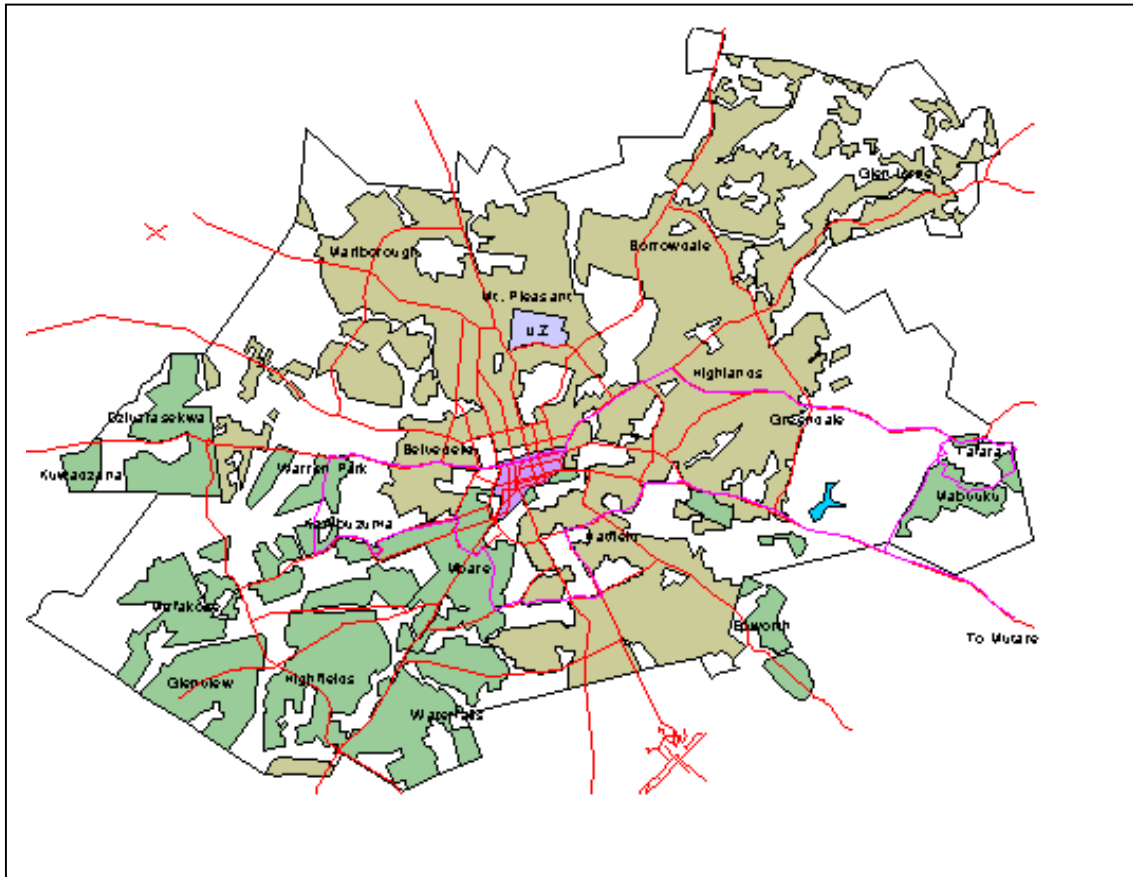


Harare Urban Vulnerability Assessment



**Conducted by FEWS Net and
The Consumer Council of Zimbabwe
May – June 2001**

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Harare, 28 July 2001

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

Agritex	Department of Agriculture, Technical and Extension Service
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
BEAM	Basic Educational Assistance Module
CBD	Central Business District
CCZ	Consumer Council of Zimbabwe
CPI	Consumer Price Index
CSO	Central Statistical Office
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
F.E.G.	Food Economy Group
FEWS Net	Famine Early Warning System Network
FPL	Food Poverty line
FS	Family size
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ICES	Income, Consumption and Expenditure Survey
ITAS	Informal Traders Association Sector
NECs	National Employment Councils
NEWU	National Early Warning Unit
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PASS	Poverty Assessment Study Survey
PDL	Poverty Datum Line
TCPL	Total Consumption Poverty Line
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
ZAISA	Zimbabwe Apex of Informal Sector Association
ZCTU	Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions
ZTOA	Zimbabwe Tuckshop Owners Association

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Thanks go to all the participants who attended the pre-assessment and post-assessment workshops for their valuable comments and suggestions on the method and results of the assessment. Sincere thanks go to the City of Harare, Chitungwiza Town Council and the Combined Harare Residents Association for arranging some of the interviews. More so we would like to thank everyone who agreed to be interviewed and we hope we will continue to have such co-operation as we institute a monitoring system.

SUMMARY

- In May-June 2001 FEWS Net, with support from its implementing partner, the Food Economy Group (F.E.G.), and in close collaboration with the Consumer Council of Zimbabwe, conducted an **assessment of urban vulnerability in greater Harare**. The purpose of the exercise was twofold: 1) to conduct a rapid baseline assessment of urban livelihoods, focusing on household patterns of expenditure, and sources of food and income, and, based on this, 2) to develop a practical monitoring system that provides an early indication of declining access to food and essential cash income.
- The **poorest households** in May 2001 were those earning less than Z\$4,000¹ per month. These households for the most part had only one income source, either because there was only one able-bodied person of working age in the household, or because of a lack of capital to start up an informal sector activity. Some households in this group include formal sector workers at the lowest salary levels. Others include one household member who is engaged in an informal sector activity such as small-scale vending. A particular problem for those households active in the informal sector is that incomes are irregular and vary daily.
- At the **next income level** (Z\$4,000 – 8,000), households have one slightly higher formal sector income source (usually from the same categories as the bottom group: factory workers, security guards, shop assistants, etc), sometimes combined with a second income from small-scale vending. Many of the informal sector home industries (small tuck shops, carpenters, welders, hair salons and the like) and some vendors also fall into this income range. At the **higher income levels** (Z\$8-15,000, Z\$15-50,000, >Z\$50,000), income is obtained from a variety of sources: private and public sector employees have regular salaries; and businesses of various types (both formal and informal) provide incomes to their owners.
- The **standard of living** of the poorest households is low, and they are forced to largely do without a variety of commodities that are considered to be basic by households that are better off. These include milk, bread, meat, kapenta², chicken, rice, margarine, bathing soap, and body lotion. In addition, these households repeatedly stated that they cannot afford health care or transport. Often they are in debt on their water and electricity bills, paying just what they have to pay to avoid being cut off. Items that are considered to be essential by these households include maize grain, sugar, cooking oil, green vegetables, salt, milling costs, washing soap, vaseline, schooling, accommodation, and second-hand clothes.
- There is little variation in the **diet** of the poorest households. They often have only two meals per day and most of their calories come from maize grain, with a small amount from cooking oil, sugar, and, occasionally, dried fish. Vegetables are purchased and add value on the nutritional side, but not very much on the calorie side. At the higher end of the income scale, households can afford a much richer diet, purchasing milk, meat, kapenta, margarine and various other high calorie foods. Absolute expenditure on transport, accommodation, clothing and education also increases as households become richer, as does flexibility to purchase non-essential items.
- **Where do the poorest households live?** Unfortunately for those who seek a simple targeting system, the poorest households can be found throughout the high density and peri-urban areas. However, any organisation seeking to intervene at household level should look out for the following indicators: type of accommodation and rent levels, the availability of services, and whether or not the family has school-aged children who are not attending school. The team found that resident association committee members and church groups were able to identify poorer neighbourhoods within each residential area and the poorer residents within an area. This local knowledge could be tapped by any organisation seeking to intervene.
- Households were clear about the types of **shocks** that cause them problems. Everyone complained about inflation and the fact that they are constantly battling to keep up with rising prices. Associated with this were specific complaints about devaluation, increases in owners' rates (on housing) and electricity costs, and rising bus fares. For those working in the formal sector, the threat of retrenchment and

¹ The official exchange rate in May 2001 was US\$1 = Z\$53.70. The rate on the parallel market was closer to US\$1 = Z\$140.

² Small dried fish.

unemployment is a constant worry. In the informal sector, households fear a crackdown by the local authorities on 'illegal' businesses, which can result in businesses losing goods, tools and/or capital. Households in both the formal and informal sectors are vulnerable to the illness or death of (or divorce from) the main income earner, and this tends to result in a major drop in standard of living. AIDS is a particular threat in this regard. Large, unexpected expenditures (such as on funerals or medicines) also cause major problems for poor households, often forcing them into debt.

