Tajikistan Food Security Monitoring

Highlights

- Trends in the May 2016 round of FSMS indicate that the food security situation has deteriorated in Tajikistan compared to the findings of the last FSMS round (Dec 2015); food insecure households have increased of 5% compared to round 16 (Dec 2015) and of 6% compared to round 15 (April 2015).
- Household food consumption, measured through the Food Consumption Score (FCS), improved in May 2016 compared to the last Dec 2015 round, reflecting the expected seasonal trend.
- Economic contraction in the Russian Federation and the depreciation of Russian rouble have caused remittance reduction in Tajikistan, possibly influencing the food security status of the household relying on remittances.
- The percentage of the households reporting the **experience of high food price and natural shocks** increased in the first half of 2016.
- The percentage of the households that adopted coping strategies to manage their food needs had gone downward in trend over the past few years, but it bounced up in the first half of 2016.

Context and Recent Developments

Tajikistan is a landlocked, lower-middle income, food deficit country with a population of approximately eight million, three quarters of whom live in rural areas. The mountainous landscape confines the arable area to just seven percent of the country's surface and poses enormous challenges to food security during the winter period. It is the poorest in the Commonwealth of Independent States, with 47 percent of the population living on less than USD 1.33 a day and 17 percent subsisting on less than USD 0.85 a day. Tajikistan ranks 129 out of 188 countries on the Human Development Index.

The majority of the population spends between 70-80 percent of their income on food yet around one fifth of the population is affected by food insecurity. According to findings of the 2015 Global Hunger Index (GHI) and FAO, Tajikistan tops malnutrition among the former Soviet republics and 33.2 percent of Tajikistan's population is suffering from undernourishment. Malnutrition remains an issue in Tajikistan.

Inflation rate during January to June 2016 period is reported at 5.5 percent (National Bank of Tajikistan, June 2016) and annual GDP growth is reported at 4.2 percent (World Bank, 2015). Agriculture sector comprises 20 percent of the GDP and employs to 53 percent of the population. Furthermore, imports of goods and services make up 68.3 percent of the GDP (World Bank, 2015).

From January to June 2016, more than 308,600 labour migrants have reportedly left to work in the Russian Federation (over 99 percent of the total migrants), Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan. During the same period, 106,400 labour migrants have returned back to Tajikistan. Remittances, predominantly from migrants working in Russia, account for approximately 43 percent of Tajikistan's Gross Domestic Product (GDP). The recent reduction in volume and frequency of remittances, due to reduced migration, is negatively impacting household food security, whereby 80 percent of remittances are used by Tajik households to purchase food. The reduction in migration is due to legislative changes in the Russian Federation that introduced strict regulations for foreign migrants, because of the on-going economic crisis.







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Overall Food Security

Figure 1. Overall Food Security Status

57% 60% 100% 13% 16% 49% 90% 20% 25% 50% 28% 80% 40% 70% Food secure of Households 60% 29% Marginally Food 55% 30% 65% 25% 50% 59% Secure 56% Moderately 40% 20% 17% Insecure 14% % Severely Insecure 30% 8% 10% 20% 2% 10% 0% Severely food Moderately food Marginally food Food secure 0% insecure insecure secure Dec Apr Dec Mav Apr 2014 2014 2015 2015 2016 Female Headed HHs Male Headed HHs

The food security situation has deteriorated in Tajikistan, following a seasonal cycle; additionally, the percentage of food insecure households appears to be increasing over the past two years. About 16 percent of Tajikistan's rural population is food secure, 55 percent marginally food secure, **25 percent moderately food insecure, and 3 percent severely food insecure.**

Percentage of food insecure households has increased by 6 percent compared to April 2015, and increased by 5 percent compared to December 2015. 3 percent of the interviewed households are severely insecure. In line with the seasonal trend, the percentage of food secure households has fluctuated; while the percentage of food secure households decreased by 5 percent between December 2014 and April 2015; it decreased by 12 percent between December 2016.

