

HOUSEHOLD ECONOMY ASSESSMENT REPORT

A1 Resettlement Areas

&

*Mutorashanga Informal Mining
Communities*

*Zvimba District, Mashonaland West
Zimbabwe*

Final Report Date: 17 November 2003



Save the Children

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- Ministry of Local Government, Harare
- Department of Social Welfare, Harare
- AREX, Zvimba
- Ministry of Youth Development, Gender and Employment Creation, Chinhoyi
- Farm Community Trust of Zimbabwe
- HelpAge Zimbabwe
- Central Statistical Office
- Zimbabwe Vulnerability Assessment Committee

The assessment could also not have taken place without the participation of the community leaders and households in Zvimba in interviews.

The views expressed in this report are those of Save the Children and do not necessarily represent those of all agencies involved in the training and assessment.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Save the Children (UK) held a training in the “Household Economy Approach” to food and livelihood security assessments for staff from national and international NGOs and government agencies (the latter on behalf of the ZimVAC) from September 29th to October 24th, 2003.

The Household Economy Approach focuses on households’ ability to access food and other basic services by investigating the sum of ways in which they get food and cash income, and their expenditure patterns. It analyses access to food and income by different wealth groups in a reference period, and then uses that as a basis for projecting the impact of various shocks to livelihoods on future food security and access to services.

As part of the training, led by experienced HEA practitioners, assessments were carried out in parts of two Food Economy Zones found in Zvimba district, Mashonaland West: the informal mining communities around Mutorashanga, and the A1 Resettlement areas. Food security was assessed for the reference period of October 2002 to September 2003, and then projections were made for the subsequent 12 and 6 months respectively in Mutorashanga and the A1 farms.

Mutorashanga Informal Mining Communities

Livelihoods for most households in Mutorashanga are dominated by chrome mining. Secondary food and income sources come from agricultural labouring on surrounding A1 resettled farms, wild foods and gathering, and various types of petty trade and self-employment. Since January 2003, food aid has played an important role, providing 40-50% of the food needs of the communities visited.

In the reference year, the poor and middle groups had food deficits of 0-10% of their minimum needs, while the better off group had no deficit. However, food aid accounted for a large proportion of the food accessed. A parallel nutrition survey carried out by SC (UK), found that the global acute malnutrition rate was 4.3%, which is consistent with the levels of food access found in the HEA.

Total incomes remain very low, ranging from just over Z\$81,000 for the poor, up to Z\$375,000 for the better off. The price paid to miners for chrome lags very far behind the rate of inflation. Real income continues to be eroded to such an extent that food and non-food baskets are less diverse than in previous years, even in spite of the support provided by food aid.

For the 12 months from October 2003 to September 2004, it is predicted that all groups will continue to have very substantial deficits, both for food and non-food items. The effects of hyperinflation combined with the infrequent and low rate of increase of chrome prices paid to miners will be the primary cause of the problems. Monitoring of key indicators over the coming year, however, will be vital to determine whether the assumptions made for the analysis in both zones, and therefore the conclusions and recommendations, remain valid.

Food aid will continue to be required for the poor and middle groups, and probably also the better off. Additional mining communities which are not currently included in the food aid programme but which face similar problems should be included.

In addition to food aid, to meet minimum non-staple needs it will be necessary to create or expand existing programmes, such as the provision of soap and/ or support for education costs.

Consultations should be held involving Save the Children, ZIMASCO, Zimbabwe Alloys and Government to discuss the long-term future of the mining communities in Mutorashanga. Specifically, what would be required to ensure that the income earned from mining provides an adequate standard of living for miners? As part of this, the role of food aid – upon which most households are heavily reliant – and other forms of assistance in keeping miners in extremely poorly paid employment must be reviewed.

As an alternative livelihood option, those households interested in pursuing agriculture should be considered for allocation of plots under the land reform programme, and for credit for the necessary inputs for the first year of production.

A1 Resettlement Farms

The situation in A1 areas is becoming more stable but is still somewhat fluid, and there are large variations from one farm to the next. Typically, an A1 farm can have up to 5 different wealth groups: unemployed and able-bodied landless - mainly former commercial farmworkers; and poor, middle and better off settlers. The latter are often also formally employed and do not live full time on the farm (and therefore could not be interviewed), but provide employment to others.

From October 2002 to February 2003, all groups struggled to meet their food needs. Poor harvests in 2002 left settlers with no grain stocks; maize availability in markets was a problem; and alternative foodstuffs were often unaffordable. Some food was purchased using income mainly from on- and off-farm casual labour, and from retrenchment packages for former commercial farmworkers. There was also quite a high reliance on wild foods at this time.

The situation improved from March as green maize became available, and then most settlers harvested enough to last an additional 5-7 months, in spite of only cultivating between 1-3 ha out of the total 6 ha available to them. For most settlers, therefore, at the time of this survey, grain stocks had run out or were remaining only for up to one month. Better harvests also benefited the landless, for whom maize became more available and affordable, and for whom agricultural labouring in exchange for food became more available. Different types of casual labouring remained the most important income source for the landless and poor settlers, while sales of food and cash crops became important for the middle settlers.

Overall for the 12 months to September 2003, the landless groups had deficits of 10-20% of their minimum needs; the poor settlers had deficits of 5-15%, and the middle settlers had deficits of 0-5%. Expenditure on non-staple foods and on non-food goods and services was very low. Most households could not afford secondary education costs, and access to healthcare was also limited.

In both zones, the difficulties in accessing adequate food and income were reported to have caused families to have engaged in a number of response strategies that are particularly harmful to children, making them vulnerable to sexual exploitation and exposure to HIV infection, and reducing their attendance at school.

Due to the high reliance on agriculture, at this stage of the season it is not possible to make projections of food security beyond the next harvest. Therefore, detailed projections have only been made for the period from October 2003 to March 2004 for this area.

In the scenario considered most likely to occur, the unemployed landless, the able-bodied landless and the poor settlers (who together are roughly estimated to

account for 65-80% of the population) will have food deficits of 60-80% of their minimum needs. This translates into 3.5 – 5 months' worth of food, i.e. from November/ December 2003 to March 2004.

Donors and humanitarian agencies must apply the humanitarian principle of need and impartiality in implementing their programmes, and therefore must include resettlement areas in their activities where needs have been identified.

In addition to emergency food needs, however, it is also clear that there is great need for Government to address many medium- to longer-term issues if the land reform programme is to be successful. In particular:

- A serious shortage of agricultural inputs and resulting lack of preparation for the coming season was reported and observed. This situation must be addressed immediately if the progress made last year is not to be reversed.
- There is a need for re-stocking of livestock, and particularly cattle
- Agricultural extension services need to be further supported, with particular focus on growing crops appropriate to the land, and on sustainable environmental management
- Greater investment needs to be made in infrastructure in A1 areas
- Former commercial farmworkers should be given greater consideration for formal allocations of land, as they currently face a real lack of viable livelihood options

INTRODUCTION

Save the Children (UK) has been engaged in Emergency Preparedness & Response activities in Zimbabwe since mid-2000, which have included carrying out assessments and monitoring of the food security and livelihoods situation, and capacity-building of national staff in a wide variety of emergency-related activities. As part of this work, Save the Children organised a training in the Household Economy Approach (HEA) for staff from partner agencies within and outside the Zimbabwe Vulnerability Assessment Committee and from SC (UK) itself. The training took place from September 29th to October 24th, with classroom-based work in Harare and fieldwork in Zvimba district.

Save the Children has been working in the informal mining communities around Mutorashanga in Zvimba since 1999, and began a food aid programme there in January 2003 with funding from SIDA and subsequently ECHO. In September 2003 SC was appointed as the implementing partner for the World Food Programme in Zvimba and is currently in the process of expanding the food aid programme in the district. The primary objective of this training and of the assessments which formed part of the training was as follows:

- To build the capacity of agencies within and outside the Zimbabwe Vulnerability Assessment Committee to carry out food security and livelihoods assessments using the Household Economy Approach

Secondary objectives were:

- To assess the food security and livelihoods situation in A1 resettlement areas in Zvimba district in advance of the expansion of the food aid programme under WFP, and to determine short-term and longer term needs among those communities
- To assess the impact of the SC food aid programme in the Mutorashanga Informal Mining Communities, and the future food aid and other livelihoods-related needs in the area

METHODOLOGY

Save the Children uses the Household Economy Approach (HEA) as a means of assessing the food security of communities. The approach focuses on households' ability to access food and other basic services by investigating the sum of ways in which they get food and cash income, and their expenditure patterns. The approach has two main parts: (a) A quantitative description of the economy of a defined population, including all the main factors determining current household income and expenditure in a recent reference period, and how these vary between households. (b) A system to analyse the relationship between a shock – for example, crop failure or a rise in the price of a staple food – and the ability of households to maintain their food and non-food consumption. HEA models the most likely chain of events linking a shock and the outcome. Information is collected using a combination of secondary data and primary research, using participatory research techniques.

Information is collected and analysed for different “food economy zones” or “livelihood zones”. These are areas in which most households access their food and income using broadly the same combination of means. For this assessment, the two areas chosen form parts of two different food economy zones. Mutorashanga Informal Mining Communities are part of the larger North Great Dyke informal mining

zones, which cuts across into Mazowe and Guruve districts in Mashonaland Central. Zvimba A1 Resettlement areas are part of the zone previously known as "Mashonaland Commercial", but recently split into Commercial and Resettlement zones following the Fast Track Land Reform Programme. This zone spreads across much of the 3 Mashonaland Provinces and also into small parts of Manicaland and Midlands. Due both to the need to only assess areas in which SC had the possibility of responding to assessed needs, and to the long protocol process required to gain access to different administrative areas for assessments, this survey was limited to the parts of both zones in Zvimba district.

The Household Economy Approach training involves introducing trainees to all steps in the methodology that is, understanding of the theory, field practice, analysis of collected data and report writing. The fieldwork was done from the 5th to the 18th of October 2003. For this part of the training, the trainees were divided into three teams with an experienced trainer/ practitioner leading each. The teams visited the informal mining areas of Mutorashanga during the first week of fieldwork, and went to A1 Resettlement areas in Zvimba District during the second week.

The settlements were purposively sampled with help from local council, AREX and the District Administrator's office. In Mutorashanga the following settlements were visited: Vanad Mine, Kildonan, Shunguyaguma, Mvurwi Peak, Tavakuenda and Sutton Mine. The following A1 resettlement farms were visited during the second week of fieldwork: Landfall, Windsor Ranch, Mwanga, Taunton, Weltevrede and Raffingora Estate.

