HOUSEHOLD ECONOMY ASSESSMENT

Nyanginyami (Kariba Rural) District,
Mashonaland West Province, Zimbabwe

May 2002

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- Kariba District Administrator’s Office
- Nyaminyami Rural District Council (Drought Relief Office)
- Ministry of Health and Child Welfare
- Agritex
- Department of Social Welfare
- Department of Veterinary Services

Our thanks also go to the Department of Social Welfare in Hwange for seconding an officer trained in the Household Economy Approach to participating the assessment.

The assessment could not have taken place without the participation of the Chiefs, Councillors, headmasters and teachers, and especially the communities in Nyaminyami in interviews.
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- Nyaminyami (or Kariba Rural) district is ranked as the least developed district in all of Zimbabwe. The communal lands are mainly classified as natural regions IV and V, and agriculture also suffers from destruction of produce by wildlife from Matusadona Game Park within the district. As of February 2002, 5.9% of children were acutely malnourished, while 34.1% were chronically malnourished.

- This assessment first examined access to food and income and expenditure patterns of different socio-economic groups within 3 “food economy zones” within the district in the year from April 2001 to March 2002, which was a relatively bad year. Food security and the coping strategies employed provide pointers to how people will cope with the serious drought and other problems in 2002-03. The second part of the assessment focused on the likely food security situation in 2002-03 and the need for food aid and other interventions.

- In 2001-02, the main problems faced were reduced food and cash crop production, heavy losses of cattle and donkeys to tsetse-borne trypanosomiasis, and problems with grain availability on the market. These in turn impacted on parallel market prices for maize, on livestock prices and on payment rates for agricultural labour.

- Households adopted a variety of coping mechanisms which enabled them to meet 90%-100% of their minimum food needs. The main coping strategies included:
  - Switching expenditure from non-staple foods, non-food items and services to the purchase of maize
  - Undertaking more piecework and casual labouring. Due to reduced payment rates, this required that more family members - including young children - participate in the work so that the same or more total income could be earned
  - Livestock were sold, and a substantial reduction in livestock holdings was witnessed because of this and because of losses due to disease
  - Consumption of wild foods increased significantly
  - Households in Kasvisva/ Msambakaruma increased their production and sale of crafts
  - Overall, communities became more impoverished over the year, reducing their capacity to cope with a second year of problems. Households affected by HIV/AIDS are amongst the most vulnerable.

- The harvest in 2002 was greatly reduced by drought, with grain production falling to 26% of the average for the 1990s. Cotton was also affected, and this will reduce incomes in the district. Because the drought was not confined to Nyaminyami, the availability of labouring opportunities on farms in neighbouring districts will be greatly reduced, while competition for such work will increase. The limited livestock holdings after last year’s problems will also negatively affect households’ capacity to cope on their own.

- Food aid needs to be provided to the poor group for a 10-month period from June 2002 to March 2003, and for the middle group from September 2002 to March 2003. The food aid could be discontinued if there is a reasonable harvest in 2003. A ration rate equivalent to 1,575 kcal per person per day (75% of minimum needs) is recommended due to the existence of some other coping mechanisms. A 100% ration may be required if GMB deliveries of food to the market prove to be inadequate.

- Further interventions are required to support rehabilitation of agricultural production and prevention of animal diseases.
INTRODUCTION

Kariba rural or Nyaminyami district is ranked as the least developed district in all of Zimbabwe.\(^1\) It is bordered to the west by Lake Kariba, to the south by Binga district, by Gokwe North to the east, and by Hurungwe to the north and north-east. There are no tarred roads in the district, and the unsurfaced roads are subject to serious deterioration during the rainy season. The centre for the district is Siakobvu, where the Nyaminyami Rural District Council offices are housed. The nearest major towns are Karoi and Gokwe, both approximately 3 hours drive away. Due to the state of the roads, it takes 4-5 hours to reach Kariba town. The poor infrastructure makes Nyaminyami one of the most isolated parts of the country.

The district is comprised of one large communal area (CA), Omay, within which the majority of the population live, and two smaller CAs, GacheGache and Kanyati. There is a large game area in the centre of the district, Matusadona Game Park. Those areas closest to the park are particularly prone to crop loss due to wildlife. The district is divided into 15 administrative wards. In Omay, the majority of the population is Tonga, while Kanyati and GacheGache have a mixture of Tonga and Shona.

Most of the land of Nyaminyami is categorised as Natural Regions IV and V, i.e. suitable for semi-extensive and extensive farming only, with low levels of rainfall. Parts of Kanyati fall under NR III, making it the most agriculturally productive part of the district. Generally in Nyaminyami, households rely upon a combination of food and cash crop cultivation, and casual employment in and out of the district. Nyaminyami is a grain-importing area on balance, and local production that is marketed tends to be sold on the local market rather than to external traders. The same principle is true for livestock, which are generally imported into the area and are sold to local buyers on a small scale. For both the crop and livestock markets, Kanyati benefits from higher production and better integration into regional markets than the more remote parts of the district.

Previous research by Save the Children has divided the district into 5 food economy zones. These zones are areas where households obtain their food and cash income through roughly the same combination of means. Two of these zones – Omay Agro-Fishers and GacheGache Agro-Fishers – are mainly dependent on fishing on Lake Kariba, and have not been included in this assessment due to their small populations, and because they tend to be food secure even in drought years. The three other zones – Mola/ Negande, Nebiri/ Msambakaruma/ Kasvisva and Kanyati – are distinguished mainly by levels of agricultural productivity, and by livestock holdings. Tsetse fly is still prevalent in Mola/ Negande, and increasingly in other parts of the district, but this has contributed to keeping Mola and Negande the poorest parts of the district.

Since early 2002, Save the Children (UK) has been distributing food aid on a monthly basis to vulnerable households, including orphans, child-headed households, female-headed households, the elderly and disabled. As of April 2002 the district was included in the WFP programme, with Christian Care targeting most of the rest of the population. The government has also been operating a public works programme on a cash-for-work basis.

\(^1\) UNDP Zimbabwe Human Development Report, 2000
A nutrition survey carried out in the district by SC in February 2002 found a global acute malnutrition (wasting) level of 5.8%, and a chronic malnutrition (stunting) level of 34.1%. Within the district, Mola and Negande were found to be the worst off areas with acute and chronic malnutrition levels of 7.4% and 47.6% respectively.

**Objectives of the Current Research**

Save the Children has collected baseline household economy data for Nyaminyami in 1997, and this was updated in July 2001. The current research is being carried out in response to the severe drought that affected Nyaminyami and much of the rest of the country during the 2001-02 agricultural season. The objective therefore is to assess the likely ability of households in Nyaminyami to access food and income in the marketing year from April 2002 to March 2003, and thereby to assess the need for food aid or other interventions in support of household livelihood security.