- In response to these types of shocks, households engage in a number of **coping strategies**. Most coping strategies are dependent on a household's own human and material resource base. On the **expenditure side**, the aim is to minimise spending on and consumption of all items, particularly those that are considered to be non-essential: purchasing cheaper and poorer quality food; walking or cycling rather than taking the bus; purchasing second-hand rather than new clothes; sending children and other dependants (including terminally ill people) to rural areas to live with relatives; avoiding expenditure by going into debt (on electricity, water and schooling payments); avoiding expenditure by cultivating crops; moving to cheaper accommodation; consuming fewer meals per day. On the **income side**, the aim is to maximise incomes from all sources: for those working in the formal sector, starting up informal-sector activities to supplement income; sending children out to work; seeking gifts and taking loans from relatives; renting out rooms; selling assets or drawing down savings; and as a last resort, engaging in undesirable, high-risk, or illegal activities such as begging, prostitution, and theft.
- The **programme implications** that emerge from this assessment have been stated before and researched at great length in studies funded by the World Bank, UNDP, and NGOs. The over-riding problem in urban areas is the state of the macro-economy, which has resulted in business closures, retrenchments, inflation, and shortages of foreign currency. Apart from addressing these issues at the national level, support to the informal sector and to safety nets appears to be key.
- The main purpose of conducting this rapid baseline assessment of urban livelihoods was to use it as a basis for setting up a simple, practical **monitoring system** that could track changes in access to food and income over time. In general terms, it is important to monitor the things that households buy (basic food and non-food items) and the things that they do to obtain income. On the **expenditure side**, CCZ will continue to monitor retail prices in Harare, adding some items that poor households consume (e.g. maize grain and milling costs) that are not currently included in their existing monitoring system. These prices will be compiled each month into different baskets that will be tracked over time (the existing basket and baskets that are more relevant to the current standard of living of poor urban households).
- On the **income side**, both formal and informal sector incomes need to be monitored. In the formal sector, wages and numbers of people employed will be tracked with the help of the NECs, trade unions and Ministry of Labour. Incomes in this sector change relatively infrequently and should be relatively easy to monitor. In the informal sector, it is proposed that CCZ, with support from FEWS Net, will conduct a monthly mini-survey of informal sector businesses including tuckshops, home industries, and vendors of various sizes. The aim will be to track a small number of businesses over time to get a picture of the trends in income levels in the sector. The informal sector employs a large number of people and no formal channels exist to track the income levels in this sector, hence the need to establish an income monitoring system for the sector to understand the changes in the livelihoods patterns.
- In addition to monitoring incomes and expenditure patterns, FEWS Net will monitor **indicators** that are related to some of the coping strategies that were mentioned above such as trends in non-payment of electricity, water and school fees (including school dropouts) and movements into peri-urban areas (through the organisations working in these areas). If there are major changes in any or all of these indicators, this might suggest that it is necessary to redo the baseline rather than simply monitoring different groups' incomes in relation to prices.

Introduction

In 1998, following the urban food riots in Zimbabwe, organisations using FEWS/NEWU food security reports queried why early warning systems had not predicted the riots. Donors and NGOs, and in particular USAID Zimbabwe, became more interested in information on urban vulnerable groups. In 1999, FEWS looked at the information available on urban vulnerability in Zimbabwe. Based on that, FEWS Net and Consumer Council of Zimbabwe (CCZ) produced a proposal to establish an urban vulnerability assessment and monitoring system in November 2000. After several meetings chaired by FAO, from January 2001, a loose grouping of interested individuals and organisations met monthly to look at various aspects of urban vulnerability. This led to CARE International producing a literature review of urban vulnerability in February 2001. FEWS Net and CCZ revisited the November 2000 Proposal to produce an Implementation Plan in April 2001, which has resulted in this pilot urban assessment in greater Harare. The assessment was carried out in May-June 2001 by FEWS Net, with technical support from its implementing partner, the Food Economy Group (F.E.G.), and in close collaboration with the Consumer Council of Zimbabwe. The purpose of the exercise was twofold:

- to conduct a rapid baseline assessment of urban livelihoods, focusing on household patterns of expenditure, and sources of food and income, and, based on this,
- to develop a practical monitoring system that provides an early indication of declining access to food and essential cash income.

This report outlines the findings of the urban livelihoods assessment and the structure of the proposed monitoring system.

Introduction to Harare

In 1890 the Pioneer Column of Rhodes' British South Africa Company moved across the Limpopo River northwards in search of gold, copper and iron. The Pioneer Column initially settled at Mount Hampden, 12 km to the north west of the city, but doubts about water supply led to settlement on the present site. This resulted in the development of a defensive and trading centre known as Fort Salisbury, named after the Prime Minister of Great Britain. At independence in 1980, the name of the city was changed to Harare, originating from the small hill (Kopje) in the south overlooking the city and is a literal translation from Chief Harari, a dynasty chief who stayed on the hill and was renowned for not sleeping.

The city of Harare is the product of a settler-colonial political economy.³ The colonial desire for a sanitary and pleasant environment for the white settlers and their need for a cheap and easily controlled labour force is visibly reflected in the features of Harare today.

SOME POPULATION STATISTICS (CSO 2000)

- Zimbabwe's population is estimated at 12.6 million people, of which about 16 percent is in Harare.
- The 1992 census indicated that at least 73 percent of the population in Harare lives in the high-density areas. The percentage in the high-density areas could currently be higher judging by the mushrooming of backyard shacks and the fact that each stand normally houses more than one family.
- Of the total population, 49 percent are females.
- Ten percent of the population of school going age was not attending school, with financial constraints as one of the main reasons for this.
- Of the total population in Harare, about 31 percent lived in houses that they owned or mortgaged, with the remaining majority being tenants or lodgers.
- At least 83 percent of the households had access to electricity, 27 percent had access to piped water inside, and 36 percent relied on paraffin for their cooking.

³ Carole Rakodi, *Harare Inheriting a Settler-Colonial City: Change or Continuity?*, University of Wales, Cardiff, John Wiley & Sons Ltd. UK, 1995.

Urban food security and vulnerability studies conducted in Zimbabwe⁶

Vulnerability studies carried out in urban areas in Zimbabwe⁷ have revealed that:

- Vulnerability to food insecurity stems from exposure to shocks and the ability to cope and recover from such shocks.
- Major causes of urban vulnerability in Zimbabwe are shocks such as unemployment, inflation, death in the family, divorce, or long illnesses of family members.
- Coping mechanisms play a role in reducing a household's vulnerability to food insecurity. Most coping and mitigation measures are dependent on a household's own human and material resource base. Coping mechanisms generally employed include: using savings; selling assets; migrating to peri-urban and rural homes; reducing consumption; switching to cheaper substitutes; child labour; subletting; getting food from rural homes; increasing informal sector income sources; seeking support from burial societies, savings clubs, church clubs, and women groups; informal borrowing; resorting to theft or prostitution; and begging.

In terms of ongoing **food security and poverty monitoring**, a number of consumption baskets have been derived and monitoring systems put in place by the Consumer Council of Zimbabwe, the Central Statistical office (CSO), and Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare under the Poverty Assessment Study Survey (PASS).

a) The Consumer Council of Zimbabwe (CCZ) has been monitoring prices for a basic food and non-food basket since the 1980s. This standard basket was constituted some years back and has not been revised to capture changes in consumption patterns over the years. The CCZ basket is for a low-income urban household of six people (two adults and four children) and the cost of the basket is published monthly.

b) The Central Statistical Office developed two of Poverty Datum Lines (PDL) based on the 1995/96 Income, Consumption and Expenditure Survey (ICES), a survey that is carried out every five years. The Food Poverty Line (FPL) "represents the minimum consumption expenditure necessary to ensure that each household member can (if all expenditure were devoted to food) consume a minimum food basket representing 2,100 calories". If consumption falls below the FPL, a household is deemed *very poor or extremely poor*. The Total Consumption Poverty Line (TPL), in addition to the minimum food basket, "includes an allowance for non-food minimum need requirements, such as housing, clothing, transport, health care, etc". If consumption is less than the TPL, the household is considered *poor*.

Some shortcomings have been observed with these methods. Apart from monitoring the aggregate change in the value of a food and non-food basket and making inferences on the standard of living, no effort has been made to look at the relative changes in the income levels of the consumer. In addition, the level and rate of substitution of commodities within the basket by the household has also been downplayed by these methods.

The hope is that this assessment, and the monitoring system that emerges from it, will complement the existing systems and provide additional information required by decision makers in a timely manner.

Method used

The objectives of food security assessment and monitoring are the same for both rural and urban areas. Food security assessment analyses the access that different groups have to food and to cash income in relation to their food and non-food needs. Food security monitoring tracks changes in this access to food

⁶ This section includes only a brief background on previous work. For a full literature review see *Urban Food Insecurity and Vulnerability in Zimbabwe: Highlights of Preliminary Literature Review* by CARE International, February 2001.

⁷ Gladys Mutangadura and Ephias Makuadze, *Urban Vulnerability to Chronic Poverty and Income Shocks and Effectiveness of Current Social Protection Mechanisms: The Case of Zimbabwe*, draft consultancy report submitted to the Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare and the World Bank, August 1999.

and income over time. However, while the principles underlying the analysis remain the same, the details of the analytical approach vary from one context to another.

In a rural setting, it is often most useful to focus on access to food and income for different wealth groups. This is because members of a particular wealth group generally share the same level of food security and a similar limited set of options for obtaining food and income, pursuing much the same strategies at much the same times of year. The relative homogeneity of rural livelihoods makes enquiry into sources of food and income the most efficient way to generate a rapid understanding of food security in a rural context.

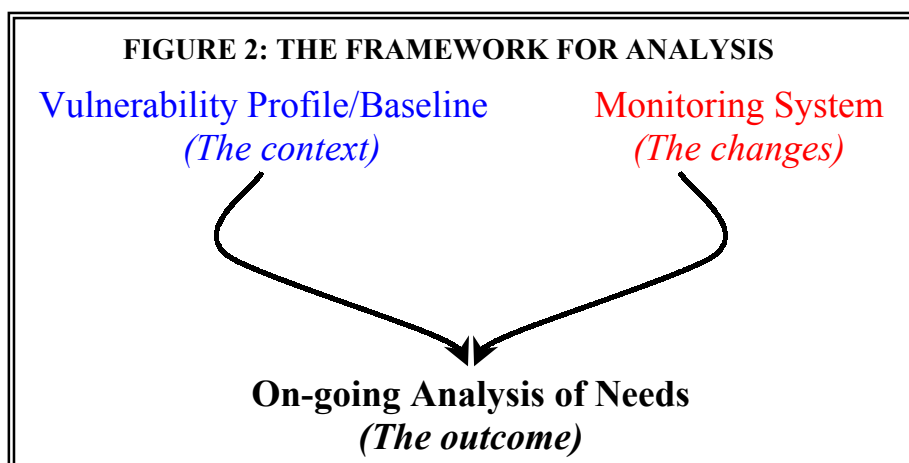
The same homogeneity within wealth groups tends not to be true in an urban setting. Here, one source of food – the market – is usually predominant and so the focus of enquiry generally shifts towards questions of cash income and expenditure. In the town, however, there is often a wider range of income sources for any one wealth group, and earnings are also less regular than in the countryside. However, while incomes tend to be heterogeneous in urban settings, patterns of expenditure do not. Poor families tend to spend similar amounts of money on similar things, so that an enquiry into patterns of expenditure is often the most useful approach for establishing an effective baseline for food security monitoring in an urban setting. Since urban economies are primarily market-based, and many of life's essentials, often not paid for in a rural setting (i.e. accommodation, water, firewood, etc.), have to be purchased in the town, it is critical for these non-food elements to be incorporated into an urban analysis.

