for under-5s and other standard vulnerable groups should be implemented concurrently.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The informal mining communities along the North Great Dyke are a chronically poor group who are getting progressively poorer. Their situation is quite different to most other communities in rural areas of the country, as their livelihoods and problems are only marginally affected by the current drought. They are more vulnerable to macroeconomic problems, and to the situation in the mining sector itself, with the former affecting inflation and the prices of goods and services purchased, and the latter affecting incomes. Macroeconomic policies such as the fixed exchange rate also affect the viability of the mining sector, which imports many inputs and exports its output, and therefore affect miners' livelihoods.

This community has also been negatively affected by the loss of seasonal employment opportunities on commercial farms as a result of the land reform programme. The main impact of drought has been on the availability and price of maize, and this has only exacerbated problems which were already existing.

This situation also means that emergency interventions cannot follow the same timeframes as for other rural communities. The food security of miners will only be affected by the reaping of a harvest in April 2003 insofar as that makes maize more affordable at that time. Their food security will be more broadly related to the macroeconomic situation of the country, making an exit strategy for humanitarian interventions harder to define. With these considerations in mind, the following recommendations are made:

- Supplementary feeding for under-5s, elderly and pregnant and lactating women should be provided from now at least until April 2003. The numbers involved are estimated at 25% of the population, i.e. 7,500 people.
- Food aid should be provided to the poor group (estimated at 4,500 people) from now until at least April 2003. This should be a 50% ration until the end of November, and a 100% ration from December until March.
- Options for supporting income-generating activities for those affected by the seasonal decline in mining income should be investigated and supported¹². If such possibilities are not identified or supported, a 100% ration will be required for that group from December to March 2003. The population involved needs further investigation, but should be in the range of 10,000 – 15,000 people.
- A rapid enumeration exercise is required to establish the population in each of the many mining settlements dotted around the Great Dyke area, and the employment categories into which they fall.
- Emergency interventions in the water sector are required to repair and/ or deepen non-functioning boreholes and taps.

¹² SC UK was carrying out a feasibility study on this in August 2002 under its Child Protection and Care programme.

OVERALL CONCLUSIONS FOR THE 4 ZONES

It is clear that food insecurity will be a major problem for many people within these zones over the coming year, even though these areas are typically considered among the better off within the country.

In terms of relative vulnerability and needs, there are some clear findings that emerge from a comparison of the “likely case” scenarios for each of the 4 zones. The table below shows the percentage of minimum food needs that is predicted to be accessed by each of the wealth groups in the 4 zones¹³ over the period from August 2002 to April 2003.

Table 5.1: Percentage of Minimum Food Needs Likely to be Accessed, Aug ‘02-April ‘03

Zone	Very Poor	Poor	Middle	Better Off
FEZ 1: Communal	35-45%	60-70%	90-100%	<i>Food secure; not assessed</i>
FEZ 2: Resettlement		45-55%	95-105%	<i>Food secure; not assessed</i>
FEZ 3: Farm Workers	25-40%	35-50%	85-95%	110-125%
FEZ 4: Informal Miners		60-70%	90-100%	<i>Food secure; not assessed</i>

The resulting food aid needs have been detailed in the recommendations for each FEZ. The rest of this section will briefly discuss some of the main differences in vulnerability across the 4 zones assessed.

It is clear from the analysis that unemployed commercial farm workers will be the most in need of outside support over the coming months. Their vulnerability, and that of any currently employed workers who may be retrenched in the near future arises from the fact that they were or are almost entirely dependent on one source of income, i.e. employment on commercial farms. Furthermore, they often do not have communal homes to return to, few are being resettled under the Fast Track programme, and they have difficulties getting casual employment from newly resettled A1 farmers. The latter problem seems to be due both to the limited ability of those new farmers to employ others, and to their preference to give any available work to other settlers.

Those receiving a regular income (currently employed farm workers and informal miners), are at least able to access part of their food needs on a regular basis. Most, however, are chronically poor and are becoming increasingly impoverished as price increases erode their real incomes. Solutions to their problems in the long-term are more difficult, as they are related to structural issues within the economy.

The situation of communities depending on farming – the communal and resettled farmers – varies. For poorer farmers who can cultivate only a small area, have few assets and depend on piecework to earn much of their needs, this year will be particularly difficult. Their harvests were minimal, and the effect of drought on all farmers means that there is real uncertainty about whether much employment will be

¹³ Note that the wealth groups in the Commercial Farmworkers zone have different names, but are roughly comparable with the “poor to better off” terminology.

available on larger farms in the coming season. For the larger farmers in the middle and better off groups, the cash they can use from the sale of crops and livestock will largely be able to see them through to the next season.

