Understanding Poverty, Promoting Wellbeing and Sustainable Development

A sample survey of 16 districts of Zimbabwe

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Chapter One

Introduction to the Moving Zimbabwe Forward Wellbeing and Poverty Study

Jeanette Manjengwa

Main messages

• All people have a right to wellbeing and a decent standard of living.
• Poverty is multidimensional and dynamic. It can be defined as a sustained or chronic deprivation of the resources, capabilities, choices, security and power necessary for the enjoyment of an adequate standard of living and other civil, cultural, political and social rights.
• The Moving Zimbabwe Forward wellbeing and poverty study aimed to create poverty knowledge and understand the current nature of poverty in Zimbabwe, to identify factors that may contribute to poverty reduction strategies.

Why addressing poverty is important

Wellbeing and development is for all people and every person has the right to a decent life:

Everyone has a right to a standard of living adequate for the health and wellbeing of himself and his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care, and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age, or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control. 'Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948).

Nevertheless, worldwide there are around half a billion people who are persistently poor over many years, their whole lives, and inter-generationally (Chronic Poverty Research Centre (CPRC), 2010). Progress against poverty has been uneven and disappointingly slow in some regions, particularly Africa. In practice, development has failed to put people first, poverty has deepened and inequities are more entrenched (Moyo, 2010). People in poverty are those who have benefited least from economic growth and development. Many live in remote rural areas or urban slums; have little access to productive assets; low capabilities in terms of health, education and social capital; and suffer from chronic ill health or disabilities (CPRC, 2005).

The vision of development and wellbeing is shared by all, but the current reality does not match pronouncements of this vision. The imperative to confront and eradicate poverty is a moral one, and cannot be selectively applied (CPRC, 2005). An effective response to poverty requires a better understanding of what it means to be poor and better analysis of the characteristics and underlying social processes that result in sustained and intractable poverty.

Poverty in Zimbabwe has been increasing over the last 20 years due to a combination of economic and weather-related problems. The Moving Zimbabwe Forward (MZF) study is motivated by understanding the context in which poverty exists in Zimbabwe. It is not meant to chronicle failures, but rather provide a deeper understanding and analysis of the problems of poverty and help to identify factors that may contribute to poverty reduction strategies.

Concepts of poverty and wellbeing

Wellbeing and poverty are defined in many different ways. Many of the vernacular languages in Zimbabwe have terms that relate to the concepts of wellbeing and poverty and locate it socially. Shona words that express wellbeing are kugarika and upfumi and the Ndebele words are inhlalakahle and inotho. The Shona word urombo or nhomu and the Ndebele word nhuxwa capture the essence and recognize the time duration and depth dimensions of poverty. In Shona, the concept of chronic poverty is captured in phrases like nhomu yemadzinya (poverty passed down across generations) or nhomu inokandira mazai (poverty that lays eggs). Analytically many in Zimbabwe relate poverty to assets, which are often seen as indicators of wealth, or an ability to avoid poverty. In many rural areas it is land and livestock, particularly cattle, which define a household’s wealth status. Wellbeing and poverty are closely linked, as illustrated by the saying rugare tange nhomu, which means that prosperity only comes after hardships.

The main focus of wellbeing is whether households or individuals have enough resources to meet their needs, such as enough food, shelter, health care, education etc. Wellbeing comes from a capability to function in society, and therefore also includes adequate income, security, self-confidence and rights. In April 2012, a United Nations conference, titled ‘Happiness and Wellbeing: Defining a New Economic Paradigm,’ endorsed the importance of happiness as an indicator of human development.

Poverty is multifaceted and there are many approaches to defining it. The most widely used are poverty lines which measure deprivation of income (or the related expenditure
Poverty in Zimbabwe

Alienation of indigenous people from their land was institutionalised by the Land Apportionment Act of 1930 that divided land into European and African areas, with the resultant massive landlessness on the part of the Africans.