The Household Economy Approach usually involves developing a baseline picture of the livelihoods of communities for a "normal year", when coping strategies are minimally employed. This helps to put shock years into perspective and allow identification and measurement of change. However, due to the frequent price increases of food and non-food household items, and the substantial transformation and decline of the economy in Zimbabwe over the past few years, it would have been practically difficult and methodologically questionable to ask respondents to identify and recall details of the last "normal year" that they have experienced. This assessment therefore chose to focus on the most recent 12 months (October 2002 – September 2003) for discussion of sources of food and income, while the section on expenditure focuses on the most recent month (September 2003) to allow accuracy in recall of prices.

Initial interviews were done with community leaders in all the areas visited. These interviews gave research teams entry into the settlements and enabled them to get an overview of the situation. The leaders helped to divide their community into distinct "wealth groups" or socio-economic groups. Focus Group Discussions were subsequently held with each identified wealth group using a semi-structured format, and recorded on interview summary forms. Gender representation was very important for each wealth group interview and this was ensured by holding both single-sex and mixed sex focus group discussions. Semi-structured interviews were also carried out with specific key informants such as mining tributors, mining company representatives, AREX officers and school and clinic staff to triangulate information from other sources and to get information on specific topics.

Data analysis was done manually at first with all the trainees and trainers. Microsoft Excel Spreadsheets developed by the Food Economy Group were then used to carry out further analysis under different scenarios, and also to create charts and graphs for the report.

Constraints

- As the assessment was carried out as part of a training exercise, some of the data collected was of questionable quality. While this resulted in some interviews being excluded from the analysis, the data is still considered sufficiently reliable for publication.
- Although it is becoming less fluid than it was over the last 2-3 years, the situation in A1 resettlement areas still varies quite significantly from one farm to the next. This makes it difficult to treat the area as a single “food economy zone” at present. The current assessment suggests that the zone as it is currently defined (following the April 2003 ZimVAC re-zoning exercise) will require further refining as livelihood patterns become more established and the differences become more definable.

MUTORASHANGA INFORMAL MINING COMMUNITIES

Background¹

Mutorashanga is in Zvimba district in Mashonaland West Province, and is situated along the Great Dyke, an area rich in minerals. It is located within Natural Region 2. The provincial capital is Chinhoyi, 70 kilometres south west of Mutorashanga. Harare is 100 kilometres to the southeast. For this assessment “Mutorashanga” is the collective name given to all of the mining communities on the Zvimba side of the Great Dyke from Vanad to Tavakuenda near Mapinga on the Harare-Banket road, comprising parts of wards 14 and 18.

The population of Mutorashanga was estimated in the August 2002 census as 7,189. However, during SC’s nutrition survey in October 2003 it appeared that some informal communities were not included in the census, and therefore the population should be slightly higher. Mutorashanga is 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 former commercial farming areas have largely been resettled under the A1 model of the Fast Track land reform programme.

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 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 tributers² to the two companies that have exclusive prospecting rights to chrome along the entire Dyke - namely ZIMASCO and Zimbabwe Alloys. Ore is sent to Gweru and Kwekwe by rail for use in high tensile steel and a wide spectrum of other uses.

Zimbabwe Alloys, a subsidiary of Anglo American Corporation, has two operations in the area, Caesar mine (on the Mazowe side of the Great Dyke), and Sutton. Zimbabwe Alloys 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. 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”.

¹ Much of the information in this section is taken from the HEA baseline assessment for Mutorashanga (SC: 2001a)

² A tribute is a lease of a registered mining claim by the claim owner to another.

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.

Two previous Household Economy Assessments have been carried out by Save the Children in this area: a baseline in February 2001, and an update in August 2002. The assessments found that the area was chronically poor, and getting poorer, mainly because of mining incomes failing to keep pace with inflation. In October 2003, Save the Children and the Ministry of Health carried out a nutrition survey in the week prior to the current HEA assessment. The results indicate that acute malnutrition remains below emergency thresholds:

Global acute malnutrition: 4.3% (95% Confidence Interval: 2.7 – 6.5%)
 Severe acute malnutrition: 1.0% (95% Confidence Interval: 0.4 – 2.5%)

For this survey, 6 mining communities were assessed: Vanad, Shunguyaguma, Mvurwi Peak, Kildonan, Sutton and Tavakuenda. All except Tavakuenda had been receiving food aid from Save the Children since January 2003. Because of this, Tavakuenda was excluded from the main analysis, and summary results for this community are presented separately.

MAIN FINDINGS

Wealth Breakdown

Interviews with key informants in the six settlements visited in Mutorashanga confirmed that livelihoods of households in the informal mining area largely depend on income from chrome mining. Underground mining is normally used in chrome mining in Mutorashanga and this requires a lot of physical power.

Wealth Group	Poor	Middle	Better Off
% of Population	10-20%	65-80%	10-15%
HH Size	5-7 (typical 6)	5-8 (typical 6)	5-7 (typical 6)
HH Type	Female- or elderly-headed Few active members High dependency ratio	Male-headed Has able-bodied adults Range of dependency ratios	Male-headed Has able-bodied adults Range of dependency ratios
Employment Type/ Income Sources	Picking chrome, agricultural labour	Chrome mining, picking chrome, agricultural labour	Formal employment, cooperative leaders or gang leaders, normal miners with small businesses

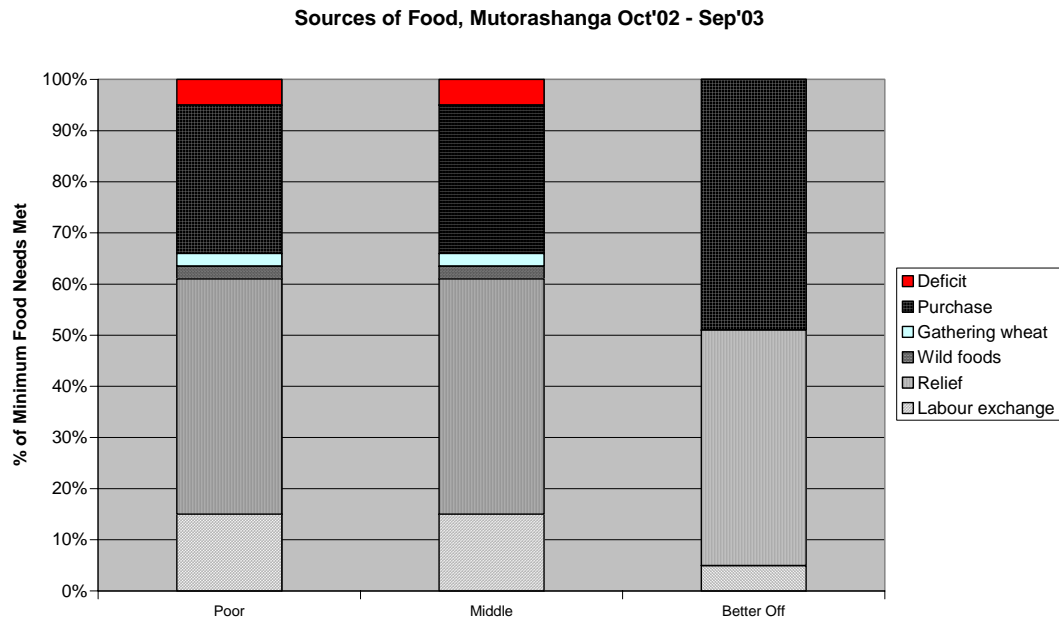
Three distinct wealth groups emerged during the key informant interviews: poor, middle and better off. Efforts were made with community leaders to further sub-divide the middle group, considering its size. However even when subdivisions were made in some communities, the results of the interviews indicated very little difference between such sub-groups. The three main groups were similar to those identified in previous assessments in the area. The wealth breakdown indicated in the table above clearly shows that female-headed and elderly-headed households are placed at the lowest level (the poor group) in the community since their income level is very low. Many of these households have been affected by HIV/AIDS. Most households in this group depend on chrome-picking or gleaning (i.e. searching for ore in the waste

material brought to the surface from the mine) since they have no able-bodied males to do underground mining.

Households that either earn more income from mining (senior staff/ cooperative leadership) or have other sources of income (such as operating tuck shops) were put into the better-off group as they were considered to be doing better than the general miners. The latter were put into the middle wealth group. The majority of the population (65-80%) were put into the middle group, as these were mainly the able-bodied male-headed households that depend on income from chrome mining. The women supplement their husbands' income by gleaning chrome. Others are also engaged in petty trading, vegetable vending and work on the surrounding farms when work is available.

Sources of Food

Previous assessments in Mutorashanga have indicated that informal mining households depend mainly on their income to access food through purchases, since they do not have plots to cultivate crops. Prior to the Fast Track land reform, this was supplemented by food earned in exchange for casual work on nearby commercial farms. However, in the August 2002 assessment, such labour exchange was found to have practically ceased. There are two significant changes to note in patterns of food access in this survey. First, relief (food aid) has become the most important source of food for the poor and middle, and is also significant for the better off. Second, opportunities for getting food in exchange for labour has emerged again in the current reference year, as some of the new farmers have started cultivating their land. The graph below indicates the amount of food, expressed as a percentage of minimum requirements over the 12 months (defined as 2,100 kcal per person per day), that was accessed, and the sources of that food.



The poor and middle groups had an average deficit of approximately 5% of their annual food requirements, while the better off were able to meet all of their requirements. The deficit could have been greater in the absence of the food aid

Source of Food	Poor	Middle	Better Off
Labour exchange	10-20%	10-20%	3-8%
Relief	40-50%	40-50%	40-50%
Wild foods	0-5%	0-5%	0
Gathering wheat	0-5%	0-5%	0
Purchase	25-35%	25-35%	45-55%
Total Food Accessed	90-100%	90-100%	95-105%
Deficit	0-10%	0-10%	0%

programme, given the fact that purchasing - which has been the main source of food other than food aid - was under threat from inflation.

Purchasing

Purchasing was previously the most important source of food in this area, having been found to contribute 85-95% of minimum needs in the 2001 assessment. This year the contribution of purchases has dropped to 25-35% for the poor and middle groups, and 45-55% for the better off. This is mainly due to the Save the Children food aid programme, which began in January 2003, which reduced the need for purchased food.