For farming communities, ensuring that agricultural inputs are available (either for purchase, on credit or for free) will be absolutely vital to ensure that current problems do not continue beyond the next harvest. However, the scale of these needs when compared with the resources, capacity and/ or willingness of the various private and public agents who could support input provision makes it unlikely that those needs will be met.

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SC (UK), in collaboration with partner organisations, has published a series of food security and livelihood assessment and nutrition survey reports over the last 18 months. Recent publications include:

- *Kariba Rural (Nyaminyami) District HEA, 2002-03 – June 2002*
- *Binga District HEA, 2002-03 – June 2002*
- *Binga District Nutrition Survey (#2) – June 2002*
- *Vulnerability in Zimbabwe, 2002-03 – May 2002*
- *The Livelihoods of Commercial Sex Workers in Binga – April 2002*
- *Nyaminyami District Nutrition Survey – February 2002*
- *Binga District Nutrition Survey – December 2001*
- *Ingozi Mine Informal Settlement, Bulawayo (with IPA) – November 2001*
- *Shackleton Mine Compound, Chinhoyi (with IPA) – November 2001*
- *Chihwiti & Gambuli Informal Settlements (with FCTZ) – September 2001*

These reports are available from Save the Children UK, 10 Natal Road, Belgravia, or by e-mail from infor@scfuk.org.zw

ANNEX 1:

Communal Lands included in the “Highveld Prime Communal” FEZ

<u>Province</u>	<u>District</u>	<u>Communal Land</u>
Manicaland	Makoni	Chiduku (50%)
Manicaland	Makoni	Weya
Mashonaland Central	Bindura	Masembura
Mashonaland Central	Centenary	Muzarabani (10%)
Mashonaland Central	Guruve	Bakassa (50%)
Mashonaland Central	Guruve	Guruve
Mashonaland Central	Guruve	Kachuta (33%)
Mashonaland Central	Mazowe	Chiweshe
Mashonaland Central	Mt. Darwin	Kandeya (67%)
Mashonaland Central	Shamva	Bushu
Mashonaland Central	Shamva	Madziwa
Mashonaland East	Chikomba	Manyeni
Mashonaland East	Goromonzi	Chikwaka
Mashonaland East	Goromonzi	Chinamora
Mashonaland East	Goromonzi	Chinyika
Mashonaland East	Goromonzi	Kunzwi
Mashonaland East	Goromonzi	Musana
Mashonaland East	Hwedza	Wedza (50%)
Mashonaland East	Marondera	Chiota
Mashonaland East	Marondera	Svosve
Mashonaland East	Murehwa	Mangwende
Mashonaland East	Seke	Seke
Mashonaland East	UMP	Uzumba (33%)
Mashonaland West	Chegutu	Mondoro
Mashonaland West	Hurungwe	Hurungwe (50%)
Mashonaland West	Hurungwe	Mukwichi (33%)
Mashonaland West	Kadoma	Ngezi
Mashonaland West	Zvimba	Chirau
Mashonaland West	Zvimba	Zvimba
Midlands	Gweru	Chiwundura

Annex 2: Seasonal Calendar

The calendar below shows the key activities and peak periods for the production of the most important agricultural crops, and for the most important income-generating activities in the Food Economy Zones covered in this assessment.

Activity	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	June	July	Aug
Maize		<i>Plant</i>	<i>Plant/ Weed</i>	<i>Weed</i>	<i>Weed</i>	<i>Eat Green</i>		<i>Harvest</i>				
Groundnuts		<i>Plant</i>	<i>Plant/ Weed</i>	<i>Weed</i>			<i>Harvest</i>					
Cotton		<i>Plant</i>	<i>Plant</i>	<i>Weed (Dec – Feb)</i>					<i>Harvest (May-August)</i>			
Veg. Gardens	<i>Grow/Sell</i>		<i>Nov-Feb is low season</i>				<i>Grow/ Sell (March to October)</i>					
Agric. Labouring			<i>Peak (weeding) – late Nov to early Feb</i>					<i>Peak (Harvesting)</i>			<i>Peak (if cotton)</i>	
Casual Labouring									<i>Peak (construction, thatching, etc.)</i>			
Off-season for Mining				<i>Rains – shafts less accessible</i>								

Note: the peak season for agricultural labouring is the same for the hiring of seasonal labour on commercial farms, i.e. November/ December to February, and again from April/ May to July; where tobacco is grown, grading continues until August.