This is not to say that questions of income can be neglected in an urban enquiry. Rather the focus of the enquiry is on determining the typical amount and pattern of expenditure for various groups. Income is used primarily as a cross-check, to make sure that it is possible to earn the amount of money said to be spent by the group or family in question.

The baseline urban vulnerability assessment involved a rapid field assessment to develop an up-to-date sense of how the urban poor are living today, and to understand what the increase in the number of people living below the official poverty line means in terms of their day-to-day standard of living. The assessment aimed to answer basic questions such as: who the poor are, where they live, how consumption patterns change as households become poorer, the effect of declining purchasing power on non-food items (i.e. education and health), coping mechanisms and capacity, how livelihood strategies change, and so on.

The baseline analysis has been used to guide the design of an appropriate monitoring system and to provide the essential context within which monitoring information can be interpreted. The purpose of the monitoring system is to track changes and trends over time in relation to the baseline (Figure 2). The monitoring system will be operated on a monthly basis by the Consumer Council of Zimbabwe (CCZ) and FEWS Net Zimbabwe, in collaboration with key partners, and will:

- track changes in the cost of several expenditure baskets (through market price information),
- track changes in formal and informal sector income levels, and
- update the estimate of the percentage of households falling below the various expenditure thresholds.



The five-person FEWS-CCZ team undertook the following steps during this exercise:

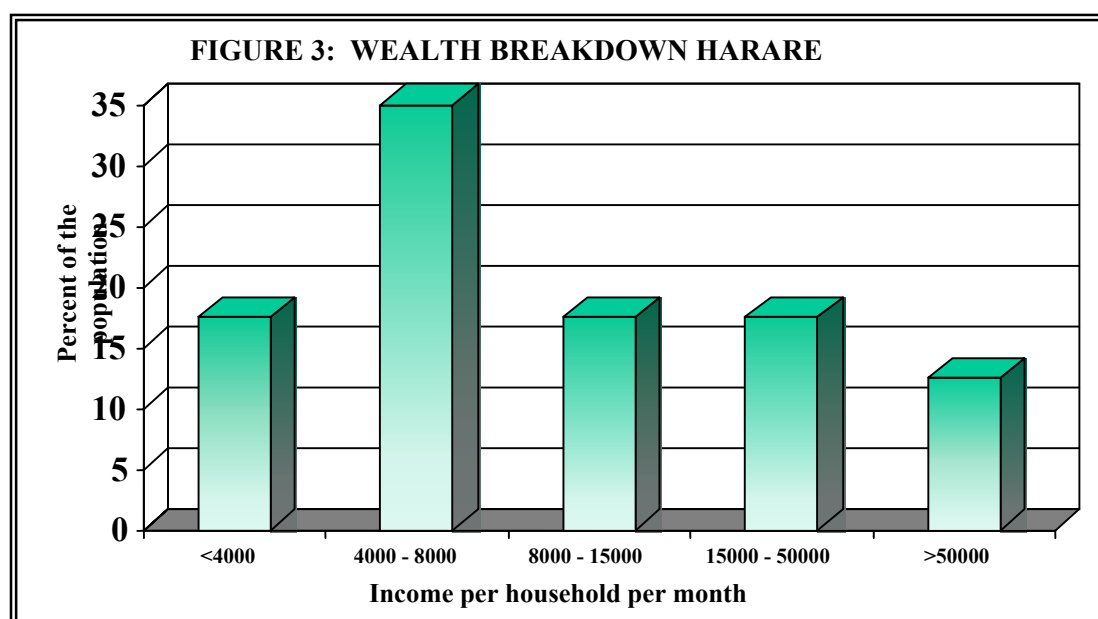
- a review of secondary sources
- interviews to establish the wealth breakdown (an overview of wealth groups and income levels) with thirty small groups of residential association committee members, church groups, district office officials,
- interviews to establish food, income and expenditure patterns at household level with focus groups and individuals at different income levels (115 households interviewed overall)
- interviews with key informants in employment and real estate agencies to obtain information on income levels and rent levels throughout the city
- analysis of information and compilation of the baseline picture, and
- development of the monitoring system (this activity is ongoing).

The team interviewed people from the following residential areas of Harare and Chitungwiza, focusing in particular on the high-density areas⁸ (where the poor are concentrated). Annex 1 contains a list of the groups and types of households that were interviewed during the assessment.

- high density areas: Glen View, Glen Norah, Tafara, Mabvuku, Kambuzuma, Warren Park, Highfield, Hatcliffe, Mbare, and several suburbs in Chitungwiza (Seke and Zengeza)
- peri-urban areas: Porta Farm and Epworth
- mid and low density: Waterfalls, Braeside, Cranborne, Southerton, Mabelreign, Milton Park and Highlands

At the start of the assessment, there was concern that it would be difficult to find people who would be willing to talk to the team. This did not prove to be a constraint. There were some other constraints, however. In particular, it was difficult to obtain current secondary source information. For example, data from the Central Statistical Office is generally published at least one year after the fact and, given the rapidly changing environment in Zimbabwe, was not very useful for understanding the current situation.

Wealth breakdown



⁸ Less time was spent in the peri-urban areas, even though they contain very poor households, because there are a large number of organisations working in these areas. Save the Children UK intends to follow up on a preliminary food economy assessment that was conducted in peri-urban areas in Hatcliffe Extension and Dzivarisekwa Extension earlier this year.

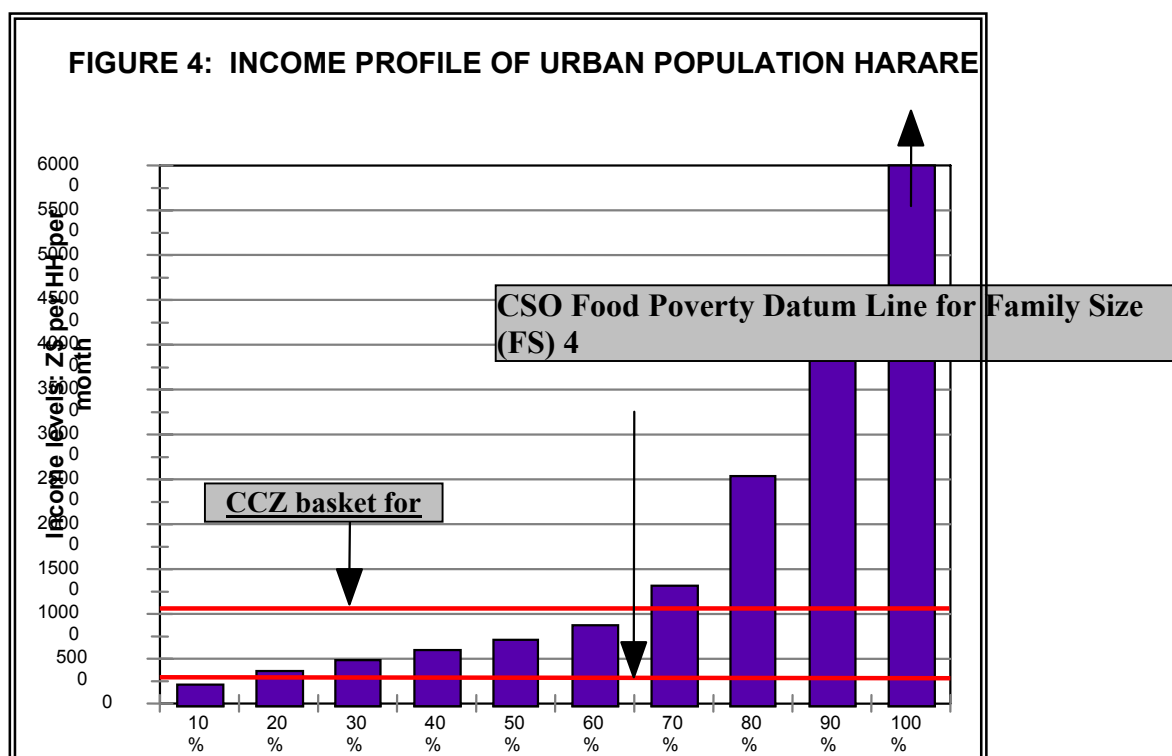
There was little current secondary source information available to assist in defining wealth groups in Harare. Therefore, the breakdown above was obtained largely through interviews with 30 groups of key informants throughout the city. Wealth breakdowns were obtained for different parts of the city (high, medium and low density) and then merged together using population information from the 1992 census, the most recent data source that includes a disaggregation of the population by geographical area within the city. For this reason, none of the figures in this graph should be regarded as precise – each figure is within a range.

The poorest households in May 2001 were those earning less than Z\$4,000⁹ per month. These households for the most part had only one income source, either because there was only one able-bodied person of working age in the household, or because of a lack of capital to start up an informal sector activity. Some of the households in this group include formal sector workers at the lowest salary levels, such as some factory workers, security guards, and domestic workers. Others include one household member who is engaged in an informal sector activity such as small-scale vending. A particular problem for those households active in the informal sector is that incomes are irregular, varying from day to day.

At the next income level (Z\$4,000 – 8,000), households can have one slightly higher formal sector income source (usually from the same categories as the bottom group: factory workers, security guards, shop assistants, etc), sometimes combined with a second income from small-scale vending. Many of the home industries (small tuck shops, carpenters, welders, hair salons and the like) and some vendors also fall into this income range. Although the salaries of live-in domestic workers are usually less than Z\$4,000 per month, they are often provided with accommodation and food in addition to their salaries. Therefore, in terms of standard of living, many live-in domestic workers fall into the Z\$4-8,000 wealth group.