**METHODOLOGY**

The overall research process followed the standard sequence as described elsewhere for the Household Economy Approach. Briefly, the process began with a review of secondary data for Nyaminyami and preliminary visits to key informants at Siakobvu and Kariba. Subsequently, 3 assessment teams carried out fieldwork between the 16th and 25th of May in each of the 3 food economy zones in Nyaminyami. Each team was led by a trained HEA practitioner from Save the Children, with 2 additional HEA-trained team members participating from Agritex Kariba, and the Department of Social Welfare in Hwange. The remaining team members were from the Kariba District Administrator’s office, Nyaminyami Rural District Council (Drought Relief Programme) and the Ministry of Health.

2 wards were visited in each of the three FEZs covered. Initial meetings were held with community leaders (traditional chiefs and councillors), during which an overview of the situation in that area was covered, and a revised wealth breakdown was compiled. Leaders then arranged for focus group interviews with households from each of the identified wealth groups during which sources of food and income and expenditure patterns were discussed in detail. The process mainly involved semi-structured interviews based around checklists of subjects, with a variety of PRA-style tools such as ranking, scoring, proportional piling and seasonal calendars being used to assist with quantification and cross-checking of information.

As a baseline for the district was already available, this assessment was concerned with monitoring changes to the baseline, detailing the problems being faced in 2002-03, and assessing households’ capacity to cope with those problems. Interviews focused on the year from April 2001 to March 2002, and then on harvests and other expected changes in the current year. 2001-02 will be presented to indicate how people have coped over the past year, and then an analysis will be given of the effects of drought and other problems this year on households’ ability to access food and income and on the availability of various coping strategies.
MAIN FINDINGS – FOOD SECURITY IN 2001-02

Wealth Breakdown

A wealth breakdown is an exercise carried out with community leaders and key informants to understand socio-economic differences between households with a given food economy zone. It provides a rough outline of livelihood patterns and asset holdings. In the current context, it is important also for understanding the types of households that may need to be targeted by food aid and other interventions.

Wealth Breakdown – Mola/ Negande

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Poor (70 - 80%)</th>
<th>Middle (10-20%)</th>
<th>Better off (5-10%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Livestock owned</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cattle</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goats</td>
<td>1-7</td>
<td>10-15</td>
<td>&gt;15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donkeys</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chickens</td>
<td>2-3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land cultivated</td>
<td>1-2 acres</td>
<td>4-6 acres</td>
<td>10-12 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agric. Labour</td>
<td>Employed locally or in Gokwe</td>
<td>Some employed in bad years</td>
<td>Employ others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children’s Schooling</td>
<td>Primary only</td>
<td>Primary, some secondary</td>
<td>Primary and secondary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average HH Size</td>
<td>10-12</td>
<td>8-10</td>
<td>7-8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With the problems experienced in 2001-02, there has been a marked impoverishment of communities in the Mola/Negande area, and in the other zones of Nyaminyami. Some of the households in the higher wealth groups have joined the lower wealth groups as they have sold off livestock and lost some of their capacity to cultivate. The poor who normally make 45-55% of the population were now said to account for 70–80%. The numbers in the middle and better off groups dropped correspondingly.

Wealth Breakdown – Kasvisva/ Msambakaruma

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>% of Population</th>
<th>Social Welfare</th>
<th>Poor (45-55%)</th>
<th>Middle (15-25%)</th>
<th>Better Off (10-15%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Livestock Owned</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cattle</td>
<td>(Depends on Inheritance)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goats</td>
<td>2-3</td>
<td>0-1</td>
<td>5-10</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheep</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chickens</td>
<td>All have some</td>
<td>All have some</td>
<td>All have some</td>
<td>All have some</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land Available</td>
<td>12 acres</td>
<td>12 acres</td>
<td>12 acres</td>
<td>12 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of which, cotton</td>
<td>1 acres</td>
<td>1-3 acres</td>
<td>4-8 acres</td>
<td>&gt;12 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agric Labour</td>
<td>Local/ Gokwe</td>
<td>Local/ Gokwe</td>
<td>Local/ Gokwe in bad years only</td>
<td>Employ others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children’s Schooling</td>
<td>Some to Grade 7</td>
<td>Some to Grade 7</td>
<td>All to Grade 7, some to secondary</td>
<td>All complete primary and secondary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average HH Size</td>
<td>Very variable (5?)</td>
<td>7-8</td>
<td>7-8</td>
<td>8-9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The wealth breakdown for Kasvisva/ Msambakaruma differed from the other zones in that a fourth wealth group was identified – the “social welfare” category. Otherwise, similar trends to the other zones were found, i.e. increasing numbers of people were falling into lower wealth groups, and the livestock holdings of each group had declined due to disease and de-stocking last year.

The “Social Welfare” category could arguably be labelled the “HIV/ AIDS -affected”. The majority of those included under this category are orphans living on their own (child-headed households, or households of siblings with the eldest being an adult), children living with grandparents, widows and elderly people living on their own. Households headed by disabled people are included here. The group is quite heterogenous in this respect, but the common thread is having either only one or no able-bodied adults within the household. Livestock holdings are largely dependent upon inheritance, and therefore vary significantly.

Although separate interviews were held with this group, it was found that these households’ sources of food and income and their expenditure patterns were not sufficiently similar to one another’s to be presented separately in the sections that follow. Different households had livelihood patterns very similar to any one of the other groups, apparently depending on the group in which they were before the loss of either or both adult. A recently-deceased man may have left his family with many livestock, and that family may be able to continue cultivating a relatively large amount of land as they can afford to employ additional labour. However, the key differentiating factor between HIV/AIDS-affected households and others within a particular category is that their capacity to cope with any shock is severely compromised by not having additional labour of their own to rely on. Most of the coping strategies discussed further on in this report are dependent on being able to call on additional members of the family to take on extra tasks, either productive or domestic, but this is often not possible when an adult has been lost.

