

An annotated bibliography on indigenous coping strategies and community dynamics in response to extreme poverty and vulnerability in Zimbabwe

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1. Poverty, vulnerability and coping strategies

Drivers of poverty and vulnerability

The current literature on poverty has been increasingly focusing on factors that drive people into poverty and maintain them in the poverty trap. The nature of poverty dynamics, i.e. the knowledge of the factors associated with the movement in and out of poverty is crucial for an effective targeting of interventions (Baulch, McCulloch 1998).

Hulme and Shepherd (2003) disaggregate the poor into chronic and transient poor to distinguish between those, who are trapped into long-term poverty and those who experience short-term poverty with the prospect to improve their condition.

The Chronic Poverty Report (2004) discusses causes of poverty in terms of maintainers and drivers of poverty. The socio-economic environment in terms of factors such as bad governance, economic growth, geography, capability deprivation and social exclusion act as barriers that prevent the chronically poor from accumulating or accessing assets and pursuing opportunities, which are necessary to escape poverty.

Dependency ratios, household size and geographic variables are generally regarded as important correlates of poverty (Baulch and McCulloch, 1998). Capability deprivation, translating into low levels of human, social and political capital is also a maintainer that traps people in long-term poverty (Bird, Shinyekwa 2003).

However, not all chronically poor people are born into long-term deprivation; vulnerable non-poor and transient poor can be driven into long-term poverty after a shock or a series of shocks from which they are unable to recover. The most common shocks are related to illness and death, natural disasters, violence, state failure and economic collapse (Chronic Poverty Report). The ability to respond to these shocks is determined by the degree of vulnerability of a household. According to Ireland et al (2004, p.29) „livelihoods are vulnerable, when they are unable to cope with and to respond to exposure to risks, stresses and shocks“. Although poverty and vulnerability are not synonymous, they are interlinked: Poverty makes people more vulnerable to shocks and their vulnerability to such shocks exacerbates their poverty and therefore their vulnerability to future shocks (Damas and Rayhan 2004). Risk-related vulnerability, i.e. the risk to face a shock and the inability to cope with it, is thus a major driver of poverty (Dercon 2005).

Dercon distinguishes between a general definition of vulnerability in terms of weakness or defencelessness and risk-related vulnerability. Whereas the former definition refers to a general inability to take advantage of profitable opportunities, the latter refers to the „likelihood that a shock will result in a decline of well-being“ (World Development Report 200/2001, p. 139, in Dercon). Rural, resource poor households in Africa face a number of shocks and risks, including climate and health risks and insecure land access (Reid,

Vogel 2006). The nature of the shock is important in order to understand the possibilities available to deal with its consequences. Whereas idiosyncratic shocks, like health shocks, can be insured to a certain degree within a community, common shocks, like drought, affect everyone and thus the risk can not be shared (Dercon 2004).

Responses to shocks and the ability to cope with vulnerability depend to a high degree on the level of available assets. The possession of liquid assets is particularly important to avoid falling into poverty (Hulme 2003). For the poorest, who lack physical or capital assets, human capital is often the most valuable asset and particularly health shocks can trap households in long-term poverty (Lawson 2004, Barrett 2004, Kristjanson et al 2004).

Coping mechanisms and exit strategies

In order to protect themselves against shocks and risks poor households develop different coping strategies. The literature distinguishes between risk-management (income-smoothing) and risk coping strategies (consumption-smoothing). The former attempts to reduce ex-ante risk impacts, e.g. through income diversification. Risk coping strategies deal with the consequences (ex-post) of risk. (Dercon 2004). Research into coping strategies in times of food-shortage shows that coping strategies are adopted in a predictable sequence, whereby coping strategies with small long-run costs are adapted first and strategies with higher long-run costs that are difficult to reverse being adapted last. Finally, survival strategies are adopted last and reflect a failure to cope. Devereux (1999) provides a categorisation of different coping strategies. Faced with an income or food shock, households may either protect their food consumption by purchasing or receiving food from other sources or they may modify their food consumption by reducing/modifying food consumption or reduce the number of consumers. In times of crisis people are forced to trade short-term consumption needs against longer-term economic viability.

In some cases, coping and survival strategies can assist the poor to escape from poverty. Diversification of income sources was found to be the most successful exit strategy (Kristjanson et al 2004, Krishna 2003, Mango et al. 2004, Sen 2003). Examples of diversification strategies are agricultural intensification or diversification, such as livestock farming, cash-crop production or paid employment. Higher levels of education also increase the probability of exit (Baulch, McCulloch 1998). However, access to assets and information is critically important to successfully pursue diversification strategies (Mosley 2006 et al., Krishna 2003). Mosley et al. (2006) identify a number of policies that can assist the rural poor to escape from poverty: Risk returning policies, like public investment or micro-insurance policies can overcome risk aversion that prevent the poor from engaging in more profitable, yet more risky activities. Barrier removing policies help to dismantle mechanisms, which result in low levels of return on investments for the poor. Finally, demand driven policies increase the demand for labour. As mentioned above, interventions need to differentiate between the transient and the chronic poor. Safety nets can prevent the transient poor from falling into chronic poverty in the wake of adverse shocks. Another set of policies, referred to as cargo net policies (Barrett 2005) aim to facilitate exit from chronic poverty by building up productive assets of the poor. However, these policies require a strong state and political commitment. As the following

section will show, poor state performance not only hinders the poor from escaping poverty, but is itself a driver of poverty.

2. Governance and its impact on poverty in Zimbabwe

There have been many attempts to explain how a once relatively prosperous country like Zimbabwe has experienced such a profound decline. The adverse climate conditions and the persistence of HIV/AIDS can only partly explain the high levels of poverty and vulnerability. Many analysts agree that bad governance and the weakening of the rule of law is one major cause of Zimbabwe's current economic decline, resulting in much increased levels of poverty and vulnerability (Richardson 2005, Hawkins 2006). Hasler (2004) even argues that the main driver of chronic poverty in Southern Africa is poor governance and poor management. The Zimbabwean government contributed to increased vulnerability by not only failing to build people's resistance to shocks and their ability to cope, but also by implementing policies that undermined livelihoods (Lambrechts, Barry 2003, Power 2005).

Land reform and agricultural policies

The fast track land reform programme, initiated in 2000, undoubtedly contributed to the rapid deterioration of Zimbabwe's social and economic situation. The conversion of commercial farms into communal farms under this programme had several effects. Resettlement created new vulnerable groups who lacked access to essential services and were often chronically food-insecure (Mbeza-Chimedza et al 2001). The implementation of land reform also resulted in a significant displacement of farmworkers. The loss of jobs, shelter and access to social services exposed most of these former farm workers to chronic poverty (Sachikonye 2003).

Most importantly, the seizing of commercial farms led to massive production disruptions. These were further exacerbated by adverse climate conditions and led to a sharp decline in grain production. As a result, Zimbabwe shifted from a net food exporting to a net food importing country. The following food-shortage was further compounded by government policies, such as the introduction of price controls for basic goods, particularly maize and wheat, and the implementation of a command agriculture in 2005 (Solidary Peace Trust 2006). Under this scheme, producers obtained inputs from the Grain Marketing Board (GMB) and were forced to sell most of their produce to the Board. Furthermore, prices paid to the farmers were well below market prices and rocketing costs for inputs, due to inflation, meant that producers were making a severe loss. In this context, farmers were forced to cultivate less or to switch production to crops that are not subject to price controls. Grain production has been declining even further (Power 2003, Human Rights Watch 2003).

In an effort to counter the resulting food shortage the government is increasingly relying on the army to control not only food distribution but also production through the GMB. Farmers are being obliged to cultivate food grain and sell it to the GMB. The amount allowed for own consumption is often insufficient to feed a household and as a result, in many cases producers are forced to buy additional grain from the GMB. Cases of denial of the right to purchase maize to those who are considered to be in opposition of the ruling

party are well documented. Another outcome of the militarization of the agriculture is the systematic destruction of marketing gardens and cash crop by the army (Solidary Peace Trust 2006, Human Rights Watch 2003).

In 2004 more than half of Zimbabwe's population was considered food-insecure. Despite an increased availability of maize in the last two years, poor in-country maize distribution, due to transport problems, fuel shortage and mismanagement, significantly reduced the potential benefit of this food for poor and food insecure households (FEWS NET 2006).

Land reform also had a knock-on effect on the national economy. Land seizures led to a steep decline in export revenues from cash crop as well as the loss of foreign investment, with the subsequent loss of foreign currency revenues. The shortage in foreign currency severely affected industrial production, which is import dependant, and hundreds of companies closed down, fuelling high unemployment (Richardson 2005).

Unemployment, inflation and HIV/AIDS

This situation was further compounded by the operation Restore Order, targeting illegal houses, vending sites and other informal business premises. The operation resulted in the loss of livelihoods for those that previously worked in the informal sector. It is estimated that some 650,000-700,000 people were directly affected through the loss of shelter and/or livelihoods (Tibaijuka 2005). After destroying homes in the cities and moving people into transit camps, the government assigned people to rural areas on the basis of their identity numbers. The relocations from cities to villages have affected thousands throughout Zimbabwe and the displaced place an additional burden on the rural community to which they used to provide financial support (BBC 2006).

In order to cover the huge budget deficit and to repay its debts, the government started to print money, resulting in a hyperinflation that has passed 1000% in 2006 (Hawkins 2006). In early May 2006, Zimbabwe's government printed approximately 60 trillion Zimbabwean dollars in order to finance the recent 300% increase in salaries for soldiers and policemen and 200% for other civil servants.

In the context of poor governance, HIV/AIDS reinforces a vicious spiral that is further threatening to destabilise the country by eroding the countries already weak economy and governance institutions (Price-Smith, Daly 2004).

The government has declared HIV/AIDS a national emergency and established a National Aids Council that is currently implementing AIDS interventions. However, according to Human Rights Watch (2006) three thousand people die each week due to governmental policies that create formidable obstacles to accessing life-saving treatment, such as high user fees and other access barriers. There have also been allegations of politicisation of the drug delivery and a high level of corruption among the service providers (Price-Smith, Daly 2004). Despite a decline in the prevalence of HIV/AIDS in the last years, the epidemic remains a serious crisis.

3. Poverty and vulnerability in Zimbabwe

The ability of household to respond to risks and shocks can be substantially weakened by multiple or successive shocks. In Zimbabwe, households face a combination of different shocks: Common shocks, such as bad governance, economic decline, characterised by a hyperinflation and high unemployment, institutional collapse and successive droughts as well as idiosyncratic shocks, namely the impact of HIV/AIDS (Mazeba-Chimedza et al. 2002). All these factors have led to a steady depletion of households assets and there are growing numbers of vulnerable people.

The economic decline in Zimbabwe means that the poor face shrinking incomes and spiralling costs of living. Hyperinflation combined with unemployment has been a major driver of poverty, particularly in urban Zimbabwe (Mosley et al 2006). Households are increasingly unable to afford basic necessities such as education and health. The inability to afford school fees and material has led to an increased number of school drop-outs. Access to health services is often made impossible due to high cost of transport and drugs (Mbeza-Chimedza et al 2002). Successive droughts, rocketing input and transaction costs combined with the inability of the formal institutional network to deliver services undermine the capacity to manage food security (Ireland et al. 2004). The introduction of the command agriculture further increases vulnerability through dependency on the state as the only source of food (Solidary Peace Trust 2006).

HIV/AIDS is having a devastating effect on livelihoods. Life expectancy, at 52 years in 1952, is expected to fall to 27 years by the year 2010 and „almost everyone is infected or affected by HIV/AIDS“ (Mbeza-Chimedza et al 2002, p.4).

The disease is affecting production and earnings at household level, leading to a reduction in income, job loss, decreased productivity and labour substitution, by removing children from school to earn money. Affected households not only face income reductions but simultaneously high medical expenses and the need to meet increasingly costly funeral expenses. The spread of the disease has dramatically increased the numbers of orphans, dependents and child-headed households and threatens to overburden traditional safety nets (Ireland et al. 2004, Mazeba-Chimedza et al. 2002). All these factors are combining to undermine communities' capacity to cope with natural shocks such as drought and floods (ibid).

A report by the Consolidated Appeals Process (CAP) for Zimbabwe projects that the humanitarian situation is likely to continue to deteriorate in 2006, particularly due to the steady decline of the economy, which will have an adverse effect on already vulnerable populations (CAP 2006).

4. Households and coping strategies

The inability to buffer economic shocks leads households to draw down liquidity or assets. Savings have been adversely affected following droughts and economic decline. Ersado et al. (2001) show that the post drought and macroeconomic trend in Zimbabwe has been to use all sources of income for current consumption, whereas pre-drought households saved the majority of the transient income as a cushion against future shocks.

Asset holdings have been equally affected and in many cases, the succession of shocks has led to a complete depletion of assets (Ireland et al. 2004). Studies in Zimbabwe have shown that the 94/95 shock was associated with an increase in sales in livestock (Kinsey 1999, Hoddinot 2004). Whereas in non-drought years livestock was mostly sold to purchase agricultural inputs or pay school fees, in times of drought sales were used to buy food.