From 1930 onwards there were numerous amendments to the Act, eventually leading to a consolidation through the Land Tenure Act of 1969. Apart from the racial segregation aspect, land distribution was extremely unequal (Government of Zimbabwe, 2003). In addition, discriminatory taxation and agricultural policies designed to support and cushion the white farming sector reduced the Tribal Trust Lands to poverty (Mutizwa-Mangiza and Helmsing, 1991). Moyo et al. (1991) estimated that by 1978, half of the African population was landless due to increasing population in the marginal ‘Tribal Trust Lands’.

Even though land alienation was addressed after independence in 1980 through the land reform programme, smallholder farmers are still facing productivity problems due to lack of tillage, inputs and functional markets. Furthermore, major events or shocks, such as drought, economic crisis and disease epidemics, magnify the situation, accelerating the process of impoverishment and causing transient poverty.

Pro-poor economic policies actively involve the State in taking measures to reduce poverty. For example, an employment policy framework can promote decent and productive employment that can contribute to eradicating poverty. Effective policies and strategies need to be informed by sound empirical evidence.

In Zimbabwe, a multidimensional view of poverty is recognized through the use of the Human Development Index as well as Poverty Assessment Survey Studies (PASS), Income and Consumption Expenditure Surveys (ICES) which have recently included poverty, as Poverty, Income, Expenditure Surveys (PICES), Demographic Health Surveys (DHS), Zimbabwe Vulnerability Assessments (ZIMVACs), Multiple Indicator Monitoring Surveys (MIMS) and a number of smaller sector-specific surveys. Although poverty has multiple dimensions, the worst case scenario is deprivation of food and essential or basic non-food items, respectively referred to as food and total consumption poverty.

In order to create poverty knowledge and understand the current nature of poverty in Zimbabwe, a sample wellbeing and poverty survey was carried out in 16 Districts in 2011. This report presents an analysis of the survey results and discusses the implications and contribution of its findings.
A sample survey of 16 districts of Zimbabwe

The MZF survey is a component of a larger initiative, the 'Moving Zimbabwe Forward: An Evidence-Based Policy Dialogue Initiative' which aims to enhance poverty-focused stabilisation, recovery and growth in Zimbabwe through sound policy judgements, by encouraging policy dialogue and debate, and by generating and disseminating policy-relevant information.

The Moving Zimbabwe Forward Policy Dialogue Process

The MZF survey is a component of a larger initiative, the 'Moving Zimbabwe Forward: An Evidence-Based Policy Dialogue Initiative' which aims to enhance poverty-focused stabilisation, recovery and growth in Zimbabwe through sound policy judgements, by encouraging policy dialogue and debate, and by generating and disseminating policy-relevant information.

The Moving Zimbabwe Forward: An Evidence-Based Policy Dialogue Initiative is being implemented by the Institute of Environmental Studies (IES), at the University of Zimbabwe. The Institute recognises the close relationship between the environment and development. Poverty has been identified as one of the main drivers of environmental degradation and eradicating poverty is a prerequisite for sustainable development (Feresu, 2010). Therefore, the Moving Zimbabwe Forward Initiative creates a platform for Zimbabweans to discuss and debate on issues and to come up with policy recommendations that will help Zimbabwe move forward and out of poverty towards sustainable development.

The evidence-based policy dialogue initiative began in August 2010 and has undertaken a number of activities beginning with the production of hard copies of the book 'Moving Forward in Zimbabwe: Reducing Poverty and Promoting Growth' for dissemination and dialogue (Chinhowu et al., 2010). The book, which covers a wide range of economic and social development challenges facing the country, was the outcome of collaboration between the University of Zimbabwe and the Brooks World Poverty Institute (BWPI), University of Manchester.