**Wealth Breakdown - Kanyati**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Poor</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>Better off</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% of population</td>
<td>70-85%</td>
<td>10-15%</td>
<td>2-5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livestock Owned</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Cattle</td>
<td>0-2</td>
<td>0-2</td>
<td>Most 0-5; some up to 20 if not affected by disease</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Goats</td>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>3-6</td>
<td>3-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Chickens</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8-10</td>
<td>8-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land Owned</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land cultivated</td>
<td>12 acres</td>
<td>12 acres</td>
<td>12 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- 2 acres</td>
<td>2 acres</td>
<td>3-4 acres</td>
<td>5-6 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agric. Inputs</td>
<td>Worked for inputs</td>
<td>Bought on credit</td>
<td>Cash and credit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agric. Labour</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Worked in neighbouring district – Hurungwe</td>
<td>Some worked in neighbouring district – Hurungwe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>All groups sent children to primary and secondary levels</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average HH Size</td>
<td>7-8</td>
<td>7-8</td>
<td>7-8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kanyati is considered the wealthiest zone in Nyaminyami. However, the wealth breakdown for Kanyati for the year 2002 has seen a shift in terms of the numbers of people in each of the three wealth groups, in comparison to the baseline year. Kanyati
experienced two consecutive bad agricultural seasons (2000-01 and 2001–02). However, the 2001-2002 season has been described as even worse than the previous one. During average agricultural seasons in Kanyati, the middle and better off farmers have surplus yields.

Kanyati used to enjoy larger livestock holding than the other FEZs. However since early last year, cattle have been succumbing to trypanosomiasis (caused by tsetse fly) and this trend continued up to the time of the current assessment. Most farmers lost nearly 80% of their cattle herds while others especially those near the game area have lost all their cattle. This in turn affected crop harvests, as draught power was lacking.

The changes in crop yields and animal holding have meant that some households have slipped from the middle or better off groups down to the poor group. The poor group now accounts for 70–85% of the total population, compared to 55-65% in the baseline year. This has always been the largest group and the most vulnerable to food insecurity. The middle group has decreased from the range of 25–35% to 10–15%, as some of the households have moved to the poor wealth group. The same applies to the better off group as it also decreased in size as some of the households have shifted to the middle group. The better off are now about 2-5% of the total population instead of 5–15% previously.

**Sources of Food**

Each of the graphs below shows the percentage of minimum household food needs (defined as 2,100 kcal per person per day) that each of the wealth groups was able to meet in the twelve months between April 2001 and March 2002.

**Mola/ Negande**

![Sources of Food, 2001-02: Mola/ Negande](image)

All of the wealth groups were able to source only 90-95% of their minimum food needs over the last year. This was in part due to the relatively poor harvests, but other
shocks that affected access to food last year included a 350% - 400% increase in the price of maize on the parallel market, and reductions in the payment rates for casual labour/piecework and in the relative price of livestock. In other bad years, the most important coping strategies have been increasing the amount of piecework undertaken on other people’s farms (mainly for the poor, but also for the middle), and selling livestock to raise cash to buy food (mainly for the better off and middle, who own more animals). Last year, there was increased reliance mainly on wild foods, bartering and purchase.

**Crop Production**

Harvests in 2001 were substantially reduced by erratic weather, with a mid-season dry spell being followed by very heavy rains in February and March. The lost crop production accounted for approximately 20% of minimum food needs for all groups, hence for example the middle got 30-35% of their food last year from their own crops, compared to 50-55% of their food in a normal or average year.

**Purchase**

Purchasing food using income from various sources was the single most important way of accessing food for the poor and middle groups, accounting for roughly 40% and 35% of minimum food needs respectively. Although more food was purchased than in an average year, there were significant changes in the types of food purchased. Maize grain dominated food purchases, with very few other types of food being purchased. All groups – even the better off - had to cut back on their purchases of items such as cooking oil, sugar, flour, fish and meat, which were already extremely limited for the poor. This has led to a marked lack of diversity in people’s diets.

The poor maize harvest was exacerbated later in the year by the effects of national food shortages. In Mola there were some problems with maize availability, but for most of the time the main problem was the very high prices rather than a lack of maize on the market. The GMB only opened a sales point in Mola in April 2002, therefore most maize had to be purchased at parallel market prices.

**Wild Foods & Hunting**

The collection of wild foods and the hunting of game are normally important ways of getting food for the poor. Quantifying this source of food is difficult, as nutritional values are not available for all types of wild foods consumed, and also because hunting/poaching is an illegal activity and therefore people are reluctant to provide details on it. However, in 2001-02, the importance of this source for the poor was reported to have increased, and we would estimate that it accounted for up to 15% of food needs. The middle and better off also expanded on the use of wild foods as a coping strategy.

Both the quantity and types of wild foods consumed differed last year. Where they were available, people gathered more of wild foods that are normally consumed, such
as *busika* (tamarind) and *chisyungwa*. However, they also consumed more roots, tubers and wild grasses as substitutes for staple grains. The consumption of some of these is considered as a distress strategy, as they require repeated boiling to stop them from being poisonous. Normally, wild leaves and fruits are consumed mainly as relish or as snacks, rather than forming main meals as they did last year.

**Bartering**

In Mola, most bartering was in the form of livestock, especially goats and chickens, for grain. In a normal year goats would mainly be sold for cash, and the cash earned could purchase the equivalent of 60kg of maize (3 buckets). This year, there was a greater emphasis on direct exchange for maize. However, because of the shortages and the high price of maize, the exchange value of 1 goat dropped to 20kg (1 bucket). Just under 5% of minimum food needs were accessed by all groups through this mechanism.

**Labour Exchange**

Agricultural piecework and local casual labouring can be both a source of food and a source of cash for households in Mola and elsewhere in Nyaminyami. The peak seasons for agricultural work are during the cotton picking months (May to July) and during the weeding period (December/ January – late February). In Mola, working on others’ farms is less important than in other parts of the district, partly because low production even in normal years means little work is available locally, but also because of the long distances to more productive areas in Gokwe where employment opportunities are usually more common.

This year there was only a marginal increase in the value of labouring both as a source of food and as a source of income for the poor and middle groups in Mola. This was less to do with the limited availability of such work in the area, than to do with the reduction in payment rates. In relatively poor agricultural years, such as 2001-02, more people tend to seek this type of work, while opportunities for employment at best remain unchanged but often decrease. This pushes payment rates down, with the rate in early 2002 falling to as low as 5kg for 1 day’s work, down from a normal level of up to 20kg. Hence for the contribution of labour exchange to have increased marginally actually meant a significant increase in the amount of time spent doing this work and/or an increase in the number of household members getting involved in it. Whereas 1 person could earn 1 bucket of maize in 1 day in 2000-01, in early 2002 it took up to 4 days for 1 person to earn the same amount, or alternatively it took 4 people working together 1 day to earn that bucket of maize.

Cash payments were more common during the cotton picking season, when most families had some grain stocks of their own and therefore preferred to receive cash. But there was a marked shift towards payment in food in early 2002, as maize became very scarce on the open market and it became more convenient to work directly for food from those households who still had some stocks left.
**Own Animals**

The products of households’ animal holdings were only significant for the better off group. This group slaughtered a number of goats, the meat from which contributed up to 5% of minimum food needs. As there are very few cattle in this part of the district, milk production was not significant.