In addition, female headed households had a tendency to be more food insecure as of May 2016. 36.7% of female headed households and 26.4% of male headed households were classified as food insecure.



Household food consumption, measured though the Food Consumption Score (FCS), **improved in May 2016 compared to the last surveyed round (Dec 2015), reflecting the expected seasonal trend.** 19 percent of the households were found to have poor or borderline consumption patterns in May 2016. This is a decrease from December 2015 by 3 percent; an increase from April 2015 by 3 percent.

Households with an acceptable FCS without dependence on coping strategies decreased from 63 percent in Dec 2015 to 60 percent in May 2016. Though, in comparison to the same period in April 2015, the percentage of households relying on food-based coping strategies with

Figure 2. Household headship and Food Security

an acceptable FCS score is 4 percent lower this round. Female headed households have a tendency to be more food insecure. About 30 percent of female headed households had 'poor' and 'borderline' FCS, compared to 16 percent among male headed households.

Figure 5. Frequencies of Food Group Intake



Households classified as 'poor' had vegetables only once a week and did not consume meat, pulses, fruits and dairy products during the week. The 'borderline' group consumed meat, pulses, fruits and dairy products only once a week, which is slightly better than the 'Poor' group, but for the same food groups, food consumption frequencies remain less compared to 'acceptable' group.

It is also note worthy that the diet of the 'Poor' group mainly consists more of staple food like cereals and oil, but still did not consume other micronurtient sourced products with calcium, vitamins and iron.

Figure 6. Dietary Diversity (number of food groups)





Figure 7. Household Headship & number of food groups

Dietary diversity status has steadily exacerbated, despite the seasonal trend. The percentage of households that consumed more than 6 food groups in the last seven days prior to the survey decreased by 13 percent compared to December 2015; decreased by 1 percent compared to April 2015. In the meantime, the percentage of the households which consumed 0-4 food groups increased by 5% compared to December 2015; increased by 2% compared to April 2015. This may imply that more households are consuming a less balanced diet.

Male headed households reported to have consumed a relatively more diversified diet than female headed households. While 32.7 percent of the female headed households consumed 0-4 food groups, 21.3 percent of male headed household had 0-4 food groups.

Economic Context

Figure 8. Exchange Rate

90

80

70

60 Rouble

50

30

10

0

40 USD

-20



Figure 9. Consumer Price Index¹ (Food)

Economic shocks in Tajikistan continued since 2015. The value of the USD in Tajik Somoni had risen and remained at the peak since February 2016. The of Russian rouble had steadily increased until February 2016, but has decreased until June 2016 even though the figure still remains higher compared to last year. This depreciation of Rouble may be due to the economic contraction in the Russian federation, leading to migrant job loss and reduction of remittance. As highly relying on remittances, this may be a challenge to those households that receive remittances. The food consumer price index, however, has remained relatively stable with a low fluctuation based on seasons. In this round of survey, reduced remittances and an increase in food prices may have played a significant role in terms of food security.

Economic Shock: Remittance and Food Security

Households that received remittances for the past three months are likely to be more food secure². Among the households that received remittances for the past three months, 12 percent experienced a lower frequency in the remittances received compared to the same season in 2015. 29 percent of the households that did not receive remittances are categorized as food insecure while 23 percent of the households that did not receive remittances are classified as food insecure.



Figure 10. Remittance as Primary Income Source and Household Food Security

1 Source: Statistical Agency under the President of the Republic of Tajikistan 2 Correlation significance at the 0.05 level

Figure 11. Remittance Received and Food Consumption Score

Nevertheless, the percentage of food insecure households that rely on remittance as primary income source has significantly increased in this round of FSMS. In Figure 10, while 13 percent of the food insecure households was observed among the households which rely on remittances as income source, the figure increased to 34 percent in May 2016. This may be attributed to the economic contraction in the Russian federation and depreciation of Rouble.

Households that received remittances for the past three months had higher Food Consumption score. 18.4 percent of the households that did not receive remittances are categorized with 'poor' or 'borderline' food consumption score (FCS). Households not affected by remittances in the past three months account for 16 percent of 'poor' and 'borderline' FCS. On the other hand, households that experienced a change in the amount of remittances received make up a higher percentage of the food insecure groups – 20 percent.

