Swaziland Vulnerability Assessment Committee (VAC) Vulnerability Situation Analysis Report March 2004

Highlights

Dry Middleveld

Depressed maize and cotton crop production, poor grazing & poor livestock production plus high maize meal prices in the period July 2003 to June 2004 are expected to result in a 49% food/income deficit of 6,100 MT affecting up to 95,900 people. Livelihoods have been further affected by restricted employment opportunities

Lomahasha Trading & Arable

The area is expected to incur a 29% food/income deficit of 948 MT affecting up to 26,000 people. High maize meal prices have eroded the purchasing power of the poor.

Lubombo Plateau

Despite 60-80% of normal crop and grazing conditions, up to 23,000 people are likely to experience a 19% income/food deficit equivalent to 570 MT

Income/Food Deficit % Annual Food Needs

Lowveld Cattle Cotton & Maize

This area is judged to be the most vulnerable. There is a major 63% food/income deficit of 13,695 MT affecting up to 159,000 people

Lowveld Cattle & Cotton

100% of the population is likely to experience an average income/food deficit of 30% of annual food needs. A failed maize crop and modest restart to the collapsed cotton industry combined with poor grazing and high maize meal prices are expected to result in a food/income deficit of 1,789 MT affecting up to 44,000 people

NB: The current study uses the official population growth rate of 2.9% (CSO). Estimates of MT income/food deficit and population are very much influenced by assumed population growth rates between 1997 and 2004. The difference in total population level in 2004 between a 2.9% and 1.9% annual population growth rate since 1997, is a 50,000 reduction in the estimate of the total rural population. NB2: Food deficit is calculated on 400gms/person/day.



SWAZILAND VULNERABILITY ASSESSMENT COMMITTEE

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Context

Swaziland has been affected by drought conditions this agricultural season. Rainfall for 2003/4 has divided the country into two distinct parts. The western third has been wet while the central and eastern two thirds have had erratic rains with very dry conditions between October and December. Total rainfall may be one-third below the long-run average. The Highveld and 'Wet' Middleveld are considered to have reasonable crop prospects. The 'Dry' Middleveld and the Lowveld have been seriously affected by drought conditions with large numbers of people failing to cultivate because of the late rains. Veld and livestock condition have deteriorated. Between 1.4%-1.6% of the cattle population in Lubombo and Shiselweni Regions died of starvation mostly in the period of November and December 2003. Preliminary maize forecasts (as at mid-February) indicate 10-15% of normal production in the Lowveld. The gap between cereal consumption requirement and domestic cereal production at national level is estimated to be between 110,000 MT and 140,000 MT which could be curbed through imports and food aid among other options.

In combination with other shocks and hazards there are concerns about a growing and cumulative 'humanitarian crisis' in the worst affected areas in the country where many households are unable to sustain viable livelihoods in the face of cumulative shocks. Swaziland's high level of income inequality ensures that a high proportion of the population is poor and constantly vulnerable to shocks. The levels of vulnerability have considerably worsened given three years of depressed food production and rural incomes¹. Furthermore, the current impact of the HIV/AIDS pandemic is exacting a very heavy burden on the population and the economy². The prevalence rate of HIV/AIDS was the second highest in the world in 2002 after Botswana - a drop in the prevalence rate is not anticipated in the near future (see figure 1). Increasing rates of morbidity and mortality are exacting a huge toll on the ability of households to produce food and earn income while at the same time increasing household expenditure on health and related costs. Children are particularly affected by HIV/AIDS with an increasing number of orphans and very vulnerable child headed households resulting from the over extended kinship networks. The cost to average household

income of chronic illness has not been determined in Swaziland.³ The ability of Government services to respond to the problems has been eroded by illness and mortality of Government and private sector staff.⁴

Figure 1: HIV/AIDS Prevalence Rate (Ante-Natal Clinic Data)⁵



Maize meal prices in 2002-2003 and 2003-2004 have been 45% above the five-year average (1998-2002). This has eroded the purchasing power especially of poor households and reduced access to food. Drought conditions have affected Swaziland's neighbours with Lesotho and South Africa declaring a national disaster and provincial disasters respectively. The failure of production in countries neighbouring Swaziland will have significant implications for the future price of maize as seen by the recent steep increases in South African maize futures between November and January. Swaziland's reliance on cereal imports makes these indicators extremely important. Given the current situation, the Government of Swaziland declared a state of national disaster in mid February focusing on the four main scourges of poverty, HIV/AIDS, drought and land degradation.