At the higher income levels (Z\$8-15,000, Z\$15-50,000, >Z\$50,000), income is obtained from a variety of sources: private and public sector employees have regular salaries; and businesses of various types (both formal and informal) provide incomes to their owners.

If this wealth breakdown is converted into deciles, the following picture emerges.



⁹ The official exchange rate in May 2001 was US\$1 = Z\$53.70. The rate on the parallel market was closer to US\$1 = Z\$140. All Zimbabwean dollar figures in this report refer to May 2001.

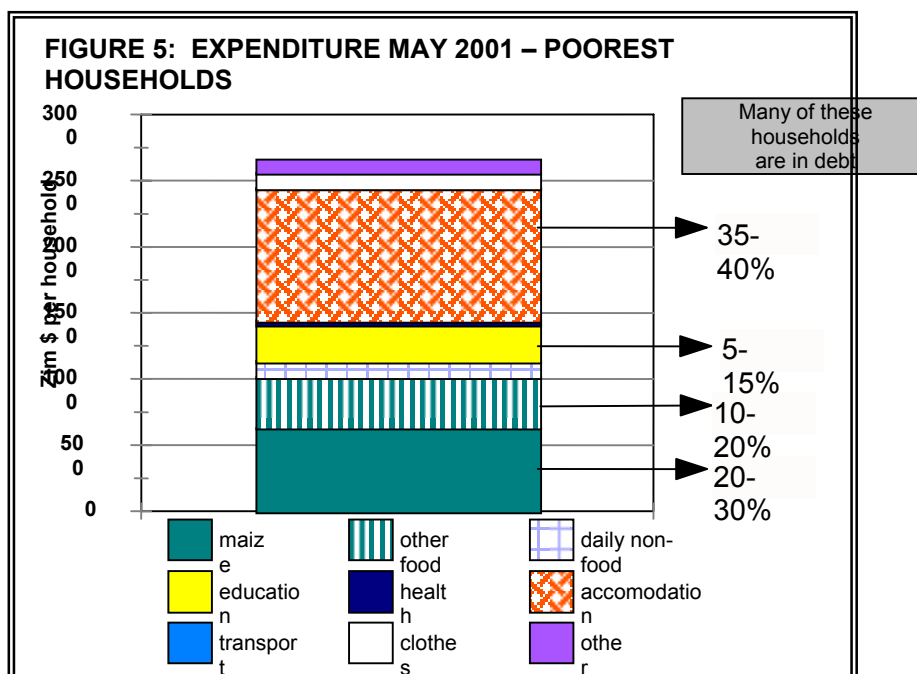
A useful cross-check on the wealth breakdown is to compare the percent of the population falling below various poverty lines. As mentioned earlier, the Central Statistical Office (CSO) has developed two poverty datum lines: the FPL and the TPL. Using published details on the composition of the FPL (which is based on a quite varied food basket) together with May 2001 retail prices it was possible to calculate the FPL level in May 2001 at roughly Z\$2,650 for a family of 4. According to the graph above, roughly 10-20% of households currently fall below this line. This can be compared with estimates from the 1995/96 CSO *Income, Expenditure and Consumption Survey*, as reported in the CSO publication *Poverty in Zimbabwe* (July 1998), which suggested that 7% of the population fell below the line in Harare in 1995/96. At that time, 36% of the Harare population was said to fall below the TPL. Unfortunately, details on the current level of the TPL were unavailable for comparison.

Another line that is monitored on a monthly basis is the Consumer Council of Zimbabwe's basket for a 'low-income' family of six people. The May 2001 level of the basket was just over Z\$15,000. Converted for a family of four people to reflect the average family size in Harare and for comparability with the assessment results, this line appears at just below Z\$11,000. According to the wealth breakdown outlined here, approximately 60-70% of households currently falls below this line. The team was repeatedly told that households living at or above the standard of the CCZ basket are considered to be 'better off' in the high-density suburbs.

Although the average household size for Harare is roughly four, at each income level it is obviously easier for smaller households to manage than larger households. The dependency ratio within a household (the ratio of active able-bodied adults to inactive children or elderly people) is a key determinant of standard of living at any given income level. Having said this, because it is very difficult for large families to live on very low incomes, families at the lower end of the income scale often send some of their children to rural areas to live with relatives. The team found some indication that households at the bottom of the wealth spectrum are slightly smaller than those at higher levels, but this requires further investigation.

How are the poorest households surviving?

Figure 5 illustrates the expenditure pattern of some of the poorest households that the team interviewed living outside the peri-urban areas.¹⁰ This is wealth group living below Z\$4,000 per month, illustrated here as roughly Z\$2,700 per month total expenditure on both food and non-food items. The standard of living of these households is low, and they are forced to largely do without a variety of commodities that are considered to be basic by households that are better off. These include milk, bread, meat, kapenta¹¹,

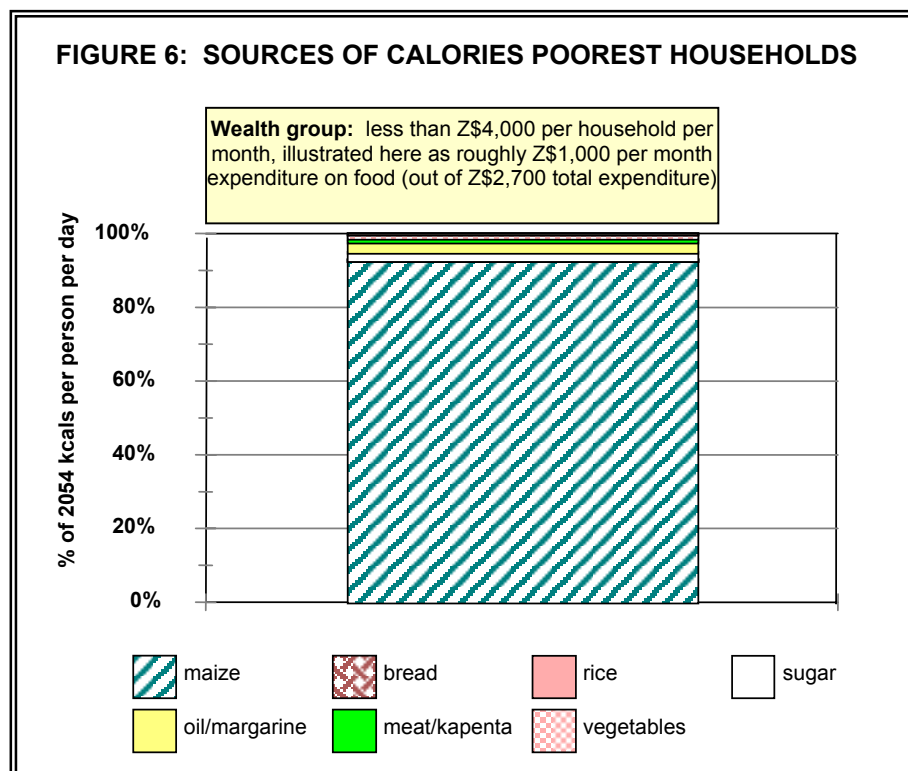


¹⁰ Note that it is possible to live on less than this in peri-urban areas because rents are lower or non-existent, water is cheaper (and in some cases free), and there is no electricity. Also, firewood can be collected rather than purchased because of the availability on the outskirts of the city. Only 1-2% of the population of Harare lives in peri-urban areas.

¹¹ Small dried fish.

chicken, rice, margarine, bathing soap, and body lotion. In addition, these households repeatedly stated that they cannot afford health care or transport (in cases where they have formal sector jobs they tend to walk or cycle to work). Often they are in debt on their water and electricity bills, paying just what they have to pay to avoid being cut off. In some cases, they have been cut off, but this doesn't mean that life is cheaper. Cooking with paraffin is prohibitively expensive and cooking with firewood is roughly as expensive as electricity (unless it can be collected free of charge – only possible in the residential areas on the outskirts of the city). Items that are considered to be essential by these households include maize grain¹², sugar, cooking oil, green vegetables, salt, milling costs, washing soap, vaseline, schooling, accommodation, and second-hand clothes.

There is little variation in the diet of the poorest households. They often have two meals per day – a breakfast (composed of maize meal porridge or tea with sweet potatoes) late in the morning followed by a proper meal of sadza¹³ usually with vegetables in the evening when all family members are at home. Most of their calories come from maize grain¹⁴, with a small amount from cooking oil, sugar, and occasionally, dried fish. Vegetables are purchased and add value on the nutritional side, but not very much on the calorie side. Figure 6 illustrates the sources of calories of the poorest households.



How do the poor compare with other groups?

Figures 7 and 8 on the following page compare the expenditure pattern and sources of calories of the poorest (at roughly Z\$2,700 per month total expenditure with Z\$1,000 per month on food) with households at higher income levels.¹⁵ At the higher end, households can afford a much richer diet, purchasing milk, meat, kapenta, margarine and various other high calorie foods. Absolute expenditure on transport, accommodation, clothing and education also goes up as households become richer, as does flexibility to purchase non-essential items (including sending gifts to rural relatives). This provides a useful indication of the things that households cut out of their budgets when faced with a drop in income or an unexpected large expenditure.