The book was launched at an international conference in Harare, December 2010, by the Permanent Secretary for Economic Planning and Investment Promotion. The official book launch was followed by countrywide launches by Vice Chancellors at five universities: the National University of Science and Technology, Bulawayo; Great Zimbabwe University, Masvingo; Midlands State University, Gweru; Chinhoyi University of Technology, Chinhoyi; and Africa University, Mutare. These provincial launches were attended by government officials, academia and civil society. The launches were accompanied by seminars addressing such issues as enhancing smallholder farming; poverty traps and opportunities for ways out of poverty; pro-poor inclusive growth and sustainable development; minerals for equitable development; and education for poverty reduction. These seminars provoked a lot of debate on how Zimbabwe can address poverty.

A number of in-house seminars with government policy makers, together with round tables and three international conferences with a wide range of stakeholders, have been held under the Moving Zimbabwe Forward Policy Dialogue Initiative. These events have created debate and furthered dialogue on topical issues around poverty and development in Zimbabwe, including promoting smallholder agriculture; cash transfers, information and communication technologies (ICTs) and minerals for sustainable development.

While the policy dialogue events with policy makers and other stakeholders link research to policy by providing a platform for dissemination and discussion of policy relevant research findings, an integral component of the Moving Zimbabwe Forward initiative was to create new knowledge on poverty, which can provide evidence to feed into the process of policy formulation. This generation of new knowledge through the Moving Zimbabwe Forward Initiative consists primarily of the poverty survey, as well as several case study researches and Masters dissertations on aspects of localised poverty in Zimbabwe.

Objectives of the survey

There is currently limited up-to-date information on the wellbeing of Zimbabweans. The last national Poverty Assessment Study Survey (PASS) was undertaken in 2003 and it revealed that 63 per cent of households were below the total consumption poverty line (Government of Zimbabwe, 2006). An Income Consumption and Expenditure Survey was conducted in 2007/8; however, information on poverty status was not released mainly due to problems of dealing with validity of figures obtained in the hyper-inflationary environment that existed at the time. Consequently, since the 2003 PASS, there has not been any official survey on the levels of poverty in Zimbabwe. Some estimates suggest that by the time the economic crisis reached its peak in November 2008, up to 80 per cent of the population survived on less than USD 2/day (UNDP, 2008; Chinhowu et al., 2010).

The sample survey on poverty, wellbeing and inequity in Zimbabwe was carried out by the Institute of Environmental Studies, University of Zimbabwe, in collaboration with the Zimbabwe National Statistics
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Agency (ZIMSTAT), the Department of Social Services and the Ministry of Economic Planning and Investment Promotion, in order to contribute to the generation of new poverty knowledge.

The aim of the sample survey was to provide a snapshot of the current multidimensional nature of poverty in Zimbabwe by collecting information on a wide range of poverty and wellbeing indicators in 16 districts in the country, which could in turn be used to enhance the formulation and implementation of effective policies and development programmes. The findings were analysed and interpreted to bring out implications of policy relevance and significance. The combination of both quantitative and qualitative techniques allowed for a rigorous, in-depth study.

Scope and coverage of the study
The Moving Zimbabwe Forward (MZF) survey covered all the 10 provinces of Zimbabwe and was carried out over the period April-May 2011. The survey was designed to provide representative estimates of poverty at the rural-urban level. Data was collected in 16 districts, representative of Agro-ecological Regions, land uses and livelihood zones in Zimbabwe. The districts covered are: Harare including Epworth, Bulawayo, Hwange, Gwanda, Masvingo, Chiredzi, Gokwe North and South, Gweru, Mazowe, Mbire, Hurungwe, Mutare Urban, Mutare Rural, Mutoko and Chimanmani (See map in Figure 1.1, and Table 3.1 in Chapter Three for more details).

Legend
- Urban centres sampled
- Districts sampled
- Provincial boundary

Fig 1.1: Map of Zimbabwe showing the Districts sampled in the Moving Zimbabwe Forward Wellbeing and Poverty Survey
Survey design

The survey looked at multidimensional aspects of poverty. A Q-squared approach, that is, a combination of quantitative and qualitative research methods was used for the analysis of poverty. Quantitative data was collected through administration of 3,448 household questionnaires, together with 75 institutional questionnaires to health and education institutions and business centres. Qualitative data was collected through focus group discussions with community groups and interviews with key informants.