Apart from these generalised findings, households were found to respond in different ways, depending on the level of asset holdings. Evidence shows that the poorest households who have no surplus livestock choose to smooth consumption rather than selling their livestock, even though that means suffering hunger in the short term or they prefer to sell basic household goods (Hoddinot 2004, Mazeba-Chimedza et al 2000). Households also switched their expenditure from non-staple foods, non-food items and services to the purchase of maize (Save the Children 2002).

Consumption smoothing strategies are generally on the increase as income-generating strategies are increasingly coming under strain.

Income-generating strategies

With unemployment rates of 80% in the formal sector, more and more people in urban areas are engaged in informal activities, ranging from petty trade, to car-washing, domestic work, gardening to vending. House-owners use their houses to generate income from renting out rooms or for home based economic activities (Schlyter 2001). Yet, in most cases, people working in the informal sector do not make enough money to meet the ever-increasing costs of life. Informal traders also suffer frequent harassment and arrests from enforcement agents (Mombeshora 2004). Furthermore, income generating activities in the informal sector were seriously undermined by the Government's Operation Murambatsvina/Restore Order, which targeted what the Government considered to be illegal housing structures and informal businesses.

In rural areas, selling labour is a common strategy for poorer households. They often engage in piece jobs for richer neighbours to supplement their income. These jobs involve weeding crops, watering gardens and others (Mombeshora 2004). The ability to sell labour, however, is being restricted by the HIV/AIDS disease. Furthermore, due to reduced payment rates, more family members have to participate in the work (Save the Children 2002). Gardening and selling vegetables or craft are also used to generate additional income (Save the children, Ireland et al. 2004).

Migration and remittances

Migration has been going up sharply in the post-2000 period. (Bracking, Sachikonye 2006). Furthermore, there has been a shift in the nature of migration. Whereas migration of young single males for work has continued, the economic crisis has brought a sharp increase in out-migration of the skilled middle-class and in cross-border travel of mainly women, seeking to supplement family incomes by purchasing goods for importation and resale in Zimbabwe (Tevera et al. 2002, Hawkins 2006). Research into urban households showed that remittances mitigate the economic crisis to some degree, yet it is questionable whether this kind of support is sustainable (Bracking, Sachikonye). With the economic decline and inflation, migrants in the urban parts of Zimbabwe find it increasingly difficult to send money and other forms of help to their kin in rural areas (Mombeshora 2004). Also, due to unemployment and the spiralling cost of life, a growing number are moving back to rural areas (Ireland et al. 2004).

Adverse coping strategies

Economic hardship also results in increased use of negative coping mechanisms such as commercial sex trade, corruption, crime and unsustainable utilisation of fauna and flora (CAP 2006). The breakdown of social networks has led to rising theft rates, and as a result, neighbourhood watch schemes have emerged. Early marriages were found to have increased, resulting in higher exposure to HIV/AIDS. There is also a rise in the number of extra-marital activities as last resort to get money needed for food (Ireland et al. 2004). Faced with food insecurity and other shocks households are often forced to reduce the frequency of their meals or to skip meals (Kinsey 1999). The collection of wild harvest is an important activity to complement food, but overexploitation leads to the destruction of the environment and availability of wild food is decreasing (Ireland et al. 2004).

Coping strategies also differ, depending on the degree of vulnerability. A study into coping strategies of chronically ill-affected (CI) and non-affected households in Zimbabwe showed that CI affected households were more likely than non affected households to skip meals, rely on wild foods for meals and prioritize food within the household for working members rather than non-working members. Chronically ill households were also found to avoid education costs, reduce spending in healthcare costs in order to purchase food and reduce spending on agricultural and livestock costs (Senefeld and Polsky 2005).

5. Community dynamics and social support networks in Zimbabwe

The role of kinship ties

Risk sharing and mutual support networks are important coping strategies that provide assistance at community level. The combination of multiple shocks has increased the regularity of material and non-material transactions in both rural and urban areas and at the same time affected support networks (Mombeshora 2004). Generally, giving is regarded as a virtue and it serves to strengthen reciprocity ties within the community. Giving and sharing within the lineage is regarded as a strong norm and kinship relations are seen as important instruments for risk sharing, informal insurance or other types of assistance (Dekker 2004, Barr 2004).

Kinship can be regarded as a way of the distribution and redistribution of material and social resources among households and families. In this structure, the capability of a relative to get support depends on his/her social positioning within the kin-group in terms of gender, life stage and their ability to draw on own assets. Generally men have a greater command over assets than women, giving the former more possibilities to transact them (Mombeshora 2004). Female headed households in particular hold less land, produce lower crop yields and own fewer heads of livestock. Also, female headed households are often excluded from access to services as extension services, credit or education (Huisman 2003). Furthermore, women traditionally do not inherit land. As a consequence, widows without an adult son clearly in line to inherit may face the risk of losing her land and other assets to her husband's family (Bird, Shepherd 2003).

Children are also less likely to have a strong position within the kin-group as age determines the social positioning and adults have developed a wider network than younger kinship members on which they can draw in times of hardship (Mombeshora 2004). Child-headed households in particular depend on the support of their kin-group but sometimes they face stigmatisation and exploitation by their extended family (FOST 2003).

In urban areas, kinship ties remain important, but are complemented by friendships and associations in giving support. (Mombeshora 2004.) The most vulnerable households are often the ones that lack kinship relations (Ireland et al. 2004).

Forms of assistance

Assistance between members of a kin-group, neighbours or friends can take various forms. Generally, most of the assistance provided is in the form of gifts or services and only a small amount is provided as a loan in cash or kind or a gift or service that needs to be reciprocated (Dekker 2004a). Although most of the support is provided within the village, assistance from someone outside the village is also common, suggesting that migrant family members also play an important role.

Research into Zimbabwean villages showed a variety of mutual support and risk sharing arrangements. Savings groups at village level specialise in goods, others in cash and in the third type, members exchange goods as well as cash. Groups are mostly formed among neighbours, kins or members of the same religion. Work parties, whereby village members form a group to assist other village members in agriculture or in the event of death are another form of assistance offered in anticipation of similar assistance (Dzingirai 2000). Tributary labour is a practise that has been resuscitated as a means to cope with HIV/AIDS. The village chief controls land on which all villagers have to work. The chief then stores the produce and uses it a reserve to help villagers in need of food and particularly HIV/AIDS affected households (Mombeshora 2004).

Cattle and land loaning arrangements can also be found. A plot of fertile land is borrowed during one season and then goes back to the land holder. Unlike crop-sharing arrangements, under this arrangement the borrower is normally not expected to pay part of his produce to the owner. Other strategic farming transactions include assistance with farming assets. Those without any assets assist their neighbours first and receive help at a later date. However, in a context where rainfall is not reliable, this puts them at a disadvantage in terms of timing of planting. As a result, they face the risk of harvesting little or nothing.

All these transactions follow social norms that involve a different degree of reciprocity: General reciprocity involves a degree of altruism. The giver does not expect an immediate return but the receiver is expected to reciprocate at a later date. Balanced reciprocity involves a transfer with the expectation to get a return of approximate value. Lastly, negative reciprocity describes someone's behaviour who wants to maximise benefits at others expense (ibid).

Support networks in resettled and communal villages

A comparative study between resettled and communal villages found differences in community dynamics and support networks. Resettled communities more often develop individual strategies to deal with crisis, whereas communal villages more often cope through the assistance of their support network. Villagers in communal areas are generally more likely to receive support from relatives than people in resettled areas. (Dekker 2004a). A study by Dekker (2004b) in resettled villages showed that in the absence of close kinship ties, villagers strongly invest in new social relationships. Villagers encouraged their offspring to intermarry and to form new village associations in order to facilitate informal insurance relations and build up trust. Still, although the majority of households have a marital relationship to another household -in many cases former blood relationships e.g. between the widowed household heads and the siblings of the deceased husband- blood kinship is generally regarded as more important for risk sharing than a marital relationship.

Intra-village social ties that predate resettlement such as those with kin, clan members or households who lived in the same geographical areas prior to resettlement are most instrumental in risk sharing. Households that have a

shared past were found to be more likely to provide assistance to each other, than households without a shared past. Although less important, other relationships, such as marriage relations and village associations also have a role to play in providing insurance. Interestingly, church membership seems to be less relevant for support networks in resettled villages. Although the notion of a common past or formerly shared risk is important for support networks, the type of social relationship that matters for risk sharing differs between villages and is largely determined within the village (Dekker 2004b).

The erosion of traditional support networks

As this section has shown, informal and traditional networks are regarded as an important safety net in the face of hardship. Safety nets allow drawing on social networks—the extended family, friends and neighbours and others—for support in times of need (Devereux 1999).

However, faced with multiple stressors, informal and traditional institutions are under increasing pressure and the non-vulnerable are losing their ability to support the vulnerable (Mazeba-Chimedza et al. 2002). „The expression „isandla zimfitshane” (Ndebele) or the spirit is willing but the hands are tied by poverty aptly captured this phenomenon“(Mombeshora, p.126).

As a consequence, the poorest find themselves unable to draw on the support of the extended family or neighbours. Reciprocal support, such as borrowing from neighbours, although still practised, is becoming increasingly rare. (Ireland et al. 2004). The rising number of orphans and vulnerable children is placing additional pressure on traditional safety nets. An increasing number of families are refusing to take these children in as they struggle to feed their own children (United Nations 2006). As a result there is a significant increase of child-headed households (Mazeba-Chimedza et al, Ireland et al. 2004).

The famine literature shows that informal safety nets expand first but then contract as the food crisis deepens (Devereux 1999). In Zimbabwe, it is becoming obvious that the combination of common and idiosyncratic shocks is leading to a breakdown in traditional social networks (Mazeba-Chimedza et al, Ireland et al. 2004).

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Drivers of poverty and avenues for escape

Alwang, Jeffrey; Mills, Bradford F.; Taruvinga, Nelson (2002) 'Why has poverty increased in Zimbabwe?' Publisher: World Bank

Poverty in Zimbabwe increased significantly during the 1990s, and it increased in all sectors of the economy. In the middle of the decade, more than 60 percent of Zimbabwean households fell below the national poverty line. There are competing reasons for this: some say it was the result of the government instituting the Economic Structural Adjustment Program (ESAP), and others say that ESAP 's effectiveness was hampered by recurring drought. This document sheds light on the sources of the increase in Zimbabwean poverty, with the use of non-parametric and parametric statistical methods. These techniques support the conclusion that the drought, though harmful, does not entirely explain the increase in poverty. The deteriorating economic environment, reducing the returns to both human and physical assets, also had profound effects on household well-being. What are the prospects for improvement in the near future? Only serious structural changes to the economy can create labour market conditions conducive to long-term broad-based growth.

Barrett, Christopher B. and McPeak, John G (2004) 'Poverty traps and safety nets'. Mimeo. Cornell University

http://aem.cornell.edu/special_programs/AFSNRM/Parima/Papers/BM_povertytraps.pdf

Abstract:

This paper explores how nutrition related health risks affect patterns of chronic poverty and vulnerability and seeks to integrate risk management and poverty analysis. According to the authors, no assets risks threaten human livelihoods more than health risk, as [health] is the most important asset of the poor. Asset risk is crucial to a solid understanding of poverty dynamics in an environment, where frequent droughts, cattle raids and human disease epidemics expose pastoralists to an extraordinarily risk of asset loss.

Barrett, Christopher (2005) 'Rural poverty dynamics: development policy implications'
Agricultural Economics, Vol. 32, Issue s1

Abstract:

This article explores the useful distinction between chronic and transitory poverty in understanding rural welfare dynamics. It highlights the possibility of poverty traps and their implications for "cargo net" policies to build up productive assets and "safety net" policies to protect such assets. We discuss the methodological difficulties in identifying and explaining either poverty traps or the critical thresholds that are their defining feature. A few empirical

examples from sub-Saharan Africa illustrate the likely existence of poverty traps that help to explain chronic rural poverty.

Baulch, Bob and McCulloch, Neil (1998) 'Being Poor and Becoming Poor: Poverty Status and Poverty Transitions in Rural Pakistan' *IDS Working Paper 79*

Abstract:

This paper contrasts the results of conventional poverty status regressions with an alternative approach, the analysis of poverty transitions, using a five year longitudinal household survey from rural Pakistan. The results show that the correlates of entries and exits from poverty were found to differ in important but unexpected ways from those of poverty status. The dependency ratio and geographic variables were important correlates of poverty status, but neither had much impact on entries into or exits from poverty. Other variables, such as education and livestock ownership, had asymmetric impacts on poverty transitions: increasing exit or reducing entry probabilities without influencing transitions in the opposite direction. Further analysis, however, is necessary to identify the events which preceded households moving into or out of poverty. The policy implications of these findings, if confirmed elsewhere, indicate that targeting anti-poverty policies using the characteristics of the currently poor is highly problematic. If governments care primarily about reducing the poverty headcount, they should focus their efforts on increasing exits from and decreasing entries into poverty.

