

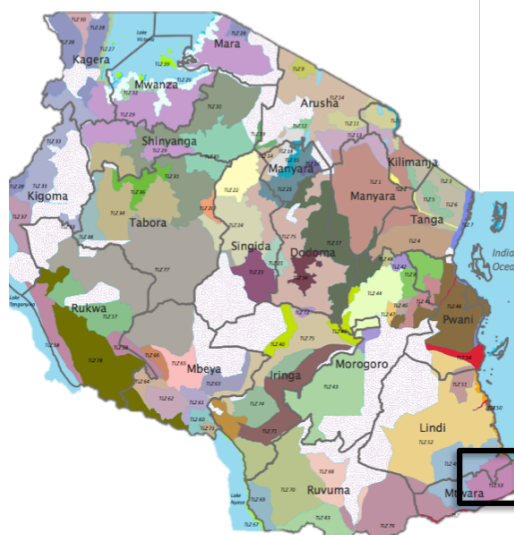
# Tanzania Livelihood Baseline Profile

## Southeastern Plateau Cashew Livelihood Zone (TLZ 53)

October, 2014<sup>1</sup>

### Zone Description

The *Southeastern Plateau Cashew Livelihood Zone* is located in the southeastern corner of Tanzania and encompasses parts of Mtwara and Lindi Regions, including Mtwara, Tandahimba, Newala and Lindi districts. The southern part of the zone borders Mozambique. This zone, at an average altitude of 1,000 metres above sea level, is set upon a highland plateau. Its main geographic features include the Nanyamba and Kinombedo mountains and the Ruvuma River; forests and grasslands are characteristic of the landscape.



Southeastern Plateau Cashew Livelihood Zone

The Newala-Tandahimba-Mtwara road, Mtwara-Lindi road, and Newala-Lindi road provide important connections between the regions of Lindi and Mtwara and among the zone's main towns of Tandahimba, Newala, Nanyamba, Mahuta and Kitangari. The population density is 60-75 people per square kilometre.

The local economy depends heavily on cashew production, and it boasts one of the highest levels of smallholder production of cashews in Tanzania. There is better maintenance and investment in cashews here compared to neighbouring zones where cashews are also grown. Cassava is also produced on a fairly large scale in this zone, with significant surpluses generated and sold onto the local market.

This is a moderately productive zone that relies on rain-fed agriculture. The soils are well-drained, light textured sandy loams. There is one rainy season, with a cumulative annual long-term average of around 1000 mm; temperatures range from 21-30°C. The zone's dominant food crops are maize, cassava, sorghum, Bambara nut, groundnuts, cowpeas and pigeon peas; a certain amount of each of these is also sold for cash. Cashews are the main cash crop. All households use hand hoes and machetes to work their fields and their cashew groves. During the most labour-intensive times of the year - land preparation, weeding, harvesting and spraying (of cashew trees) - very poor and poor household members are hired by middle and better off households to provide additional labour. Both women and men provide labour for weeding, land preparation and harvesting; spraying is done only by men. Migrant labourers from Mozambique are also hired on the cashew plantations of better off households from May to December.

The services in this zone are relatively poor. Unprotected shallow wells and seasonal water ponds provide the main sources of drinking water for poorer households, supplemented by purchased water during the dry season. Better off households maintain their own bore holes and construct rainwater-harvesting

<sup>1</sup> Fieldwork for the current profile was undertaken in September 2014. The information presented in this profile refers to the reference year, the consumption year that started in April 2012 and ended in March 2013. Provided there are no fundamental and rapid shifts in the economy, the information in this profile is expected to remain valid for approximately five years (i.e. until 2018). All prices referred to in the document are for the reference year.

receptacles to store water which is sold to poorer households during the dry season. Sanitation infrastructure is basic: poorer households use temporary pit latrines, while better off households build and maintain improved pit latrines. For poorer households there are health care dispensaries that provide access to a selection of limited medicines and supplies; but better off households also take their sick family members to hospital and to private health centres. Electricity is very limited, with poor households using kerosene and battery lamps for light. Better off households also use kerosene and battery lamps, but in addition tend to have solar lamps and solar batteries to provide a household electric supply. All households own at least one mobile phone, and better off households have multiple phones. Poorer households can only afford to send their children to primary school, whereas better off household children attend nursery/kindergarten, primary and secondary schools and even university. The only source of credit is the VICOBA (Village Community Bank) and cooperatives. There are no savings schemes. NGOs operating in this zone include AMREF/UNICEF, Tandahimba Agriculture Development Organization (TADO), Shirika la Maendeleo na Sera Tandahimban (SHIMESETA), and Action Aid.

