

**Economic shocks, poverty and household food
insecurity in urban Zambia: an ethnographic
account of Chingola**

Mutale Chileshe

CHLMUT001



Thesis Presented for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the

**Department of Environmental and Geographical
Science**

University of Cape Town

September 2014

Supervisor: Dr. Jane Battersby-Lennard

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DECLARATION

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my husband, Kelvin Chola Chibangula, for his unwavering encouragement, patience, and support of every kind.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Completion of this doctoral dissertation was possible with the support of several people. First and foremost, I would like to thank Dr Jane Battersby for her patient, highly critical and equally encouraging supervisory role. Her dedication to my work is very much appreciated. I thank Dr. Bruce Frayne and Dr Owen Sichone for continuous guidance through the early stages of my thesis. I am also indebted to the staff in the Department of Environmental and Geographical Sciences (EGS) at UCT for their continued support, especially Dr. Pippin Anderson, the post-graduate co-coordinator, Professor Sue Parnell, Sharon Adams and Shahieda Samsodien. I am equally indebted to many student colleagues for providing a stimulating and fun environment in which to learn and grow. I am especially grateful to Dr. Godfrey Tawodzera, Dr. Gareth Haysom, Dr. Ndeyapo Nickanor, Dr. Samantha Williams and Ntombini Marrengane, for shared ideas, insightful discussions and encouragement at every stage of the dissertation. A deep debt to Jean Hunleth for all the shared ideas and to Hellen Mahlase Manku, Juliana Come, Mphangera Kamanga and Shakirudeen Lawal for editorial comments, stories and the last minute favours. The EGS list is endless because many staff and students contributed towards my work in their own special way.

I am grateful to Carol Hartley for her support and editorial comments.

I acknowledge the financial and technical support provided by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) through the Programme in Urban Food Security (PUFS) at the University of Cape Town.

During data collection, my research assistants (Mubanga Chileshe, Brain Chisulo, and Limbisani Tembo) worked tirelessly to make this work possible; I thank them for their help and contributions. I also acknowledge Harry Banda's assistance with focus group discussions. I extend my sincere thanks to all the respondents and informants for taking time to answer my questions and for time spent with me and the research assistants during participant observations. Without their warm hospitality and eagerness to discuss their experiences, this study would not have been possible.

I would like to thank my friends; especially Petronella Mulenga, for opening her home and for the countless hours spent listening to my research. I am indebted to the following good friends in Cape Town for their support and motivation during the happy and hard moments: Thumelo Mambwe, Dr. Judith Mwansa-Kambafwile, Abigail Kabandula Muyeba, Moonde Kabinga, Dr Singumbe Richard Muyeba and Sithabile Mbambo. In addition, I am grateful to Mutale Mulenga and Eva Liliane Ujeneza for providing needed encouragement and prayer. I also want to thank the many other friends that I met along the way who made this journey easier.

I would like to thank extended family (brothers, sisters, nephews and my in-laws) for their love and continuous support; both spiritually and materially. Bwalya, Mulenga and Mubanga Chileshe; principally supported me emotionally and were sources of strength. Chileshe Chino Chileshe was particularly helpful in providing priceless editorial comments and for keeping me company and motivated during the course of the thesis. His wonderful cooking kept me healthy and fit for the PhD journey. I also thank Mwaka Chileshe for her comments and “special English skills” and for the countless hours spent on skype trying to figure out the best ways of “phrasing.” Saviour Chisanga Mwansa, Methodius Chishimba and Calistus Chilwa Chishimba; thank you for encouraging me and for keeping Kelvin Company in my absence, and for the delightful meals you prepared. I owe a lot to my parents, Sylvester Chileshe and Beatrice Chileshe who encouraged and helped me at every stage of my personal and academic life. They have contributed immeasurably to the person I have become. My father particularly drew the map of the study area, and I thank and appreciate his efforts. I deeply miss my mother, Mary N. Chileshe, who I know would have been proud and happy to share this joy.

Lastly, but by no means the least, I thank Kelvin Chola Chibangula my dearest husband who has the patience of a saint; and he was a constant source of support and encouragement during this process. I thank him for putting up with my absences. For the missed birthdays and anniversary, I say sorry and will surely make up. Thank you for understanding and for being the best husband. I am grateful, and thank God for you.

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ABSTRACT

Research on poverty and food insecurity in sub-Saharan Africa has tended to focus on rural households and urban areas known to have concentrations of low-income households. However, consequences and effects of the recent global economic crisis such as retrenchment coupled with increasing food and fuel prices have played a major role in generating many newly poor households. The economic crisis came at a time when most developing countries were still struggling with impoverishment mainly caused by Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP). SAPs laid bare the acute vulnerability of the urban dwellers to the slightest additional shock such as economic shocks or high food prices. In view of these effects, this study was conducted in Chingola in the Copperbelt Province of Zambia to examine the impact of economic shocks on the food security of middle class households in urban areas. Focusing on one aspect of the economic shock (retrenchments), the thesis shows how once middle class households in Chingola perceived, experienced and grappled with retrenchment in the context of increasing urban poverty and high food prices. The central thesis is that due to the rising pattern of urban risk, it is not only the rural or structural urban poor that are vulnerable to food insecurity but middle class urban households too. The study employed a mixed-method approach, which took place in two main sequential data collection phases - the quantitative component served as a basis for the sampling of cases for the qualitative component. The findings revealed that food security of the retrenched households was compromised by the economic crisis with approximately 7.4% food secure, 4.2% mildly food insecure, 19.1% moderately food insecure and 69.3% severely food insecure. A compounding factor was that there were insufficient social protection services by government and NGOs to assist households to increase resilience to food insecurity. To survive, households employed close to thirty different strategies and tactics such as letting their houses, limiting their consumption and engaging in lucrative but unlawful activities - illegal mining, prostitution and theft. In light of these findings, the study makes a contribution to urban development and specifically to the emerging field of urban food security as it departs from the more traditional focus on the 'old poor' by giving specific attention to previously middle income households' food security in the context of widespread economic shocks within the formal economy. Furthermore, it contributes to the debate on retrenchment literature by providing new information, for example, on how urban dwellers deal with shocks and the mechanisms used to help them survive in a globalised environment. Lastly, the study contributes to literature on the livelihoods of Copperbelt residents as very few scholars have explored the lives of the residents since the implementation of SAPs and the subsequent economic decline in the area.

ABBREVIATIONS

ACF	Agricultural Consultative Forum
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
AVF	Asset Vulnerability Framework
AFSUN	African Food Security Urban Network
CBO	Community based organisation
CSO	Central Statistics Office
DFID	Department for International Development
DWAC	District Welfare Assistance Committee
ECZ	Environmental Council of Zambia
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations
FBO	Faith-based Organisation
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FFSSA	Forum for Food Security in Southern Africa
FRA	Food Reserve Agency
FSP	Fertiliser Support Programme
FSP	Food Security Pack
GRZ	Government of the Republic of Zambia
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
JCTR	Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection
K	Zambian Kwacha
KCM	Konkola Copper Mines
MACO	Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives
MCDSS	Ministry of Community Development and Social Services
MMD	Movement for Multiparty Democracy
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
PAM	Programme against Malnutrition
PE	Political Economy
PEA	Political Economy Approach
PF	Patriotic Front
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
PUSH	Project Urban Self Help

PWAS	Public Welfare Assistance Scheme
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programmes
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
SNDP	Sixth National Development Plan
UN	United Nations
UNIP	United National Independence Party
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
VAC	Vulnerability Assessment Committee
WFP	World Food Programme
WHO	World Health Organisation
ZCCM	Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines
ZESCO	Zambia Electricity Supply Corporation

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

<i>Abana</i>	Children
<i>Abaume</i>	Men
<i>Abalume</i>	Husband
<i>Abakashi</i>	Wife
<i>Amaule</i>	Prostitutes
<i>Banamayo</i>	Women
Bemba	A local language spoken by most people in Chingola
<i>Bonse</i>	All
<i>Bupina</i>	Poverty
<i>Bucushi</i>	Suffering, pain
<i>Jerabos</i>	Illegal miners
<i>Kabolala</i>	Thief
<i>Kaloba</i>	Money borrowed from loan shark
<i>Kumbala</i>	larger plot where subsistence farming is carried out
<i>Mugaiwa</i>	Hammer milled maize meal
Mulonga	An institution that provides water services for Chingola residents
<i>Pamelas</i>	Tiny sachets of salt, rice, maize meal, etc
Piecework	Forms of casual or informal labour
<i>Icilimba</i>	a revolving fund scheme
<i>Insala</i>	Hunger
<i>Tuntamba</i>	Home-based kiosks
<i>Ubwali</i>	Thick porridge made from maize meal
<i>Ubunga</i>	Maize meal
<i>Umusalu</i>	Vegetables

Note: K5200 is equivalent to \$1US¹

¹ Source: <http://www.xe.com/ucc/convert.cgi> [2010, November 19]

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

“The global financial and economic crisis has pushed an additional 100 million people into hunger in 2009, bringing the overall number of undernourished people in the world to over one billion. The crisis has threatened livelihoods and access to food for those who have lost jobs and incomes including from remittances, as well as for other family members who must now provide support....” (FAO 2009:1)

In 2008, the world witnessed one of the most severe financial crises since the great depression of the 1930s (Gamble 2009; UN 2008; USAID 2009). As the credit crunch of 2007 turned into the financial crash of 2008 stock markets around the world fell, large financial institutions collapsed or were bought out, and governments in even the wealthiest nations had to come up with rescue packages to bail out their financial systems (Gamble 2009; Turner 2009). It was feared that worse was yet to come because the crash would turn into a global recession (Gamble 2009) and indeed these fears came to pass (Turner 2009). A crisis, in simple terms, is a moment of danger and insecurity (Billings 1980) and as Gamble clearly states, “recessions are great breeders of insecurity; insecurities about houses, jobs, investments and pensions,” (Gamble 2009: 109). The recession brought a lot of job insecurities to millions of people all over the world.

The “deepening recession at the beginning of 2009 led to rapid increases in unemployment” (Gamble 2009: 108), people were forced out of employment involuntarily in different sectors of the economies all over the world. The International Labour Organization (ILO) projected that 29 million or more people would be unemployed in 2009 worldwide (23 million in developing countries) and the worst-case scenario was 50 million people (ILO 2009: 9). In 2013, ILO reported that “five years after the global economic crisis, the global employment situation remains uneven” and “global unemployment is expected to approach 208 million in 2015” (2013: 1-3). This is because the number of unemployed people will continue to increase and will only return to pre-crisis levels in 2017 (ILO 2013).

The impact of job losses was immediate and particularly severe in the United States of America (USA), where employment losses started in early 2008 and continued to mount and by beginning of 2009 the figures were alarming. In January 2009 for example, over 70,000 jobs were lost in one day in the USA (ILO 2009), while in China between 25 and 30 million migrant workers lost their jobs (Xinhua 2008). During the last quarter of 2008, employment in export-oriented sectors in India such as mining, textile and textile garments, fell by over 3% (Chandrasekhar & Ghosh 2009). The slump in the demand for commodities, especially minerals also severely hit mineral dependent economies of Latin America and Africa (CPD 2009; ILO 2009). For example, about 300,000 workers in Katanga Province, Democratic Republic of the Congo lost their jobs following the collapse of copper prices at the end of 2008, while in Botswana, 9000 diamond miners lost their jobs due to reduced world demand for diamonds (ILO 2009; Africa's Pulse 2012).

In Zambia, the mining industry that forms the backbone of the economy was also greatly affected. It is estimated that 13,000 people lost their jobs in the mines and related industries on the Copperbelt between December of 2008 and May 2009 (Chanda & Sinyangwe 2009; Moyo 2009). However “given the poor quality of data collection by relevant officials, it is possible that the retrenchment numbers are well over 20,000” (Simutanyi 2009:1). It is also argued that even though the economic crisis has ended, job numbers have continued to shrink. For instance, Coy shows that “even though the previous 1998 recession technically ended in November 2001, the global economy was still losing jobs as late as August 2003” (2008:1).

The job losses resulting from retrenchment in general were shocking because, it was not only the poor or manual labourers that were affected but middle class professional and managerial workers too. That is, individuals with well-paying jobs and ‘seemingly secure futures’, individuals whose faith in the stability of their jobs meant that they had taken significant financial commitments such as loans from banks; private education for their children, health policies and mortgages (Giddens 2009:924). These individuals are now faced with uncertainties about their futures because retrenchment is a shock and according to Giddens “the sudden spectre of unemployment can lead to enormous anxiety” (2009:924). In fact it is argued that usually retrenched are in shock and suffer from psychological distress such as depression because they are never consulted or prepared for the job loss or given any proper training so as to help them find new jobs (Waters 2000; Ngonini 2001).

The predicament of the retrenched around the world was worsened by raising food prices which further undermined their food security and threatened the livelihoods of the most vulnerable by eroding their already limited purchasing power (FAO 2008; Von Braun 2008; ILO 2013). The economic crisis came at a time when most countries were still struggling with the impacts of rising food and fuel prices. Before and during the two years of the global economic crisis, food and fuel prices also shot up dramatically worldwide, creating a global food crisis and causing political and economic instability and social unrest in both poor and developed nations (UN 2008). Although the food/fuel price and financial crises emanate from different causes, their potentially devastating impacts on poverty and food insecurity are similar and exacerbate each other (Von Braun 2008:1; Ruel 2010: 170). Urban dwellers are particularly vulnerable to both the food and financial/economic crises because high food prices decrease their purchasing power, as most urban consumers rely on markets to access food (Baker 2008; Matuschke 2009; USAID 2009), and reductions in employment and wages as a result of the financial and economic crises further undermined their real incomes.

