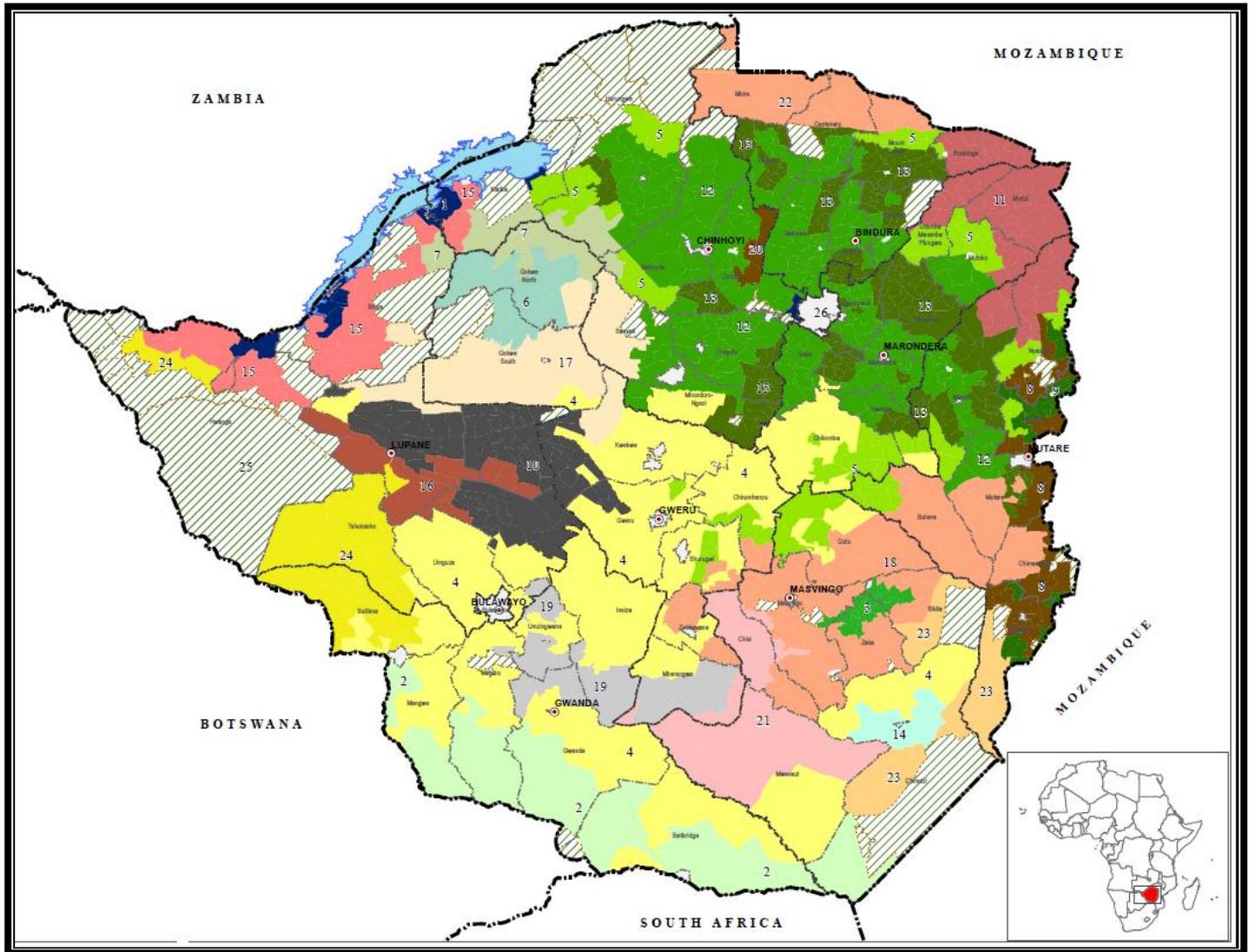


Zimbabwe Livelihoods Zone Profiles



15 February 2010



The Zimbabwe Vulnerability Assessment Committee (ZimVac) is Chaired by the Food and Nutrition Council (FNC) which is housed at the Scientific Industrial Research and Developing Council (SIRDC), Harare, Zimbabwe.

Acknowledgements

The Zimbabwe Vulnerability Assessment Committee (ZimVac) would like to express its appreciation for the financial, technical and logistical support that the following agencies provided towards the data collection, analysis and writing-up of the Revised Livelihoods profiles for Zimbabwe;

- Ministry of Agriculture, Irrigation Development and Mechanizations' Department of Agricultural Extension Services (AGRITEX)
- Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare's Department of Social Welfare
- Ministry of Finance's Central Statistical Office (CSO)
- Ministry of Education's Curriculum Development
- Ministry of Transport's Department of Meteorological Services
- United Nations' World Food Programme (WFP)
- United Nations' Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)
- United Nations' Office of Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA)
- World Vision (WV)
- OXFAM
- ACTIONAID
- Save the Children United Kingdom (SC-UK)
- Southern Africa Development Community Regional Vulnerability Assessment Committee (RVAC)
- United States of America International Development Agency (USAID)
- Department for International Development (DFID)
- The European Commission (EC)
- FEG (The Food Economy Group)
- The Famine Early Warning Systems Network (FEWSNET)

The revision of the livelihoods profiles was undertaken by a ZimVac technical team comprising of Herbet Zvirere, Tamburiro Pasipangodya, Teckla Shoko, Clever Chingwara, Diana Mafote, Rabson Zishiri, Dason Ngirazi, Tendai Mugara, Robson Chihumba, Yvonne Manyika, John Mupuro, Musiya Chido, Ruramai Mpande, George Chiduwa, Arinesto Mundeiri and Timmy Mudakureva with technical guidance by Evans Chapasuka, Jennifer Bush, Jessi Grillo and Blessing Butaumocho

ZimVac would like to acknowledge the invaluable contribution of Provincial Government and non-governmental officers who willing and diligently provided the data that forms the very content of the revised livelihoods profiles

Jennifer Bush, Gregg Freidman, Jessi Grillo and Blessing Butaumocho reviewed and edited the profiles. Masozi Kachale produced the livelihoods zone maps for all the revised zones using base maps from UNOCHA. This contribution is greatly appreciated

ZimVac sincerely appreciates the hard work all the above-mentioned contributed to the production of the Zimbabwe livelihoods profiles. The profiles are expected to improve rural livelihoods analysis in a manner that better informs rural development and humanitarian interventions by Government and its development partners.



George Kembo
The ZimVac Chairperson

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INTRODUCTION

In its endeavor to improve understanding of rural livelihoods in Zimbabwe for better informed emergence and development interventions programming by Government and its development partners, the Zimbabwe Vulnerability Assessment Committee (ZimVac) embarked on a multi-pronged strategy of integrating complementary livelihoods analytical approaches. The approaches currently under consideration include mainstreaming HIV and AIDS in livelihoods analysis, the Integrated Phase Classification (IPC) and the Household Economy Approach (HEA). Application of the HEA requires setting up of livelihoods baselines, a critical and integral component of which are the livelihoods zones map and their profiles. This report presents these components of the HEA Livelihoods Baselines for Zimbabwe. Development of detailed livelihoods baselines for each of the identified livelihoods zones constitutes the next complementary stage to this process.

Livelihood zoning is a way to understand the economic geography of a country. **A livelihood** itself is the sum of ways in which households make ends meet from year to year, and how they survive (or fail to survive) through difficult times.

Two main products are offered here:

National Livelihood Zone Map

The map shows the division of the country into homogeneous zones defined according to a livelihoods framework.

Livelihood Zone Profiles

The profiles describe the major characteristics of each zone, including a brief differentiation of the food security status of different wealth groups. There is some emphasis on hazards and the relative capacity of different types of households in different places to withstand them.

The 2010 Zimbabwe Livelihood Zone map and the accompanying profiles were compiled through a combination of primary field work and reference to existing secondary data, in particular the 2004 Zimbabwe Livelihood Zones Report. Most of the primary field work was carried out in November-December 2009 through workshops held at national, provincial and district levels. 8 teams travelled to each province during a 2 week field exercise in late 2009 to gather feedback from local key informants on whether – and in what ways – livelihood zones in their area had changed. Discussions focused on whether the old livelihood zone classifications were still relevant; whether zonal boundaries had changed; and whether zonal descriptions needed to be updated. During each workshop, participants examined boundary issues down to the ward level. They also paid particular attention to describing the distinguishing characteristics of each zone as compared to other zones. Where production systems were roughly the same, participants addressed whether there were other characteristics that made one zone at higher (or lower) risk of food insecurity compared to another. A final national-level workshop in December 2009 brought the field teams back together in order to produce a consolidated zone map and consolidated profiles for Zimbabwe.

In compiling the profiles, a balance has been struck between accessibility and level of detail. The aim has been to present sufficient information to allow a rounded and balanced view of livelihoods nationally. The profiles provide a rapid introduction to livelihoods in the country; they do not offer localized detail.

This document is divided into 3 main sections. (1) The first section introduces **key concepts in livelihood analysis** and explains central tenets of HEA. (2) The second section provides a **National Overview** of

livelihoods in Zimbabwe. (3) The final section contains the **Livelihood Zone Map** and the **Livelihood Zone Profiles**.

The livelihood zone map and profiles can be used in different ways. First, they provide an introductory guide to food security and hence offer useful briefing material to a newcomer who needs to get a quick grasp of food security conditions around the country.

Second, the profiles help decision-makers make more informed responses to food crises. A central feature of the profiles is that they provide a full account of the household economy in each zone, informing readers of the balance, for instance, between food produced and food bought. Thus, data on casual employment or wild foods, or charity from relatives or the sale of handicrafts is equally important to the livelihood story as data on crop and livestock production. This full account is useful to considerations about how people adapt to, or cope with, certain crises. Hence, in times of failed crop or livestock production, knowing the full context compels decision-makers to inquire more deeply about what other sources of food and income affected households may expand or adopt. In turns, this feeds into more informed decisions about types and timing of interventions.

Third, livelihood profiles can improve policy development - whether on poverty alleviation or disaster management. They can help shape discussions about alternative emergency measures (such as market price stabilization) or the role of expenditure subsidies (such as reducing key commodity taxes [i.e., on kerosene]).

Key Concepts

Risk, Hazard, Vulnerability and Need

Risk, hazard, vulnerability and **need** have well-established meanings in the context of disaster management. They are, however, frequently misused in the context of food security. The meaning of these terms is perhaps best explained with an example (see below).

Defining Risk, Hazard, Vulnerability and Need

- Drought is a major **hazard** affecting crop and livestock production in many African countries.
- Poor households are more **vulnerable** to (i.e. less able to cope with) drought than better-off households; they have fewer reserves of food or cash to fall back on, and fewer options for generating additional income.
- Poor households living in drought-prone areas of the country are more **at risk** of a food shortage than other households because they are both exposed to and vulnerable to the drought hazard.
- Once a drought strikes, the poor are the most **in need** of food assistance.

To be at risk of food deficits you must both be exposed to a hazard, as well as be vulnerable to that hazard. Because vulnerability is so closely linked to hazard, it follows that there is no general state of vulnerability; people can only be vulnerable *to something*. For example, farmers cultivating along a river margin may be vulnerable to flood (which is likely to wash away their crops), but may not be vulnerable to drought

Mathematically, the relationship between risk (R), vulnerability (V) and hazard (H) can be summarized as:
R = f(H, V) Where:

Risk = likelihood of a negative outcome (e.g. food deficit)

Hazard = likelihood of exposure to a hazard (e.g. drought)

Vulnerability = likelihood that people will not be able to cope with a defined hazard.

Another distinction is between need and vulnerability. Put simply, people are **vulnerable before the event**, (since this refers to their ability to cope should a hazard strike). They are **in need after the event** (i.e., those actually affected by and unable to cope with a hazard).

The HEA Analytical Process

One approach used to assess food needs and/or to predict livelihood insecurity is the **Household Economy Approach (HEA)**, first developed by Save the Children UK in the 1990s¹. HEA is a method of quantifying food access as well as of predicting likely food or expenditure gaps in the event of a hazard event. There are several steps in this dynamic model.

Livelihood Zoning: Patterns of livelihood clearly vary from one area to another. Local factors such as climate, soil, access to markets etc. all influence livelihood patterns. The first step in a household economy analysis is therefore to prepare a **livelihood zone map**. This map delineates geographical areas within which people share basically the same patterns of access to food (i.e. they grow the same crops, keep the same types of livestock, etc.) and have the same access to markets.

Livelihood zone boundaries do not always follow administrative boundaries. In this way, one administrative zone may contain different livelihood zones, such as agro-pastoralists living alongside fishing communities. Conversely, one livelihood zone may cover several administrative zones. Yet, it is important that livelihood zone boundaries should wherever possible follow lower level administrative boundaries. The main reason is because resources are allocated on the basis of administrative units not livelihood zones.

The Wealth Breakdown: Where a household lives is one factor determining its options for obtaining food and generating income. Another factor is wealth, since this is the major factor determining the ability of a household to exploit the available options within a given zone. Defining the different wealth groups in each zone is the second step in a food economy analysis, the output from which is a **wealth breakdown**.

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

Household Coping (or Response) Strategies: This is an assessment of what other food sources can be added or expanded to make up initial food or income shortages during a crisis event.

Outcome Analysis: The objective is to investigate the effects of a hazard on *future* access to food and income, so that decisions can be taken about the most appropriate types of intervention to implement. Three types of information are combined; (i) information on baseline access, (ii) information on the hazard, and (iii) information on coping or response strategies. The approach can be summarized as follows: **Baseline + Hazard + Response = Outcome**. See diagram on next page.

¹ See 'The Household Economy Approach', Seaman J., Clarke P., Boudreau T., Holt J., Save the Children UK 2000.

Outcome Analysis: Baseline + Hazard + Response = Outcome

The baseline picture provides a starting point or context for understanding the likely impact of a shock or hazard on food access at household level.

If, for example, 'poor' households are heavily dependent upon crop production, then they may be vulnerable to hazards affecting crops, such as drought or pest attack. Households that rely upon other sources of food and income are, on the other hand, less vulnerable to these hazards.

The first step is to superimpose the hazard on the baseline to assess its effects on food access at household level.

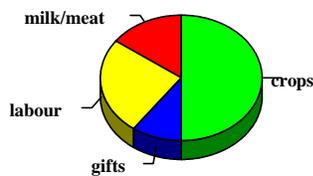
This requires that the hazard be expressed in quantitative terms, e.g. a 50% reduction in crop production, a 20% reduction in milk output, etc.

In the example below, a 50% reduction in crop production results in a 25% deficit in food access for the 'poor', since crops provide half of baseline food needs for this group.

The second step is to consider the response strategies that can be pursued by households exposed to a hazard, and the amount of food and/or income that can be generated from these.

In the example, the 'poor' keep from 3-5 goats, and in a crisis can exchange 2 of these for 1-2 sacks of grain – enough to cover roughly 10% of annual food needs. This has the effect of reducing the deficit from 25% to roughly 15%.

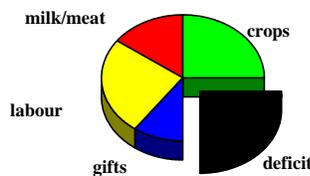
Baseline



+

Hazard

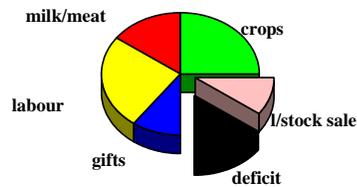
e.g. 50% crop failure



+

Response

e.g. sale of 2 goats



= Outcome

The outcome represents the final result, expressed in terms of the food intake deficit likely to result from a particular hazard, once household-level responses have been taken into account

In general, once the baselines have been compiled they can be used repeatedly over a number of years - until significant changes in the underlying economy render them invalid. A good food economy baseline will generally be valid for between 5 and 10 years. What varies is the prevailing level of food security, but this is a function of variations in hazard, not variations in the baseline.

The national livelihood zone map and livelihood profiles are designed as a stand-alone product but they are also intended as an intermediate step towards the development of a full food economy baseline.

What is in a Livelihood Profile

The profiles are divided into a number of sections:

Main Conclusions and Implications summarizes the main findings from the zone. This section also provide insights that will inform the planning of various types of intervention, including emergency response, disaster mitigation and development programming.

Zone description offers a general description of local livelihood patterns (crop production, livestock rearing, off-farm income generation etc.).

Markets contain basic information on the marketing of local production and on any importation of staple food into the zone.

Seasonal Calendar sets out the timing of key activities during the year. This is useful in a variety of ways, e.g. to judge the likely impact of a hazard according to its timing during the year, or to assess whether a particular activity is being undertaken at the normal time in the current year.

The **Wealth Breakdown** section describes three main wealth groups ('poor', 'middle' and 'better-off'), explaining the differences between these groups and how this affects potential access to food and cash income².

The **Sources of Food** and **Sources of Cash** sections examine patterns of food and income access at each level of wealth, relating these to the characteristics of each group.

The sections on **Hazards** provide information on the different types of hazard that affect the zone, differentiated by wealth group where this is appropriate.

Response Strategies describe the various strategies available to different types of household in the zone, together with a judgment of the likely effectiveness of the strategies³.

Early warning involves identifying and interpreting key events that indicate that a severe food shortage or famine may be developing. The final section, **Indicators of Imminent Crisis**, draws upon the classification of early warning indicators proposed by Fred Cuny⁴. This section provides information on the key indicators and their likely timing by zone, based upon an understanding of local livelihoods and local patterns of response to food shortage⁵.

² It is important to bear in mind for this analysis that we are thinking of wealth in relative (and local) terms. Statistical data may indicate that 80% or even 90% of the population in a particular area lives below the national poverty line, but this is measuring poverty on a national, absolute scale. In a livelihoods analysis we are interested in understanding some of the differences between different groups within the community and the reasons for these – in which case it is not particularly useful to lump 80% or 90% of the population together into one group.

³ The term response strategy is preferred to coping strategy for two reasons. Firstly, the term coping strategy is often used to refer to regular components of everyday livelihood (e.g. firewood sale), which strictly speaking are only coping strategies when intensified in response to a hazard. Secondly, 'coping' can be taken to imply that the strategy in question is cost-free, which is not always the case.

⁴ 'Famine, Conflict and Response: A Basic Guide', Cuny F. C. and Hill R. B. Kumarian Press, 1999, pp 33-42.

⁵ Fred Cuny identified two types of early warning indicator, those that provide advance warning of a famine (indicators of imminent crisis) and those that confirm the existence of famine (indicators of famine). The latter group includes indicators such as distress sales of productive assets (e.g. plough oxen), consumption of seeds, increased malnutrition and increased mortality. Indicators of famine are not generally context specific (i.e. a single list could be prepared that would apply to all livelihood zones). They are also of little use in predicting or preventing severe food shortage or famine. For these reasons they have not been included in the livelihood profiles.

Zimbabwe Livelihood Profiles

NATIONAL OVERVIEW

The National Economy

The last ten years saw over 40 percent decline in Zimbabwe's Gross Domestic Product (GDP); all major economic sectors shrunk drastically. Formal employment dropped to between 10-20 percent, which pushed many able-bodied people into the informal sector and into migration where most remain underemployed. Formal and informal economies alike experienced massive shortages of goods and services. Annual rates of inflation rose from double digit levels to hyperinflation levels by the end of 2008. The land redistribution completely changed the land tenure and production systems in the agricultural sectors across the whole country with profound impacts of livelihoods of many people who derived their livelihoods from this sector.

Given macro-economic turbulence, a re-zoning exercise seemed necessary to address whether zonal boundaries had changed, as well as whether livelihood patterns themselves had shifted in response to these macro-level events. In general, it was known that in resettlement areas - despite inadequate services and infrastructure - new farmers were slowly getting established, creating an agricultural economy based on small-scale, rain-fed mixed agriculture (compared to the old pattern of irrigated, commercial cash crop estates, beef farming, and wildlife ranches). Overall, the food security situation was poor but both rural and urban conditions were improving with the economic and political stabilization that came with the Government of National Unity in early 2009. Such economic swings made it important to distinguish between sustained and significant shifts in livelihood patterns (in resettled areas, for instance) compared to short-term changes in food security status due to production and price problems (e.g., in communal zones).

While notable reductions in the prevalence of HIV and AIDS in the Zimbabwean population has been registered in the last ten years, from about 25% in 2002 to about 13% in 2009, the scourge continues to affect household economies. HIV and AIDS has eroded the productive capacity of many ordinary households while also forcing households to re-organize around elderly or very young household heads. However, as with other economic shocks, it is important to examine whether the main impact has been impoverishment or whether, and in what ways, HIV and AIDS itself has forced affected households to adopt new means of securing food and income.

In 2002, the National Census put the Zimbabwean total population at 11,631,657 people and it was projected to be about 12,336,046 for 2010. The two main ethnic groups are the Shona and the Ndebele although many farm workers living in Mashonaland originally came across the border from Mozambique and Zambia. Most of the population - around 65-70 percent - is rural.⁶ Notably, 2-3 million Zimbabweans



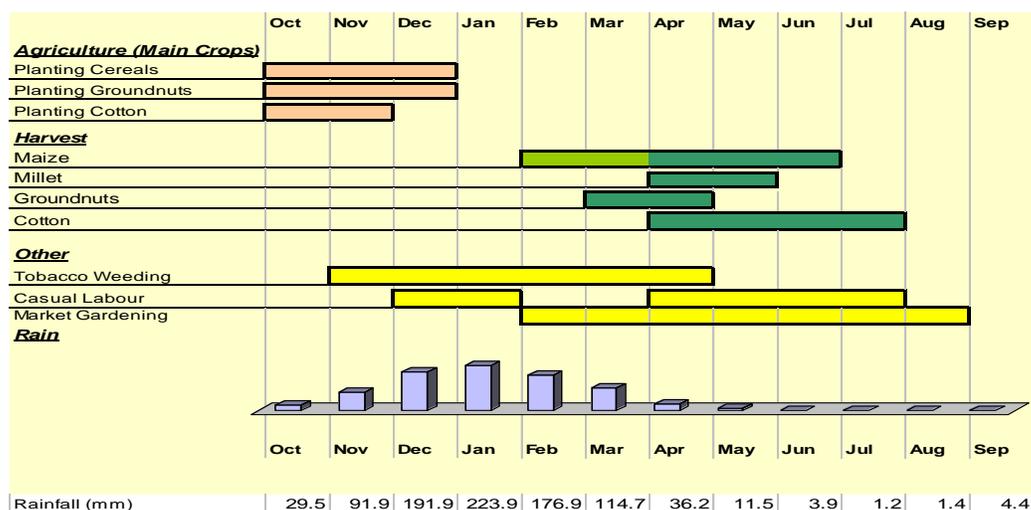
⁶ Conversely, in 2003, an estimated 18 percent of people live in the two major cities, Harare and Bulawayo.

live and work outside their country (mainly in South Africa and the UK), earning foreign wages some of which are remitted home.

Geography and Climate

Zimbabwe is a landlocked country with borders shared with South Africa and Botswana in the south and west, and with Zambia and Mozambique in the north and east. Much of central and northern Zimbabwe sits on a high plateau which averages about 900 m above sea level. The central plateau is prime agricultural land, supporting a diversified base of food and cash crops fed mainly by summer storms (the summer season lasts from November to April), as well as some winter rain (May to October). The central middleveld is surrounded mainly by lowveld. To the north, on the border with Mozambique and Zambia, lies the Zambezi Valley. Hot, humid temperatures support a mixed agricultural base of maize and cotton. To the east, bordering Zambia, stretches the hot, dry Kariba Valley (Lake Kariba itself forms much of the eastern boundary line). These lowland areas receive no winter rain and summer rainfall is also erratic and infrequent. South and south-west, the flat, lowland savannah forms part of the Limpopo River basin. Commercial ranches as well as small-holder agro-pastoralism are the main features of the southern economy. The labour pull of neighboring South Africa and Botswana is another important economic influence. Only in the east does the middleveld rise to highland, in this case the mountainous border range between Zimbabwe and Mozambique. Good soils and sufficient rainfall provide for excellent agricultural conditions where intensive farming is combined with a commercial lumber industry.

Seasonal Calendar



The seasonal calendar above represents general trends in the agricultural sector across the country. The planting season for main crops occurs between October and December. The maize harvest takes place predominantly between March and June. The summer rainy season typically starts in late October and ends in April. Lowland regions receive less rainfall while storms are more irregular and more infrequent as compared to the mid/Highveld. The main hunger season for farmers falls between September and January when on-farm labour demands peak.