The questionnaire covered a wide range of issues including:

- demographic characteristics
- access and use of education and health services
- incomes
- employment
- business enterprises
- agricultural activities
- food security and coping strategies
- access to land
- household food and non-food expenditures
- assets holdings
- natural resource use
- perceptions about poverty status
- exposure to shocks
- communication and access to information
- community organisations and social networks

Overview of Chapters

The book is divided into nine chapters which provide the context for the study, the design and methods used, the findings about poverty, followed by more detailed analysis of aspects of vulnerability, gender and natural resource use. In conclusion, recommendations and policy implications are suggested. Short descriptions of each chapter follow.

Chapter One: Introduction to the Moving Zimbabwe Forward Wellbeing and Poverty Study, is this introductory chapter that provides the background, rationale, objectives and design of the study. It also provides an overview of each chapter in the report.

Chapter Two: Context for the Study: Background to Development in Zimbabwe, illustrates how history matters, in that the chain of events which started with pre-independence colonial policies of an apartheid-like dual economy paved the way for much of what subsequently happened after independence, and what is still happening now. In fact, as the sample poverty survey shows, dualism and the resulting inequalities are still entrenched in Zimbabwe 32 years after independence.

The Chapter traces how, after independence in 1980, the new government tried to address the inherited inequalities through such policies as ‘Growth with Equity’, massive expansions in education and health services, and the launch of the land reform programme. These gains however, were eroded in the 1990s with the adoption of economic structural adjustment and the onset of the economic decline which culminated in economic crisis during 1999 to 2008. Recurrent droughts and subsequent crop failures, and the HIV and AIDS epidemic compounded the situation. Since 2009 there has been an improvement with economic stabilization and the gains of the land reform programme starting to be realized.

Chapter Three: Approach and Methods Used in the Moving Zimbabwe Forward Study. This methods chapter begins by looking at how poverty has been traditionally measured in Zimbabwe, principally through the Income Consumption and Expenditure Survey (ICES) carried out by the national statistics agency ZIMSTAT (formerly the Central Statistics Office), and the Poverty Assessment Study Surveys (PASS) implemented by the Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare.

The Chapter then depicts the characteristics of the 16 Districts in the survey regarding Agro-ecological Regions and Livelihood Zones. Zimbabwe is divided into five Agro-ecological Regions which were all covered in the MZF study. The sample also covered 15 Livelihood Zones out of 24 zones listed by the Zimbabwe Vulnerability Assessment Committee (ZIMVAC). A Livelihood Zone is a geographical area in which people obtain food in more or less the same manner. Of the total of 3,448 households sampled, 59.6 per cent were situated in rural areas, while 40.4 per cent were in urban areas. Seventy one per cent of the household heads were male and 29 per cent female.

Determination of poverty levels from the MZF survey data is based on comparisons of monthly consumption expenditure with the official food and total poverty lines determined by ZIMSTAT. The total poverty line is the minimum amount of consumption required to meet the basic food and non-food requirements of a household. The total poverty line used was based on May 2011 prices.

The Chapter contains in-depth explanations of procedures used for analysis of the data including poverty status, namely incidence, depth and severity; calculation of poverty and inequality indices using the Lorenz Curve and Gini coefficient; and the development of regression models to explore determinants of poverty. Variables included in the regression analysis were employment status, demographics, socio-economic characteristics, assets and experience of shocks.

Chapter Four: Household Consumption and Poverty in Zimbabwe. This Chapter presents the main survey findings on magnitude and key determinants of poverty in Zimbabwe, based on household level data from the questionnaires. Community perceptions on poverty and development complement those obtained from the household consumption expenditure measures, and...
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were poor and nearly half were very poor. At 81.6 per cent were unable to meet the minimum recommended food requirements of 2,100 calories per capita/day. This is slightly lower than the 2003 PASS results where 48 per cent of households were below the Food Poverty Line.