In view of these effects, the central purpose of this thesis is to explore the impact of the global financial and economic crisis on the food security of middle class households in urban areas. Focusing on one aspect of the economic shock (retrenchments) the thesis examines how once middle class households in Chingola - Zambia - perceive, experience and grapple with retrenchment in the context of rapid urbanisation,² increasing urban poverty and high food prices. This study argues that due to rising pattern of urban risk;³ it is not only the rural or structural urban poor that are vulnerable to food insecurity but middle class urban households too.

² Urban areas in developing contexts have very low wage rates and urbanisation further decreases these, through increased competition for jobs - notably low-skilled work. Large numbers of urban dwellers work in low-paid, insecure, unhealthy and unsafe jobs, and are unable to access new opportunities or improve their lives (See ILO 2004; Gundogan & Bicerli 2009; Grant 2012).

³ Globally, the number, intensity and frequency of shocks (economic, demographic and natural disasters) are increasing, which not only presents additional cost to nations, but also affect hard-earned development gains, thus making contemporary urban spaces, risky places. The statistical analysis performed by Munich Research Group (2004) for example shows that there is an increase in risks and indicates that over the past thirty years, the incidence of extreme events has increased threefold. Although data on shocks is not disaggregated for urban and rural areas, studies (Ruel, Haddad & Garrett 1999; FAO 2008; Von Braun et al. 2008; International Federation of Red Cross 2010; UN HABITAT 2014) have estimated that urban areas bear greater fatalities and losses from shock impacts and need separate consideration due to their character - a heavy reliance on cash, high concentration of people, infrastructure, and other economic assets.

Crises create poverty traps and increase the prevalence of food insecurity and consumption of unsafe food by reducing real income in middle class urban households. This in turn may cause middle class urban households to become the “new poor”.

The term “new poor” is used in this thesis as imprecisely or informally as it should be used, to simply differentiate between people that have always been poor and those that become poor due to economic changes such as SAPs or other shocks. The urban dictionary defines the “new poor” as group of people with little experience of being broke. In a similar manner, Ilkhamov says “it can be said of the “new poor” that, [they are] the ones who used to be everything but have now become nothing” (Ilkhamov 2001: 34). So the “new poor” can be defined as people “long accustomed to the comforts of middle-class life who find themselves in straitened circumstances, typically as a result of economic shocks” (World Bank 2001: 21-20). Majority of the new poor are found in urban areas.

Despite the increasing vulnerability to poverty and food insecurity in the urban areas, not much attention however, has been paid to middle class households who face economic shocks. Research on poverty and food insecurity in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) has tended to focus on rural households and urban areas known to have concentrations of low-income households. To demonstrate this point, the thesis turns to “old money,” versus “new money.” “Old money and new money” are terms commonly used with regards to familial wealth.⁴ “Old money” is viewed as being so much better than new money, it is perceived to be more noble, authentic and somehow more dignified in stature. On the other hand “new money” is considered superficial and transitory (Ferdinand 1968; Grote 2003; Anderberg 2004). These same concepts can be applied to the poor and what is interesting is the way people separate “old poor” from the “new poor” (Anderberg 2004). The old poor (people that have always been poor and mainly found in rural areas) are considered genuine that is, the old poor are considered as the group that is truly affected by poverty and lack essential needs while the “new poor” (especially that most of these are found in urban areas) are considered superficial (not really poor) and transitory.

⁴ “Old money is inherited wealth of established upper-class families or a person possessing inherited wealth” (www.thefreedictionary.com). This wealth confers status and social acceptance. These families had been rich for generations and live off idle inheritance rather than earned wealth. New money is that which does not come from traditionally wealthy families. This money can be earned from investments and business rather than inheritance (see Ferdinand 1968 and Grote 2003).

This is because it is believed that the poor population often resides in rural areas and not in urban areas as expressed by Vinod et al. (1991: 248) “the poorest of the population often reside in rural areas and suffer from malnutrition, illiteracy, high infant mortality rates.” Given such thoughts, it is thus not surprising that Government, NGOs and society at large tend to see the “new poor” as better off than the old poor and usually separate the “old poor” from the “new poor” when determining who to give assistance (as shall be seen in Chapter Six). Parnell (2014) for example, also argues that the population may be evenly spread between rural and urban areas, but 90 percent of the funding will go to rural development. However, the study argues that due to rising pattern of urban risk - in Southern Africa and particularly in Zambia, it is not only the rural or structural urban poor that are vulnerable to food insecurity but middle class urban households too.

1.1. Statement of the problem, aim and research questions

Widespread job losses since the start of the 2009 recession have occurred in urban areas. In the context of Southern Africa, urban retrenchees live in rapidly growing cities with inadequate housing, poor infrastructure, a high cost of living, inadequate employment opportunities, depressed informal activities and weak safety nets. These factors combine to call into question the ability of retrenchees to access food for an active and healthy life. Crush, Frayne and Grant show that as households struggle to meet urban expenses the “type, quantity and quality of food consumption tends to be an area of cut back since it is not viewed as a fixed, absolute expense” (2006:19). Although retrenchees might be vulnerable to food insecurity, the literature reviewed on both retrenchment and food security as shown in Chapter Two, pays little attention to urban household food security. Therefore, this study takes as its starting point the position that retrenched individuals and household members might be vulnerable to food insecurity.

The overall aim of the study is therefore to examine the impact of middle-income formal sector retrenchments on the ability of households to meet their food and nutrition security needs.

Informed by the political economy and asset vulnerability theories which are discussed later in Chapter Two; the study also examines how Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), the

retrenching company, government and residents of Chingola have addressed and perceived retrenchments and the issue of food security, if at all.

To address the above aim, the following research objectives were formulated:

- To determine the levels of food insecurity among retrenched urban households in Chingola.
- To assess the vulnerability of middle class urban households to food insecurity and determine the factors responsible for increasing this vulnerability.
- To determine intra-household impacts of retrenchments in relation to food. The intra household dynamics also pay particular attention to children and women.
- To assess the role of NGOs, the retrenching company/firm, government and residents of Chingola in addressing retrenchment and food insecurity.
- To identify and explore the coping strategies employed by urban households to increase their resilience to food insecurity.

From the above objectives, three specific research questions emerged:

- i. What is the food security status of retrenched urban households - are there differentiated intra-household impacts of retrenchments in relation to food?
- ii. When faced with economic shocks what coping strategies are employed by urban retrenched households to meet their food needs?
- iii. What role do the government, NGOs and residents play in addressing urban food insecurity?

1.2 Significance of the study

Firstly, in investigating how urban households respond to economic shocks; and more specifically how they grapple with retrenchment, this study helps to fill a gap in the retrenchment literature since very few scholars pay attention to victims of retrenchment. While there is considerable literature available on retrenchments, much of this work has examined the effects of this strategy on organizations (Worrell et al. 1991; DeWitt 1993; Barker et al. 1998; Littler & Innes 1999; Allen et al. 2001) and on workers that have survived the retrenchments (Brockner et al. 1987; 1992; Mone 1997). Literature on the consequences for the victims of retrenchment is still limited and yet an understanding of the personal experience, especially in terms of food, is very important because everyone needs food to

survive. Secondly, by using food security as a lens to view the vulnerability of the retrenched, this thesis also helped to fill a gap in the food security literature which remains poorly researched and documented in the Southern African context (Crush, Frayne & Grant 2006; Crush & Frayne 2010a). Food security has been widely debated in Southern Africa, but it is mainly talked about in terms of rural food security (de Waal 1989; 1997; FAO 2006) with little focus on urban areas (Maxwell 2006).

Regrettably the reality today is that food security is no longer assured for many urban households (Ruel & Garrett 1998) and high food prices have worsened the food insecurity situation (WFP 2011). The FAO suggested that rising prices had left more than 1 billion of the world's population without enough food to meet daily dietary requirements. While World Bank (2011) researchers estimated that price increases from June to December 2010 alone pushed 44 million people below the global, \$1.25-per-day extreme poverty line. Since 2007 rapidly rising food prices have attracted international attention in many parts of the world (Sabarwal et al. 2009; World Food Programme 2009) which later led to unprecedented series of major uprisings demonstrations and protests - partly fuelled by rising food costs (See Baker 2008; von Braun et al. 2008). High food prices were further augmented by the economic downturn in 2008 (Gamble 2009; Turner 2009) and according to World Food Programme these two major events increased both the incidence and severity of hunger and poverty worldwide (2009:1), thus making it hard not only for the urban poor but also for middle class households to achieve food security.

It is also imperative to note at the outset that transitory food insecurity at the household level is likely to translate over time into higher rates of adult and child malnutrition with possible detrimental effects on well-being of households (Gillespie 2008). Hence, it is important to understand the dynamics of food security of urban households, especially for victims of retrenchment because according to Hoddinott and Yohannes "household food security is an important measure of well-being" (2002:1). They further state that although "it may not encapsulate all dimensions of poverty, the inability of households to obtain access to enough food for an active, healthy life is surely an important component of their poverty" (2002:1). For that reason, estimates of the prevalence of food insecurity of a household can be helpful in determining the negative impact of retrenchment on households.

In addition, understanding the food security of retrenchees is important because food is able to capture the *dynamic responses* of individuals to economic shocks in ways that other measures are unable to. For example, while poverty lines⁵ are essential in gauging the level of deprivation in a population and most likely would have given the research information on the impact of retrenchment on households they do not for instance systematically measure intra household inequality. A food security lens on the other hand captures not only the manifestations of poverty, but also highlights additional aspects such as cause and extent of deprivation, intra household dynamics, risk factors, and the coping strategies that poverty measures alone cannot capture. Lastly, the research contributes a new dimension to the food security literature as it departs from the more traditional focus on the ‘old poor’ by giving specific attention to previously middle income households’ food security in the context of widespread economic shocks within the formal economy. In researching the micro-political economy of urban household food security on the Zambian Copperbelt after massive formal job losses, the study contributes to the literature on both economic retrenchments and on urban food security at the household level within the broader context of rising urban poverty in Southern Africa.

1.3 Definitions

The key concepts in this study are economic crisis, food security, high food prices, retrenchment, urbanisation, urban poverty and households. At this point, these concepts are briefly defined to give the reader an idea of what the concepts mean but as the thesis progresses, and more specifically in Chapter Two (review of literature) some of the concepts will be expanded on and will become even more defined.

1.3.1 Economic crisis

An economic crisis is a situation in which the economy of the country experiences a sudden downturn brought on by a financial crisis (Gamble 2009). While economic crises have common elements, they do come in many forms. It is therefore, important to understand that “each economic crisis will be different, will have different triggers and will unravel in a different manner to its predecessors” (Saleh 2010:15). For this reason, many authors grapple with the definition or causes of economic crises. Nevertheless, McKibbin and Stoeckel

⁵ A poverty line is a minimum income level used as an official standard for determining the proportion of a population living in poverty.

defines the 2009 global economic crisis as “the bursting of the housing market bubble in late 2007, the ensuing collapse in the subprime mortgage market and related financial markets and the subsequent collapse of Lehman Brothers in 2008 which resulted in a sharp increase in risk premia around the world” (2009: 4). Definitions are useful but only give limited understanding. Another way to describe economic crises is to focus on a set of central qualities that characterize them. These broaden the meaning of economic crises beyond what is typically provided in definitions.

Scholars (McKibbin & Stoeckel 2009; Kapoor 2009; Reinhart & Rogoff 2009; Saleh 2010; Claessens & Kose 2013) explain that an economy facing an economic crisis will most likely experience a falling GDP, a drying up of liquidity and rising/falling prices due to inflation/deflation. During this time, the value of institutions, especially financial institutions, drops at unprecedented speeds and everything seems to be valueless. Production is low and often fails to meet the level of demand. The period is also characterized by unemployment and low levels of trade and investment (Gamble 2009; McKibbin & Stoeckel 2009; McKibbin & Stoeckel 2009). To summarize, there are five major characteristics of global economic crises and these are declining GDP, reduced industrial output, unemployment, and reduced spending from the common public and liquidity crunch meaning the non-availability of loans. As such, financial or economic crises are typically multidimensional events and can be hard to characterize using a single indicator.

1.3.2 Food security

Currently, there are many definitions of food security and the concept has become more complex (Maxwell & Smith 1992). By definition, food security is broad because it focuses on a range of physical, socio economic and biological factors. Although there is no single agreed definition,⁶ food security is often used broadly to refer to a situation in which people experience continuity of food supply, or the methods by which this aim is achieved. This thesis however, adopts and uses the commonly accepted United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization’s (FAO’s) definition of food security that recognises the concern for both the individual and the household:

⁶ Smith et al assembled a biography of over 180 definitions of food security in 1992. This number is certain to have increased further in the last two decades.

Food security, at the individual, household, national, regional and global levels...exists when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life. (FAO 1996:3)

A household is considered food secure when its occupants do not live in hunger or fear of starvation. Food Security also means that the people who produce the food are able to earn a decent living wage, growing, catching, producing, processing, transporting, retailing, and serving food (Crush, Hovorka & Terera 2010; McDonald 2010; Freddy 2013). At the core of food security is access to healthy food and optimal nutrition for all. Food access is closely linked to food supply, so food security is dependent on a healthy and sustainable food system (Donovan, Larsen & McWhinnie 2011). The food system includes the production, processing, distribution, marketing, acquisition, and consumption of food.

1.3.3. Household

There is no widely accepted cross-culturally valid definition of what a household really is, nor is there a consensus on how best households can be studied (Wilk 1991). For some, a household is primarily an artificial census unit, for others it is ‘a community of persons’ (Booth 1991:60), the essential building block of all social systems, ‘a consumption unit that shares food from a common kitchen or hearth’ (Goody 1996:4), or a place where gender roles are negotiated and maintained. While the temptation to find a common definition at a theoretical level has been overwhelming (Roberts 1991; Chen & Dunn 1996), the task has proven to be a daunting one, given the household’s fluidity in terms of its nature, composition and function over space and time.