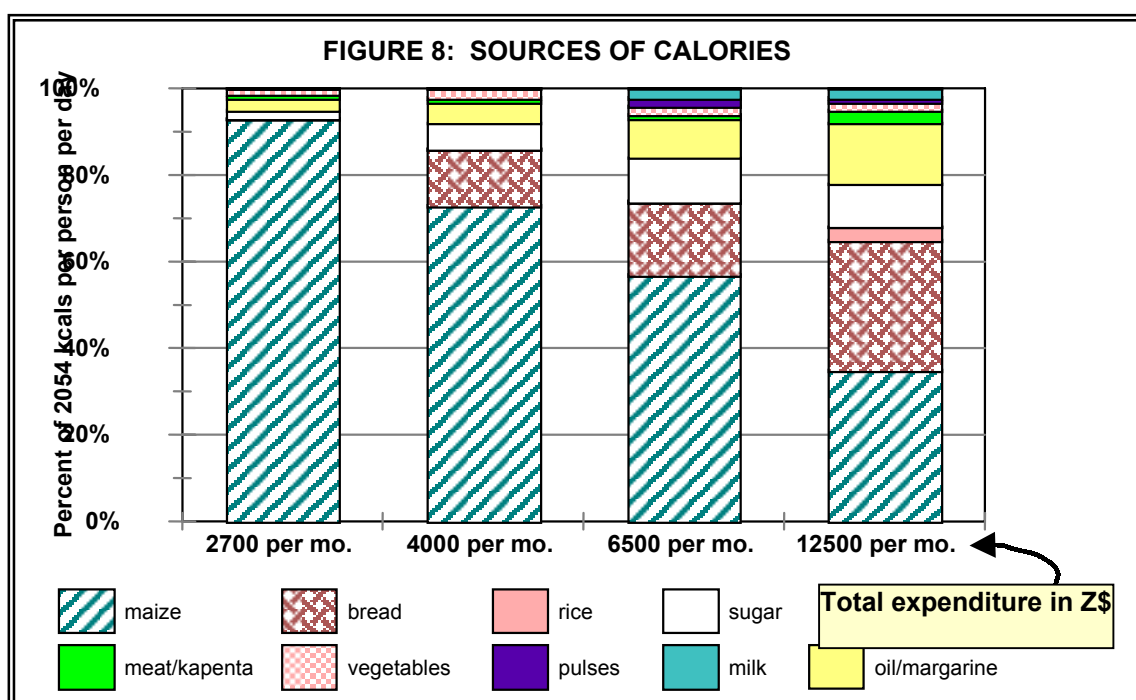
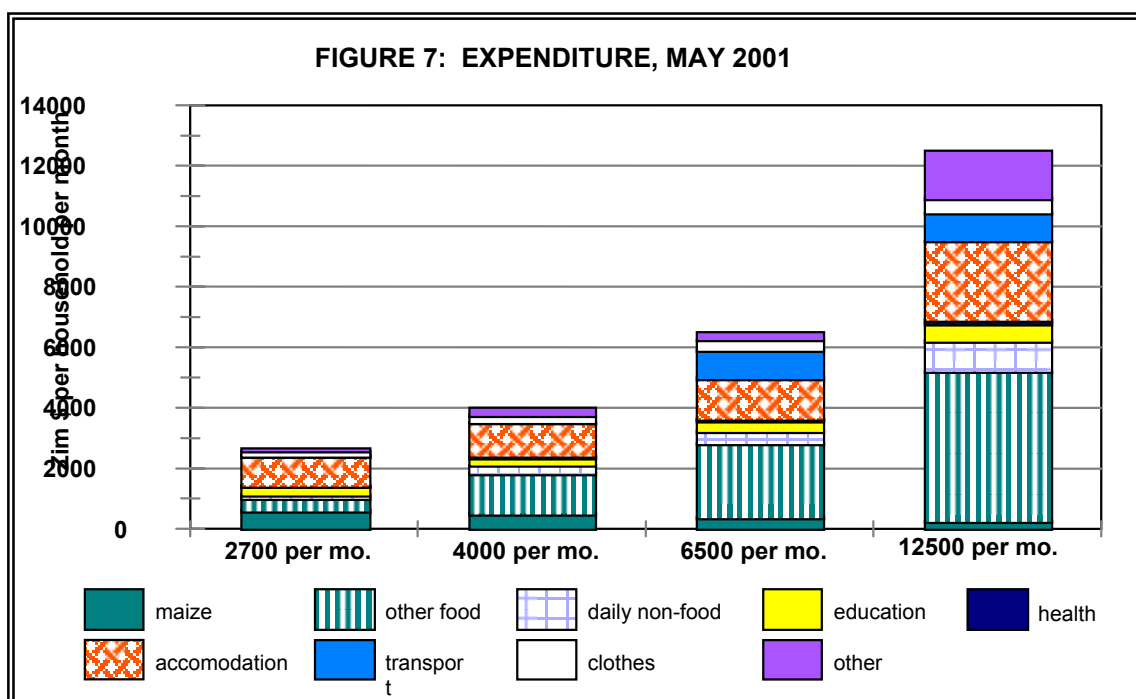
In terms of standard of living, there is a large difference even between households living at Z\$2,700 and Z\$6,500 per month. Table 1 on Page 10 outlines the differences in quantities of some items that households at these two income levels can (and cannot) afford.

¹² Most poor households purchase maize grain and take it to hammer mills for milling.

¹³ Sadza is a thick maize porridge.

¹⁴ There is some seasonal variation to this: in May – August sweet potatoes are relatively cheap and are also consumed as a staple food, particularly for breakfast.

¹⁵ Expenditure patterns at much higher income levels (i.e. for the Z\$15-50,000 and >Z\$50,000 groups) are not shown because as incomes increase so does choice. It therefore becomes more difficult to define general patterns of expenditure at these levels.



Expenditure on health care was reported to be minimal by households at the lower income levels. They simply stated that they could not afford it and only very occasionally visit a clinic or purchase medicines at pharmacies.¹⁶ Some rely on traditional medicines.

This result seems surprising in a society where large numbers of people are suffering from AIDS. The team conducted a few interviews with households that have AIDS patients or in which someone has recently died of AIDS (and which were happy to discuss this). For poor households, assistance from the extended family and from friends is key when someone gets sick or dies. If such assistance is not forthcoming, then the AIDS patient dies quickly without medical care. Often, when people are diagnosed with AIDS and are

¹⁶ The exception to this is treatment for TB, which is free.

terminally ill, those families with rural homes take them home to their village to die, partly because funeral expenses are considerably lower in rural areas.

TABLE 1: INDICATIVE HOUSEHOLD EXPENDITURE

Commodity	Z\$2700 per month For a family of 4 people	Z\$6500 per month For a family of 4 people
EXPENDITURE ON FOOD ITEMS		
maize grain	3 ½ buckets ¹⁷	2 ¼ buckets
bread	rare	6 loaves per week
sugar	1.3 kg	6 kg
tea	125g	1.5 x 250g pack
oil	1 litre	2 ¼ litres
meat	rare	2 kg
kapenta	occasionally	250 g
milk	none	3 pints per week
green vegetables	1-2 bundles per day	4 bundles per day
margarine	none	rare
EXPENDITURE ON NON-FOOD ITEMS		
washing soap	1 bar	4 bars
bathing soap	use washing soap	2 cakes
vaseline	50 ml	200 ml
lotion	none	rare
clothes	less than once per year (gifts)	second hand 1-2 times per year
transport		daily ¹⁸

What about urban agriculture¹⁹ and rural-to-urban food flows?

It was very difficult for key informants to generalise regarding urban agriculture. Most stated that the *majority* of households do not cultivate. However, this does not mean that substantial numbers do not cultivate, nor that urban agriculture is not important for those households that do cultivate. The team was curious to find out which wealth groups have access to land for urban agriculture. It was difficult to get a general picture on this also: key informants stated that landlords (or long-term residents) generally have better access than lodgers. However, this does not necessarily mean that the 'better off' cultivate because landlords themselves fall into different wealth groups. It is consequently difficult to generalise about the contribution that urban agriculture makes to annual food needs of households at different income levels.

For those households that do cultivate, maize production this year was relatively poor, with yields in 2001 at roughly half the level of 2000 because of climatic conditions and the high price of fertiliser. Many households in the central high-density areas only produced enough to eat as green maize from their fields or harvested 1-5 buckets²⁰. In the high-density areas on the outskirts of town where land is more available, however, the team encountered higher levels of production (400-650 kg of maize grain for some households). Most production is for home consumption and these quantities can make a substantial contribution to annual food requirements, representing 6-9 months of food for a family of four. Since maize grain and milling represent up to 25% of monthly expenditure for the poorest households, the contribution of urban agriculture can be significant. The team did not spend much time interviewing in low-density areas where domestic staff reportedly dominate urban agriculture. This is something that could be investigated in future.

¹⁷ A bucket of maize grain is approximately 18kg.

¹⁸ Note that fieldwork was conducted prior to the 70% increase in fuel prices in mid-June 2001. It is unlikely that many households living at Z\$6,500 per month could afford transport after the consequent increase in bus fares.

¹⁹ See references at the end of this report to papers by Godfrey Mudimu at the University of Zimbabwe for recent research findings on urban agriculture in Harare.

²⁰ A bucket of maize grain is approximately 18kg.

Cultivation on-plot has been decreasing in high-density areas in recent years. This is because landlords see better returns from building rooms and shacks in their compounds to rent out than from vegetable or other crop production. Even households that do cultivate vegetables in the high-density suburbs, supplement their production through purchases. Again, this situation may be quite different in mid-to-low density areas, but was not investigated in any detail.

Rural-to-urban food flows appear to have been affected by the high cost of transport in recent times. Many people stated that they only receive food from rural areas when they travel there themselves – often carrying foodstuffs such as sugar and oil of a higher value in the reverse direction. But due to the high cost of transport, many poor households have not travelled and have not received any food from rural areas for some time. Those who have received food recently tend to have relatives in rural areas near Harare.

Where do the poorest households live?

Unfortunately for those who seek a simple targeting system, the poorest households can be found throughout the high density and peri-urban areas. However, any organisation seeking to intervene at household level should look out for the following indicators: type of accommodation and rent levels, the availability of services, and whether or not the family has school-aged children who are not attending school. There is a range of types of accommodation within high density areas:

WHERE DO THE POOREST HOUSEHOLDS LIVE?