Bird, Kate and Shepherd, Andrew (2003) 'Livelihoods and Chronic Poverty in Semi-Arid Zimbabwe' *World Development* Vol. 31, No. 3, pp. 591-610, 2003

Remoteness and geographic (natural, physical, human and social) capital are contrasted with social and political exclusion in explaining persistent rural poverty. The paper finds that persistent poverty is strongly associated with the structural poverty of Zimbabwe's semi-arid communal areas.

Relative urban proximity assisted income diversification and improvement in a very poor, socially and politically excluded area. Less excluded but remote areas remained poor but not as poor as the excluded population. Livelihoods changed and diversified more in the non-remote area, speeding poverty reduction as measured by an index of perceived change. The paper concludes with what policy options and sequence might support the inclusion of chronically poor people.

Bird, Kate and Shinyekwa, Isaac (2005) 'Even the ,rich' are vulnerable: Multiple shocks and downward mobility in rural Uganda' *Development Policy Review* Vol 23, No 1, January 2005, pp. 55-85

Abstract:

Poverty data rarely capture processes of change, limiting our ability to understand poverty trajectories at the individual or household levels. This article uses a household survey, village-level participatory studies and in depth life-history interviews to examine people's poverty trajectories and to identify what drives and maintains chronic poverty. Composite shocks can propel previously non-poor households into severe and long-term poverty.

Poverty is hard to escape, and people born into chronically poor households find few opportunities for accumulation and wealth creation. The analysis highlights the importance of poverty interrupters, including the end of conflict and the re-integration of internally displaced people, and suggests that state-led interventions would be needed to provide real opportunities to the chronically poor.

Chronic Poverty Research Centre (2004) 'Chronic Poverty Report 2004/2005'

Abstract adapted from author:

The report examines what chronic poverty is and why it matters, who the chronically poor are, where they live, what causes poverty to be persistent and what should be done about it. A section of regional perspectives looks at the experience of chronic poverty in sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, transitional countries and China. A statistical appendix brings together data on global trends on chronic poverty, estimating that the number of people trapped in chronic poverty is between 300 and 420 million people, with South Asia accounting for 44 per cent of the figure and Sub-Saharan Africa for 29 per cent.

Most chronic poverty is a result of multiple interacting factors operating at levels from the intra household to the global. Some of these factors are maintainers of poverty and others are drivers of chronic poverty. The report highlights that not all chronically poor people are born into long-term deprivation; but many are driven into poverty after a shock or a series of shocks from which they are unable to recover. Barriers to accumulating or accessing assets or pursuing opportunities are found to be the main maintainers of poverty. It is argued that opportunity is not enough for chronically poor people to escape poverty. They need targeted support, social assistance and social protection, and political action that confront exclusion. The authors call for a policy framework that prioritises livelihood security for all, puts more chronically poor people in a position where they can take up opportunities, takes empowerment seriously and recognises obligations to provide resources. Chronic poverty will not be seriously reduced without real transfers of resources and sustained, predictable finance.

Dercon, Stefan (2005) 'Vulnerability: a micro perspective' Department of Economics. University of Oxford

Abstract adapted from author:

Vulnerability to severe hardship is part of life in developing countries. This paper explores the links between risk, vulnerability and poverty, from a micro-level perspective. It examines risk and vulnerability both as a central part of poor people's lives and as a cause of poverty. Vulnerability is also considered as a normative welfare concept, and policy implications are presented. The paper presents evidence that should encourage policy-makers to give risk and uncertainty a more central place in thinking about poverty and destitution. The central argument is that risk is not just another expression or dimension of poverty, but it is also an important cause of persistent poverty and poverty traps.

Francis, Elizabeth (2006) 'Poverty: Causes, Responses and Consequences in Rural South Africa' Working Paper 60. Manchester: IDPM/Chronic Poverty Research Centre (CPRC).

Abstract:

This paper examines recent contributions to the analysis of poverty, particularly those emphasising the constraints on the poor posed by social relations and institutions that systematically benefit the powerful. It proposes an analytic framework for studying of the causes of poverty, responses to poverty and the consequences of those responses. This framework is then applied to a case study from rural South Africa. The case study underlines the importance of understanding the processes linking poverty at the local level with the regional and national political economy. It also suggests that responses to poverty in this case may be unsustainable.

Hasler, Richard (2004) 'Governing poverty in the new South Africa and beyond'. ID21 Guest editorial

<http://www.id21.org/id21-info/guesteds/haslerapril04.html>

In his article, Hasler argues that chronic poverty in southern Africa has been caused by poor governance and poor management. He criticises that research which over emphasises the technical symptoms of that poverty such as "remoteness" or land deprivation may be missing the key point about management for the future. It risks misleading African development by suggesting that there is some circumstance, some missing ingredient which donors might usefully provide, some historical injustice of the colonial era which once addressed, will solve Africa's chronic poverty. Hasler suggests that a fundamental precondition of poverty alleviation, is the proactive engagement of government to alleviate poverty for its citizens by playing an economic game. He argues that governments are not elected to frustrate economic growth, but to provide opportunities for wealth creation, employment and investment. There is therefore a need to make governments accountable for chronic poverty. In countries where the government creates elitism, political and economic uncertainty and hinders economic processes, technical solutions and fixes may not work.

Hulme, David and Shepherd, Andrew (2003) 'Conceptualising chronic poverty' *World Development* Vol. 31, Issue 3, March 2003, Pages 403-423, Chronic Poverty and Development Policy

Abstract: This paper provides a meaning for the term chronic poverty "in a nutshell" and explores the concepts of poverty, vulnerability and poverty dynamics that underpin this meaning. Subsequently, it reviews "who" is chronically poor, "why" they stay poor and what is known about policies to reduce chronic poverty. Despite the limited knowledge available it is clear that hundreds of millions of people are chronically poor, the causes are multifarious but can be analyzed through livelihoods frameworks. The scale and nature of chronic poverty will require an increase in the levels of financing allocated to social protection in developing countries. Recent conceptual and methodological advances, and the increasing availability of panel datasets,

mean that the analysis of deprivation can move on from poverty trends to poverty dynamics.

Kinsey, Bill H. (2002) 'Who benefits from asset redistribution in Zimbabwe? Targeting, beneficiary selection and economic performance'. Paper presented at the conference Understanding Poverty and Growth in Sub-Saharan Africa. Centre for the Study of African Economies, Oxford University, March 18-19.

[www.csae.ox.ac.uk/conferences/2002-UPaGiSSA/papers/Kinsey
csae2002.pdf](http://www.csae.ox.ac.uk/conferences/2002-UPaGiSSA/papers/Kinsey/csae2002.pdf)

Abstract:

Two challenges face programmes to raise income and enhance welfare: identifying beneficiaries and targeting benefits to reach priority households. Common approaches profile household and personal characteristics to define criteria amenable to bureaucratic application. This approach was taken in Zimbabwe's original land redistribution programme-criteria for inclusion broadly identified a group of poor. The early criteria were not applied consistently, however; those selected varied greatly in background and initial conditions. The paper re-examines the role of initial conditions in shaping long-term outcomes of land-reform. Several factors make this re-examination worthwhile. Most important is the weakening focus on poverty alleviation in Zimbabwe's land reform programme. Because of the official disappointment with the performance of earlier resettlement, a second phase aims at wider 'commercialisation' of small-scale agriculture. Selection criteria were altered to include those with formal qualifications, farming experience and capital assets. Yet the validity of these criteria to predict performance was never tested. Nor did government ever make a systematic assessment of the effects of land distribution on the welfare on the original categories of beneficiaries.

This paper is an explanatory analysis of the effects of targeting asset redistribution for poverty alleviation. First is identification of 'stylised' target groups from the households in the Zimbabwe data panel set. This is done in two ways. Grouping is first carried out on single easily identified criteria-such as age or landlessness. Then a further selection is made using clustering techniques to generate household groups that closely resemble one another in multiple dimensions. The second step traces for the groups the trajectories of income and asset-ownership over time. Attention is also paid in each period examined to the coherence of the groups as indicated by internal heterogeneity. Earlier findings suggest the coherence of group membership over time should decline, i.e. the initial conditions that defined each group will no longer be determining.

Krishna, Anirudh (2003) 'Escaping poverty and becoming poor: Who gains, who loses and why? Accounting for stability and change in 35 North Indian villages'.

Paper prepared for the International Conference on Staying Poor: Chronic Poverty and Development Policy. Institute for Development Management and Policy, University of Manchester, 7-9 April 2003

<http://www.chronicpoverty.org/pdfs/conferencepapers/krishna.pdf>

Economic growth has very different effects on different households, as this study of 35 villages in Northern India shows. In each village, a large number of people have escaped from poverty, but also a large number have also fallen into deep poverty in the same time. One set of factors is associated with escape from poverty, while another different set of factors is associated with decline. Two different sets of policies are thus required: one set to prevent households declining into poverty and another set to promote escape from poverty. While poor health, high healthcare expenses, high interest private debt and large social and customary expenses constitute major reasons for households declining into poverty, diversification of income sources is the most important reason for households escape from poverty in the studied region. However, not all educated and hardworking persons could diversify their income successfully. The study shows that information matters critically for successful diversification and only those households that had privileged information about new opportunities could diversify successfully.

Kristjanson, A., Krishna, A., Radeny, M. and Nindo, W. (2004) 'Pathways out of Poverty in Western Kenya and the Role of Livestock'. Pro-Poor Livestock Initiative. *PPLPI Working paper* No. 14

<http://www.fao.org/ag/againfo/projects/es/pplpi/docarc/wp14.pdf>

This paper is based on a study exploring households' pathways into, and out of, poverty, with poverty defined from the communities' own perspective. Using a community-based methodology known as the "stages of progress" approach to assess household poverty dynamics, the authors were able to ascertain the proportion of households that escaped poverty over the last 25 years as well as the proportion of households falling into poverty during the same period. Reasons for the differences, and hence the different policy implications, are presented. They also refer to "cargo net" versus "safety net" interventions. Cargo nets help poor people climb out of poverty; safety nets stop people from falling into poverty. Summarily, it is recommended that redistributive programs to build up the assets of poor people may be effective in achieving long-term reductions in chronic poverty, but will have to be complemented by safety net policies.

Lambrechts, Kato; Barry, Gweneth (2003) 'Why is southern Africa hungry? The roots of southern Africa's food crisis'. Christian Aid Policy Briefing

<http://www.christian-aid.org.uk/indepth/0307safrica/safoodcrisis.pdf>

The report looks into the causes of the current food crisis in Southern Africa. Although natural disasters of the 90's were worse than in the years 2001/2002, the latest crisis affected livelihoods in a far more dramatic way than in the nineties. The authors believe that the current humanitarian crisis is due to an explosive combination of chronic poverty, poor governance, market failure, HIV/AIDS and economic failure. The authors recommend that the response to the crisis has to go beyond addressing humanitarian needs to supporting sustainable livelihoods.

Lawson, David (2004) 'The Influence of Ill-health on Chronic and Transient Poverty: Evidence from Uganda'. *CPRC Working Paper* No. 41

Abstract adapted from the author:

This paper looks at links between ill-health and poverty in Uganda. It uses quantitative research to test the qualitative finding that ill-health is a major cause of poverty. In conclusion the paper finds ill-health particularly associated with households moving into poverty but also supports previous literature which suggests demographic factors to be important in determining poverty. However, there appears to be quite distinct differences in coping mechanisms of the sick and non-sick households during the process of immiseration, particularly in relation to assets, which need to be further investigated.

Mango, Nelson; Cheng'ole, Josephat, Kariuki, Gatarwa; Ongadi, Wesley, (2004) 'Social Aspects of Dynamic Poverty Traps. Cases from Vihiga, Baringo and Marsabit Districts, Kenya' Paper presented at the KIPPA Cornell SAGA workshop on Qualitative and Quantitative Methods for Poverty Analysis, 11 March 2004, Kenya

<http://www.saga.cornell.edu/saga/q-qconf/mango.pdf>

This paper draws on qualitative research on Social Aspects of Dynamic Poverty Traps conducted in Vihiga, Baringo and Marsabit districts, Kenya. Using qualitative research techniques, such as the case study approach and community workshops, the paper explores the strategies that have been used by certain households to move out of poverty in the past ten to twenty years and reasons for descent into poverty by some households in the same period. Findings from this study indicate that poverty is not only an outcome of economic processes, but also an outcome of political, environmental and social processes that interact with each other and frequently reinforce each other in ways that exacerbates the deprivation of the environmental situation in which people live.

Misselhorn, Alison A. (2005) 'What drives food insecurity in southern Africa? A meta- analysis of household economy studies' *Global Environmental Change* Part A, Volume 15, Issue 1, April 2005, Pages 33-43.