For the purposes of this thesis, the household is defined as a basic unit in which economic production, consumption, child rearing and shelter are organised and carried out, and household membership is based on residence (Hammel 1984; Wallman 1984, Roberts 1991). Although household membership by definition is based on residence, (the researcher was aware that) anthropological studies of households suggest that the boundaries between households are not always easy to define (Richards 1939; Colson 1958; McC. Netting, Wilk & Arnould 1984). This is because rather than being fixed and monolithic, households are shifting and fluid organizing entities whose boundaries are not clear-cut (Richards 1939; Souvatzi 2008).

1.3.4. Retrenchment

Retrenchment refers to a reduction in human resource costs through the termination of employment of organisational members (Harrison 1986; Sadri 1996). In the study, retrenchment refers to involuntary loss of employment (Campion 1999). In some cases, retrenchment has often been used to refer to layoffs, de-recruiting, rightsizing, de-massing, re-sizing, cutting back and downsizing (Thornhill & Saunders 1998; Kinnie et al. 1998; Baruch & Hind 2000). The term is also sometimes used interchangeably with the concept of redundancy (Baruch & Hind 2000; Sadri 1996) even though the terms have slightly different meanings. Whereas retrenchment is described as the situation in which the employer terminates employees' services usually due to economic downturn (Beaumont 1991), redundancy on the other hand is described in terms of closing down a business altogether or the closing down of a business in a particular place or the elimination of a particular job (Bendix 2010). It is also argued that when an individual is retrenched, he may be reinstated if the economic conditions improve but in reality this is rarely the case, but in the case where an individual is deemed redundant the loss of the job is permanent.

For the sake of clarity, this thesis prefers and uses the term retrenchment throughout the study as an overall description of the reduction of personnel through involuntary job loss. This is because, while all of the above terms (redundancy, layoffs, de-recruiting, rightsizing, de-massing, re-sizing, cutting back and downsizing) may have their own connotations, they do denote to some extent a common meaning which is suggestive of a deliberate decision to reduce the workforce that is intended to improve organisational efficiency and performance (Baruch & Hind 2000). This includes reduction in the form of transfers, voluntary retrenchment, layoffs and early retirement (Thornhill & Saunders 1999). Likewise a lot of European, South African or Zambian literature uses the two terms retrenchment and redundancy interchangeably (Anstey 1983; Curtis 1989; Penza 1992; Kinnie et al. 1998; Ngonini 2001; Africa Research Bulletin 2008; Simutanyi 2008; Gamble 2009). Further, the term retrenchment has been used because all the above terms fall short of portraying the sense of victimhood to the laid off workers that the term retrenchment embodies.

1.3.5. Urbanisation and Urban poverty

Urbanization, simply defined, is the shift from a rural to an urban society, and a process by which an increasing proportion of a country's population lives in urban areas over time

(Crush et al. 2006; Grant, 2007; UN 2014). Households are considered poor when the resources they command do not enable them to consume sufficient goods and services to achieve a reasonable minimum level of welfare. However, poverty is not just about incomes or material needs but is associated with various deprivations, as “deprivation has dimensions that are physical, social, economic, political, and psychological/spiritual and includes forms of disadvantage under the denominator of poverty” (Van Vuuren 2003: 30). Therefore, the most accepted definition of poverty is the one provided by social scientists who attempt to combine both material and non-material dimensions of poverty (Chambers 1987: 8-9). Thus in the urban context, poverty can be defined as concept related to limited access to employment opportunities and income, inadequate and insecure housing and services, violent and unhealthy environments, little or no social protection mechanisms, and limited access to adequate health and education opportunities (Mitlin 2000; Narayan et al 2000; Rakodi 2002; Van Vuuren 2003). It also means being vulnerable to crises, stress and shocks, and having little capacity to recover quickly from them (Chambers 1987; Moser 1998; Frayne 2004; Montgomery 2009; Acharya 2010).

1.3.6. Social protection

Social protection⁷ broadly defines all actions that are carried out by public, private and voluntary organisations to enable households to deal more effectively with risk and vulnerability due to changing circumstances (retrenchment) and also to help tackle food insecurity and poverty⁸ (DFID 2005, 2007; Lindstrom 2008; UNRISD 2010). For the purposes of this thesis, a distinction is made between private and public social protection.⁹ Private social protection (provided through social networks) is used in this thesis to refer to

⁷ The concept of social protection has been used by the study because it encompasses many other related concepts such as social security, social assistance and safety nets. For example social security is just one component of social protection, covering only employed individuals and households. Social safety nets are similarly a component of social protection, providing coverage to people adversely affected by crises, whether they are employed or not. But social protection on the other hand, covers all members of society, without exception. Nevertheless the World Bank has sometimes used the terms “social safety net” and “social protection” interchangeably (See for details World Bank 2001; Paitoonpong et al. 2008).

⁸ Most common types of social protection include unemployment benefits, pensions, child support, housing assistance, national health insurance, job-creation schemes, retraining programmes and agricultural insurance (See DFID 2005).

⁹ Note no distinction has been made between formal and informal social protection because it does not apply to the discussion. However just as a note the difference between formal and informal social protection is whether there exists a formal legal support of the assistance (See for details DFID 2005; Lindstrom 2008; Oduro 2010; UNRISD 2010).

actions and transfers from family members and friends aimed at reducing retrenched household's exposure to risks and vulnerabilities (see Chapter Six). Public social protection, on the other hand, refers to responses by government, as well as "others claiming to operate in the public interest, such as NGOs, and those mandated by the government but undertaken by others, including the private sector" (Farrington et al. 2006:3).

1.4. Thesis outline

The rest of the thesis is structured as follows: The next chapter, Chapter Two, is the literature review. It focuses on the interface between urbanization, poverty and food security and simply aims to contextualise the environment where many of the retrenched live. The chapter also examines academic literature in relation to retrenchment and food insecurity and presents the theoretical framework adopted by the study.

The third chapter of the thesis gives an overview of the study site – Chingola. Chingola is one of the seven mining towns in the Copperbelt Province of Zambia and so the chapter examines the emergence of the Copperbelt and traces the social, political and economic history of this region and Zambia as a whole from 1920s to 2011. In tracing the history, the chapter shows that miners have always been a minority of the Copperbelt population, albeit a privileged one (Oxfam 2009; Macmillan 1993). Regrettably, implementation of SAPs in Zambia, spelt the end of the privileged status for many miners as SAPs resulted in massive job losses and the discontinuance of social service provision. Urban Copperbelt like the rest of Zambia also underwent a period of rapid decline as urban poverty increased due to heavily destroyed infrastructure, especially hospitals, houses and roads. The chapter argues that all these factors have negatively affected the ability of urban households to achieve food security, and, although Zambia has experienced some positive economic growth, this has not had great impact on the citizens. Therefore the economic crisis impacted on already depressed Copperbelt residents and negatively affected Zambia's economic gains. The chapter thus provides a snapshot of the setting in which the study was undertaken.

Chapter Four discusses the empirical research methodology used for the study. The central task of the chapter involves detailing the specific steps taken in the research design as well as the techniques and procedures used in this research. The chapter further focuses on the analysis and the ethics considered in conducting the study. It also highlights, through a

reflexivity discussion that a social researcher is not an empty vessel but a human who approaches the world with a set of ideas and thus brings his/her own distinct point of view to every stage of the research process. Chapter Five is the first of two chapters that present the essential findings of study. The chapter is divided in three parts. The first part discusses the state of food insecurity in the retrenched urban households in Chingola. The second part discusses the factors that are responsible for increasing urban household vulnerability to poverty and food insecurity; and the last part analyses the intra household food dynamics. What this chapter reveals is that that the economic crisis of 2008 not only created categories of new poor but also pushed them into food insecurity. The chapter thus provides a picture of the devastating contribution of the economic crisis to household food insecurity among retrenched households in urban Chingola.

Earlier chapters having thus presented the state of food insecurity in retrenched households in Chingola, Chapter Six goes on to examine the actions of the retrenched households in addressing urban food insecurity and tries to establish and analyse the strategies employed by the households in dealing with the economic crisis. The chapter shows that retrenched households employed an array of close to thirty strategies in response to the economic crisis. The chapter also delves deeper into the role of government, NGOs and local stakeholders in addressing the food insecurity of retrenched urban households in Chingola. The chapter also reveals that while the repercussions of the economic crisis on households have been severe the response by government, NGOs and local stakeholders has been marginal. The chapter further argues that this is mainly due to the fact that food insecurity is complex and also because of a misconception by government, NGOs and other donors that the right “fix” for food insecurity in the country is through increased small holder agricultural production. Chapter Seven provides an overall conclusion to the thesis with a few recommendations. It also summarises the thesis’s contributions to the retrenchment and urban food security literature.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0. Introduction

The discussion in the introductory chapter has pointed out two key issues: the first is that, despite increasing poverty levels in the city and the heightened vulnerability of the poor to food insecurity, there is very little recognition of the scale and enormity of the challenges that the poor face. The second is that the impact of retrenchment on the food security of the poor (particularly the new poor) and their general livelihoods has not been given sufficient attention. Thus the ways in which these new poor are surviving as well as the strategies that they are adopting in the face of a challenging environment remain largely unarticulated. This chapter argues that while retrenchments are admittedly a key vulnerability factor affecting the new poor in the urban areas of Zambia, especially in mining towns such as Chingola, their impact on household food (in)security can be clearly understood and appreciated within the broader context of urbanisation and poverty challenges in Africa. Whitehead suggests that in order for anthropologists to “understand why certain behaviours emerge and persist, including health risk and resiliency behaviours we must understand the socio-cultural contexts in which these behaviours occur” (2004:13). It is therefore imperative to provide some context about the urban areas where the retrenched live.

The predicament of the retrenched households is worse in urban areas because urban areas in African cities are faced with rapid urbanisation and urban poverty which are strongly linked to factors which drive food insecurity in cities (Tacoli 2000; Grant 2012; Tacoli et al. 2013). Therefore, it is important to understand fully the interface between urbanization, poverty and food security in order to comprehend how the poor survive in the city, particularly in the wake of massive retrenchments that negatively impact on the livelihoods.

With the above in mind, this chapter is divided into three sections. The first section focuses on the interface between urbanization, poverty and food security and aims to contextualise the environment where many of the retrenched live. The second section reviews academic literature on food security and retrenchment, identifies academic debates and theories relating

to the research questions, and point out critical issues that this work proposes to address. Based on the literature review, the third section explains the theoretical framework adopted by the study and the reasons for its choice. Lastly, a conclusion for the chapter is drawn.

2.1. Urbanisation and poverty

Urban areas are portrayed as areas of social advancement and high industrial wages (Lipton 1977: 145-59; Gugler 1982: 188). However, since the implementation of SAPs in Southern Africa generally, and in Zambia in particular, residents of the city have not enjoyed the kind of economic prosperity suggested by the urban bias theory.¹⁰ Rather residents of these cities have often faced difficulties related to lack of employment, low remuneration in industries, as well as rising food prices during periods of economic liberalization. In most cases, the upward social and economic mobility envisaged in the urban bias theory has not come to pass. The poor in the urban areas have instead often been observed to suffer from various challenges related to the urban environment. This section reviews this “urban penalty” and discusses the intimate linkages between urbanization, poverty and food security.

2.1.1. Urbanisation

Urbanization is increasing in both the developed and developing countries. The United Nations (1991) reports that the world’s urban population had reached 2.3 billion by 1990 with 1.4 billion, or 61% living in urban areas of developing countries. In 2005, the world’s urban population had increased to 3.17 billion out of world total of 6.45 billion (UN-HABITAT 2006). The UN-HABITAT (2006) predicts the number of urban dwellers will keep rising, reaching almost 5 billion by 2030, while the number of rural dwellers around the globe will begin to contract after 2015. Asia and Africa will host the largest urban populations. While SSA is currently the least urbanised region in the world, this situation is changing rapidly because of the high urbanization rates of around 3.67% per annum (UNESA 2007). In Zambia since 1963, the urban population has grown from 715256 to more than 5068234 people in 2010 (GRZ 1969; 1980; CSO 2010). Although there was a decline in the proportion

¹⁰ Please note: Urban bias theory here is simply mentioned to advance an argument that African urbanisation runs counter to the general theory that urbanisation provides greater access to jobs, basic services, and social safety nets. As the urbanization process in sub-Saharan Africa continues, it becomes clearer that the highly developed and economically advantaged urban areas envisaged by modernization theorists may be illusory. What is certain, however, is that the towns and cities of the region are increasingly becoming centres of extreme poverty and food insecurity.

of the urban population from 40 per cent in 1980, to 36% in 2002, due to reverse migration to rural areas (CSO 2003; Macmillan 2012) this was only a temporary situation. Since 2002, urbanisation has resumed its growth trajectory, as can be seen from the 2010 census that put the urban population at 39% of Zambia's total population of 13 million (or around 5.1 million urban dwellers). This shows that population in urban areas is increasing and at a very fast rate. Obiad, executive director of the United Nations Population Fund also observes that, "within a single generation, the urban population in Africa and Asia is set to double...we have never seen urban growth like this in history in terms of its speed and scale" (UNFPA 2007b:1)

This pace of urbanisation in Southern Africa and generally in most of the developing world is a result of migration from rural to urban as well as internal growth and the expansion of urban areas to include previously peri-urban areas. Different criteria are used by different scholars to measure urbanisation, and these include population measures such as size and density, national level rural/urban dichotomy and functional characteristics such as administrative or political boundaries and economic organization. Long (1998) and Allender et al. (2008) explain that out of these broad measures of urbanisation, population measures are often used by scholars because usually urbanisation is simply measured by some base line size. Although the United Nations has recommended that places with more than 20,000 inhabitants living close together are urban, the baseline size varies between regions and cities. The United States, for instance uses "urban place" to mean any locality where more than 2,500 people live. In Angola, Argentina, and Ethiopia, for example, all localities with 2000 inhabitants or more are considered urban, while in Benin only localities with 10,000 inhabitants or more are classified as urban (Cohen 2006).