However, the real value of income has significantly declined over the last three years - and particularly in the last 12 months - due to rising costs of food and non-food items. This has meant that the range of foods being purchased has also greatly declined, i.e. even with large amounts of food aid “freeing up” income, households have not been able to maintain the previous diversity in their diets. In previous years all wealth groups could afford to purchase non-staple foods such as cooking oil, sugar, milk and bread, which were very important in providing diversity to the diet. These items are no longer purchased at all by the poor and middle groups. Further details are provided under the “Expenditure” section below.

Food Aid

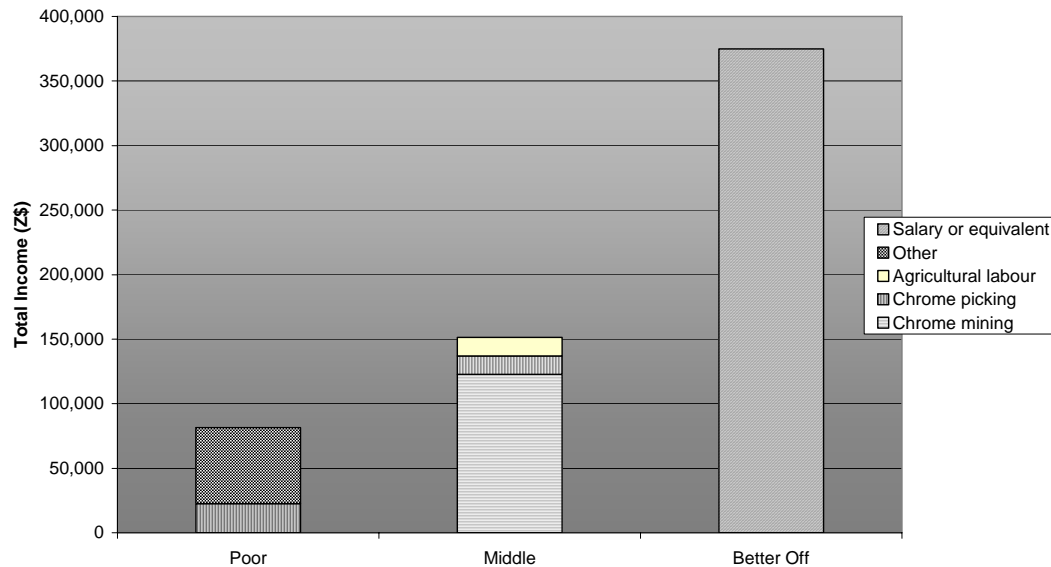
Relief (food aid) from Save The Children UK, contributed significantly towards the household food requirements in the reference year. Nearly half of the food consumed by households in all wealth groups during the period in perspective came from food aid. The ration, which comprised of 10 kg maize meal, 2 kg sugar beans and 375 ml cooking oil per person per month, was meant to cover 75% of monthly food requirements for households over nine months of the reference year (January to September 2003). In reality, because a limit of a maximum of 5 was placed on the number of household members who could receive aid, the available food aid was spread more thinly among the community, reaching even better off households who were much less in need. Forty-six percent (46%) of annual food requirements came from food relief, whereas with more accurate targeting it should have accounted for 56% (75% x 9 months) of annual needs for the poor and middle. Since the ration was not meant to meet all food requirements, households were supplementing with maize grain purchased on the parallel market using some of their available income.

Agricultural labour, wild foods and gleaning wheat

The other sources of food mentioned were agricultural labour, wild foods and gathering of wheat from harvested fields. Agricultural labour was not mentioned in the August 2002 assessment, as most of the farming had been interrupted by the changes in land ownership in the surrounding areas. However, it was encouraging to see that some new farmers started cultivating end of last year and by so doing provided some - although limited - work for the Mutorashanga community. Wheat gleaning was done on commercial farms that had managed to cultivate in the previous season, but this was later interrupted by the new farm owners who burnt the fields, as they reportedly did not like the practice. The collection of wild foods, including *hacha*, *mazhanje*, mushrooms, mangoes and okra, also accounted for a limited amount (<5%) of food needs.

Sources of Income

Sources of Income - All Wealth Groups - Mutorashanga, Oct02-Sep03



Income (Oct'02-Sep'03)	Poor	Middle	Better Off
Chrome mining		122,800	
Chrome picking	22,500	14,300	
Agricultural labour		14,200	
Other	58,950		
Salary or equivalent			375,000
Total (Z\$)	81,450	151,300	375,000

N.B. The figures above represent the mid-point of a range for each item

Income related to mining (either direct or through salaried employment), which is the main livelihood activity in Mutorashanga, accounts for almost all of the income for the middle and better off households, while the poor and some middle group households engaged in other activities such as chrome gleaning, agricultural labour and vegetable vending. The net payment to miners for a tonne of chrome varied according to the cooperatives and tributor, even though the latter were selling their chrome to the same buyers (ZIMASCO and Zimbabwe Alloys). The rate for September 2003 ranged from Z\$5,000 to Z\$9,000/ tonne. It was surprising to learn from Zimbabwe Alloys, therefore, that they were paying Z\$70,000 per tonne to the cooperative leaders and tributors. It was not possible in this assessment to get details of inputs and other costs that the latter would have to deduct before payments are made to individual miners. However, considering that households are failing to meet their basic needs without outside support, it is important to understand why miners are being paid between 7% and 13% of the final value of the chrome that is sold to the mining houses. It was also concerning to note that with inflation running at 455%, the price paid for chrome to miners was only reviewed by most cooperatives and tributors once per year. Furthermore, the increase over the last 12 months was only 170%, which is less than half the rate of inflation.

Chrome production per miner per month was quite constant across the cooperatives and tributors. One miner typically extracts and sells an average of 2 tonnes per month in the dry season, and only half a tonne during the rainy season when shafts become flooded. There can be large fluctuations around those averages, however,

and payments can be irregular. The cooperative leaders and some salaried mine workers had higher income than the other miners as their wages were not only higher but also constant throughout the year. The salaries were averaged Z\$30,000 per month while ordinary miners were getting Z\$15,000-20,000 in September 2003 and even less in other months.

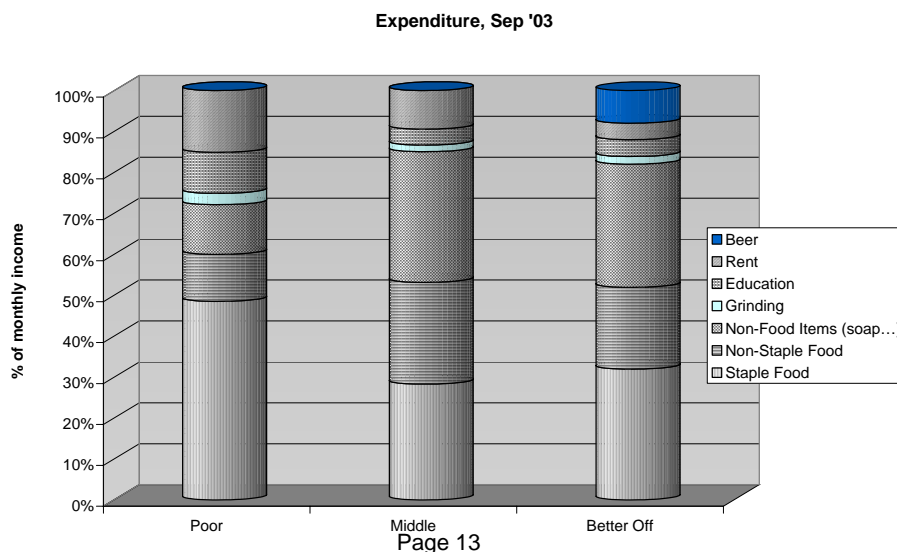
Chrome gleaning has been described in the previous assessments as the domain for women and elderly miners. The income from chrome gleaning is significantly smaller than actual mining because of the smaller quantities of chrome that an individual is capable of picking. Most of the women indicated that they were capable of picking a quarter tonne per month. The price paid, however, is the same for gleaned or mined chrome.

The poor households undertook a variety of smaller and often localised income-generating activities to supplement their earnings from chrome picking. These included agricultural labour, fishing, grass sales and petty trade. Some also received some gifts and remittances. In total, these activities accounted for over 70% of their income. The middle group supplemented their mining income with a small amount of agricultural labour on nearby resettled farms. Just under 10% of their annual income was earned from this source, in addition to the direct payment in maize that was recorded under "Sources of Food" above.

Expenditure

Due to the prevailing hyper-inflationary situation in Zimbabwe, the reliability of household's estimates of the costs of various goods and services at different time periods over the 12 months of the reference year was questionable. Therefore, instead of reporting in detail on expenditure over the entire year, it was decided to focus on the most recent month (September 2003), and then to gather qualitative information on how people's expenditure baskets changed over the course of the reference year. The information for expenditure in September is consistent with income earned in that month and, based on the price information that was available, was also largely consistent with annual income levels.

The graph below indicates the proportion of total expenditure for September 2003 spent on different categories of goods and services, while the subsequent table shows the dollar values of this expenditure. Staple foods refers to maize, while non-staple foods includes salt, vegetables, sugar and kapenta. Non-food items comprise soap, Vaseline and matches. Grinding refers to the milling of maize grain.



Item	Poor	Middle	Better Off
Staple Food	4,500	4,500	12,000
Non-Staple Food	1,067	3,960	7,500
Non-Food Items (soap...)	1,125	5,075	11,300
Grinding	260	260	700
Education	930	620	1,560
Rent	1,400	1,500	1,500
Beer	-	-	3,000
Total (Z\$)	9,282	15,915	37,560

N.B. The figures above represent the mid-point of a range for each item

Expenditure for September was largely dominated by maize, soap, salt, and rent. Maize grain purchases for the poor and middle were limited to 15kg from local farmers or the parallel market, as most households were just supplementing the food aid ration. Although the quantity of maize purchased was relatively small, the price was such that it accounts for approximately 45% and 25% of the poor and middle group's total income for September. The better off spent 30% of their income on maize, purchasing two 20kg buckets.

Non-staple foods and non-food items combined accounted for over 50% of the remaining expenditure of the middle and better off groups, but only approximately 25% of the poor group's expenditure. For the poor, the only non-staple food purchased was salt; the middle also purchased vegetables and a small amount of sugar (300g); and the better off also managed to purchase some kapenta. The sharp decline in the range of foodstuffs purchased by all groups is one of the most noticeable changes observed over the assessments carried out in this area since 2001. In 2001, even the poor were able to afford small amounts of rice, bread, potatoes, sugar, oil, meat, kapenta, beans and milk. By 2002, the poor could no longer afford these, and in the current assessment even the middle and better off can no longer afford most of these items as inflation reduces the value of their income.