## Markets

Considering its remote location in the south of Tanzania, Mtwara has reasonable transport links. Market access in the *Southeastern Plateau Cashew Livelihood Zone* is relatively good. Paved roads link Mtwara to Lindi and Masasi and partially paved roads to the west provide a link to Newala. Beyond Masasi the road is newly paved for 60 km towards Tunduru and the Unity Bridge, providing a cross-border route to Mozambique.

Cashews are the foundation of the local economy and their sales are critical for all households. The main season for selling cashews is October through March. Cashews are mainly traded through the government warehousing system, regulated by the Tanzania Cashew Nut Board, which sets a price each year in August for the coming season. When farmers who are members (which includes most of the population) hand over their consignments to primary cooperative societies, they get 60% of the official price. The other 40% comes after the consignment has been sold (3-4 months later). If the Board makes a profit, it is distributed to the farmers as a bonus (in around January or February). The Cashew Nut Development Trust Fund in turn provides pesticides/sulphur to farmers at a subsidised rate, paid in cash. Farmers sell directly to the Cashew Nut Board which warehouses the cashews in Mtwara. Mtwara has a deep water port that can accommodate ocean-going vessels via which cashews are transported on to India and other Asian countries.

Sales of Bambara and groundnuts are the next most important source of cash for all households. Local farmers sell these high value crops after harvest, from July to October, to local traders or directly to local consumers.

Small numbers of goats and chickens are also sold throughout the year by poor, middle and better off households to raise cash to meet immediate spending needs. Regional towns or neighbouring households form the main source of demand for this very local trade.

Rice, which is purchased by all households, but especially by middle and better off households, originates in Morogoro and Ruvuma and is transported to Mtwara before being distributed through local markets.

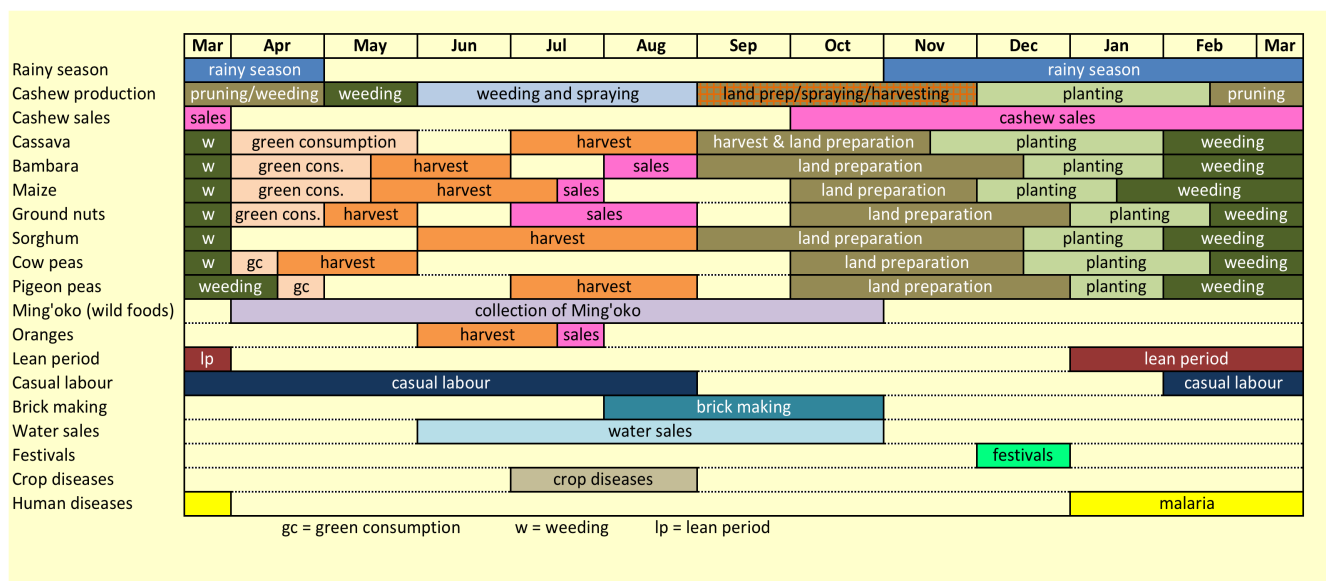
The labour market is entirely local. Most of the demand is for casual agricultural labour (around 85%) with only around 15% of the demand emanating from regional towns. This zone draws in migrant workers from Mozambique who cross the border from May to December to meet the excess demand for labour on cashew farms, especially in Tandahimba District and some parts of Newala District.