No matter what base line size is used, the proportion of the world's population living in urban areas is exploding. In SSA for example, urbanism once confined to historical central cities, has been spreading outwards, creating urban densities and new "outer" and "edge" cities in what were formerly suburban fringes and green field or rural sites (Soja & Kanai 2006: 58). In some cities and towns, urbanization has expanded on even larger scales, spreading into the surrounding countryside, spawning suburbs and swallowing up farms and villages (Lwasa 2004). The demographic shift currently experienced in SSA has led to an explosion of primary cities, densification of secondary cities, with a significant feature of small rural trading centres and rural 'hamlets' with increasing densities.

Growing urbanisation is viewed by some observers as a positive step towards economic development, as economic activity shifts out of agricultural to more remunerative activities (Ravallion et al. 2007). Indeed, some studies have shown that there is an unequivocal correlation between urbanisation and economic growth (Quigley 2008; Bai, Chen & Shi 2011; UN-Habitat 2011). In Asia, rapid urbanisation is regarded as one of the major factors behind economic growth. According to Quigley (2008) and UN-Habitat (2006; 2011) the link between urbanisation and economic growth is also associated in some places with numerous, positive outcomes such as technological innovation, forms of creativity and economic progress. In Africa and many other developing countries however, these positive outcomes are yet to be seen. In contrast to the developing world, for most countries in contemporary SSA and specifically Zambia, “rapid urbanisation is taking place in an economic setting of negligible industrial growth and transformation” (Hove 2013: 2). Moreover, this rapid urbanisation has occurred during an era when economic growth was more or less stagnant and even declining. Hence most poor urbanites have continued to live challenging lives in which they are unable to generate enough income to attend to their daily needs which include food.

Explosive urbanisation in SSA therefore, poses many challenges which might worsen the predicament of the retrenched households and make the retrenched even more vulnerable to food insecurity especially that survival in an urban setting depends on cash. Firstly in SSA, instead of economic growth, rapid urbanisation creates considerable demand for land, housing and undermines law and order. Rapid urbanisation contributes to housing shortage in the urban areas with demand – supply gap increasing day-by-day (Mafikudze & Hoosen 2009; Olujimi 2009; Miller 2012; UNICEF 2012; Hove 2013). However, the gap between supply and demand for housing affects the poor too, by creating a market in houses where abuses are rife. With high rent demanded by the landowners in the cities; many of the urban poor are forced to live in slums/shanty compounds (Palmer 2000; Mitlin 2000) where it is cheaper and where there is extreme human insecurity, with the high level of unemployment and poverty leading to a rise in crime and violence and also to lack of social inclusion and security (UN-Habitat 2009; Olujimi 2009; Alaci 2010; Miller 2012). Therefore in the event that employees are retrenched and lack income to rent a house (due to high prices) they will most likely end up in an informal settlement where it is cheaper and where there is extreme human insecurity.

In addition, the high rents may affect the food security of the retrenched because as explained in Chapter One, when people in urban areas struggle to meet urban expenses, the first thing they cut back is food. Secondly, in the areas of the environment and health problems, rapid urbanisation contributes to shortages in clean water supply, and to poor social and technical infrastructure (UN-Habitat 2009; Chaplin 2011; Parnell & Walawege 2011; Miller 2012; Su et al. 2012). These health problems have serious implications for the urban dwellers such as the retrenched and particularly to the retrenched that move (due to lack of income to pay rent) to over-populated, under-serviced, unrecognized slum areas where waterborne diseases, fire, flooding and landslides are part of everyday life. Studies show that environmental contamination is a large factor contributing to poor food utilization (FAO 2008; Tacoli, Bukhari, & Fisher 2013; Olstad & Raine 2013). Thus the fact that the retrenched live in a rapidly urbanising environment increases their vulnerability to food insecurity.

Thirdly, apart from environment and health problems, rapid urbanisation also exacerbates conditions of food insecurity through affecting the food supply to the city. As cities expand due to rapid urbanisation, prime agricultural land is converted into residential (usually slums) and industrial areas (UNCTAD 2008). For example in Accra (Ghana), Maxwell et al. (2000) report that about 2600 hectares of agricultural land are converted every year. This has contributed to food insecurity in cities because an immediate consequence of this act is the crowding out of peri-urban agriculture, which often plays a significant role in supplying perishable foodstuffs to cities (FAO 2008). This is particularly true for the poor who often rely on food transfers from the peri-urban areas as well as surviving on cheap vegetables supplied by the peri-urban farmers (Crush & Frayne 2010b). Despite these challenges more rural populations continue to migrate to urban areas; the pursuit of better economic opportunities is often the key motivator for people that move to cities. Yet for many people, the promise is never delivered on, as competition for jobs and opportunities is fierce. Without employment, people who move to cities thus cease to be rural poor and become urban poor, making urban poverty deeper and widespread and causing a shift in poverty from rural to urban. Amis (1995), Ravallion (2001) and the UN (2012) call this shift of the poverty axis “urbanisation of poverty.”

2.1.2. Urban poverty

Poverty is a phenomenon that affects individuals, households and communities in both rural and urban areas. Urban poverty however, has, until recently, been low on the development agenda primarily because of the “anti-urban bias” perspectives. In a number of countries, particularly in Africa, cities are still regarded as places for the elite (Nelson 1999), and migrants to the city are considered to be upwardly progressing, regardless of the conditions that they eventually find themselves in the city. This is because urban dwellers have traditionally been deemed to be economically well off compared with their rural counterparts, as well as having access to better opportunities, such as high employment, good education and better health centres (Lipton 1984). Such ideas of the city, as Maxwell (1998) points out, makes urban poverty relatively invisible and absent from most development agendas. Consequently, most poverty analysis has been disproportionately focussed on rural areas (World Bank 2000; Dwight 2006). However, due to rapid urbanization and the negative impact of SAPs, it has been observed that millions of people in cities of low- and middle-income nations are living in poverty and that their numbers are set to increase drastically in the near future (Potts 2005; UNFPA 2007a; UN-HABITAT 2014).

What is even more striking is the fact that urban poverty tends to assume distinctive forms that make urban dwellers particularly more vulnerable to acute poverty and food insecurity (Wratten 1995; Amis 1997; Mitlin 2000; Montgomery 2009; Tvedten et al. 2013). Firstly, unlike in the rural areas where poor and non-poor household alike build their own houses using locally available materials, have access to land and enjoy various forms of tenure security (Ssewanyana & Bategeka 2006); most people in urban areas lack legal tenure and live illegally on informal land divisions where they are subject to periodic evictions (Mitlin 2000; Miller 2012). The threat of evictions and harassment is therefore one of the main shocks that urban households face (Hansangule et al. 1998; Amis 2001). Consequently, about 72% of urban populations in SSA live in unauthorised informal settlements without adequate sanitation or water, and have poor access to infrastructure and social services (UN-Habitat 2006:16; Cilliers 2008: 65).

Secondly, urban areas today are characterised by high costs which are a major source of vulnerability for both the poor and middle income individuals (Wratten 1995; Tvedten et al. 2013). Commodity prices are generally higher in urban than rural areas and all aspects of

living involves cash: shelter, transport, sanitation, garbage collection, health, education and electricity (Mills & Pernia 1994; Satterthwaite 1997; Moser 1998; Mitlin 2003). To make matters worse urban areas have additional costs associated with pursuing livelihoods; for example, paying for vending space (Grant 2004). Livelihoods and accessibility of services in the urban areas therefore, depends on the ability to pay. The heavy reliance on the cash economy means that the urban poor are particularly vulnerable to economic shocks (Maxwell 1998; Baker 2008; Tvedten et al. 2013). Economic shocks usually erode household incomes making it impossible for households to access goods and services in the city, which means they cannot feed themselves.

Thirdly, and related to the preceding discussion, is the question of employment. In a market economy a person can exchange his or her labour for cash (Sen 1981). However, many of the urban poor do not have opportunities for this exchange of labour. Unemployment is typically high for the urban poor. Unemployment is a massive barrier to accessing food and other services for poor ‘urbanites’ as it runs as high as 65 per cent in some African cities (Giddens 2009; ILO 2013). High unemployment rates make finding new jobs particularly difficult for the retrenched, thus making them vulnerable to food insecurity, since access to food in urban areas requires cash. Lastly, with the exception of South Africa, weak safety nets (such as unemployment benefits/grants) in many African countries have not helped matters. The main role of safety nets is to provide opportunities and assistance to the poor but these are usually weak in the SSA context.

Although some countries used to have one form of social safety net or the other, the advent of SAPs sponsored by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) virtually wiped these out as governments were compelled to radically cut down on social spending. In addition, food subsidies that were used to cushion the poor from constant food price increases were also removed in a bid to cut down on government expenditure. It was argued that the removal of such subsidies, as well as regulations relating to trade would usher in a competition phase that would gradually see the price of goods being reduced due to competition and hence benefit the poor (Jamal 1988; Mwanza 1992; Cowan 1994). However, because of the well-established trade monopolies in the region, very little competition took place, and households continued to suffer from ever-increasing food prices. Although it is the poor that are disproportionately affected by these factors, even the employed are at risk in this kind of precarious environment (Sikod 2001; Pressman 2007; Payne 2009; Lawson 2012).

Thus, urban poverty affects not only the slum-dwellers, but other urban dwellers in non-slum neighbourhoods as well. The food security of the majority of urban households in the middle and low-income categories can therefore not be guaranteed. But what exactly does food security entail?

2.2. Food security

The concept of food security has been discussed much in the public domain resulting in the emergence of a number of approaches to the concept (Maxwell 2001). In the 1970s, food security was mostly concerned with the national and global food supplies, emphasis being placed on adequate world supplies of basic food-stuffs to sustain a steady expansion of food consumption and to offset fluctuations in production and price (United Nations 1975; Maxwell 2001). In the 1980s, the focus shifted to questions of access to food at household and individual levels following Amartya Sen's "Entitlement" framework in 1981. In the context of food security and poverty, the entitlement approach describes all legal sources of food which Sen (1981:2) categorised into four as follows: "production-based entitlement" (growing food), "trade-based entitlement" (buying food), "own-labour entitlement" (working for food) and "Inheritance and transfer entitlement" (being given food by others). Based on the entitlement approach, Sen (1981:1) explained that food insecurity can occur not because there is no food, but because people lack access due to entitlement failure (i.e. income, social capital, assets). He argued that food insecurity was more often about inability to access food rather than the absolute amount of food available because even in the severe famine of Bengal in 1943 food was available, but people lacked means to access it. Hence, focus should not only be on global or national supply but on individuals and households, with emphasis on access, vulnerability and entitlement.

Although conceptually broad, food security has been simplified by focusing on four distinct, but inter-related dimensions of availability, access, utilization and stability (Maxwell 2001; FAO 2008c; Timmer 2012). "Food availability is the physical presence of food in the area of concern" (WFP 2009: 23); such food can be supplied through production (food produced in the area); trade (food brought into the area through market mechanisms); stocks (food held by traders and in government reserves); and transfers (food supplied by the government and/or aid agencies). Food availability might be aggregated at the regional, national, district or community level (Maxwell 2001; Mougeot 1999; WFP 2009a). Food access relates to a

household's ability to acquire adequate amounts of food, acquiring of food may be either through own production, or through purchases and transfers (Maxwell 1998). Food may be available but not accessible to certain households if they cannot acquire a sufficient quantity or diversity of food through these mechanisms (WFP 2009a: 24). Therefore, food access is ensured when households and all individuals within them have adequate resources to obtain appropriate foods for a nutritious diet (FAO 1996:3).

Food utilisation on the other hand is the proper biological use. It means that the food accessed by a household must be able to provide sufficient energy and essential nutrients. This depends on how "food is stored, prepared, distributed, and eaten in ways that are nutritionally adequate" for all members of the household (WFP 2009a: 23). Food utilisation also includes the water and fuel used to prepare food. The water should be clean for human consumption. Stability simply means that even if a person or household's food intake is adequate today, that household is still considered to be food insecure if it has inadequate access to food on a periodic basis, risking a deterioration of its nutritional status (FAO 2008c:1). Factors affecting food stability include seasonal variations in food supply or income. These can be impacted by climate variability, price fluctuations, and political and economic factors.

In line with the above, about 842 million people in the world are said to be food insecure because they lack sufficient resources that can make it possible for them to access healthy foods (FAO 2013). That means that one in every eight people on earth goes to bed hungry each night. In SSA the situation is worse because according to Devereux and Maxwell (2001) SSA is the only region of the world in which chronic food insecurity and threats of famine remain endemic for most of the population, and where the number of malnourished people keeps raising. For example in 2010, it was estimated that 32% of SSA's total population suffered from malnutrition, compared with 4% to 12% in other developing countries. Further, FAO (2009) reports that between 1990 and 2006 the number of food insecure people in Southern Africa increased from 32.4 million to 36.7 million and, today, it is estimated to be over 40 million.

2.2.1. Overview of food security literature in Africa

The rest of the food security sections examine anthropological and related social science food security literature to identify gaps in knowledge about urban food security and more

specifically about urban household food security. There is a wide range of work conducted on food in Africa and most of this work has focused on hunger and famine (Sen 1981; de Waal 1989; Devereux 2001), eating and identities (Grange 2001; Cooper 2009), health and food (Chileshe 2008; Magazi 2009; Nguyen 2010; Kalafonos 2010; Cole & Tembo 2011), and on food security. In relation to food security, Audrey Richards (1939), Moore and Vaughan (1994), and Ikpe (1994) for example examined food systems in Zambia and in Nigeria respectively. Their work focuses on food production, preparation, exchange, preferences, consumption and nutritional consequences. Further, Pottier's (1999) work focused on problem of food insecurity and paid attention to its definition and ways to alleviate it. He also focused on topics such as intra-household food allocation, local agriculture knowledge and meanings, and micro-level political economy of food. Other studies (Foster 1993; Bangwe 1997; Waller 1997; Chileshe 2008; Mazzeo 2011) on food security show that households experiencing food insecurity may develop negative coping mechanisms that put them at a greater risk. A study done in rural Zimbabwe (Mazzeo 2011) shows that when households are faced with food insecurity during a crisis they start to sell their assets such as cattle. The study further argues that selling cattle is a problem because it reduces the household's ability to recover from future crises.