Abstract:

Food insecurity, and the factors that determine it, are experienced at the level of the household and the individual. Food insecurity is also spatially varied across regions. In this paper meta-analysis is used to synthesize 49 household economy local-level studies that focus on community-level livelihood strategies to identify drivers of food insecurity in southern Africa. The results reveal entrenched cycles of vulnerability in southern Africa's food insecure communities, where socio-economic issues feature prominently. The direct causes of inadequate food access are poverty, environmental stressors and conflict: these account for 50% of the identified indirect drivers of food insecurity. Meta-analysis is used to suggest the common processes behind food insecurity that take specific forms in particular communities. The findings underscore the need to understand the multiple social and political dimensions

of food insecurity, such as the breakdown in social capital associated with poverty, conflict and HIV/AIDS, that run deeper than environmental constraints to food production.

Mosley, Paul and Suleiman, Abrar (2006) 'Agricultural policies against severe and chronic poverty. Cross-section analysis and country case studies for sub-Saharan Africa'. Synthesis paper (paper 3) for project on 'Agricultural Policies and Chronic Poverty' First draft: 2 July 2006

Abstract:

Within the context of sub-Saharan Africa, this paper examines the scope for reducing poverty (and in particular severe and chronic poverty) by appropriate measures of agricultural policy. This scope appears to be considerable, in the light of recent research demonstrating a linkage between agricultural growth and poverty reduction; however, agricultural growth in most African countries has been weak and unsustainable, even though there has been no shortage of investment in research to improve productivity, and even though the productivity of that research has been high. The primary focus of the paper is on the food crop sector, in keeping with the finding that it has a higher poverty-reducing potential than cash-crops.

This paper, analyses the scope for poverty-reducing agricultural growth by means of two approaches. The first uses cross-section regression methods on a sample of 39 developing countries to try and explain productivity levels, and their impact on poverty. The authors find that the level, the stability and the growth rate of expenditure which (directly and indirectly) supports agriculture have a significant positive impact on agricultural yields and hence on poverty. Thus policies which boost smallholder yields reduce poverty.

The second approach compares case studies between four African countries where the smallholder green revolution self-destructed in the 1990s – Zimbabwe, South Africa, Malawi and Zambia – and two where it has been more sustained, although now jeopardised by political disturbances – Uganda and Ethiopia. Again, there is a link between agricultural performance and poverty, which fell only in the countries where agricultural growth was sustained.

The paper focuses on the differences in policy which underlie these differences in poverty dynamics. In the countries where agricultural performance was more successful,

- (1) pro-poor expenditures were higher and more stable;
- (2) expenditures in replacement of missing rural markets were better targeted;
- (3) Rural labour markets were more dynamic.
- (4) There existed a *political* dynamic in favour of forcing development in rural areas, include remote ones with poor infrastructure.

The concluding section makes proposals for agriculture to contribute further to the reduction of chronic poverty in Africa by removing access barriers to high-productivity activities by poor people.

Mosley, Paul, Suleiman, Abrar and Chiripanhura, Blessing (2006) 'Escape routes from the rural poverty trap: evidence from three African countries' Paper presented at the conference 'Reducing Poverty and Inequality: How can Africa

be included?' Centre for the Study of African Economies, Oxford University, 19th- 21st March 2006

Abstract:

In three African countries (Uganda, Ethiopia and Zimbabwe) the authors study the processes associated with exit from poverty, entry into poverty and being trapped in poverty, surveying a sample of rural households over the period 2001-2005 in each country. The testing procedure involves, and seeks to integrate, econometric analysis of quantitative data and the anecdotal testimony of individuals with contrasting poverty histories.

The study works with a poverty trap model which identifies three padlocks which keep the rural poverty trap shut on many people and cause their poverty to be persistent and chronic : the risk aversion of the poor, which deters them from investing, especially in high-return activities which are *ipso facto* risky; the tendency for the resource-poor to have lower rates of return; and the inability of rural labour markets, even sometimes in a growing macro-economy, to generate rising real incomes for poor people. Tests of this model suggest that the probability of exits from poverty is associated with five main types of variable:

- (1) *initial conditions*, including education, relationship to infrastructure, and incidence of shocks;
- (2) *investment and composition of investment*;
- (3) *sectoral policies*, within which we focus on agricultural policies, since agriculture is a sector with particularly low barriers to entry;
- (4) *the behaviour of labour markets*;
- (5) *the formation of social capital*.

Within each of these five categories both econometric and qualitative methods are brought to bear. The report devises a new index of the incidence of shocks, and shows that the probability of exit from poverty is associated both with this and with agricultural productivity. The level of access of individual households to extension, in turn, was used to determine the likelihood of exit from poverty via the route of increased agricultural yields. The dynamics of rural labour markets are crucial in determining the dynamics of poverty. A final section suggests implications for the role of agricultural development within national and international poverty strategies, in particular in the areas of access to financial services, measures to reduce risk, public expenditure policies, and development of labour markets.

Philip, Damas and Rayhan, Md. Israt. (2004) 'Vulnerability and Poverty: What are the causes and how are they related?' Term Paper for Interdisciplinary Course, International Doctoral Studies at Zentrum fuer Friedensforschung, Bonn

http://www.zef.de/fileadmin/downloads/forum/docprog/Termpapers/2004_3a_Philip_Rayan.pdf#search=%22vulnerability%20coping%20Angola%22

Abstract:

This paper aims to analyse how the terms 'vulnerability' and 'poverty' can be defined in a variety of ways, with different meanings, different implications and their interrelationship. The analysis shows that poverty is generally associated with deprivation of health, education, food, knowledge, influence over one's

environment and the many other things that make the difference between a sustainable livelihood and survival. There is another universal aspect of poverty, which makes it particularly painful and difficult to escape: Vulnerability. The poor are more vulnerable than any other group to health hazards, economic down-turns, natural catastrophes, and even man-made violence. Shocks such as illness, injury and loss of livelihood have dreadful impacts, and are significant causes of poverty. Scholars argue that vulnerability and poverty are the result of economic, social, cultural, political and environmental factors, thus to identify the full range of factors, this paper encompasses an interdisciplinary analysis with some case studies from developing countries.

Sen, Binayak. (2003) 'Drivers of Escape and Descent: Changing Household Fortunes in Rural Bangladesh' *World Development* Vol. 31, Issue 3, March 2003, Pages 513- 534.

Abstract:

This paper analyzes a panel dataset on 379 rural households in Bangladesh interviewed in 1987–88 and 2000. Using a "livelihoods" framework it contrasts the fortunes of ascending households (which escape poverty) and descending households (which fall into poverty). These two dynamics are not mirror images of each other. Escapees overcome structural obstacles by pursuing multiple strategies (crop intensification, agricultural diversification, off-farm activity, livelihood migration) that permitted them to relatively rapidly accumulate a mix of assets. Descents into poverty were associated with lifecycle changes and crises such as flooding and ill-health.

Owen, Trudy (2004) 'External Support during the Transition Phase: Roles for Humanitarian Aid and Development Assistance from a Village Perspective' *World Development* Vol 32, Issue 10, pp 1711-1733

Abstract:

Development orthodoxy based on macroeconomic theory stresses the importance of physical and human capital accumulation as necessary elements for economic growth. Growing concern among development practitioners that textbook economic theory and results from formal questionnaires may not converge with the perceptions of the recipients of aid, however, has led to an increase in the use of participatory appraisals and related approaches. To explore resettled villagers' perceptions of aid and its role in reducing poverty in Zimbabwe, the research followed two techniques described in the literature on participatory rural appraisal: (a) a wealth-ranking exercise to examine villagers' concepts of poverty and the determinants of growth, and (b) semi-structured group discussions to explore villagers' thoughts on the role of aid. What is reassuring from this exercise is the convergence between villagers' perceptions of poverty and the role of aid with the implications of the economics literature and the results from administration of a formal household questionnaire.

2. Vulnerability and coping strategies in developing countries

Dercon, Stefan (2004) 'Income risk, coping strategies and safety nets' Working paper 2000.26. Centre for the Study of African Economies. Oxford University

<http://www.csae.ox.ac.uk/workingpapers/pdfs/20-26text.pdf>

Abstract:

Poor households in developing countries face substantial risk, which they handle with risk management and risk coping strategies, including self-insurance through savings and informal insurance mechanisms. Despite these mechanisms however, vulnerability to poverty remains high. This article reviews the literature on poor household's use of risk management and risk coping strategies. It identifies the constraints on their effectiveness and discusses policy options. It shows that risk and lumpiness limit the opportunities to use assets as insurance, that entry constraints limit the usefulness of income diversification and that informal risk sharing provides only limited protection, leaving some of the poor exposed to very severe negative shocks. The author concludes that further development of public safety nets is required, although their impact is sometimes limited, and they may have negative externalities on households that are not covered.

Devereux, Stephen (1999) 'Making less last longer. Informal safety nets in Malawi' *IDS discussion paper 373*.

<http://www.ids.ac.uk/ids/bookshop/dp/dp373.pdf>

In the 90s, Malawi switched from self-sufficiency in staple food grains to chronic dependence on food imports. In August 98, a 62% devaluation of the currency caused prices of many essential commodities and services to double.

Informal safety nets are defined in this paper as a subset of coping strategies that people adopt in times of food insecurity. They range from remittances of cash or food from within families, to meal sharing between neighbours and interest free loans to friends and gifts to beggars. Research was carried out in an urban and rural setting. A key finding is that informal transfers appear to be declining over time, partly as a general consequence of commercialisation and partly because deepening poverty means that the economic basis for redistribution is contracting. Findings also indicate that the scale and effectiveness of informal networks might be less in villages than in towns. More rural respondents [who] had rationed or skipped meals had fewer income generating opportunities to draw on and more of them were refused assistance by family or friends. In the absence of income generating opportunities and formal or informal networks, particularly in rural areas, there is no alternative to severe austerity measures: Making less last longer. The paper concludes by arguing that policy-makers concerned with providing assistance to Malawi's poor should consider productivity enhancing safety nets, such as input-for-work, to boost agricultural production rather than food for work to compensate for production deficits.

Reid, Paul and Vogel, Coleen (2006) 'Living and responding to multiple stressors

in South Africa -- Glimpses from KwaZulu-Natal'. *Global Environmental Change* in press.

Rural, resource poor communities face a number of stressors that curtail livelihood options. Climate stress in Southern Africa could potentially further threaten the livelihoods of such communities. Inappropriate responses and adaptation options to risk, including climate stress, could further undermine development efforts in the region. By using the sustainable livelihoods framework, this pilot study identifies some of the options and constraints to secure livelihoods that are currently being used by small-scale farmers in the Muden area of KwaZulu Natal. Health status, lack of information and ineffective institutional structures and processes are shown to be some of the key factors aggravating response options

Zimmerman, Frederick J. and Carter Michael A. (2003) 'Asset smoothing, consumption smoothing' *Journal of Development Economics* 71, pp. 233-260

Abstract:

A growing literature asks whether low-wealth agents can accumulate assets over time or whether they are trapped in poverty. This paper develops a stochastic, dynamic programming model with endogenous price risks to explore savings and portfolio decisions in a resource-poor environment characterised by risk and subsistence constraints. Optimal portfolio strategies are found to bifurcate, despite divisible assets and fully rational agents. Wealthier agents acquire a higher-yielding portfolio and pursue conventional consumption smoothing. Poorer agents acquire a less remunerative portfolio and pursue asset smoothing, rather than consumption smoothing. Asset based risk coping thus results in positive correlation between initial wealth and portfolio rate of return.

2.1. Vulnerability and coping in countries with poor governance or/and experiencing profound economic decline

Dhanani, Shafiq (2002) 'Poverty, Vulnerability and Social Protection in a Period of Crisis: The Case of Indonesia'. *World Development* Vol. 30, No. 7, pp. 1211-1231

The paper looks at the economic crisis in Indonesia in the 90's and its implications on poverty and vulnerability. The paper argues that the rapid rise in the poverty incidence is due to the large number of people living at or close to the consumption based poverty line. The author highlights some of the characteristics of the crisis to explain its impact on poverty. The Indonesian crisis was characterised by deep recession as well as a sudden rise in inflation. Nevertheless, the inflation rate fell equally sharply. The behaviour of the inflation rate is reflected in the behaviour of the poverty line, which rose sharply with inflation and declined when inflation went down. The paper argues that when the impact of inflation on the poverty line is combined with the fact that a significant part of the population is clustered around the poverty line, even moderate movements in the poverty line can trigger significant changes in the incidence of poverty. The paper also assesses the measures

put in place to combat the worst effects of transient poverty. The author suggests that in the absence of a combination of macro-economic interventions to combat inflation and direct micro- interventions of targeted subsidised rice and scholarships for the poor, transient poverty would have persisted. Furthermore, informal safety nets and coping strategies at household level played a big role in mitigating the effects of the crisis on the poor. In light of this, the paper makes the case for the combination of a macroeconomic stabilisation strategy with a long-term, fiscally sustainable social protection policy which reinforces existing social capital.