**Food Aid**

Save the Children (UK) provided rations of maize meal, cooking oil and beans to 5,000 people on a monthly basis from December 2001 onwards. These rations were targeted at “Social Welfare cases” (i.e. orphans, widows, elderly and disabled). As the number targeted was relatively small, food aid did not contribute more than 5% of food needs for any wealth group. It was interesting to note that some interviewees in all wealth groups reported that they or their family members received food from SC. It appears that although the Social Welfare registers are supposed to include only those within households that are poor, some elderly people and widows who were better off or had support from able-bodied family members were also included.

The larger WFP-supported food aid programme by Christian Care only began in April 2002, and therefore was not considered in last year’s food sources.

**Sources of Food – Kasvisva/ Msambakaruma**

![Sources of Food, 2001-02, Kasvisva](image)

Households in Kasvisva and Msambakaruma were found to have met 90-95% of their minimum food needs last year. The means of accessing food were largely the same as in Mola, though the relative contributions of each source is somewhat different. Consistent with its status as a relatively more agriculturally productive area, households in all but the poor group produced more from their own fields than
corresponding households in Mola. The poor, middle and better off produced enough to meet approximately 20-25%, 40% and 65-70% of their needs respectively.

Another significant difference with Mola and with the situation during the baseline year, is the large contribution made by labour exchange. In this area, many people were able to undertake piecework on farms in nearby Gokwe district, where agricultural production in 2001 was quite good and therefore there were many employment opportunities. This contributed almost 25% of minimum food needs for both the poor (who would normally undertake this type of work) and the middle (who only do this work in bad years). This is only a small increase over the 15-20% that piecework contributed to the poor’s needs in the baseline year, but is more than double the 10-15% contribution to the middle group’s needs during the baseline year. This would be consistent with the poor not having much extra time or labour to enable them to expand this type of work in a bad year.

Due to the maize shortages, payments were mainly in the form of grain rather than cash. As in Mola, payment rates dropped very significantly during the year, reaching the same low levels as in Mola (as low as 5kg for an average day’s work). The low payment rate meant that many families brought extra household members to the fields to work, with children as young as 6 years old being reported to have gone to work with their parents. Although the children could contribute relatively little, all those who worked were provided with lunch on the farm on which they were employed, and this was often the main meal of the day for the children.

There were some other small differences with Mola. For example, the contribution of own animal products to food needs for the better off came partly from milk, in addition to slaughtered goats. Bartering was less important in Kasvisva than in Mola, and the commodity bartered was mainly a wild tuber called *manyeme*, which was available around July/August. Food aid was quite insignificant for all groups, with the poor only getting less than 5% of their needs from Save the Children’s programme.

The increased consumption of wild foods last year compared to the baseline year was very noticeable in this zone, and similar foods were consumed as were described for Mola.

A concerning factor, not brought out by the figures so far, is the decreasing diversity in the food basket being consumed by all groups, but especially by the poor. Maize is by far the most important foodstuff in terms of contributions to energy requirements. Wild foods and the produce from gardens add micronutrients and palatability to meals, but there is now a real lack of high-protein foods such as fish, beans and groundnuts in diets. More expensive foodstuffs such as cooking oil, sugar, meat, milk and bread are almost completely absent from food baskets.
**Sources of Food - Kanyati**

Detailed interviews were only held with the poor and middle groups in Kanyati, as the “better off” population was so small (approximately 200 people). Both of those groups were able to access slightly in excess of 100% of their minimum food needs last year. Own crop production accounted for a similar proportion of needs for both groups as in Kasvisva, but was roughly half of the level of the baseline year. In Kanyati, households also produced a more diverse range of crops. Maize and other grains were still the most significant in terms of energy provided, but there were also significant amounts of sweet potatoes and groundnuts produced.

For the poor, bridging the deficit caused by reduced crop production meant mainly increasing wild food consumption – though not to the same extent as in other zones - and receiving gifts of food from relatives, while food aid and the consumption of animal products also added to the food basket. The latter, however, was due to very negative reasons. Due to the devastating effect of tsetse fly on cattle herds in this area, many people pre-emptively slaughtered cattle and consumed the meat. This is something that the poor and middle would ordinarily never do, and the contribution of the meat to food needs was at a very high cost.

As with the other zones, the contribution of purchased food to minimum needs increased particularly for the middle, and maize was the dominant commodity in the purchased food basket. This is in contrast to average or normal years, when a more diverse range of goods is bought.
Sources of Income

The graph below shows the total amount of cash (in Z$) earned by each of the wealth groups between April 2001 and March 2002 in the 3 food economy zones assessed.

As with the baseline year, there are clear trends in terms of income differences between wealth groups and between the 3 food economy zones. Within each zone, incomes increase from the poor to the middle to the better off. Meanwhile, the poor in Kanyati earn more than the poor in Kasvisva, who in turn earn more than the poor in Mola. It is interesting to note that although the Z$ income levels are consistently higher than in the baseline years of 1997/98 and 1998/99, they have not even come close to keeping pace with inflation, which reached 122.5% in the twelve months to the end of May 2002 alone.

The table below shows the percentages of total income earned from various sources for each wealth group in each zone.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Sources</th>
<th>Poor</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>Better Off</th>
<th>Poor</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>Better Off</th>
<th>Poor</th>
<th>Middle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Food Crop Sales</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0-5%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash Crop Sales</td>
<td>30-35%</td>
<td>35-40%</td>
<td>75-80%</td>
<td>3-5%</td>
<td>40-45%</td>
<td>65-70%</td>
<td>3-7%</td>
<td>35-45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vegetable Sales</td>
<td>5-10%</td>
<td>15-20%</td>
<td>5-8%</td>
<td>0-5%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0-3%</td>
<td>0-3%</td>
<td>0-5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sale of Livestock</td>
<td>5-10%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>8-12%</td>
<td>2-5%</td>
<td>15-20%</td>
<td>20-25%</td>
<td>2-5%</td>
<td>8-12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agric Labour</td>
<td>15-20%</td>
<td>0-3%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>65-75%</td>
<td>20-25%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>3-7%</td>
<td>2-5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casual Labour</td>
<td>20-30%</td>
<td>40-50%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>13-17%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>65-75%</td>
<td>30-40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>3-7%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brewing</td>
<td>10-15%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crafts</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>2-5%</td>
<td>10-15%</td>
<td>3-7%</td>
<td>2-5%</td>
<td>2-5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Works</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>2-5%</td>
<td>2-5%</td>
<td>2-5%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>3-7%</td>
<td>3-7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remittances</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>3-7%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Average Z$ Annual Income</strong></td>
<td><strong>12,513</strong></td>
<td><strong>13,750</strong></td>
<td><strong>55,670</strong></td>
<td><strong>15,350</strong></td>
<td><strong>22,560</strong></td>
<td><strong>35,775</strong></td>
<td><strong>20,003</strong></td>
<td><strong>41,200</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Crop Sales

The contribution of food crop sales to total income dropped to zero for almost all groups last year. In an average year, the better off in all areas normally produce a small surplus of maize or groundnuts for sale. However, with the drop in production last year this proved not to be possible.