The price of soap is very high, and therefore although it accounts for a large part of expenditure the quantities purchased are actually small. For example, a typical poor household with 6 people managed to buy only a quarter bar of soap (approximately 250g) per month, which according to the Sphere Minimum Standards is adequate only for one person.

For education, the poor and middle groups send their children to primary school only, while the better off can also afford to send some of their children to secondary school. Some children receive support from Save the Children for primary education costs. There has been a change since last year in access to education, as most of the middle group now no longer can afford to send their children to secondary school. Access to healthcare is largely unchanged from previous years. Treatment is often unaffordable when the local clinics lack drugs and the only option is to purchase those drugs from pharmacies.

It should be noted that the value of the food aid ration per person per month at current market prices would be Z\$11,000. As the rations have been limited to 5 per household, the additional income that would be required per household per month to replace the food aid for most households would be Z\$55,000. This amount is 6 times the current income of the poor, and is even 50% higher than the income of the better off. Therefore it is safe to say that the food aid ration is playing a vital role not only in keeping malnutrition rates low, but that it is also enabling people to maintain even the current limited amounts of spending on non-food items and basic services.

Box 1: The Situation in Tavakuenda Settlement

Tavakuenda was the only one of the mining settlements visited in this survey which has not been included in the Save the Children food aid programme. As a result the findings for this settlement could not be analysed with those of the other 5 settlements. Tavakuenda does, however, provide an interesting picture of life without food aid.

Mining activity in Tavakuenda ceased early in 2003 after the previous tributor left the area and ceased paying the miners. The loss of mining income has had a serious impact on livelihoods. Households have attempted to diversify, however, and have taken advantage of their proximity to the Harare-Banket road to engage in activities such as selling wild fruits (especially hacha and mazhanje), thatching grass, vegetables and worms for fishing. Incomes were usually higher than in other mining settlements. But considering that households do not receive food aid and so must buy maize, they remained poorer than other communities surveyed in terms of their overall access to food and non-food items.

Most food is accessed by purchases, and residents only have access to small, garden-sized plots of land to supplement their purchases with their own production. Households are also quite reliant on wild foods (accounting for over 20% of food needs in some households), which are more readily available in this area compared to around the other mining settlements further north on the Great Dyke. There was relatively little difference between the wealth groups identified in the settlement, with total food access for the last twelve months typically ranging from 80-95% of minimum needs.

Problem Specification – October 2003 – September 2004

Using the last 12 months as a reference period, and using additional information gathered through interviews and observation on likely changes in the situation, it is possible to make some qualified predictions about the food security and livelihoods situation over the period from October 2003 to September 2004. The analysis below presents the changes in all aspects of the household economy that are predicted for the next twelve months under a best case and worst case scenario. For each activity, the amount of that activity that can be undertaken and the price or wage for that activity are predicted, and indicated as a percentage of the reference year level. The resulting quantities of food and cash income are then compared to minimum food and non-food needs to determine whether households will have a deficit or not. Due to the difficulty in accurately predicting many of these variables, the details of the assumptions used are shown below so that they can be monitored over time and conclusions and recommendations can be revised accordingly.

Sources of Food	Qty. as % of Last Year		Price/ Wage as % of Last Year		Comments
	Best case	Worst Case	Best Case	Worst Case	
Agricultural Labour	100%	75%	300%	200%	Combination of better harvest last year and inputs shortage this year suggests qty of labour unchanged or may decrease. Wage rate will increase but lag behind inflation. Best case = same as maize price increase from Oct02 – Oct03; worst case is same as average labour price increase over that period.
Wild Foods	100%	100%			No change expected
Gathering	0%	0%			Gathering was on wheat farms that have not produced this year
Sources of Income					
Chrome Mining/ Picking	100%	100%	350%	170%	No change in quantity mined expected; price should increase by over half of inflation rate (best case), or by the same amount it increased by last year (worst case)
Salaries	100%	100%	350%	170%	Same assumptions as for mining.
Agricultural Labour	100%	75%	300%	200%	See note for labour as source of food
Other	100%	100%	300%	300%	Assume "other" income rises at half the rate of inflation
Other Prices					
Minimum Non-Staple Basket Price			600%	600%	Inflation is expected to reach 600% by year-end.
Maize Price (parallel market)			300%	300%	Estimated average increase based on observed changes to date, and accounting for seasonal changes.

The main differences in the two scenarios therefore are (a) the extent to which opportunities for agricultural labouring opportunities are available, and (b) the rate at which wages and incomes increase relative to inflation.

Minimum Non-Staple Expenditure Basket

The minimum non-staple basket is the quantity of basic non-staple foods, and non-food goods and services that are considered essential for the household. Vegetables are required for micronutrients, and in this area must be purchased as few people have gardens and there is limited availability of wild foods to act as substitutes. The quantity of soap required is based on Sphere Minimum Standards of 250g per person, while Vaseline or lotion is required for skin protection. A majority of households rent their houses (though this does not apply in informal settlements such as Shunguyaguma) and therefore require money for this. Finally, school fees for children at primary level are also considered essential. In this area most healthcare costs are deducted at source from mining income, and therefore these costs are not reflected in the non-staple basket. Details of the quantities per month and the cost of non-staples in September '03 are indicated in the table below:

<i>Item</i>	<i>Quantity per month</i>	<i>Total Z\$ amount spent, Sep '03</i>
Vegetables	30 (1 bundle per day)	5,250
Salt	1 kg	1,600
Soap	1.5 bars	6,750
Grinding	3/4 bucket	260
Vaseline	100 g	1,300
Matches	2 boxes	200
Rent (inc electricity)	estimated total	1,500
School fees (per month)	2 children @ primary	620
Total		17,480

With the predicted inflation rate, the estimated cost of that minimum non-staple basket for the twelve months from October '03 to September '04 equals Z\$776,580. It should be noted that this basket is currently unaffordable in full even to the middle group.

Projected Deficits: October '03 to September '04

As cash is a flexible resource, and because in a situation of limited funds households may have to make choices between spending on essential staple foods and non-staple items and services, the analysis presented below indicates the outcomes for households in each wealth group (a) if they prioritise their available income on staple foods (i.e. only purchase non-staples if cash is available after minimum staple purchases have been made), or (b) if they prioritise available income on non-staple items. Note that this analysis assumes no food aid is provided. The outcomes under the best and worst scenario, and for each type of prioritisation of spending are presented in the table below. The percentages used are approximations and should be considered as roughly the mid-points of ranges.

Projected Food and Non-Staple Food Deficits, October '03 – September '04 (% of minimum needs unmet, and cash equivalent value of non-staple deficit)

	Poor	Middle	Better Off
<i>Actual Deficit – Reference Period (Oct'02 – Sepr'03)</i>	5%	5%	0%
Best scenario – All spending on staple foods	47% food and 100% non- staple (Z\$766,580)	8% food and 100% non- staple (Z\$766,580)	0% food and 0% non- staple
Best scenario – all spending on minimum non-staples	83% food and 68% non- staple (Z\$521,855)	83% food and 33% non- staple (Z\$250,000)	19% food and 0% non- staple
Worst scenario – all spending on staples	70% food and 100% non- staple (Z\$766,580)	50% food and 100% non- staple (Z\$766,580)	5% food and 100% non- staple (Z\$766,580)
Worst scenario – all spending on minimum non-staples	86% food and 85% non- staple (Z\$650,330)	86% food and 68% non- staple (Z\$522,210)	96% food and 18% non- staple (Z\$139,080)

Considering the food deficits, in all scenarios the poor group will have very substantial deficits, ranging from 47% to 86% of their minimum needs. In all but one scenario, the middle group also will have similarly large food deficits, while the better

off only have a very substantial deficit in the worst scenario if they devote all available cash to non-staples.

However, it is important to note that for those scenarios where all available cash is spent on staple food and there is a 100% non-staple deficit, the implications for other basic needs are very serious. In particular:

- children would be withdrawn from school
- rents would not be paid and households could face eviction
- soap would not be purchased, exacerbating health and hygiene problems
- dietary diversity would be further compromised, potentially causing micronutrient deficiencies

Even where available cash is spent on non-staples, the amount of cash available will in almost all cases be insufficient to purchase even the minimum non-staple basket, and some of the implications listed above will still apply.

It should be noted that the scenarios under which all available income is spent on non-staple food could equally be considered the scenario in which supplies of grain on the market are unavailable. Information currently available (e.g. from monthly FOSENET and FEWS-NET reports) indicates that GMB supplies of grain are becoming very limited, at a time when Government finances are stretched and the private sector is still legally prevented from importing maize and wheat. Therefore the most likely scenario is considered to be one in which all spending is on non-staples. Furthermore, considering recent trends in income from mining, the “worst case scenario” is also believed to be most likely. In this situation the entire population would be almost entirely reliant on food aid (with deficits ranging from 86% to 96%), and the poor and middle groups would also have very substantial non-staple deficits.

Overall, then, the extent of the food and cash deficits illustrated above indicate that this is a community facing a very serious problem of livelihood options that are simply not adequate to sustain them. The current hyper-inflationary environment is certainly greatly exacerbating the situation, but while emergency interventions are justified on humanitarian grounds, there will be no end to those “emergency” needs until steps are taken at the level of the mining industry and at the macro-economic level to ensure that mining in this area becomes a viable option for households. Furthermore, it is necessary to reconcile how this kind of mining can be viable for the mining companies involved (ZIMASCO and Zimbabwe Alloys) while not viable for the mining households. In particular, the role of food aid – upon which most households are heavily reliant – and other forms of assistance in keeping miners in extremely poorly paid employment must be reviewed.

Conclusions

The Household Economy Assessments carried out in this area over the last three years have showed a steady decline in the quality of life in Mutorashanga and in the viability of the livelihood options available to the communities there. The steady erosion of real incomes has been witnessed, accompanied by decreasing dietary diversity and reduced spending on a variety of basic non-food items and services. The provision of large amounts of food aid since January 2003, while very probably assisting in keeping acute malnutrition rates at the low rate of 4.3%, has not reversed the trend nor even stopped it. Rather, it has slowed it down significantly. In addition to food aid, the other factor that has played a positive role in mitigating the effects of inflation has been the increase in agricultural labouring opportunities on newly resettled farms. While the value of this casual employment is still not as great as it was on the old commercial farms, it is encouraging that it has started to increase

from the extremely low levels found in August 2002, while the land reform process was still underway. Should adequate measures be taken to ensure that newly resettled farmers can fully utilise the land that has been made available to them, it is likely that these mining communities could reap further important indirect benefits.