Figure 12. Changes in Remittances received and Household Wellbeing



Households receiving remittances decreased along with the frequency and volume of remittances, affecting household wellbeing despite the increased income reliance on remittances.

Households that received remittances dropped by 3 percent compared to December 2015. Households that reported lower frequency and reduced volume of remittances increased by 1 percent and 2 percent, compared to December 2015.

Consequently, 40 percent of the households reported that their wellbeing was deteriorated by a change in remittances. In particular, in Eastern and Central Zeravshan, Western Pamir Valley and North Agro-Industrial zones, more than half of the households who received remittances over the past three months responded that their wellbeing was worsened by a change in remittances.



Figure 13: Household Remittance Reliance by Livelihood Zones

Reduction in remittance is also reflected in the analysis at regional level. On average, while remittance reliance rose in Eastern and Central Zeravshan, Panjakent, Kurgan Tyube and Rasht valley, other regions have reported a decline in remittances received. Regions with a lower percentage of remittance dependent households, however, may have been affected by the economic contraction in the Russia Federation, as it may have caused less job opportunities for or job losses of the migrant workers. Considering the remittance dependency rate in Tajikistan, this could be affecting many households and contributing to food insecurity.

Economic and Natural Shocks

Figure 14: Household Remittance Reliance by Livelihood Zones



60% 52% 50% 47% 42% 41% 40% 389 36% 34% Households 349 31% 30% 30% 28% 29% of 26% % 209 20% 18% 18% 16% 16% 14% 10% 4% 2% 0% Reduced Crop pests & Severe weather Landslides/Flooding Harvest failure agricultural water diseases conditions Apr 2014 Dec 2014 Apr 2015 Dec 2015 May 2016

Figure 15: Natural Shocks

High food prices has remained as the main economic shock for the past two years. In May 2016, 86 percent of households responded that they were challenged by high food price, which was a 7 percent leap from December 2015; a 2 percent increase compared to April 2015 - interviewed households.

High fuel prices was the second most reported economic shock. Fewer households reported being negatively affected by high fuel prices since Dec 2015 with decrease of 12 percent; however, households reporting high fuel prices as an economic shock increased of 7 percent in May 2016 compared to April 2015.

Loss of employment or reduced income was the third most reported economic shock. It affected 1 percent more households in May 2016 compare to Dec 2015, and 4 percent fewer households in comparison to April 2015. Similarly, 11 percent of households reported increased return of labour migrants, which is 2 percent lower than in April 2015.

More households reported natural disasters and agricultural challenges compared to previous rounds. Natural disasters such as landslides or flooding impacted 15.1 percent more households in May 2016 compared to April 2015. Notable were flooding and mudflows in Rudaki (Direct Ruled Districts) and Panjakent districts where 5,500 people and 1,300 households were directly hit. Consequently, 15.7 percent more households reported being impacted by severe weather conditions in comparison to April 2015.

Furthermore, an unusually high level of crop pests and diseases affected 32 percent more households in May 2016 compared to April 2015, likely due to warmer temperatures. An alarmingly 10.4 percent more households reported harvest failure due to weather conditions in May 2016 compared to April 2015. 11 percent of households also reported Loss of savings in May 2016 compared to April 2015.

Coping Strategies

Figure 16. Household Coping Strategy Index



Figure 17. Food Consumption Coping Strategies



28 percent of the households reduced expenditures on health care and 22 percent of the households curtailed investments in agriculture, including expenditures for fertilizer, pesticide and veterinary care.

The proportion of households using the two strategies above increased by 7 percent compared to December 2015; 10 percent compared to April 2015. This might entail risks for economic sustainability and for the health care and nutritional status of the most vulnerable groups.

Nevertheless, respondents applying asset depletion strategies such as selling domestic and productive assets, and selling animals remaining unchanged, but households in Eastern and Western Pamir, Rasht, Panjakent and Khatlon Rainfed Wheat Zones reported to have used these strategies more frequently than others.