Cash crop sales were much more significant across the district, and cotton accounts for almost all of this income. Cotton was less affected by the climatic conditions in 2001 than food crops, and so the contribution to total income was not significantly reduced. The poor and the middle tended to produce 1-2 bales, while the better off could produce an average of 5-7 bales. The middle and better off tend to benefit from access to input credit schemes from Cottco, which enables them to get fertiliser and chemicals that they would not be able to afford on their own.

The sale of vegetables from gardens is undertaken by households from almost all wealth groups across the district. The vegetables, cultivated in gardens near water points or on streambanks, are mainly sold from June to August. However, because so many people grow vegetables either for consumption or for sale, the market is very limited and therefore this activity contributes only a small amount to total income.

Livestock Sales

The sale of livestock – particularly goats and cattle – normally contributes in the region of 10-20% of household income for the middle and better off households in all three zones. Last year, the figures were roughly unchanged. In some ways this is surprising as livestock sales are often cited as an important coping strategy in difficult times. There are two main reasons for this. First, the loss of cattle due to trypanosomiasis and tick-borne diseases during the year was reported to have been substantial, and therefore there were fewer animals to sell. Second, the cash prices for animals decreased marginally, but the real prices relative to the price of maize fell to between 20% and 33% of normal levels due to the maize shortage. This encouraged many people to barter their livestock directly for maize, rather than selling them for cash. Hence this source of income must be viewed in conjunction with the bartering of livestock referred to under “Sources of Food”.

Agricultural and Casual Labour

There was a lot of variation in the contribution of different labouring activities to income across wealth groups and across food economy zones. As in a normal year, the better off do not engage in labouring. However, the middle group use labouring as a coping strategy in bad years, hence the contribution of this source to total income was much higher last year compared to the baseline year. For the poor, labouring is a normal part of their livelihoods, but they often try to expand on it in a bad year.
Agricultural labour has been described under “sources of food”, and it is worth noting again that many people chose to be paid directly in food rather than in cash for this type of work, particularly in the early months of 2002.

Casual labouring involves a variety of activities such as hut construction, brick-making and fencing. It is mainly undertaken by men during the dry season. In parts of Kanyati and Mola, the data for income from casual labour is unusually high because a number of substantial construction projects were undertaken in the wards assessed in the last year, for example school and clinic construction. These caused a large number of people to be able to earn money through brick-making (which paid about Z$650 for 1,000 bricks) and other related work. However it is unlikely that similar work would be available every year, and therefore this may not be a coping strategy that could be regularly relied upon.

*Other Sources of Income*

A variety of other means of earning income were employed during the last year. Brewing normally provides 10-20% of the income for the poor in Mola and Kasvisva, and smaller amounts for other wealth groups. But this year because grain was in short supply and because the price made it so valuable, there was little used in brewing.

Petty trade and remittances were also largely insignificant across the district, as was the case in the baseline year. It should be noted, however, that the tourist industry in Nyaminyami suffered over the last year from declining business and a number of lodges (such as Bumi Hills) ceased business.

Nonetheless, contrary to what might be expected, there was a definite improvement in the market for Tonga crafts, apparently unrelated to tourism. Buyers have been coming from Harare and as far as South Africa to purchase baskets, mats and pots on quite a regular basis over the last year. Kasvisva, Msambakaruma and parts of Kanyati (which are on the main road from Karoi) benefited most from this. The traders apparently also travelled through neighbouring Binga district, which also reported an increase in demand for crafts this year.
Expenditure Patterns

How people earned their total income last year has been described in the previous section. This section discusses how that income was spent. In referring to expenditure on basic services such as education and healthcare, changes in households’ abilities to access these services will also be discussed.

Expenditure in Mola

The graphs below show the proportions of total household income spent on various food and non-food items and services.

Expenditure by Category, Mola, 2001-02

It is clear that spending on food dominated total expenditure for all groups. Just under 80%, 65% and 50% of the income of the poor, middle and better off respectively was spent on food. The breakdown between staple (i.e. maize) and non-staple foods (such as oil, sugar, bread) is also important to note. For the poor and middle, maize was very dominant, whereas the better off bought a more varied food basket. These trends are similar to the baseline year, but in that year spending on food accounted for roughly half the amount that it did last year.

This illustrates two important points in the sequencing of coping strategies. First, as food production and income declines, more money is spent initially on foodstuffs at the expense of other goods and services. Second, more money is spent on maize at the expense of other foodstuffs.

In comparison with the baseline year, the items on which expenditure was cut were mainly clothing, household items (blankets, utensils, etc.), soap, fuel, beer and tobacco. Households were either willing to forego these items entirely or defer expenditure on them (for example by using the same clothes for another year), or they cut them down to a bare minimum. In the case of soap, for example, many poor households in all three zones reported purchasing one bar of soap per week to cover all bathing and laundry requirements.
Spending on services such as healthcare and education did not seem to change significantly between the baseline year and last year. However it must be remembered that such spending was very limited initially anyway. As there are no fees for consultations, most healthcare costs relate to transport to the clinics or hospitals for referral. It is only in very serious cases that people will spend the necessary money to send people to hospital. Furthermore, the lack of drugs and other basic supplies available in many clinics meant that many people felt it was not worthwhile to seek treatment there.

For education, many primary school children received support from the BEAM programme (Basic Education Assistance Module), which is important in enabling them to afford to go to school. Other costs relating to stationery and sports/building levies still had to be paid by parents, however. Expenditure on education increases substantially when a family sends a child to secondary school, where there are fees, uniforms, stationery and transport or boarding costs to bear. Only the middle and the better off households could afford to send one or more children to secondary school.