## Timeline and Reference Year

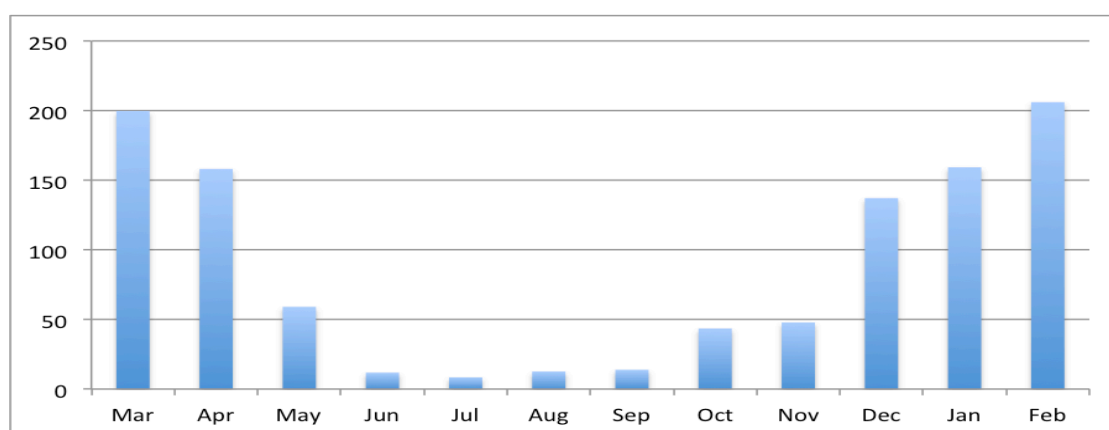
The baseline assessment refers to a very specific time period called the reference year. In the *Southeastern Plateau Cashew Livelihood Zone* the reference year covered the consumption period from April 2012 until March 2013, which corresponds to the production year of 2011-12. During community leader interviews, key informants were asked to rank the last four years in terms of seasonal performance with '1' indicating a poor season and '5' an excellent season. The table below, which summarizes the responses of the community leaders, shows that the reference year (production year 2011-12) was ranked as average, with average rainfall and decent crop yields and with good cashew nut prices. The baseline information presented in this profile, therefore, provides a view into how households in this livelihood zone make ends meet in a typical year, drawing on a normal range of options.

Production Year	Rank	Critical Events
2013-14	4	Good rains, good yields, arrival of agricultural inputs on time
2012-13	2	Unequal distribution of rainfall; diseases affected cashew trees; low crop yields
2011-12	3	Average rains with decent crop yields; good cashew nut prices
2010-11	3	Average rainfall with decent crop yields
2009-10	4	Good rains and good production from cashew and food crops
5 = an excellent season for household food security (e.g. due to good rains, good prices, good crop yields, etc) 4 = a good season or above average season for household food security 3 = an average season in terms of household food security 2 = a below average season for household food security 1 = a poor season (e.g. due to drought, flooding, livestock disease, pest attack) for household food security		

## Seasonal Calendar for Reference Year



The graph to the right shows average monthly rainfall (mm) in Mtwara based on a recent 10-year period (2004 – 2013)  
Source: TZ Meteorology Department



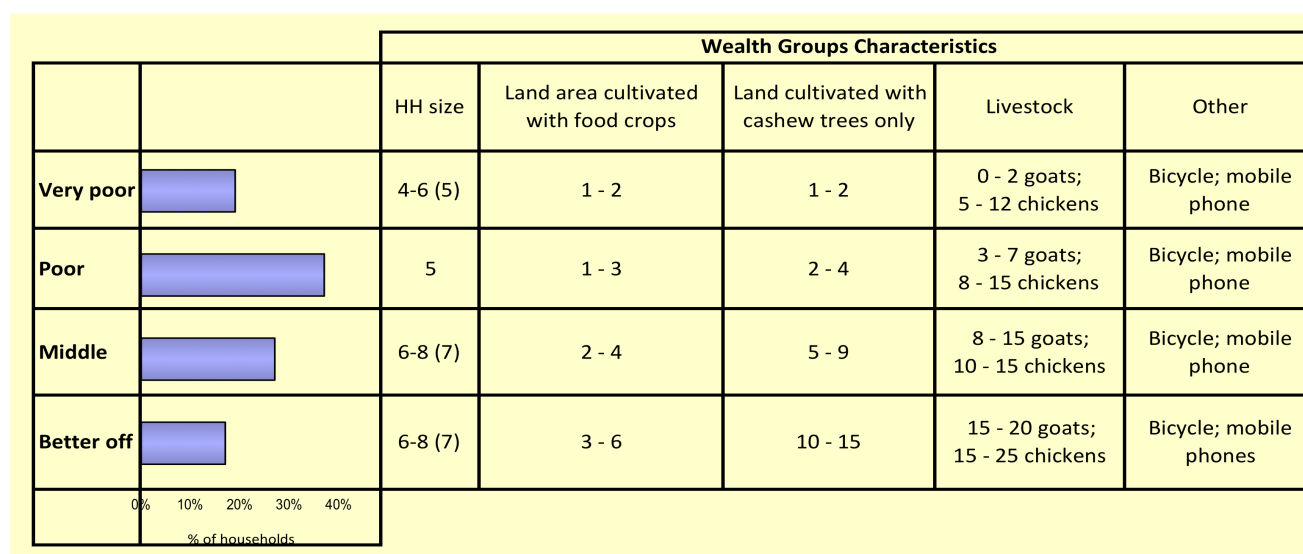
Referred to locally as *Msimu*, the one rainy season in the *Southeastern Plateau Cashew Livelihood Zone* begins in November and finishes at the end of April. In the months before the rains begin the remainder of the previous year's harvest is taken from the fields and either stored for household consumption or sold. These months also see households beginning to prepare land for the coming season. Households who can afford to hire people do so at this time to help with these labour-intensive land preparation activities. Most crops are planted in December or January, although new cassava stems may be put in the ground as early as mid-November. Maize, cassava, Bambara nut, groundnuts, sorghum, cowpeas and pigeon peas are all inter-cropped. Cashew trees are grown in separate groves. Weeding generally takes place during February and March, but some crops, like maize and pigeon peas, have a slightly longer window during which weeding is done; and others, like ground nuts and cowpeas slightly shorter. April is the month when most crops are ready to be eaten from the field and green consumption begins to fill the gap left after the previous year's stocks were depleted. Households begin the full harvest of their crops starting in mid-April with cowpeas, moving to groundnuts, Bambara nuts and maize in May, sorghum in June, and finally pigeon peas and cassava in July.