The current report uses updated livelihood baseline data⁶ in combination with recent monitoring information⁷. It presents assessments of the severity/magnitude of various hazards on livelihoods and makes projections of food access for each food economy / livelihood zone in the country (see Appendix 1 & 2) - taking into account likely local coping strategies. The main areas of

¹ GDP figures, at constant prices, for SNL Agricultural Crops indicate real contributions of crops 2000-2002 being 33% below their contributions 1996-98.

² The National Emergency Response Committee on HIV/AIDS projects that out of a population of about 900,000, as many as 120,000 children under the age of 15 (or 16.7% of the total population) will have lost both parents. As a result of concerns by stakeholders the Swazi VAC has undertaken a national statistically based survey since June 2003 to analyse the impact of HIV/AIDS on the demography of the rural population and their livelihoods (see sources). This should be forthcoming in a matter of weeks.

³ The Swazi VAC plans to do a case study survey in the Lowveld to analyse the economic costs of HIV/AIDS on income levels.

 ⁴ A study (by MoAC et al 2002) portrays the impact of the disease on the Agricultural and Private Sector in Swaziland.
⁵ 8th HIV Sentinel Serosurveillance Report, Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, 2002
⁶ These include the entries.

⁶ These include the sub-division of the Middleveld into its 'Dry' and 'Wet' parts plus the incorporation of the latest population estimates.

⁷ Maize production figures come from a combination of the NEWU forecasts, CSO statistics on area planted to maize and Meteorological and FAO/MoAC forecasts of maize yields throughout the country.

concern are the livelihood zones of the Lowveld the Lubombo and the Dry Middleveld.

Institutional Basis

The Swaziland Vulnerability Assessment Committee is currently chaired by the Agriculture and Extension Department within the Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives (MoAC). The Secretariat of the Swazi VAC includes the National Early Warning and Marketing Advisory Units (MoAC), Central Statistical Office (CSO) of the Ministry of Economic Planning and Development (MEPD), WFP, Save the Children Swaziland, National Emergency Response Council on HIV/AIDS (NERCHA) and the Coordinating Assembly for NGOs (CANGO). The VAC process is coordinated at regional level by the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) Food, Agriculture, and Natural Resources (FANR) Directorate's Regional Vulnerability Assessment Committee (RVAC), in collaboration with international partners (WFP, FEWS NET, SC (UK) and FAO).

Broadly, the aim of the Swazi VAC is to incorporate a deeper understanding of livelihoods in emergency and development programming and broaden early warning systems. VAC analytical outputs are aimed at informing policy decision making at the highest levels of Government, United Nations and NGOs. In the short term, the focus has been on carrying out emergency assessments focusing predominantly on identifying food aid needs. There has been an increasing demand for broader assessments focusing on the complex set of economic, social and cultural factors (including HIV/ AIDS) that embody and affect people's livelihoods in Swaziland providing strong indications of relative vulnerability, the reasons underlying the vulnerability and what types of interventions may be appropriate as a response mechanism.

Following establishment of the Swazi VAC in May 2002, three emergency food security / livelihood assessments carried out in Swaziland in July/August 2002, November/December 2002 and May/June 2003 formed the basis of the Swazi VAC work guiding emergency interventions of UN agencies, NGOs, and the Government of Swaziland. In addition, a national survey to analyse the impact of HIV/AIDS on the demography and livelihoods of the rural population was undertaken in 2003 and the report is forthcoming. The Swazi VAC represents one of the few fora that channels national technical quidance for UN agencies, NGOs and Government Ministries to ensure that necessary humanitarian and livelihood support is directed to the most vulnerable people at the correct time.