A significant 44.4 per cent of sampled households were classified as very poor and lived below the Food Poverty Line, which means their total household monthly expenditures were unable to meet the minimum recommended food requirements of 2,100 calories per capita/day. This is slightly lower than the 2003 PASS results where 48 per cent of households were below the Food Poverty Line.

A major finding of the MZF survey was the continued deepening of rural poverty and further increase in the rural - urban divide. The survey found very high incidences of rural poverty with 95 per cent of the rural households under the Total Consumption Poverty Line and classified as poor. Only eight per cent of urban households were classified as very poor, compared to 68 per cent of the rural households. These divisions were also highlighted in the poverty depth and severity measurement. Notwithstanding the above, studies show that urban poverty is increasing at a faster rate than poverty in rural areas (Government of Zimbabwe, 2006).

Focus groups reveal that difficulties accessing adequate food, shelter, education and clothing characterise poverty across all communities. Perceptions of poverty in rural areas were also tied to productive assets (land, livestock, farming equipment), while those in urban areas are tied to employment (regular employment, capital, or machinery).

The Gini coefficient from the MZF survey was 0.50. It appears that inequality although still high in 2011 had narrowed slightly when compared with 2003, when the Gini coefficient from the PASS study was 0.64.

Regression analysis was used to determine the major drivers of poverty in the sample and found that the key factors correlating with poverty in case study areas are: rural locality; large household size; as well as lack of education, employment, business enterprises, and productive assets.

Chapter Five: Poverty Dynamics in Zimbabwe. The Chapter focuses on poverty dynamics and situates results of this survey within the historical data on poverty in Zimbabwe. Quantitative and qualitative research approaches reveal the complex nature of poverty, which consists of interrelated and compounding factors that reinforce each other to produce cycles of poverty.

Quantitative data was collected through a series of 'economic ladder' questions in the survey which sought people's perceptions of their current wellbeing and poverty status, where they thought they were five years ago and where they think they will be in five years time. The respondents were also asked what factors were likely to propel movement up the poverty ladder.

The study found that local people know and understand the reasons why they are poor. The reasons range from recurrent droughts and crop failure, lack of traction, inputs and markets, to high prices and unemployment.

Poor, marginalised and vulnerable people are more concerned with questions about what can be done to reduce their bad experiences of life, and what will enable them to achieve more of the good things in life to which they aspire. In line with this, the MZF study focused on strategies that people thought could lift them out of poverty. Overall, people identified that having more money, and the means of getting more money through more and better jobs; increased agricultural production; and more and better education, would solve most of their poverty-related problems.

Chapter Six: Shocks, Vulnerability and Coping. Zimbabwe is characterised by a multiple of economic, social and natural shocks that affect the majority of the population and render them vulnerable and impoverished. Although there is a strong nexus between vulnerability and poverty the two are not synonymous. People in vulnerable conditions may not necessarily be poor, whilst amongst the poor there may be varying levels and patterns of vulnerability, depending on the multitude of dynamic processes through which individuals and households respond to stresses and shocks. Nevertheless, increased poverty is usually a contributing factor to increased vulnerability.

A variety of questions in the MZF survey investigated the probability that a community or household suffers different shocks over the previous 12 months. In addition, information was collected on the severity of the shock as well as likelihood of it re-occurring in the next 12 months. The shocks identified range from drought, food shortages and inflation, to illness, HIV and AIDS, and loss of government or donor support.