Recommendations

- Food aid will continue to be required for the foreseeable future for the poor and middle groups, and probably also the better off. The current 75% ration rate is theoretically appropriate, but the policy of allowing a maximum of 5 members per household to receive the ration is counter-productive and should be removed. Additional mining communities which are not currently included in the food aid programme but which face similar problems should be included.
- As a matter of urgency, further information on the population of each mining community must be collected to enable an accurate calculation of the actual population in the area to be made.
- Regular monitoring of key prices and income indicators (including chrome prices and wage rates for agricultural labour) should be carried out to verify the validity of assumptions made in – and therefore the conclusions of – the analysis of deficits above.
- In addition to food aid, to meet minimum non-staple needs it will be necessary to create or expand existing programmes, such as the provision of soap³ and/ or support for education costs.
- Consultations should be held involving Save the Children, ZIMASCO, Zimbabwe Alloys and Government to discuss the long-term future of the mining communities in Mutorashanga. Specifically, what would be required to ensure that the income earned from mining provides an adequate standard of living for miners? As part of this, the role of food aid – upon which most households are heavily reliant – and other forms of assistance in keeping miners in extremely poorly paid employment must be reviewed.
- Further research is required into how the price per tonne of chrome paid to individual miners is set relative to the equivalent price paid by the mining companies to tributers and cooperative management.
- As an alternative livelihood option, those households interested in pursuing agriculture should be considered for allocation of plots under the land reform programme, and for credit for the necessary inputs for the first year of production.

³ Save the Children has previously appraised the feasibility of supporting soap-making as an income-generating activity in this area. It was found not to be economically viable without substantial subsidisation.

A1 RESETTLEMENT AREAS

Background

The government of Zimbabwe embarked upon the Fast Track Land Resettlement programme in July 2000, with the stated aim of reducing congestion in communal areas, creating a greater number of indigenous commercial farmers and generally redressing the imbalance in land distribution through resettlement on 5 million hectares of land. Land was reallocated under 2 models. The A1 model provided plots typically of 6 hectares to individual households⁴, while the A2 model was intended for commercial farming on much larger plots.

According to the final report of the Presidential Land Review Committee (referred to hereafter as the "Utete Report"), by 31st July 2003 nationally a total of 2,652 farms with a combined hectarage of 4,231,080 had been allocated to 127,192 households under the A1 resettlement model. Under the A2 model, the corresponding figures were 1,672 farms amounting to 2,198,814 hectares for 7,260 applicant beneficiaries. The take-up rate for the A1 scheme was reported to be 97%, while that for the A2 scheme was 66% (Utete, 2003: pp3-4). The land allocated was out of a total of 11 million hectares gazetted for acquisition by the Government.

In Mashonaland West, the take-up rate for the A1 scheme was 97% - the same as the national average. 27,052 households were resettled on 670 farms under this scheme (Utete, 2003: p69).

6 farms were visited for this assessment across Zvimba district, in Darwendale, Trelawney, Banket Eldorado and Ayrshire South ICAs. Most of the farms had been resettled between mid-2000 and mid-2002, with the majority of farmers preparing for their 2nd or 3rd year of cultivation on their new plots. For the analysis, one of the farms – Raffingora Estate – was excluded because recent gold-panning activity in the area makes the residents of this community very significantly better off than the other farms visited. Summary results for Raffingora are presented separately.

The farms displayed a wide variety of contexts, which sometimes made generalisations difficult. 5 of the farms contained a mixture of formally resettled farmers and former commercial farmworkers. The 6th farm had been sub-divided and co-existence was being practiced such that the farmworkers were still employed on a portion of the land by the white commercial farmer. 2 of the farms were classified as peri-urban, (near Raffingora and Mutorashanga) meaning that land was reallocated on a temporary basis in smaller plots to anyone who wanted it. In most of the farms, a "caretaker" had been designated to live in the house of the former commercial farmer, and in at least two cases that caretaker was involved in the cultivation of cash crops (tobacco and horticulture) on unutilised land rented from A1 farmers in exchange for tillage and inputs, and was employing significant numbers of people. This informal arrangement is at odds with the purpose of the A1 scheme, but was very beneficial to many former commercial farmworkers for whom the casual employment was their main source of income. It also ensured that the otherwise under-utilised land was put to good use, and that some of the A1 farmers got better access to inputs.

⁴ Grazing land of up to 14 ha per household or in a communal form was also provided. In land designated as peri-urban, plots of 1-3 ha were provided on a temporary basis to households, however their legal status remains uncertain.

MAIN FINDINGS: OCTOBER '02 – SEPTEMBER '03

Wealth Breakdown

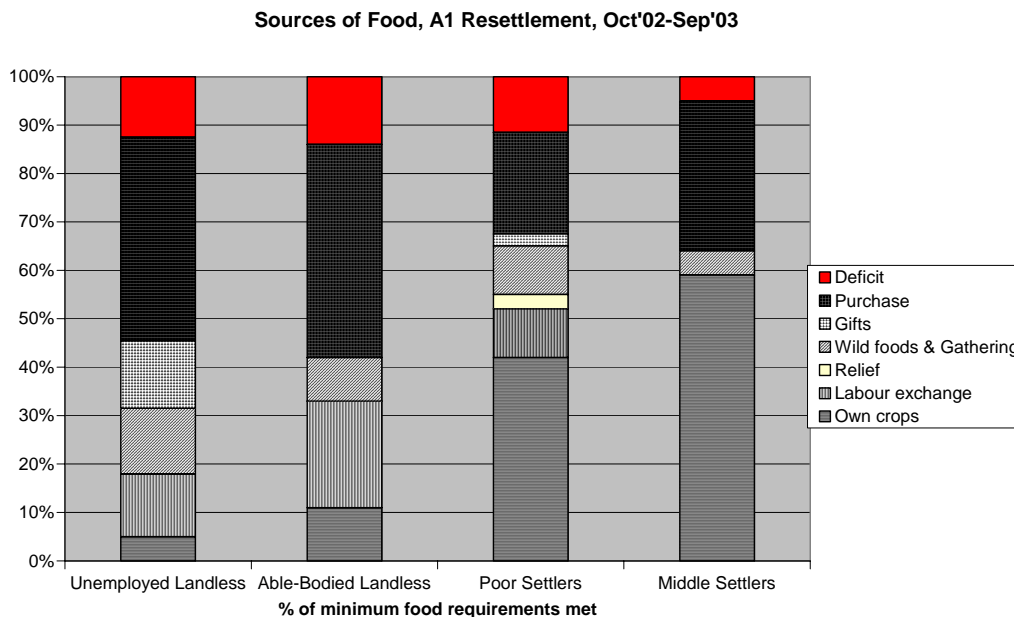
The wealth breakdowns carried out on each of the 6 farms varied in a number of ways due to the differences in context. When results were collated, it became apparent however that 5 groups could be distinguished, though not all 5 were present in each farm. The latter point means that the percentages of the population estimated to be from each group vary significantly from farm to farm, and may not even be representative of the whole zone. The first two groups are those described as “landless” and largely comprise former commercial farmworkers. Some of these have unofficially and informally been given small plots of land for cultivation, partly out of recognition of their need for some form of livelihood, and partly as a reaction to fears from settlers about theft by these groups. The poorer of these two groups are the “unemployed landless” who lack an able-bodied adult, while those with able-bodied members are better off. Those without an able-bodied adult include households headed by elderly and widowed people, who often look after orphaned children, but there were also many headed by a chronically ill adult.

The other 3 groups identified are from the settler community. They have formal allocations of land under the A1 model – mostly 6 ha, though less in peri-urban areas – but their ability to cultivate their land varies significantly. Only the better off are able to cultivate their full 6 ha, while the middle cultivate 2-3 ha, and the poor cultivate 0.5-2 ha. Most households are unable to afford the inputs necessary to fully utilise their land, including draught power. This under-utilisation of land is consistent with the findings of the previous HEA in this zone in August 2002, but is at variance with the claim in the Utete Report that A1 beneficiaries “made full use of the land allocated to them” (p14). Many of the better off settlers were reported to be formally employed in nearby towns and business centres. They often work on their farms only on weekends, and some employ others to manage their plots in their absence. As a result, it was not possible to interview this group in most of the farms and details of their livelihood patterns are not reported in the main findings.

<u>Wealth Group</u>	<u>Unemployed Landless</u>	<u>Able-Bodied Landless</u>	<u>Poor Settlers</u>	<u>Middle Settlers</u>	<u>Better Off Settlers</u>
% of Popn.	10-15%	35-40%	20-25%	12-15%	12-15%
HH Size	5-8 (typical 6)	5-8 (typical 6)	4-7 (typical 6)	4-8 (typical 6)	4-8 (typical 6)
HH Type	Elderly/ female/ chronically ill-headed Most ex-farm workers	Mostly ex-farm workers; “normal” nuclear family	Resettled families; “normal” nuclear family	Resettled families; “normal” nuclear family	Resettled families; “normal” nuclear family. <i>Most do not live on farm but work in towns and hire farm manager</i>
Land Owned	0-1 Ha	0-2 Ha	6 Ha (or 1.5-3 Ha in Peri-Urban)	6 Ha (or 1.5-3 Ha in Peri-Urban)	6 Ha (or 1.5-3 Ha in Peri-Urban)
Land Cultivated	0 – 0.4 Ha	0 – 0.4 Ha	0.5 – 2 Ha	2 – 3 Ha	6 Ha
Main Crops Grown	Vegetables	Vegetables, Maize	Maize, vegetables, some groundnuts and sweet potatoes	Maize, vegetables, some cotton/ tobacco, groundnuts, sweet potatoes	Maize, vegetables, cotton, tobacco, groundnuts, sweet potatoes
Cattle	0	0	0	0-5	<5
Goats	0	0	0	0	2

Sources of Food

The graph and table below indicate the proportion of minimum food needs (defined as 2,100 kcal per person per day) that was accessed in the 12 months from October 2002 to September 2003 by each of the wealth groups, broken down by the source of that food.