- They can be found throughout the high-density areas.
- Indicators: rents, types of accommodation, availability of services, children out of school.
- Residents of each area can identify the poorer neighbourhoods within high-density areas and the poorest households.

houses, rooms in houses, and rooms that are

built in the compound outside the main house (of varying quality, including shacks or log cabins at the bottom of the range). People tend to live in the type of accommodation and in the part of the city where they can afford to live. The lowest rent the team came across outside the peri-urban areas in May 2001 was Z\$350 for shacks in compounds where the electricity and water had been cut off in Tafara. In contrast, a room inside a house with water and electricity in Glenview or Highfield was approximately Z\$600-800.

The availability of services (water and electricity) is another important indicator, as suggested in the example above. In Epworth, the team was told that most people above a certain income level refuse to live in an area without electricity. Therefore, only households at the lower end of the overall income distribution can be found in such an area. This is not to say that there are no differences between households in peri-urban (or any other) areas of the city. Rather, the differences fall within a smaller range than in the city as a whole.

All households that the team met regard sending their children to school as a priority. However, government schools in some parts of the city report that large numbers of pupils are in debt regarding payment of school fees and levies. Schools reported varying levels of strictness regarding whether or not children were allowed to continue to attend school when they were not fully paid up. This should be less of a problem as a result of the introduction of the Basic Education Assistance Module (BEAM) by the government, which will pay school fees for 14% of pupils nation-wide. However, some children may not be catered for, and the BEAM programme does not cover the cost of uniforms (which can be just as, or even more, expensive as fees). Therefore, identifying those households where children are not in school because of the inability to pay may be another way to identify the poorest.

The team found that resident association committee members and church groups were able to identify poorer neighbourhoods within each residential area and the poorer residents within an area. This local knowledge could be tapped by any organisation seeking to intervene.

What are households vulnerable to?

Households were clear about the types of shocks that cause them problems. Everyone complained about inflation and the fact that they are constantly battling to keep up with rising prices. Associated with this were specific complaints about devaluation, increases in rates (on housing) and electricity, and rising bus fares.

URBAN HARARE HOUSEHOLDS ARE VULNERABLE TO ...

- formal sector: job loss
- informal sector: crackdown on 'illegal' businesses
- inflation: price increases
- illness or death (or divorce from) the main income earner
- unexpected large expenses

For those working in the formal sector, the threat of retrenchment and unemployment is a constant worry. In the informal sector, households fear a crackdown by the local authorities on 'illegal' businesses, which can result in businesses losing goods, tools and/or capital. Households in both the formal and informal sectors are vulnerable to the illness or death of (or divorce from) the main income earner, and this tends to result in a major drop in standard of living. AIDS is a particular threat in this regard. Large, unexpected expenditures (such as on funerals or medicines) also cause major problems for poor households, often forcing them into debt. Debt on rent, electricity and water can ultimately result in eviction and can force households to move to cheaper and cheaper accommodation (peri-urban areas being the cheapest of all).

Coping strategies

In response to these types of shocks, households engage in a number of coping strategies, some of which have already been mentioned.

On the expenditure side, the aim is to minimise spending on and consumption of all items, particularly those that are considered to be non-essential:

- purchasing cheaper and poorer quality food
- walking or cycling rather than taking the bus
- purchasing second-hand rather than new clothes (in smaller quantities than previously)
- sending children to rural areas to live with relatives
- sending terminally ill people to rural areas
- avoiding expenditure by going into debt (on electricity, water and schooling payments)
- avoiding expenditure by cultivating maize, sweet potatoes, and vegetables (although fertiliser is expensive and yields without it are low)
- moving to cheaper accommodation (peri-urban areas being the cheapest of all)
- consuming fewer meals per day.

On the income side, the aim is to maximise incomes from all sources:

- for those working in the formal sector, starting up informal-sector activities to supplement income such as vegetable, fruit and clothes vending
- seeking gifts and taking loans from relatives
- renting out rooms (only possible for landlords)
- selling assets (only possible for a limited time)
- as a last resort, engaging in undesirable, high-risk, or illegal activities such as begging, prostitution, and theft.

Immediate programme implications

The programme implications that emerge from this assessment have been stated before and have been researched at great length by organisations such as the World Bank and UNDP, by NGOs and by academic institutions. The over-riding problem in urban areas is the state of the macro-economy, which has resulted in business closures, retrenchments, inflation, and shortages of foreign currency. Apart from addressing these issues at the national level, support to the informal sector and to safety nets²¹ appears to be key.

Informal-sector businesses report problems such as inadequate capital, legislation designed to curb their activities, lack of bookkeeping skills, lack of marketing strategies, and transportation difficulties.

On the safety net side, further support to households that cannot afford education for their children and health care is required. As the situation deteriorates further, interventions may be needed to support households in their efforts to obtain income (e.g. through public works) and minimise expenditure (through distributions of or subsidies on food and non-food items for the very poorest).

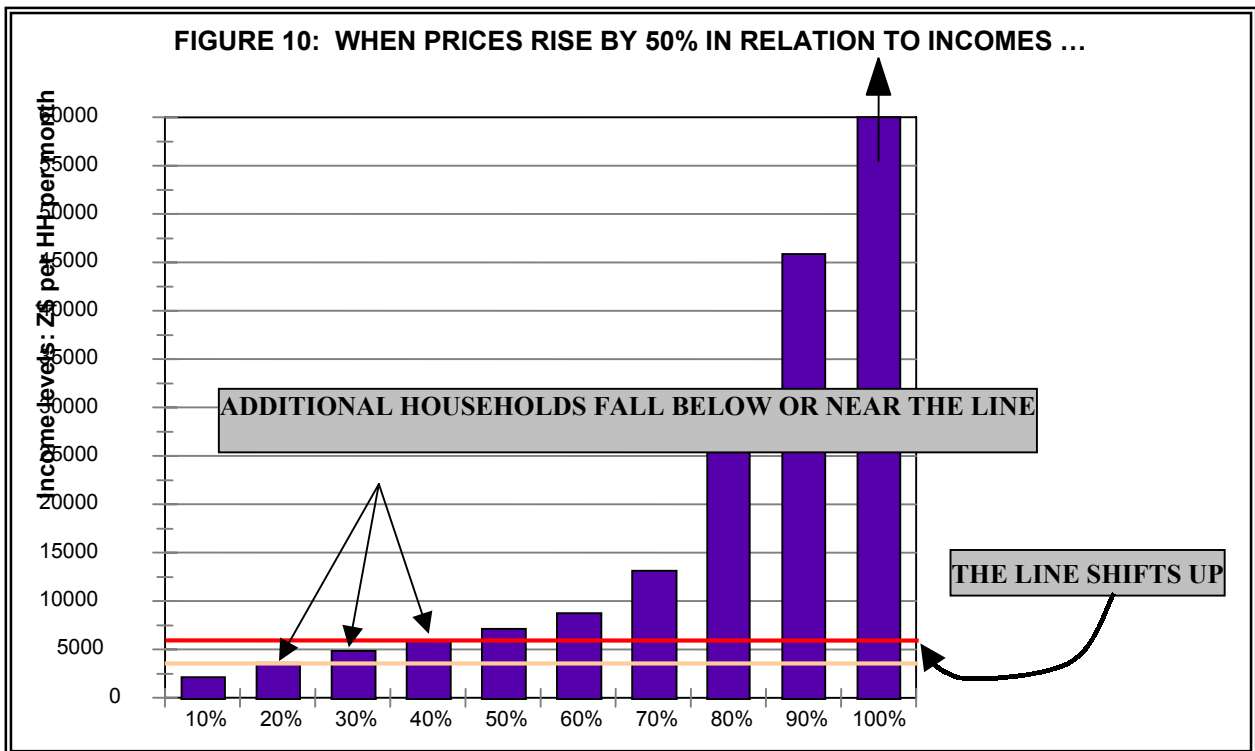
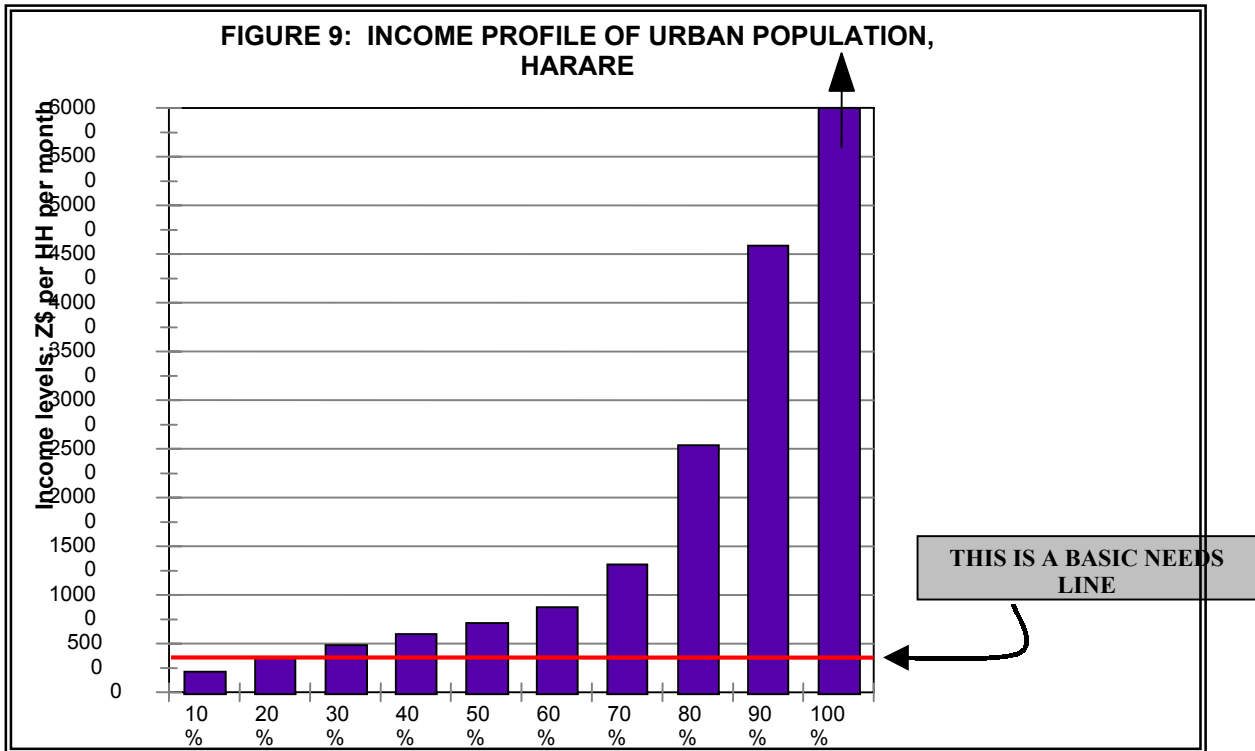
IMPLICATIONS OF THE ASSESSMENT ON POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES

<p><i>Safety nets</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support to the education sector: some poor households cannot afford uniforms and school fees. The Basic Education Assistance Module (BEAM) could be expanded to include uniforms. • Health: most poor families cannot afford health care and the assistance that the Department of Social Welfare was providing at the start of 2001 should be resumed. • Public works could ensure that poor households have better access to food and/or income to buy food. However, targeting is a key issue.
<p><i>Support to the informal sector</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Capital – shortage of capital to expand business such as carpentry, welding, etc was cited as one of the most limiting factors to increased earnings. • Legislation – a favourable trading environment needs to be put in place as some of the vendors have lost their wares due to raids by the police. • Marketing Strategies – the informal sector needs to be organised and linked to formal internal markets and also to export markets as the sector is expanding and has potential. • Information – monitoring information on the number of people involved in different activities in the sector and on trends in their income levels is currently unavailable.
<p><i>Urban agriculture</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Various researchers have repeatedly reported the importance of formalising access to land in urban areas. • Targeted programmes to support own crop production would potentially improve both the food and income sources of poor households.
<p><i>Rates on housing</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The monitoring system should be able to track the ability of households to pay increased rates. • Rate charges further differentiated by area or by wealth could be a solution to the current arrears in payment in some areas.

²¹ The World Bank has funded a number of studies over the last few years on social protection mechanisms in Zimbabwe, such as the recent report *Urban Vulnerability to Chronic Poverty and Income Shocks and Effectiveness of Current Social Protection Mechanisms: the case for Zimbabwe* by Gladys Mutangadura and Ephias Makaudze, August 1999.

Using the baseline to interpret monitoring information

The main purpose of conducting this rapid baseline assessment of urban livelihoods was to use it as a basis for setting up a simple, practical monitoring system that could track changes in access to food and income over time. In Figures 9 and 10, the impact of a 50% rise in prices in relation to incomes is illustrated. The result is that an increased percentage of households fall below a basic needs line.



The line that is illustrated in the graphs above is for a household of four living on Z\$4000 per month and reflects the price of basic items in May 2001. This could be described as the borderline between the very poor and the poor (see wealth breakdown graph above), but should *not* be interpreted to mean that it is

impossible to survive below the line because many households do. Households at the Z\$4,000 level can afford to buy bread 4-5 times per week, and small quantities of meat or kapenta each month. However, they cannot afford to buy milk or to pay bus fares. The line is higher than the CSO food poverty datum line, but lower than the CCZ 'low-income' budget and the CSO total consumption poverty datum line.

Defining the basic needs line is a difficult task: just what are basic needs? Should the line include just the bare minimum for each food and non-food item, implying for example that it is 'acceptable' for households to move to peri-urban areas to avoid accommodation costs? Indeed, would it even be possible for large numbers of households to pursue this option given the small size of the peri-urban areas in relation to the population of Harare? Should it include small quantities of bread, meat or kapenta, or are these luxury items? The answer to these questions depends on what the information is going to be used for, and, if an "intervention line" is to be defined, on standards for humanitarian interventions. In the end, it is possible to compare several different lines, provided the standard of living that is represented by each line is clear.

Gathering monitoring information: proposal for a monitoring system

The requirement for updating the baseline analysis is information that monitors the key elements of household economies in Harare. In general terms, it is important to monitor the things that households buy (basic food and non-food items) and the things that they do to obtain income. The following system is in the process of being developed by FEWS Net and CCZ, and other organisations that might like to participate are welcome to contact either organisation.

Expenditure

On the expenditure side, CCZ will continue to monitor retail prices in Harare, adding some items that poor households consume (e.g. maize grain) that are not currently included in their existing monitoring system. These prices will be compiled each month into different baskets that will be tracked over time (the existing basket and baskets that are more relevant to the current standard of living of poor urban households).

a) CCZ Conventional basket

CCZ has monitored prices for the basic consumer basket outlined below since the 1980s. This standard basket has not been revised to capture changes in consumption patterns over the years. The CCZ basket for a low-income urban household of 6 people (2 adults and 4 children) is composed of:

FOOD ITEMS	NON-FOOD ITEMS
2 x 2kgs margarine 3 x 20 kgs roller meal 5 x 2 kgs White sugar 3 x 250 grams Tea Leaves 2 x 750 Mls Cooking oil 1 x 500 Mls Fresh Milk daily 1 Loaf of bread daily Meat Vegetables	Transport Soaps and Detergents Rent 3 rooms in the High density area Durable household goods Maintenance and heat Health Education Clothing and Footwear

ZIMBABWE URBAN VULNERABILITY MONITORING SYSTEM
Main objective: To establish a flexible, demand-driven, and easy-to-update monitoring system that generates information relevant to decision-makers.
Specific objectives: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> to understand the impact of potential or actual shocks at household level to identify the groups affected by a shock or change in policy
Main activities: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> to collect relevant primary and secondary data that systematically feeds into the baseline to expand on the set of indicators currently being monitored by CCZ

b) Additional Commodities to Monitor

Apart from the monthly price collection from formal chain stores/supermarkets to determine the above basket, CCZ will expand its price collection to include the following commodities:

- maize grain (bucket)
- milling (bucket)
- green vegetables (bundles)
- beans (cups)
- potatoes (pile)
- sweet potatoes (pile)
- non-food items (see Table below)

c) Additional markets to collect prices from

In addition to collecting prices from urban chain stores and supermarkets, CCZ will collect prices of food and non-food commodities from tuckshops and informal sector vendors in high-density areas. Price surveys will be carried out monthly between the 20-25th of the month and the baskets will be published by the end of each month

d) Additional Baskets to Monitor Values

In addition to compiling its basket for a 'low-income family of 6', CCZ will also compile:

- a basket for a poor family of 4 (roughly Z\$4000 per month at May 2001 prices, see table below)
- a basket for the poorest (roughly Z\$2700 per month)
- a basket for largest group of the urban poor (roughly Z\$6500 per month for family size 4).

A BASIC CONSUMER BASKET FOR A FAMILY OF 4 PEOPLE

Item	Unit	Quantity	May 2001 price	Basket cost per month
maize grain	bucket	2.8	150	420
bread	loaf	20	30	600
sugar	2 kg	2	57	114
oil	750ml	2	55	110
meat	kg	1.33	120	160
green veg	bundles (100g)	100	3	300
salt	kg	1	18	18
tea	250g	1	40	40
milling	bucket	2.8	30	84
washing soap	bar	4	47	188
vaseline	100ml	2	31	62
candles	piece	2	12	24
school fees	per year	2	600	100
school uniform	per year	2	1050	175
notebook/pen	per year	2	100	17
health 2xpa	per episode	2	300	50
rent	per room per mo	1	600	600
water	per month	1	150	150
electricity	per month	1	350	350
clothes	adult pa	2	925	154
clothes	child pa	2	475	79
other				205
			TOTAL	Z\$4,000

Income

Monitoring incomes is a new dimension to the conventional CCZ monitoring. In the past the expenditure side was monitored in isolation from the changes in income. Both formal and informal incomes will need to be monitored.

a) Formal Sector Income Monitoring

In the formal sector, wages and numbers of people employed will be tracked with the help of the NECs, trade unions and Ministry of Labour. Incomes in this sector change relatively infrequently and should be relatively easy to monitor. FEWS Net will monitor this sector and possible information sources to be used are:

- National Employment Councils (NECs) for each industrial sector.
- Government gazettes, which are published periodically when new wage agreements are signed by NECs.
- The Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU), which plans to implement a system to monitor wage agreements and changes in numbers employed.
- The Ministry of Labour, which monitors retrenchments and wages.
- The Registers of Companies and Financial Institutions, which monitor company openings and closures.

b) Informal Income/Profits Monitoring

In the informal sector, monitoring incomes will be more complicated. It is not simply a question of monitoring a casual wage rate because most informal sector work revolves around small-scale businesses involved in producing items, providing services or vending. Consequently, it is proposed that CCZ, with support from FEWS Net, and along side its monthly price collection, will conduct a monthly mini-survey of incomes or profits in informal sector businesses including:

- Tuckshops and home industries: businesses willing to be monitored will be identified at the Zimbabwe Tuckshop Owners Association (ZTOA) workshop on bookkeeping planned for July 2001; books will be monitored each month for changes in profits.
- The Informal Traders Association Sector (ITAS) and Zimbabwe Apex of Informal Sector Association (ZAISA) will be contacted regarding what information they have and whether it would be possible to work through them to contact vendors.
- Vendors: a mini-survey of vendors will be carried out monthly in order to track changes in income levels.
- Agritex monitors wholesale food prices and these can be compared with informal sector retail food prices as a cross-check on profit margins.