Annex 3: Assumptions for Best, Worst and Likely Case Scenarios for FEZs 1 & 2

BOX 1: SCENARIO 1 (BEST CASE SCENARIO) FOR HIGHVELD PRIME COMMUNAL ZONE

Analytic assumptions:

1. Sufficient maize is available for all purchase requirements for all households, at the controlled price of \$425/20 kg.
2. All households plant agricultural fields and homestead gardens at the levels planted in the 2001/2002 Season, and agricultural production is equivalent to the long term average. During the period of August 2002 – March 2003, households harvest 4 weeks of green maize and two crops of beans. Additionally, households harvest vegetables (tomatoes, onions, rape and rugare) from August – October and maize in November – December. Most households do not cultivate a winter wheat crop.
3. Availability of agricultural employment is at the levels characteristic of normal years in the area, according to the typical seasonal work patterns.
4. Wages for agricultural employment remain at current levels in both food and grain (i.e., \$100/day for 3 days of work, or 1 bucket for 3 days of work, paid half in cash and half in grain).
5. The Government Public Works Scheme (i.e., “Food For Work”), is adequate for all very poor, poor and middle households to earn Z\$1500/month.
6. Income from crafts and casual employment is at 50% of current levels (higher than expected for August – March period).
7. Vegetable sales continue at existing rates and prices. VP and P continue selling vegetables, but have no other crops to sell. Middle households consume their remaining grain rather than sell.
8. The rains of the 2002/2003 agricultural season will be normal, continuing to ensure adequate pasture and animal health.
9. Wild food availability will double due to the normal elevation in availability during the rainy season, combined with the increased harvesting of wild fish (poaching) and animals.
10. Market prices of cows, goats and chickens remains constant.
11. Consumption of own animal products includes only eggs and milk. The slaughter of chickens, goats and cattle for household consumption ceases, to conserve assets for retention or sale. All animals are sold, except 2 cattle retained for draught power.
12. Prices of all essential non-food items remain constant at the prices reported for April – July 2002.

BOX 2: SCENARIO 2 (WORST CASE SCENARIO) FOR HIGHVELD PRIME COMMUNAL ZONE

Analytic assumptions:

1. The consumer price of maize increases to an average of Z\$1200/20 kg for the eight month period of August 2002 – March 2003.
2. Wages for agricultural labour are at 50% of their normal levels (i.e., \$50/day for agricultural employment). Labourers are paid with cash rather than grain because grain is not available for payment. The availability of piecework is reduced to 50% of normal levels due to lack of grain for payment and difficulty by better off households to pay for labour. Workers will be in a disadvantageous position to negotiate for wages because of the limited availability of, and increased demand for, local employment.
3. Most households do not cultivate a winter wheat crop.
4. Wild food consumption cannot increase due to legal restrictions on fishing/hunting, compounded by the effects of drought on availability.
5. Consumption of own animal products includes only eggs and milk. The slaughter of chickens, goats and cattle for household consumption ceases, to conserve assets for retention or sale.
9. The Government Public Works Scheme ceases to be available.
10. Income from crafts and casual labor ceases to be available due to cessation in local hiring for non-necessary activities.

11. Vegetable sales continue at 50% of current prices. Very poor and poor households continue selling vegetables, but have no other crops to sell. Middle households consume their remaining grain rather than sell it on the market.
12. Households must engage in elevated animal sales; prices are 75% of prices reported for last 4 months. All animals are sold, except 2 cattle retained for draught power.

BOX 3: SCENARIO 3 (LIKELY SCENARIO) FOR HIGHVELD PRIME COMMUNAL ZONE

Analytic assumptions:

1. GMB maize availability and prices continue at current levels. Households are able to access one bucket every month from the GMB at \$425, and the rest of the grain costs \$800/20 kg on the market.
2. Piecework opportunities for agricultural and other employment are very limited. Payment will be in cash because grain stores are not available to employers, at the rate of Z\$75/day. Employment availability is 75% of normal levels because of poor climatic conditions, disruption of work opportunities on commercial farms, and the lack of income or grain among resettled farmers to hire. All wages are paid in cash.
3. Most households do not cultivate a winter wheat crop.
4. Workers will be in a disadvantageous position to negotiate for wages because of the limited availability of, and increased demand for, local employment.
5. Wild food increases by 50% following the normal elevation in availability during the rainy season, and poaching/fishing increase but are still limited by legal restrictions/supervision.
6. Consumption of own animal products includes only eggs and milk. The slaughter of chickens, goats and cattle for household consumption ceases, to conserve assets for retention or sale.
7. The Government Public Works Scheme continues at present levels of operation.
8. Income from crafts and casual labor available at 25% of present rates.
2. Vegetable sales continue at 75% of current rates and prices. Very poor and poor households continue selling vegetables, but have no other crops to sell. Middle households consume their remaining grain rather than sell on the market.
10. Households must engage in elevated animal sales. Market prices for livestock are 75% of prices reported for last 4 months. Sale of livestock continues sufficiently to meet 100% of food needs, with a maximum sale of all animals except two cattle used for draught power.