<u>Food Source</u>	<u>Unemployed Landless</u>	<u>Able-Bodied Landless</u>	<u>Poor Settlers</u>	<u>Middle Settlers</u>
Own crops	3-8%	8-12%	40-45%	55-65%
Labour exchange	10-15%	20-25%	8-12%	0%
Relief	0.0%	0%	<5%	0%
Wild foods	10-15%	5-10%	5-10%	3-8%
Gathering crop leftovers	0.0%	0%	0-5%	0%
Gifts	10-15%	0%	0-5%	0%
Purchase	40-45%	40-50%	20-25%	30-35%
Other	0.0%	0%	0%	<5%
Total	80-90%	80-90%	85-95%	95-105%
Deficit	10-20%	10-20%	5-15%	0-5%

In the period covered, none of the groups met their minimum food requirements, with all except the middle settlers accessing 85-90% of their needs. The middle settlers did better, accessing 95% of their needs. Most of the shortfall in food access came prior to the harvest in April 2003. This was because of the combination of the poor harvest in 2002, the limited amount of maize subsequently available on the market for purchase in the latter half of the 2002/03 marketing year, and the high prices of substitutes such as bread, rice and potatoes which made them unaffordable to most households.

Not surprisingly, the pattern of food access is very much linked to access to land. Those "landless" who have not officially been allocated land managed to cultivate only on small plots, and typically managed to consume only some vegetables and green maize. The poor settlers, however, were able to harvest enough for 6-7

months (including green consumption), while the middle settlers harvested enough for up to 9 months, i.e. they ended the assessment period with an average of 1 month's stock of grain.

The most important source of food for the landless, and the second most important source for the settlers was market purchase. Most of the food purchased was maize from the parallel market or from local farmers, especially for the landless. Without their own crops, the latter have to purchase food year-round and therefore require both a steady flow of income and constant availability on the market. In the months prior to maize becoming available from the 2003 harvest, all groups struggled to find supplies of maize. The GMB sold maize – predominantly to the settlers – at a highly subsidized price, but the quantities were grossly inadequate in comparison to needs. One 50kg bag was usually split between 2 or more households per month, compared to average monthly household needs of over 80kg. During that period, most households tried to supplement purchased maize with substitutes such as bread, rice and potatoes, however the cost of these items put them out of the reach of many. Grain was readily available from local farms after the harvest in April, and continued to be available up to the time of the assessment in October.

In addition to staple foods, a small amount of non-staples such as sugar was also purchased by all but the poorest groups. However there was a striking lack of dietary diversity in the food basket purchased, as most households could not afford foods high in protein in particular (e.g. meat and kapenta), and also relatively basic items such as cooking oil.

Labour exchange was a significant source of food – as well as cash income - for the landless, and to a lesser extent for the poorer settlers. During various parts of the agricultural season, many households were very reliant on the food or cash they received through land preparation, weeding, harvesting, shelling maize and various types of off-farm labour such as construction and thatching. Payments were more commonly in the form of cash prior to the April 2003 harvest, as grain was in such short supply at that time. But from April onwards it was very common for payments to be made in grain. The rate of payment varied widely, but a typical rate was 1 bucket of maize (20kg) for 3-4 days' work. In some farms, teenage children (male and female) were reported and observed to be involved in this work also.

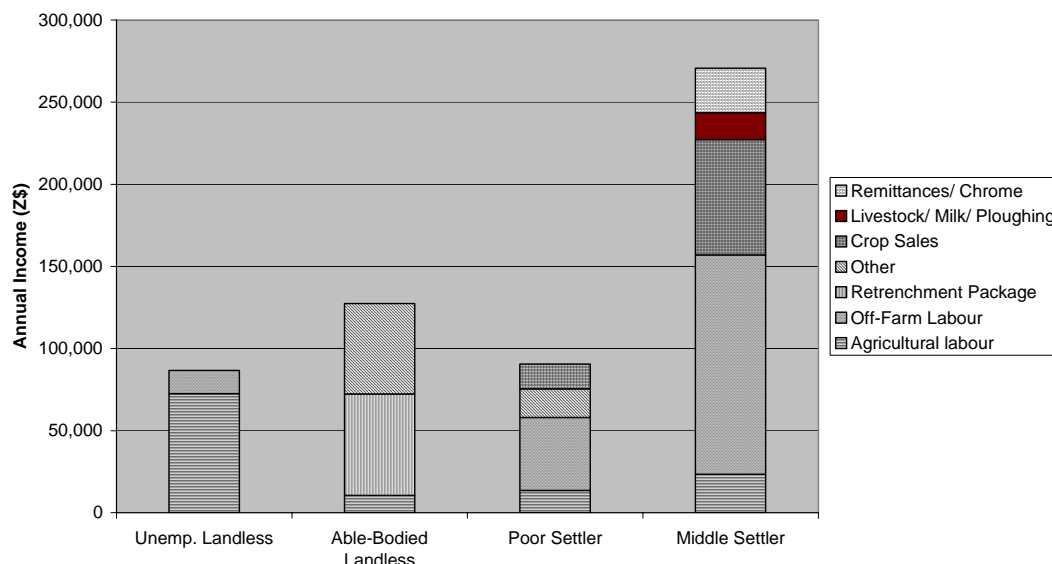
A variety of wild foods were consumed during the period reviewed, and particularly from October 2002 to February 2003. The main foods consumed were the fruits *hacha*, *kabubuna* and mangoes. Other wild foods such as mushrooms, okra and various leaves were also consumed, while fishing provided for some of the needs in 3 farms. Gathering or gleaning of wheat from harvested fields provided up to 5% of food needs for some of the poorer groups in the farms in the northern part of the district. Overall, wild foods and gathering accounted for 5-15% of food needs accessed over the last year.

Relief was largely insignificant in this area, as resettlement and commercial farming areas remain excluded from mainstream general rations food aid programmes. FCTZ provided supplementary feeding for under-5s on some of the farms. Gifts of maize were received mainly by the unemployed landless group (accounting for 13% of their needs) and to a much lesser extent by the poor settlers (2.5% of needs). The former group reported receiving the gifts mostly from relatives who were still employed on nearby operational commercial farms.

Sources of Income

The graph below indicates the total amount of income earned over the last 12 months by each group from various sources.

Sources of Income, A1 Resettlement Areas, Oct'02-Sep'03



Income Sources (Z\$)	Unemp. Landless	Able-Bodied Landless	Poor Settlers	Middle Settlers
Agricultural labour	72,600	10,650	13,670	23,500
Off-Farm Labour	14,000	0	44,300	133,560
Retrenchment Package	0	61,750	0	0
Other	0	55,000	17,500	0
Crop Sales	0	0	15,000	70,200
Livestock/ Milk/ Ploughing	0	0	0	16,300
Remittances/ Chrome	0	0	0	27,100
Total	86,600	127,400	90,470	270,660

N.B. The figures above represent the mid-point of a range for each item

In terms of the total income earned over the year, there was little difference between the unemployed landless and the poor settlers. However, because they had some of their own crops, the latter needed to purchase much less staple food and were therefore better off in spite of having similar cash income.

The unemployed landless relied on a variety of piece-jobs or casual labouring. Most of this was agricultural work, such as land clearing, weeding and harvesting, but they also earned some money from relatively light off-farm labour such as collecting and selling thatch grass and fencing poles.

For the able-bodied landless, their income pattern last year was unusual in that many of them received retrenchment packages from their former employers. These were supplemented by a variety of smaller and often farm-specific income-earning activities (included under the "other" category), such as the sale of fish and mice, and some construction work. Agricultural labour was also undertaken by many households, however the cash income from this activity for this group was less significant than the direct food income reported earlier.

Poor settlers earned the biggest portion of their income (almost 50%) from off-farm labour. This includes work on the construction and thatching of houses/ huts, and the erection of fences. As most of the settlers are relatively recently arrived, there has been a large amount of this work available over the last year. The balance of their income is split between agricultural labour for better off settlers, some sales of vegetables and maize, and a wide variety of “other” activities including cattle herding, remittances, Public Works, and sales of mice and firewood.

The middle settlers earned by far the greatest amount of income out of the groups assessed. As with the poor settlers, almost 50% of their income comes from off-farm labour related to construction of huts, fences and cattle kraals for better off settlers on the new farms. This group also had the most significant income from crop sales, which accounted for over 25% of their total income. Crops sold included maize, tobacco and cotton, with vegetable sales being less important. Some of those involved in tobacco production have benefited from the system referred to in the introduction whereby they are provided with tillage and inputs from the wealthy caretaker of the farm in exchange the use of some of their plot by the caretaker.

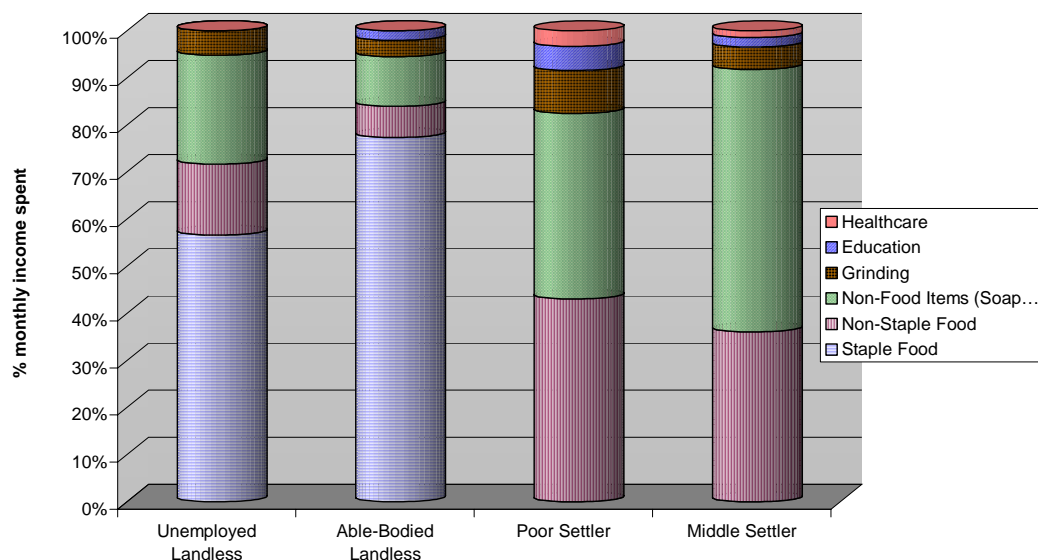
Those who have cattle are able to earn some money through the sale of milk or through renting out their draught power to others for ploughing or transport. Some of this group also engaged in agricultural labour for the better off settlers, while on other farms members of this group had some access to remittances and/ or to a small amount of income from chrome mining near the Great Dyke. On any given farm, members of this group tend to do one or two of the activities mentioned above, and although the income indicated in the table is averaged out across all farms, in reality some of these sources are alternatives to one another.