The Rural Livelihood Zones

The National Livelihood Zone Map of Zimbabwe has 24 livelihood zones. This level of disaggregation provides useful detail for planners working at regional and district level. More broadly, the livelihood zones fall into eight main types:

(i) The Eastern Highveld Re-settled Zone: Export crops such as tea and coffee are grown together with a diversity of grains, root crops, vegetables and fruit. The lumber industry is an important commercial activity in the region providing local employment opportunities.

(ii) Mid/Highveld Communal Zones: Densely populated and intensively farmed, maize is popular but is one crop of many in a region that is well-suited to a range of food and cash crops.

(iii) Mid/Highveld Re-settled Zones: Maize, winter wheat and vegetables are grown for food and cash on re-settled former large-scale commercial farms. A significant farm worker population is present in this zone. The remaining Large Scale Commercial Farms (LSCF) and the new A2 farms offer some employment opportunities to this population.

(iv) Middleveld Communal Zones: Middleveld agriculture is dominated by maize and millet (the food crops), and groundnuts, sorghum and some cotton or paprika (the cash crops). Better-off farmers earn cash mainly from crop and livestock sales. The poor make ends meet by combining mixed agriculture with daily wage work and gold panning.

(v) Mid/Lowveld Cotton Zones: Agriculture is a riskier proposition in the drier lowlands. Maize is the chief food crop; cotton the chief cash crop. The proportional importance of maize or cotton varies within the mid/lowveld “cotton” zones. Livestock sales, gold panning and daily wage work provide essential income for food purchases.

(vi) Lowveld Re-settled Zones: Former large-scale game and beef ranches were transformed into mixed agriculture and mixed herds as new A2 commercial and A1 family farmers resettled land in south-central Zimbabwe.

(vii) Lowveld Agro-Pastoral Communal Zones: Only one zone in the south (Beitbridge lowveld) is most accurately described as agro-pastoral. The other lowveld economies (such as in the Kariba Valley) have a crop-livestock economic base that is increasingly propped up by remittances, local wage work and gold panning.

(viii) Re-settled Ex-Commercial Irrigated Zones: Relatively small, these pockets of re-settled irrigated ex-commercial fruit and sugar cane estates are found principally in southern Zimbabwe.

Sources of Food

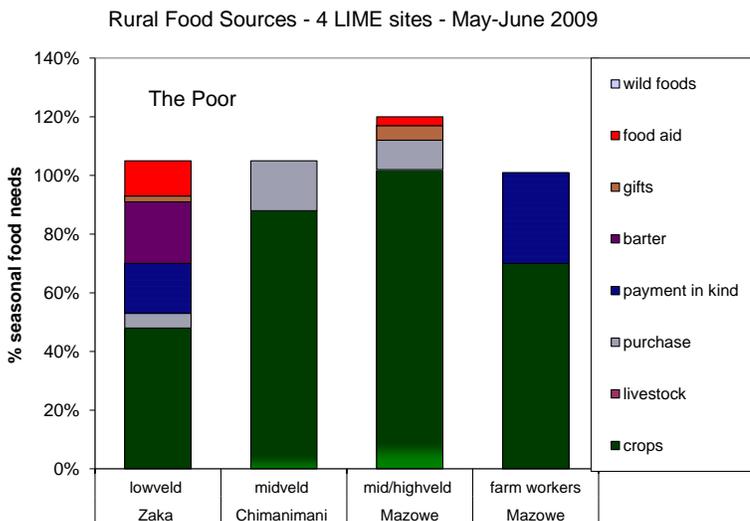
Middleveld: The middleveld zones—namely those zones located on Zimbabwe’s central plateau—are dominated by cereal production (mainly maize but also millet and sorghum).

Farm produce provides middle and better-off households with most of their annual food as well as much of their cash income (see graph at right comparing the contribution of own-crop production for the May-June period of 2009 across select low, mid and highveld sites). Droughts are expected periodically. When they occur, these agricultural zones suffer large crop losses, leading to significant gaps in household food supply. Hence, in the middleveld region, harvest outcomes are a key indicator of household food security.

Lowveld: Lowland zones circle the central midland plateau, except in the east where the midlands rise to a rugged mountain range. Location in this lowland “ring” affects how households secure food (see the Zaka lowveld example in the graph next page). What they share in common is the riskiness of agriculture in an area where the climate is hot and dry, and rainfall erratic. Nonetheless, farmers try their luck year in, year out. For the poor with little land, their harvest of maize and sorghum amounts to a relatively small source of annual food. What they cannot grow, they must purchase or gather but in areas that are often

remote, with poor market infrastructure, earning sufficient income to buy food is difficult. Food aid, hence, contributes significantly to filling chronic food gaps.

For the better-off, cereal production is one important food source of three: namely own-crops, livestock, and remittances. The exception to lowland trends is in the Zambezi Valley and Mudzi lowlands. These northern lowland zones are primarily agricultural and cereal, groundnuts and cotton production is a chief food and income source for poor and better-off alike. The implications for monitoring food security are two-fold: (i) harvest outcomes are an important indicator but only in the Zambezi and Mudzi lowlands, and elsewhere only for better-off lowveld households; and (ii) staple grain prices, especially relative to wages, is a more critical indicator of food access for poor households than harvest outcomes. Barriers to accessing typical sources of income (gold panning or on-farm employment in cotton fields for example) should also be monitored.



Highveld: The highveld is primarily agricultural and own-crop production provides families with most of their food during the year. Harvest outcomes are significant to food security. In the highveld, a wide range of crops (grains, legumes, tubers, and fruit and vegetables) are grown although maize is the chief food crop. (See Mazowe in the graph above.) This diversity provides a safety net if one crop fails.

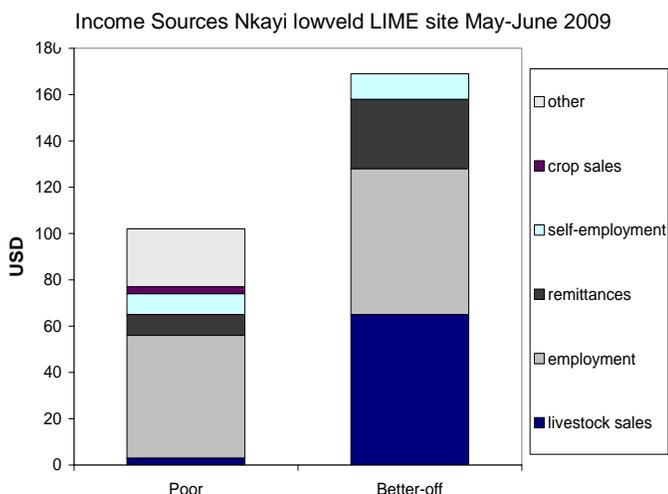
Sources of Cash

Middleveld: Livestock, remittances and farm produce are the main sources of income for many middle and better-off households in this agricultural region. Cash crops—mainly groundnuts, soybeans or cow peas, and sorghum, as well as some cotton, paprika and sunflowers—find ready markets in local urban centres or Harare. The region benefits from its central location and relative proximity to Harare. Droughts can dramatically reduce both food and cash crops. The main fallback is livestock sales as well as remittances. Fluctuating world prices and changes in marketing structures or buyers also affect farmer's returns. The last decade of economic turmoil, with its associated disruption of transport and marketing systems, badly hurt farmer incomes although many resorted instead to local barter. In contrast to the better-off, poor households sow most of their land to food (rather than cash) crops. For income, they rely instead on gold panning or local daily work.

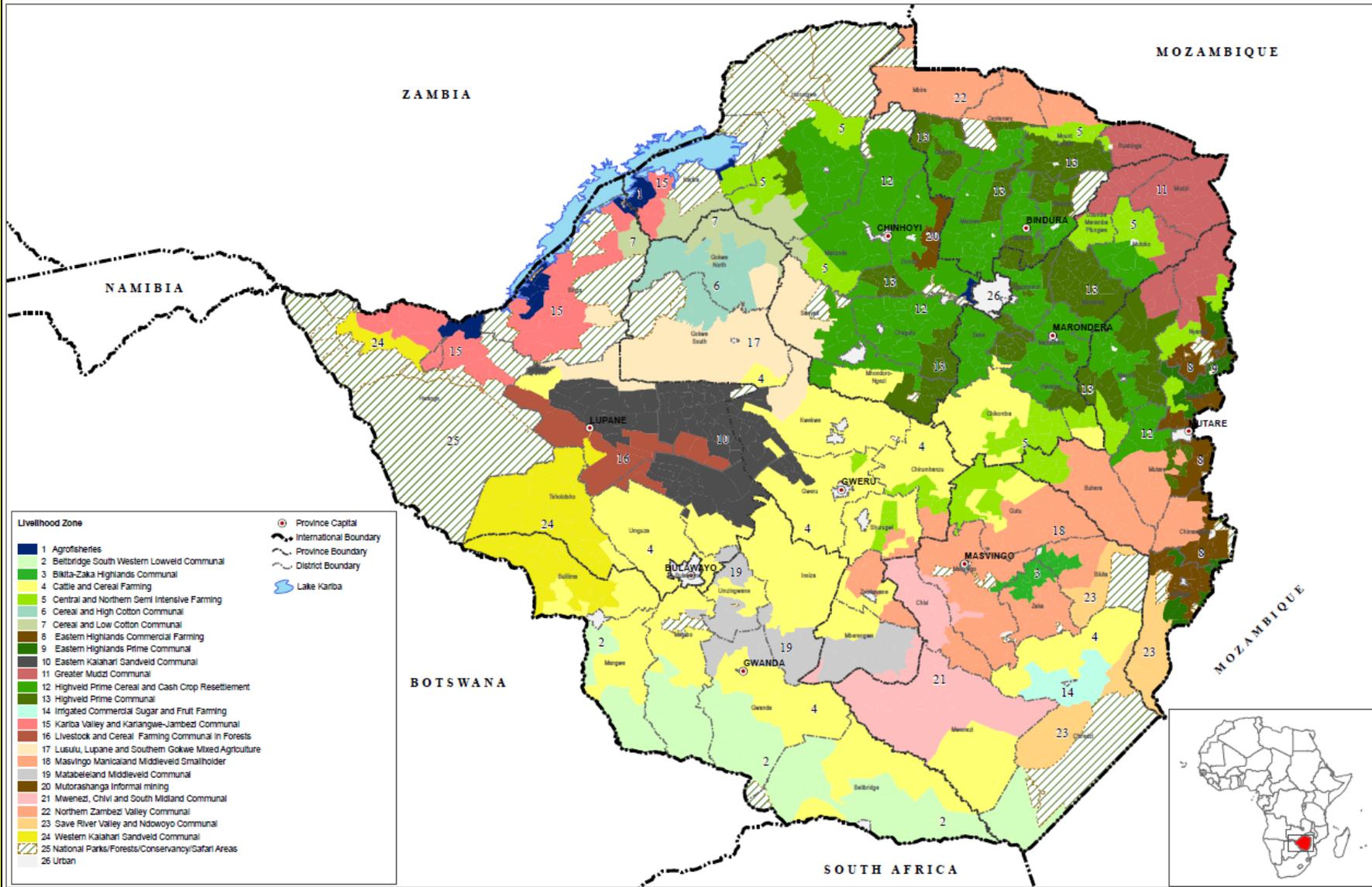
Lowveld: The chief ways households earn cash depends on where they live in the lowland region. In the south, for example, agro-pastoralist households earn cash mainly from livestock sales (livestock prices relative to staple grain prices are thus critical to monitor). Just as notable, throughout the southern and south-western region, is the contribution of migratory labour and remittances to household income. The southern zones share a border with South Africa and Botswana, and proximity to the border opens up more lucrative labour opportunities. In the Zambezi Valley, cotton as a cash crop is widely grown. Cotton prices fluctuate widely on the international markets; hence household income from cotton likewise fluctuates annually although it still provides a reasonably steady source of cash. Unlike in the Zambezi Valley, the hot, dry Kariba Valley provides quite limited access to profitable income sources. In this case, not only does climate play a role but also the remoteness of the valley from viable labour, tourist and

produce markets. Notwithstanding these general patterns in lowland income patterns, most poor households tend to fall back on similar ways of earning cash. (See the income graph from the Nkayi lowveld site at right.) Overall, poor households in the lowveld obtain most of their income from casual labour, sales of wild, foraged foods, beer brewing, firewood sales and handicraft sales. Casual work tends to be of primary importance, found either in game parks, on commercial ranches or in nearby abandoned mines or in rivers which then supplement casual seasonal work for better-off farmers.

Highveld: Farm produce (namely cash crops, including export crops such as tobacco, sugar cane, tea and coffee) is the chief income source in the agricultural highveld. Market disruptions have a significant impact on farmer income, as do international demand and price levels. Crop diversity – a notable feature of the highveld – provides some buffer against market fluctuations. As elsewhere, poor households cannot make ends meet from own-crop production (whether food or cash crop). Earning cash through gold panning and local wage work—in this case mainly for better-off farmers or, in the eastern prime zone, in the sawmills and lumber yards—is the main way that poor families obtain a cash income.



ZIMBABWE - Livelihood Zones



Rural Livelihood Zone Summaries

Agrofishers

Livelihoods in this zone are characterized by fishing and related activities, supplemented by rain fed agriculture and animal husbandry. There is a distinct gender division of labour whereby men spend most of the year in fishing camps along the lakes (Lake Kariba and Lake Chivero) while the women and children live further inland where they practise some limited agriculture and animal husbandry.

Beitbridge and South-Western Lowveld Communal

This is a semi-arid, agro-pastoral zone although employment is also a key source of food and cash income. Proximity to southern commercial estates and job markets around the border with South Africa and Botswana opens up significant employment opportunities. Sorghum cropping, mopane worm sales and gold panning supplement wage earnings of the poor.

Bikita-Zaka Highland Communal

(former name: Greater Zimbabwe / Bikita Middleveld Communal)

Intensive farming of maize and groundnuts on this relatively high potential land provides better-off farmers with a stable food and income source. Land in this zone is densely populated and farm sizes thus small. The poor mix maize cultivation with (limited) gold panning and local employment (such as in the Bikita mines).

Cattle and Cereal Farming (Matabeleland Resettled)

(former name: Matabeleland Commercial Ranches)

An area deeply affected by land reform, the new owners of sub-divided former beef and wildlife ranches have introduced more mixed agriculture (mainly maize and cattle production). The zone is typically food secure and good incomes can be earned from cattle sales. Poor households (including ex-commercial farm workers) depend on seasonal farm labour – found on productive old resettlement and small-scale commercial farms – as well as opportunistic gold panning to make ends meet.

Central and Northern Middleveld Communal

Maize and small grains are the dominant crops in this agricultural zone, providing both food and income. Better-off households are reasonably self-sufficient in cereals but poor households depend equally on own crops, daily wages and gold sales to make ends meet.

Cereal and High Cotton Communal

(former name: Greater Northern Gokwe High Cotton Communal)

Livelihoods in the **Cereal and High Cotton Communal** zone are characterized as primarily agricultural, centred on growing maize for food and cotton for cash. The other pillar of rural income – particularly for better-off farmers – is animal husbandry (namely cattle, goats and poultry). Poor farmers purchase much of their food, generating income through casual labour (e.g., on cotton fields) or through gold panning.

Cereal and Low Cotton Communal

(former name: Siabuwa & Nebiri Low Cotton Communal)

Located in the dry Kariba Valley, livelihoods in this zone can be described as a mixed economy of cash and food cropping combined with animal husbandry. Cotton production spread into the Kariba Valley from Gokwe and provides needed income – albeit unpredictable. In addition, many of the poor go in search of work in the high cotton producing areas of Gokwe. Income from livestock sales as well as seasonal wild fruits are other ways that households supplement their income.

Eastern Highlands Commercial

This high potential zone produces many crops for export including fruit, vegetables, flowers, tea, and coffee. Timber is another important industry in this rugged, forested highveld zone. Both the commercial farms and the sawmills offer important labour opportunities to poor farmers as well as to farm-workers (who often need to pick up additional seasonal work to supplement on-farm income).

Eastern Highlands Prime Communal

This high potential mountain zone is characterized by intensively farmed, small plots of mixed food and cash crops. Maize is primary but crop diversity is a key feature here (cereals, root crops, fruits, tea/coffee, tobacco and so on). Poor farmers find wage work locally in the commercial agriculture or forestry sector.

Eastern Kalahari Sandveld Communal

Livelihoods in this zone are built around three main activities: agriculture, animal husbandry and labour (local and migratory). Sorghum and maize farming is widespread but production is unreliable as the zone is semi-arid. Livestock and remittances are a key safety nets for the better off. For the poor, income earned from local work, forest products and/or gold panning (in Kwekwe and Gweru) is their mainstay.

Greater MudziCommunal

This lowveld zone is characterized by the extensive rain-fed cultivation of maize, small grains and groundnuts supplemented by income earned through cotton production, gold panning, animal husbandry and labour. Whilst better-off farmers meet most of their food needs through own-crop production, poor households rely on a more diverse mix of food and income sources.

Highveld Prime Cereal and Cash Crop Resettlement

(former name: Mashonaland Commercial)

This zone covers prime (resettled) agricultural land. In general, it is a food secure zone with the potential to produce surplus. The major crops are maize, tobacco, soya beans and groundnuts which are grown for both food and cash and supplemented by livestock production. There are several distinct population groups in the zone. Whereas the A1 farmers and commercial farm owners are typically food secure, the (ex-commercial) farm workers are highly mobile and often at risk of food insecurity.

Highveld Prime Communal

Livelihoods in this prime agricultural zone centre around the rain-fed production of both cash and food crops. Maize is the predominant food crop but cultivation overall is highly diversified and includes groundnuts, paprika, millet, sorghum, bambara nuts, cow peas, sweet potatoes, soya beans, tobacco and cotton.

Irrigated Commercial Sugar and Fruit Farming

This arid zone in south-eastern Zimbabwe includes households who live and work permanently on the irrigated commercial sugar and fruit estates in Triangle and Hippo Valley, as well as some small-holder (A1) resettled farmers. The commercial farm workers depend on wage earnings and petty trade income to secure their food needs. In addition, some workers have access to land to grow garden produce.

Kariba Valley and Kariangwe Jambezi Communal

A dry, remote and resource-poor area, this zone suffers from chronic problems of food insecurity. Cultivation - mainly millet and sorghum - is unreliable and wild foods are seasonal. Goat sales are the most common source of cash income but local wage work, craft and beer sales must also be pursued. Close proximity to Hwange provides some work opportunities on commercial farms for the poor, as well as access to the tourist craft market near Hwange, Kariba and Victoria Falls.

Livestock and Cereal Resettled Farming in Forests

Livelihoods in this forested western zone are built around three main activities: livestock (mainly cattle), cereal cropping, and the exploitation of forest resources. Crop yields are reasonable most years; livestock sales are a key safety net; and the poor find casual work either on farms or in the timber industry, as well as sell some honey.

Lusulu, Lupane and Southern Gokwe Mixed Agriculture Communal

This middleveld zone is relatively favorable for mixed crop and livestock production. Livelihoods are centred around maize, groundnuts and cotton cultivation with animal husbandry providing supplementary food and income. Daily wage work for poor farmers is still essential much of the year when food stocks run low.

Masvingo, Manicaland Middleveld Communal

Livelihoods in this middleveld zone are characterized by cereal agriculture supplemented by cash cropping (groundnuts, round nuts and cotton), animal husbandry and remittances from migratory labour. A number of other income sources help the poor make ends meet including: sales of wild fruits and vegetables, gold panning, legal gold mining, sales of beer and handicrafts, and casual labour. Fishing is also opportunistically practised in the rivers and streams, as is some cross-border trade.

Matabeleland Mid/Highveld Communal

Livelihoods in this zone are characterized by (mainly) cattle husbandry and the rain-fed cultivation of maize and small grains. Poor households subsist partly on their own-crop production but, more importantly, on cash income earned from employment, beer brewing or gold panning on the various rivers.

Mutorashanga Informal Mining Communities

Mutorashanga is the collective name given to the poor mining communities on the Zvimba side of the Great Dyke in Mashonaland West. Most households carry out informal chrome mining, supplemented by on-farm casual work, petty trade, garden vegetables sales and maize cultivation (typically eaten green).

Mwenezi, Chivi and South Midlands Lowland Communal

Households in this zone combine some cereal and cash cropping (a precarious venture in such a semi-arid area) with livestock production and market purchases. Casual work opportunities are found on plantations, estates and mines within the zone as well as further afield. A number of rivers provide gold panning and some fishing opportunities. Nonetheless, this is an area of chronic poverty and food insecurity.

Northern Zambezi Valley Communal

Bordering Mozambique, this hot, northern valley region supports extensive small grain, groundnut and cotton production together with animal husbandry. Due to a number of production constraints, local, seasonal employment on better-off farmers' cotton fields helps generate needed income.

Save River Valley & Ndowoyo Lowveld Communal

(former name: Chipinge and Save River Valley/Eastern Chiredzi Communal +Ndowoyo Communal + Mutema and Muskowa Communal)

This dry, lowland area is primarily agricultural. Households grow mainly small grains (sorghum and millet) as well as maize and groundnuts. The zone boasts good soil but cropping is limited by erratic rainfall. Consequently, cash income earned through seasonal casual work, petty trading and the sale of handicrafts, goats and some cotton is fundamental to the food economy. Remittances are also increasingly important to household income.

Western Kalahari Sandveld Communal

In general, livelihoods in this zone are based on the rain-fed cultivation of sorghum and millet mixed with animal husbandry, and supported by cross-border labour migration. This low-lying, dry land zone has the advantage of proximity to labour markets in South Africa and Botswana. Thus an important aspect of the household economy is having someone working elsewhere and who remits money home.

ZIMBABWE LIVELIHOOD PROFILE

Zone 1: Agrofiseries

Main Conclusions and Implications

The agro fishers' main source of livelihood is fishing. This is supplemented with some crop and livestock production. The zone is found along Lake Kariba as well as Lake Chivero along the Hunyani River. The fishing community in this area has limited access to arable land. However, with the introduction of fishing licenses and permits, poor households are now constrained from engaging fully in fishing. To compensate, some households have turned to crop production on small plots in a neighboring irrigation scheme. Unfortunately crops are at times destroyed by marauding elephants, despite some level of control by the Department of Wildlife. As a result of limited fishing access, poor crop yields and few income generating options, hunger is widespread among the poorer households. Only those households able to generate enough cash to purchase food needs not met by agriculture are food secure. In general, the population in this area requires support with fishing equipment unavailable in the market and improvement of the processing and market facilities.

Zone Description

Livelihoods in this zone are characterized by fishing and related activities, supplemented by rain-fed agriculture and animal husbandry. This small zone is situated on the banks of Lake Kariba in Binga and Kariba Districts, and by Lake Chivero along the Hunyani River in Zvimba District. It includes some of the households within the Manjolo, Siabuwa, Hwange and Omayi communal lands plus all households within Gatshe Gatshe communal lands. The households described here are interspersed with non-fishing households who fall within the Kariba Valley Low Maize and Cotton Production zone. Most of the land in this zone is classified as Natural Region V and rainfall averages below 650mm per year. As such, agriculture alone is not successful enough to sustain livelihoods but with their fishing activities, many people are able to survive. Households in this zone follow a distinct gender division of labour. Men spend most of the year in fishing camps along the lakes while women and children live further inland where they practise some limited agriculture and animal husbandry. Sometimes men might cultivate a small plot of land nearby the fishing camp. Intra-household exchanges do occur. Men typically send money to their wives to purchase food and other necessities and women send cereals to their husbands. The typical harvest that women produce lasts no more than half of the year. Therefore in addition to the remittances from their husbands, women also practise market gardening, collect wild foods and make handicrafts including crocheted items to sell to the tourists who come to Lake Kariba.

Markets

Employment is key to the survival of many households, in particular local employment in fishing activities. In addition to the local independent fishing businesses there are a number of *kapenta* rigs based in the lake. These absorb a fairly high workforce. Some households also benefit from income derived from working in other parts of Zimbabwe, in particular Bulawayo, Hwange, Harare, Kariba, Karoi and neighboring countries such as Zambia and Botswana .

Fish is sold to private traders, destined for markets in Harare, Bulawayo and other urban centres. There is also a limited local fish trade in Binga and Mujere where fish is bought by non-fishing households. Livestock are sold to private traders from Gokwe and Hwange, who act as middle men, selling on to the

Cold Storage Commission. For ward 35 in Zvimba, Harare is the major market. Abattoirs in Norton and Harare are also important meat markets. In terms of casual farm labour, Kyntre Estate - where there are significant horticultural activities- is an important labour destination. For cereal purchases, local shops in Binga town, Hwange, Norton, and Simatele are the main locations.