Though the scope of Africa's food insecurity is well known and documented (Maxwell 2001; Crush & Frayne 2010a; 2010b; 2010c), food insecurity in Africa and particularly Zambia remains a key challenge because urban dimensions of food insecurity are neglected. As Crush & Frayne put it, "there is a pervasive, and misleading, idea that food insecurity is largely a rural problem affecting rural households (2010:6). Much of the writing as shown from the above literature focuses disproportionately on rural food security (Maxwell 1998). However, the challenges that the poor face are often greater than or equal to those of the rural poor and therefore similarly deserve equal attention.

According to Maxwell (1998) there are three major reasons why urban food security has been neglected in Southern Africa. The first reason is linked to development theory (modernization, urban bias and migration) that depicts urban areas as developed and therefore free of problems of poverty and food insecurity. Food issues are generally regarded as rural issues; they are seen as "falling within the purview of rural policy, applying mainly to farmers" (Pothukuchi & Kaufman 1999:216) and "contemporary blindness" (Maxwell 2005:7) is created towards urban areas. Hence urban areas have been identified as non-

agricultural “thereby conceptually distancing food as an urban issue” (Pothukuchi & Kaufman 1999: 215). The second reason is that “urban food insecurity is made invisible to both urban managers and national policy makers by the very nature of its manifestation” (Maxwell 1998:1940). City managers and policy makers are much more concerned with major food shortages, sudden increases in food prices or in food related problems that affect a large number of urban populations negatively and simultaneously, and not with food security problems at the individual or household level (Maxwell 1998).

However lack of focus on household food security can lead to dire consequences. Individual or household food insecurity leads to drastic effects on the health status of a country’s population. It can also lead to a sharp increase in infant and child mortality and a fall in economic productivity as working families lack the strength and energy needed for labour productively (UN 2003; World Bank 2006a; Christian 2010). With no income, retrenched households are particularly vulnerable to these dire consequences of food insecurity and the lessons learned from this study may be important for city managers and policy makers. The third reason, as explained by Maxwell (199), is that, cities do not recognise food security as a problem. They tend to prioritise problems of unemployment, overcrowding, deteriorating infrastructure, housing/water and all those visible service delivery issues while downplaying food security and leaving it off the agenda (Maxwell 1998)

On the other hand, this study argues that food security must be on the agenda and should not be perceived as an exclusively rural issue because many urban residences, especially the poor do not have access to healthy foods. In fact some evidence reveals that the incidence of food insecurity (as measured by food-energy deficiency) in urban areas is the same or higher than in the rural areas (Ahmed et al. 2007), even though urban areas on average have higher incomes. For example, in Zambia and India, the incidence of food insecurity is the same in both rural and urban areas while countries like Ethiopia, Malawi, Senegal, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Pakistan and Laos have higher incidences of food insecurity in urban than rural areas (Ahmed et al. 2007).

2.2.2. Gaps in urban food security literature

Literature reviewed showed that the most extensive work on urban food security has been on urban agriculture (Bishwapriya 1985; Rogerson 2000; Egal et al. 2001; Simatele & Binns

2008; De Zeeuw et al 2010; Zezza & Tasciotti 2010; Crush et al 2011a; Mkwambisi et al. 2011, Arku 2012). Urban agriculture mainly entails the “growing of plants and trees and rearing of livestock within or on the fringe of cities (intra-urban and peri-urban agriculture, respectively), including related input provision, processing and marketing activities and services” (Zeewu et al. 2010:1). Urban agriculture has been an integral part of urban livelihoods since the colonial era when farming flourished to meet consumption needs of bureaucrats, settlers, and other elites (Mougeot 2005; Arku 2012). However, urban agriculture as a concept only came to the fore around the 90s and has since been advocated by some scholars as a means to address persistent food insecurity and poverty in urban areas (Smit & Nasr 1992; Rogerson 1997, Mougeot 1998; Armar-Klemesu 2001; Bruinsma & Hertog 2003; Mougeot 2005; Mkwambisi et al. 2011; Arku 2012, FAO 2012). This literature argues that urban agriculture positively influences urban food security and the wellbeing of urban households in several ways. Smit et al. for example explain that urban agriculture “contributes to the health and well-being of a community by reducing hunger, strengthening access to food, improving nutrition, and improving environmental conditions that affect health” (2001:1). They further argue that the benefits offered by urban agriculture are both quantitative and qualitative in the sense that increasing food quantities reduces hunger, while improving food quality fosters better health and nutrition. It is also argued that urban agriculture can provide direct access to a larger number of nutritionally rich foods (vegetables, fruit, and meat) and a more varied diet; and can increase the stability of household food consumption against seasonality or other temporary shortages.

Similarly, Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO 2007; 2012) research indicates that the condition of adults and children plagued with diseases and living in low-income areas can improve significantly if they are engaged in urban farming. Apart from improving health and nutrition benefits, it is further argued that at the household level, urban agriculture can be a source of income; it can address declining livelihood opportunities and gender inequality; and can increase the time mothers spend caring for their children, as opposed to non-agricultural activities that are more likely to be located further away (Armar-Klemesu 2001; Slater 2001; Bruinsma & Hertog 2003; Maxwell 2003; Zeeuw *et al.* 2010; Arku 2012). Hussain argues for example, that urban agriculture “in addition to improving the nutritional quality of the diet, can become a valuable income-generating activity for the unemployed and underemployed and, can utilise spare and unused lands available in the cities” (1990: 189-90).

Slater's study conducted in Cape Town to investigate the social effects of urban agriculture on women in Langa, Khayelitsha and Crossroads also seems to support Hussain's view. Slater's study reveals that urban agriculture is a "means of livelihood in the city. The study further shows that through urban agriculture women become empowered in many ways and they consider the growing of food as an important part of their roles as wives and mothers" (2001:648).

While the benefits of urban agriculture have been articulated and some scholars have presented urban agriculture as the panacea to eradicate food insecurity and poverty in cities "available evidence does not allow for conclusions on whether or not urban agriculture contributes to food security" (Stewart et al. 2013:1). Most of the evidence in the literature on urban agriculture and food security is not systematically reviewed (Crush et al. 2010). Tevera (1999) for example, argued that there was little evidence to suggest that the truly poor derived much benefit from urban agriculture this is because, urban agriculture is more common among better-off households than the poor due to costs associated with land and farming inputs. He further argues that the very poor and new arrivals to the city have limited access to land and tend to shift residences too often for them to engage in urban agriculture. This means that though much literature exists on the topic of urban food security, most of which assumes a positive relationship between urban agriculture and food security, very few studies have generated reliable facts about the scale and impact of urban agriculture on food security in cities. The absence of reliable empirical data point to the fact that more research is needed on urban food security to help policy makers, researchers and students fully understand the dynamics of household food insecurity and ways to challenge it in urban areas.

A regional baseline survey on urban food security in Southern Africa conducted in 11 African cities by AFSUN in 2008–09 provide insight on what role urban agriculture currently plays in the food security of cities. Results from this survey reveal that urban agriculture is not as widely practiced or as important to the food security of the urban poor in Southern Africa as is sometimes claimed (See Crush et al. 2011a). The study shows that households that engage in urban food production as an additional livelihood strategy turn out to be food insecure. For example with the exception of Johannesburg and Blantyre, in all cities surveyed, over 70 per cent of households that grew food were food insecure. The conclusion drawn is that "Urban food production plays a relatively minor role in the food supply of most households and very few derive any kind of income from the sale of home-produced food" (Crush et al 2011a:

298). The findings by AFSUN suggest that at the household level, urban food production is only one (possible) component of broader household food access and security strategies. Therefore, there is still a gap in literature on the dynamics of urban food security and on the survival strategies of food insecure urban households; this study aims to address this gap.

Further search and review of the literature on urban food security did not yield a wide range of studies. Most of the work on urban food security in SSA is work conducted by AFSUN through its baseline study mentioned above. The survey as explained was conducted in 11 cities in 8 countries using the same methodology and survey instrument in each city (Crush & Frayne 2010a). The cities included Blantyre, Cape Town, Gaborone, Harare, Johannesburg, Lusaka, Maputo, Manzini, Maseru, Msunduzi (Pietermatitzburg) and Windhoek. The baseline study was conducted in order to provide information on the state of food security in Southern Africa. Results from this baseline survey makes up the “largest single database on urban food security ever created in the region” and “contains information on 6,453 households and 28,771 individuals” (Crush et al 2011a:290). The information and results found in the database focuses on a wide range of urban food security issues such as levels of food insecurity amongst poor urban households, the relationship between poverty and food insecurity, where the urban poor get their food; and on factors that influence urban household food insecurity.

However, though there is a lot that can be learnt from the AFSUN baseline survey, more research on urban food security is needed because the purpose of a baseline is to provide an information base that can be applied to current and future research projects. Secondly, the AFSUN survey was conducted in the poorer areas of Southern African cities and thus does not provide information on households who might be food insecure but living in less poorer areas or in more affluent areas of the city. In other words, like many other food security studies the AFSUN literature pays no attention to the “new poor”. Thirdly, although the AFSUN literature covers a wide range of topics and factors that influence urban food security (health, gender, household size, etc.); it offers no information on retrenchment and its impact on urban household food security.

Apart from AFSUN literature, other studies instructive in this review are studies that try to understand the impact of shocks or severe changes (physical, financial, social and economic) on urban household food security. The literature reviewed showed that there are several

studies done on the impact of increasingly severe changes in weather associated with climate change (Gregory et al. 2005; Kandji et al. 2006; Ericksen 2008; Ziervogel & Ericksen 2010; Ziervogel & Frayne 2011; Battersby 2012; Vermeulen 2012; Tacoli 2013); on changes in food prices and economic crises (Cohen & Garrett 2009; Ruel 2009; Prain 2010; Prain & de Zeeuw 2011; von Braun & Tadesse 2012); and on health and illness (Townsend et al. 2001; Drimie 2008; Brinkman et al. 2010; Crush et al. 2011b) and its impact on urban food security.

The literature on shocks has mainly focused on causes of shocks, on understanding whether shocks lead to significant changes in the food security status of urban households, and on mitigating responses. Prain's (2010) synthesis report on five city case studies in Rosario – Argentina, Accra- Ghana, Bogota – Colombia, Colombo - Sri Lanka, and Kitwe - Zambia is an example of work conducted on shocks and food insecurity. The objective of the case studies was to generate data to help understand the extent to which rising food prices and the financial crisis were impacting on malnutrition levels in cities and how the policy and institutional context were mitigating or exacerbating problems of food insecurity. The results of the cases studies show that in all the populations surveyed, a third or more of households spent over half their income on food. Further, the report shows that in the current economic circumstances facing urban populations in the case cities, many households try to cope with the situation by adopting food consumption habits which contribute to malnutrition among the under-five age group. Recent field studies have confirmed these findings (Mattinen et al. 2009; Tawodzera 2010; Tolossa 2010) and also show that people affected by shocks respond by reducing the quantity and diversity of their diet; in some countries, migration, and child labour and asset sales increase.

In addition to the above mentioned studies, some studies have focused on urban food security in general (Delisle 1990; Maxwell 1999; Garrett & Ruel 1999; Maxwell 2001; Maxwell et al 2000; Hofonga & van den Boom 2003; Kennedy 2003; Ruel & Garrett 2004; FAO 2008; Mittal 2009; Tolossa 2010; Van der Merwe 2011; Timmer 2012; Nickanor 2013; Riley 2013; Tawodzera 2013). These studies focus on the definitions, characteristics and determinants of food security while some of the mentioned studies have focused on gender issues and strategies employed by urban households when faced with food insecurity.

Whereas the above literature on shocks and food security highlight the challenges facing poor and even middle income households in developing world cities, most of this work especially on the impacts of high food prices, economic and financial crises is highly theoretical papers with little empirical content. Apart from data from a few empirical studies such as Prain (2010), Mattinen et al (2009) or Tolossa (2010), the real impact of the crisis has not been fully documented using field data. This thesis builds on existing data and helps to fill this gap in the literature.

From the above review, it is evident that the contributions of this thesis to urban food security are in several directions. First, it addresses urban food security, a relatively less researched topic in the SSA literature. Secondly, it departs from the more traditional focus on the ‘old poor’ by giving specific attention to middle income households’ food security. Thirdly, by incorporating quantitative and qualitative research methods (See Chapter Four) in the same study, the study helps to present a more robust assessment of urban food security. Finally, the findings of the research have strong policy implications as shall be seen in Chapter eight. This is particularly important because as earlier stated “much of the writing and most of the development interventions, around food security focus on rural food security and the plight of the rural poor” (Crush & Frayne 2010a:6).