In response to economic and natural shocks in Tajikistan, households have adopted more reduced coping strategies³ in May 2016, compared to the past four years.

The reduced coping strategy index has displayed a negative trend, but the figure increased to 22.1 percent in May 2016. The 8 points increase from December 2015 may be in response to the on-going economic shocks.

Overall, households coping necessities are more stressed in May 2016 compared to the last 5 rounds of FSMS. In comparison with the same period of 2012 and 2014, the reduced coping strategy index (Figure 16), which is based on five food consumption related strategies, has deteriorated.

Most common consumption-based strategies applied by household are related to less preferred and lower quality food types, limiting portions of meal, followed by reducing number of meals eaten in a day.

The most widely applied food consumption strategy in May 2016 was the reliance on less expensive food, applied by 46 percent of households, sharply raised by 15 percent from December 2015 and by 9 percent in April 2015.

Percentage of the households that limited portion size of meals increased by 4 percent; that of the households that consumed seed stocks held for the next season increased by 10 percent; that of the households that reduced number of meals eaten in a day increased by 3 percent compared to December 2015. In the meantime, coping strategies such restriction of adults' consumption, restriction of consumption by women and skipping entire days without meals, remain relatively the same since December 2014.



Figure 18. Households' Asset Depletion Strategies

³ The reduced coping strategy index is based on the most common set of coping behaviours across countries, such as reduced number of meals, limit portion size, and reflects the stress level of the household (the higher the score, the higher the stress level).

Figure 19. Households' Livelihood Diversification



Household Income and Food Security

Proportions among primary income sources remains Figure 20. Household Income Source Strategies relatively unchanged among interviewed households, except daily wage labour. The percentage dropped by 7 percent, possibly due to fewer job opportunities in construction field or in the regional centers and seasonal migration to the Russian Federation.

18 percent of households reported remittances as the most significant income source in May 2016. Salaried and government jobs (17 percent) remain fairly stable compared with the same seasons in previous years. Incomes related to agriculture have risen from 14 to 17 percent from April 2015, with the highest percentage of households depending on agriculture found in the mountain areas of Khatlon (41 percent) and Rasht valley (37 percent).

Households whose primary income comes from pensions or from daily wage labour are more likely to be severely food insecure than households with other main sources of income.

A higher proportion of the households relying on pension are more food insecure. Out of the households that depended on pension funds, 18 percent of the households reported to be food secure, while 24 percent reported to be severely food insecure. Similarly, those depending on daily wage labour are more likely to be food insecure. Only 6 percent of households relying on daily wage labour reported to be food secure, while 26 percent of the households reported to be severely food insecure and received primary income through daily wage labour. On the contrary, Those households primarily receiving income from Production and Sale, Salary/Government job and Remittances had higher percentage of food secure group.

19 percent of food secure group identified remittance as a primary income source, 16% of food insecure group had remittance as a main income source.

49 percent of the households responded that they attained food on credit and a large proportion were relying on support from relatives and friends. Both of these strategies might be attributed to reduced opportunities to diversify livelihoods due to the economic slowdown. However, households increased their risk due to deteriorating situation with reinforcement of the negative impact of debt.

An increased tendency of coping through purchasing food on credit and relying on help from relatives, are likely the result of low income, including low remittances and unemployment. Labour migration decreased by 2 percent compared to last year, which is indicative of reduced migration opportunities.



Figure 21. Household Income Source and Food Insecurity



Food Stocks

Fewer households reported to have Figure 23. Household Food Stocks

food stocks than in the past. 53 percent of respondents possessed overall food stocks, 10 percent less compared to April 2015. Largest difference can be observed in households with wheat flour stocks during the same period. In May 2016, only 43 percent of interviewed households stored wheat four compared to 55 percent in the same season of 2015. Many households reported to have depleted their food stocks for main staple products including oil and rice. 31 percent of the households reported that they would be able to sufficiently stock for the coming months. However, in 7 Livelihood zones, more than 75 of the families interviewed reported not having enough stock for the coming months (compared to last year, when only 4 Livelihood zones).