Seasonal Calendar

The main cereals grown are millet, sorghum and maize with small grains being more suited to this dry zone. As peak fishing activities coincide with the main agricultural period, women must manage their crops alone, while men are away at the fishing camps. Wild fruits are seasonal - i.e., baobab fruits in March and April - but are preserved all year long. However, wild green leaves can be gathered throughout the year. When rainfall is poor, the flow of nutrients into the lake is limited and hence the potential fish catch is reduced. Fishing is also less successful during the cold season because the fish go deeper and are less active, and therefore are harder to catch. Kitchen gardening is undertaken mainly from May-August outside of the cropping season.

Wealth Breakdown

Wealth in this zone is directly linked to income earned through fishing activities and agriculture. The better off as well as some middle households own fishing nets. The better off are also the ones who own boats. Income for such households comes from the sale of fish. By contrast, the poor have very few productive assets so their income comes mainly from working for the better off. A typical poor household has a few chickens and maybe a goat. Middle households fall somewhere in between these two extremes. Agricultural activities for better off households benefit from ownership of ploughs and animal traction, while the poor cultivate by hand.

Sources of Food

There is a striking difference in the relative importance of the various sources by which households in this zone obtain their food, linked to their socio economic status and assets. The main food sources for the poor are casual labour, purchases and own crop production; for middle households, formal employment, purchase and own crop production and for the better off, own crop production, formal employment and purchases. Fish are regularly consumed by better off households. However, the caloric contribution to overall annual household needs is relatively small compared with other food sources. Better off households also consume milk and meat from their own animals (this is not a food source for the poor). Thus, overall the better-off secure most of their food from their own cereal harvests in contrast to the poor who rely heavily on the market, purchasing food with income earned through casual employment. Food gaps are filled with wild foods and gifts (including food aid).

Sources of Cash

Households within this zone rely on various means to earn cash, and the relative proportion of these income sources reflects their ownership of productive assets. Better off households who own fishing nets and boats earn over a quarter of their annual income from the sale of fish even though they usually employ others to catch fish for them. Better off households also tend to have a family member working elsewhere who remits money from time to time. With the remittances, the better off often invest in small commercial businesses such as grocery shops. With their larger animal holdings, the sale of livestock, in particular goats, is more important for better off than for poorer households. Poorer households rely on their labour to earn money. For example, men work on fishing boats and the *kapenta* rigs. Other key income generating sources for poor households include the brewing of sorghum beer for sale in the village, making and selling handicrafts to tourists at the lake or collecting thatch and wild foods for sale.

Hazards

Chronic hazards: Strong winds can cause fishing boats to capsize and these – as well as crocodile attacks - are a regular threat to the fishermen. Cholera is a health hazard which affects both fishing and farming activities.

Periodic hazards: Every few years floods affect the zone, inundating the fields and making fishing more hazardous. Drought can also hit periodically affecting farming.

Response Strategies

<u>Expansion of existing strategies:</u> Increase the collection and sale of wild foods. Increase the reliance on gifts from better off neighbors.	<u>Distress strategies:</u> There is no information available on distress mechanisms.
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Crisis Warning Indicators

A higher supply of fish on the market than there is urban demand will lead to a decrease in fish prices and the risk that fishermen will be unable to recoup the cost of fishing. This situation is especially serious when the period of low fish prices coincides with a period of high cereal prices.

Increase in the number of people collecting wild foods.

Increase in the number of people looking for local labour, which usually results in a drop in the wage rate. This is particularly serious when it occurs at the same time as high prices for staple grains.

Increase in the sale of animals especially when the terms of trade of goats for cereals is low.

Increased levels of cattle rustling.

Zimbabwe Livelihood Profile

Zone 2: Beitbridge and South Western Lowveld Communal

Main Conclusions and Implications

This is an agro-pastoral zone although employment is also a key source of food and cash income. The majority of households own some animals and these are a key safety net; livestock can be sold to buy staple cereals if the need arises. Many rural households also have relatives who work in town and who remit money to their village. Proximity to southern commercial estates and job markets around the border with South Africa and Botswana opens up significant employment opportunities.

Zone Description

This lowveld zone forms a long thin strip along the south of the country on the border with South Africa and Botswana. These communal lands are classified as Natural Region V. Annual rainfall is very low, averaging less than 475mm. The zone includes the districts of Beitbridge, Chiredzi, southern and central Gwanda, southern Matobo, and north-western and southern Mangwe. Important rivers pass through this zone, in particular the Limpopo, Tuli, Umzingwane and Shashi. These rivers, along with disused mines, provide opportunities for gold panning. Livelihoods are characterized as primarily agro-pastoral. Small grains are mainly grown as well as cotton in some parts of the zone, particularly in Chiredzi District, due to the drier weather pattern. Food and cash income from animal husbandry is supplemented by income from seasonal work on the nearby A2 and large-scale commercial farms or by migratory work in South Africa and Botswana. Animal holdings are generally larger in this zone compared with other parts of the country, especially around Beitbridge, as land there is more suited to grazing. Arable land for crop cultivation is generally small.

Markets

Cattle are mainly sold to local traders who come to the villages and purchase animals for re-sale to butcheries or abattoirs in town. Own farm produce such as melons and sweet cane are sold to travelers along the tarmac roads or in urban centres. Cereals are sold to the Grain Marketing Board (GMB) and private buyers. Cotton is the major cash crop in Chiredzi District and is sold to cotton companies such as Cotco, Terafin and Olam, There is a relatively lively cross border exchange of goods and currency.

Local jobs can be found either doing piecemeal work for better off farmers, or working casually on A2 and large scale commercial farms in the zone. More lucrative job opportunities are found across the border in South Africa or Botswana as well as in major urban centres within Zimbabwe. Such work opportunities are chiefly exploited by better off households.

Seasonal Calendar

The main cereals grown in this zone are sorghum, millet (pearl and finger) and maize. Cotton is an important cash crop in Chiredzi District. Crops are cultivated both in the main fields and the lowlands (vleis) during different times of the year. Other important crops include sweet cane (*ipwa*) and watermelons. Maize is grown by most households, even though this crop does not do as well as the other cereals in such dry conditions. However, maize is preferred to sorghum and millet for its taste and relative

ease of preparation. It can also be eaten fresh before the harvest is ready thereby providing an important source of food at a time when stocks are usually low.

Wealth Breakdown

Wealth in this zone depends on the number of animals owned, remittances from household members and the capacity to grow cash crops such as sweet cane, watermelons and vegetables. Better off households typically have large livestock herds. Their harvests are also generally better due to the use of animal traction. Many households seek employment in South Africa or in Botswana. Those who find lucrative employment, remit some of their earnings and these remittances help improve the economic situation of their household in Zimbabwe. By contrast, those households doing local jobs on neighboring commercial farms or in nearby towns tend to be poorer.

Sources of Food

Own crop production is the main source of food although households are unable to meet annual food needs from this source alone given the erratic rainfall. Own crops are supplemented by local purchases and by remittances and gifts from South Africa, as well as by food aid given by NGOs in the zone. Food aid distributions depend on funding availability and therefore cannot always be relied upon. Poorer households also rely on borrowing food from better off households. In addition, people who live near to the rivers and seasonal streams are able to supplement their diet with vegetable production. They also gather wild foods such as *mopane* worms, and fruits. Even in normal years, poor households tend to rely on borrowing food from better off households (so-called “gifts”) or look for food in the form of relief through public works programs.

Sources of Cash

Households in this zone have diversified income sources. Proximity to A2 farms and remaining large-scale commercial farms as well as to the border with South Africa and Botswana provide important employment opportunities. Remittances in the form of cash are very significant; it is easier to send cash home compared to food. Cash income is also earned by the poor through the sale of *mopane* worms , watermelons and sweet cane .

Hazards

Chronic hazards: Low and erratic rainfall regularly reduces crop production as well as the availability of graze for cattle. Furthermore, *quelea* birds often destroy crops.

Periodic hazards: Livestock diseases are problems that occur every four to seven years out of ten. Periodic floods also occur as the zone is low lying.

Response Strategies

<p><u>Expansion of existing strategies:</u> Increase in sale of livestock. Increased consumption of wild foods.</p>	<p><u>Distress strategies:</u> Increased numbers of women turn to commercial sex work to earn money. Increased dropouts of school children in part due to enticements of cross border work.</p>
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Crisis Warning Indicators

Poor terms of trade for cattle and goats relative to staple cereal prices (in particular maize).

Increase in the number of people crossing the border to look for work in South Africa or Botswana.

Reduction in rates for seasonal labour compared with staple cereal prices (in particular maize).

Increase in the number of people who look for seasonal work, which could lead to a reduction in the labour wage rate.

Increase in the number of commercial sex workers.

Increase in barter trade and remittances.

Zimbabwe Livelihood Profile

Zone 3: Bikita-Zaka Highlands Communal

Main Conclusions and Implications

This zone has a relatively high potential for rain-fed agriculture. However, the area is densely populated and this limits the land available for cultivation. Nevertheless intensive farming of maize and groundnuts provides most households with a fairly stable source of food and income throughout the year. Livelihoods of poor households are more diverse than livelihoods of the better off. The poor mix maize cultivation with local employment (such as in the Bikita mines) as well as some limited gold panning.

Zone Description

This is a potentially prosperous zone situated in the north-eastern middleveld of Masvingo Province. It includes the communal lands of south-eastern Mutirikwi, northern Zaka and western Bikita. The zone falls under Natural Region III. Soils (red) are relatively fertile and rainfall averages around 600-800mm per year. Rain-fed agriculture dominates the rural economy. Maize and groundnuts are the primary crops, supplemented by other cereals (sorghum, rapoko) and round nuts. Notably, the area planted under sweet potato is on the increase. One of the main limitations to crop production is land access. The area is densely populated and therefore farmers' fields are correspondingly small. Crop cultivation is supplemented by various other income generating activities including local employment, beer brewing and animal husbandry. Beer brewers are required permits as stipulated in the Traditional Beer Brewers Act.

Cash crop production is a relatively precarious activity as farmers have to speculate on whether or not they will be able to cover their production costs. Cash crops such as cotton are not suitable for the zone due to shallow soils and medium temperatures. Widespread fungal disease has affected yields of sunflowers in recent years.

Markets

Cereal, in particular maize, is marketed independently either to local or distant private buyers (Chibuku Breweries, Blue Ribbon, National Foods and so on) or the Grain Marketing Board GMB). Livestock are sold on a small scale to local and distant buyers. Overall trends show a decline in sales. Sunflowers (used for oil) are now mainly grown for the household rather than for sale. Reapers, a company that purchases groundnuts, recently entered the market and now buys groundnuts from this zone. Local labour markets include local casual labour, sugar estates in Chiredzi, Bikita mine (which hires roughly 650 casual laborers) and a local growth point (i.e., small urban centre).

Seasonal Calendar

The main cereal grown in this zone is rain-fed maize. The rainy season begins in October and tails off in March. Other food crops include rapoko, sorghum, groundnuts, round nuts and sweet potatoes. Sorghum was introduced by NGOs working in the zone. Some farmers still cultivate sunflowers although this crop has been in decline due to a fungal disease which attacks the seeds. Markets for the product are also poor (that is, Olivine Industries are not buying). The months from August until the harvest in March are known as the 'hunger gap'. This is when household food stocks are low, prices of food are usually highest and there are limited cash earning opportunities. This hunger gap starts earlier and therefore lasts longer for

poor than for better off households. Selling of maize starts in July and ends in September. Some households wait for the season outlook before selling.

Wealth Breakdown

Wealth in this zone is linked to a number of factors, including sources of income, livestock ownership, remittances, quality of shelter and their degree of dependency on others. Poor households do not receive remittances from outside. Instead, they receive food aid from NGOs and Government. The poor cultivate by hand and their fields are relatively small. Moreover, they have to juggle their time between cultivating their own fields and employment on the farms of their better off neighbors so as to meet their immediate needs. As a result of these constraints, the poor tend to limit their production to cereals. By contrast better off households, with their extra land, labour and tools have more diversified food and cash crop production. Such households can afford to employ supplementary casual labour to work in their fields during periods of intense agricultural activity. There are differences in supplementary income linked to wealth group as well. Typically, better off households receive remittances sent by relatives in urban centres (Masvingo or Harare for example) while the poor earn cash as seasonal agricultural laborers on nearby farms. Demographic pressure and concentrated cereal cropping are two factors that limit the availability of grazing land in this zone and consequently animal herds are quite small. Poor households own mainly chickens while rich households typically own no more than 5 cattle as well as 10-15 smaller animals.

Sources of Food

Own crop production is the main source of food for both the poor and better off households. For better off households own crop production meets most of the annual food requirements in a normal year. Poorer households produce less, therefore, their harvest is typically only enough for about 4 months of the year. The poor purchase much of their food during the year using income from mainly petty trading and casual labour. In dry years, however, the picture is very different and people rely more heavily on purchasing food or receiving food aid. All households consume wild foods such as mushrooms, fruits, small animals (mice) and/or insects (harurwa, crickets, termites, flying ants)... While improving the quality and variety of the diet, quantities of wild foods consumed do not contribute significantly to annual food requirements for the households. Fish from Lake Mutirikwi is another source of food for households living adjacent to the lake.

Sources of Cash

The main sources of cash income are linked to market gardening and selling fruits (wild and cultivated), insects (harurwa, ishwa), sweet potatoes and surplus maize grain. Some fruits (guava, mazhanje) are sold to Cairns Foods Company. Cash to buy food is also earned principally through reliance on the labour market. Casual labour is found within the community (on farm or off farm), in the sugar estates and on mines (for instance the Bikita Minerals Mines which hires roughly 650 casual laborers). Better off households receive remittances from relatives working outside the country. Some poorer households may also receive remittances from a low-paid relative but the amounts remitted are not significant enough to change their livelihood.

Hazards

Chronic hazards: Nearly every year, the harvest is at risk of attack from crop pests and wild animals (monkeys and baboons). Malaria is also a chronic problem in this zone.

Periodic hazards: Drought hits this zone roughly every four years. Livestock disease such as foot and mouth, anthrax or Newcastle disease for chickens affect this zone periodically. Cholera and diarrheal disease outbreaks are experienced annually. Mushroom poisoning is common in this zone during the rainy season. Veld fires are common during the dry season.

Response Strategies

<u>Expansion of existing strategies:</u> Increase in collection and consumption of wild foods. Increase in remittances received from relatives working elsewhere. Increase in assistance given by local better off households to their poorer neighbors. Increased migration by able-bodied men to urban centres to look for work. Increased borrowing of money from neighbors and family.	<u>Distress strategies:</u> Reduction in the number of meals and the quantity of food eaten per day. Some women turn to commercial sex work as a means of earning cash. Increased poaching of wild animals and theft of property.
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Crisis Warning Indicators

Reduction in the yields of maize and groundnuts as a result of a poor agricultural season. This might mean that prices do not fall at harvest time as they usually do. If cereal prices stay high then it will be harder for people to afford to buy them.

Increase in the number of people looking for work locally which could lead to a reduction in the daily labour rate. This is likely to be a problem especially if it coincides with high cereal prices.

Zimbabwe Livelihood Profile

Zone 4: Cattle and Cereal Farming

Main Conclusions and Implications

This zone is characterized by Old Resettlement, small-scale farmers and a few large-scale commercial farm (LSCF) holders with the majority of farmers being A1 and A2 farm holders who benefited from the Fast Track Land Reform Programme of 2000. The new farm owners are engaged in cereal and livestock production and are normally food secure as they produce surplus cereals for sale. High incomes can be realized from the sale of cattle, which are found in large numbers in this zone. The presence of highly productive old resettlements and small and large scale farming areas also offer casual labour opportunities for the poorer new farm owners and former farm workers. This profile focuses on the A1 farmers who constitute the majority in the zone.

Zone Description

This large livelihood zone covers a vast area across southern and central Zimbabwe. It includes areas classified as Natural Region IV and V. The zone was greatly affected by the Fast Track Land Reform Programme that began in July 2000. Ranches were sub-divided and there was a wide-scale change of ownership. The majority of farmers in this zone have either A1 or A2 farm holdings. Some of the original farm workers that were employed in the zone prior to resettlement have retained their jobs, whilst others have been resettled or have relocated. Some have benefited from the land reform and are now A1 farmers themselves. Unlike other zones, farms in this zone do not generally employ many workers. Overall, soils in this zone are more suitable for cattle and game than for agriculture and therefore crop productivity is relatively low. Average annual rainfall varies across the zone. In the northeast, rainfall averages a relatively high 650-800mm. The south and central areas are drier; with rainfall averaging 450mm or less per year. The newer farm owners have introduced more cereal production on land that was previously reserved for game and cattle ranching. Maize, sorghum and millet are primarily grown with some wheat produced in irrigation schemes. Groundnuts, round nuts, sugar beans, cow peas, sweet potatoes and melons are also cultivated. Game ranching still exists, especially within LSCF and some A2 farms, but is limited. The game that remains is officially managed through the CAMPFIRE Programme by the local Rural District Councils (RDC) and to a limited extent by individual farmers. In some areas a significant increase in cotton production has replaced game ranching.

Markets

Ranch owners sell their cattle at auctions organized by the RDCs or sell to private butcheries and abattoirs in nearby cities and towns. The remaining game ranches are regulated by hunting quotas and depend on the tourist market. Surplus maize, millet and sorghum are sold to the Grain Marketing Board (GMB) and private buyers such as National Foods and beer breweries. Vegetables grown in market gardens are mainly sold locally and in nearby urban centers. Employment opportunities are available on the Game Ranches (conservancies), A2 farms (though limited), sugar and citrus estates, and in South Africa.

Seasonal Calendar

The main crops grown are cereals including maize, millet and sorghum, with groundnuts, cowpeas, sweet potatoes and melons. Market gardening exists where there are irrigation schemes and include winter wheat, vegetables and green maize.

Wealth Breakdown

Wealth among farm owners in this zone is determined by the production potential of one's farm which in turn is related to farm size. Farm sizes differ according to the type of settlement. A2 (and formerly A1 self contained) farmers own 100-250 ha and A1 (villagised) farmers own 6 hectares of arable land. Farm workers own little to no land and must rely on their own labor. Wage rate and job stability are critical to this group, which tend to be the very poor. Generally livestock ownership decreases as one moves from the south to the northern parts of the zone. Inversely, crop production decreases in yield and diversity from the north to the south.

Sources of Food

The main source of food for farm owners in all wealth groups is own production. Farm workers do not necessarily have plots of land to cultivate and they rely mainly on purchasing food. Very poor, poor and some middle households hunt animals and also collect wild foods including *mopane* worms (in the southern parts of the zone) which contribute to improved quality of diets.

Sources of Cash

For farm owners, income comes from three main sources: cattle, surplus cereals and game (i.e., trophy hunting). Some farmers have also diversified into cash crop production including cotton and vegetables, although these are still at a relatively small scale. Farm workers rely on agricultural employment as their main source of income. A1 farmers also sell their labour. Very poor and some poor farmers also earn cash through gold panning, selling *mopane* worms, poaching and employment in the mines and in urban centres.

Hazards

Chronic hazards: Theft of cattle and poaching of game occur regularly on the commercial ranches which are very large and difficult to protect. Erratic rainfall affects the drier parts of the zone, a problem that will become even greater as households continue to increase cultivation of cereals in this arid area. Bush fires are also relatively common.

Periodic hazards: Around 4 to 7 years out of 10, livestock are affected by disease epidemics. Over a ten year period, 1-3 years will be affected by drought.

Response Strategies

<u>Expansion of existing strategies:</u> Increased sales of livestock. Increased reliance on wild foods.	<u>Distress strategies:</u> Increase in poaching. Sales of livestock at unsustainable rates (so that it will be difficult or impossible to reconstitute the herd without assistance). Increase in the number of women resorting to commercial sex work to earn cash.
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Crisis Warning Indicators

Decreasing trends in birth and increasing mortality of cattle, linked to rainfall and disease epidemics and having an impact on prices.

Wage rates for labour in relation to prices of staple grain (in particular maize).

Increase in number of people who turn to gold panning.

Increase in the number of people who look for seasonal and other work opportunities.

Zimbabwe Livelihood Profile

Zone 5: Central and Northern Semi-Intensive Farming

Main Conclusions and Implications

Rain-fed agriculture – mainly of cereals – characterizes this zone. Maize and small grains are dominant crops, providing both food and cash income. Better off households are reasonably self-sufficient in cereals but poorer households depend equally on own crops, daily wages and gold panning to make ends meet.

Zone Description

This zone includes communal lands widely scattered in pockets across the central and northern parts of the country. It covers four provinces: Mashonaland, Midlands, Masvingo and Manicaland. The zone is classified as Natural Region III and IV with an annual average rainfall of 650-800mm. In normal years, these conditions produce a moderate grain surplus. Farming in this middleveld zone is characterized foremost by rain-fed maize production and horticulture. Groundnuts, tobacco (Virginia and burley), cotton, soya beans, round nuts and cowpeas are the major crops grown in this zone. Cereal farming is supported by animal husbandry and other income generating activities. Oxen or donkeys provide draught power and some livestock is reserved for cash sales when the need arises. In the dry years, own crops and food purchases are heavily supplemented with wild foods.. Overall, this middleveld region, is considered a relatively prosperous zone.

Markets

The main commodity markets all have outlets in the major district towns. Cereals are sold to the Grain Marketing Board (GMB) and private buyers; cotton is sold to cotton companies; and livestock to abattoirs as well as to private buyers. Tobacco is sold at the main auction floors. In most cases, surplus cereal and cash crops are sold to private buyers and agents at the local level who then sell them on to the parastatals. Handicrafts are sold in larger towns while gold is sold to buyers who come to the zone from around the country. The labour market is mainly local but also includes urban areas throughout Zimbabwe.

Seasonal Calendar

Agricultural activities occur throughout the year. These activities are very intense at the beginning of the rainy season when both cotton and maize are planted. Over the following months – namely between January and March - maize is weeded and cotton is thinned out. After the rains end around March, maize harvesting and cotton picking dominate until July. Dry season activities (between June and August) include repairing thatched roofs, brick moulding, fencing gardens, market gardening, handicraft production, cross-border trading and collecting firewood to store for use during the rainy season.

Wealth Breakdown

Wealth is strongly linked to the land area cultivated. In turn this is linked to access to assets including a plough and oxen (or donkey), land, labor, seeds and fertilizer. Better off households are resource rich which translates into better harvests and more food and cash income. They can afford to pay people to work for them in their fields during periods of intense agricultural activity. By contrast, resource poor households rely solely on household labor (rather than hired labor) to cultivate their fields, and get low yields due to poor production methods (inadequate inputs, poor weed control and using uncertified seed). This means that they devote less time to their land.

Sources of Food

Own crop production is the major source of food for all households in this zone. In a normal year, the harvests of better off households – as well as remittances - cover most of their annual needs. By contrast, poor households produce enough to cover just under half of their annual food needs. When harvest stocks run out, they purchase food on the market for the remainder of the year. Own livestock products (namely meat and milk) only contribute to the diet of better off households who have larger livestock holdings. Wild foods are consumed mostly by poor households who are also often dependent on food aid.

Sources of Cash

There are striking differences in the priority income sources of the different wealth groups. A very important source of income for better off households is cash crop sales (such as soya beans, cotton and tobacco) as well as the sale of maize, groundnuts, cowpeas, round nuts and market gardening produce. Poor households, who devote their small landholdings mainly to food crops, rely heavily on casual labour for their cash income. They work on nearby commercial farms and do menial jobs in towns (for example as domestics or on construction sites). Some of these households engage in petty trading (such as selling fish and beer brewing) to earn some cash. Gold panning and remittances from relatives in town are also additional income sources available to some households. When their cattle are lactating, middle-income and better off households often have a surplus of milk which they sell. Livestock sales are another source of income for middle and better off households.

Hazards

Chronic hazards: Malaria poses a serious problem in this zone. Crop pests and diseases as well as animal diseases (such as tick-borne diseases) are also widespread in this zone. Unreliable markets for agricultural inputs purchase and produce sales also constitute a chronic hazard in the zone.

Periodic hazards: The zone is affected by drought roughly every 1-3 years out of ten. Boundary disputes (especially in Buhera), veld fires, deforestation and land degradation (due to poor land use) are some of the periodic hazards. The zone is also affected by cholera and bilharzia.

Response Strategies

<p><u>Expansion of existing strategies:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">Increase in sales of livestock.Increase in paid daily labor activities.Increased reliance on the market to purchase food.Increase in petty trade.Encourage conservation farming to all farmers.Increase in gardening activities.Increase labor migration to other zones and countries.Consumption of wild and domestic foods using untried recipes.	<p><u>Distress strategies:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">Children withdrawn from school.Reduction in the number of meals and the quantity of food eaten.Increase in firewood sales.Increase in theft (livestock and crops).
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Crisis Warning Indicators

Poor yields of maize or reduced land area cultivated suggest that there is a problem and this could lead to increases in the prices of maize which will primarily affect poorer households who rely on the markets to purchase a large proportion of their food needs. This could be due to increased cost of inputs.