So the argument being advanced here is that more attention needs to be given to household food security in urban areas because with rapid urbanization and increasing urban poverty, households are vulnerable to food insecurity (WFP, 2005: 5; Crush et al. 2006: 19). Further, the food riots that take place in urban areas (In Zambia, the food riot waves of December 1986 and June 1990, in Ghana around the 70s, in Argentina around 2001 and in Algeria, Bahrain, Egypt, Iran, Jordan, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia, & Yemen in 2010, See Schuller 2008; Timmer 2008; Patel & McMichael 2009; Bush 2010; Dyer 2011; Reuters 2011) not only highlight the increasing problem of urban food security; but are a sure sign that urban areas are affected by food shortages and high food prices as Escaler, Teng & Caballero-Anthony have explained:

“The food crisis in 2007–2008 and the resulting food riots that occurred in cities all over the world exposed the vulnerability and fragility of the current global food system but, more importantly, highlighted the increasing problem of urban food security. Urban households were among the hardest hit by the crisis as they saw their purchasing power decline

drastically. Although aggregate world food availability was relatively good during this period, access to that food by the urban poor was severely compromised” (2010: 407)

It is also imperative to understand that the food riots and protests of 2007-08 go beyond urban dwellers discontent with food spikes. According to literature (Patel & McMichael 2009; McMichael 2009; Bush 2010) while the “food riots in the 1980s and 1990s were seen as reactions to debts, SAP and IMF-imposed austerity” the recent food riots are not as different as they too, are part of the resistance to globalisation and the uneven spread of capitalist relations of production (Bush 2010: 121). Therefore, the food riots and protests of 2007-08 are as a result of broader issues of poverty and modern capitalism and are according to Bush (2010) and McMichael (2009), a declaration by the urban dwellers that they are unhappy with the ways in which their livelihoods have been transformed. Unless donors, governments and international agencies realise that “food insecurity and famine is an integral part of capitalism” the Millennium Development Goal (MDG) one, to halve the population living in hunger by 2015 from 1990 levels, both globally and in Africa might not be achieved (Conceicao et al. 2011). Inability to meet the hunger MDG also impedes fulfilment of other MDGs. Thus food has an implication on development meaning that, food security is not simply about the food itself, but also about the well-being of individuals, households and nations (Battersby 2011).

The discussion above makes it clear that urban food security is important and should be given more attention. By paying attention to the food security of retrenched urban households the study first contributes to the literature on *urban food security*, which remains poorly researched and documented in the southern African context. Second, this research contributes a new dimension to the food security literature as it departs from the more traditional focus on the ‘old poor’ by giving specific attention to middle income households’ food security in the context of widespread economic shocks within the formal economy.

2.3. Retrenchment

Although retrenchment has traditionally been attributed to declining economic conditions such as market losses which forces the employer/organisation to reduce the labour force, there is now widespread acceptance that the nature of economic forces on an international scale have changed and that retrenchment is an outcome of various dynamics within the broader economic, as well as the internal organisational environments (Harrison 1986;

Thornhill & Saunders 1998; Bendix 2010). Retrenchments are occurring with greater frequency and in ways that suggest that they are not simply related to declining economic conditions, but are linked to adverse economic circumstances such as increased international competition, rise of global markets, deregulation of business, advancing technology and the rise in corporate takeovers. This has led to greater frequency in retrenchments all over the world such that even in Africa, a continent that had never heard of retrenchments before the 80s, retrenchment has become a “catchword” in organisations (Bendix 2010). Since retrenchments lead to job losses (and consequently income losses) and are in some cases unplanned (as in companies that find themselves unable to stay afloat and have to downsize immediately as a survival measure), the greater proportion of the retrenched workers are not prepared for the immediate loss of income and therefore suffer immensely as they battle to find money for food. Moreover, most retrenchees are not prepared for a life out of employment and have very little experience in coping. For these “new poor”, life is a struggle as they battle to adjust to this sudden loss of income and at the same time have few alternatives in declining economic environments.

To understand retrenchments in Africa generally and in SSA specifically, one has to look at the general concepts of SAPs and the reform program that the governments initiated around the 1980s. With the exception of Botswana, Namibia and Swaziland, all (SSA) countries implemented SAPs (Mwanza 1992). One key emphasis of SAPs was privatisation which is broadly defined as “the deliberate sale by a government of state-owned enterprises (SOEs) or assets to private economic agents” (Megginson & Netter 2001: 321). This wholesale disposal of state entities is based on the assumption that such entities are inefficient and wasteful. It is envisaged that privatisation will lead to restructuring of companies thereby maximising profits and getting rid of excess employment (Riddell 1997; Yeboah 2000). It was through these retrenchment programmes that most African countries first experienced retrenchments in the 1980s and 1990s. Massive retrenchments resulted in a lot of workers being laid off. Whereas these workers were in theory supposed to be compensated in monetary terms and given skills to enable them to start income generating projects, the reality in most of the African countries was such that retrenchees were just laid off without adequate compensation nor training on alternative ways of earning an income and so the majority immediately became destitute (Mwansa 1992). Without an income and with prices of goods increasing drastically due to the removal of price controls (due to trade liberalization) a greater

proportion of the retrenchees was vulnerable to food insecurity (Alderman & Shively 1996; Riddell 1997).

SAPs in Africa was thus largely responsible for the creation of the “new poor”: people formerly employed, but now retrenched and struggling to fit into a challenging world that they were unfamiliar with and were not adequately equipped to deal with. Whereas the supposed and envisaged benefits of SAPs are difficult to discern, the negative impacts resulting from the implementation of the programmes are many and easy to distinguish: job losses, income losses, declining standards of living; and increased vulnerability to poverty, hunger and food insecurity. While SAPs started the process of the impoverishment of the middle class and turned them into the “new poor”, the global economic crisis, of which Africa was not spared, has also contributed in some ways to retrenchment predicaments in Africa as further retrenchments have taken place after the global economic crisis, leading to thousands more workers losing their jobs (ILO 2009).

The credit crunch of 2007 which turned into the financial crash of 2008 when the world stock markets around the world fell and large financial institutions collapsed thus further worsened the situation of retrenchments in Africa. While some governments came up with rescue packages to bail out their financial systems (Gamble 2009; Turner 2009), the scale of the crisis was such that resources directed towards this problem were inadequate. In an effort to maintain even marginal profitability (indeed to survive), companies began slashing costs and retrenching workers. The driving force behind the decision to retrench was the expected economic and organisational benefits of improved productivity and reduction of expenses and costs (Bendix 2010). Although this section has given some background to the SAPs and the global economic recession, it is not intended that this be a general review, but rather a way in which retrenchments which occurred and continue to occur in most of the affected African countries can be understood. Hence the creation of the “new poor”, the ways in which they are surviving, and the struggles that they have to endure, particularly in feeding their households can then be better understood. Note that the rest of the review on retrenchment is not about the broad economy or organisations that carry out retrenchments but rather about the victims of retrenchment.

Much has been written about the impact of retrenchments on the workers who have survived the retrenchment exercise and on organisations that carry out retrenchments. Research on

survivors of retrenchment (Brockner et al. 1987; 1992; Kaye 1998; Mone 1997) shows that fear of becoming the next victim affects the morale of survivors and this consequently leads to low productivity. More research further shows that uncertainty about the future also causes fear in remaining employees and eventually they become more competitive instead of cooperative, destroying teamwork and collaboration which in turn leads to low returns in organisations (Allen et al. 2001; Brockner 1994; Barker et al. 1998; DeWitt 1993; Kaye & Jordan-Evans 2000; Littler & Innes, 1999; Worrell, Davidson & Sharma 1991; Williams 2010). While a lot has been written about both survivors and organisations, there is though, a dearth of literature on the survival of those that have fallen victim to the retrenchment process. Yet, an understanding of the personal experiences of the retrenched, especially in terms of food, is critical to understanding survival and the general livelihoods of the poor in the urban environment. Although research on the consequences of retrenchment is very limited, emerging literature on the subject shows that there are two dominant lines of arguments on retrenchments.

The first argument which resonates with the urban bias theories argues that the retrenched might not be vulnerable to poverty because they have acquired capital assets to fall back on and therefore are not necessarily vulnerable to food insecurity. The basic premise behind this argument is that most of the retrenched individuals live in urban areas which are considered to be areas of abundant opportunities. Retrenched workers are therefore envisaged to have the opportunity to look for other alternative employment (World Bank 2001: 19 – 20), thus saving them from destitution and/or poverty and food insecurity. This employment is largely in the formal sector, though the informal sector also contributes to absorbing a proportion of the retrenched. Furthermore, it is argued that retrenchees had been working for some time and had acquired assets that they can simply fall back on in times of crises. Although the World Bank (2001) and others (Townsend & Gordon 1981: 235; Vinod et al. 1991: 248) refer to these retrenched people as the “new poor” (those who have previously been among the relatively well to do who now find themselves in straitened circumstances, as a result of economic recession and structural change), they argue that in objective terms, the condition of the “new poor” is likely to be less severe than the so-called “old poor” or people that have always been in poverty for the greater part of their lives.

To support this argument, Vinod et al. (1991: 248) argue that although the retrenched may become poor, they are not necessarily poor as “the poorest of the population often resides in

rural areas and suffer from malnutrition, illiteracy, high infant mortality rates” (ibid: 248). Hence, according to this line of thought, more attention should be given to the “old poor” because unlike the “new poor”, the “old poor” are the ones who have little or no “buffer” to cushion them from the adverse impact of the economic crisis. The decline in income for this group is therefore thought to be much higher than for the new poor. Additionally, the “old poor” are said to have no savings to fall back on and little or no assets that they can sell to alleviate suffering in times of crisis and food shortages. This is why Kaye (1998:1) classifies the “new poor” as the POBBOs: the Pushed Out, But Better Off. His argument is that though they are victims of retrenchment they are better off than survivors in the sense that most of them (the victims) become entrepreneurs and some easily change professions.

In contrast to this position, the second argument together with this thesis takes the opposite view, which argues that the retrenched are vulnerable to both poverty and food insecurity. Literature on economic shocks (McKenzie 2003; Skoufias 2003; Shoji 2008; Sawada et al. 2011) shows that when households are affected by a covariate/aggregate shock,¹¹ in this case the economic crisis, it causes serious deterioration of household welfare. This is because, economic shocks affect incomes and reduce opportunities for work both in formal and informal sectors thus many of the coping strategies households use to adapt to idiosyncratic shocks (i.e. adding more household members to the labour force) are found not to work with a covariate shock (Mckenzie 2003; Horn 2009; 2011).

Further, apart from failing to find employment in the formal sector, retrenched households also fail to secure a position in the informal sector, because during economic shocks the informal sector is equally affected. Women in Informal Employment Globalising and Organising (WIEGO) Institute (2009:1) for example contends that, during covariate shocks such as the current economic crisis, the informal sector is just as affected as the formal sector. Like the formal sector, they argue that the informal sector is also “affected by decreased demand, falling prices, and fluctuations in exchange rates associated with economic crises.”

¹¹ Aggregate or covariate shocks - such as droughts, floods, economic crises -- are those that simultaneously affect a large number of households. Since covariate shocks are correlated across several households within the same community, informal insurance mechanisms within communities usually break down during such shocks and also markets tend to be imperfect to support formal credits and other usual coping strategies. Consequently covariate shocks tend to significantly reduce the real value of household resources and assets (see Shoji 2008 and Sawada et al. 2011 for details)

They further state that it is a fallacy that informal economies saves as a cushion to those retrenched from formal jobs:

“There is a common assumption that the informal economy serves as a cushion for formal workers who lose their jobs. While it is the case that employment in the informal economy tends to expand during economic downturns, this does not mean that those working in the informal economy thrive.” (2009:1)

Therefore the first line of thought might be wrong to assume that the retrenched will be cushioned by the informal sector because a coveriate shock also leads to “significant downturn in trade, decreasing incomes and increasing uncertainty” in the informal economy (2009:1). In line with the second argument, Mitlin (2000: 205) explains that when people do not have an income it is very difficult to save and secure assets, rendering households particularly vulnerable to crises i.e. they can easily fall into poverty. What Mitlin shows is that if people are retrenched at any time other than during a recession, they might be able to save and secure assets because “during recession assets lose value and can be exhausted rapidly” (ibid, 2001: 209). Likewise, Younger (1996), points out that retrenchment can lead to poverty. Younger surveyed data on retrenched civil servants in Ghana and analysed the economic and social impact of the redeployment program on the affected civil servants. His main question was, “can and do former public sector employees find remunerative employment after they are dismissed from their public sector jobs?” He was also concerned with what the civil servants earn in new jobs compared with their civil service earnings.

Part of Younger’s findings supports the first line of thought. He found that the retrenched civil servants had little difficulty in finding new jobs however, “overall average total earnings fell by almost half, indicating a substantial loss in income for the retrenched” (ibidi 1996:191). He concludes by stating that poverty among the retrenched increased and according to him retrenchment causes hardship that is difficult to justify and some form of compensation should be given to the retrenched.

While studies done in Brazil (Furtado 1984), Guinea (Mills & Sahn1996), India (Howell & Kambhamhati 1999) and many others (Martin & Wallace 1984; Weber & Campbell 1997; Hanisch 1999; Mitlin 2000; Waters 2000) have demonstrated that it takes a long time to find a job and workers do not receive their pension in good time. Although the literature discussed above considers social aspects of retrenchments, their focus is on the economic dimensions of

retrenchments, and they tend to restrict their research to income and employment effects. However, the work of Snyman (1983), Gordon (1996), Ferguson (1999), Ngonini (2001), Waddington et al (2001) and Strully (2006) is instructive in this review as it takes a wider social perspective by looking at the physical, emotional, social and economic impact of retrenchment. Ngonini's work carried out in the Eastern Cape of South Africa involved going to three villages in the Bizana District and interviewing retrenched mineworkers and their families to determine how they were affected by retrenchment. His findings point not only to an economic struggle to survive and different survival tactics employed but also to problems experienced by retrenches including loss of dignity, family break-ups, violence, prostitution, substance abuse and other forms of crime. Like Ngonini's work, a growing body of research (Catalano et al. 1993; Weich & Lewis 1998; Gallo et al. 2000; Gallo. et al. 2006) also suggests that layoffs can have profound health consequences.