Lokshin, Michael M. and Yemtsov, Ruslan (2001) 'Household Strategies for Coping with Poverty and Social Exclusion in Post-Crisis Russia'. The World Bank. *Policy Research Working Paper Series No. 2556*

http://www.gateway2russia.com/articles/files/1417_wps2556.pdf.pdf

Abstract:

This paper analyzes the strategies that Russian households use to cope with after-crisis economic hardship. Given the dramatic drop in formal cash incomes, how are most people able to adapt? What are the relative importance and effectiveness of coping strategies to resist hardship in reducing poverty for different groups of households? This paper looks at the subjective evaluations of a number of coping strategies that respondents undertook to mitigate the effect of the Russian financial crisis on their welfare. The results of the analysis indicate that the choices of survival strategies are strongly determined by the level of human capital in the household. The higher the household human capital, the more likely it to choose active strategies. Households with low human capital, households headed by pensioners and low-educated households are more likely to be socially excluded. We argue that a trend toward marginalization and impoverishment of these groups should be expressly monitored. A specific set of policy interventions should be targeted on such households to avoid the entrenchment of poverty.

Lustig, Nora (2000) 'Crises and the Poor: Socially Responsible Macroeconomics' *Economía* - Volume 1, Number 1, Fall 2000, pp. 1-19

Abstract:

Between 1980 and 1998, Latin America and the Caribbean experienced more than forty episodes in which gross domestic product (GDP) fell by 4 percent or more. Poverty increased sharply during these episodes. Despite this, most countries in the region do not have appropriate instruments to shield poor people (and the near-poor) from the brunt of macroeconomic shocks. Improvising to protect the poor in the heat of a crisis is a recurrent phenomenon. Furthermore, evidence shows that spending targeted to the poor is procyclical--even more so than the rest of the budget.

That economic crises cause poverty to rise should not come as a surprise. What has received less emphasis, however, is that crises can lock poor people--and their children--in long-term poverty traps. During crises, poor people can face an irreversible reduction of their assets, including their human capital. Because economic crises are a classic case of an aggregate shock, poor people cannot resort to self-insurance, informal insurance, or the credit

market to smooth consumption effectively. In addition, poor people are not likely to be part of the formal social insurance system because a large portion of them are self-employed or they work as wage earners firms that cannot afford to participate in contributory systems or for ruthless employers who refuse to contribute their share. Hysteresis caused by the impact of crises on poor people's assets and their imperfect ability to protect themselves from aggregate shocks are two reasons why publicly funded safety nets should be part of the socially responsible policy response to a crisis. The potential distributive implications of macroeconomic measures should be assessed to determine where these safety nets will be most needed, and spending which targets the poor should be protected from budget cuts to the largest possible extent.

2.2. Vulnerability and coping in Zimbabwe

Community Monitoring Programme. 2005. 'Community Assessment of food security and the Social Situation in Zimbabwe'

http://www.sarpn.org/documents/d0001248/P1415CMP_Zimbabwe_April2005.pdf

The report covers a broad monitoring of food security and social welfare at community level by the community monitoring programme. The monitoring information is collected from sentinel wards within districts. In 2005 sentinels in almost all provinces reported a deteriorating food supply situation with widespread report of crop failure due to poor rains in the 2004/2005 season. Matabeleland North, Masvingo and Midlands are among those worst affected. A large proportion of households are reported to be sourcing food from commercial sources both in urban and rural areas. Commercial supplies, particularly of maize meal and to a lesser extent bread and sugar, were reported as being significantly less available than in April 2004. While availability of indicator drugs (antibiotics) in local clinics was reported to have fallen, clinic fees seem to have been fairly stable over the last year. Prices for goods and services were reported to have risen, particularly prices for bath soap and rentals.

Dzingirai, V. (2000) 'Saving to death: A study of group based and other saving arrangements in rural Chivi district, Zimbabwe'. Centre for Applied Social Sciences, University of Zimbabwe

<http://www.fao.org/sd/PPdirect/PPre0071.htm>

In Africa, the issue of rural savings is poorly understood. Why do rural people save? How do they save? This study of informal rural savings approaches in Zimbabwe is based on field research conducted in Mazoredze, a village of 160 persons and 28 households in Chivi District. The investigation focuses on an analysis of the various methods households use to accumulate and redistribute in-kind and cash capital used to finance their development. The socio-cultural factors that influence - constrain or promote - those accumulation and redistribution processes are also examined.

The author shows that most of the households surveyed made little use of formal credit and savings services and instead preferred to use more informal means to accumulate and redistribute capital. He also provides convincing evidence that certain forms of "giving" can be considered as a form of saving or investment since they serve to strengthen reciprocity ties between individuals and households, which are necessary for the accumulation of capital in the future. The author's frequent use of participant observations to describe household perceptions regarding savings and how various methods of capital accumulation function provide the reader with additional insights into how rural people save.

Ersado, Lire; Alderman, Harold and Alwang, Jeffrey (2001) 'Changes in Consumption and savings behaviour before and after Economic Shocks: Evidence from Zimbabwe'. Paper presented at International Food and Agribusiness Management Association Conference, Chicago June 25 –28, 2000

http://www.ifama.org/conferences/2000Congress/Forum%20%20Final%20PA/PERS/Area%20II/Ersado_Lire3.PDF

This paper analyses the changes in consumption and savings behaviour before and after shocks like drought and macroeconomic adaptation. The results show that before droughts and macroeconomic adjustments the majority of permanent income was consumed and the majority of transitory income was saved. Following the droughts and adjustments, however, most of both permanent and transitory incomes were consumed. The higher marginal propensity to save out of transitory incomes before the droughts and adjustments implies that Zimbabweans used savings to smooth consumption. In contrast risk management strategies were severely limited after the shocks; consumption tracked income more closely in the latter period. The inability to effectively address the risks arising from droughts and structural adjustments implies that subsequent economic and social uncertainty will have serious welfare consequences.

Ersado, Lire (2003) 'Income diversification in Zimbabwe. Welfare implications from urban and rural areas'. The World Bank

<http://www.worldbank.org/urban/symposium2003/docs/papers/ersado.pdf>

This paper examines, taking into account the rural-urban divides, the changes and welfare implications of income diversification in Zimbabwe following macroeconomic policy changes and droughts of the 90s. The authors find that rural households tend to have a more diversified portfolio of income compared to their urban counterparts and the degree of diversification decreases with the level of urbanisation. However there are important differences in the levels of diversification within the rural and urban areas depending on wealth: While the relatively better-off households have a more diversified income base in rural areas, it is the poor that pursue multiple income sources in urban areas. A decomposition of changes in welfare indicates that the total contribution of income diversification is large and increased between 90/91 and 95/96. On the other hand there were significant declines in returns to human and

physical capital assets during the same period. The findings suggest that households with a more diversified income base are better able to withstand the unfavourable impacts of the policy changes and weather shocks. The fact that relatively better-off households have a more diversified income base following the shocks implies that the poor are more vulnerable to economic changes unaccompanied by well-designed safety nets.

Farm Orphan Support Trust of Zimbabwe (FOST) (2003) "We will bury ourselves". A study of child-headed households on commercial farms in Zimbabwe'

http://www.sarpn.org.za/documents/d0000070/P83_FOST.pdf

Farm Orphan Support Trust of Zimbabwe (FOST) undertook this study into child headed households on commercial farms in April/May 2002 with the aim of identifying their problems and needs and planning potential interventions. The unique nature of farm worker communities makes them particularly vulnerable to the effects of HIV/AIDS. In particular, the lack of traditional safety nets within these communities increases the vulnerability of children, especially orphaned children.

The methodology employed for the study was action research oriented and involved interviewing 17 child headed households in Mashonaland Central and Manicaland provinces. Half a day was spent with each household and a further half day was spent talking to members of the farm community. In total 47 children and 27 community members were interviewed. The findings of the study reveal that child headed households on commercial farms face a number of problems including:

- Food insecurity
- Problem of access to education and skills training
- The struggle to meet material needs
- The absence of psycho-social support
- Poor life skills and knowledge
- Abuse and exploitation
- No extended family network
- Poor housing conditions and lack of tenure security
- Poor access to health care

These are common problems to most orphaned and vulnerable children but it was found that child headed households are especially vulnerable because of the lack of the usual community "safety nets". The report makes a number of recommendations regarding interventions. It is concluded that future interventions to respond to the needs of child headed households will need to balance material and psycho-social aspects in order to avoid undermining existing coping mechanisms. Supporting community-based responses will involve long-term capacity building and training and require thorough support and follow-up

Hoddinot, John. (2004) 'Shocks and their consequences across and within households in rural Zimbabwe' *Journal of Development Studies*, Vol. 42. Issue 2, Pages: 301-321, February 2006

The paper finds that although drought shocks do cause some households to draw down assets, different households respond differently to income shocks depending on the level of their asset holdings. The analysis reveals that households with a higher level of asset holdings may choose to cope with a shock by selling some assets in order to buy food. Whereas for these families, this decision does not necessarily carry with it a cost to future earnings or consumption, poorer families face a starker decision with potentially more drastic consequences. Without a surplus of livestock to sell, these families generally seem willing to hang onto their livestock even though this means they must endure short-term hunger. The paper concludes that better-off households do draw down assets following an income shock but the threat of a poverty trap means that less well-off households do not do so.

Luckert, M.K., Wilson, J., Adamowicz, V., Cunningham, A.B. (2000) 'Land Use Options in Dry Tropical Woodland Ecosystem in Zimbabwe: Household resource allocations in response to risks and returns in a communal area of western Zimbabwe' *Ecological Economics*, Vol. 33, Issue 3, June 2000, Pages 383-394

Abstract:

A household production model is constructed in the context of a subsistence economy, influenced by fluctuating rainfall, increasing populations, and relationships to the natural resource base. Households are modelled as attempting to optimally allocate their resources among four sectors: agriculture, woodlands (with wood and non-wood sub-sectors), livestock and urban. Simulations show that, although welfare decreased over the 50-year simulation period, the resource base appears to be able to sustain the increased pressure. Data to feed the model are limited, implying further research is needed on: resources expended by households by sector, perceptions of risk, and differentiation within and among households according to gender and wealth. Despite data limitations, results show the importance of considering that households may allocate resources between multiple sectors, as these options may buffer their welfare from rainfall shocks and increasing population pressures.

Senefeld, S. and Polsky, K. (2005) 'Chronically Ill Households, Food Security and Coping Strategies in Rural Zimbabwe' Paper presented at the Conference 'HIV/AIDS and Food and Nutrition Security' International Food Policy Research Institute, April 14-16, 2005, Durban, South Africa

<http://www.ifpri.org/events/conferences/2005/durban/papers/senefeldWP.pdf>

The paper analyses differences in coping strategies and food security between chronically ill-affected and non-affected households. The study found that chronically ill households were more likely than non-affected households to skip meals, eat less preferred food, rely on wild foods for meals and prioritize food within the household for working members rather than non working members. There was a positive correlation between the presence of CI in households and the avoidance of education costs, a reduction of spending in healthcare costs in order to purchase food and a reduction of spending on agricultural and livestock inputs. The findings demonstrate that

coping strategies of CI households are stronger than of non-affected households. The authors conclude that food insecurity or the presence of CI at the household level are not sufficient alone as targeting criteria and propose a specific vulnerability scale within CI affected households.

Schlyter, Ann (2001) 'Esther's house – Home, Business and Lodger's shelter: Multi-habitation in Chitungwisa, Harare, Zimbabwe'. Draft paper to the workshop "African Urban Economies: Viability, Vitality or Vitiating of major cities in East and Southern Africa? Africa-Studiecentrum, Leiden University, The Netherlands, 9-11 November 2001

Focusing on the history of one house, its owners and tenants, this paper discusses the living conditions in Chitungwisa, south of Harare. It shows how the house is made central in the coping strategies of a poor house-owner. These strategies range from renting out, establishing a small pub to using the house as a workshop. The author highlights how restrictive regulations in Zimbabwe have a serious impact on livelihood options of the poor and forces them to survive in a criminal urban economy.

Ireland, Claire; Sibanda, Lindiwe; Mupetesi, Thomas; Mhlanga, Saneliso (2004) 'Livelihood Insights. Challenges and trends in Zimbabwe with Case Studies from Matabeleland and Mashonaland'. World Vision Zimbabwe

http://www.livelihoods.org/static/docs/LivelihoodInsights_WorldVision.pdf

The report is based on a review of how the current humanitarian crisis is affecting livelihoods in two communities and their ability to cope. Interviews in two communities showed that villagers regard the breakdown in traditional institutions and social relations, high cost of living and inputs, decrease in livestock, prevalence of HIV/AIDS, unemployment, drought and increase in delinquency as major problems. The paper uses a livelihood framework to analyse the current livelihood situation in the two communities. The overall picture that emerged is that of increased vulnerability. Vulnerability is seen not only as a consequence of drought, but of a number of factors, including the impact of HIV/AIDS, high cost of production, lack of available seeds and the collapse of the commercial sector. Based on these findings, the authors formulate key questions that should guide the design of intervention strategies in the affected areas.