International markets determine the prices of cotton and tobacco and if these are too low then producers will be unable to cover their production costs.

An increase in the number of people looking for local work opportunities could lead to a decrease in the wage rate. This will be particularly serious if it coincides with an increase in the cost of staple foods.

Very late and erratic start to the rainy season.

High costs and late dispatch of inputs.

Increase in mid season dry spells.

Zimbabwe Livelihood Profile

Zone 6: Cereal and High Cotton Communal

Main Conclusions and Implications

Livelihood success in this zone depends on the rain fed cultivation of cotton, maize, sorghum and other minor food crops. Livestock production is also important; in this zone, households raise cattle, goats and poultry. Poor farming households produce too little to cover their needs and hence they buy food for much of the year. This market dependence exposes them to unfavorable price fluctuations, such as when local wages do not keep pace with staple food price increases.

Zone Description

This zone lies in the north of the country. It is known for being one of the most productive areas in Zimbabwe. It spreads across parts of three districts: Gokwe South, Gokwe North and Kariba. Classified as Natural Region IV, average annual rainfall is around 450-650mm. Livelihoods are primarily agricultural, centred on growing maize for food and cotton for cash. Cash crop sales provide a key income source for the majority of households and recent years have seen an increase in the area of cotton grown at the expense of staple food crops. The climatic conditions - low rainfall and high temperatures - are ideally suited to growing cotton. However cotton production in the short run is affected by price fluctuations. Most households keep livestock, with cattle, goats and poultry being the common types. Within the zone, there is also a dairy project with milk being produced and sold to local markets as well as Gokwe town. Other income generating activities include local employment, casual labor and gold panning.

Markets

The main commodities are exchanged through government parastatals. Cotton is sold to cotton companies, such as Cotco, Cargill, Grafax, FSI Agricom and IDAI companies. The cotton ginneries at Nembudziya and Gokwe town also purchase cotton from the farmers. Cotton arrives at these depots via a network of cotton collection points which exist at most business centres throughout the zone. Cattle are marketed to private buyers, local beef committees, local butcheries and through buying agents on behalf of abattoirs. The following are sold on the local market; surplus kitchen garden vegetables, salted and boiled groundnuts, peanut butter, thatch grass and local beer.

The main employment opportunities are local although some households have a family member working in major urban centres (mainly Harare but also Gokwe, Gweru, Bulawayo, or KweKwe) or in the mines. For poor households, there are casual labor opportunities on local cotton fields which is labor intensive to produce. Gold panning occurs at Munyati, Sanyati, and Kakwira.

Seasonal Calendar

The agricultural year starts in October with preparation of the fields. The main food crop grown is maize, supplemented by groundnuts, millet (pearl and finger), sorghum and some round nuts. Groundnuts need to be sown on sandy soil. Therefore, only the northern part of this zone is suitable for groundnut production. Maize is the first crop to be ready, as it can be eaten green before the main harvest. Green maize makes a valuable contribution to people's diet as it provides a source of food at a time when

household stocks are low. Wild foods (e.g. baobab and masawu) are also consumed but have low food energy value.

Wealth Breakdown

Wealth in this zone is dependent on income from the sale of cotton and cereals rather than the size of land owned.⁷ Better off households have sufficient resources – tools, hired labor, animal traction, fertilizer and so on – to cultivate larger areas of land and they produce a relatively good harvest. Some better off households own tractors or lorries which they use for both cultivation and for transporting produce to the markets and sales points. By contrast, the poor devote most of their land to food crops. Moreover, they must rent or borrow draught power. In addition, to meet immediate cash needs, many poor households must look for work and this takes them away from critical tasks on their own fields. All of these factors reduce their potential harvest.

The zone is also characterized by fairly large households owing to polygamous practices. Women and children serve as an important labor source for labor intensive cotton farming in most households. Children's educational levels are strongly linked to their potential income earning capabilities and in turn to a household's wealth status. Children from poor households tend to stop after completing compulsory primary school, while those from middle and better off households usually complete their secondary education. Some better off households send their children on to tertiary level education.

Notably, house structure is not a defining wealth characteristic in the southern part of the zone as it is in the north. This is due to the predominantly black basal soils which are unsuitable for large, brick houses.

Sources of Food

The most important food source for all households in this zone is the consumption of their own crops. However the importance of own crop consumption as a proportion of annual food needs differs by wealth group (not surprisingly, own-crop consumption is highest for better off households).

All households purchase some food over the year to supplement their own crop harvests. Food relief aid is an important food source for the majority of poor and middle households in drought years. Only middle and better off households consume milk and meat (own chickens and goats) as the poor have very few (or no) animals.

Sources of Cash

A large proportion of the annual household income for better off households comes from cotton sales. The poor grow mainly food crops and only small amounts of cotton; hence, income from casual labor is significant. Mostly, the poor find work in cotton fields but they also undertake land clearing, house building, thatching and cutting grass. Livestock sales provide a considerable potential income source for the majority of households especially middle and better off households. Small livestock - i.e. poultry and goats – can be sold when additional “quick cash” is needed above the income earned from crop sales whilst cattle are sold only when all other sources are exhausted. A further income source for some better off households is the hiring out of their lorries and scotch carts during harvest time to other farmers who need to transport their produce to market.

⁷ This area was opened for resettlement in the late 1960s following the eradication of the tsetse fly. All households were allocated the same 12 acres of land but access to labour and other inputs determine the amount of land cultivated.

Hazards

Chronic hazards: Crop pests, wild animals and livestock diseases are regular problems that households in this zone have to contend with. Water logging in the heavy black soils is a further problem as is gullying in some parts of the zone. A major concern however is the marketing of their produce; cotton prices are dictated by the international market and farmers have to speculate on whether or not they will be able to cover their production costs. Malaria is an annual threat to human health, which is most prevalent between April and July and can have a severe impact on people's ability to work. Another health hazard is the chemicals used in cotton production which are hazardous and very often farmers do not wear protective clothing. Therefore, they run the risk of diseases associated with the sprays. A few households live near to Chirisa Game Reserve and every year their crops are at risk of damage by wild animals, especially elephants between December and May.

Periodic hazards: Roughly every 3 in ten years the zone is affected by drought. Foot and mouth disease and anthrax are also two diseases that affect livestock periodically in this zone.

Response Strategies

<u>Expansion of existing strategies:</u> Increased consumption of wild foods. Reduction in non-essential household expenditure.	<u>Distress strategies:</u> Food aid distributions. Reduction in number of meals and quantity of food consumed. Increase in theft of small livestock. Increase in gold panning. Increase in poaching.
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Crisis Warning Indicators

Decrease in the yields of maize usually accompanied by an increase in market prices.

Decrease in the yields of cotton. Note that overall production of maize and cotton are not necessarily reliable indicators of distress because farmers speculate on planting each according to which is likely to give the better returns.

Increase in the number of people who are looking for work. This usually leads to a drop in the rate they can earn for labour which is particularly serious if it coincides with a period when the price of staple cereals is high.

Increase in the number of animals on sale at the market, especially since this could lead to a drop in prices.

Zimbabwe Livelihood Profile

Zone 7: Cereal and Low Cotton Communal

Main Conclusions and Implications

This is an agricultural zone although factors such as drought, floods, poor soils, wild animal destruction of crops, crop pests and animal diseases result in generally low harvests. Cotton and maize are predominant crops. Farmers also keep livestock for draught power and as an asset to sell when households' food stocks run low. However, the zone lacks the physical infrastructure and functional market centres for lively trade. Hence, many people go in search of work in the high cotton producing areas, earning grain in exchange for labour. Poorer households also always need some form of predictable food transfer for survival.

Zone Description

The zone covers several administrative areas including: Siabuwa in Binga District; northern parts of Gokwe North; western parts of Hurungwe District and *Omay* in Kariba District. The zone lies south of Lake Kariba and borders Matusadonha National Park in Kariba to the north. This is a lowland area in Natural Region III and IV. Annual precipitation falls between November and February and averages 450-650 millimeters. Temperatures reach 35-40°C during summer and drop to a minimum of 15-20°C during the winter months. Livelihoods in this zone can be described as an economy of cash and food cropping combined with animal husbandry. Households have access to sufficient land both for cultivation and grazing. The main constraint is labor capacity and many households cultivate only a proportion of their landholding. The zone has potential for successful cotton production which is grown as a cash crop. The proximity to high cotton producing areas in Gokwe has resulted in the zone having some basic infrastructure to support cotton farmers. This cash cropping has fluctuated over the last few years due to market prices and a prioritization on food crops. At the start of the season, farmers have to speculate whether they can cover their production costs once they sell their harvest. The price of cotton depends on the international markets and sometimes it is more economically viable to plant cereals instead of cotton. Therefore, the area planted with cotton is not constant every year.

In addition to the main cash crop, households cultivate cereals such as maize and sorghum and other food crops including pulses and tubers. Recent interventions by locally based NGO and Cotco have helped (mainly poor) beneficiary households retain their livestock which would otherwise have been sold off for food. Overall crop yields in the zone have also increased in recent years, possibly due to higher fertilizer use. The main animals that households own are cattle, goats and sheep. Proximity to Matusadonha National Park means that animal diseases are easily transmitted from the wild animals. Furthermore the wild animals sometimes raid the herds. These wild animals are also hunted on a small scale by local people and the game meat is kept for food or sold.

Markets

Market access in this zone is among the poorest in the country, due to its remoteness from regional market hubs such as Gokwe, Karoi, and Chinhoyi among others, a situation exacerbated by the poor state of roads and by the lack of public transport. The only functional trading is between households who have a particular item and those who require it. The majority of the population in this zone access basic commodities through local businesses, or in Gokwe and Karoi. Items are supplied on irregular basis. Maize grain is purchased and sold by the Grain Marketing Board and private dealers while local cotton is sold to private companies and Cotco. Most of the employment opportunities that people exploit are local,

within the village. Some men, however, seek work in Hwange, Victoria Falls or as far as the larger urban centres of Harare and Bulawayo.

Seasonal Calendar

The main food crops grown in this zone are maize and sorghum, along with groundnuts and bambara nuts, sweet potatoes and sugar cane. While mostly grown for consumption, a share of the harvest is sold to raise cash income as well. The main cash crop grown is cotton, although recently sunflowers have been introduced as well. Market gardening is practised by most households, near water points or on the banks of streams. Between the end of the harvest and the start of the next agricultural season, from April to October, some households engage in gold panning; August is the month when this activity is at its height.

Wealth Breakdown

The key determinants of wealth in this zone are livestock holdings, area of land cultivated and income earned from the sale of cotton. Better off households cultivate larger areas of land; they have the necessary farming implements to ensure a higher yield and they can afford to pay for extra labour in order to maximize the area cultivated and to get the work done on time⁸. By contrast, poor and middle-income households depend on their own labour capacity as they cannot afford to hire labour. In the case of the very poor and poor, limited labour capacity for their own crop production is exacerbated by the pressing need to earn an income: they are obliged to juggle time on their fields with working for others to earn cash to meet immediate needs.

The educational attainment of children is strongly linked to their potential income earning capabilities. Children of poor households tend to stop after completing compulsory primary school, while those from middle-income and better off households usually complete their secondary education. Polygamy is fairly common in this zone. Men from poorer and middle-income households are more likely to have a second wife than richer men. Although the payment of bride price might be seen as a possible constraint to the number of wives a man might have, polygamous marriages also increase the labour capacity of the household.

Sources of Food

For most households in this zone own crop production is the most important source of food, albeit less so for the poor who also purchase much of their food. In fact, food purchases have declined in recent years due to several factors: food aid distribution over the past seven years; local on-farm jobs being paid in-kind; and the poor's low purchasing power. Middle-income and better off households usually consume milk and meat from their own herds. They also purchase food, funding purchases through crop, vegetable and livestock sales as well as employment. Many households in this zone also consume wild foods.

Sources of Cash

Household cash income in this zone is pegged to cotton production, gold panning, sale of small livestock and local crafts, as well as wild foods found in the area. However, levels of household income are extremely low due to low pricing regimes. Remittances received in the zone are typically in kind gifts such as grain, maize meal and non staple foods such as sugar. Some households also practice poaching; however, this is not typical among all wealth groups. Poor households earn most of their annual income through casual work, supplemented by cash earned through the sale of their relatively small cotton production or market gardening. (For all households in this zone, vegetables sales provide very limited income because the market is saturated.) Better off households, by contrast, earn most of their income

⁸ Recently, diseases affecting cattle and donkeys have particularly affected middle and better off households who normally rely on animal traction during the cultivation period.

from the sale of their cotton crop, making them dependent on the volatile international market prices. Livestock sales – mainly the sale of chickens and goats rather than cattle, which are kept as savings – are a second important source of income for middle-income and better off households. Other sources of income for households in this zone include gold panning and the sale of (illegally) hunted wild game.

Hazards

Chronic hazards: Wild animal predators often attack livestock in areas close to the national park. Livestock disease and crop pests are also regular problems in this zone. Farmers face the risk of the unstable cash crop market every year, having to judge in advance whether it is worth concentrating on cotton or maize. Wild animals, in particular elephants, attack crops in the Siabuwa area.

Periodic hazards: Roughly three to four years within a decade the area is affected by a drought. Roughly once in ten years the area is affected by floods.

Response Strategies

<p>Expansion of existing strategies: Sustainable increase in sale or exchange of livestock Increase in labor exchange Increased reliance on the collection of wild foods for sale and consumption Assistance from better off households to poorer neighbors. This is only on a limited scale. Increased poaching of wild animals and sale of game meat. Increased consumption of wild foods</p>	<p>Distress strategies: Reduction in the number of meals and the quantity of food eaten per day Excessive disposal of livestock to an extent where retaining former holding sizes is difficult. Consumption of unusual wild fruits.</p>
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Crisis Warning Indicators

Increased numbers of people looking for work, especially if this leads to a decrease in the daily labour wage rate. This is most serious when the prices of cereal are high.

Increased numbers of people looking for other means to earn income or food.

Below average maize and sorghum harvest, this could lead to an increase in the price of such cereals, affecting households who rely on purchasing their staple food.

Increased numbers of people engaged in gold panning.

Increased numbers of people engaging in poaching in nearby game parks.

Worsening terms of trade for barter and labour exchange particularly if it coincides with the hunger period.

Zimbabwe Livelihood Profile

Zone 8: Eastern Highlands Commercial

Main Conclusions and Implications

This livelihood zone centres on commercial farming. The sector specializes in horticulture (floriculture and vegetables), fruit growing (both tropical and temperate fruits), tea and coffee (production and processing), trout fish farming (in Nyanga district) and forestry (timber production, sawmills and lumber yards). For farm workers, additional sources of food or income depend largely on their place of work. On some plantations, farm workers have access to garden plots or small fields. Since 2000, this zone underwent some transformation associated with the fast track resettlement programme. For instance, many of the former commercial farm workers now depend on casual – rather than permanent – work. Even with jobs, farm workers presently face enormous difficulties making ends meet as farm wages are low.

Zone Description

This zone includes A1 farmers and workers (permanent and casual) on the commercial farms and sawmills in the Eastern Highlands. The Eastern Highlands are a mountainous range running 250 km along the Zimbabwe-Mozambique border. There are many indigenous and exotic forests here and soils are reasonably fertile. This zone includes the districts of Nyanga, Mutare, Makoni, Mutasa, Chimanimani and Chipinge. In addition, rainfall is more reliable than in other parts of the country. The zone usually receives an average rainfall of 750-1000mm a year. Depending on the altitude, the land classification shifts from Natural Region I to IIa and IIb. Some estates have continued to grow a diverse range of cash crops for export, namely oranges, peaches, apples, bananas, pineapples, plums, macadamia nuts, flowers tea and coffee (although in decline due to low prices on the market). Some of these crops require irrigation systems and other mechanized infrastructure. Farmers are shifting towards crops which require less mechanization, like cereals although not highly conducive because of the climate. Some of the settled farmers are falling to take advantage of the region due to lack of technical knowhow, markets, viability, tradition and lack of resources. People also work on the forestry estates with plantations of wattle, macadamia nuts, pine and eucalyptus.

In this commercial zone, workers earn their livelihood from employment. However many households need to supplement the principal wage and how they do so varies from farm to farm. Some farm owners allocate small gardens of land for the workers to cultivate some maize or garden vegetables for themselves. Hence supplementary earnings depend on the amount of land given and any assistance provided with inputs (draught power etc.) for tilling this land.

Markets

Most of the produce from the large-scale commercial farms in this zone is destined for export market which is lucrative and sensitive to international relations. The resettled farmers have challenges marketing their produce like macadamia nuts and flowers. Most of their produce ends up in the local market which does not pay much compared to the international markets. Farm workers purchase nearly all of their cereals, usually from the local store which is often run by the commercial farm owner. Fruits and vegetables are traded locally to fellow workers and there is also some trade in non-food items from off the farm. There is also some cross border trade in rice, soap and clothing from Mozambique in exchange for sugar and maize from Zimbabwe. Farm workers purchase maize grain from neighboring communal areas.

Seasonal Calendar

Maize is planted in November / December, ready for harvesting by April. Given that livelihoods depend on employment on the nearby farms or sawmills, this protects households to a certain extent from seasonal fluctuations in food access.

Resettled farmers and farm workers with access to land engage in vegetable gardening all year round, chiefly growing sweet potatoes, yams, cabbage and Irish potatoes. There are also casual employment opportunities during festive seasons in the hotels and lodges around the area (especially in Nyanga).

Wealth Breakdown

Wealth among the farm workers in this zone depends on the skill category and wage level of the permanent worker employed on the farm or sawmill. The better off skilled workers are foremen, mechanics, clerks and workshop workers. The poorer employees are semi skilled or unskilled. They also engage in mineral panning in areas where there are mineral deposits. Middle households might have the income from a permanent worker and from someone who does seasonal work.

Sources of Food

The main, and in some cases the only, source of food for farm worker households is the market using cash earned from casual labour. Only a few workers have access to land. For resettled farmers, own production (maize, fruits and vegetables) is their major source of food. There are a few wild foods available in this zone but they do not contribute much in terms of food energy.

Sources of Cash

The most important source of income for workers is employment on farms or sawmills. Extra money is raised through petty trade, selling fruits, vegetables and firewood. Some of the better off households and resettled farmers sell their produce to local and outside markets to obtain cash. Around Chimanimani, and, Mutasa, there are opportunities for mineral panning. The increased practise of this activity is leading to environmental degradation as the soil is easily eroded. The poor also engage in cross border trade and local petty trade. During festive seasons, especially in Nyanga and Mutare, casual employment in hotels is also an important source of cash. Remittances in the form of cash are high in households with members in the neighboring countries.

Hazards

Chronic hazards: Malaria is a chronic hazard among the farm population which has serious consequences on their income earning capacity. The high dependency on the market for food exposes this worker population to the effects of the current high prices. Sawdust dumps and deforestation are looming hazards in the area. Market and policy uncertainties are affecting most farmers as some of the crops fluctuate in viability in response to these changes.

Periodic hazards: These include: veld fires, cyclones, wildlife and earth tremors especially in Chimanimani.

Response Strategies

During a bad year, seasonal workers are usually the first to be laid off; permanent workers are generally kept on. At such times, seasonal workers turn to gold panning – which has a detrimental impact on the environment - and cross border trading to earn some cash. When household coping strategies have been stretched to their limit then some women are obliged to resort to prostitution work as a means of earning cash. This increases the likelihood that they will contract HIV/AIDS.

Crisis Warning Indicators

If maize meal prices increase beyond the reach of the daily wage then this will cause severe hardship to the farm worker households since they have very few other activities to fall back on.

Increased theft of produce by farm workers.

Farm worker migration due to low wages offered.

Increased reliance on aid leading to under employment

Increased numbers of A1 farmers resorting to casual labour on farms.

Zimbabwe Livelihood Profile

Zone 9: Eastern Highlands Prime Communal

Main Conclusions and Implications

In this zone, both the climate and soil are favorable for successful agriculture although high population density and small land holdings limit how much one household can produce. Successful livelihoods in this zone are also dictated to some extent by international commodity prices. However there are also a number of other employment opportunities that people fall back on as needed, including working in the commercial agriculture and forestry sector.

Zone Description

The land in this part of Zimbabwe is some of the most productive communal land in the country. Livelihoods in this zone are characterized by intensive rain-fed (with some supplementary irrigated) cereal and cash cropping. Plots are small so food and income produced on the farm must be supplemented by income earned from employment and animal husbandry. This mountainous zone is situated in the east of the country. It includes scattered pockets of communal lands on, or near, the border with Mozambique. These fall within the administrative districts of Chipinge, Chimanimani, Mutasa, and Nyanga.

Throughout the zone conditions are excellent for agriculture although there is some variation in soils and climate as one moves from east (classified as Natural Region I) to west (Regions IIa and IIb). At these high altitudes temperatures are relatively low. Annual average rainfall ranges from 750 to 1400mm. Maize is a staple crop but crop diversity is characteristic of this zone. For example a variety of cash crops are grown on the rugged terrain, including bananas, plums, avocados, yams, potatoes (sweet and Irish), sugar cane, tea and coffee. For annual cash crops, farmers are price responsive, prioritizing land area cultivated according to the prevailing world market prices. In recent years the combination of fungal diseases attacking seeds and other crop diseases as well as poor producer prices has led to a reduction in the amount of coffee, tea and wheat within the zone.

Households also engage in other activities including local petty trade, cross border trade, mineral panning, and mushroom sales. This part of the country is also known for its forested areas which are crossed by numerous streams and small rivers. The beautiful scenery makes this zone a popular tourist destination (except for Chipinge). The zone boundaries have extended to include resettled farmers under the land reallocation scheme. They fall under the category of A1 family farms (self contained small scale commercial farms), some of whom inherited irrigation facilities.

Markets

The fruits and vegetables produced in this zone are mainly marketed through private traders who re-sell the produce in the nearest urban centre. Some farmers collaborate to share transport costs and take the produce to Mutare themselves. The produce market is affected by a poor road network and farmers also receive low prices by the middlemen. Proximity to Mozambique also enables a lively cross border trade in sugar and fruit from Zimbabwe and rice and clothing from Mozambique. Livestock are sold to local butcheries at nearby growth points. Cereals are bought and sold through the Grain Marketing Board (GMB) outlets in Mutare, Nyanga and Rusape or through private traders. Some farmers also sell their timber as far away as Bulawayo and Beitbridge. With respect to employment, people from this zone find

job opportunities on local commercial fruit farms, commercial sawmills, large local farms or in urban areas (especially Mutare and Harare).

Seasonal Calendar

The main cash crops grown are peaches, oranges, bananas, avocados, tea, pineapples, mangoes, guava, vegetables, groundnuts and sugarcane. Given the small farm sizes, food crops usually only cover around half of the annual food needs, so households have to rely on market purchase for the remaining months. In addition to maize, other food crops grown include wheat, potatoes (both sweet and Irish), yams, and beans.

Wealth Breakdown

Wealth is linked to the area of land cultivated and the type of crops grown. For example poor households typically cultivate around a hectare of land by hand, concentrating on food crops. Middle-income households, by contrast, cultivate around 2 hectares of mixed food and cash crops, while better off households cultivate proportionally more cash crops than food crops. Better off households have access to sufficient inputs - animal traction, irrigation, fertilizer, hired labour and other farming equipment - for successful agriculture. Poor households not only lack essential inputs but they also juggle their time between cultivating their own land and finding work to pay for their immediate needs. Animal husbandry is limited by the lack of grazing land (this zone is densely populated). Nonetheless, better off households typically own 5-6 cattle as well as 15 goats and sheep. The poor own far fewer animals: a few chickens and maybe a couple of goats. In a normal year, middle-income and better off households can afford to wait before selling off surplus harvest thereby benefiting from higher prices. By contrast, the poor, who need money as soon as possible, are obliged to sell just after the harvest when prices are at their lowest. In this zone, the poor generally have larger households than the better off. More children mean more potential labor but when they are young it also means more dependents.

Sources of Food

Own crops are the major source of food for most households. However, for middle and better off wealth groups, own crops are supplemented by milk and meat from their own herds. Market purchases are also a fairly significant source of food for the middle-income farmer which in part reflects the importance of cash crops in the area. Casual labor – both local and in Mozambique - is also a source of income (and hence food) for the poor. Wild foods fill in seasonal food gaps for poor and middle-income households.