The Chapter then looks at coping strategies that strengthen a household's position against risks and that minimise the
effects of various stresses and shocks such as building up assets, diversifying crops and livelihood sources, as well as conducting various trade-offs in responding to risk in ways that do not compromise critical household livelihood objectives. The study found that people in different wealth categories employed different coping strategies. The very poor for example emphasised asset depletion such as selling livestock, as well as engaging in local casual agricultural work as their top two coping strategies, whilst the non-poor emphasised strategies of further strengthening their positions against current and future risk and undertaking such activities as seeking better education, cross-border trade and establishing nutrition gardens.

Chapter Seven: Beyond Income: An Analysis of Gendered Wellbeing and Poverty in Zimbabwe. Women tend to bear the burden of poverty and, for example, the PASS reports indicate that female-headed households are poorer than male-headed households. Widows are particularly vulnerable. Using the MZF data together with other research and literature Chapter Seven explores the concept of the ‘feminization of poverty’. It describes the disadvantages and problems that women face, particularly concerning maternal health, using data mainly from the Zimbabwe Demographic Health Surveys. The Chapter goes beyond income and explores the various facets of poverty that are not usually measured, or are hard to measure, such as violence and intimidation especially within marriage.

The MZF study did not find any major gender differences, as the gender factor appears to have been superseded by other factors such as education and employment as being major drivers of poverty in the case study districts. In fact, the MZF survey found that a higher percentage of female-headed households owned houses than their male counterparts. The study suggests that owing to the prolonged economic crisis, poverty is no longer as gendered as previously. It is recommended that further studies with a bigger sample be carried out as a way of moving away from contested views. A number of factors predispose women, especially female-headed households, to poverty and there is still over representation of women among the very poor.

Chapter Eight: Environment, Natural Resources and Poverty Reduction: Capturing and Sharing the Gains of Natural Resources Exploitation investigates the potential for natural resources to move people out of poverty. On a global scale Zimbabwe has one of the highest endowments of natural resources, such as gold, diamonds and platinum, which can fuel economic development and wealth creation. The Chapter identifies the various natural resources that are used both commercially and for household consumption and food security. Natural resources provide opportunities for a wide range of livelihood strategies which are invaluable for the survival of households, especially during times of shocks and stresses. The environment remains the only safety net for most of the vulnerable rural communities.

Economic hardships and poverty, however, have pushed more people to over-use and misuse the environment and natural resources causing significant degradation. Natural resource utilization and management must be sustainable. The Chapter looks at a number of opportunities for community-based management, such as the Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE). The MZF study investigated issues of environmental management because for resources to be sustainable, their use has to be regulated and properly managed. The Chapter also looks at environmental awareness and knowledge, and implementation of natural resource rules and regulations.

Chapter Nine: Conclusions and Implications for Policy. The main message of the study is that there are high levels of poverty in Zimbabwe as evidenced by the results from the sample survey. Poverty is overwhelmingly a rural phenomenon, particularly in the drier regions of the country. A number of poverty traps or pitfalls were identified, including:

- Low total productivity, where both agricultural and economic production are below optimum.
- Lack of education and its effects on access to opportunities.
- Lack of quality employment.
- Health issues, such as HIV and AIDS, and maternal health, which undermine productivity and capital accumulation.

To escape, or at least to address these poverty traps, the following are emphasized:

- **Improving overall productivity**, with a focus on agricultural production. Smallholder farmers need to be empowered through the availability of traction, inputs, labour, irrigation and functioning markets.
- **Social protection**. The levels of poverty are so deep that any small incremental adjustments to income will take a long time to have an impact. Therefore, there is need for continued and scaled-up innovative social protection, consisting of a package of cash transfers; cash (or food) for work; as well as educational and health assistance.
- **Quality employment and education**. This can only emerge from sustained productivity growth over time. Increased agricultural production will lead to increased economic growth as well as boost rural incomes. This will result in increased demands for goods and services, and jobs will follow. Quality education is also key to quality employment.
• Restore the urban areas as industrial, manufacturing and commercial centres. This should increase economic production and create quality jobs, as well as have a knock-on effect in enhancing the rural situation.

References


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