Mazeba-Chimedza, Ruvimbo, Turton, Cate and Westley, Karen (2002) 'Supporting livelihoods in Zimbabwe. A series of three reports'. DFID, Zimbabwe

In August 2001, the Department for International Development (DFID) in Zimbabwe commissioned a team to assist them with designing a long term programme of support to the livelihoods of the rural poor in the Masvingo Province. The first report looks at livelihood issues and concludes that there is an overall downward trend in people's livelihoods: People are becoming more and more vulnerable as their capacity to manage external shocks is being continuously weakened by HIV and economic crisis. As a consequence, new vulnerable groups are emerging. The elderly, children and women particularly shoulder the burden of caring for the HIV/AIDS affected. At the same time, the

ability of the non-vulnerable to support the vulnerable is under pressure and this situation is leading to the breakdown in the traditional institutions and cultural practices that traditionally provide safety nets.

The ability of the formal institutional network to deliver services is seriously constrained by the lack of centrally allocated resources, rising costs, fuel shortages and staff shortage. In rural areas, people are increasingly distanced from input and output markets as a consequence of the withdrawal of state led marketing institutions and more recently, the dramatic increase in transaction costs. As a result communities are withdrawing into themselves and their linkages with the outside are diminishing.

The overall situation has led to changing mobility patterns with people moving back to rural areas due to urban unemployment and HIV/AIDS. All these factors are combining to erode communities' capacity to manage natural shocks such as drought and floods. The impact of these shocks, in turn, creates new vulnerabilities that make it difficult for communities to sustain their livelihoods. In these circumstances, households find it increasingly difficult to access enough food through either own production or purchase. Over exploitation of natural resources is increasing as people are forced to exploit the natural resource base.

The second report looks in more detail at the goal and purpose of the Masvingo Livelihoods Programme in the light of the ongoing economic, environmental, institutional and political pressures which are having a serious negative impact on livelihoods. It identifies the main characteristics of the current livelihood insecurity, namely the breakdown in people's capacity to cope, the increasing difficulty to manage food security and the impact of HIV/AIDS. Against this background the authors propose the reformulation of the goal and purpose of the Livelihoods Programme to emphasise the importance of supporting the coping capacity of the poor and vulnerable with a longer term sustainable livelihoods vision. As the ongoing deterioration in the political and institutional environment limits the ability to take the programme forward, the focus has shifted to support the livelihoods of the most vulnerable through more short term relief oriented interventions. The third report provides a livelihoods perspective on the crisis, with a particular focus on the issue of vulnerable groups.

Scones, Ian (1996) 'Hazards and Opportunities: Farming Livelihoods in Dryland Africa: Lessons From Zimbabwe'

Abstract:

Climatic variability, poor soils and increasing resource pressures are undermining people's ability to make a living in the drylands of Africa. Yet they continue to respond to the pressures of environmental change by innovating and managing risks and uncertainties in creative ways. This book asks how such processes can be supported and what policies are needed to promote sustainable livelihoods in Africa's drylands. Based on a three year study in Zimbabwe, it explores the rich diversity of farming practices and survival strategies.

Sustainable Livelihoods in South Africa (SLSA) Team (2003) 'Livelihood dynamics: rural Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe', in: *Livelihoods in Crisis? New Perspectives on Governance and Rural Development in Southern Africa*.

Edited by William Wolmer and Ian Scoones – 2003. *IDS Bulletin*, Vol. 34 Nr. 3 July 2003, pp.15-30

Abstract:

Drawing on research carried out by the Sustainable Livelihoods in Southern Africa (SLSA) programme, this article gives a brief overview of some of the diverse ways people make a living in harsh physical and economic environments in Zambézia province, Mozambique, Chiredzi district Zimbabwe, and South Africa's Wild Coast. It describes the contexts of increasing vulnerability, including the impact of economic reform programmes, the spread of HIV/AIDS and the incidence of extreme climatic events. It explores the livelihood strategies of rural people and the emergence of new institutional and governance arrangements that facilitate or constrain these strategies. It demonstrates that gaining access to natural resources continues to play, alongside a portfolio of other activities, a crucial part in rural people's livelihood strategies.

United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (2006) Consolidated Appeals Process (CAP). 'Zimbabwe 2006'

Many of the humanitarian challenges facing Zimbabwe are common to countries in Southern Africa, particularly the "triple threat" of Human Immuno-Deficiency Virus/Acquired Immuno-Deficiency Syndrome (HIV/AIDS), food insecurity and declining capacity for basic social service provision, in addition to a large number of orphans and vulnerable children. The humanitarian situation in Zimbabwe is further impacted by economic decline, and formal and informal migration of skilled and unskilled labour. HIV/AIDS has also fuelled a rapid growth in the number of orphans and vulnerable children. The economic situation, with high inflation rates, shortages in foreign exchange, high unemployment and negative growth, adds to the vulnerability and suffering of the population.

The recurrence of disasters and subsequent cumulative negative impacts on communities and households has led to a drain of resources and the undermining of cultural norms.

Combinations of ongoing drought, HIV/AIDS, and weakened capacity for governance have resulted in a new reality for people, households, and communities. Whereas they first adopt traditional coping mechanisms, these measures must be either adapted or abandoned once they have been exhausted. In this context, donors need to focus on prioritising humanitarian actions for 2006 such as saving lives, enhancing positive coping mechanisms, mitigating the impact on vulnerable populations, and ensuring a comprehensive and co-ordinated humanitarian response.

Zimbabwe Vulnerability Assessment Committee (ZimVAC). 2004 'Zimbabwe. Food security and Vulnerability Assessments-April 2004'

http://www.sarpn.org.za/documents/d0001001/ZIMVAC_April2004.pdf

In April 2004 the Zimbabwe Vulnerability Assessment Committee (ZimVAC) estimated that about 2.2 million rural people would need food assistance between August and November 2004 due to a combination of factors,

including inadequate household crop production, and shrinking income options.

2.3. The role of migration and remittances:

Adams, Richard H. and Page John. (2005) 'Do international migration and remittances reduce poverty in developing countries?' *World Development*, Vol. 33, Issue 10, October 2005, Pages 1645-1669

Abstract:

Few studies have examined the impact of international migration and remittances on poverty in the developing world. This paper fills this lacuna by constructing and analyzing a new data set on international migration, remittances, inequality, and poverty from 71 developing countries. The results show that both international migration and remittances significantly reduce the level, depth, and severity of poverty in the developing world. After instrumenting for the possible endogeneity of international migration, and controlling for various factors, results suggest that, on average, a 10% increase in the share of international migrants in a country's population will lead to a 2.1% decline in the share of people living on less than \$1.00 per person per day. After instrumenting for the possible endogeneity of international remittances, a similar 10% increase in per capita official international remittances will lead to a 3.5% decline in the share of people living in poverty.

Bracking, Sarah and Lloyd Sachikone (2006) 'Remittances, poverty reduction and the informalisation of household well-being in Zimbabwe'. Global Poverty Research Group. *Working Paper* 045.

<http://www.gprg.org/pubs/workingpapers/pdfs/gprg-wps-045.pdf>

The study looks at the contribution of remittances in alleviating household poverty and whether this effect is enhanced or undermined by the behaviour of remittances receivers in the informal economy. The authors conclude that remittances are critical for alleviating household poverty in urban Zimbabwe. However there is also some evidence that remittances do more for some households than reduce poverty; they contribute to productive accumulation more generally, and the acquisition of consumption assets. The informal economy is seen as a critically important conduit for households in terms of their sending and receipt of remittances. Remittances transfers are predominantly restricted to personal transaction as opposed to informal yet institutionalised companies. The study also shows the importance of in-kind and goods transfers. The most common type of remitted goods is clothing, food and footwear, although luxury goods also seem to make up an important share.

Maphosa, France (2005) 'The impact of Remittances from Zimbabweans working in South Africa on Rural Livelihoods in the Southern Districts of Zimbabwe'. *Forced Migration Working Paper Series* 14, University of the Witwatersrand

<http://migration.wits.ac.za/Maphosa.pdf>

Zimbabwean migrants, working in South Africa transfer significant value from their host country to their communities of origin in remittances. Remittances are the most important source of income for many households in the Southern districts of Zimbabwe. The *homelink* facility, established by the Government of Zimbabwe, encourages migrants to send their remittances through formal channels. However, undocumented migrants are excluded from this facility. The report concludes that the lack of a proactive approach to dealing with remittances sent through informal channels limits their use in productive activities which have the potential to lead to sustainable development.

Potts, Deborah (2005) 'All my hopes and dreams are shattered': Urbanization and migrancy in an imploding African economy – the case of Zimbabwe'. *Geoforum* Vol. 37, Issue 4, July 2006

During the 1990s, urban livelihoods in Zimbabwe began to suffer a series of economic stresses, which accelerated in 1997 and then accelerated again, with the inception of fast-track land reform, from 2000. This has reduced urban living standards significantly and devastated real urban income levels. After a discussion of the economic and political parameters of this period, this paper links these to empirical changes in the urban livelihoods and perceptions of urban living standards of recent in-migrants to Harare. This draws on a longitudinal database of four surveys of recent migrants to the city conducted in 1985, 1988, 1994 and 2001. Among a range of qualitative issues explored in these surveys has been the question of migrants' future plans in relation to their intended length of stay in town. It is shown that migrants have been feeling increasingly negative or unsure about their urban experience since structural adjustment began in the early 1990s, and that these perceptions had greatly strengthened by 2001. By the last survey only a small minority felt they would remain permanently in town and most of the migrants from rural areas felt that their living standards in Harare were either worse than rural living standards, or no better. While Zimbabwe's current political and economic crisis is exceptional, serious urban poverty is a feature across sub-Saharan African countries and it is argued that this has had a depressing effect on net rural–urban migration rates.

Tevera, Daniel and Lovemore, Zinyama (2002) 'Zimbabweans who move: perspectives on international migration in Zimbabwe'. Southern African Migration Project, *Migration Policy Series* No. 25

According to this report, there has been a shift in the nature of migration in Zimbabwe. Whereas migration of young single males for work has continued, the economic crisis has brought about a sharp increase in female dominated cross-border travel for informal trade. Cross border travelling is described as a coping strategy mainly of women seeking to supplement family incomes by purchasing goods for importation and resale in Zimbabwe.

3. Community dynamics and the role of informal support networks in Zimbabwe

3.1. Community dynamics and informal support networks

Barr, Abigail (2004) 'Forging Effective New Communities: The Evolution of Civil Society in Zimbabwean Resettlement Villages'. *World Development* Vol.32, Issue 10, October 2004, Pages 1753-1766. Part special issue: Land reform and conflict in southern Africa: Lessons from Zimbabwe's experience

This paper explores one process through which Zimbabwean farmers who resettled at Independence transformed their new co-villagers from strangers into neighbours. They invested in civil society. Two decades on, resettled villagers engage in twice as much civil social activity as non resettled villagers and may have thus, compensated for the lower incidence of kinship ties and greater ethnic diversity among neighbours. Within villages, the elderly are more active. These results suggest that development practitioners could influence the evolution of civil society within resettlements. But, the relative welfare effects of kin-based and civic-based social capital need to be established before they do so.

Chimhowu, Admos and Hulme, David (2006) 'Livelihood dynamics in planned and spontaneous resettlement in Zimbabwe: Converging and Vulnerable'. *World Development* Vol. 34, Issue 4 , April 2006, Pages 728-750

This paper compares the livelihood dynamics of planned and spontaneously resettled households in Hurungwe District, Zimbabwe, during 1980–2000. Households in both planned and spontaneous settlements confronted similar risk, but dealt with it differently. The risks identified are drought and tenure insecurity. Apart from tenure insecurity, health risks combined with localised seasonal raids from wild animal and unpredictable markets also represent major threats to livelihoods in those areas.

Initially, the state sponsored households significantly improved their condition but as the state withdrew support, they became vulnerable. One of the reasons identified is the underdevelopment of mutual benefit networks since it was assumed that the state would mitigate against risks in planned settlements. In contrast, spontaneous settlers had to rely on personal savings and livelihood networks as soon as they resettled. These networks facilitated resettlement by providing information and livelihoods learning activities through induction and support. Once established household settled into in smaller but more closely knit livelihood cells that provided crucial support in both risk management and coping. However, AIDS, drought and poor commodity prices were identified as traumas that undermine the ability of these cells to provide either mitigation or coping mechanisms.

Another difference identified was that livelihoods of official settlers were less diversified than those of spontaneous settlers, as the former had been encouraged to specialise in crop production. Despite these initial differences, with the decline of state support and a growing population, the structure and outcomes of livelihoods in planned settlements increasingly resemble those of spontaneous settlers on communal lands. The conclusions indicate the need for settlement planners to use livelihood frameworks rather than small farm

models and for policy to recognize rural settlement from a multiple actor perspective.