Sources of Cash

The local economy in this zone depends on cash crop sales, chiefly for middle-income and better off households. The wealthier households typically earn annual income from a mix of cash crop sales and private trade. By contrast, middle-income households combine cash crop sales with employment and/or remittances. The picture for the poor is different again, and more heavily dependent on the labour market. They generally earn most of their annual income from local employment combined with gold panning (except in Chipinge). The commercial plantations of tea, sawmills and lumber yards provide important job opportunities for those seeking to pick up casual work during the year. Other common sources of income include making bricks, doing casual work at nearby sawmills, finding casual work in Mozambique and/or working in the fields of better off neighbors or on nearby farms.

Hazards

Chronic hazards: International markets dictate prices that farmers obtain for their cash crops and price volatility is an annual concern. Malaria is a chronic health problem affecting productivity. Siltation of water sources for irrigation is another chronic problem limiting crop output.

Periodic hazards: Over a decade, roughly one to three years during the ten year period will be affected by extreme climate conditions affecting harvests. Hazards include frost, insufficient rain, or cyclones as well as landslides. Tick borne and internal parasites affect livestock. Another hazard is forest fires (and deforestation) which can lead to reduced water flow in important perennial rivers.

Response Strategies

<p><u>Expansion of existing strategies:</u> Increase market gardening on plots close to rivers and streams. Intensify maize cultivation near rivers and wetlands. Intensify farm diversification. In groups, farmers increase their efforts to sell produce directly and avoid selling to middlemen. Increase soil conservation practices (e.g. consolidated gardens). Increase value adding processes (e.g. canning and packaging).</p>	<p><u>Distress strategies:</u> Consumption of most of the green maize, so that there is very little left to harvest. Reduction in the quantity of food and the number of meals eaten in the day. Increase in prostitution.</p>
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Crisis Warning Indicators

Low yields for maize, which usually keeps prices for this staple crop higher than normal. This is particularly serious if it coincides with low wage rates for employment.

Low market prices for main cash crops which could mean that farmers are unable to recover their production costs.

Marked increase in rural to urban migration.

Zimbabwe Livelihood Profile

Zone 10: Eastern Kalahari Sandveld Communal

Main Conclusions and Implications

Livelihoods in this zone are built around three main activities: agriculture, animal husbandry and labour (local and migratory). Sorghum and maize farming is widespread but production is unreliable as the zone is semi-arid. Livestock and remittances are a key safety net for better off households. For the poor, income earned from local work, forest products and/or gold panning (in Kwekwe and Gweru) is their mainstay.

Zone Description

This zone lies in western Zimbabwe, covering the communal lands and some A1 and Old Resettlement areas of Lupane, Nkayi, Western Zhombe, Silobela, Inkosikazi and Manyame. These fall in the districts of Lupane, Western KweKwe, Bubi and north-western parts of Gweru. The zone lies in Natural Region IV with a mean annual rainfall of less than 620mm. Major food crops include sorghum, millet and maize which are grown mainly for subsistence purposes and only sold when there is surplus. The zone includes the forest reserves of Ngamo, Gwaii Mbembesi, Lake Alice and Gwampa, which provide excellent opportunities for (illegally) hunting wild game and for felling timber for sale. Government funded capital projects in Lupane also provide labour opportunities for people in the zone. Furthermore, the zone is near to important labour markets, both local – such as the tourist locations of Hwange National Park and Victoria Falls, as well as local mines – and across the border in South Africa and Botswana.

There is some limited cash crops grown including cotton and groundnuts but these are not widespread due to decline in input support schemes and market prices. The production of paprika has fluctuated over the past few years mainly in response to the market which has been dominated by one international buyer offering unfavorably low prices. Despite the various income earning opportunities available, poor households regularly receive drought relief.

Markets

The main commodity markets are local. Traders and private buyers come into the area to purchase produce for resale in Bulawayo or Lupane. Parastatals such as the Grain Marketing Board (GMB) and Cotco generally offer lower farm gate prices for grain and cotton than the smaller private buyers. All purchasers sell inputs to the farmers on credit. Livestock sales are to local butcheries and private abattoirs mainly from Bulawayo, Hwange and Victoria Falls.

The main labour markets are the local mines, agricultural projects and construction projects in developing towns such as Lupane and Bubi. Other labour markets include large urban centres in Zimbabwe (chiefly Bulawayo), tourist locations such as Victoria Falls and Hwange, and across the border in South Africa and Botswana. There is also permanent and casual employment in Agriculture and Rural Development Authority (ARDA) irrigation schemes and surrounding farms.

Seasonal Calendar

The main crops grown are maize, millet and sorghum. While millet is planted dry just before the rains start, maize is planted with the rain. The calendar shows the main harvest times although some of the maize harvest is eaten fresh in February, before the main harvest is ready. This is an important source of food to bridge the gap between the previous and the next harvest. Other crops grown include groundnuts,

paprika, cowpeas and beans. The main vegetables grown in the region are leaf vegetables, tomatoes and onions.

Wealth Breakdown

Wealth in this zone depends on three main factors: livestock holdings, farming capacity and remittances received from family members working elsewhere. Farming capacity depends on the size of the fields, household labor availability and access to farming implements. Better off households usually own a plough, traction animals, carts, harrow and other tools. Moreover, they can afford to employ other people to work for them during periods of intense agricultural activity. Most households own some animals in this zone. Whereas the poor typically own only a few chickens and maybe one goat, a better off household typically owns more than 10 cattle and 10 goats. Both middle-income and better off households are likely to own donkeys which are used for working in the fields or for transport. Poor households rely on the rich as a potential source of local employment, especially during difficult times.

Sources of Food

Despite the relatively short rainy season, cereal crop production contributes significantly to the annual food needs of better off households. Food remittances from children working in South Africa also form a major source of food for middle and better off households. The poor, by contrast, rely mostly on market purchase and labor exchange as their main source of food. With the relatively poor rains over the recent years, food aid has made a significant contribution to meeting food needs of households from all wealth groups. The abundant forests and national parks also mean that wild foods and hunted animals are an important source of food and greatly improve the quality of the diet. Typical foods collected are mushrooms, *mopane* worms and fruits. Various types of deer are the main game hunted for food.

Sources of Cash

The chief ways that households earn an income depends on their wealth status. For instance, better off and some middle households earn most of their annual income from migratory labor to South Africa, Botswana, Hwange National Park or Victoria Falls (earnings are remitted back home), combined with cattle and goat sales. A small, supplementary source of income is earned through crop and vegetable sales. Some cash crops such as cotton and, to a much smaller extent, paprika, are grown opportunistically when conditions allow. Food crops which are sold (mainly maize, millet and groundnuts) are not high income earners. Poor households, by contrast, have more diverse income sources which are more dependent on their physical labor capabilities, including casual employment in the timber and mining industries and employment by the better off households. Most of their income is earned from local casual work (for instance on ARDA schemes or for local mining companies) or by felling and selling timber from the nearby park and forest land. Gold panning is likewise an important income source. As this zone is near tourist areas there are income opportunities in craft sales. Poor households also engage in beer brewing for income.

Hazards

Chronic hazards: Living near to the national parks, forest areas and former game ranches means that crops are at constant risk of invasion by wild animals especially just before harvest time. The presence of disused open cast mines poses a danger to livestock and people. Animal disease outbreaks like anthrax and foot and mouth are a recurrent challenge to herd growth. Veldt fires are also a seasonal problem as they destroy pasture for livestock.

Periodic hazards: Within a decade, two years are drought years, which lead to severe reduction in crops harvested. Cash crops are affected by prices of inputs, access to credit, weather and international demand and markets. For instance the production of paprika has fluctuated over the past few years mainly in

response to the market which has been dominated by an international buyer offering unfavorably low prices.

Response Strategies

<p><u>Expansion of existing strategies:</u> Increased number of people looking for work. Increased amount of money remitted home. Increased brewing of local beer, in particular of illicit varieties. Increased felling of trees for sale. Increased consumption of wild fruits. Emergence of barter trade especially at low terms of trade. Increased illegal gold panning.</p>	<p><u>Distress strategies:</u> Reliance on drought relief (Government and NGO) Involvement in illegal or socially unacceptable activities such as poaching, prostitution, cattle rustling and theft of property.</p>
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Crisis Warning Indicators

Increased number of people looking for work locally or who are crossing the border, principally into South Africa and Botswana. This could lead to a drop in the wage rate.

Increased price of maize, especially when this occurs at the same time as a decrease in the local wage rate.

Low yields of maize and millet.

Decreased sale price of cattle and goats, usually linked to a disease epidemic or to an increase in animal sales.

Increased volume of timber and firewood for sale, often at relatively low prices.

Increased school dropout rate.

Zimbabwe Livelihood Profile

Zone 11: Greater Mudzi Communal

Main Conclusions and Implications

This lowveld zone is characterized by extensive rain-fed cultivation of maize, small grains and groundnuts supplemented by income earned through cotton production, gold panning, animal husbandry and formal employment. Better off households meet most of their food needs through own crop production. Poorer households, by contrast, cannot make ends meet from farming alone. Hence a diverse mix of income sources including employment and gold panning is the key to their food security.

Zone Description

This zone is situated in the north east corner of Zimbabwe, on the border with Mozambique. The zone includes the communal lands in northern Mashonaland East, eastern Mashonaland Central and western Manicaland. This is classified as lowland in Natural Region IV and average annual rainfall – although variable – is typically less than 700mm. A major tarmac road connecting Harare to Mozambique and Malawi transects the zone and this facilitates trade and exchange. The Mudzi, Rwenya, Mazowe, Nyandire Nyamombe, Nyagadzi and Nyamusanzara Rivers also pass through the zone, providing opportunities for some fishing and gold panning. The Makaha / Benson Mine provide further employment opportunities. In addition, better off farmers employ people to work in their fields. The zone is suitable for livestock production and many households own small livestock; goats, hence, are more dominant than cattle.

Markets

The main commodities produced within the zone are sold through private traders or directly to the Grain Marketing Board or cotton companies. Maize is imported into the zone from Mt. Darwin, Mutoko and Murewa which tend to have higher productivity levels. Cattle and goats are usually sold at local livestock pens where they are bought by agents looking for animals to take to the butcheries and abattoirs in Harare. Private traders also come to this zone to barter grain for livestock. This intensifies in drought years. There is also a lively cross border exchange with Mozambique for non agricultural produce. This exchange is not limited to households from within the zone. There is a major border crossing point between the two countries at Nyamapanda, and people from many other parts of Zimbabwe travel across the border at this point. For employment, local labour opportunities are available at nearby mines, including the Makaha /Benson Mine. Outside of the zone, Harare is the main urban labour market but some people go as far as Mutare and Mozambique.

Seasonal Calendar

The main food crops planted in this zone are sorghum, millet, groundnuts, bambara nuts (round nuts) cowpeas and maize. One advantage of maize is that it can be eaten green straight from the fields from February, before the main harvest, thereby providing a valuable source of food to households whose stocks are low or have finished. Various wild foods are available at different times throughout the year. In Rusape, during winter, households often work in potato farms in Nyanga District.

Wealth Breakdown

A better off household in this zone is one that has secure access to food, can pay for agricultural inputs and who can also meet education and health expenses. The poor with their limited resources juggle their time between working on their own land and earning an income to meet their immediate cash and food needs. Poor households typically cultivate their fields manually; better off households use animal traction. Animal husbandry is important in this zone providing food and income mainly to the better off. A poor household might own a couple of goats and some poultry whereas a better off household is likely to own more than 5 cows and over 10 goats.

Sources of Food

In a good year, the most important source of food for most households is their own crop production. However, during the recent series of poor years all households have had to depend heavily on the market to meet their food needs. Small grains dominate crop production as the area is suitable for sorghum and millet. However, most households still grow maize on a significant portion of their land. This zone also received fairly large amounts of food aid in the last few years. For some households, especially poor, wild fruits and small game, as well as fishing (for instance along the Mazowe River) supplement agriculture. Casual labour from working in Mozambique, or on the fields of the better-off locally or in other nearby livelihood zones is another important source of food for the poor.

Sources of Cash

The poorest households have much more diversified income sources than the better off. This reflects the uncertainty of each of their sources as well as the limited income that they are able to earn from each one. Some of the most common income sources for the poor include seasonal agricultural work, gold panning, employment in Harare and other urban centres, and trading and collecting wild foods for sale. All of these depend on the household's labour capacity. By contrast, better off households earn money chiefly through the sale of cash crops (especially cotton, groundnuts and tomatoes) and livestock.

Hazards

Chronic hazards: The continuously fluctuating price of cotton makes it very difficult for farmers to plan whether or not to devote their land and efforts to this crop. Malaria is a health hazard that affects household labour capacity. Landmines close to the Mozambique border are also a risk.

Periodic hazards: Roughly every three years the area is affected by drought which significantly reduces harvests. Veld fires and poor roads also affect livelihoods in this zone. Anthrax in cattle and cholera in humans are some of the common periodic hazards affecting this zone. Army worm is a periodic hazard mainly affecting maize. Wild animals destroy crops in areas with national parks or Campfire sites.

Response Strategies

<p><u>Expansion of existing strategies:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">Increased reliance on purchasing maize.Decrease in non-essential household expenditure.Increased reliance on employment as a means of earning cash to purchase food.Establishment of small irrigation schemes.Temporary migration in search of food.Increased sale of livestock.Gold panning.Increase in small grain and groundnut production.	<p><u>Distress strategies:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">Reduction in the number of meals and the quantity of food eaten per day.Increase in school drop outs.Increase in smuggling of commodities between Zimbabwe and Mozambique.
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Crisis Warning Indicators

High prices for maize just before the next harvest representing the scarcity of this commodity and the increase in demand for it as household stocks run low.

An increase in the number of people looking for work locally which could lead to a reduction in wage rates. This is especially serious when it coincides with high prices for staple food.

Increase in barter trading livestock and grain especially on unbalanced terms.

Increase in cross border activities.

Increase in informal markets.

Increase in livestock thefts.

Late onset of rainfall or erratic rains.

Zimbabwe Livelihood Profile

Zone 12: Highveld Prime Cereal and Cash Crop Resettlement

Main Conclusions and Implications

Resettled households in this zone depend mainly on rain-fed food and cash crop cultivation. Irrigation is limited to large-scale farms (namely A2 and commercial-scale farmers). A1 small-holder farms were allocated to settlers under the Fast Track Land Resettlement Programme that started in July 2000. The zone has recently observed an increase in mixed farming (livestock and crops) although livestock holdings are low compared to other zones. This is a high potential area and current production is limited by lack of capital. In addition to A1 farm owners, there is also a farm worker population in the zone who are highly mobile and very vulnerable to food insecurity.

Zone Description

Geographically, this zone lies in northern and central Zimbabwe in the provinces of Mashonaland Central, East and West as well as in Manicaland. This zone is characterized by some of the most fertile soils in Zimbabwe and is classified as Natural Region IIa and IIb with a mean annual rainfall of 750-1,000mm. As such, the land is well-suited for rain-fed crop production. The zone forms part of what was formerly the Mashonaland highveld commercial farming zone⁹. Transport and other services (safe drinking water, sanitation, telecommunication, power supply and so on) are insufficient, as a result of both poor infrastructure and difficulties in getting fuel.

This zone reflects land distribution changes since 2000. It is comprised largely of A2 and A1 farms and in some instances old resettlement and small-scale commercial farms. The former farm workers were substantially affected by these changes. Many of them lost their livelihoods and their homes. Some ex-farm workers kept their jobs but without long-term job security. Others were resettled on the land. This period of transition has been characterized by recurrent droughts and mid-season dry spells which interrupted the settling in process as did difficulties in accessing labour and other farming inputs. It is therefore unclear whether the new farms will match zone production potential.

This profile concentrates on three different livelihoods: (i) the A1 farmers who constitute the majority of landholders; (ii) former farm workers; and (iii) farm workers. The majority of landholders has 5 – 6 ha of arable land each as well as access to communal grazing land. The major crops in this zone are maize, tobacco, soya beans and groundnuts in Mashonaland East and Manicaland, supplemented by some wheat, Irish potato, sugar beans, cotton and sorghum. Tobacco is on the increase due to the prevailing favorable prices. In Rusape District, dairy farming is also picking up. This is generally a food secure zone with the potential to produce surplus. However, one widespread observation is that A1 farmers are currently unable to maximize their farms' potential. This situation may improve in time as the farmers establish themselves. Most of the farmers have moved with their families to the new farm and now live there permanently even though infrastructural development is still limited. A few work in town during the week and employ someone else to cultivate the land; others work the new land but their children remain with relatives in nearby zones. Notably, contract farming has been introduced in the zone and this helps in the capitalization of the new farmers involved. In addition to the A1 farmers, the zone comprises mainly casual farm workers. Many of these workers are hoping to find casual work which pays better than the current

employment opportunities offered by A1 farmers who cannot afford to pay high wages. A major market for labour are the large scale dairy farms (which were unaffected by land reform) as well as some small scale and old resettlement dairy farms in Mashonaland East and Manicaland.

The main constraints to successful livelihoods in this zone are the inability to invest in the land or pay for draught power, inputs, and labour. Overall, soils and climate are favorable for crop and livestock production.

Markets

The major commodities produced for sale in this zone are maize, tobacco, soya beans, wheat, and potatoes. Maize, soya beans and wheat are purchased and sold through local markets as well as from farmer to farmer or to private millers and Grain Marketing Board (GMB) outlets. Tobacco is sold at the major auction floors in Harare or to contractors such as BAT, TSL, ZLT and ZESA Enterprises. Market access is often difficult for the A1 farmers due to the poor state of roads. Moreover, many A1 farmers do not own their own vehicles. Milk from this zone is sold to Dairy Board Zimbabwe and local milk processors. In Rusape, there is also some milk processing on-farm, and products are sold in urban centres. Poor A1 farmers often barter some of their cereal in exchange for basic commodities such as cooking oil and soap. Labour markets tend to be on large commercial farms in the zone where former farm workers, farm workers and some poor A1 farmers find work seasonally.

Seasonal Calendar

Seasonal employment opportunities are available between November and August. This is linked to the agricultural cycle. From December to February, activities are at their most intensive as this is when the crops are weeded. During the dry season, between May and September, there are many non-farming income earning activities including construction around the homestead, repairing thatched roofs and cutting firewood to store for the rainy season. This is also the time when people engage in gold panning, although this is not widespread throughout the zone. A variety of wild foods are available in this zone, and these are mainly consumed between October and February, which is the period when household food stocks are generally low. The maize harvest starts in April, although maize is eaten green from the fields from March, and this provides a valuable food source to break the traditional 'hunger gap'.

Wealth Breakdown

A better off household in this zone is one who is fully resourced-has secure access to food, can pay for agricultural inputs and who can also meet education and health expenses. The poor have limited resources and they provide labor for the better off households. They juggle their time between working on their own land and earning an income to meet their immediate cash and food needs. Poor households typically cultivate their fields manually; better off households use animal traction or tractors. A poor household might own a couple of goats and some poultry whereas a better off household is likely to own more than 10 cows and over 10 goats.

Sources of Food

The most important source of food for landless households (both those with an able bodied adult and those without) is the market. These households purchase maize from the parallel market, or from local farmers or the GMB. Settled households with land obtain most of their food from their own harvests. They also have surplus for sale.. Landless and poor settler households get a variety of on- and off-farm employment which is paid in either cash or food. When there is sufficient grain available, workers are paid roughly 5kg per day although the rate of pay varies widely. Some people go to work with other members of their household so that the work is completed more quickly and they earn the bucket of maize after only 1-2 days. The really poor (i.e., the unemployed landless) also receive gifts of food from relatives who are still employed on nearby operating commercial farms. Poor settler households also benefit from gifts from

relatives as well as a small amount of food aid (through the supplementary feeding programme) when available.

Sources of Cash

Notably, there is little difference in the total cash income earned by landless workers and poor A1 farmers. However poor settlers purchase far less maize due to their own crop production (and therefore they are better off overall). Landless households without an able bodied adult rely primarily on their labour capacity to earn money. They find either agricultural piece work such as clearing, harvesting and weeding or they carry out less labour intensive off farm work including collecting and selling thatch and fencing poles. They also earn cash through selling, fish, petty trade and construction work. A1 households earn cash in a number of ways. For instance they sell some of the maize and vegetables they cultivate. They also find agricultural piece work. The poorer settlers also earn money by selling firewood, thatch and /or receiving remittances from a relative working in town. Middle-income settlers earn around three times as much as the poor settlers as they cultivate more land and have a more diverse crop base (they grow tobacco and wheat as well as maize and vegetables). They also earn cash by selling milk or renting out their draught animals. They have also developed their own small businesses in the form of tuck shops.

Hazards

Chronic hazards: Factors affecting the harvest are hail storms and crop pests. Poor sanitation facilities in the zone mean that human diseases are spread easily. Land degradation is also occurring due to deforestation from cutting firewood for tobacco curing. Pesticide poisoning to workers due to exposure during use and lack of proper disposal methods of containers are also key health concerns

Periodic hazards: Cattle diseases such as foot and mouth affect animals in this zone as well as veld fires, cholera and theft of livestock, crops and equipment..

Response Strategies

<p><u>Expansion of existing strategies:</u> Reduction in household expenditure on non staple foods and non-food items. Increased reliance on employment for food or cash. Petty trading.</p>	<p><u>Distress strategies:</u> Reduction in household expenditure on staple food. No expenditure on non staple foods. In other words compromised dietary diversity and quality. Children withdrawn from school. No expenditure on health care. People resort to poaching as a source of food and cash. Prostitution</p>
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Crisis Warning Indicators

- Increase in the price of maize, especially if wage rates do not increase in line with current prices.
- Reduction in cultivated land under cereals.
- Reduction in livestock holding capacity.
- Rural to urban migration.
- Unusually erratic rainfall.
- Increased morbidity.
- Increased rates of malnutrition.
- Infrastructural deterioration e.g. roads and telecommunication.

Zimbabwe Livelihood Profile

Zone 13: Highveld Prime Communal

Main Conclusions and Implications

Livelihoods in this prime agriculture zone centre around the rain-fed production of both cash and food crops. Cultivation is highly diversified but overall maize is predominant as the staple food crop. Some of the crops grown in this zone include tobacco, cotton, groundnuts, paprika, millet, sorghum, bambara nuts, cow peas, sweet potatoes and soya beans. Farmers in this zone are susceptible to prices fluctuations on cash crops which affect their income from year to year.

Zone Description

This is one of the most productive livelihood zones comprising communal lands in the country. On the whole, this reflects adequate rainfall rather than soil conditions (which are poor to fair). The zone itself contains scattered pockets of communal lands across the northern highveld, surrounded by former large-scale commercial farms. These prime communal lands are found in five provinces: Midlands, Manicaland and Mashonaland Central, East and West. The area is classified as Natural Regions IIa, IIb and III and it enjoys a relatively high average rainfall of 650 to 1,000mm per year. In addition to the rain-fed cultivation of food and cash crops, other livelihood activities include animal husbandry and formal and casual employment.

As this is prime agricultural land and densely populated, grazing land is very limited. These conditions mean that the better off have far fewer livestock than better off households in mid and lowveld zones. Moreover, herd sizes have decreased significantly in recent years. However, as it is overall a relatively wealth zone, even most poor households own small livestock. Cropping is carried out on small fields (due to high population density) and cultivation is done by hand (the poor) or animal traction (the better-off). The main crops sold for income are maize, cotton, groundnuts, soya beans and tobacco. The inadequacy of public transport and the poor road network limits the marketing of produce.

Markets

In normal years, this zone produces more grain than is needed for subsistence. Excess grain is sold directly to Grain Marketing Board outlets and through private traders. The main market for selling mangoes, tomatoes and rape is in nearby Harare at the Mbare market although the fruit and vegetables are also sold at urban centres throughout the zone. Mangoes from this area are very popular. Cash crops such as tobacco and cotton are sold to contractors. Livestock are sold to private buyers and local butcheries. The Livestock Production Development (LPD) also organizes sales pens throughout the zone. A number of major roads pass through or near the zone, providing an opportunity to sell thatch, wild foods, fruits, handicrafts and vegetables to passing vehicles.

The main labour market is local; either casual work in the mines or in the fields of richer households or permanent employment on commercial farms in the surrounding Highveld Prime Resettlement Zone. Households from all wealth groups - but particularly from the better off - have a family member working in a large town elsewhere in Zimbabwe, including Harare, Bulawayo, Bindura, Mutare, Chinhoyi and Gweru.