Casual labour opportunities are highest from February through August when agricultural activities are at their peak. The weeding period is particularly demanding, but labour is also hired for land preparation and for harvesting. Both men and women from poor and very poor households provide this daily labour at the request of middle and better off households, in exchange usually for cash. Men from poor households are hired also to help spray cashew trees from May through August. Migrant labourers from Mozambique work on local cashew plantations from May to December, supplementing the local labour supply.

During the dry season many households need to purchase water. It is typically the better off households, who have their own wells or who have constructed rain-harvesting receptacles to store water, who sell water to others in the village. Poorer households, with no agricultural labour opportunities available at this time, pursue other self-employment activities in the dry season, such as brick making and pole sales.

Human diseases, mainly malaria, peak during the middle of the rainy season (January – March). This coincides with the period of peak labour demand, potentially reducing the income poorer households can obtain from weeding labour (if productive household members are sick) while at the same time putting additional strain on their budget as medicines are required to treat the sick. This also coincides with lean season months when household food stocks from the previous harvest are gone and households need to use available cash to purchase food. Thus January through March is a notoriously difficult period in this zone, especially for poorer households.

## Wealth Breakdown



*Note : The wealth breakdown percentages reflect the mid-point of a range.*

The main determinant of wealth in the *Southeastern Plateau Cashew Livelihood Zone* is the amount of land cultivated and especially the amount of land cultivated with cashew trees. The poorer two groups make up just over half of the households in the zone (15 - 25% of households very poor and 35 - 40% of households poor); middle households comprise around 25 - 30% of the zone's households and better off 15 - 20%.

Very poor households cultivate between 1 - 2 acres of food crops and 1 - 2 acres of cashew trees. On the other end of the spectrum, better off households cultivate 3 - 6 acres of food crops and 10 - 15 acres of cashew trees. Poor households cultivate 1 - 3 acres of food crops and 2 - 4 acres of cashew trees; and middle households cultivate 2 - 4 acres of food crops and 5 - 9 acres of cashew trees. Land is prepared by hand for all wealth groups, which means that for households with anything above 3 acres of food crops and 5 acres of cashew trees, it is necessary to hire labour to help with agricultural tasks.

Cashew sales form the foundation of the economy and all households rely on income from cashew sales, with households at the top of the wealth spectrum benefiting most since they have the most trees. Better off households, cultivating 10 - 15 acres of cashew trees, can earn almost 6 million Tsh a year from cashew sales alone; and even poor households bring in over 1 million Tsh from this source.

The number of livestock owned corresponds to wealth, but it is not a major determinant of wealth. Livestock provide some additional income in the form of cash from livestock sales: mainly chickens for very poor households; and goats and chickens for poor, middle and better off households. Chickens and goats tend to be

slaughtered and eaten during festivals. Men are responsible for the livestock within the household.

All households, even the very poor, own a mobile phone, and middle and better off households own more than one mobile phone. All households also own at least one bicycle.