Dekker, Marleen (2004a) 'Sustainability and Resourcefulness: Support Networks During Periods of Stress'. *World Development* Volume 32, Issue 10, October 2004, Pages 1735-1751 Part special issue: *Land reform and conflict in southern Africa: Lessons from Zimbabwe's experience*

This paper argues that resettlement affects the way households cope with crisis situations. Information on Zimbabwean households shows that households in resettlement areas are more likely to develop individual strategies, while households in communal areas are more likely to receive assistance from someone in their support network. Quantitative analysis shows these differences can partly be attributed to differences in wealth and kin relationships within villages, while qualitative data suggest there is also a difference in the attitude of, and towards, resettlement farmers that might make it more difficult for them to access assistance when it is needed.

Dekker, Marleen (2004b) 'Risk sharing in rural Zimbabwe: an empirical analysis of endogenous network formation'. Paper prepared for the Conference on growth, poverty reduction and Human Development in Africa, Centre for the Study of African Economies, University of Oxford, 21-22 March 2004

The economic literature on insurance networks increasingly recognises that risk is not shared in exogenous groups such as the village. Risk is more likely to be shared in sub-groups in the village: small, tightly knit groups that are endogenously formed to deal with information and enforcement problems. Recent empirical studies about sub-groups formation have suggested a dyadic approach that takes the relationship between households rather than households as the unit of analysis. This approach allows for an analysis of social structures on risk-sharing. At the same time it poses a methodological challenge as the observations in the analysis are not independent. This paper uses a dyadic model which deals explicitly with the dependence of observations. The model is used to analyse the determinants of risk-sharing networks in four land reform communities in Zimbabwe. These communities were established relatively recently and are characterised by a scarcity of kinship relations. Despite high levels of new social civil activities, it is found that intra-village social ties that predate resettlement such as those with kin, clan members or households who lived in the same geographical areas prior to resettlement are most instrumental in risk sharing. The exact type of social tie that is used for risk sharing varies however between villages, confirming that social capital is highly village and goal specific. The paper also finds that households are most likely to share risk with households with whom they shared risks in the past, which suggests informal insurance takes place in bilateral relationships rather than small groups.

Foster, Geoff (2005) 'Under the radar: Community safety nets for children affected by HIV/AIDS in poor households in sub-Saharan Africa'. Paper Prepared for the UNRISD / Training and Research Support Centre programme on Community Responses to HIV and AIDS

Abstract:

Safety nets are formal or informal mechanisms that mitigate the effects of poverty and other risks on vulnerable households during times of severe stress. In sub-Saharan Africa, the extended family, assisted by the community at large, is by far the most effective response for people facing household crises. Since state-administered support is non-existent throughout most of Africa, social insurance for most people is provided through kinship ties that enable household members to access economic, social, psychological and emotional support from their relatives in times of need.

Many more households are now being affected by social and economic crises as a result of HIV/AIDS and extended family support systems are being increasingly stressed. Many of those affected rely upon community members, including neighbours, friends and community associations, to cope with the impacts of AIDS on their households. Yet though frequently alluded to, community safety nets are poorly understood, especially in relation to HIV/AIDS and have been inadequately described. This paper provides a review of published literature concerning community safety nets and assesses previously documented examples of their functioning, especially in relation to households and children affected by HIV/AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa.

Mararike, Claude Gumbucha (1999) *Survival strategies in rural Zimbabwe: The role of assets, indigenous knowledge and organisations*. Book review by *Robert E. Mazur, Associate Professor of Sociology, Iowa State University*

An implicit political economy framework is used to identify the principal sources of rural development problems in Zimbabwe: (1) inadequate assets or resources; (2) powerlessness due to the lack of strong organizations to represent and articulate villagers' concerns and interests; (3) suppression of indigenous knowledge and organizations; and (4) policies formulated by outsiders (political parties, governmental and non-governmental organizations) under colonialism and since independence in 1980. The author argues that policies typically fail to appreciate both indigenous knowledge and the priority that people attach to the acquisition of particular types of assets for their long term survival and development. The priorities, which village people attach to the acquisition of particular kinds of assets is used to explain why government development programmes often are not successful in truly helping villagers.

The author is correct in his view of the struggle between village people and the state as one that concerns the access, control and utilization of resources in the villages. Organizations are analysed for their attempts to produce forms of social consciousness that create and perpetuate patron-client relationships that preserve privileged positions rather than genuinely support locally-initiated development activities which constitute solutions to villagers' real problems. This places indigenous knowledge in an appropriate political context. In other words, we must view development as an inherently political process, not a mere technical exercise concerned with getting the methods and techniques 'right'. The book encourages the view that survival strategies reflect problem-solving processes to find lasting solutions to meet physiological, social, economic, and political needs of everyday life, including making contingencies for the future. This book discusses how village people use their knowledge as power to enhance the level and effectiveness of

organizations which shape their access to resources and control over those resources. Participatory rural appraisal methods are used to understand local knowledge, how it is used, and local perceptions of constraints that villages must collectively confront. The author posits that problems faced by village people can serve as windows of opportunity because of the potential 'learning effects'. Problems successfully confronted constitute autonomous local capacity building. They accomplish this by producing the necessary knowledge base, character, discipline, confident attitude, capabilities and organizational structures needed to effectively address other and emergent problems in the future. In this way, links between indigenous knowledge and development are explicitly identified.

Mombeshora, Solomon (2004) 'Philanthropy of community in Zimbabwe. Past, present and future'. A paper prepared for the Building Community Philanthropy Project at the Centre for Leadership and Public Values, Graduate School of Business, University of Cape Town, South Africa

<http://www.gsb.uct.ac.za/gsbwebb/userfiles/Zimbabwe-BCPCountryReport.pdf>

The paper presents research findings on philanthropy of community among low-wealth groups in rural and urban Zimbabwe and its implications for development. The paper argues that philanthropic transactions within communities are the product of a complex interplay between history, socio-cultural institutions, power and the livelihood strategies that low wealth actors use. The actors are motivated by practical and strategic considerations. On the one hand, practical considerations entail the satisfaction of survival needs and on the other, strategic motives include social and economic capital formation that has the potential to pull individuals and communities out of poverty. The paper concludes by examining the relevance of indigenous forms of philanthropy for development.

3.2. Social exclusion:

Huis, Henk (2005) 'Contextualising chronic exclusion. Female headed households in Semi-Arid Zimbabwe'. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* 96 (3), 253 -263.

A wealth of primary data allows for a presentation and analysis of the characteristics of the persistent economic and social exclusion processes experienced by households which occupy a particularly difficult position in many studies on Third World poverty: female headed households in rural Sub-Saharan Africa. After an introduction in which attention is drawn to the highly politicised nature of the present-day debate on poverty, the role of gender roles in deprivation analysis is briefly reviewed. Following the presentation of relevant contextual data, the focus shifts to characteristics of marginalisation as experienced in resource-poor and drought prone parts of Zimbabwe. The analysis concentrates on their access to resources, services, and income and asset base. It sets out to discuss these aspects from a comparative perspective, i.e. it attempts to compare and contrast the key characteristics of their position with those of female-managed and male-headed units. A

discussion of the crucial role of social networks for survival of these female headed units and their prospect against the background of the deepening political and economic crises forms the conclusion of the paper.

Kaseke, Edwin (2003) 'Social exclusion and Social security: The case of Zimbabwe'. *Journal of Social Development in Africa*. Vol.18, No 1. January 2003

This paper examines the problem of social exclusion in the provision of social security in Zimbabwe. It is argued that social exclusion emanates largely from the orientation of social security which places emphasis on protecting persons working in the formal sector. The reality in Zimbabwe, however, is that those employed in the formal sector constitute a small minority. Consequently, the majority are excluded from social service coverage. The paper also observes that there is a gender dimension to social exclusion as women are largely excluded from contributory social security schemes. The paper ends by calling for appropriate interventions in order to achieve inclusiveness in social security coverage.

Moyo, Otrude N. - Kawewe, Saliwe M. (2002) 'The Dynamics of a Racialized, Gendered, Ethnicized, and Economically Stratified Society: Understanding the Socio-Economic Status of Women in Zimbabwe'. *Feminist Economics*. Vol. 8 Issue 2 Pages: 163-181, July 2002

Feminist literature attempting to understand the status of women in Zimbabwe has seldom considered patterns of social exclusion and the dynamics of a racialized society that institutionalized racial supremacy as an ideology for organizing social life. Even now, the paper argues that too often feminist theorists analyze the status of women with the assumption that patriarchy is the single source of the oppression of women. Using the notion of a racialized society the paper accounts for the workings of gender oppression within the historical context of Zimbabwe. The paper shows how in a racialized society, gender, race, ethnicity, and class operate intricately together to relegate African women to the lowest socio-economic status. Even with policies to redress earlier imbalances, women endure all forms of injustices. The paper focuses on the informal sector as illustrative of one sector where these injustices continue.

Sachikonye, Lloyd (2003) 'Land reform for poverty reduction? Social exclusion and farm workers in Zimbabwe' Paper prepared for a conference on: Staying poor: Chronic Poverty and Development Policy organised by the IDMP, Manchester University, April 2003

This paper represents a provisional attempt to assess whether Zimbabwe's land reform coherently addresses the issue of poverty reduction. It examines the short-term outcome(s) of the reform programme in relation to its initial objectives. More specifically, it examines its impact on farm-workers. Historically, a vulnerable social group, the farm-worker population was marginalized in the land reform process. The majority of farm workers lost jobs in the process as well as access to housing and social services such as health care and schools. Thus the outcome of the programme has been the loss of

jobs and livelihoods by farm workers on the one hand, and the acquisition of land as a resource by several hundred thousand small farmers, and black commercial farmers. This mixed outcome of land reform deserves critical analysis. The paper argues that social exclusion explains the historical and contemporary marginalization of farm workers with profound social consequences for this group. After laying out an analytical framework for the discussion, the paper draws on recently gathered empirical material on farm workers' incomes, access to basic social services and food security (Sachikonye, 2003). These aspects have invariably been adversely affected by the land reform process. Applying the concept of "chronic poverty", the paper considers the conditions of the more vulnerable sections of the farm worker population, the impact of HIV-AIDS on them, and their coping strategies.

4. Governance and its impact on poverty, vulnerability and coping

Hawkins, Tony (2006) 'Still standing. The economic, political and security situation in Zimbabwe 2006 and its implications for the SADC region'. Paper presented at a conference with the theme 'Security 2006'.

This paper looks at the reasons behind the economic and security situation in Zimbabwe. Although the whole African continent has underperformed, few countries are experiencing such a steep and protracted decline as Zimbabwe. Eight years of economic decline have cut the GDP by 40% and halved the income per head such that Zimbabwe has effectively come to a stand still. A feature of that decline has been inflation and a shift in income and wealth from poor to rich and the near elimination of the middle class. The latter has been forced either into the low income group or into emigration. As a consequence, a country which 7 years ago was a net exporter of food and agricultural produce has come to depend on international food aid. According to the author, the reason behind this decline is a striking mismatch between the government's economic, managerial and administrative incompetence and its ability to maintain an iron grip in respect of security and selectively applied law and order. He describes Zimbabwe as a state which is captured by its political elite, determined to hold onto power regardless of the cost to the economy and the population. The state and the economy works for these elite by financing the inefficient and costly bureaucracy and by creating a system of patronage, which make it increasingly difficult to survive without the proper connections. Another element of this mismatch is that between a government led by strong leaders and on the other side, a leaderless vacuum in opposition politics, in business, agriculture and mining. This scenario has led to a situation where Zimbabwe has lost the ability to recover on its own. Therefore, the paper argues, economic recovery will depend upon economic change in the country itself or external aid. However, there does not seem to be a constituency for political change as the opposition is deeply split and unable to mobilise the population. The paper warns that despite the current stability of Zimbabwe, this trend might reverse as repression is increasing and that Zimbabwe might end up as another pariah state. The paper concludes that the preconditions for political change in Zimbabwe are given but it is not

predictable when and how this change is going to happen and predicts that any political transition is likely to worsen the humanitarian situation in the short term.

Tibaijuka, Anna Kajumulo (2005) 'Report of the fact finding mission to Zimbabwe to assess the scope and impact of operation Murambatsvina by the UN Special Envoy on Human Settlements Issues in Zimbabwe'. *UN Documents and Publications*. United Nations

Abstract:

In May 2005, the government of Zimbabwe launched Operation Murambatsvina - a clean-up operation of its cities described as a crackdown on all illegal activity. This report presents the findings of the UN special envoy on human settlement issues in Zimbabwe. The research was carried out between June and July 2005 and the evidence given is based on interviews and submissions made by members of parliament, political parties, civil society organisations and individuals. Some key findings include:

- Operation Murambatsvina was carried out in an indiscriminate and unjustified manner, with indifference to human suffering and with disregard for national and international law
- the operation was a disastrous venture based on a set of colonial laws and policies have been used as a tool of segregation and social exclusion
- the process has resulted in a virtual state of emergency
- any humanitarian response can only be meaningful and sustainable if it contributes to the long-term reconstruction and recovery efforts of the government.