Methodology

The basic principle underlying the livelihoods based approach⁸ is that an analysis of local livelihoods is essential for a proper understanding of the impact of hazards at household level. Serious crop failure may, for example, leave one group of households destitute because the failed crop is their only source of staple food. Another group (in a nearby location) may be able to cope with these crop production problems because they have alternative food and income sources that can make up the current production shortfall. For example, they may have livestock to sell or have the ability to gain local paid employment. The idea of maintaining food economy / livelihood baseline information is to capture essential facts on local livelihoods and coping strategies⁹, making it possible for a combined analysis on relative vulnerability following the impact of hazards or shocks.

Livelihood patterns clearly vary from one area to another, according to local factors such as climate, soil, access to markets etc. The first step in a livelihoods based analysis is therefore to prepare a **livelihood zone map**, i.e. a map delineating geographical areas within which people share similar patterns of access to food (i.e. they grow the same crops, keep the same types of livestock, etc.), income and have the same access to markets. The Swazi VAC has recently updated its livelihood zone map and livelihood profiles to include 9 areas and 27 livelihood profiles (See Appendix 2).

Where a household lives is one factor determining its options for obtaining food and generating income. Another is wealth. since wealth determines access to the means of production and/or additional income generation. Wealth groups are typically distinguished from one another by differences in land holding, extent of cultivation, livestock holding, financial and capital, physical education, skills, labour availability and/or social capital. Defining the different wealth groups in each zone is the second step in a livelihoods analysis, the output from which is a socio-economic breakdown.

Having grouped households according to where they live and their socio-economic group (wealth), the next step is to generate **livelihood baseline** information for typical households in each group for a defined reference or baseline year. Food access is determined by investigating the sum of ways households obtain food — what food they grow, gather or receive as gifts, how much food they buy, how much cash income is earned in a year, and what other essential needs must be met with income earned. Once this baseline is

⁸ The RVAC and NVACs agreed to adopt this approach in a meeting in Pretoria March 2003.

⁹ The way in which households normally cope when faced with adverse conditions that do not deplete the socio-economic basis of the households e.g. sale of productive livestock (termed survival strategies).

established, then an analysis can be made of the likely impact of a shock or hazard in a bad year. Assessments examine how food access will be affected by the shock, what other food sources can be added or expanded to make up initial shortages, and what final income/food deficits emerge.

The objective is to investigate the effects of a hazard/shock (e.g. drought or price increase in staples) on *future* access to food and income, so that decisions can be taken about the most appropriate types of intervention to implement. The rationale behind the approach is that a good understanding of how people have survived in the past provides a sound basis for projecting into the future. Three types of information are combined; information on normal or baseline access to food and income, information on hazards (i.e. factors affecting access to food/income, such as crop production or market prices) and information on response strategies (i.e. the sources of food and income that people turn to when exposed to a hazard). The approach can be summarised as follows:

Baseline + **Hazard** + **Response** = Outcome

Current Situation Analysis

Hazards/Shocks Affecting Livelihoods

1. Production and Supply Changes - Food Crops

The maize production forecasts for 2003-2004 are presented in Figure 1. Scenarios A and B¹⁰ are compared with the five year average to 2001-2002 and with production achieved in the agricultural year of 2002-2003. Both scenarios are significantly below the recent five-year average. Scenario A presumes a tail-off of current good rainfall patterns resulting in maize production that is worse than last years 'poor' performance. While if the rains continue to be favourable for maize production into March throughout the country scenario B will enable a maize harvest above last year's production but still well below the five year average (which includes three years of low harvests).

The National Early Warning Unit and National Meteorological Service developed an independent maize forecast based on Water Requirement Satisfaction Index (WRSI) predicting a range of between 77,540 MT and 88,313 MT. This is more optimistic than the conservative FAO Scenario A. In spite of the national production figures it is clear that maize production has been a virtual total failure for most households in the Lowveld, Dry Middleveld, and Lubombo Plateau – most of whom did not cultivate due to late rains and factors such as the increased cost of land preparation.

The figures for scenarios A and B have been factored into the current assessment as the likely situation for **Food Crop** production.