## Sources of Food

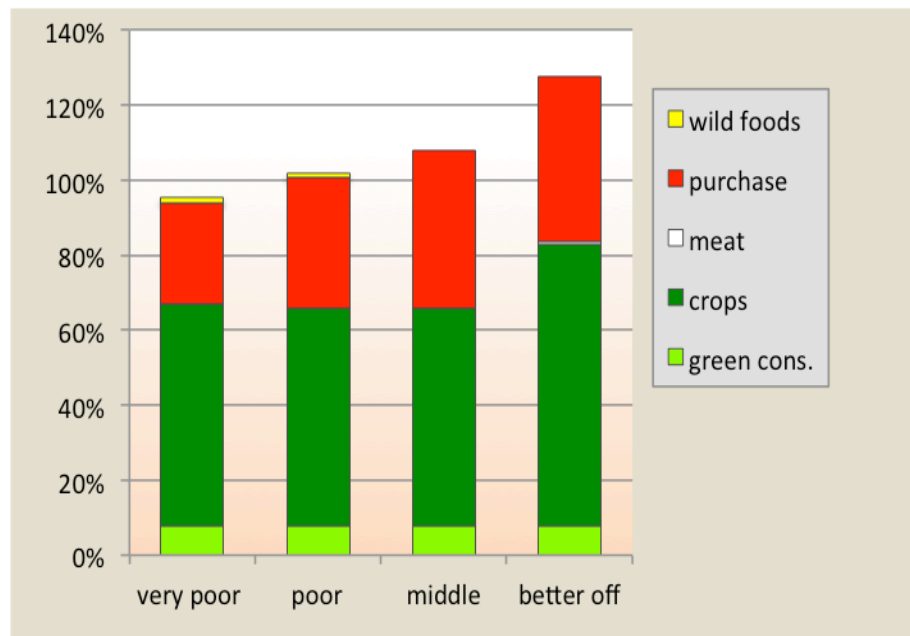
The bar charts in the graph to the right present sources of food for households in different wealth groups in the livelihood zone for the period April 2012 – March 2013. April represents the start of the consumption year because it marks the end of the hunger period, as people begin consuming green crops in significant quantities. Food is presented as a percentage of 2100 kcal per person per day for the 12-month period.

One of the most striking things about the bar charts to the right is the **lack** of real differentiation between wealth groups.

It is common in rural areas to see significant differences in the ways that households in different wealth groups obtain their food. These differences emerge because of variations in the productive capital that wealth groups have, such as arable land, livestock, household labour, and cash to hire labour and buy inputs. In this zone, however, where cashew nuts are the central cash crop, the main differences emerge not on the side of food income, but rather with cash income. And while the main food options and relative importance of them are not substantially different, it is important to note that very poor households do not manage to meet their minimum calorie requirements in a typical year, falling short by around 4%; whereas better off households well exceed them, generating over 120% of minimum household energy requirements.

In an average year (like the reference year) green consumption provides a solid start to the consumption period, contributing around 8% of annual calorie requirements for all wealth groups. Maize and cassava are the most important harvested crops, contributing between 43% and 49% of annual calories for very poor, poor and middle households, and an additional 54% of annual needs for better off households. Sorghum also contributes a small amount for middle and better off households. Pulses, specifically Bambara nuts, groundnuts and cowpeas, provide an additional 11-18% of annual calories.

Purchases are the second-most important source of food for all wealth groups. Rice, beans, sugar, meat, oil and dried fish are purchased by all households. Very poor, poor, and middle households also buy maize meal. Rice, a staple of choice, is purchased more frequently by better off households than very poor households, who cannot afford to buy as much of this higher value commodity. Similarly, purchased beans and oil contribute much more to the total food income of better off households than to poorer households. Over all, staple grain purchases (maize meal and rice) make up 10-15% of annual calorie needs for households in this zone; whereas non-staple food purchases (pulses, oil, sugar, meat, dried fish) comprise 8-



*In the graph, food access is expressed as a percentage of minimum food requirements, taken as an average food energy intake of 2100 kcal per person per day.*



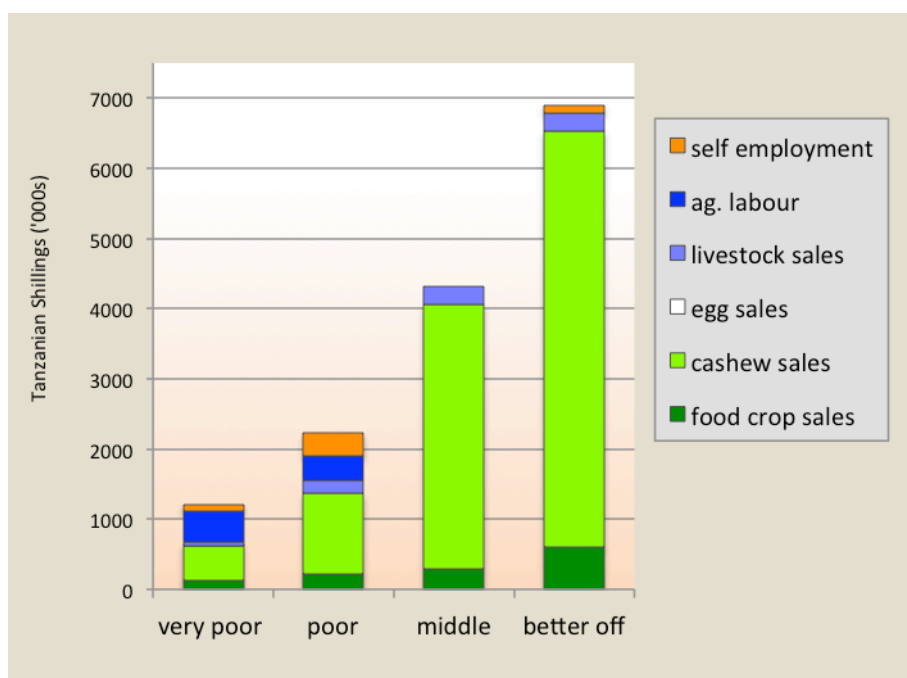
22% of calorie needs, with the higher figure representing middle and better off households.