Household Expenditure

Figure 24. Share of Household Food Expenditure







Household expenditure pattern was highly associated with household food security status. The lower is the share of households expenditure spent on food, the higher is the household food security, as food expenditure is one of the indicators of food security index. In addition, the higher is the share of the total household expenditure spent on non-food items including healthcare, water, and education, the more food secure the household is.

Food Expenditures: Overall, 77 percent of interviewed households spent over 50 percent of their total expenditure on food. The proportion increased by 6% compared to April 2015; and increased by 15% compared to December 2015. Food expenditure proportions remained particularly high in remote areas with low agriculture production, which are heavily dependent on markets with higher food prices due to transportation expenses. Western Pamir valley, Khatlon Mountain and Rain Fed, Eastern and Central Zeravshan valley have large proportion of households spending three forth of their expenditure to cover the food needs of the family.

Non-Food Expenditures: 98.3% of the households spent up to 5 percent of the total monthly expenditure on water either for drinking or irrigation. 79.9 percent of the households spent up to 5% of the total expenditure on health care and 70.2 percent of the households spent up to 5 percent of the total expenditure on drugs (medical expense). In addition, for education purposes, 95.5% households reported to have spent up to 5 percent of the total expenditure.

Child Nutritional Status

Figure 26. Acute and Chronic malnutrition



Infant and Young Child Feeding









Anthropometric measurements were taken on 979 children 6-59 months old. Due to the survey structure and sample design, the Nutritional status of measured children is not representative for the population of Tajikistan, but it is indicative for the households included in the FSMS. **Acute and chronic malnutrition appears to be an issue among surveyed children, of which over 6.4 percent children were wasted, 13.3 percent underweight and 30.4 percent stunted. The severity of the situation for the surveyed children is classified as "poor" in term of acute malnutrition (wasting) and "serious" in terms of chronic malnutrition (stunting), based on the World Health Organization (WHO) standard⁴.**

Prevalence of wasting (acute malnutrition) is high among children aged 6-17 months. Children in this particular age group are more vulnerable, and malnutrition is likely to be related to breast-feeding and delayed introduction of appropriate complementary food. Stunting (chronic malnutrition) is prevalent in the age group 18-59 months. Chronic household food insecurity plays a critical role in child growth and development.

During this round of FSMS, a total number of 1,172 children under 5 years of age were surveyed to assess infant and young child feeding practices. Age distribution of the surveyed children is provided in Figure 20.

Breast feeding practice in children aged 0-5 months (a day before the survey) increased from 69 percent in Dec 2015 to 88 percent in May 2016. Among those who were breastfed at the age of 0-5 months, 39 percent were exclusively breast fed. There is an increase in maternal practice in exclusive breast-feeding as compared to the previous year (34 percent). Among 49 percent of the non-exclusively breast-fed children, 44 percent received plain water; 31 percent sugary water; 31 percent fruit juice; 27 percent tea, and 20 percent milk or milk products.

practice. Complementary feeding Τt is recommended that introduction of complimentary feeding (giving solid or semi-solids to infants in addition to breast milk) start at the age 6 months, considering breast milk is no longer sufficient to maintain the child's growth above six months. A large proportion of children were introduced semi-solid food at the age of six months (65 percent wheat, potatoes or other roots and tubers). The proportion of timely introduction of complementary food at the age of 6 months increased from 35 percent in 2015 to 63 percent in 2016. At the age of 24 months, 8 percent of children continued being breastfeed and 98 percent of children were consuming solid, semisolid food.