Figure 1

2. Production and Supply Changes – Grazing Condition (Livestock and Livestock products - Meat & Milk)

It is perhaps not surprising given poor and erratic rainfall and starvation grazing conditions in the dryer parts of the country between August 2003 and January 2004 that 4,260 head of cattle had died by January 2004. Given the limited availability of quality animals for sale, the frequency of livestock auctions was reduced in the Lowveld. The Veterinary Department reports depict a serious situation for the surviving herd -"many starving, emaciated cows would abort, die during calving, suffer uterine prolapse or fail to nurse calf" (see figure 2). In addition, feeble and weak animals were hampering the dipping process. Many had to be manually hauled out of dip tanks. For farmers who could afford the costs, the MoAC supplied a modest supply of hay bales from South Africa. Interestingly, no goat deaths were reported. Goats are better able to survive drought condition than cattle.

By all accounts, grazing and cattle condition in the Lowveld, Dry Middleveld and Lubombo is very poor and has seriously affected productivity and income from livestock and livestock products in 2003-2004 as is likely to continue to do so in future. Incidents of stock theft were widely

¹⁰ These two scenarios result from the collaborative crop forecasting assessment report (draft) between FAO and MoAC in February 2004. The report has not been released officially at the time of writing but a copy was made available to assist this exercise.

reported to the FAO/MoAC February assessment team – worsening the situation of affected households.



Source: Veterinary Department, MoAC

Figure 3 below indicates that cattle off-take between Aug 2002 and June 2003 is the lowest in the data series. It provides some indicators for the estimates of 'poor' to 'very poor' levels of livestock production likely in the 2003-2004 season.



Figure 4 provides an additional indicator of the negative impact of the grazing conditions (July 2003 to Jan 2004) on total milk deliveries to not Swaziland. While Parmalat directly comparable, it is highly likely that milk production on even quite favourable SNL could be 40-60% of normal and much less in the drought affected areas. This information plus the judgements of Swazi VAC members have been used to factor in 'depressed grazing conditions' as a current hazard/shock likely to affect access to income and food among rural livelihoods in 2004/5. While meat and milk prices have gradually increased over the years, the increases have been modest. Prices have not altered much in relation to the massive variability in supply.



3. Production and supply changes - Cash Crop (Cotton)

Cotton production has been a significant source of income for many families in the Lowveld and Lowveld margins during the past 20 years. At its height, in the late 1980s and early 1990s it is estimated that 16,000 families were directly involved in growing the crop. Given the labour intensive nature of production is estimated to have provided piecework employment to 15-20% of the rural work force. Production was land extensive up to 10-15 hectares per grower. Yields have varied between seasons commonly undulating between 800 and 1000 KG per hectare.



Source: Swaziland Cotton Board

The industry has been in a very serious decline since 1999-2000. The worst year was probably 2002-2003 when only 57 MT seeds were purchased and production was only 1,221 MT. This 'depressed' status of the cotton industry has

Figure 3

undermined the livelihoods in the area by reducing household income over the past 5 years. Yet, cotton is one of the few crops that will grow in the area without irrigation and farmers appear keen to grow if prevailing marketing conditions are good. There are some signs that there is likely to be a slight recovery in 2003-2004 cultivation season which could be built on given new marketing and ginnery ownership arrangements. It is likely that the owners of the ginnery will market the production in South Africa. The ginnery may open in future for Swazi cotton if annual production rises to a critical threshold (approximately 7,000 MT).

This year the supply of cotton seed has doubled compared to last year (128 MT) and it is estimated that 3,000 households have approximately 6,000 Hectares under cultivation. Production this year is however characterised by late plantings and yield estimates (subject to rains in March, April and May) could be 850 Kg / Ha or less. This would yield a total delivery of 5,100 MT or less – which despite the increase compared to last year, would represent the 5th lowest level of production on record.

This information plus the judgements of Swazi VAC members have been used to factor in 'depressed cotton cash cropping conditions' to between 0-20% of normal as a current hazard in the Lowveld, Lubombo and the Dry Middleveld.

In the Highveld and the Wet Middleveld the estimates for food crop production have been duplicated for **cash crops.** Maize is the dominant cash crop in these areas.