Expenditure

Due to the prevailing hyper-inflationary situation in Zimbabwe, the reliability of household’s estimates of the costs of various goods and services at different time periods over the 12 months of the reference year was questionable. Therefore, instead of reporting in detail on expenditure over the entire year, it was decided to focus on the most recent month (September 2003), and then to gather qualitative information on how people’s expenditure baskets changed over the course of the reference year. The information for expenditure in September is consistent with income earned in that month and, based on the price information that was available, was also largely consistent with annual income levels.

The graph below indicates the proportion of total expenditure for September 2003 spent on different categories of goods and services, while the subsequent table shows the dollar values of this expenditure. Staple foods refers to maize, while non-staple foods includes salt, vegetables, sugar and cooking oil. Non-food items comprise soap, Vaseline and matches. Grinding refers to the milling of maize grain.

Expenditure, Sep '03



Expenditure (Sep '03)	Unemployed Landless	Able-Bodied Landless	Poor Settler	Middle Settler
Staple Food	8,250	16,500	-	-
Non-Staple Food	2,200	1,400	3,550	7,600
Non-Food Items (Soap...)	3,375	2,250	3,250	11,750
Grinding	750	750	750	1,000
Education	-	425	425	425
Healthcare	-	-	270	300
Total (Z\$)	14,575	21,325	8,245	21,075

N.B. The figures above represent the mid-point of a range for each item

There is a sharp difference between the pattern of expenditure of the landless and of the settlers, as the landless are required to spend 50-75% of their income on staple food. As the settlers still had maize from their own harvests in September, their expenditure basket was dominated more by non-staple foods and non-food items. However, it is still noteworthy that the range of non-staple foods consumed was limited to salt and vegetables, and that only the middle settlers could afford sugar and cooking oil. None of the groups could afford to purchase foods such as beans, kapenta or meat. Spending on non-food items was dominated by soap, and was exclusively so for the landless.

For the basic services of health and education, the expenditure patterns reflect a concerning situation. All groups except the unemployed landless were able to pay costs for primary school only; no group could afford to send children to secondary school. For the unemployed landless, their children still attended primary school but most either had their costs paid by the Government's BEAM (Basic Education Assistance Module) scheme, or they were simply defaulting on fees.

Only the settlers reported having monthly expenditure on healthcare. For all groups, however, they reported that their access to and use of health facilities is very limited. Two main reasons were cited for this: (a) The distance to such facilities is too great for many, and transport is either unavailable or unaffordable; and/ or (b) the

availability of medicines and perceived quality of treatment was poor, leading some to believe that it would not be worthwhile going to the clinic.

Over the previous twelve months, there had been some positive and negative changes in the expenditure baskets of different wealth groups. For the middle and to a lesser extent the poor resettled farmers, this year's harvest enabled them at least to stop purchasing maize and in some cases to earn significant additional income through crop sales. Hence the middle group in particular actually had a more diverse expenditure basket in September than during the pre-harvest period.

For the former commercial farmworkers and some of the poorer settlers, the range of foods they purchased earlier in the reference year was greater than in September. In part that was because of the limited availability of grain on the market prior to the April 2003 harvest. This led many households to purchase small amounts of bread, rice and potatoes as a substitute for maize. However, the quantities were always very limited because of the higher price of those goods. As in Mutorashanga, inflation has also played a role in limiting expenditure baskets. Quantities purchased of items such as soap, sugar and cooking oil were reduced by most households, and cut out entirely for the landless and the poor settlers. Other items that most households stopped purchasing entirely included meat, kapenta, beans, clothing and blankets, though the latter two items were often cut from spending more than a year ago.

Box 2: The Situation in Raffingora Estate

Raffingora Estate was found to differ greatly from the other farms assessed in this survey. The settlement is peri-urban, and therefore land is available to anyone in plots of 1-3 ha - including former farmworkers - and many of the plot-holders are employed in the nearby urban centre of Raffingora. However, the main difference from the other farms surveyed was the opportunity for gold-panning that exists in the area. Gold-panning is carried out approximately 3 hours away from the farm, at sites along the Manyame river.

Income levels in this area were far in excess of those in other A1 farms, with the lowest income reported being over Z\$550,000 (i.e. double the level of the "middle settlers" elsewhere in the zone). The majority of the income came not only from gold-panning directly, but also from petty trade. Many people take basic items that have been purchased in Raffingora (including soap, salt, sugar and beer) and re-sell them at a substantial profit to the gold-panners who have no nearby shops.

As households in Raffingora also have land and can therefore produce similar amounts of crops as the settlers elsewhere in the zone, the additional income that is earned enables them to purchase a more diverse basket of food (including oil, sugar, meat and kapenta, and larger quantities of non-food items.

PROBLEM SPECIFICATION: OCTOBER 2003 – MARCH 2004.

The analysis below presents the changes in all aspects of the household economy that are predicted for the next six months under a best case and worst case scenario. For each activity, the amount of that activity that can be undertaken and the price or wage for that activity are predicted, and indicated as a percentage of the reference year level. The resulting quantities of food and cash income are then compared to minimum food and non-food needs to determine whether households will have a deficit or not.

Given that there is a much higher reliance on crop production in this zone compared to Mutorashanga, and given that it is too early in the season to make any realistic projections about that harvest, the problem specification and projection of future food security in A1 resettlement areas has been limited to the 6-month period until the harvest in April 2004. The reference period upon which the projection is based, therefore, is October 2002 to March 2003.

As in Mutorashanga, projections relating to inflation, prices and grain availability are central to predictions about food security. However, they are also very difficult to predict. Therefore the analysis presented below, with a best case and worst case scenario, is considered the “best guess” that can be made at present, but it is stressed that ongoing monitoring of key price and food availability indicators will need to be carried out to verify whether the assumptions and predictions made are valid.

For this zone, each of the sources of food and income was examined, and through the interviews with households and community leaders, combined with secondary data and observation by the team, estimates were made of how the situation would be different in the coming six months compared to the same period last year. The difference in the two scenarios relates to the availability of agricultural labour opportunities and its rate of payment. For other activities a single scenario was used.

Sources of Food	Qty. as % of Last Year		Price/ Wage as % of Last Year		Comments
	Best case	Worst Case	Best Case	Worst Case	
Own Crop Production (Green maize only)	100%	100%			Green consumption only in this period; expected to be unchanged. Note middle settlers begin this period with 1 month's stock from April harvest
Agricultural Labour	100%	75%	400%	225%	Combination of better harvest last year and inputs shortage this year suggests qty of labour unchanged or may decrease. Wage rate will increase but lag behind inflation.
Wild Foods	50%	50%			Hacha not producing much this year; veld fires and over-fishing of dams also causing reduced availability
Gathering	0%	0%			Gathering was on wheat farms that have not produced this year
Gifts	100%	100%			No change anticipated
Sources of Income					
Crop sales	N/a	N/a			Not applicable in this time period
Agricultural Labour	100%	75%	400%	225%	See note for labour as source of food
Construction	100%	100%	400%	400%	Fieldwork indicates no change in quantity as of Oct'03; price for construction of a hut has quadrupled between Oct'02 and Oct'03.
Retrenchment Package	0%	0%			Once-off payment made in 2002; not available this year
Livestock/ milk/ ploughing	200%	200%	225%	225%	Values were observed during assessment. (Increased ox-ploughing linked to lack of tractor tillage.)
Remittances/ Chrome	100%	100%	200%	200%	No change anticipated in mining activity and remittances, but nominal increase in value will lag far behind inflation.
Other	100%	100%	400%	400%	

Cash Carried Over					Poor settlers start this period with cash in hand of Z\$7000; middle settlers start with Z\$96,000
Other Prices					
Minimum Non-Staple Basket Price			600%	600%	Inflation is expected to reach 600% by year-end.
Maize Price (parallel market)			275%	275%	Estimated average increase based on observed changes to date, and accounting for seasonal changes.

Minimum Non-Staple Expenditure Basket (for a family of 6)

The minimum non-staple basket is the quantity of basic non-staple foods, and non-food goods and services that are considered essential for the household. The basket for the A1 resettlement areas differs from that for Mutorashanga in 3 respects: (1) the amount of vegetables included for purchase is much lower, as the majority of people grow most of their own vegetables in this zone; (2) people own their own houses in this zone and therefore do not pay rent; and (3) healthcare costs must be paid at the clinic (rather than being deducted from wages as in Mutorashanga) and therefore are included in the basket. Otherwise the items and quantities are the same as for Mutorashanga. The quantity of soap required is based on Sphere Minimum Standards of 250g per person, while Vaseline or lotion is required for skin protection. Finally, school fees for children at primary level are also considered essential. Details of the quantities per month and the cost of non-staples in September '03 are indicated in the table below:

<u>Item (unit)</u>	<u>Quantity per month</u>	<u>Total Z\$ Amount Spent, Sep '03</u>
Vegetables (bundles)	4 bundles	1,000
Salt (kg)	1 kg	1,400
Soap (bar)	1.5 bars	6,750
Grinding maize (bucket)	3 buckets	750
Vaseline (100g)	1 x 100g	1,800
Matches (boxes)	2 boxes	200
School fees (children)	2 @ primary	425
Healthcare	1 clinic visit	300
Total Average Cost (Z\$) per Month		Z\$ 12,625

With the predicted inflation rate, the estimated cost of that minimum non-staple basket for the six months from October '03 to March '04 equals Z\$144,960.

Projected Deficits: October 2003 – March 2004

(Note that deficits are expressed as a % of minimum requirements over the 6-month period)

Using the predictions for the impact of the best and worst case scenarios on each source of food and income, and comparing that to minimum food needs and the cost of the minimum non-staple expenditure basket, we can estimate the food and cash deficits for each group under different conditions. As cash is a flexible resource and therefore each household may make different choices as to how they spend their available income, the deficits are presented for situations where all cash is prioritised on purchasing staple foods, and where all cash is prioritised on purchasing minimum non-staple requirements. The percentages used are approximations and should be considered as roughly the mid-points of ranges.