**Expenditure - Kasvisva**

In keeping with its somewhat better agricultural position, spending in Kasvisva/Msambakaruma was less dominated by food, with a greater portion being spent on basic households items such as soap and fuel. Foodstuffs accounted for approximately 60% of total spending for the poor, and 25-30% for the middle and better off. In this area, people earned more food directly through agricultural labouring, which may also account in part for the lower food expenditure in comparison with Mola. There was an increase in the proportions spent on maize by all groups compared to the baseline year, and a decrease in the amount spent on non-staple foods.
For the poor, the two main items on which expenditure was cut because of the increased need to buy food were transport and agricultural inputs. Many people reported that they were unable to afford to purchase certified seed last year. This had a negative impact on production this year, and is something that must be addressed in the coming season also. “Transport” expenditure was mainly accounted for by visits to relative, or by visits to towns like Karoi; all households had cut back on this.

Among the middle and better off, there were also cuts made in spending on beer and tobacco. Spending on agricultural inputs, healthcare and education did not change significantly.

**Expenditure - Kanyati**

The effect of the decline in agricultural production in 2001 was very visible in the changing expenditure patterns of households in Kanyati. In a normal year, only the poor have to purchase maize, and even then they only spend 10-15% of their income on maize, with an additional 20-25% spent on non-staple foods. In 2001-02, maize purchases accounted for almost 55% of total spending, while non-staple foods accounted for only 5%. The other items on which cutbacks were made to facilitate increased spending on food were household items, clothing, agricultural inputs, transport and beer/tobacco.

For the middle, total food expenditure as a proportion of income doubled compared to the baseline year, with the purchase of maize grain accounting for the increase. The main cutbacks were in spending on agricultural inputs (mainly certified seed and fertiliser) and on beer/tobacco.
PROBLEMS IN 2002/03 AND CAPACITY TO COPE

2001-02 was undoubtedly a below average year for food security in Nyaminyami, mainly due to the relatively poor harvests, the death of livestock due to tsetse-borne disease and due to the maize shortages and prices rises that occurred in the early months of 2002. All of these factors look set to be present again in 2002-03 to a greater or lesser extent. In year-ranking exercises carried out in the current assessment, interviewees consistently ranked 2002-03 as being as bad as, if not worse than 1992. Agricultural production levels are not unlike those of 1992, however there are the additional problems this year of neighbouring districts also being affected (reducing migrational labour opportunities), of livestock dying from disease, and of limited amounts of food being available on the market.

This section describes what we already know of the situation in 2002, and then based on experience in previous years we can examine the likely implications for food security in the period until the next harvest in April 2003.

Grain Production

As in much of the rest of Zimbabwe, agricultural production in Nyaminyami was severely affected by the drought which occurred between January and March 2002. Total production of grain (maize, sorghum and millet) in Nyaminyami was estimated in the national 2nd round crop forecast to have been 1,077 MT. Given a population estimate for Nyaminyami for 2002 of 40,827, this translates into 26.4 kg per person for the year, or 12.5% of minimum energy requirements. The graph below places grain production this year in context by comparing with other years:
This year’s grain harvest, therefore, is only 26% of the average level of the 1990s.

The perennial problem of crop destruction by wild animals, particularly in wards around Matusadona Game Park, also negatively affected production this year.

These figures were verified by the primary data collected for this assessment. There were some differences within the district. Mola/ Negande was the worst affected area, with most households harvesting nothing at all, and some with plots on streambanks only harvesting one 50kg sack. In Kasvisva/ Msambakaruma, the poor harvested an average of 50-100kg of grain, while the better off harvested 300-400kg. Kanyati was slightly less affected than other parts of the district, having received higher rainfall levels. Production by poor households in Kanyati was also 50-100kg, while the better off produced up to 750kg

**Cash Crop Production**

Cotton is very important as a source of income in Nyaminyami. At an estimated of total output of 2,448 MT this year, production was at 70% of last year’s level. Although this is not as bad as the situation for food crops, it is still a substantial decline.

It is also important to note that this drop in output occurred as a result of an increase in hectarage planted combined with a substantial decline in yields per hectare. As there are relatively fixed input costs per hectare (estimated at around Z$8,000 last season), the profitability of cotton declined more than would be suggested by the output figures. Cargill Cotton was offering prices of between Z$39/ kg and Z$42/ kg for Grade C to A quality cotton. Grade C was said to be the most common quality this year. This means that 1 bale (roughly 200kg) of cotton would have to be produced per hectare for cotton farmers just to break even. Most of the middle and better-off households who produced cotton estimated that they had harvested 1 to 3 bales. This would give a net income of Z$0 to Z$15,600. With the high cost of maize, this will be totally inadequate to buy the household’s maize requirements, let alone pay for other goods and services. At parallel market prices this could buy a maximum of 3 months’ worth of maize, or 7 months’ worth at controlled prices (though very limited amounts are available at controlled prices).

**Livestock**

The drop in livestock holdings was discussed earlier in the wealth breakdown. There are two main reasons for the reduction in livestock holdings. The first is the increase in cases of trypanosomiasis, which is related to a breakdown in tsetse fly control measures. Although the tsetse traps observed along the main road through Kasvisva were observed to have been reasonably well maintained over the past year, there were no traps to be seen anywhere off the main road. Cattle and donkeys were affected by this, with deaths peaking in mid-2001. Even the control herd kept by the

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2 This population estimate is provided by FEWS-NET, and is based on the 1992 census figures with a derived population growth rate. FEWS-NET’s estimates are the most widely used figures, including by WFP and the UN.
government’s Tsetse Control Unit died. The situation improved towards the end of 2001, partly due to the use of stronger medication. Tick-borne diseases such as gull sickness and red-water were also reported by the Veterinary Services department to be common.

The loss of cattle and donkeys to disease has greatly reduced the availability of draught power in the district, which will limit agricultural production in the next season. It has also reduced the number of animals available to households for sale as a coping strategy.

Sales or exchange of animals, particularly goats, as a means of coping with the food problems in 2001-02 has also meant that there are limited holdings available for sale in 2002-03. Goats are also affected by internal parasites and by a disease locally known as “chikwekwe”. Owners of small animals are less likely to seek treatment for these animals mainly due to the expense involved.

There is a downward spiral affecting livestock and livelihoods. Livestock sales and death from disease mean less income from sales and less draught power in future, which means lower production and less ability to pay for veterinary treatment, which leads to more deaths and a need to sell more animals to cope.

Animal prices relative to maize prices have also fallen sharply compared to normal years. A goat can now be exchanged for only 1 bucket of maize (20kg), while a bull can raise enough cash to buy 300-400kg. Only the better off groups in all three zones have enough livestock to bridge their maize deficit at these terms of trade, and even then only if they sold their draught animals.

**Agricultural Labour**

Unlike in some other bad years, agricultural production in 2002 has also been affected in the parts of neighbouring Gokwe North district, where many of those in Nyaminyami go to seek piecework employment.