Seasonal Calendar

Although agricultural labor is needed throughout the growing season, it peaks around December / January for weeding and from April to June for the harvest. Poorer households have to juggle their time during this period, obliged to decide whether to cultivate their own fields or find employment elsewhere so as to meet their immediate needs. The main food crops grown are maize, groundnuts, sorghum, millet, and vegetables. Farmers also grow beans, bambara nuts (round nuts) and peas. The main harvesting period for maize starts in April, but from February it can be eaten green from the fields. This acts as a valuable food source to break the traditional 'hunger gap' when household food stocks are generally low. The important cash crops are vegetables (grown throughout the year), sunflower, flue-cured (Virginia) tobacco, and cotton. Surplus food crops are also sold to earn money. A number of wild fruits, mushrooms and edible insects including caterpillars, mice and flying ants are available in this zone at different times throughout the year. The main period for mangoes is during January and February.

Wealth Breakdown

Wealth in this zone is linked to area of land cultivated and animal holdings. Better off households have more assets, livestock and farm inputs. They generally have a member of the household who is working in town. Therefore, they have the cash to invest in their land.. Households from all wealth groups cultivate cash and food crops. However, only the poor combine own-crop production with employment to secure food and other needs during the year. Most households have access to animal traction. Those who don't own plough oxen hire draught power to cultivate their fields. Typical better off households own 5 or more cattle and some goats, while the middle-income households have 2 -5 cattle. Some of the poor generally do not own cattle; they own a few chickens and maybe some goats.

Sources of Food

Unlike many other livelihood zones within Zimbabwe, own crop production is the most important source of food for all households. Even poor households with their smaller landholdings and limited access to labor usually cover around a quarter of their annual food needs in this way. These poorer households supplement agricultural production through food purchased with cash earned through employment.

Sources of Cash

The sale of cash crops including cotton, tobacco, maize, livestock sales (e.g.Rusape District) and garden vegetables is a major income generating activity for most households in this zone, especially for middle and better off households. The better off also earn money through hiring out their plough oxen and receiving remittances. Poor households, by contrast, have few surplus crops to sell. Instead they find casual employment to earn cash or resort to illegal panning, petty trade and traditional beer brewing. They work on the farms of the better off households, or on nearby commercial farms. The commercial farms were extensively affected by the fast track land reform program so local labor opportunities are now more limited. The relative proximity of urban centres means that the centres are a magnet for people from all wealth groups migrating in search of work.

Hazards

Chronic hazards: Thefts of property (in particular crops and livestock) is a regular problem in this zone. With the heavy reliance on the sale of cash crops, the fluctuating international markets are a regular concern to farmers, who face the risk that they might not meet their production costs if the offering price is too low.

Periodic hazards: Periodically harvests are attacked by crop pests such as army worm. With the same frequency, cattle diseases affect the herds. Similarly, too much rainfall has a negative impact on crop yields. Given the importance of this zone as surplus grain producer supplying maize nationally, problems

with the harvest are not limited just to this zone but are felt throughout the country. Veld fires, stream bank cultivation, siltation of water bodies, deforestation and land degradation due to brick moulding are some of the more common periodic hazards in this zone. Erratic rainfall and irregular supply of inputs also affect their livelihoods in the zone.

Response Strategies

<p><u>Expansion of existing strategies:</u> Increase in the number of people who migrate to urban centres in search of work. Decrease in non-essential expenditure.</p>	<p><u>Distress strategies:</u> Reduction in the number of meals and the quantity of food consumed. Reliance on wild foods. Children drop out of school.</p>
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Crisis Warning Indicators

Trends in the production of maize and of its price – too low a price means that producers might find it difficult to cover their costs; too high a price means that households who rely on the market might not be able to afford to buy.

Market prices for the main cash crops, namely vegetables and tobacco, tumbling after the planting season has occurred to the extent that farmers cannot re-coup their cultivation season costs.

An increase in the number of people looking for work, which could saturate the market and lead to a reduction in the labour wage rate. This would be especially serious if it coincided with a period when the price of staple food is high.

Zimbabwe Livelihood Profile

Zone 14: Irrigated Commercial Sugar and Fruit Farming

Main Conclusions and Implications

The population described in this profile includes households with at least one person who has a permanent job on the large-scale irrigated plantations in south-eastern Zimbabwe. It also includes smallholder farmers. Depending on their labour capacity and savings, households generate income through seasonal employment or through small-scale trading on the estate where they work.

Zone Description

This zone lies in the south-eastern lowveld of Zimbabwe. It is an arid region categorized as Natural Region V. Average annual rainfall is only 372mm. Hence, agricultural activities are based on irrigation. This zone includes households who live and work permanently on the irrigated commercial sugar and fruit estates in Triangle and Hippo Valley. These estates are dominated by one company, Tongaat Hullets. The zone also includes A1 and A2 farmers. Notably, resettlement has affected fruit farming as some new A1 and A2 farmers have reduced fruit production (although maintaining orange, mango and pineapple trees) in favor of growing maize and sugarcane with some livestock rearing. A2 farmers sell their sugarcane to Hippo Valley and Triangle estates who are both producers and millers. The livelihoods of the workers are based on earnings from employment supplemented, in some parts of the zone, by other income generating activities such as petty trading (including crafts, crocheted articles) and casual work. Some households also have a small garden. There are important differences in access to these various supplementary activities, largely dependent on three factors: whether or not (i) the employer allows their workers to have a small plot of land; (ii) the workers have free access to water for irrigation; and (iii) the workers are permitted to own some chickens.

Markets

Farm workers purchase nearly all of their annual food needs, typically from established supermarkets and flea markets. A small trade in chickens and eggs, handicrafts, vegetables and game meat occurs on a very local basis between workers in the estate or on nearby communal lands. Sometimes women sell handicrafts in Harare or South Africa, and vegetables to nearby urban areas, as and when they have the means to travel. A2 farmers sell their sugarcane to Hippo Valley and Triangle estates. These farmers also sell their fruits in Chiredzi town and to outside buyers. Livestock is sold to local butcheries, or to external buyers with agents stationed within the zone, or exchanged amongst farmers.

Seasonal Calendar

Given that livelihoods depend on employment on the estates, households are in some way protected from seasonal fluctuations. However, in addition to the main employment, there are opportunities for other household members to find seasonal work as laborers on the estates. This occurs mainly between April and November. In difficult years, the permanent workers (at least one per household) retain their jobs. Therefore the impact is mainly felt in the loss of opportunities for supplementary activities and in increased cereal prices. Planting of sugarcane is all year round and harvesting occurs twelve months later. Harvesting oranges occurs between April and August.

Wealth Breakdown

Wealth among the farm worker households in this zone depends on the skill category of the permanent worker employed on the estate. The richest households, around a quarter of the laboring population in the zone, are those where there is at least one skilled laborer. Middle households make up around half of the population and have at least one unskilled permanent laborer working on the estate as well as a second person who does seasonal work. The poorest quarter of the population consists of those households with an unskilled permanent employee on the estate but without anyone else who can do seasonal work.

Sources of Food

Nearly all of the food that households consume is purchased from established supermarkets and flea markets except for the newly farmers who rely mainly on own crop production. Farm workers also receive rations of food from their employers. People from outside bring maize grain to exchange with mainly sugar and other goods. Poaching of fish by workers in estate dams and canals is very common. Purchasing power is therefore strongly affected by cereal prices. A few households who live on the estates have access to a small plot of irrigated land grow some vegetables and sweet potatoes for household consumption or sale.

Sources of Cash

Estate employment is the most important source of income in this zone, which in turn depends on the skill level of the employee and on the number of people in the household who work either permanently or on a seasonal basis. People living and working on the fruit farms are usually paid less than those on the sugar farms but they are given substandard fruit which they sell and which contributes fairly significantly to their annual income. Better off households who are able to raise the capital also buy food and non food goods outside the farm to re-sell to their colleagues. Some households sell handicrafts (especially mats made out of reeds or baobab leaves). A2 farmers sell sugarcane and maize to the estates in order to pay their workers.

Hazards

Half of the usual seasonal labor force might not be employed in a bad year. This particularly affects middle-income households and the poor who depend on seasonal labor to supplement the income from unskilled permanent employment. Once or twice in a decade there is a bad year in the surrounding maize producing zones (in particular the Masvingo Mutare Middleveld Zone; the Save River Valley and Ndowoyo Communal Zone; and the Mwenezi, Central Chivi and South Midlands Zone). At such times the price of maize in the sugar and fruit commercial zone increases and as this often coincides with a reduction in agricultural work opportunities, this makes it particularly hard for poorer households with few alternative options to make ends meet.. Chemical poisoning, cholera and malaria are all chronic health hazards among workers. Job accidents, mainly caused by tractors without proper lighting facilities, also occur regularly.

Response Strategies

<u>Expansion of existing strategies</u> Increased reliance on and requests for remittances from family members working in town or in other countries. Increased reliance on employment opportunities. Increased reliance on purchased maize. Increased reliance on making handicrafts for sale in town.	<u>Distress strategies:</u> Children taken out of school, either to work on the farm or to earn cash. People turn to theft of property and poaching. Women resorting to commercial sex work to earn cash.
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Crisis Warning Indicators

Increased number of people looking for work. This could lead to a reduction in the daily labour wage rate and is particularly serious if it coincides with an increase in food prices.

Increase in the prices of cereals especially maize.

Reduced overall crop yields.

Increased volume of handicrafts for sale in town, often at lower than usual prices.

Increase in the incidence and prevalence of diseases, especially those associated with HIV/AIDS.

Zimbabwe Livelihood Profile

Zone 15: Kariba Valley and Kariangwe - Jambezi Communal

Main Conclusions and Implications

The Kariba Valley and Kariangwe - Jambezi communal lands suffer from chronic problems of food insecurity. Located in the north-west of the country, the zone falls in Natural Region IV and V. Most of the zone is relatively isolated from the rest of the country. This isolation contributes in large part to the overall poverty of the area. The remote location means fewer lucrative employment and market opportunities, as well as higher prices for purchased food and other goods. Trading and employment opportunities are limited to major tourist areas in Kariba, Hwange and Victoria Falls. Agriculture is unreliable, livestock holdings are relatively low and most households must buy their food during the year.

To get by, households combine a number of activities. Crop and livestock production provide some food and income although agriculture is very unreliable. Cash cropping (mainly cotton) occurs but is also a chance activity. Vegetable gardening adds some income but more important are earnings from remittances or local jobs. A few areas in Kariangwe-Jambezi are near to the main highway leading to major tourist locations. This proximity offers some trade and work opportunities. The colliery and power company located in the zone also provide opportunities for employment and trade. Some of the wards in Binga are not accessible. Food aid is a notable food source for many households, especially during these last few years of drought and high inflation.

Zone Description

This zone is found in the communal areas of Binga, Kariba and Hwange Districts. The livelihood zone lies in the north west of the country and is perceived as one of the most food insecure areas of Zimbabwe. This reputation comes from poor agricultural potential coupled with the limited cash income earning opportunities. Located in Natural Region IV and V, soils in the zone are granitic and sandy. Moreover, they have been degraded after years of mono-cropping without any fallow time. (This may explain why crop yields are on the decline.) Rainfall is erratic and averages at 450-650mm per year. Major crops grown in the zone are groundnuts, maize, cowpeas, sorghum, round nuts, cotton, millet and garden produce. As one of the least developed parts of Zimbabwe, the road network and general infrastructure are very poor, leading to its isolation from the main commodity and labor markets. This isolation is exacerbated whenever fuel is in short supply and expensive resulting in transport shortages as well. The majority of households in the zone are Tonga and Nambiya. Livelihoods are marginally more successful in Kariangwe and Jambezi which are at a higher elevation and slightly closer to tourist locations than in the Kariba Valley. An important highway runs through the zone, which provides a potential market for the sale of handicrafts, cereals and animals. Herd sizes have decreased over the past several years as people exchanged livestock for grain as a coping strategy. The proximity to Lake Kariba affords an excellent opportunity to fish for those households with the necessary equipment. The zone also has the potential for cotton cash cropping. Actual production however depends on whether international demand and price are sufficiently high to be worth a farmer's investment.

Markets

The main commodity markets are local. Grain is bought and sold through the Grain Marketing Board (GMB) which has outlets in the zone. Livestock are sold to private local butchers and traders who then resell the animals to butcheries in urban areas. Nearer to Victoria Falls, farmers profit from better prices,

depending on the tourist market. The main road connecting Bulawayo to Victoria Falls and Hwange National Park also provides a reasonable opportunity for the sale of commodities including handicrafts and vegetables, although this is partly dependent on the tourist trade.

Within the more remote parts of the zone, especially in the Kariba Valley, the main employment opportunities are very local and include working in the fields of neighboring better off households. There are also opportunities for work just outside the zone including at Wankie urban area, Zimbabwe Power Company, tourist facilities at Victoria Falls, and crocodile farms. Some people also move as far as Bulawayo in search of work. However the major labour markets are fishing camps, crocodile farms and safari. People also migrate to work in Botswana, Zambia and Namibia

Seasonal Calendar

The months leading up to and during the rains are the times of greatest activity in the fields for land preparation, planting, weeding and harvesting. The major crops grown in the zone are groundnuts, sorghum, millet, maize, cowpeas, round nuts, cotton, and garden produce. In Kariba District, observations over the last 6 seasons have shown that the annual total amount of rainfall has increased to 700 mm. Although maize does not do as well as the smaller grains in this arid zone, it has several other advantages, notably that a part of the harvest can be eaten green before the main harvest is ready. This provides a valuable source of food to end the hunger gap when household stocks are traditionally very low. The period of highest livestock sales coincides with the hunger gap which highlights the fact that animals are mainly sold to purchase cereals. Fishing activities are usually only done by men from those households that have access to the necessary equipment. While all the active members of a household are involved in agricultural activities, the sale of livestock is usually carried out by men while women and girls collect wild foods or sell vegetables. The gathering of wild fruits start occurs April – July then November – December.

Wealth Breakdown

Wealth in this zone depends on the area of land planted, the number of animals owned and the educational level attained by the children. When most of the population in Binga district was relocated in the late 1950s and early 1960s because of the construction of the Kariba Dam, all households were given approximately 3 hectares of land (7-8 acres). Since then, land has been sub divided between children. Therefore most households now own smaller plots of land of under a hectare. An additional constraint for poor households is limited time and labour to adequately farm their land. Often they must meet short term food needs by working for others during the periods of greatest agricultural activity. Moreover, unlike better off households, they cannot afford to hire labour. By contrast, better off households not only hire extra labour as needed, they also use animal traction (the poor use hand hoes). It is very rare for a better off household to own a tractor. Those better off households with the means have also started to cultivate cotton (one result is increased local employment opportunities because cotton is a labour-intensive crop).

Being 'resource-rich' increases other livelihood options. For instance middle-income and better off households own fishing equipment which improves the quality of their diet. Finally, the educational attainment of children is strongly linked to their potential income earning capabilities. Most children of poor households stop after completing compulsory primary school. Those from middle and better off households usually complete their secondary education (some students go as far as tertiary level). Polygamy is widely practised in this zone, which increases the household labour capacity and hence has an impact on the household's ability to manage the various labour intensive activities. However bride price is a limiting factor. Most poor men have one or two wives while the better off men usually have more than two wives. Very poor category consists of elderly, chronically ill, and some female headed households.

Sources of Food

Households in this zone obtain their food via a wide variety of sources. With the recent years of poor rainfall, own crop production has made a minimal contribution to the annual requirement of poor and middle-income households. Even the better off were only able to cover about one quarter of their needs from their own cereal production. In the reference year all households received more than half of their food needs from food aid. Normally only poor households work in return for food. The fact that middle-income households started to do this indicates that they found no other options to cope during the recent difficult year. The availability of such work depends on whether better off households have sufficient capital to employ people. Wild foods such as roots, fruits, tubers and leaves make an important contribution to the diet especially in difficult years, although their availability is reported to be on the decline. This is linked to the fact that there has not been sufficient rainfall for the plants to multiply. Some of the wild foods apparently do not have a pleasant taste. Their consumption therefore indicates a period of food stress. Purchases are paid not in cash but through barter, whereby a goat, or sometimes a chicken, is exchanged in return for buckets of grain. Although fishing is an important activity in the zone, fish consumption is relatively small and therefore does not contribute significantly to household annual food needs.

Sources of Cash

The most important source of cash for better off and middle-income households is the sale of animals which contributed at least half of their annual income in the reference year. Some of the grain earned through local employment is used to make beer by women in poor and middle households and sold for cash. While sales of fish are shown as a source of income, this is only applicable to households that live near to the lake. The sale of vegetables, in particular tomatoes and rape, was a reasonably good income earner due to their scarcity and hence their high sale price.

Hazards

Chronic hazards: Large numbers of wildlife in the area pose a regular threat to farmers as the animals damage or consume crops. The CAMPFIRE project is working with local farmers to control the problem. Low and erratic rainfall is a chronic problem as are tsetse fly infestations which kill livestock. Other hazards include tick-borne diseases (livestock health hazard) and crop pests.

Periodic hazards: Periodic droughts are common in this zone. Around the Kariba Valley there is also the occasional risk of flooding. Also, due to the presence of wild animals, there is a risk of animal diseases being transmitted to the domestic herds.

Response Strategies

<u>Expansion of existing strategies:</u> Increased sales of livestock. Increased search for employment opportunities. Increased reliance on the open market to purchase food Increased reliance on wild foods as a source of food and cash. Reduction in the proportion of household income spent on household items such as soap, candles, matches, vaseline and fuel.	<u>Distress strategies:</u> Barter of animals in exchange for food. Reduction in the number of meals and the quantity of food eaten per day. Young girls are married off early, to obtain the bride price and reduce the number of mouths to feed. Children withdrawn from school. Reduction in the number of meals and the quantity of food eaten.
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Crisis Warning Indicators

Increase in the number of goats and cattle on sale at the markets, usually coinciding with low market prices for the animals.

Increase in the number of people looking for work, especially when this leads to a reduction in the labour wage rate.

Lower than average yields of sorghum, maize or millet which could mean that prices remain high even just after the harvest and that they increase beyond peoples' purchasing power thereafter.

Higher than normal prices of staple cereals, especially when this coincides with poor wage rates or low livestock prices.

Worsening terms of trade for barter trade of livestock for grain.

Zimbabwe Livelihood Profile

Zone 16: Livestock and Cereal Farming Communal in Forests

Main Conclusions and Implications

Livelihoods in this zone are built around three main activities: livestock (mainly cattle), cereal cropping, and exploitation of forest resources. Maize and sorghum cultivation is widespread with reasonable yields most years. Livestock is a key safety net for better off households whereas for the poor, income earned from local casual work on farms and in the timber industry is their mainstay. Households also engage in honey production as a major source of income.

Zone Description

This zone lies in western Zimbabwe, covering Old Resettlement and A1 farms in the forest areas of Nkayi, Bubi and Lupane Districts. Major food crops include sorghum, millet and maize which are grown mainly for subsistence purposes and are only sold when there is surplus. The zone lies in Natural Region IV with a mean annual rainfall of 420-620mm. The zone is located in the forest areas of Ngamo, Gwaii, and Mbembesi. This location provides opportunities for felling timber, illegal hunting of wild game for sale and casual employment in the timber industry. The presence of forest conservation policies place a limit to the scale of exploitation of the natural resource as well as to household access to land and livestock holdings. However, it also provides unique livelihood opportunities such as honey production. This zone is also near to important labor markets, both local – such as the tourist locations of Hwange National Park and Victoria Falls, as well as local mines – and cross-border (South Africa and Botswana). Poor households also do gold panning to raise cash.

Markets

The main commodity markets are local. Traders and private buyers come into the area to purchase produce for resale in Bulawayo or Lupane. Livestock are sold to local butcheries as well as to private abattoirs from Bulawayo, Lupane and Hwange. The main labor markets are the local timber industry, local mines, agricultural projects and construction projects in developing towns such as Lupane and Bubi.

Seasonal Calendar

The main crops grown are maize and sorghum; both these crops are planted with the start of rains. The calendar (previous page) shows the main harvest times although maize is also eaten fresh in February before the main harvest is ready. This is an important source of food to bridge the gap between the previous and the next harvest. Other crops grown include cowpeas, water melons and beans. The main vegetables grown in the region are leaf vegetables, tomatoes and onions.

Wealth Breakdown

Wealth in this zone depends on three major factors: livestock holdings; farming capacity; and land cultivated. In turn, the land under cultivation depends on household labour availability and access to farming implements. Better off households usually own a plough, traction animals, carts, harrow and other tools. Moreover, they can afford to employ other people to work for them during periods of intense agricultural activity. By contrast, poor households turn to the rich as a potential source of local employment, especially during difficult times. Notably, most households across the wealth groups own some animals. In general, in this zone, remittances are not a determinant of wealth.

Sources of Food

Cereal crop production contributes significantly to the annual food needs of middle and better off households. The poor, by contrast, rely mostly on labour exchange and market purchase as their main sources of food. Food remittances from adult children working in towns and in South Africa also form a major source of food for middle and better off households. With the relatively poor rains over the recent years, food aid has made a significant contribution to meeting the food needs of poor households. The abundant forests mean that wild foods and hunted animals are an important source of food and greatly improve the quality of the diet. Typical foods collected are honey, mushrooms, *mopane* worms and fruits.

Sources of Cash

Income options in this zone vary significantly by wealth group. For instance, poor households have a more diverse income but depend mostly on casual employment in the timber and mining industries compared to better off households who earn most of their annual income from livestock sales, local employment and migratory labour to South Africa. A small, supplementary source of income is earned through surplus cereal and vegetable sales. Food crops which are sold (mainly maize and sorghum) are not high income earners.

Hazards

Chronic hazards: Living in the forest areas and former game ranches means that crops are at constant risk of invasion by wild animals especially just before harvest time. Animal diseases like anthrax and foot and mouth are a recurrent challenge to herd sizes.

Periodic hazards: Within a decade, two years are drought years, which lead to severe crop losses. Cash crops are affected by prices of inputs, access to credit and weather.

Response Strategies

<u>Expansion of existing strategies:</u> Increase in number of people looking for work opportunities especially among their better off neighbors. Increased felling of trees for sale. Increased consumption of wild fruits. Emergence of barter trade especially at low terms of trade. Increase in illegal gold panning.	<u>Distress strategies:</u> Reliance on drought relief (Government and NGO). Involvement in illegal or socially unacceptable activities such as poaching, prostitution, cattle rustling and theft of property.
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Crisis Warning Indicators

Increase in the number of people looking for work locally or who are crossing the border, principally into South Africa and Botswana.

Increase in the volume of timber and firewood for sale, often at relatively low prices.

Increase in the school dropout rate.

Increase in the price of maize, especially when this occurs at the same time as a decrease in the local wage rate.

Low yields of maize and millet.

Decrease in the sale price of cattle and goats, usually linked to a disease epidemic or to an increase in animal sales.

Zimbabwe Livelihood Profile

Zone 17: Lusulu and Lupane Southern Gokwe Mixed Agriculture

Main Conclusions and Implications

This zone is relatively favorable for mixed crop and livestock production. Livelihoods are focused around maize and cotton cultivation with animal husbandry providing supplementary food and income. In addition, poor households take on local jobs to earn much needed cash when food stocks run low.

Zone Description

The zone covers the communal areas of northern Lupane, southern Gokwe, northern Kwekwe, north-western Kadoma and northern Gokwe Districts in the north-west of the country. The zone is classified as Natural Region III and IV. Rainfall is fairly reliable and averages 450-800mm a year. In normal years, agriculture is relatively successful and the zone is traditionally known as a cereal surplus producing area especially for areas in agro ecological region III. In general, livelihoods are based on cereal and cash crop cultivation supplemented by animal husbandry. Road infrastructure in some parts of the zone is poor. Hence marketing of goods is difficult and the prices received by farmers are low. The main crops grown are maize and cotton, with some millet and sorghum grown mostly in region IV. Cotton production fluctuates greatly in response to changes in market prices. When demand and price are low, farmers favor planting maize over cotton. Market gardening, as an all year activity, is prominent in some of the wards in Gokwe South as is sweet potato production. The Sanyati River passes through the zone, providing opportunities for fishing and gold panning.

Markets

Cereal marketing occurs through the Grain Marketing Board (GMB), local markets, private buyers and contract farming. Cotton is sold to cotton companies, e.g., COTCO, Cargill, Grafax, FSI Agricom and IDAI Companies. The cotton ginneries at Nembudziya and Gokwe town also purchase from the farmers. Cotton arrives at these depots via a network of cotton collection points which exist at most business centres throughout the zone. Market garden produce is sold to Gokwe town, Kwekwe, Gweru, Bulawayo and Harare. Roadside marketing also plays a major role. Livestock are sold to local butchers, abattoirs, private buyers and beef committees. In terms of labor markets, most people find employment locally although some travel further afield to major urban areas in Zimbabwe, or, more rarely, to Botswana or South Africa.