Annex 4: Calculations of Food Access as Per ZIMVAC Questionnaire

The national assessment being carried out alongside this HEA work uses a questionnaire-based approach which calculates food needs based on the number of 50kg sacks a household can access through various means, compared to their food needs. The tables below detail the results of the 4 HEA assessments in the format used in the questionnaire. This is intended to make our results comparable with those of the wider assessment.

FEZ 1: Highveld Prime Communal		Very Poor	Poor	Middle	Better Off
HH Requirements (50kg sacks), Aug-Mar	Box 1	9.5	13.5	13.5	
Remaining summer harvest + winter harvest	Box 2	0	0	0	
Other direct sources of food:	Box 3	0	0	0	
Minimum purchasable food	Box 4a	1	2.7	11	
<i>Maximum purchasable food</i>	<i>Box 4b</i>	2.9	7.4	90	
Tubers	Box 5	0	0	0	
Total Accessible (Boxes 2+3+4a+5)		1	2.7	11	
Outstanding Food Gap	Box 6	8.5	10.8	2.5	(Food secure)

FEZ 2: Mashonaland Resettled		Poor	Middle	Better Off
HH Requirements (50kg sacks), Aug-Mar	Box 1	13.5	13.5	
Remaining summer harvest + winter harvest	Box 2	0	0	
Other direct sources of food:	Box 3	5.4	0	
Minimum purchasable food	Box 4a	1.4	11	
<i>Maximum purchasable food</i>	<i>Box 4b</i>	23	94	
Tubers	Box 5	0	0	
Total Accessible (Boxes 2+3+4a+5)		6.8	11	
Outstanding Food Gap	Box 6	6.7	2.5	(Food secure)

FEZ 3: Commercial Farmworkers		Unemp; no package	Unemp; package	General Workers	Senior Staff
HH Requirements (50kg sacks), Aug-Mar	Box 1	7.5	9.5	9.5	10.5
Remaining summer harvest + winter harvest	Box 2	0	0	0	0
Other direct sources of food:	Box 3	3.2			
Minimum purchasable food	Box 4a	0	9	9	12
<i>Maximum purchasable food</i>	<i>Box 4b</i>	1.3	18	18	24
Tubers	Box 5	0	0	0	0
Total Accessible (Boxes 2+3+4a+5)		3.2	9	9	
Outstanding Food Gap	Box 6	4.3	0.5	0.5	-1.5

FEZ 4: Informal Mines		Poor	Middle - Seasonal	Middle – Permt.	Better Off
HH Requirements (50kg sacks), Aug-Mar	Box 1	6.5	9.5	9.5	6.5
Remaining summer harvest + winter harvest	Box 2	0	0	0	0
Other direct sources of food:	Box 3	0	0	0	0
Minimum purchasable food	Box 4a	3.8	5.5	9	54
<i>Maximum purchasable food</i>	<i>Box 4b</i>	<i>7.6</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>160</i>
Tubers	Box 5	0	0	0	0
Total Accessible (Boxes 2+3+4a+5)		3.8	5.5	9	
Outstanding Food Gap	Box 6	2.7	4	0.5	-47.5

Notes:

- Defining the minimum and maximum purchasable food is a difficult exercise. For the HEAs, we described scenarios which defined the variables influencing purchasing power and other methods of accessing food. Our “likely case” scenario was typically closer to the “worst case” than to the “best case”. Hence the food aid needs presented in the main body of this report are lower than those shown as the “Outstanding Food Gap” rows above, as the ZIMVAC analysis, by using “minimum purchasable food”, effectively focuses on the worst case scenario.
- For the “better off” group in FEZs 1 & 2, the livestock holdings and expenditure patterns described in initial key informant interviews made it clear that those households would be food secure even in the worst case scenario, hence no detailed analysis was carried out.