Only better off households eat enough meat from their own livestock (goats, chickens) for it to register in terms of annual calorie contribution, but even then it is a very small amount, around 1%.

Ming'oko, a wild tuber, is gathered by very poor and poor households in most years from April through October, but the calorie contribution from this source is quite limited meeting only around 1% of annual needs. This shows up on the graph above as 'wild foods'.

## Sources of Cash Income

The income graph to the right illustrates why this zone has 'cashew' in its name. Almost all of the cash income generated by middle and better off households comes from the sale of cashews. Other more minor local income options include food crop sales, livestock sales, self-employment, agricultural labour and on a very small scale, egg sales.



The graph provides a breakdown of total annual cash income in Tanzanian Shillings according to income source.

Cashews are the main economic driver in this area. Middle and better off households derive around 85% of their total cash income from this one source alone.

INCOME SUMMARY TABLE (in Tanzanian Shillings)				
Wealth group	Very poor	Poor	Middle	Better off
Annual income per household <sup>2</sup>	1,000,000-1,500,000	1,500,000 – 3,000,000	3,000,000 – 5,500,000	5,500,000 – 8,500,000

Very poor and poor households also rely heavily on cashew income, making up around 40 and 50% of total cash income from this source, respectively. It is important to remember, however, that with this reliance also comes risk; a significant drop in cashew prices or an untreatable cashew tree disease would bring devastation to this zone.

All households also rely to varying degrees on food crop sales. The most profitable of these are Bambara and ground nuts, and to a lesser extent cowpeas. Maize and cassava are the other two crops sold. In fact, in terms of absolute quantities, households sell more maize and cassava than pulses, but the price for these two staples is significantly lower than for the pulses. For the same amount of maize sold by a very poor household, it can get around 550% more income by selling Bambara nuts, and 490% more for groundnuts. These high value pulses comprise around 80%, 70%, 60% and 64% of cash income from food crop sales (the

<sup>2</sup> The average exchange rate from April 2012 – March 2013 was US\$1 = TZS1,560

dark green bar in the charts above) for very poor, poor, middle and better off households respectively. The remainder of food crop cash income comes from maize and cassava. Better off households sell large quantities of cassava and obtain significant cash income from it, more than any other group. Income from maize sales is least important for very poor households, who sell only around 60 kg a year and obtain the lowest price for their maize (around half of what poor, middle and better off households receive) since they need to sell right after harvest, when prices are lowest, and when their cash needs are acute.

Local agricultural labour is an important component of cash income for very poor and poor households, comprising around 35% and 14% of total annual cash income, respectively. Land preparation, weeding, tree spraying and harvesting require a great deal of labour and need to be completed during particular times of the year in order to maximize yields. Better off and middle households have more crop land and cashew trees than they can manage on their own, so they hire poorer households (both men and women) to supplement their own household labour pool. Weeding brings in the most cash for very poor households, equivalent to the cash they get for land preparation and harvesting combined. Labour for spraying tends to come from poor (not very poor) households, who also provide weeding labour (but usually not land preparation and harvesting labour).