4 World Health Organization standart thresholds: Underweight - <10% acceptable, 10-19% poor, 20-29% serious, ≥30% critical; Stunting - <20% acceptable, 20-29% poor, 30-39% serious, ≥40% critical; Wasting - <5% acceptable, 5-9% Poor, 10-14% Serious, ≥ 15% Critical

Figure 29. Feeding history/pattern per age group



Figure 22 highlights the diet of children under 5 years leans toward tea, grains, roots and tubers. 65 percentof the children aged 6-23 consumed grains, roots or tubers while 94 percentof of the children 24-59 consumed the same food items. On the other hand, only about one third of children 24-59 months received eggs, meat, chicken, fish and legumes. This percentage goes further down among children 6-23 months of age. Also very small proportion of children consume other vegetables and fruits, pulses or animal products. To note, animal product and pulses⁵ are iron-rich food, and it displays that consumption of iron is limited for the children aged under 5. Additionally, consumption of tea - notably black tea, but also green - decreases the absorption of iron.

Only 12 percent of breastfed children and 33 percent of non-breastfed children aged 6-23 months received foods from 4 or more food groups⁶ (minimum dietary diversity).

Furthermore, only 14 percent of non-breastfed children aged 6-23 months and 19 percent breastfed children 9-23 months were consumed the minimum number of times recommended per day⁷⁸(Minimum meal frequency). While in round 16 FSMS, 17 percent of non-breastfed children aged 6-23 months and 37 percent of breastfed children 9-23 months were fed the minimum number times recommended.

To conclude, although exclusive breastfeeding rates among children, under 6 months and initiation of complimentary feeding at appropriate age improved compared to the information collected in the December 2015 round of FSMS, the low dietary diversity and inadequate meal frequency of young children remains a big concern.

⁵ Pulses refer to beans, peas, lentils, any nuts.

⁶ Food groups: a. infant formula, milk other than breast milk, cheese or yogurt or other milk products; b. foods made from grains, roots, and tubers, including porridge and fortified baby food from grains; c. vitamin A-rich fruits and vegetables; d. other fruits and vegetables; e. eggs; f. meat, poultry, fish, and shellfish (and organ meats); g. legumes and nuts.

⁷ Minimum is defined as 3 times for breastfed children 9-23 months; 4 times for non-breastfed children 6-23 months.

⁸ World Health Organization, (2010) Indicator for assessing infant and young child feeding practices, Geneva: WHO

Child Malnutrition and Food SecurityPractices

Maps below displays the prevalence of food insecurity and acute malnutrition (wasting). Household food security status appears to be related to wasting. Livelihood zone 3, 4, 7 and 9 are the one where prevalence of the two indicators is severe. Districts with the highest food insecurity levels were likely to have high prevalence in wasting.

On the other hand, Livelihood zone 5, 8, and 12 appeared to have lower percentage of food insecure households and wasted children. This, however, may be attributed to better access to markets, better road infrastructure along with better job opportunities in urban centers, better agricultural productivity and access to lands and other income sources resulting in better food consumption.

Remittances appeared to be related to wasting. Wasting was more likely to be witnessed in the households with the recent reduction in remittance frequency⁹ and volume¹⁰. Livelihood zone 2, 3, 9 and 10 were highly remittance dependent and because of the economic downturn, reflect poor food security and nutrition levels.

In addition, analysis showed that acute and chronic under-nutrition (under-weight) was related to care factors. A child who was underweight was likely to reside in a household with the higher number of residents in house¹¹, higher proportion of expenditure on healthcare¹², and higher expenditure share on schooling¹³.

Outlook

- The overall food security situation is expected to be slightly improved during the next six months (July- December 2016), following the seasonal trend with harvest season.
- Food availability is expected to seasonally improve in coming months. Access to food could follow a similar trend, if prices for staple foods stay stable/decrease. Current high proportions of food expenditure, particularly in remote areas, indicate a stretch of household resources for food, which is difficult to offset.
- Wheat production in Tajikistan, according to latest FAO's forecast, is estimated at 1 million tons, 18 percent up from 2015 and sufficient to cover about 50 percent of total domestic needs.
- The continuing recession in the Russian Federation, however, has had an impact on economic situation of Tajikistan, and the impact may prolong and household food security, especially of those that rely on remittances, remain the concern. A close monitoring of the food security is required.