Seasonal Calendar

Rain-fed agriculture is practised in this zone. The main cereal planted is maize. Sorghum, millet, groundnuts, pumpkins and beans are grown in smaller quantities. Within the zone, there are several wild foods collected or hunted including fruits, leaves, mushrooms and small animals. These wild foods are mainly collected during the rainy season when they make a valuable contribution to the diet at a time when stocks are usually running low. Poor households work in the fields of their better off neighbors during periods of high agricultural activity. This work includes clearing fields prior to planting in August and September, weeding from December to February and harvesting from March to June.

Wealth Breakdown

Wealth in this zone is determined by three factors: (i) the area of land cultivated; (ii) the type of crop planted; and (iii) the number of animals owned. Most poor households limit cultivation to cereals only. Typically, they plant a mix of maize, sorghum and millet. This crop mix spreads the risk in case any one of the crops fails. Most of the harvest is consumed although some sorghum is used to brew beer. The poor cultivate a smaller area due in part to labour constraints. Moreover, the poor have to juggle their time between tending their own fields and finding some other means of earning food or cash to meet short term needs. By contrast, middle and better off households are better able to gamble on the season. In general they concentrate on maize and cotton and plant few other cereals. Wealthier households also have the productive assets (land, labour – family and/or hired - ox ploughs and cart) needed for successful agriculture.. About half of the cattle owned tend to be milking cows and milk contributes a source of protein and calories to the diet of middle and better off households.. While cattle are kept by wealthier households mainly as a source of savings, goats are more commonly sold when the household has extra expenses to cover.

Polygamy is fairly common in this zone. Men from wealthier households are more likely to have a second or even a third wife than poorer men. The educational attainment of children is strongly linked to their potential income earning capabilities. Children of poor households tend to stop after completing compulsory primary school. Those from wealthier households usually complete their secondary education.

Sources of Food

The consumption of own crop cereals is by far the most important source of food for all households. While for middle and better off households this is mainly maize, the poor consume higher amounts of sorghum and millet. Households also produce groundnuts and sweet potatoes for their own consumption. The poor own so few animals that own animal products do not feature as a source of food, whereas it is more important for middle and better off households. Food purchase is an important food source principally for poor households.

Sources of Cash

There are striking differences in sources of household income between the 'rich' and poor. Middle and better off households earn their money chiefly from crop sales but also from livestock sales. The poor, by contrast, find work in the fields of their better off neighbors. The poor also sell thatch grass, handicrafts (such as crocheted items) and some wild foods. Households from mostly the poorer and the middle wealth groups brew beer for sale.

Hazards

Chronic hazards: Poor infrastructure means that marketing of produce is difficult and producers often do not earn favorable prices. Purchased goods are usually relatively expensive for the same reason. Cholera is a seasonal health hazard. Crop pests and livestock diseases, such as anthrax and foot and mouth, affect farmers in this zone. Gullies are also problematic in Gokwe areas of this zone. Problem animals are a constant hazard near wild areas.

Periodic hazards: Roughly 3 in every 5 years will be drought years.

Response Strategies

<u>Expansion of existing strategies:</u> Increase in the consumption of wild foods. Decreased expenditure on non-essential items. Increased sales of livestock. Increased gold panning. Increased poaching.	<u>Distress strategies:</u> Increased requests for food aid distributions and support programs. Reduction in the number of meals and in the overall quantity of food eaten. Sale of household and productive assets.
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Crisis Warning Indicators

Low maize yields, often leading to higher than normal prices, even just after the harvest.

Increase in the sales of livestock or livestock products including milk, usually accompanied by a drop in prices. If cattle rather than goats are being sold then this indicates a serious problem.

Increase in the number of people looking for seasonal work locally, especially if this leads to a decrease in the daily wage rate for labour. Such a situation would be exacerbated by an increase in the price of maize.

Increased thefts.

Increase in school drop-outs.

Late onset of rain season.

Increased easterly winds.

Zimbabwe Livelihood Profile

Zone 18: Masvingo Manicaland Middleveld Communal

Main Conclusions and Implications

Livelihoods in this zone are primarily agricultural but due to the drier climate, crop production alone is an unreliable food and income source. For better off households, animal husbandry makes up the balance. Legal gold mining (i.e., with permits), gold panning, beer sales and casual work are the main sources of cash income for the poor. Fishing activities are pronounced around Lake Mutirikwi as well as, in a more limited way, along the rivers that pass through the zone. In some cases, fishing is being practised by registered cooperatives. Sales of wild fruits (*mazhanje*, *matamba*, *mawuyu*, *nyii*), vegetables and handicrafts are common in the zone. Cross border trade and vending has increased in the past few years.

Zone Description

This livelihood zone comprises households living in the mid-lowveld area of eastern and south-eastern Zimbabwe, including parts of Masvingo, Manicaland and Midlands Provinces. It covers Zaka, southern Bikita, Gutu, southern Chivi, southern Buhera, southern Mutare, Chirumhanzu and the northern part of Zvishavane. Most of the land is classified as Natural Region III, IV and V. Mean annual rainfall is 450-800mm. The zone contains largely communal lands along with old resettlement areas, A1 farms (self contained and villagised), and some small-scale commercial farming areas. Livelihoods are characterized by cereal agriculture supplemented by cash cropping, animal husbandry and remittances from migratory labour (inside and outside Zimbabwe). The main cash crops grown in this zone are groundnuts, round nuts, and cotton. Sugar beans and wheat have emerged as important cash crops around irrigation schemes. The Save, Runde, Odzi and Tokwe Rivers pass through the zone, as do a number of seasonal small rivers and streams. These provide limited opportunities for fishing and gold panning. These small rivers also provide greater opportunities for irrigation schemes.

Markets

The main commodity markets for both grain and livestock include local and distant buyers. The role of the middleman is much reduced these days as most households sell their commodities directly to buyers in order to maximize benefits. Buyers for grain include the Grain Marketing Board (GMB), millers, breweries and other private buyers. Livestock is sold to abattoirs, butcheries and private buyers. The Masvingo Mutare highway provides marketing opportunities for handicrafts.

Labour markets range from local opportunities working in the fields of the richer households within the community to migratory opportunities in major urban centres such as Harare, Masvingo and Chiredzi as well as migratory employment outside Zimbabwe in South Africa.. Within the zone, mining offers important labour opportunities with gold, chrome and phosphate mining all being carried out.

Seasonal Calendar

A wide variety of cereal crops are grown including sorghum (both early and late maturing varieties), millet (pearl and finger) and maize. Planting for cereal and legume crops starts around mid November. Land preparation starts in July due to the adoption of conservation farming technology which requires early land preparation. Manure application is done concurrently with land preparation starting from July. Weeding activities follow until the time of the harvest. The harvest period starts in March and goes through to May.

Purchase of staple grain is carried out between July and September. The hunger season begins in September and continues through to February but does not affect the so-called “breadbasket wards”. Horticultural or garden sales are done all year round but intensify in May to September. Many different wild foods including fruits, *mopane* worms, crickets, mice, birds and edible leaves are available in this zone, mostly just after harvest time. *Nyii* and guavas are plentiful in January and February.

Wealth Breakdown

Wealth in this zone depends on the area and quality of land cultivated, the number of animals owned and the remittances received from family members working elsewhere. Overall, herd sizes have decreased due to the pressure to sell animals to cover increasing food gaps. At the same time, remittances have improved. Conservation farming has made it difficult to distinguish hand cultivation between poor and better off households. However, better off households can hire labour during peak agricultural times. Nearly all households own at least some goats although the poor own less than the better off households.

Sources of Food

The importance of on own crop production differs by wealth groups in the zone. Despite the unreliability of the rain-fall, own crop production is the most important food source for middle and better off households. Small grain cereals and maize dominate their cropping patterns. Lowland cash crops (cotton and groundnuts) also figure highly. By contrast, the poor produce some maize but mostly they purchase their food on the market. However, series of dry years has forced all households to rely much more on the market for food. Moreover, many households have received food aid in the past few years. Food purchases and own crop production are supplemented by wild foods (such as *mazhanje*, *hacha*, *tsubvu*, *mauyu*, *nyii* and honey), which are prevalent in the zone although they are not high in energy value. Goats and cattle are kept for a cash reserve as well as for animal traction but supply little direct food (milk or meat).

Sources of Cash

The poor rely on a diverse set of cash income sources including seasonal and/or contract employment. The sale of wild fruits and guava fruit to Cairns Foods is very common in Bikita District. Remittances from relatives and children outside the country are also significant sources of cash. These remittances vary in amount between poor and better off households. The sale of sugar beans also forms an important source of cash. Sales of garden produce, cereal crops, wild fruit and honey, crafts, firewood and goats are significant cash earners as well. Beer brewing, handicraft sales, and petty trading along the main roads are also common income activities by the poor. Better off households depend more on cash crop sales and livestock sales to earn an income.

Hazards

Chronic hazards: Malaria is a risk to the household economy in this area. Farmers also face the regular risk of pests such as *quelea* birds which eat pearl millet and sorghum as it is ripening. Since 2003, erratic rainfall has been a chronic hazard facing farmers in the zone.

Periodic hazards: Various human and animal health outbreaks – such as cholera or anthrax – occur in the zone periodically. Veld fires also cause considerable damage periodically.

Response Strategies

<u>Expansion of existing strategies:</u> Increased migration to neighboring countries especially South Africa. Increased reliance on remittances and gifts of cash or food from relatives and children working in neighboring countries. Increase in the manufacture and sale of handicrafts.	<u>Distress strategies:</u> Increased begging by households. Increased reliance on food aid. Unfair barter trading of commodities due to illiquidity challenges. Increased sales of livestock. Increased cases of poaching. Increased theft of property including cattle.
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Crisis Warning Indicators

Increase in the number of people who are looking for work, leading to a decrease in the local daily rate for labour.

Increase in the number of animals sold, often leading to a reduction in the sale price, also affecting the terms of trade for cereal.

Lower than usual harvests of staple crops such as sorghum, groundnuts and maize, pushing the price up beyond the daily wage rate.

Increased quantity of maize purchased, especially from outside of the community.

Zimbabwe Livelihood Profile

Zone 19: Matabeleland Middleveld and Highveld Communal

Main Conclusions and Implications

Livelihoods in this zone are characterized by animal husbandry - mainly cattle rearing - as well as limited food and cash cropping, local employment, and gold panning. Production levels are not as high as in the resettled areas (i.e., the former commercial ranches) of the Matabeleland midveld but production is higher than in the south-western lowlands. Poor households with small herd sizes and small land holdings depend mainly on seasonal employment and gold panning to earn cash to purchase food.

Zone Description

This livelihood zone covers communal lands in the south west of the country which fall in the following districts: northern Matobo, northern Gwanda, Umguza, Bubi, Umzingwane, southern Insiza and western Mberengwa. The land is classified as Natural Region IV and has an annual average rainfall of around 650mm. It has relatively more agricultural potential than neighboring zones to the south in Natural Region V. Overall, livelihoods are characterized by the rain-fed cultivation of maize and other small grains. Cropping is supplemented by animal husbandry and various income generating activities including small scale gold panning on the various rivers (Tuli, Runde, Ngezi, Mundi, Umzingwane and Mwenezi) as well as beer brewing and employment. Cash cropping is carried out on a limited scale. Livestock herds are generally larger than further north of the country, reflecting the availability of grazing land in the zone. Neighboring areas include wildlife which often roams throughout the region, destroying crops as they go.

One advantage, however, is that there are more animals available to hunt and this provides a valuable source of food especially for poor households. While most of the employment opportunities are found within Zimbabwe - either seasonal local work or migration to urban centres - a few people also seek work in South Africa and Botswana.

Markets

For households in this southern zone, their main marketing opportunities lie in towns including Zvishavane and Bulawayo. Bulawayo is Zimbabwe's second largest city and it supports a number of food industries. For example sorghum is sold to the brewery. Cereals are also traded through private buyers as well as the Grain Marketing Board (GMB) outlets which exist in various buying points. Livestock is mainly sold to auctions organized by Rural Districts Councils as well as to local butcheries, local beef committees, private buyers and agents of the Cold Storage Commission. Vegetables are sold at local and urban markets. During the rainy season, some of the rural roads are difficult to drive along and this limits the movement of goods into the zone, particularly food.

While there are local seasonal opportunities for employment, people also look further a field in urban centres within Zimbabwe or, occasionally, in South Africa and Botswana. Gold panning takes place in local rivers or in local disused mines.

Seasonal Calendar

Rain-fed agriculture is practised in this zone, with maize as the staple crop alongside sorghum, millet, groundnuts, bambara nuts, sweet potatoes, cowpeas, pumpkins and melons. The main cash crops are

maize, vegetables and groundnuts. The period of intense agricultural activity coincides with the rainy months between November and April. As this coincides also with the period when food stocks are generally low, poor households have to juggle their time between working in their own fields and working elsewhere to earn an income to meet their immediate needs. The price of maize is generally lowest between March and August, as this is when cereal availability is at its highest. Kitchen gardening is mainly done during the drier months. Livestock are sold chiefly to pay for school fees and therefore peak sales occur around the start of the school term. Different wild fruits and tubers are available throughout the year. Households usually have a variety of fruit trees within their compounds including mangoes and guavas, which provide variety to the diet and can be sold or given as gifts. In a few (very limited) areas, some households have access to irrigation schemes.

Wealth Breakdown

The wealth status of a household is linked to the area of land cultivated, the method of cultivation, the size of their herd and their dependence on the market. Better off households cultivate the largest fields, using animal traction. Middle-income households also make use of animal traction but the poor cultivate by hand. A typical better off household owns 30-40 cattle, around 40 goats and sheep, maybe some pigs and 4-5 donkeys. Poor households usually do not have cattle, but have around 15-20 goats and some chickens. Resource - poor households have limited access to loans for investment or to cover difficult periods. The better off, by contrast, benefit from their higher collateral and are perceived to be more likely to be able to repay money borrowed.

Sources of Food

The chief constraint to agriculture faced by poorer households is access to land and labour. Consequently, their harvests are only able to cover around one third of their needs in a normal year and their most important source of food is the market. Middle-income and better off households have larger land holdings and more labour (including hired labour) so own crop production is their predominant food source covering over two thirds of their food energy needs over the year. In addition, these households benefit from their larger herds, which contribute milk and meat to their diet. Typically, poor households collect wild fruits almost every day when the fruits are in season and they also hunt (sometimes illegally). While some of their kill is for sale, most is for their own consumption. Such households also benefit from gifts of food from better off neighbors and food aid programs aimed both at the poorest members of the community and at socially disadvantaged people.

Sources of Cash

How households earn an income depends on their level of assets and savings (i.e., their wealth status). For instance the income for better off households comes primarily from three sources: (i) the sale of livestock; (ii) remittances from relatives working in town; (iii) the sale of some cash crops and (iv) gold panning. This pattern contrasts with the situation of most poor and middle-income households whose key income sources are employment and gold panning. For example, employment typically contributes around one third of their annual household income. While the poor generally rely on seasonal piece work as their main employment, middle households can afford to travel further to urban centres within Zimbabwe.

Hazards

Chronic hazards: Rainfall is erratic, which makes it difficult for farmers to plan their agricultural season. Livestock diseases are also endemic. Given proximity to wildlife ranching areas, parts of this zone are prone to invasion by wild animals that damage crops. Also, the rivers and dams are beginning to silt up as a result of the gold panning activities; this affects water availability for livestock and kitchen gardening.

Periodic hazards: Roughly every three to five years the zone is affected by a drought which reduces both the harvest and the grazing land. Crop pests or veld fires reduce the harvest at least every three years.

Response Strategies

<p><u>Expansion of existing strategies:</u> Increase in the number of people who engage in gold panning Earlier start to gold panning activities.. Increased market gardening activities. Increased sale of animals. Increased reliance on gifts of food from neighbors and relatives within the community and on food aid programs. Increase in the number of people looking for local casual employment.</p>	<p><u>Distress strategies:</u> Increased requests for food aid programs. Reduction in the number of meals and the quantity of food (particularly maize) consumed per day. Women turn to commercial sex work to earn cash (only in some parts of the zone).</p>
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Crisis Warning Indicators

Increase in the number of people looking for work leading to a drop in the daily wage rate.

Increase in people engaged in gold panning and earlier starting the gold panning season (Feb/March not May/June).

Increase in the number of animals sold, with particular reference to term of trade for cereals compared to livestock.

Decrease in the availability of maize on the market

Zimbabwe Livelihood Profile

Zone 20: Mutorashanga Informal Mining Communities

Main Conclusions and Implications

Livelihoods for most households in Mutorashanga are dominated by chrome mining, the majority of it informal. Given the general price instability and the current low prices of chrome ore as well as its non-renewability, this means that the current and future welfare of households in the zone is in decline. Secondary food and income sources come from selling labour services to the surrounding A2 and large-scale farms as well as various types of petty trade and self-employment. The zone is also characterized by limited access to arable land for crop production. In fact, most households grow some grains (mainly maize) around their homesteads. However, it is mostly consumed green and overall contributes only about one month of their annual food needs.

Zone Description

Mutorashanga is the collective name given to the mining communities on the Zvimba side of the Great Dyke. The Great Dyke lies in Mashonaland West Province, north-west of Harare. The mines are surrounded by A1, A2 and large scale commercial farms. Livelihoods in this zone are centred on the chrome mines, involving a total population of over 6,000 people. A large proportion of these workers are young with family origins tracing from Malawi, Zambia and Mozambique. They came to Zimbabwe to take work that the local Zimbabweans did not want due to the relatively harsh conditions and poor rate of pay. Two companies have exclusive prospecting rights to chrome along the Great Dyke; Zimbabwe Alloys and ZIMASCO. With the low international market price of chromite, the mining companies leased their claims to smaller operations including cooperatives and tributers who operate at a lower unit cost per tonne of ore by cutting corners on safety precautions and provision of services for their employees. The cooperatives and tributers sell the ore to Zimbabwe Alloys or ZIMASCO and use this income to finance their operations and pay their workers. However, there exists a huge disparity between the money received from the sale of the ore and the minimal payment that the mine workers receive.

In addition to general mining, miners and their families look for additional work, including chrome picking, which involves searching for ore in the waste material brought to the surface, and taking on leadership positions in the cooperatives or tributes. Secondary income earning includes selling vegetables, small scale trading and working on nearby A2 and large-scale commercial farms although employment opportunities in this sector has drastically gone down due to the farm divisions under the new resettlement programme.

Markets

The main commodity sold is chrome ore. In addition to the main export markets, some ore ends up in Gweru and KweKwe where it is used in the manufacture of high tensile steel. The labour market is localized, either working in the mines or offering casual labour in neighboring farms. Thatching grass, wild foods, vegetables and worms (for fishing) are sold along the road side to passing vehicles.

Seasonal Calendar

The rainy season runs from the middle of October until the middle of April. During this time the shafts can easily become flooded which means that it becomes harder to mine. Mine workers are paid on the basis of the amount of ore they bring. Typically, a miner is able to extract and sell around 2 tonnes per month in the dry season and only half a tonne a month in the rainy season. Cooperative leaders and some salaried mine workers receive regular salaries which do not fluctuate throughout the year.

Wealth Breakdown¹⁰

Wealth in this zone depends on the type of mining activity undertaken - underground mining for instance, compared to chrome picking. Underground mining requires physical power. Therefore it is predominantly a young male activity. Poorer households are those who do not have a young able-bodied male to go mining underground, and who have to instead rely on gleaning or picking chrome from the waste. These households are typically headed by a woman or an elderly person (in many of these households the active male died from HIV/AIDS). The better off households are those whose main breadwinner is a senior mine worker or leader in the cooperative or who have a second key income source such as owning a small shop. In the middle and largest wealth group are the general miners whose wives supplement the household income through a variety of other activities including gleaning, petty trade and selling vegetables. Children from better off households have the opportunity to go to secondary school while the related expenses are too high for middle or poor households whose children only go as far as primary school.

Sources of Food

The informal mining households in this zone do not have access to land to cultivate. Therefore most of their food is purchased. Food purchases are supplemented seasonally with wild foods. Poorer households, who do not earn enough income from mine picking to purchase enough food, take on additional work - usually agricultural - in exchange for food. Low prices of chrome ore means that mining income is also low and hence most households are unable to cover basic needs. Better off households purchase both staple foods as well as limited non staple foods including *kapenta* (dried fish), vegetables and sugar. Middle-income households cannot afford *kapenta* and the poor limit their purchases to staple grain only.

Sources of Cash

In this zone, households earn an income to buy food, rather than grow it. Hence household labour capacity clearly determines how much income is earned in a year. In addition, the type of activity determines the wealth group. Poor households earn almost three quarters of their annual income through a variety of casual jobs. These jobs include agricultural labour on nearby farms, fishing, grass sales and selling wild fruits. While middle-income households also engage in such activities, more than three quarters of their (higher) income comes from mining. There are large fluctuations in the amount of money earned per tonne of ore, and payments can be irregular. However they can extract far more per month than can an individual who is picking. A typical chrome picker finds around a quarter of a tonne per month.

Hazards

Chronic hazards: Wage rates for mining employment are not reviewed sufficiently often nor do they rise in line with inflation. With the lax security measures, injury or even death through cyanide gas intoxication or collapsing mines are risks that the miners face every time they go underground.

¹⁰ Data about the assets and resources of the various wealth groups is drawn from the 2009 SCUK rapid food security and livelihoods assessment.

Periodic hazards: For households in informal mining, changes and shift in policing of mining licenses is a major threat to their main source of livelihoods.

Response Strategies

<p><u>Expansion of existing strategies:</u> Reduction in expenditure on household items and food. Reduction in household expenditure on children’s education beyond primary school. Increased collection and sale of wild fruits, thatching grass, vegetables and worms for fishing. Reduction in dietary diversity. Increased casual labour in farms.</p>	<p><u>Distress strategies:</u> Increased reliance on food aid. Decrease in household expenditure to below minimum acceptable level (for example just a small quantity (250g) of soap for a household of 6 people per month and no vaseline to protect the skin). Children withdrawn from school. Non-payment of rental accommodation which could lead to eviction.</p>
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Crisis Warning Indicators

- Employment wage not increasing in line with inflation.
- Increasing price of maize, especially if it increases more than peoples’ wages.
- Further drop in market price for chrome.

Zimbabwe Livelihood Profile

Zone 21: Mwenezi, Chivi and South Midlands Communal

Main Conclusions and Implications

Livelihoods in this zone depend on crop production, livestock production, casual employment (at the Mwenezana Estates, at the Bio-energy Project/Sabot and in the local community) and remittances, as well as, to a small extent, on gold panning. The area is resource-poor; rainfall is erratic (at least too erratic to produce reliable harvests); and poverty is chronic. Consequently, relief is distributed with regular frequency in this zone (for example an estimated 4-7 years out of every ten).

Zone Description

This zone is situated in the lowveld of south-central Zimbabwe. It encompasses communal lands in several districts including Mwenezi, Chivi, southern Mberengwa and south Zvishavane. The area is classified as Natural Region V. Annual rainfall is low, around 500-600mm, and soils are poor and prone to erosion. Despite being better suited for animal husbandry, this is not an agro-pastoralist zone. Instead, households combine some cereal and cash cropping (a precarious venture in such a lowland area) with market purchases. The key to food security in this zone is the capacity of households to earn enough cash to purchase food during the year. The opportunities for employment are varied. They include local seasonal labour as well as temporary or permanent migration to the Mwenezana Estates, the Murowa diamond mine, the new Sabot bio-energy plantation, or towns within Zimbabwe and South Africa. The main rivers that pass through this zone include Ngezi, Tokwe and Runde. These rivers provide opportunities for irrigation, gold panning and fishing. For instance, the Murowa diamond mine provides some local income earning opportunities. Moreover, the Manyuchi irrigation scheme benefits a small percentage of the population while the associated Manyuchi dam provides some fishing opportunities for households nearby. There is high HIV/AIDS prevalence in the zone due to increased prostitution along the highway leading to South Africa.

Markets

Cereals are traded through private buyers (breweries and millers for instance) as well as the Grain Marketing Board (GMB). Established cotton buyers (Cotco, Cargil, Olam, Teraffin, and Comtex) have their depots in Triangle, Ngundu, Chivi Growth Point and Chiredzi. The roads linking these depots to the communal areas are generally poor. Groundnuts and round nuts are exported to South Africa. Prices of cereals are generally at their lowest between March and August, linked to the increased availability of food at harvest time. Animals are sold usually to private buyers and local butchers both with established and mobile selling points. Handicrafts are usually sold along the highway.

Opportunities for labour include local casual work, seasonal farm work for local better off households, farm work on plantations and estates in Chiredzi and Mwenezi; and casual or permanent jobs in the asbestos mines in Zvishavane or in South Africa. New activities at Nuanetsi (Sabot) Ranch – namely large-scale crocodile farming and bio-energy production - will likely create more labour opportunities for the local population. Casual laborers have already been employed to clear the land. The Murowa diamond mine and Sabi gold mine also employ people in the zone.