As was seen earlier, there were real limits to how expandable this option was last year, even though last year was significantly better than the current year. Payment rates plummeted to anything from 16-33% of normal levels, and almost every available family member in some households, including children, was required to participate in this work.

It appears unlikely that payment rates could decline much further, but the availability of this type of work will be much less while more people will compete for what is available. It was said that those who do agricultural labour every year are better positioned to get what little work will be available, as employers will know and trust them from their previous experience. The middle group, which only seeks this work in bad years, therefore, may not be able to use this as a coping strategy.

**Food Availability**
During the assessment period (May 2002), the availability of maize grain was not as serious a problem as in some other parts of the country. The GMB has made efforts to increase the number of selling points in the district, and the combination of GMB supplies and much more expensive private supplies seems to be meeting demand at present. However, in the month after the harvest this should be the case anyway. What is questionable is how long that situation can continue for. Nyaminyami will certainly benefit until July or August from the supplies available in Gokwe and Hurungwe districts, but after that availability will depend on the GMB’s ability to import grain. Given the very limited total amounts imported into the country in early 2002 (100,000 MT during a 3-month period when requirements were 450,000 MT), and the government’s precarious financial situation, it must be assumed that absolute food shortages will occur again later this year. Any targeted food aid programmes will need to make contingency plans for a situation where even those with purchasing power will not be able to access grain.

Main Coping Strategies, Availability and Costs

Already it has been possible to illustrate some of the coping mechanisms used by households in Nyaminyami by comparing their access to food and income and their expenditure patterns last year with the baseline year. The main methods of coping were:

- To reduce spending on and consumption of non-staple foods and non-food items
- To increase the number of household members involved in agricultural labour, and to do more such labour when it is available
- To increase consumption of wild foods, including “famine foods”
- To increase the sale or slaughter of livestock

The limitation to the expansion of livestock sales and agricultural labour have been detailed already in the sections above. The consumption of wild foods could continue to be important. However it is unlikely to be able to provide a significantly greater portion of household food requirements than it did last year. There are a number of reasons for this. First, more households and more wild animals will be competing for the available stock of wild foods. This may not result in less being collected per household, but will certainly have costs in terms of greater amounts of time being spent by household members to find the foods. Second, drought also affects the availability of many wild foods, which again will make it harder to find such foods.

In addition to these, many households last year also took advantage of the improved opportunities for casual labouring and for selling crafts. These are not strictly coping strategies, as their availability and use was not very related to the food security situation in the district and the needs of the households. Crafts may be important again in the coming year, and there is no reason to believe that the value of this source of income should change. The importance of casual labouring, however, was mainly linked to once-off construction projects last year, and therefore is unlikely to be as important in 2002-03.

3 There was a marked contrast in the situation between Nyaminyami and neighbouring Binga district, for example. The latter still receives very limited supplies from the GMB.
Fishing along Lake Kariba was mentioned in Mola as a possible coping strategy, and it is certainly one that was used in neighbouring Binga district last year. There does seem to be scope for increasing income from this activity, although the cost of fishing equipment, the illegal nature of the activity, and the sometimes limited access to the lakeshore all hinder its use.

It is clear that there will be very few options available for expanding access to food or income in the coming year. Experience from 1992 corroborates this. In that year people spent more time doing things like gathering wild foods and doing agricultural labour, but for the same reasons mentioned above (limited availability and declining payment rates), the total amount of food or income accessed by these means did not increase; people had to do more to get the same amounts.

School-teachers reported that a number of older girls had resorted either to prostitution, or had been married off at an early age so that their families could get lobola. Both of these are very harmful for the children involved, especially prostitution with the high risk of exposure to HIV.

In the absence of an ability to cope positively, households are likely to try to stretch their existing resources, and re-prioritise spending. A detailed investigation was made into what food and non-food items would be sequentially cut out of households’ consumption baskets as resources became more and more limited. The rough sequence of cutbacks (which, as can be seen from the discussion on 2001-02, has already started happening for many), is as follows:

1. Sugar and cooking oil (other purchased foods such as meat and bread had already been cut out of diets)
2. Beer and tobacco
3. Clothing and blankets (old items are simply not replaced, and people keep warm by burning firewood)
4. School Fees (see below for more discussion)
5. Visiting relatives (“we don’t visit people when we or they are hungry”)

There was a lot of agreement between and within interviews on the sequence so far. There was also agreement on certain essentials which could not be cut out of expenditure, namely maize, salt and soap. However, there was a lot of debate about a number of other items:

- Grinding: some argued that it was better to save money by pounding maize rather than bringing it to the grinding mill, but others argued that pounding by hand results in too much wastage in comparison to milling.
- Seed and agricultural inputs: some felt that these were essential for future productivity, but others felt that in hard times they have to worry about current needs now, and future needs later, and that therefore they would just use retained seeds instead of purchased, certified seed.
- Healthcare: some felt that healthcare was essential, while others felt that they would just have to cope with illness on their own, or would try to use traditional remedies.

Overall it is clear that without outside support the current crisis could have very high costs not only in terms of food access, but also in terms of reduced future productivity.
(from sale or death of draught power, inability to purchase inputs, and the need to
sacrifice work on own fields to earn food or income elsewhere), reduced access to
education, reduced access to healthcare, and increased abuse of children.

**Interactions between Food Security and HIV/AIDS**

There are a number of key points to be highlighted relating to the specific problems of
HIV/AIDS-affected families, and relating to how food security and HIV/AIDS
interact in other ways.

For HIV/AIDS-affected families, the main problem this year will be that their
capacity to cope with problems will be limited by the loss of able-bodied family
members. In the first place, their problems may be worse anyway because an income-
earer may have been lost, or because the number of dependants being supported has
increased. But given that situation, when things are worsened by additional shocks
such as drought, those households cannot take advantage of many coping strategies
available to other households because they simply do not have the time to do extra
activities. The livelihoods of the few HIV/AIDS-affected households interviewed for
this assessment appeared in a normal year to very much resemble the livelihoods of an
unaffected family in a bad year; they do not have additional coping capacity.

Food insecurity and poor nutrition within a household with HIV+ members tends to
speed up the progression from HIV to AIDS, while malnutrition combined with HIV/
AIDS can lead to an increase in the incidence and severity of opportunistic infection.
HIV+ people have greater energy requirements (10-15% above normal) and also
require a somewhat different diet, with an emphasis on micronutrients that help
strengthen the immune system and fight infections. As has been shown, in
Nyaminyami there has been a marked decrease in the diversity of diets, and as food
insecurity worsens, the total amount of food access is likely to decline further.