The report suggests a number of recommendations:

- **For the Government of Zimbabwe:**
 - halt any further demolitions of homes or informal businesses and create conditions for sustainable relief and reconstruction for those affected
 - facilitate humanitarian operations within a pro-poor, gender-sensitive policy framework
 - revise all forms of legislation related to both rural and urban planning so they reflect the social, cultural and economic realities facing the majority of the population
 - implement a broad-based consultation process among all stakeholders
 - those responsible for the operation should be held accountable
 - pay compensation where it is due for those whose property was unjustly destroyed
 - undertake corrective policy reforms in macro- economic and management and governance issues.
- **For the UN and international community:**
 - the UN should collaborate with the government to mobilise assistance from the international community

- all agencies should assist Zimbabwe in returning to the international fold
- encourage the government to prosecute human rights' offenders and continue to be involved with human rights concerns in the country
- draw lessons from the Zimbabwean case in terms of urbanization crises for the entire African continent.

Human Rights Watch (2003) 'Not eligible: The Politicization of Food in Zimbabwe'. *Human Rights Watch Report 2003*, Vol.15, Nr.17 (A)

Today, half of Zimbabwe's population of nearly 14 million is considered food-insecure. The international aid community is currently delivering food aid to over 5 million people and the number may exceed 7 million in 2004. The government subsidises grain through its own programme of importation and distribution, managed by the Grain Marketing Board (GMB) and the government's food committee. Local and international rights and relief agencies have been complaining for more than a year that food distribution is being manipulated for political ends, favouring those who support the government and the Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF), the ruling political party. Despite efforts by many international relief organizations to prevent politicization, local officials – mostly ZANU PF – have been able to manipulate the processes for registering beneficiaries, preventing non-ZANU PF-supporters from receiving food aid. The wider politicization of the GMB program affects many people at all levels of the food aid structure. Widespread corruption and profiteering characterize the GMB program, and assessments indicate that a great deal of the grain never reaches its targeted population. Much of the grain ends up on the black market, where the price of maize soars several times above the official price. Some grain may also end up in neighbouring states where maize prices are even higher. The resulting shortages of GMB maize in towns and villages mean that more and more people must rely on international assistance and relief aid. Those experiencing trouble accessing GMB maize share a common identity: they are perceived political enemies of ZANU PF and the government. In effect, rural or urban people without ZANU PF party cards are unable to register for or receive GMB maize. The government further compounded food shortages and consolidated its control by halting private merchants, the MDC and all but a handful of NGOs from importing grain. The government also closed down relief operations in areas where residents were thought to support the MDC.

Human Rights Watch (2006) 'No Bright Future. Government Failures, Human Rights Abuses and Squandered Progress in the Fight against AIDS in Zimbabwe'. *Human Rights Watch Report*, Vol. 18, No. 5 (A)

<http://hrw.org/reports/2006/zimbabwe0706/zimbabwe0706webwcover.pdf>

Human rights violations and inadequate health and social welfare policies are undermining progress in the fight against AIDS in Zimbabwe. Three thousand people die each week due to governmental policies that create formidable obstacles to accessing life-saving treatment. The prohibitively high costs of

antiretroviral treatment and the government's failure to inform HIV-positive individuals about the eligibility criteria for antiretroviral therapy have resulted in violations of people's right to health. Women are among the most affected in Zimbabwe as they are often forced to engage in high-risk behaviors in order to survive and support their families, and are less able to independently find funds for treatment. After the government's program of evictions in 2005, hundreds of people continue to live in appalling conditions, increasing the risk of HIV infection for thousands and further endangering the lives of those already infected. Zimbabwe, often hailed as a success story for a recent drop in HIV prevalence rates, continues to face an HIV/AIDS crisis that is driven by the government's reluctance to implement equitable and non-discriminatory economic and social policies

Power, Samantha, (2003) 'How to kill a country. Turning a breadbasket into a basket case in ten easy steps-the Robert Mugabe way'. *The Atlantic Monthly*, December 2003

<http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/cchrp/pdf/How.to.Kill.A.Country.pdf#search=%2How%20to%20kill%20a%20country%22>

The author analyses government policies under Mugabe and their impact on the country. Six years ago, Zimbabwe had the fastest growing economy in all of Africa. Now unemployment stands at 80 percent and the economy is in free fall. Powers shows how the nation once considered the heart of Africa's bread-basket, could become the location for widespread famine.

Price-Smith, Andrew T. and Daly, John L. (2004) 'Downward Spiral. HIV/AIDS, State Capacity and Political Conflict in Zimbabwe'. United States Institute of Peace

<http://www.usip.org/pubs/peaceworks/pwks53.pdf>

The purpose of this study is to demonstrate, by focusing on the case of Zimbabwe, how HIV/AIDS operates simultaneously across various domains – demographic, economic and governance-to destabilize states and threaten their national security. Given the complex mix of factors that are contributing to Zimbabwe's current malaise it is perhaps best to think of HIV/AIDS as a powerful stressor that is exerting a significant negative influence on the nation's economic health and political stability. Apart from the direct impact of HIV/AIDS, the disease is systematically eroding the economic strength as well as the institutions of governance of the country. These impacts combine to produce both the motive and the opportunity for intrastate violence between political elites, classes or ethnicities and may even generate state failure. The epidemic may also provide increasing incentive for the Zimbabwean state to engage in violence against its own citizens, as political elites seek to maintain their power in a destabilised and disaffected society. As shown in Botswana, where the government led the fight against the epidemic, good governance can compensate to some degree for low levels of state capacity. The study concludes that the government needs to step up its effort to fight the disease and calls for improved partnerships between the international community and

the Zimbabwean non-governmental health providers and community service agencies.

Richardson, Craig (2005) 'The loss of property rights and the collapse of Zimbabwe'. *Cato Journal* 25, No. 2

The article argues that the land reforms were the primary driver of Zimbabwe's sudden collapse, not the lack of rainfall. After giving a brief overview of the literature that covers the link between property rights and economic growth, official Zimbabwe government rainfall data is correlated with GDP growth, and this data is used to rank the severity of the 2001-02 droughts versus other droughts in the past 50 years. The article then illustrates the precise mechanics of Zimbabwe's collapse, by showing how the damage to property rights destroyed three key, yet invisible, components of the marketplace: investor trust, land equity, and entrepreneurial knowledge and incentives. Finally, ordinary least squares regression analysis is used to independently assess the impact of the rainfall, land reforms, political strife, labour productivity, capital formation, and foreign aid on Zimbabwe's economic growth. The article concludes that over the 2000-03 period, the land reforms alone were responsible for an estimated 12.5 percent average annual decline in GDP growth and that rainfall played a minimal role in the GDP contraction. Perhaps most dramatically, estimates made in this paper indicate that after the revoking of commercial farm property titles, the aggregate value of Zimbabwean farmland dropped so quickly that the net loss in one year was nearly three and a half times larger than all the World Bank aid ever given to Zimbabwe. This loss in wealth rippled throughout the economy, severely strained the banking sector, and led to a rapid downward spiral in the economy.

Solidarity Peace Trust, (2006) 'Operation Taguta/ Shisuti. Command Agriculture in Zimbabwe: its impact on rural communities in Matabeleland'

http://www.sarpn.org.za/documents/d0001952/Command_Agric_Zim_Apr2006.pdf

The report describes the militarization of agricultural production through implementation of a command [??] agriculture in November 2005. This operation, aimed at increasing maize production, has effectively given the army control over national food production. Producers are forced to grow maize and sell most of it to the government owned Grain Marketing Board (GMB). The report documents violence against farmers and the destruction of cash-crops and marketing gardens by the army. The report concludes that the aim of this policy is to destroy self-sufficiency and creating vulnerability as a means to control rural communities and urges NGO's and the International Community to take action.

5. The Protracted Relief Programme

Department for International Development (DFID). 'Zimbabwe. The Protracted relief Programme Phase 1 2004-2006'.

The Protracted Relief Programme (PRP) builds on the NGO relief efforts to date, providing multi-year funding for relief interventions to support food security in the poorest households. The goal is to reduce extreme poverty and the proportion of people who suffer from hunger in Zimbabwe. The project's purpose is to stabilise food security and to protect the livelihoods of some 1.5 million people in Zimbabwe, particularly households affected by AIDS. The programme will be implemented in collaboration with UN agencies including the World Food Programme (WFP), UNICEF and the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO). It will be delivered through major Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) who are working with some of the most vulnerable communities in Zimbabwe. These include households affected by HIV/AIDS, those in areas affected by poor and erratic rainfall, displaced former commercial farm workers, the elderly and orphan-headed households. The government is actively seeking to control and restrict the presence and activities of NGOs in the rural areas, which it perceives as politically threatening. The provision of substantial support for NGOs at a national and community level may help to protect the scope for civil society to remain engaged in rural areas. The PRP will focus on basic service delivery rather than advocacy around civil and political rights. But wherever possible the programme will seek to strengthen the effectiveness with which people can work together at the community level to cope with their challenges, actively seek opportunities and engage more effectively with service providers about their needs and aspirations. The programme could potentially continue some years beyond the proposed initial two-year Phase. Much would depend on the political and economic fortunes of Zimbabwe; it is uncertain how quickly the economy might recover following re-engagement with the international community, if and when there is political and economic transition. Given the considerable uncertainties around such scenarios, an initial two-year phase is proposed for the Protracted Relief Programme, running from late July 2004 until July 2006. This will cover two seasons (24 months) of intense relief, over three financial years. In addition to the annual Output to Purpose Reviews, a formal mid-term review in early 2006 will evaluate the impact of the programme. By that stage, following the Zimbabwean parliamentary elections expected to take place in March 2005, it will be timely to take stock of actual and anticipated changes in the political and economic situation in Zimbabwe and to restructure the programme accordingly.

Protracted Relief Programme: 'Evaluation support studies'

Phase 1 of the PRP was intended to run until mid-2006. A recent external review of the project recommended extending Phase One for a year. A series of interrelated studies are being planned to inform the PRP evaluation in September and subsequent design of Phase 2 of the programme. The studies are carried out against the background of:

- Continued macro socio-economic decline (Inflation 1200%)
- Concerns about quality and quantity of aid, specifically, whether aid modalities are appropriate for tackling chronic poverty

- PRP concerns about identifying and reaching the poorest
- Evidence of community resistance to targeting only the poorest

The purpose of the study is to identify a short list of smart poverty and vulnerability indicators that have been field- tested and refined to the point that they can be recommended to PRP partners for improved targeting approaches and to develop recommendations on methodologies for collecting information to provide the above indicators.

Other studies will look at social protection, community dynamics and coping strategies, community based approaches, agricultural needs. Interviews with NGO's revealed that PRP partners used basically the same range of indicators but putting different emphasis on different indicators. However, some partners did not distinguish between poverty and vulnerability indicators. Field visits confirmed that this, in some cases, led to inclusion errors as some very poor households were rendered invisible e.g. chronically ill not registered with local clinics.

Studies showed that some communities identified indicators that differed from those used by partners in their areas.

The majority of communities interviewed ranked the most important four poverty indicator as:

- Food security and coping strategies to achieve it
- Clothing (torn/clean) and type and state of blankets
- Education-whether children of school going age are going to school
- Productive assets-livestock & agriculture

Also, communities preferred the use of poverty to vulnerability indicators as the use of the latter often results in inclusion and exclusion errors.

In interviews, community members admitted that some social groups such as the disabled, elderly, chronically poor, mentally and chronically ill are invisible as they sometimes do not attend public meetings for various reasons. Furthermore interviews showed that the community has mixed feelings on targeting criteria.

In a next step, fieldwork in Mashonaland East (rural), Manicaland (ex-commercial farming areas), Matebeleland North (rural) and Harare (urban) will be carried out to test indicators.

Jones, Sue, Matiza, Girmarina, Mlalazi Baki and Wiggins, Steve. (2005) 'Zimbabwe Protracted Relief Programme. Output to Purpose Review'

The Zimbabwe Protracted Relief Programme began in mid-2004, with first Phase running for two years. It is designed to stabilise the food security and protect the livelihoods of poor and vulnerable households, particularly those affected by HIV/AIDS. The bulk of a wider range of activities help beneficiaries to increase their food production, and to provide home-based care (HBC) to the chronically ill. From 5 to 23 September 2005 an Output to Purpose Review (OPR) of the PRP was carried out by a team of four, with specialists in livelihoods; social development; HIV/AIDS, home-based care (HBC) and nutrition; and, institutions and governance. The review found that the PRP had been set up under difficult circumstances made worse by risks materialising in the form of poor weather for the 2004–05 crop seasons and deteriorating economic conditions. Despite this it is expected that the Programme will make a significant contribution to its purpose of stabilising food security and protecting livelihoods. The large majority of the interventions are seen as

appropriate to the beneficiaries and their circumstances. The Programme is estimated to be potentially cost-effective and to offer better value for money than large-scale food distribution. Finally, the authors recommend more substantial adjustments to consolidate the Programme in the second phase of the PRP.