Projected Food and Non-Staple Food Deficits, October '03 – March '04
 (% of minimum needs unmet, and cash equivalent value of non-staple deficit)

	Unemployed Landless	Able-bodied Landless	Poor Settlers	Middle Settlers
<i>Actual Food Deficit – Ref. Period (Oct'02 – Mar'03)</i>	10%	12%	16%	8%
Best scenario – All spending on staple foods	28% food and 100% non- staple (Z\$144,960)	28% food and 100% non- staple (Z\$144,960)	18% food and 100% non- staple (Z\$144,960)	0% food and 0% non-staple (no cash deficit)
Best scenario – all spending on minimum non-staples	80% food and 0% non- staple (no cash deficit)	60% food and 45% non-staple (Z\$65,715)	68% food and 9% non-staple (Z\$12,960)	0% food and 0% non-staple (no cash deficit)
Worst scenario – all spending on staples	62% food and 100% non-staple (Z\$144,960)	40% food and 100% non-staple (Z\$144,960)	32% food and 100% non-staple (Z\$144,960)	0% food and 0% non-staple (no cash deficit)
Worst scenario – all spending on minimum non-staples	84% food and 58% non-staple (Z\$83,660)	62% food and 62% non-staple (Z\$90,340)	70% food and 31% non-staple (Z\$44,525)	0% food and 0% non-staple (no cash deficit)

The analysis indicates that the middle settlers will be food secure over the coming months, mainly due to the size of their cash income. That cash is also sufficient to cover all of their minimum non-staple expenditure basket. Although the better-off settlers were not assessed, it is assumed that they should also be able to cover all of their food and non-food needs themselves.

Under all scenarios, however, the poor settlers, able-bodied landless and unemployed landless will have significant deficits. Even if all money was spent on staple foods, all three groups would still have food deficits ranging from 18-28% in the best case scenario, and from 32-62% in the worst case scenario. In those situations it is important to remember also that they would spend nothing on essential non-staple items. This would imply children being removed from school, and no spending on soap and Vaseline, probably resulting in a worsening of the health and hygiene situation.

In those scenarios where all expenditure is prioritised on non-staple items, the food deficits will remain very high for all three food insecure groups (60-80% in the best case, and 62-84% in the worst case). This translates into a full food aid ration for 3.5 – 5 months, i.e. from at least November or mid-December 2003 until the end of March 2004. Green maize consumption in March would mean that the poor settlers are unlikely to require food aid in that month, however. It is important to note also that in those scenarios the available cash will in almost all cases still be insufficient to purchase the essential non-staple items. Given typical spending prioritisation patterns, it is believed that spending on soap and Vaseline would probably be reduced, rather than spending on healthcare and education. However, scabies was reported to be a problem in a number of the areas visited, and inadequate spending on soap would only exacerbate that problem.

Considering the observed and reported lack of food supplies at the GMB, which will make it difficult even for those with cash to purchase staple foods over the coming months, it is considered most likely that people will by default prioritise non-staple expenditure. Also, because the better off farmers are those who are most likely to access available inputs this year (albeit probably still not accessing as much as they would like) and because they have significantly more grain available to pay labour

this year, it is suggested that the best case scenario for agricultural labour will apply, meaning unchanged availability of work, but payment rates still lagging behind inflation. Hence the scenario considered most likely is “best scenario – all spending on minimum non-staples”.

In the analysis it should be noted that no assumptions have been included about how former farmworkers in the “able-bodied landless” category will replace the income that was previously received as a retrenchment package. In reality it is likely that they will try to engage in a greater amount of agricultural labour, for example, and that therefore their non-staple deficit will be lower than indicated.

Box 3: Response Strategies, HIV/AIDS and Children in Mutorashanga and Resettlement Areas

During each focus group interview, participants were asked about problems that had arisen for the community, households and children as a result of the strategies they had employed to respond to the difficult situation they faced last year. Across almost all farms, similar issues arose:

- *There had been an increase in transactional sex, particularly by teenage girls in Mutorashanga and in nearby resettled farms*
- *There was a reported increase in early marriage*
- *Family tension, infidelity and divorces were reported to have increased*
- *Increased school drop-outs were reported, particularly at secondary level*
- *Children were observed to be employed in the fields doing piecework to assist their families*
- *Theft was said to have become more common*

Many of these activities put children – and especially teenage girls – at particular risk. This includes the risk of sexual exploitation and infection with HIV, and the risk to future livelihoods and potential as a result of lost educational opportunities. Although assistance to improve food security in these areas should reduce the incentive for engaging in such strategies, there is a particular need for additional specific activities regarding child protection, reproductive health, HIV/AIDS awareness and prevention of infection to be undertaken in resettlement areas.

Preparations for 2003/04 Agricultural Season

Although it is too early in the season to make predictions about the extent of next year’s harvest, and therefore this analysis only covers the period up to the end of March 2004, the assessment teams were very concerned about the limited preparation for cultivation that was reported and observed at the time of the fieldwork (late October) and the implications this will have for food security next year.

The assessment took place at a time when land preparation should be well underway, and when farmers should have access to inputs. Yet farmers consistently reported the following:

- (a) Tillage services are very limited apparently due to a lack of fuel and spare parts. While it is in theory good for farmers that the price of fuel for agriculture is being very heavily subsidised by government (Z\$190/ litre, compared to Z\$2,600/ litre on the black market in October '03), if this results in the government itself being unable to afford fuel, then the move loses its value. On the other hand, considering that approximately 25 litres of fuel is required to till one hectare of land, most farmers would be unable to afford the market prices.

- (b) Seed is only available to a limited extent. The supplies that are currently available are insufficient, and are also unaffordable for many.
- (c) Basal fertiliser is almost entirely unavailable on the market.

AREX has encouraged farmers to try to procure inputs for themselves as much as possible instead of waiting for handouts from the GMB, however it appears that this is not an option for most farmers. It will be vital to monitor the progress of the agricultural season and the area under cultivation, as the shortage of inputs alone could worsen the food security situation in this zone next year.

Conclusions

The resettled farmers in 2003 were found to have performed better than in the previous year. The combination of better rains and a limited but important supply of inputs from the GMB enabled them to take more advantage of the land they have been allocated. They have been largely food secure during the first six months of the 2003/04 marketing year. Furthermore, the knock-on effects of their production on maize availability and prices and on casual labouring opportunities for former commercial farmworkers has enabled the latter group also to be food secure.

In the period from October 2003 to March 2004, however, the food security situation will worsen, and much of the population will require outside assistance to see them through to the next harvest. 65-80% of the households residing in resettlement areas in Zimbabwe will require food aid from November/ December 2003 until March 2004. They may also require limited cash transfers or in-kind support to meet non-food needs.

There has been a marked reluctance on the part of the humanitarian community to engage in the resettlement sector during the current emergency. The reasons include a perceived lack of information on the situation there⁵, and concerns relating to the highly political and controversial nature of the land reform programme and resulting fears about the ability to implement programmes in accordance with humanitarian principles. However, the key humanitarian principle is that of responding to need wherever it arises. As such it is imperative that donors, UN agencies and NGOs work with Government to make a greater effort to respond to the needs of communities in resettled areas and to verify whether or not a principled humanitarian response is possible.

Looking at the medium term, the new farmers still require substantial support to ensure that they optimise the use of their land. In this sense, the land reform programme is far from complete. Currently, only the better off settlers use all 6ha that they have been allocated. The middle were found to leave 50-66% of their land uncultivated while the poorer settlers left 66-90% of land uncultivated, mainly due to a lack of inputs. With the shortages of inputs for the 2003/04 season, there is a risk that the situation may worsen again.

Furthermore, the situation of former commercial farmworkers remains of serious concern over the medium-long term. Their status in most areas is heavily dependent on the performance of the resettled farmers in agricultural production. They have received retrenchment packages, but without having any land or secure tenure, they have been unable to put these packages to much use other than to cover recurring

⁵ The current assessment now becomes the 5th in the last 15 months to highlight the problems among communities in resettlement areas. The others are by Save the Children (August 2002), ZimVAC (December 2002 and April/ May 2003) and FAO/ WFP (June 2003).

expenditure. Many former farmworkers are keen to receive land for their own cultivation to provide them with a more secure livelihood base. Although it has been positive to see some land being allocated on an informal basis to this part of the community over the last year, it is necessary for Government to take a more formal stance on addressing the long-term future of former farm workers.

Recommendations

- In the short-term, given the assumptions about income and prices, food aid is likely to be required by an estimated 65-80% of the population between November/ December 2003 and March 2004. Rigorous monitoring and verification of the targeting, registration and distribution process should be carried out.
- Donors and humanitarian agencies must apply the humanitarian principle of need and impartiality in implementing their programmes. Unless there is evidence derived from experience of an inability to operate in accordance with humanitarian principles, the current exclusion of vulnerable communities in resettlement areas from many programmes itself constitutes a breach of those principles by the humanitarian community.
- Reproductive health and HIV/AIDS awareness and prevention programmes must be expanded to resettlement areas.
- Although it may already be too late for this season, there is a need for Government with the support of other stakeholders to put in place mechanisms for the provision of agricultural inputs to the resettled farmers on credit. These mechanisms must ensure credit is accessible by small farmers, that some form of protection for the credit institution is ensured (in the absence of collateral for many A1 farmers), and that serious efforts are made to ensure that loans are repaid.
- As part of the above or as a separate activity, there is a need for re-stocking of livestock, and particularly cattle. These are needed to provide draught power, and also as saleable assets for new farmers.
- Agricultural extension services need to be supported, particularly to ensure that new farmers are aware of the suitability of different crops to different soil types. There was an observed tendency to plant maize in all areas, including in areas (e.g. around Darwendale) where the soils and available inputs are not suited for maize cultivation. Extension services should also encourage sustainable environmental/ natural resource management.
- Interested former commercial farmworkers should be considered for formal allocations of land under the Land Reform programme, perhaps on land not taken up under either the A2 or A1 scheme. This is vital to provide them with a viable basis for food security to replace their lost employment.
- Greater investment needs to be made in infrastructure in A1 areas. This includes the creation of more water points, schools and clinics.

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- *Vulnerability in Zimbabwe, 2002-03 – May 2002*
- *Binga District Nutrition Survey (#2) – June 2002*
- *Kariba (Nyaminyami) HEA, 2002-03 – June 2002*
- *Nyaminyami District Nutrition Survey (#2) – July 2002*
- *Mashonaland Prime Communal, Commercial and "Fast Track" Resettlement Areas, and North Great Dyke Informal Mining Communities HEAs (August 2002)*
- *Binga District Nutrition Survey (#3) – December 2002*
- *Binga & Kariba HEAs, 2003-04 – May 2003*
- *Mutorashanga Informal Mining Communities Nutrition Survey (#1) – November 2003*

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