The study carried out by Gallo et al. (2006), over a ten year study frame investigated whether workers who suffered involuntary job loss were at higher risk for subsequent heart attacks and stroke than individuals who continued to work. The study reports that in fact retrenchment more than doubled the risk of heart attack and stroke. It is reported that stress associated with retrenchment can affect the immune system, which means that the body is more vulnerable and struggles to fight off infections. The stress also can cause immediate biochemical changes that could trigger heart attacks. In a similar manner, Strully (2009) examined survey data from more than 8,000 workers. Her study sample also included 1,851 blue-collar workers and 3,359 white-collar workers. Her respondents were asked questions about their health and work history three times: in 1999, 2001, and 2003. Her results showed that individuals who are retrenched have an 83% greater chance of developing stress related health problem such as heart disease, diabetes, arthritis or psychiatric issues than people who did not lose their job - even if they went on to find a new job. Strully also reports that there was no evidence that the health consequences of retrenchment differ across white- and blue-collar occupations. In short job loss leads to worse health whether in low or middle income households.

Correspondingly more literature (Leana & Ivancevich 1987; Hanisch 1999; Waters 2000) shows that because retrenchment is a shock to an individual, many retrenchees show a high level of psychological distress such as depression and in some cases leading to suicide. Similar to Gordon (1996), Ngonini (2001), Gallo et al (2006) and Strully's (2006) work;

Ferguson's (1999) work also forced on retrenchment. Ferguson's work is based on ethnographic material collected in October 1985-September 1986 and July 1989 –August 1989 among 50 former mine workers who were retrenched during economic decline. In his findings, Ferguson shows that “urban conditions were so poor that there was almost no alternative to heading for the countryside.” In short Ferguson shows that because of the economic crisis people found it hard to survive in the urban area and so they returned to the rural area - land to which many of the dislodged Copperbelt workers had never really been attached in the first place. Because of the move to rural areas, Ferguson claims that the population of the Copperbelt was “actually shrinking” and he uses the 1980 census to argue that this was “almost certainly through urban- rural migration” (1999:11).

While this study helps to build on Ferguson's ethnographic accounts of retrenchments on the Copperbelt it differs from Ferguson's work in that first, unlike Ferguson who focused more on people that moved to the rural area during the economic crisis in the 80s this study focuses more on people that decide to stay in urban areas. Literature in Zambia shows that because of the sale of houses to sitting tenants after the implementation of SAPs in 1990 many of retrenched do not go to rural areas but opt to stay in town (Palmer 2000). Secondly, his work neglects the topic of food security.

Unlike Ferguson, and all the above literature that the study has reviewed so far, studies (Waddington et al 2001; Waddington 2004; Stephenson & Wray 2005) carried out during a long term decline of the British coal industry in the 1990s bring out new insights into the discussion on retrenchment by focusing not only on the retrenched individual and his/her family but also on entire mining communities. Though these studies (Waddington et al 2001; Waddington 2004; Stephenson & Wray 2005) were carried out in a very different context, the findings can to a great extent shed some light on the impact of retrenchments on the households and the entire community in Chingola because as shown by Powdermaker (1962) mining towns be it in Britain, Africa or central America all have the same characteristics i.e high concentration of people dependant on one big mining company. These studies (i.e. Waddington et al 2001) are particularly valuable to this thesis due to their use of a wide range of quantitative and qualitative methods which none of the above studies use.

In the findings, all the studies reveal that the long-term decline of the British coal industry has had serious and lasting implications for miners, their families and communities. They

further state that it was more devastating for those communities that were spatially organized around mining activities and existed simply to meet the needs of the mine around which they were constructed. In such communities the impact was even more overwhelming because not only were the community members affected by stress and ill health due to retrenchment (Waddington et al 2001), but the entire community was equally affected and compounded by other problems such as high levels of long-term unemployment, poverty, social exclusion and a decline in community resources. The studies also reveal that communities also experienced common problems associated with poverty such as alcohol and substance abuse; social decay; vandalism; and a loss of the social structures (shops, clubs and pubs). Similar to literature from Britain but closer to Zambia is a study done in South Africa by Solidarity Research Institute (2008).

This study points out that when retrenchments occur in an area that is mainly dependent on one particular economic activity such as Chingola (the study site) the impact is very devastating for the people involved and for the local economies. The study further estimates and shows that when 4000 workers were retrenched at Lonmin's mining operations in Rustenburg between 28 000 and 44 000 more people concentrated in that area were left without an income as a result of retrenchment. The study also mentions that another devastating impact of retrenchment on households is that the households tend to lose access to medical aid funds, as well as losing access to company leisure facilities – something which mining companies often provide to families of workers. Therefore, retrenchment can have devastating impacts on a community especially that in many cases, the mine is the local economy's primary provider of income, employment, and many social services such as health, education and essential municipal infrastructure. In such a context, mine closure will definitely have major negative impacts on the well-being of the entire community.

From the above review it can be seen that the traumatic effects of retrenchment are self-evident and cannot be over-stated as attested to by the above literatures. The review however, has identified important gaps that this research aims to fill. Firstly, apart from Waddington et al (2001), Ngonini's (2001) and Solidarity Research Institute (2008) studies, the rest of the literature pays more attention to the individual and not the household. As much as the individual is important it is also important to look at the household because as Solomon (1997) points out there are between seven and eleven dependants per worker arriving at a conservative estimate of five dependants per worker. Therefore, this work aims to extend the

literature by moving beyond the individual, introducing the household as a unit of measurement and analysis.

Secondly, Waddington et al. (2001) bring new insights into the discussion on retrenchment by paying attention not only on the household but the community as well. While one can learn a lot from these studies, all the studies were conducted in Britain. Hence, it was interesting to see how this turns out for communities in developing countries like Zambia. This is because impacts of economic declines on mining communities are exacerbated in developing countries for the reason that local government and communities often lack the capacity needed to help structure a development process that would provide suitable alternatives (World Bank 2009).

Thirdly, both Ferguson (1999) and Ngonini (2001) paid more attention to retrenched workers who go back to rural areas; they do not offer much information about the retrenched who decide to continue to live in the urban area. This study therefore extends the literature by examining the lives of urban dwellers that are retrenched and the hardships they may face. This was done in the context of rising urban poverty, thus making an original contribution to the question of how life plays out for the retrenched in a rapidly urbanising environment.

Fourthly, although authors like Ngonini (2001), Ferguson (1999), Waddington et al. (2001), and Gordon (1996) have tried to give a detailed account of the problem faced by the retrenchees, they also like the rest of the literature above fall short on details about household food security issues. Ngonini (2001) does mention it in passing but does not go into detail. This study therefore aims to fill this gap by offering an understanding of the impact of retrenchment on household food security. The need for food is topmost in the hierarchy of needs and so when households are food insecure it is a sure sign that they are lacking in many other needs (good health, education, social networks and incomes) because as mentioned before, as households struggle to meet urban expenses they cut on the type, quantity and quality of food consumed within the households (Crush & Frayne 2006). Further, food security is particularly important for any retrenchment study as it connects the individual, household and wider spatial and economic realm in a way that the others do not.

Finally, the literature reviewed is based on the past two recessions of 1990-91 and 2001. However, statistics for the current recession indicate that it is worse than anything felt in the last two recessions as clearly shown by FAO:

“While developing countries have been hit by many crises in the past, the current economic turmoil is different in at least three important aspects. First, the crisis is affecting large parts of the world simultaneously, and, as such, traditional coping mechanisms at national and subnational levels are likely to be less effective than they were in the past. The second key difference is that the current economic crisis emerged immediately following the food and fuel crisis of 2006–08. The third factor that differentiates this crisis from those of the past is that developing countries have become more integrated, both financially and commercially, into the world economy than they were 20 years ago. As a consequence, they are more exposed to changes in international markets.” (FAO 2009:9-10)

Therefore, though we learn a lot from the past, this study provides new information, for example, on how urban dwellers deal with shocks and the mechanisms used to help them survive in a globalised environment (see Chapter Six). New information is very important because it can help governments and policy makers in tackling current social problems of today. Moreover, the fact that food security issues are also important in contemporary industrial economies, the lessons learned from this study are important for the urban poor and vulnerable in developed countries. Further, by using a food security lens to understand the everyday struggle of urban dwellers the study provides a unique insight to academic literature on both food security and retrenchment. This is because the food security lens is able to capture many dynamic aspects of people’s experiences of poverty, i.e. it captures not only the manifestations of poverty, but also highlights additional aspects such as cause and extent of deprivation, intra household experiences, risk factors and the coping strategies. Further the “voices of the hungry” (<http://www.endinghunger.org>) shows that hunger is central to people’s experiences of poverty. Also in many societies and more specifically in Zambia (it was observed during fieldwork) that poverty is defined in terms of hunger. Therefore, the use of the food security lens is particularly important.

2.4. Theoretical framework

Based on the literature review, a theoretical framework that attempts to unite much of the literature reviewed above was selected. What is evident from the literature reviewed is that

retrenchment is a shock and that this shock can cause psychological, emotional, and economic problems for retrenched households. In addition it is clear from the above discussion that without an income, life might not be easy for the urban retrenchees because urban centres have many challenges posed by rapid urbanisation and poverty. The challenges posed by both urbanisation and poverty are strongly linked to factors which drive food insecurity. More-over, root causes of poverty and food insecurity are related to deeply embedded in social, cultural, economic and political factors (Randolph & Hertel 2013; Fukuda-Parr & Orr 2013). Therefore, investigating the impact of retrenchment on food security particularly at the household level poses a tremendous challenge because there are several dynamic processes and factors at play.

Thus retrenched households' experiences and actions are to some extent conditioned by their structural context and it is against this background that a framework was chosen. The study initially planned to use the food security lens as a framework for getting a deeper and more dynamic understanding of retrenched households' experiences of poverty. However, along the way the study selected two other frameworks that could point to factors that are crucial in determining household food in/security outcomes. This approach of several analytical frameworks resembles what Spiegel (1997:10), a South African anthropologist calls a "new materially grounded culturalism," he advises that for anthropology of contemporary Southern Africa it is best to use a mix of theories and approaches. The world is now a complex system and for one to have a good understanding of what is going on in people's lives, a variety of approaches are required. The study drew on a political economic approach and asset vulnerability framework.

2.4.1. Political economy

Although in today's globalized world political economy is seen as an interdisciplinary field of study for understanding complex national and international problems and events (Leonard 1993; Carrier 2012), it still means very different things to people with different academic and professional backgrounds. Sociologists, for instance broadly define political economy as the interdependent workings and interests of political and economic systems (Johnson 2000). Political scientists on the other hand define political economy as the interaction between the economy, the polity and society (Bealey 1999) while economists, view political economy as a synonym for economics (Shim & Siegel 1995; Rutherford 2005; Groenewegen 2008). With

regards to anthropology, although many anthropologists have framed their work as falling under political economy, the term has never had a singular definition and as a field of science it has been very heterogeneous (Roseberry 1988). However, regardless of the meaning it assume, political economy in anthropology can be characterised as an analysis aimed at understanding the impacts of structures and processes of power on anthropological subjects embedded in larger historical, political, economic movements (Clammer 1985; Roseberry 1988; Carrier 2012). From the above one can see that the term political economy has come to assume various forms or meanings. In a similar manner, political economy approaches are far from representing a homogenous group of approaches due to the lack of a common interdisciplinary understanding and academic definition of the term political economy. Since there is no homogenous definition of political economy approach, although some scholars from political economy, economics and sociology were engaged in discussing the study, overall, the researcher relied and drew more on anthropological perspectives of political.

2.4.2. The anthropological political economy approach

Literally speaking, political economy approach can be explained as a social science approach that helps to understand the interrelationships between the political and the economic (Caporaso & Levine 1992; Gupta 1992). In anthropology the recognition of such a relationship is but only a preliminary step, it is “like that of a man who thinks he knows how to win at poker because he has noticed a connection between playing cards and getting money” (Staniland 1986:3). The existence of a connection is not the main issue in anthropological political economy approach. The main issue is to understand what the connection is and how it works. For anthropologists, the framework of political economy shares some common strengths or attributes of ethnography such as holism and paying particular attention to socio-cultural contexts, processes, and meanings within cultural systems (Whitehead 2004; Carrier 2012).

Thus for anthropologist that use political economy approach, it is not just the interaction between the political and the economic processes in a society or the distribution of power and wealth between different groups and individuals that merits investigation. So too does the processes that create sustain and transform relationships over time. When using political economy one has to also take into account people’s “economic activities, their thoughts and beliefs about those activities and the social institutions implicated on those activities, all

within the context of social and cultural world of the people being studied” (Carrier 2012:4-5). This reflects the assumption that political economy cannot be understood unless it is seen in terms of people’s society and culture more generally. Therefore, anthropologists that employ a political economy approach in their work try to “place the social and cultural phenomena they investigate within an examination of circumstances associated with getting a living and the structures of power that shape and constrain activity” (Roseberry 1988: 179).

Lastly, the “heart of anthropological political economy approach is the attempt to understand the formation of anthropological subjects at the intersection of global and local histories” (Greenhalgh 1990: 90). That is, social scientists should not ignore the fact that participants/communities are not islands but invariably involved in wider systems. For example the current global recession has its roots in the global financial crisis that resulted from speculative practices in the financial markets in the United States of America and other developed countries. The impact of the recession, however, has been felt by developing countries and more specifically by the people of Chingola. In short the participants are products of centuries of social, economic, political, and cultural processes, some indigenous, others originating at regional, national, and global levels of organizations (Roseberry 1988). Thus much of what is seen in fieldwork and described in writing must be understood as having been shaped in response to that system.

With the above points in mind, political economy approach in anthropology refers to a theoretical framework that is explicitly historical and attentive to political and economic as well as social and cultural factors in its analysis of social processes and pays much attention to the intersection of global and local forces. It also focuses on the distribution of power and wealth between different groups and individuals, and the processes that create, sustain and transform these relationships over time (Schneider & Schneider 1984; Greenhalgh 1990, Collinson et al. 2002; Carrier 2012). In a similar manner, political economy approach can also be seen as an “attempt to understand the emergence of particular peoples at the conjunction of local and global histories, to place local populations in the larger currents of world history,” and “the attempt to constantly place culture in time, to see a constant interplay between experience and meaning in a context in which both experience and meaning are shaped by inequality and domination” (Roseberry 1989: 49).