Increasing food insecurity may also increase the spread of HIV/AIDS, as a number of
important coping strategies involve high-risk behaviour. This is most obvious in the
case of prostitution, but a less obvious case is agricultural labour and other migratory
activities. As people move farther afield in search of employment opportunities,
adults may spend more time away from their families and this is often associated with
an increase in HIV transmission.

**Impact of the Current Crisis on Children**

It is clear that children will be among the worst affected by the current crisis, with
their rights in a number of areas likely to be disregarded.

In terms of access to food, it is true that children are physiologically more vulnerable
to malnutrition and diseases in hard times. The assessment could not conclude on
whether children would be specifically disadvantaged in terms of access to food

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within the household. Most interviewees said that children were prioritised when food was limited, and there was disagreement with the common assertion that men are prioritised. This was only discussed in brief and therefore cannot be confirmed.

However, it is very clear that children will be affected in a number of other ways. Children are already contributing to food- and income-earning activities, and their roles increase as food shortages worsen. All children normally assist in cultivation, particularly in activities such as weeding, bird/ wildlife-scaring and harvesting. Children of both sexes from as young as 6 were reported to be taking part in piecework employment. Boys and girls are also required to assist in the collection of wild foods. Young boys assist with the herding of cattle, while young girls also play an important role in the sale of vegetables and other petty trading activities.

In addition, girls have many responsibilities in the home. Younger girls look after infants, sweep around the household, fetch water and firewood and wash up plates and dishes, while older girls do additional tasks such as cooking and taking maize for grinding. The burden on girls increases in turn as mothers are required to spend more time labouring and doing other activities to earn food and income. This has implications for the quality of care given to young children.

Regarding education, although there were limited drop-outs reported over the last year (which was attributed by teachers and parents to the assistance from BEAM and from food aid programmes), it is likely that as hunger increases and as the demands on children increase, that reduced attendance and drop-outs will increase. Parents were asked about how they decide which children to withdraw from school first in hard times. Three types of explanations, all with underlying economic rationales, were given by different parents:
1. Those who are further advanced either in primary or secondary education will be removed last, as a greater investment had been made and their parents wanted them to complete their exams.
2. Those who perform poorly academically will be removed first, as it is less worthwhile spending money on their education
3. Girls would be removed before boys (irrespective of their Grade or academic performance), because “a boy’s learning benefits the whole family, but a girl will soon get married and so her education will only benefit another family”.

CONCLUSIONS

Most of the people of Nyaminyami were livelihood insecure, if not food insecure, in 2001-02. Some were able to meet their minimum food needs, but this was at the expense of selling off many assets and foregoing other basic goods. There was also a sharp decline in the diversity of diets, as households focused on accessing maize. The reduced harvest was a problem in itself, but it was exacerbated by the loss of many animals to disease and later by the massive increase in maize prices.

An earlier and greater supply of food aid would have assisted people to meet their minimum food and non-food needs.
In the year to April 2003, the problems look set to be much worse than those in 2001-02. Harvests of food crops have declined to approximately 26% of the average level of the 1990s, and cotton production dropped by 30% compared to last year. The drought that was the main cause of these losses in Nyaminyami has also affected neighbouring areas of Gokwe North and Hurungwe district, albeit to a lesser extent, and this will limit the availability of agricultural labouring opportunities. Livestock – especially cattle – have been devastated by disease, and many animals were also sold off last year as a means of raising cash to buy food.

Therefore the main means that people in Nyaminyami have of accessing food and income in a normal year, as well as some of their most important coping mechanisms, have all been very adversely affected by two years in a row of problems. People will be able to access some of their food needs through the collection of wild foods and a variety of other limited coping strategies. However, these strategies will definitely not enable them to meet their minimum needs.

The better off are likely to be self-sufficient for the whole year, but this assumes that maize will be available for purchase. The middle group in Kasvisva and Kanyati should be self-sufficient for approximately 5 months (2 months’ harvest; 2 months’ worth from the sale of cotton; 1 months’ worth from livestock sales). The middle in Mola/ Negande and the poor in all 3 zones are only likely to be self-sufficient for a maximum of two months. Other coping strategies may enable households to meet a maximum of 25% of their food needs during the remaining months of the year.

If food aid and other interventions are not carried out to bridge these deficits, the result will be a very substantial increase in rates of acute malnutrition and mortality. Medium-term interventions will also be vital to enable the community to become more productive again. This will require support for agricultural inputs, as well as moves to reduce the prevalence of tsetse fly and subsequently to assist with the re-stocking of animals.

**Recommendations**

The following recommendations are in line with the discussion above, and are also consistent with recommendations made by community members themselves during the assessment:

- Food aid needs to be provided to the poor group for a 10-month period from June 2002 to March 2003, and for the middle group from September 2002 to March 2003. The food aid could be discontinued if there is a reasonable harvest in 2003. A ration rate equivalent to 1,575 kcal per person per day (75% of minimum needs) is recommended due to the existence of some other coping mechanisms. This means feeding approximately 30,000 people from June, and 36,000 from September. This translates to 3,420 MT of grain, and an additional 812 MT of beans and oil.
- If GMB deliveries of food for sale on the market are inadequate, it may be necessary to increase the ration rate to 100% of minimum needs.
- The current food aid interventions by Save the Children and Christian Care need to continue, therefore. Further coordination is required to minimise overlaps and gaps in coverage.
• Consideration should be given to blanket feeding of the community from September, as the better off constitute a small proportion of the population, and therefore the costs of targeting may not make such an exercise worthwhile.

• As far as possible, food-for-work interventions should be considered as a means of delivering food, except during the planting season when people will need to work on their farms. The scale of needs and the relative cost of FFW over free distributions, however, means that it is unlikely to be feasible to use FFW on a large scale. FFW projects should prioritise rehabilitation of agricultural production.

• The GMB will need to ensure the continued availability of maize in the markets.

• The Government’s public works project should either be converted to a food-for-work project (as food availability is a problem), or else it should be considered complementary to food aid interventions, enabling households to meet other non-food needs. Payments for public works should be made promptly.

• Additional support for agricultural rehabilitation will need to be provided in terms of input support. This will include seeds and fertiliser. Further consideration will need to be given to how the issue of draught power can be addressed. Input packs should also be sensitive to the needs of HIV/AIDS affected households, whose ability to cultivate will be constrained by labour shortages.

• Tsetse control needs to be improved urgently so that further livestock deaths are limited. Once control has been strengthened, some form of re-stocking programme will need to be undertaken.

• The perennial damage to crops caused by wildlife needs to be addressed by the construction of an appropriate fence around Matusadona Game Park. Depending on materials required and resources available, this may be an option for a FFW project.

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