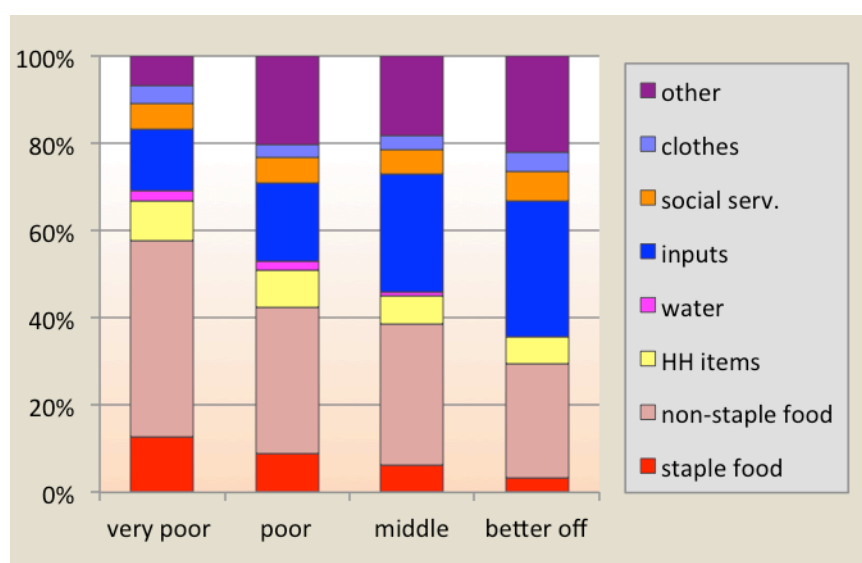
Households on the poorer end of the wealth spectrum also generate some of their cash income from self-employment activities. In this zone that means mainly pole sales for very poor households and brick sales for poor households. Very poor households do not have even the small amounts of extra cash to buy the inputs necessary for brick making and are therefore limited to selling building poles (which they collect themselves). Poor households can generate around 300,000 Tsh a year selling bricks; very poor households obtain less than 100,000 a year selling poles. On the income graph above, the self-employment bar for better off households is comprised of cash income derived from selling water during the dry period (June – October) when local drinkable water sources are hard to find.

Finally, livestock sales are another way that households in this zone obtain cash. Goats and chickens are sold by poor, middle and better off households, and eggs are sold by very poor households. The amounts of cash generated from these sales are not substantial, especially when compared to cashew income. However, very poor and poor households need every bit of money they can get; what very poor households get from chicken sales can cover the households' clothes expenditure for the year, or help to pay for school fees. And better off households can cover their staple food costs with what they get from selling livestock. So in the end even these small amounts matter.

## Expenditure Patterns

The graph to the right presents expenditure patterns for the reference year April 2012 – March 2013. While total expenditure increases with wealth (as shown in the cash income section), the expenditure breakdown by per cent in this graph shows the *relative* amount of income spent on different categories.

In this zone, the proportion of cash income spent on food (staple and non-staple) decreases as you move up the wealth spectrum.



The graph provides a breakdown of total annual cash expenditure according to category of expenditure



Particularly notable is the large proportion spent by very poor households on non-staple food and the small relative expenditure on staple food by better off households. It is important to note that in absolute terms, better off households actually spend about 1.4 times as much as very poor households do on staple food, and over 3 times as much on non-staple food. But as a proportion of their income, this spending takes a lot more out of very poor households' limited budgets. As mentioned above in the section on **Sources of Food**, poor and very poor households buy both maize meal and rice to help fill a gap in their staple food needs as neither of these households is able to produce enough of their own crops to cover their calorie needs throughout the year. Very poor households buy around a sack of maize meal, which is cheaper than rice, every year along with around 50 kg of rice; poor households buy slightly more maize meal and about the same amount of rice. Better off households, on the other hand, buy only rice (around 144 kg), preferring it over maize meal. In addition, all households buy beans, which contribute an important source of protein, with the amount increasing as you move up the wealth continuum. Better off households spend around one and a half times as much on beans alone as on all their staple grain expenditure. Sugar, meat, oil and dried fish comprise the remainder of non-staple food expenditure. Again, the absolute amount spent increases with wealth. Better off households spend more on dried fish alone than very poor households spend on all non-staple foods combined.

Agricultural inputs are the biggest category of expenditure for better off households, and for all other wealth groups, these costs are second only to non-staple food. The main input requirement for all households in this zone is the pesticides used to spray their cashew trees, and every household must spend a large proportion of their annual income to ensure their trees remain productive. For very poor households this can represent a huge burden, equivalent to more than their combined annual costs of school, medicine, clothing, and transportation. With spraying taking place during June, July and August, much of what very poor and poor households earn from casual labour during the months of February through August must be spent procuring inputs for their trees. Middle and better off households also have to cover the cost of hiring labour. Hiring labour is actually the biggest input cost for better off households – more than pesticides and seeds/tools combined.

Household items, such as tea, salt, soap, kerosene, utensils and the cost of grinding also place a greater burden on very poor and poor households than on middle and better off. These are incremental costs, incurred on a weekly basis that add up to a surprising amount by the end of the year, equivalent to more than very poor, poor and middle households spend on either social services (like health and education) or on clothes. All three bottom wealth groups also need to buy water during the dry season.