Seasonal Calendar

The rainfall season begins in November and lasts until March. The main crops cultivated are millet, sorghum, maize, round nuts, groundnuts and cowpeas. Maize production is generally low and is harvested around March. The hunger period lasts from September to March. Prices of maize and other cereals are highest between September and February; as this is when household food stocks are generally low. Cotton is the main cash crop grown in the zone. The main cultivation period for cotton is between November and June. Mopane worms are harvested in December and March. The availability of various other wild foods and insects is seasonal; notably they are consumed by all households across the wealth groups. Gardening activities occur between March and September.

Wealth Breakdown

Wealth in this zone in part depends primarily on employment and remittance opportunities. The value of remittances from outside the country has generally gone down due to introduction of a multi-currency regime in the economy. The issue of remittances now cuts across different wealth groups after South Africa removed the travel visa requirement. Generally, poor households receive remittances that are more erratic and lower in value compared to better off households which reflects the poor's lower education and access to mainly menial jobs.. Poor households also take on less lucrative local jobs such as local farm work on neighbors' fields or on nearby commercial sugar estates. Poor households are engaged in the harvest and sale of *mopane* worms to better off households who later sell them elsewhere at lucrative prices. Other factors linked to wealth include the size of land cultivated, access to tools and labour and the size of the animal herd. Almost all households own some animals. However, the poor tend to own goats and chickens whereas the middle and better off own cattle, oxen, goats and donkeys.

Sources of Food

When rainfall is adequate, own crop production is proportionately the most important food source for middle-income and better off households. Even at lower production levels, own crops are still a chief food source for poor households. The main crops grown include cereals such as sorghum, millet and maize as well as some cash crops including cotton and groundnuts. However rainfall in this zone is largely unreliable. Livestock provide some safety net; they can be sold for cash to buy cereal and they also supply some meat and milk. In general, most households in communal areas rely on purchasing food grown in high potential resettlement areas. In addition, food aid or supplementary feeding programmes help cover food gaps for most poor households – even, at times, for better off households during drought years.. Poaching is also a complementary food source for those households living near game ranches although the numbers of wild animals have decreased due to resettlement in game areas. When in season, wild foods and cultivated fruits (paw paws, guava) form another supplementary source of food in the zone.

Sources of Cash

The most important sources of cash income include selling of small livestock, vegetables, legumes (groundnuts and round nuts), *mopane* worms and handicrafts (stone and wood carvings) along the highway. Significant quantities of *mopane* worms are harvested from the nearby newly resettled areas. Despite some households having large herd sizes, selling of cattle is not common and is associated with incidences of major food insecurity problems such as in 2008. Some households cultivate cotton, sugarcane and fruit for sale. Poor households mostly find local seasonal work on nearby commercial farms or on neighbors' farms. Brewing and selling beer is also done by households although mainly as a stopgap measure to address minor disruptions in normal livelihood patterns. Poor households also sell a local wine extracted naturally from plants such as amarula and palm (*murara-njemani*) trees. By contrast, better off households often have a family member with a more permanent job in the skilled 'formal' sector. Some of their wage earnings are remitted home. Better off households supplement these remittances with sales of

cash crops and livestock. Households living near dams and registered fishing groups engage in small scale fishing, selling the fish caught in the dam.

Hazards

Chronic hazards: Crops in the zone are prone to attacks by *quelea* birds at the ripening stage. Gold panning activities have created gullies and increased the risk of soil erosion and landslides. Furthermore, mining activities are associated with lung infections from the dust. Livestock diseases such as FMD and anthrax are endemic in this zone. Cutting down of trees especially in A1 areas is causing serious deforestation.

Periodic hazards: Rainfall is below average roughly every four years. Flooding along the rivers is another hazard and at such times people and livestock have been known to drown. Cholera occasionally affects people in this zone due to poor water and sanitation. Veld fire burning during the dry season is very common.

Response Strategies

<p><u>Expansion of existing strategies:</u> Increase in remittances. These are sent by family members and neighbors working in towns or in South Africa. Increased reliance on irrigation schemes where they exist. Increased migration to urban centres to look for work Early planting of small grains to combat attack from <i>quelea</i> birds. Households engage in small grains production to cushion the household economy from crop failure.</p>	<p><u>Distress strategies:</u> Women turn to commercial sex work. Children are withdrawn from school to guard small grain fields. Reduced expenditure on health care. Increased thefts. Reducing number of meals and quantity of food consumed.</p>
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Crisis Warning Indicators

- Increase in the number of people looking for work, which leads to a drop in the daily wage rate.
- Reduced cereal yields and area planted as a result of household labour availability or access to inputs.
- Increase in number of children on school feeding programmes.
- Increase in the number of underweight among the under fives.

Zimbabwe Livelihood Profile

Zone 22: Northern Zambezi Valley

Main Conclusions and Implications

This zone occupies the northern part of Mashonaland Central Province and is characterized by erratic rains and very high temperatures. Farmers are dependent on cotton as a cash crop and on small grains such as sorghum and pearl millet for their food crop. Maize is also grown as a food crop, though yields are very poor. However, as prices for cotton have been consistently low, there is a general upward trend in maize and other grain production. The zone is also characterized by the sweet veld and having high numbers of cattle although it is prone to flooding, especially around the lower Muzarabani. Household income fluctuates according to prices on the international cotton market as well as according to harvest outcome. In this zone, most households cannot cover their annual food needs from own-crop production alone. Hence, for much of the year poorer households purchase their food from the market. Their predicament is that local wage rates and 'farm gate' cotton prices have not increased in line with the soaring price of staple grains.

Zone Description

This low lying zone in the far north east of the country is bordered by the Zambezi River and Mozambique to the north and Mana Pools National Park to the west. As a result, incursions by wild life – either from the river or from the park - are a regular hazard faced by people living in the valley. The main livelihood activity is rain-fed agriculture, including both food and cash crops. Total production figures for various crops in this area fluctuate annually in response to both the rainfall, which can be erratic, and international market trends. Cotton is the main cash crop grown and prices are dictated by the international market. When prices are low, it makes more economic sense to grow cereals or groundnuts instead. The main cereals grown are small grains (sorghum, pearl and finger millet) which can better withstand the occasional droughts in this area. Livestock, in particular small ruminants, also feature in the household economy, although both the risk of diseases (transmitted by the tsetse fly), as well as shortages of grazing land, limit livestock production in parts of this area. Guinea fowl are gaining popularity over chickens because they are tolerant to Newcastle disease. There is a notable general increase in livestock numbers despite the high off-take of cattle in particular. Moreover, the *masawu* is a non-cultivated fruit which grows widely in this zone and is an important source of both food and cash to all households. In general, soils are quite rich but rainfall is low, averaging 450-650mm per year. The zone is classified as Natural Region IV. Fishing is only a common activity for those households living close to Zambezi and Musengezi Rivers; the majority of households in the valley are too far from river sources to make this activity worthwhile. The zone covers three administrative districts: Lower Guruve, Muzarabani (Centenary) and Mount Darwin. Interestingly, the cotton producing potential of this zone has led to a movement of households into the valley.

Markets

Cattle are sold to the local market, private abattoirs and large retail supermarkets. Harare forms the major market for cattle. Cotton companies have established buying and collection points within the communities while staple cereals are traded mainly through the Grain Marketing Board (GMB), private buyers and millers. Overall, this zone does not produce enough maize to meet its needs. Therefore it relies on maize which has been produced in other livelihood zones (notably the Central and Northern Semi Intensive Zone; the Highveld Prime Communal Zone; and the Highveld Prime Cereal and Cash Crop Resettlement Zone). Some members of the community import fish from Mozambique for re-sale locally. As cotton

cultivation requires a relatively large labour force, there is a good labour market within the zone, and people can also find employment in the nearby commercial farms. Some households have a family member who is working either in Harare, Mvurwi, Bindura or Centenary. With respect to wild fruit sales, markets for the *masawu* and *mauyu* exist as far away as Harare.

Seasonal Calendar

The main staple food crops grown are small grains including sorghum and millet (both finger and pearl). In addition, some limited maize is grown although it does not do well in this relatively dry zone. Groundnuts are grown as both a food and cash crop. In a normal year the harvest lasts the majority of households around 3 to 4 months. Thereafter, households purchase their food on the market. The cultivation of cotton takes up most of the year, starting in early October with dry planting. If farmers wait until the rains to plant their cotton, the growing season would be too short. Overall, the growing season of all crops in this zone is shorter than in other zones; the plants grow faster in the higher temperatures here. Farmers along major rivers and streams practice stream bank cultivation of maize in May which is then harvested in September. There are many different types of wild foods including fruits, leaves and small animals that can be found at various times throughout the year. Some of these can be preserved and stored for consumption or sale later on. Livestock sales can occur at any time. Cattle sales, for instance, are done throughout the year with peak sale periods occurring in the food deficit month(s).

Wealth Breakdown

Four factors – (i) land cultivated; (ii) animal holdings; (iii) access to labour; and (iv) income from remittances or trade – are the major determinants of wealth in this zone. Typically a better off household owns a herd of 10 -15 cattle as well as around 60 goats. Poor households usually own chickens, guinea fowls and a few (less than 5) goats. Both middle-income and better off households have animal traction which both improves crop output and increases their income (animals are rented out to other farmers for a fee). In a normal year, better off households employ people (usually from poor households) to work in their fields, thereby increasing their labour force and improving their chances of a good harvest.

Sources of Food

Households in this zone obtain their food chiefly through two main activities: cultivation and purchase. The relative importance of each of these depends on wealth group. Middle-income and better off households produce enough food to cover about three to four months of their annual food needs. Poor households, by contrast, depend on the market for most of their food because their staple crop production is sufficient to cover only around two months of their annual food needs. Poor households also gather wild foods and hunt small animals during the year. Gathered *masawu* fruits contribute a valuable addition to the quality of the diet. The poorest households receive small quantities of gifts in the form of food from better off neighbors and relatives.

Sources of Cash

Employment and sales of cash crops stand out as the two main cash income sources in the zone. With larger fields, animal traction and other inputs, better off households earn nearly all of their annual income from crop sales (this drops down to half of annual income for middle-income households). Animal sales and small-scale commerce are other means by which the better off earn money. The poor depend heavily on local employment to make a living. They either do local piece work for better off neighbors or find casual work on nearby commercial farms. This work is supplemented by income from occasional chicken sales, brewing beer, selling firewood, wild foods, in particular *masawu* fruits.

Hazards

Chronic hazards: Crop pests are a regular threat to harvests. Malaria is a problem in this zone that has serious implications for household labour capacity and expenditure. Newcastle disease is endemic in this zone, as are *tsetse* flies, which cause *trypanosomiasis*.

Periodic hazards: Every two to five years this zone is affected by a drought which severely reduces the harvests, while floods and cholera outbreaks also affect this zone occasionally. Crops grown near the game reserves are at risk of damage by elephants. Tick borne diseases are also a major hazard.

Response Strategies

<u>Expansion of existing strategies:</u> Increase in the rationing of cotton. Increased sales of livestock. Increased gathering of wild foods for sale and consumption, in particular <i>masawu</i> .	<u>Distress strategies:</u> Reduction in the number of meals and the quantity of food consumed in a day. Requests for gifts of food or participation in food aid programs. Increased consumption of wild fruits.
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In addition to these strategies mentioned above, a number of mitigation strategies have been put in place. These include fly gate control (barriers placed across the road to ensure that passing vehicles are sprayed against tsetse flies); introduction of permits for livestock movement; increasing emphasis on guinea fowl rather than chickens (guinea fowl are more tolerant to Newcastle disease); migration from flood prone areas to higher land for cultivation and cultivation of drought tolerant and short cycle crop varieties.

Crisis Warning Indicators

Drop in the market prices for cotton, which could mean that farmers are unable to recover their production costs.

Increase in the price of staple foods, especially when this is not matched by an increased income from cash cropping or employment.

Increase in the number of people looking as agricultural laborers. Saturation of the labour market could lead to a decrease in the wage rate earned. Such a situation is worsened if it coincides with a time when staple food prices are high.

Zimbabwe Livelihood Profile

Zone 23: Save River Valley and Ndowoyo Communal

Main Conclusions and Implications

Livelihood success in this zone depends on the outcome of communal agricultural production, animal husbandry, petty trading and remittances as well as casual employment. Despite good soils, cereal and cash cropping are limited by erratic rainfall. Most of the households own some animals, which provide an essential safety net as they can be sold for cash to buy food when needed.

Zone Description

This flat lowveld zone, located in south-eastern Zimbabwe, is categorized as Natural Region IV and V. Soils are relatively rich throughout the zone although there are some minor differences¹¹. The limiting factor to agriculture is not soils but rainfall. Throughout the zone, average rainfall is only 450-600mm per year. Notwithstanding low and erratic rainfall, agriculture plays an important role in local livelihoods. Households mainly grow small grain cereals (sorghum, finger millet and pearl millet) as well as maize and groundnuts. There is also limited cash crop production of cotton. Small-scale communal irrigation schemes have furthermore been developed adjacent to the Save River and nearby households benefit from these schemes to cultivate cash crops such as wheat, soya beans and tomatoes. Cereal cropping is supplemented by remittances, earnings from local employment and livestock sales (in particular goat sales). Households with access to sufficient water supply also try their hand at market gardening. The zone is close to several commercial fruit and sugar plantations which usually absorb a relatively large labour force. Finally, part of the zone (Matibi II) shares a border with Mozambique which facilitates the cross border exchange of goods.

Markets

Locally, there are opportunities for people to work in the fields of their better off neighbors. The urban centres of Chiredzi, Chipinge and Mutare also provide valuable employment opportunities for households within this zone, as do the commercial sugar plantations in Triangle, Chiredzi, Chisumbanje and Middle Sabi. Other employment opportunities are available at the local wildlife and beef ranches or across the border in South Africa.

The main cereals are marketed through the Grain Marketing Board (GMB), breweries, millers, private buyers and companies. Cotton (although limited in production) is sold through Cotco and Terafin. Livestock are sold both to local and outside private buyers. The Rural District Council usually organizes cattle sales markets with buyers coming from outside.

Seasonal Calendar

The rainy season starts and ends slightly later further north-east of this zone (in Ndowoyo) compared with the Save River region, so planting and harvesting are slightly later there. For instance, land preparation starts in September in Chipinge / Chiredzi but in October in Ndowoyo. In general, rainfall is received between November and March. The main crops are sorghum, pearl millet, finger millet and maize. Maize does not do well in dry conditions but it is a crop valued for its flavor and relative ease of preparation.

¹¹ For example the soil in Ndowoyo communal area is black vertisol or red clay and prone to gully erosion, in Mutema communal area the soil is gravelly, while that in the Save Riverine area is much more fertile.

Households within each part of the zone have the same employment opportunities on the commercial sugar and cotton estates.

Wealth Breakdown

Wealth in this zone depends on two factors: (i) household capacity to cultivate cereal and cash crops, and (ii) livestock holdings. Agricultural capacity includes access to sufficient land, labour (family and / or hired), tools and other resources needed to ensure a decent harvest, weather conditions permitting. Better off households own more livestock, in particular goats and cattle as well as donkeys and oxen to help with transport and land preparation. Poor households typically own a few goats and some chickens and only rarely cattle.

Sources of Food

The most important source of food for households in this zone is own crop production. Cereal stocks last much less than a full year. Consequently even better off households rely significantly on other food sources. These include market purchase, food aid, remittances (at small scale), and the collection of wild foods (e.g., *quelea* birds and fruits and leaves from particularly the baobab tree). Consumption of own livestock products (milk and meat) contributes only marginally to the household diet (and only in better off households). In the southern part of Chipinge District, there is some limited possibility for hunting wild game in the forests. Households living near the Save River and other seasonal rivers and irrigation schemes supplement their diet by fishing but this is not typical for the zone as a whole. Even in normal years, poor households depend on gifts of food from neighbors to meet their annual food needs, especially during the hunger gap just before the harvest.

Sources of Cash

The most important source of cash income in the zone is the sale of small livestock. The sale of cotton and surplus cereals as well as remittances (i.e., from family members who work in urban areas in Zimbabwe or in South Africa) are also important income sources in the zone. In addition, there are a number of local employment opportunities. For instance, poor households earn cash by working on the fields of better off neighbors during periods of intensive agricultural activity. Other income sources include selling of palm wine (*njemani*), poaching fish for sale, moulding bricks in the winter, collecting thatch and firewood and making and selling local handicrafts such as crocheted mats, baobab fiber mats and baskets. Wild foods such as mice, birds and fruits are sold by a few households.

Hazards

Chronic hazards: Rainfall is unreliable in this zone and the farming period regularly is disrupted when the rain stops mid-season. Prostitution is becoming rampant. Crop pests such as the *quelea* birds attack cereals (in particular millet as well as wheat grown on the irrigation scheme) at harvest time. Livestock theft is a regular hazard in this zone.

Periodic hazards: Crop pests, veld fires, drought and floods are problems that occur on an occasional basis in this zone. Human diseases such as cholera also occasionally affect households. Livestock diseases, such as Newcastle disease affecting chickens, are a periodic – but increasingly common – problem in the zone..

Response Strategies

<u>Expansion of existing strategies:</u> Increased production of handicrafts for sale. Increased migration to urban centres or to South Africa and Mozambique to look for work. Increased reliance on wild foods and poaching of	<u>Distress strategies:</u> Increased reliance on poaching as a source of cash and (limited) food income. Reliance on commercial sex work to earn cash. Theft of cattle.
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wild animals. Reduced expenditure on non-essential items Increased sale of livestock. Spraying of mosquitoes in their breeding sites. Adoption of conservation farming technology to reduce effects of erratic rainfall. Construction of houses on higher ground.	Reduction in the quantity of food consumed and the number of meals per day. School children withdrawn from school. Reduced expenditure on essential non-food items and services such as health care.
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Crisis Warning Indicators

Increase in the number of people looking for employment as laborers, leading to low daily wage rates.

High staple grain prices compared with the daily wage rate.

The price of sorghum (in particular) following the harvest does not drop significantly (indicating a poor harvest).

Poor cotton prices (this especially affects livelihoods in Ndowoyo).

Low livestock prices. This is especially a problem when it occurs at a time of high cereal prices.

Zimbabwe Livelihood Profile

Zone 24: Western Kalahari Sandveld Communal

Main Conclusions and Implications

Livestock and crop production are important in this zone but livelihood success depends essentially on remittances from family members who are employed elsewhere, particularly in South Africa, Botswana and urban centres in Zimbabwe. Ethnic groups in this zone include the Ndebele, Kalanga and the San peoples in the western parts of Tsholotsho District.

Zone Description

The zone is found in the west of the country in Bulima, Mangwe and Tsholotsho Districts. It encompasses the communal lands of Matestsi (in Hwange), Nata, Maitengwe, Mpimbila, Ingwezi, Mpande, Raditladi, Ramakwebana and Tsholotsho. The zone borders Hwange National Park in the north and Botswana in the west. It is categorized as Natural Region IV. The zone has relatively poor soils and relatively low annual rainfall of 450-650mm. Hence, it has limited agricultural potential. While the main ethnic groups are Ndebele and Kalanga, there are some San people living in the most southern part of the zone near the border where they have become integrated into a sedentarised, agricultural economy. In general, livelihoods in this zone are based on rain-fed grain cultivation mixed with animal husbandry and supported by labour migration into neighboring South Africa and Botswana. An important aspect of the household economy is having someone working elsewhere and who remits money to the family remaining in the rural areas. The main crops favored are those that are drought tolerant such as millet, sorghum and groundnuts. Maize, cowpeas, beans, melons and pumpkins are also grown. Livestock holdings are generally higher than further north in Zimbabwe. This reflects the need to diversify in order to survive conditions that do not support successful agriculture. There are no major lakes or rivers for fishing in the zone.

Markets

The main labour markets are local, including seasonal daily labour in the fields of better off households and temporary migration to the nearby urban centres such as Bulawayo. South Africa provides a key opportunity for employment as does, to a lesser extent, Botswana. Commodities are mainly exchanged on a local basis. Livestock are generally sold to local butcheries or to private traders who come to the sales auctions organized by Rural District Councils. The buyers then take the animals to abattoirs or to the Cold Storage Commission in Bulawayo. Cereals and sunflowers are mainly marketed through the Grain Marketing Board (GMB) outlets which exist in most large towns, or to National Foods in Bulawayo. While some farmers sell directly to these outlets, most trade is done through middle men.

Seasonal Calendar

Agricultural activities start with land preparation involving the removal of stalks and some bush clearing. Some better off households with draught power start preparing their fields as early as August, with winter ploughing. This greatly improves yields but requires animal traction to plough in the remains of the previous harvest. The main cereal crops grown are rain-fed millet, sorghum and maize. Maize does not do as well as the smaller grains under such dry conditions. However it can be eaten green before harvesting has started, making it a valuable food source when stocks have run out. The other food crops grown are groundnuts, cowpeas, beans, melons and pumpkins. Some wealthier households also cultivate sunflowers and cotton as a cash crop. There are a number of wild foods available in this zone throughout much of the

year. These include fruits, *mopane* worms, mushrooms and some vegetable leaves, which make a valuable contribution to the diversity and quality of the diet. Vegetable production starts from April to July. On-farm casual labour is available during the main agriculture season.

Wealth Breakdown

Wealth in this zone depends on three factors: (i) the remittances sent home, (ii) the land area cultivated and (iii) animal holdings. Nearly all households own some livestock. Poor households usually own a few goats and some chickens. By contrast, better off households own around 30 cattle and around 50 small ruminants (sheep and goats) as well as some donkeys for transport and labour in the fields. Success in agriculture depends on land area cultivated as well as access to resources and labour. While poor households rely only on their own family labour, better off households employ people (from among the poor) to work in their fields especially during periods of intense agricultural activity. In addition the better off have the means for animal traction. Another key determinant of wealth is access to remittances. The impact of remittances on the household economy is more pronounced for middle and better-off households. Although all households take advantage of the income opportunities elsewhere in Zimbabwe or in South Africa (as well as, to a limited extent, in Botswana), middle-income and better off households tend to have more family members employed “away” and hence more income is remitted home. They also typically find more lucrative employment than poor households.

Sources of Food

Despite the arid conditions, own crop production is a key source of food for better off households. For example in a year of relatively good rainfall, middle and better off households are able to cover more than half of their annual food needs from their own production. Milk and meat also contribute to the diet of these wealthier households. By contrast, poor households produce a very small harvest. Instead, most of their food is purchased on the market. In addition, poorer households frequently depend on gifts of food to make up remaining food gaps in the year. In a reasonably good year these gifts are limited to food shared by better off neighbors. However, this zone also receives food aid through a number of schemes including school feeding, food-for-work programmes, grain loan schemes and supplementary feeding programmes. Little crop produce combined by wild foods (*mopane* worms, game, indigenous vegetables) blended with purchases and some food aid are major sources of food for the San people and other poorer households.

Sources of Cash

Poor households depend heavily on the labour market for their income. Better off households, by contrast, have sufficient assets that their own crop and livestock production is enough to cover their annual income needs. This group also receives significant income through remittances from family members working across the border in South Africa, Botswana or in urban centres in Zimbabwe. Poor households usually do not sell cash crops. Instead they sell thatch, baskets, crocheted items, stools, grass and wild foods. Poor households also depend on on-farm employment as well as off-farm activities such as garden construction and cattle herding.

Hazards

Chronic hazards: Erratic rainfall is a regular hazard which limits crop production. This zone is furthermore prone to veld fires, which destroy grazing land, as well as at risk of crop destruction by crickets and *quelea* birds.

Periodic hazards: Roughly every three to five years within a decade, rainfall is below average for the zone.

Response Strategies

<u>Expansion of existing strategies:</u> Increase in collection and sale of wild foods. Increase in the sale of livestock.	<u>Distress strategies:</u> Sale of livestock by households who do not own many animals and who therefore cannot sustain their herds with this level of sales. Reduction in the number of meals consumed per day. Reduction in quantity of food consumed per day. Increased numbers of people involved in prostitution and theft.
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Crisis Warning Indicators

Increase in the number of people migrating to South Africa or Botswana to look for work.

Increase in the number of people looking for work locally. This could lead to a decrease in the daily wage rate.

Increase in the prices of staple cereals in particular of maize, especially if this coincides with a decrease in the labour wage rate.

Increase in the collection and sale of wild foods. For example an increase in the number of people selling *mopane* worms at the local markets, and a decrease in the prices of such commodities.

Increase in skewed barter terms of trade.

Increase in criminal activities.