⁹ Correlation significance at the 0.01 level

¹⁰ Correlation significance at the 0.05 level

¹¹ Correlation significance at the $0.01 \ \text{level}$

¹² Correlation significance at the 0.05 level

¹³ Correlation significance at the 0.05 level

Prevalence of Food Insecurity and Wasting



13

- 7 Khatlon Rainfed Wheat and Livestock Zone
- 11 Ghonchi and Istaravshan Rainfed Cereal,
- Fruit, and Vegetable Zone 12 - North Sughd Agro-Industrial Zone
- 13 Khatlon Agro-Industrial Peri-urban Zone

- 3- Western Pamir Irrigated Agriculture Zone
- 4 Rasht Valley Irrigated Potato Zone
- 8 Central and Eastern Tajikistan Agro-Industrial Zone 9 - Eastern and Central Zeravshan Valley Agro-Pastoral Zone

Food Security Situation Overview

	/			
Food Security Zones	Current status/action points	FS Trend compared to Apr 2015	3 months outlook	6 months outlook
Livelihood Zone 1: Eastern Pamir Plateau Livestock Zone	Poor dietary diversity. High food and fuel prices. High prevalence of households with children stunted	÷	Ŷ	÷
Livelihood Zone 2: Western Pamir Valley Migratory Work Zone	High rate of food-related coping strategies with changes in diet to less preferred or less nutritious foods. High percent of food expenditure. Prolonging impact of the severe weather conditions and consequent loss of harvest experienced.	¥	÷	÷
Livelihood Zone 3: Western Pamir Irrigated Agriculture Zone	Dietary diversity deteriorated. High food and health expenditures. Serious Prevalence of children wasted and very high prevalence of children underweight.	¥	÷	÷
Livelihood Zone 4: Rasht Valley Irrigated Potato Zone	High percentage of households with poor and borderline food consumption score. Poor dietary diversity.Serious prevalence of wasting.	Ŷ	÷	÷
Livelihood Zone 5: Khatlon Mountain Agro- Pastoral Zone	High percent of food expenditure. Limited access to the markets and high food prices in the remote areas. Very high revalence of stunting.	÷	÷	Ŷ
Livelihood Zone 6: Southern Khatlon Cotton, Vegetable and Wheat Zone	High percentage of households with poor and borderline food consumption. Adoption of various coping strategies. Lack of irrigation water and low access to agriculture land.	Ŷ	÷	÷
Livelihood Zone 7: Khatlon Rain fed Wheat and Livestock Zone	High percentage of households with poor and borderline food consumption. High rate of food expenditures and poor dietary diversity. Adoption of various coping strategies. Poor prevalence of wasting	¥	÷	¥
Livelihood Zone 8: Central and Eastern Tajikistan Agro-Industrial Zone	Food consumption deteriorated. Increased food expenditures.	\mathbf{A}	÷	÷
Livelihood Zone 9: Eastern and Central Zeravshan Valley Agro-pastoral Zone	Highest percentage of households with poor and moderate food consumption score. Poor dietary diversity. High percent of food expenditures and strong dependance on remittances. Poor prevalence of wasting.	¥	÷	¥
Livelihood Zone 10: Panjakent Rice, Fruit, and Vegetable Zone	Half of the households relying on labour migration as primary income sources and highly affected by reduced remmitances. Adoption of various coping strategies. High percent of food expenditures.	Ŷ	÷	÷
Livelihood Zone 11: Ghonchi and Istaravshan Rainfed Cereal, Fruit, and Vegetable Zone	High food prices and lack of agricultural and drinking water. Serious	Ŷ	÷	÷
Livelihood Zone 12: North Sughd Agro- Industrial Zone	The food security situation remaining stable.	÷	÷	÷
Livelihood Zone 13: Khatlon Agro- industrial Peri-urban Zone	Food consumption deteriorated. High food expenditures.	Ŷ	÷	÷
Trend	Current food security status			
\rightarrow - No changes	Food secure			
↑ - Improvement	Marginally food secure			

 \downarrow - Deterioration



Moderately food insecure

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