Very poor and poor households spend a good deal less on social services (school and health care) than middle and better off households. These bottom two groups can only afford to send their children to primary school, whereas better off households send their children to nursery school, kindergarten, primary and secondary school, with some even attending college. Better off households spend almost 6 times more than very poor households on education. They can also afford to pay more for health care, sending family members to private health centres and hospitals, while poorer households have to make due with the local dispensaries.

The 'other' category of expenditure includes items like transportation, gifts and social obligations, beer, tobacco, cigarettes, and phone credit. Clearly better off households have more money left over to spend on these discretionary items after taking care of their basic requirements.

## Hazards

The *Southeastern Plateau Cashew Livelihood Zone* is subject to a number of hazards, some of which undermine food security every year while others threaten food security periodically. The main hazards affecting the zone, in order of severity, are:

**Erratic rains** occur in some parts of the zone every year due to localised climatic conditions. But for any one area, a poor rain year occurs once every five years.

**Crop pests and diseases**, such as Powdery mildew, Cashew blight, Anthracnose, Cassava brown streak, and Cassava mosaic cause a threat every year.

**Human diseases**, particularly malaria, occurs every year during the rainy season. This reduces the labour available for agricultural activities and other productive work, and increases expenditure required for medicines.

**Cashew nut price variability** occurs every year putting households at risk of income gaps.

**Livestock diseases**, such as Foot and Mouth disease (cattle and goats), Newcastle disease (chickens) and CAPP (goats) occur regularly as well – typically during the wet season for cattle and shoats.

## Response Strategies

Households engage in a number of strategies in an attempt to cope with hazards and bad years. The responses vary by wealth group, with better off households increasing their income using their financial and physical capital, and poorer households depending more heavily on re-deploying their own labour.

**Poorer households** first reduce their spending on non-essential items, such as mobile phone service, clothing, sugar, meat, cigarettes and tobacco. They also try to increase earnings from casual labour, although this is often limited in bad years because increased competition for existing labour opportunities means that usually fewer jobs are available at lower pay. And better off households often reduce their expenditure on labour in bad years, thus limiting further opportunities for poorer households to earn income. These households also attempt to sell more goats, chickens and eggs – again a limited strategy given their small herd/flock sizes. In addition they will attempt to increase the number of bricks made and sold, and increase pole sales. During the months when wild foods are available, they will spend more time digging and collecting wild foods, both for sale and household consumption. Ultimately, during bad years, poorer households try to increase their income by whatever limited means available in order to purchase more food to fill the gap left by poor production. But when these strategies fail, they are forced to reduce consumption.

Better off households respond to bad years by limiting purchases of non-essential items, like clothing, cigarettes, sugar and meat. They attempt to sell more livestock. And they reduce the amount of money they spend on hired labour.

## Key Parameters for Monitoring

The key parameters listed in the table below are food and income sources that make a substantial contribution to the household economy in the *Southeastern Plateau Cashew Livelihood Zone*. These should be monitored to indicate potential losses or gains to local household economies, either through on-going monitoring systems or through periodic assessments.

It is also important to monitor the prices of key items on the **expenditure** side, including staple and non-staple food items.

Item	Key Parameter – Quantity	Key Parameter – Price
<b>Crops</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Maize</li> <li>Bambara nut</li> <li>Groundnuts</li> <li>Cow peas</li> <li>Cassava</li> <li>Cashew nuts</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Cashew – producer price</li> <li>Bambara nuts – producer price</li> <li>Groundnuts – producer price</li> </ul>
<b>Livestock production</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Goat herd size</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Goat prices</li> </ul>
<b>Other food and cash income</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Land preparation demand</li> <li>Weeding demand</li> <li>Harvesting demand</li> <li>Spraying demand</li> <li>Demand for bricks &amp; poles</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Agricultural labour rates</li> <li>Brick rates</li> <li>Pole rates</li> </ul>
<b>Expenditure</b>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Maize meal – consumer price</li> <li>Rice – consumer price</li> </ul>

## Programme Implications

The longer-term programme implications suggested below include those that were highlighted by the wealth group interviewees themselves and those made by the assessment team following detailed discussions and observations in the field. These represent potential areas of further investigation and would require detailed feasibility studies and cost-benefit analyses. They are organized into four categories: social service provision, agriculture/livestock service provision; Income generation/livelihood strategy support; and market support.

Social Service Provision	Agriculture Service Provision
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Improve sources of water</li> <li>Improve health services</li> <li>Provide electricity</li> <li>Improve school facilities and increase number of teachers</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Provide agricultural inputs and improved seeds to improve yields.</li> <li>Provide agricultural extension services</li> <li>Provide agricultural loans and subsidies</li> </ul>
	<b>Market Support</b>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Improve price &amp; market for cashew nuts</li> <li>Build more local warehouses for safe storage of produce</li> <li>Keep price of household items affordable through subsidies or price ceilings</li> <li>Improve infrastructure</li> </ul>