4. Changes in 'normal' market access

Access to employment (locally, nationally and regionally) is considered to be depressed right across the country. Open unemployment in the workforce is estimated to be about 22%. The situation is considered to be particularly bad in the drought affected Lowveld and the Lomahasha area of the Lubombo plateau where depressed agricultural conditions and cash crop production (cotton) has limited the amount of casual labour available to families to offset household income and food deficits. The extent to which HIV/AIDS is affecting the ability of households to take up employment opportunities is not clear¹¹.

For the maize surplus producers, there appears to be a 'complex' marketing situation combining negative incentives to sell maize (low prices) and limited capacity on the part of the NMC to buy maize on offer in 2003. A 75-100% of normal cash crop market access has been factored into the assessment for major maize surplus producing areas. Given the continuing high level of

¹¹ The Swazi VAC intends to carry out a case study in one Lowveld community analysing the change in employment opportunities during the past five years. uncertainty surrounding the prospects for cotton marketing, the assessment has factored a depressed 25-50% or normal situation in the cotton cash cropping areas. Access to non-food production markets in the drought-affected areas has been depressed to 75-100% of normal, on the assumption of low and depressed aggregate purchasing power within communities in much of the country.

5. Food Price Changes

Maize prices are often the biggest determinant of food security in Swaziland. The monitoring of maize meal prices for the five year between January 1998 and December 2003 indicates that consumers have had to face a sustained 45% increase in the price of the staple food since February 2002. The national food balance figures and the Swazi VAC livelihood profiles confirm that most rural families purchase the majority of their total maize meal consumption. Much of their normal pattern of access to staple food is via purchases. The current maize meal price (2003-2004) therefore continues to seriously erode the cash income-to-staple food exchange ratio making it increasingly difficult to afford their daily maize based meal as their income to purchase the food is declining in relative terms. This situation has been factored in as a food price shock affecting household food access in the production year 2003-2004.

Figure 6 presents an overview of maize meal prices over the past few years with the last two years reaching the highest prices.



Figure 6

Source: Marketing Advisory Unit, MoAC

Response Strategies

A relatively limited number of strategies are normally available to rural Swazi households to respond to common food security threats. The resilience of 'poor' households to shocks is constrained by two important factors in many parts of Swaziland: their dependence upon relatively undiversified livelihood and cropping patterns (i.e. high dependence upon casual labour combined with domestic maize production), and the very limited ability of local agricultural labour markets and other labour markets to meet the demand for expanded employment in bad years. Entrenching the economic problems that households are facing in Swaziland, is the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Vulnerability is no longer a feature for many of the affected households as they move from being 'vulnerable' households to households that are in fact destitute and require considerable external support to enable them to develop sustainable livelihoods. Targeting of aid to the community should remain a community decision-making process. There is need to document and learn from the current process of the relief committees, examining what worked well and why - and what worked no so well and why.

The findings of this report sets out a basis for contingency planning among Government and humanitarian agencies. VAC stakeholders agree that food aid should not be the automatic and only answer for populations Coherent livelihood promotion affected. programmes need to be put into place lead by Government focusing on measures that increase appropriate agricultural and livestock production and most importantly employment opportunities to raise income in the most vulnerable areas of the country. It is essential that marketing arrangements for crops are conducive for farmers to risk increasing production levels. The recent initiative taken by the Food Security and Rural Development NGO Consortium to develop a drought mitigation proposal and programme to support rural livelihoods is to be encouraged. In this way the vulnerability of the rural population to food insecurity and livelihood decline can be reversed with an increasing number of people moving above the poverty threshold reducing the current requirement for free hand outs that commonly increases dependency of communities. Chronic poverty is a major concern and will not go away simply with a good harvest next year. Structural problems underlying the economy need to be addressed. The Swazi VAC intends to carry out more detailed deeper analyses of livelihoods in rural Swaziland to inform policy-makers of possible ways forward.

The findings of the current exercise have been broken down to systematically look at the '**crude** (income food) deficit' (the sum total of all the contributing shocks on livelihoods without taking into account likely coping strategies) and then with coping or response strategies that people may use to reduce their food income deficit - the 'final result'. Despite three years of shocks and depressed livelihood options the simulation indicates that coping strategies considerably reduce the crude deficit in some areas while in other much more vulnerable areas livelihoods seem able to mobilise very limited responses. For example the Highveld Maize and Cattle livelihood zone experiences an initial crude income food deficit of 13% affecting 10% of the population. After accounting for likely coping strategies, the crude deficit was reduced to 0%. While 70% of the population in the Wet Middleveld experienced an initial deficit of 15%, coping strategies are projected to reduce the severity of the situation to 70% of the population with a 7% deficit.