The aim will be to track a small number of businesses over time to get a picture of the trends in income levels in the sector. These will be compared with changes in the cost of the expenditure baskets. The mini-surveys in the first instance will track the following informal sector businesses:

Type of informal business		Small	Large
Tuckshops		2	2
Home industry – production (e.g. carpenters)		1	1
Home industry – services (e.g. hair salons)		1	1
Green market vendors		2	2
Small-scale vendors	Vegetable	2	2
	Other, (e.g. clothes)	1	1

The identification of small/large tuckshops and home industries will be done at the Tuckshop Association workshop in July. The identification of small/large vendors has been done in Harare by CCZ staff with assistance from FEWS Net.

Secondary indicators

In addition to specifically monitoring expenditure and incomes, FEWS Net will monitor indicators that are related to some of the coping strategies that were mentioned above. Together with information on changes in the number of people employed in the formal sector, the idea is to track these things to understand when there is a fundamental change in the economy and in how people cope. If there are major changes in any or all of the indicators listed below, this might suggest that it is necessary to redo the baseline rather than simply monitoring different groups' incomes in relation to prices.

- retrenchments (numbers employed in formal sector and changes over time – Ministry of Labour)
- non-payment of electricity and water and percent being cut off (District Offices)
- non-payment of school fees (Ministry of Education or directly from a few schools)
- malnutrition at clinics (Ministry of Health, Food and Nutrition Centre, or directly from a few clinics)
- movement into peri-urban areas (Intercountry Peoples Aid could provide this information)

Links to policy: information dissemination

The information from the monitoring system will be used by CCZ in its lobbying for the welfare of consumers. CCZ also sits on the Government's Inter Ministerial Committee dealing with commodity prices, and the information generated will be used and distributed to policy makers through the CCZ. To link back to the consumer, CCZ will disseminate information through its weekly television programmes, thus creating a direct link with information providers.

FEWS Net will publish updates through its regular monthly reports, thereby reaching most of the donor community. Finally, FEWS Net and CCZ plan to publish a monthly one-page urban vulnerability report.

Steps for setting up the monitoring system

The steps for setting up the proposed monitoring system by CCZ and FEWS Net are outlined in the following table.

SETTING UP THE MONITORING SYSTEM

ACTIVITY	WHO	WHEN	WHY
Test data collection formats	CCZ & FEWS Net	mid-June	Applicability and how data feeds into baseline
Train CCZ personnel and adjust data collection formats	CCZ & FEWS Net	Second half of June	Develop skills in data collection
Meetings with relevant government departments and organisations regarding information needs (e.g. MoL, ZCTU, NECs)	CCZ & FEWS Net	Second half of June into July	Develop a mechanism for information gathering and feedback
Data collection	CCZ	Monthly	See system objectives
Develop a database of indicators being monitored	CCZ & FEWS Net	Ongoing	Build up information on trends
Monthly and quarterly data analysis and interpretation and reports	CCZ & FEWS Net	End of every month	Generate information that updates baseline and informs decision-makers
Review of relevance of information being collected	Urban VA group (and IPMAS and VAC)	Urban VA meetings or when deemed necessary	Adjust the monitoring to changing environment

ANNEX 1: HARARE INTERVIEWS

Place	Type of interview	Household type	Category
Tafara	Pie	Destitute	Casual work
Tafara	Pie	"Burglar"	Casual work
Porta Farm	Pie	Firewood and grass seller	Casual work
Glen View	Pie	Casual worker/crochet	Casual work
Hatcliffe	Pie	Casual worker/firewood sales	Casual work
Glen View	Pie	Vendors - clothing	Casual work
Hatcliffe	Pie	Casual workers	Casual work
Tafara	Pie	Widow - selling assets & casual work	Casual work
Braeside	Pie	Middle manager & wife employed	Formal sector
Hatcliffe	Pie	Bank tellers wife	Formal sector
Chitungwiza Z3	Pie	Shop salesman - shoes	Formal sector
Mbare flats	Pie	Formal sector - ZESA	Formal sector
Glen View	Pie	Formal sector - bookbinder's wife	Formal sector
Hatcliffe	Pie	Formal sector & SA trader	Formal sector
Milton Park	Pie	Businessman	Formal sector
Chitungwiza Z3	Pie	Factory worker	Formal sector
Graniteside	Not full pie	Factory floor supervisor	Formal sector
Epworth	Pie	Factory worker - cloth factory	Formal sector
Chitungwiza Unit F	Pie	Shop assistant - wholesale	Formal sector
Chitungwiza Unit F	Pie	Teacher	Formal sector
Mabvuku	Pie	Formal sector - BA	Formal sector
Glen Norah	Pie	Hotel employee	Formal sector
Mbare flats	Pie	Old woman - destitute - gifts	Gifts
Tafara	Pie	Widow - living off parents	Gifts
Tafara	Pie	TB/AIDS case - living off parents	Gifts
Warren Park D	Pie	Photographer	Home industry
Warren Park D	Pie	Carpenter	Home industry
Warren Park D	Pie	Shoe repair & knitting	Home industry
Chitungwiza	Pie	Vendor - veg & plumber	Home industry
Glen View	Pie	Carpenter	Home industry
Tafara	Not full pie	Small businessmen	Home industry
Tafara	Not full pie	Artists	Home industry
Glen View	Pie	Tinsmith	Home industry
Glen View	Pie	Youths	Home industry
Mbare flats	Pie	Carpenter	Home industry
Tafara	Pie	Single mothers - domestic, formal, vending	Mixed
Warren Park D	Pie	Vendor - prepared food & mechanic & rent	Mixed
Warren Park D	Pie	Casual work & domestic & rent	Mixed
Porta Farm	Pie	Farm workers & fish/firewood sales	Mixed
Chitungwiza	Pie	Pastor's wife & knitting	Mixed
Epworth	Pie	Security guard & vendor	Mixed
Epworth	Pie	Vendors - veg & tailor/factory worker	Mixed
Tafara	Pie	Formal sector & domestic & vending	Mixed
Waterfalls	Pie	Vendor & caretaker	Mixed
Chitungwiza	Pie	Butcher & casual & crochet	Mixed
Warren Park D	Pie	Bank teller & hairdresser	Mixed
Mbare flats	Pie	Vendor - soap & factory worker	Mixed
Epworth	Pie	Policeman & firewood trader	Mixed
Chitungwiza Unit F	Pie	Factory worker & clothes vendor	Mixed
Hatcliffe	Pie	Domestic worker - retired	Mixed
Mabvuku	Pie	Teacher & tailor	Mixed

Cranborne	Pie	Electrician self-employed	Self-employed
Hatcliffe	Pie	Builder	Self-employed
Porta Farm	Pie	Fishermen	Self-employed
Miscellaneous	Not full pie	Taxi drivers	Self-employed
Miscellaneous	Not full pie	Tuckshop owners	Self-employed
Epworth	Not full pie	Traders - supplying tuckshops	Traders
Tafara	Pie	Vendors - veg and maize	Vendor
Warren Park I	Pie	Vendor - veg & life insurance	Vendor
Hatcliffe	Pie	Vendors - veg	Vendor
Porta Farm	Pie	Farmer	Vendor
Epworth	Pie	Vendors - clothes	Vendor
Glen View	Pie	Vendors - clothes	Vendor
Mbare flats	Pie	Vendors - green market	Vendor
Mbare flats	Pie	Petty traders - mother	Vendor
Waterfalls	Pie	Vendor - veg - w/children employed	Vendor
Southerton	Pie	Vendor - veg - & casual work	Vendor
Glen View	Pie	Vendors - veg - widows	Vendor
Glen View	Pie	Vendor - clothes	Vendor
Tafara	Pie	Vendors w/rent	Vendor
Chitungwiza Unit F	Pie	Wood vendor & remittances	Vendor
Mbare flats	Pie	Vendor - hardware	Vendor
Tafara	Pie	Vendor	Vendor

Place	Type of interview	Group
Warren Park D	Wealth breakdown	D Disciples Church
Kabuzuma	Wealth breakdown	Church
Braeside	Wealth breakdown	Salvation Army
Warren Park I	Wealth breakdown	Salvation Army
Porta Farm	Wealth breakdown	Elders
Tafara	Wealth breakdown	Health promoters
Glen View	Wealth breakdown	Residents association committee
Chitungwiza - Z4	Wealth breakdown	Church
Highfield	Wealth breakdown	District Office
Hatcliffe	Wealth breakdown	Res. Asso, Coop member, Church leader
Mbare flats	Wealth breakdown	Residents association
Mbare flats	Wealth breakdown	Vendors - green market
Mabvuku	Wealth breakdown	Catholic church teachers
Glen View	Wealth breakdown	Residents association
Porta Farm	Wealth breakdown	Development committee members
Epworth	Wealth breakdown	Church leaders
Chitungwiza -Unit C	Wealth breakdown	Church members
Waterfalls	Wealth breakdown	Anglican Church Good Samaritans
Milton Park	Wealth breakdown	Businessman
Highlands	Wealth breakdown	Businesswoman/resident
Highlands	Wealth breakdown	Furniture factory employees
Highlands	Wealth breakdown	District Officer
Chitungwiza	Wealth breakdown	Public sector employee
Cranborne	Wealth breakdown	Electrician
Tafara	Wealth breakdown	Catholic church leaders
Hatcliffe	Wealth breakdown	Casual workers
Chitungwiza Z3	Wealth breakdown	Church leaders
Epworth	Wealth breakdown	Teacher and vendors
Mabelreign	Wealth breakdown	District officer

Other background interviews

City center	City of Harare Administration
City center	K Resources Employment Agency
City center	Paragon Real Estate Agency
Tafara	Aids Support Group
City center	KIPPS Employment Agency
City center	Tuckshop Association
Graniteside	Furniture Factory
City center	Knight Frank Real Estate Agency

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* For a full bibliography on urban food security in Zimbabwe see literature review by CARE International.