The 'resilience' of livelihood patterns in different parts of the country can be gauged from how well they are anticipated to reduce the level of the initial crude deficit. Lomahasha seems to be the most resilient economy - reducing its initial deficit by 19%, the next most resilient area is Lowveld Cattle and Cotton area with a reduction of 17%. Lubombo is third having a 14% reduction. The Timber Highlands is fourth with an 8% reduction of the crude deficit. By way of contrast, the Dry Middleveld appears to be vulnerable. While it manages to reduce the percentage share of the population with a deficit from 89% to 70% the income/food deficit remains unchanged at a high 49% of annual food needs. The most vulnerable area is the Lowveld Cattle, Cotton and Maize livelihood zone. Here an initial crude deficit of 67% affecting 100% of the population is expected to fall by a modest 4% after people have employed their coping strategies. The final outcome is a 63% deficit affecting 100% of the population. This area appears to contain a highly vulnerable population with very limited coping strategies.

Summary & Outcomes

A summary analysis of the core figures and assumptions used in this assessment is presented in Appendix 1. Utilising the RiskMap Version 1.2 computer programme, the problem specification (current hazards – expected changes in production and supply conditions, changes in normal market access and the consideration of a food price index for 2003-2004) have been applied to the baseline livelihood data. The final result (after factoring in the effects of likely coping strategies) is presented in the outcomes section of the table and summarised below for the most vulnerable livelihood zones:

It indicates that up to 348,000 people in the most affected areas are likely to have incurred an income/food deficit of 21,600 MT to 24,700 MT of cereals.

- The Lowveld Cattle Cotton & Maize is judged to be the most vulnerable. There is a major 63% food/income deficit of 13695 MT affecting up to 159,000 people.
- In the Dry Middleveld depressed maize and cotton crop production, poor grazing & poor livestock production plus high maize meal prices in the period July 2003 to June 2004 are expected to result in a 49% food/income deficit of 6100 MT affecting up to 95,900 people. Livelihoods have been further affected by restricted employment opportunities.
- In the Lowveld Cattle & Cotton 100% of the population is likely to experience an average income/food deficit of 30% of annual food needs. A failed maize crop and modest restart to the collapsed cotton industry combined with poor grazing and high maize meal prices are expected to result in a food/income deficit of 1789 MT affecting up to 44,000.
- The Lomahasha Trading & Arable zone is expected to incur a 29% food/income deficit of 948 MT affecting up to 26,000 people. High maize meal prices have eroded the purchasing power of the poor.
- In the Lubombo Plateau, and despite 60-80% of normal crop and grazing conditions, up to 23,000 people are likely to experience a 19% income/food deficit equivalent to 570 MT.

As part of a regional VAC initiative, the Swazi VAC is planning to carry out a more extensive vulnerability assessment in late April and early May, using updated hazard information and supported by up to two weeks of nationwide field assessments. This work will verify and modify (where necessary) some of the assumptions underlying this preliminary scenario and will provide stronger analysis of vulnerability and recommendations for future interventions and supporting policy in the more vulnerable areas of the country.

The Swazi VAC has made every effort to ensure the accuracy of the information contained in this report and that the judgments on food availability and food access are realistic. This has been a rapid vulnerability assessment with the objective to provide early warning of livelihood vulnerability. It forecast likely possible outcomes and provides judgments on the broad orders of magnitude of potential vulnerability in the country. They are not the basis for uncorroborated action. This study has been based on secondary data and it is strongly emphasised that agencies and ministries go out to the field to carry out more detailed assessments (e.g. to identify the most vulnerable households for food aid and other humanitarian assistance).

The livelihoods based approach adopted by the Swazi VAC aims to provide relevant information and analysis on food access and livelihoods to various Government Ministries, as well as to international organisations and civil society to early warning, rural development inform strategies, poverty reduction and safety nets programming, and food security policy formulation.

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