As a theoretical framework, political economy approach has been and is currently being used by many anthropologists in diverse fields to understand complex national and international problems and events. Paul Farmer (1992; 1999; 2009; 2013) and Merrill Singer (2006; 2009; 2010), both used political economy to analyse subtopics in medical anthropology. Greenhalgh (1988; 1990; 1995), Maternowska (2006) and Schneider & Schneider (1995; 1996) adopted explicitly political economy approach to the study of fertility and birth control. Similarly, Wilson (1939), Frankenberg (1978), Ferguson (1999) and Mususa (2010) adopted political economy approach to analyse and understand the transformation of land tenure, the effects of mining in Zambia and the impact of economic decline on the citizens in Zambia, Central and Southern Africa.

The theoretical framework has also been used to particularly understand food related issues. This study drew a lot of inspiration from the works of critical scholars such as Schepers-Hughes (1992) who used political economy approach to understand hunger in northeast Brazil, and Hart (1982) who used political economy approach to study the agricultural systems in West Africa. Other anthropologists that have used political economy approach to understand food issues include Pottier (1999), Khanum (2002), Marchione & Messer (2010), and Jarosz (2011). These scholars show that an application of a vulnerability perspective that takes into account the political economy or the broader socio-economic factors explains better the unprecedented rate of social problems in communities such as poverty or food insecurity. Likewise, this study used political economy approach to understand the impact of retrenchment on household food security because as Sichone rightly points out it is important to analyse the Copperbelt through the political, economic and social preconditions that make the whole system work (2001: 371& 373). This simply shows is that political economy approach is used by many anthropologists to investigate a broad set of issues ranging from distribution and inequality of income to the bias in media slant; from the politics of corporate interests to the institutional failures responsible for poverty and famine. It is in this context that this thesis attempts to provide new insights on the multiple issues related to the political economy of food in/security in middle class urban households faced with retrenchment.

2.4.3. The rationale for a political economy approach to urban household food security analysis

Political economy approach is certainly not the only approach for the analysis of food security issues. There are several other approaches in the analyses of food security such as income-based approach, basic needs approach, food availability approach, entitlement approach and Sustainable livelihoods approach. However, incorporating a political economy approach to the analysis of food security has numerous advantages because unlike other approaches that draw attention to some selected components of food security (i.e. income or availability); political economy approach is more comprehensive.¹² It is not just an approach to food security, but also a general approach to development and poverty and thus makes a perfect approach for understanding the impact of economic shocks on food security of urban household. There are two distinctive features of anthropological political economy approach that give to it some advantages (over other approaches) in the analysis of food security: It is (1) holistic and (2) dynamic. The advantages provide the rationale for selecting political economy as a theoretical framework and these shall now be discussed briefly.

A hallmark of anthropological political economy approach is its holistic perspective, this means, understanding humankind in terms of the dynamic interrelationships of all aspects of human existence (Clammer 1985:7; Ghosh 2007:43). As noted in the previous section, political economy as a theoretical framework tries to create what Clement (1997) describes as a “totality” that is, assuming that the systems are integrated wholes any part of which can be studied only within the context of the whole. To appreciate this holistic perspective, it is important first, to state that it is not easy to understand household food security or poverty issues because as earlier noted and as described by the Global food security index “food security is complex and its drivers are interdependent, such that sufficiency of food alone, in any given country, does not guarantee an end to hunger. Internal and external factors can alter the availability, affordability and quality and safety of food in varying degrees” (2013:5). Further, food security is a complex sustainable development issue, linked to health through malnutrition, but also to sustainable economic development, environment, and trade (WHO

¹² Although sustainable livelihoods approach has many communalities with the political economy approach it “has been more successful among development organizations than in the academic world” (See Burchi & De Muro 2012:14). In the sustainable livelihoods approach, the analysis is confined to “livelihood strategies”, while in the political economy approach agency goes beyond the standard of living and personal well-being and includes other valuable goals.

2014). This complexity and diversity of food security underlines the need for a theoretical framework that can capture and cope with high degrees of variation at all levels.

Secondly, its attention to the dynamics of power relations, class and gender (as these interact to affect the lives of individuals and broader social groups), makes political economy approach an important tool in the analysis of food security especially when using a household as a unit of analysis. Within the household, for example, gender roles determine who does what work; women tend to be responsible for food preparation and childcare within the family and are more likely to spend their income on food and their children's needs (Duncan 1997, Hoddinott & Haddad 1995). A study in Brazil for instance, showed that the likelihood of a child's survival increased by 20% when the mother controlled household income.¹³ Women, therefore, play a decisive role in food security, dietary diversity and children's health. However they are often impeded in their efforts by limited access to assets, traditional norms, and the challenges posed by their often competing roles (Girard et al. 2012). Further, "women and young children may hold lower social status which limits their access to nutrient-rich foods, increases their risk of infectious diseases, and reduces their access to adequate health care" (Girard et al. 2012:205).

Thus by using political economy approach, one is able to see these household dynamics. The combination of all the above characteristics and analytical features within political economy approach makes political economy approach the most appropriate theoretical framework for this study. As shown above, political economy approach has the built-in flexibility required to track ever-changing social realities and complex contemporary urban cities and urban households as it provides a realistic snapshot of life in flux. It is an inherently hopeful way of seeing, because it recognizes the changing and changeable nature of reality (Greenhalgh 1990, Schneider & Schneider 1996; Clement 1997; Carrier 2012).

2.4.4. Linking political economy to vulnerability and asset vulnerability framework

Vulnerability means "not lack or want but defencelessness, insecurity, and exposure to risks, shocks and stress" (Chambers 1989:1). The aim of political economy is to contextualize

¹³ Extracted from World Bank President Zoellick's speech at the MDG3 conference, Copenhagen, 25 March, 2010.

vulnerability at the local scale with any external or local pressures or drivers that may have an influence on, for example, access to nutritious and affordable food. A political economy perspective thus widens the scope of vulnerability factors by encouraging attention to social inequalities and a fuller range of other factors (physical, economic, social and cultural) that constitute and cause vulnerability to food insecurity in urban households. However, the multidimensionality of vulnerability requires not only a focus on social inequalities or disempowerment but also a consideration of key life capacities such as human agency, participation and voice which conventional vulnerability measures overlook.

Building on this understanding, in addition to political economy approach the study drew upon Moser's fivefold asset vulnerability framework to understand the vulnerability of urban households to food insecurity and to also analyse how household negotiate for food when faced with shocks. The asset vulnerability framework offers added value to political economy approach not only for its attention to detail at the level of livelihoods, but also because of paying particular attention to participation and human agency issues - "the ability of people to help themselves and also to influence the world" (Sen 1999: 18-19). Political economy approach has been criticized for under-emphasizing the role of human agency, and diminishing the role of the environment as an independent factor that effects social relations (Bryant 1992; Pelling 2003). However, as shall be seen in the next section, agency plays an important role in food security analyses. Therefore incorporating asset vulnerability framework in the study complimented political economy approach and aided the researcher to see not only the causes of vulnerability to food insecurity in retrenched households but also human agency and participation in trying to build reliance to food insecurity.

On the other hand, asset vulnerability framework has also been criticized for under-emphasizing, if not neglecting power relations and politics more generally, in its analysis (Ashley & Carney 1992:2; Hospes & Hotze 2004:8). Hospes and Hotze for instance, explain that their concern with the asset vulnerability framework is that "the classification of assets is far from exhaustive, with no mention of essential assets that could be termed economic, financial or political capital" (2004: 8). Political, economic or power relations matter in food security analysis because they help a researcher to think more clearly about the key aspects of the political and economic processes at work in a given context, and also help to understand relationships as well as assess how they influence vulnerability to food insecurity especially in times of shocks. Therefore, the desire to incorporate agency and structural processes and to

pay particular attention to economic, political, and socio-historical forces in understanding the impact of economic shocks on urban households' food security was the major rationale underlying the combination of political economy approach and asset vulnerability framework. Political economy approach and asset vulnerability framework then, can essentially be viewed as complementary and even necessary to address the full complexity of food insecurity in urban households because through both approaches it was possible to see not only the factors that cause vulnerability to food insecurity but also the actions or coping strategies that households use in their everyday life to build resilience.

2.4.5 The asset vulnerability framework

Drawing on the extensive work of Sen (1981), Swift (1989), Maxwell and Smith (1992), Davies (1993), Devereux (1993), and Putnam (1993), Moser (1992) developed the asset vulnerability framework by categorizing the assets of poor urban individuals, households and communities in terms of a fivefold "asset vulnerability framework" as follows:

- i. Labour: commonly identified as the most important asset of poor people
- ii. Human capital: health status, which determines people's capacity to work, and skills and education, which determines the return to their labour.
- iii. Productive assets: housing, cars, etc.
- iv. Household relations: a mechanism for pooling income and sharing consumption
- v. Social capital: reciprocity within communities and between households based on trust deriving from the social ties.

As earlier stated three common components inform all frameworks of vulnerability, namely the exposure to risks and shocks, people's ability to deal with those risks and shocks, and the outcomes that arise. In stating that retrenched urban households might be vulnerable to food insecurity the study also in Chapter Six identifies ways in which these households exploit opportunities hence the asset vulnerability framework. Moser (1998:3) explains that "analysing vulnerability involves identifying not only the threat, but also the "resilience" or responsiveness in exploiting opportunities, and in resisting, or recovering from, the negative effects of a changing environment." According to Sen (1981) and Moser (1998) recovering from the negative effects of a changing environment is achieved through assets and entitlements that households mobilise and manage in the face of hardships.

Hence in using the asset vulnerability framework, the study examined urban household food security dynamics by interrogating how the retrenched household used its assets – human capital, social capital, household relations, labour and productive assets to negotiate for food in an environment that has limited opportunities so as to resist insecurity or ensure household food security. By using the asset vulnerability framework, the researcher realised that the vulnerability of retrenched to food security could not be adequately described by loss of income alone but by taking into account many other factors such as social welfare services present, social networks or labour because Moser (1992) shows clearly that in reality people have many other assets that help to buffer against vulnerability. Asset vulnerability framework was also selected because of its strong potential to emphasize human agency. This means that rather than just seeking for example, the causes of food insecurity in individuals and their households, asset vulnerability framework enables a researcher to also seek for individual/household strengths in trying to resist food insecurity. Human agency as explained by Burchi and De Muro “plays an important role in food security analysis” (2012: 17) because it helps to identify the efforts that food insecure households employ to build resilience.

Hospes and Hotze (2004) also recommend that systematic and theoretically driven approaches to livelihood and food security issues should direct attention to both human agency and structural processes as different shaping forces in people’s life-worlds. In a similar manner Greenhalgh (1990) proposes that anthropologist should combine structure and agency; while paying attention to the impact of structures of power on individuals and groups. Without doubt, the structure- agency characteristic improves the study of food security because it helps to recognize that, the causes of food insecurity cannot be viewed as either structural or individual; rather, it is some combination of the two that is at the root of the problem.

Thus, by combining both political economy approach and asset vulnerability framework and taking advantage of their positive elements, it becomes easier for the study to interpret the complex interactions between food insecurity of individuals/households/communities and social institutions such as the welfare system or food security policies. In other words, using both theoretical frameworks (political economy and asset vulnerability) broadens the understanding of the causes and solutions to food insecurity beyond just the individual to

include all stakeholders: government, business, civil society, farmers and consumers. Lastly, by using both political economy approach and asset vulnerability framework this study was able to provide cumulative insights rather than just “telling stories” or “giving voice”.

2.5. Conclusion

The Chapter has reviewed literature and was divided into three major sections. The first section focused on the interface between urbanization, poverty and food security and its aim was to contextualise the urban environment. It provided a critical overview of the challenges posed by rapid urbanisation and rising urban poverty in urban areas and set the scene for the environment in which the majority of the retrenched live. The second section reviewed retrenchment literature and clearly showed that retrenchment is a shock and that this shock can cause psychological, emotional, and economic problems for households. Thus rapid urbanisation and high levels of poverty compound the sufferings and problems of the retrenched. These problems easily translate into food insecurity because the retrenched suffer from lack of income. However, urban food security and especially household food security has not been given much attention by city managers and policy makers and so without a proper analysis of the food security status of the households through a food security lens it is difficult to know the full extent of the problems faced by the retrenched. This thesis therefore is an opportunity to explore the food security problems faced by retrenched households.

There were several gaps in the literature reviewed. Firstly, urban food is poorly researched and documented in the Southern African context. Urban household food security and urban poverty have largely been ignored and perceived as issues of rural areas. Secondly, literature on urban food security tends to mainly focus on the poorer sections of the urban areas. Thirdly, like the food security literature, retrenchment literature also pays more attention to retrenched individuals in rural areas and less attention is given to retrenched individuals and households in urban areas. Fourthly, there is more focus on survivors of retrenchment than on victims. Fifthly, retrenchment literature pays more attention to individuals that are retrenched and ignores the family (household) and community of the individual. Lastly, all retrenchment literature falls short on details about household food security issues. The last section of the chapter presented the theoretical framework that the study uses to explore the problems of the retrenched households. The next chapter gives a detailed analysis of the research area.

CHAPTER THREE

THE STUDY AREA: VIEWING ‘BASHI MAINI’ AND THE COPPERBELT THROUGH A FOOD SECURITY LENS

3.0. Introduction

‘*Bashi maini*’ (miners) are a privileged group of the Copperbelt’s population, but this has not always been the case. When Copperbelt mines developed in the late 1920s, there was a history of appalling conditions in the mine compounds. Sanitary conditions were terrible, water supplies were infected and flies contaminated the food. These appalling conditions posed serious threats for food security. However, miners strived to be food secure by resisting injustice and demanding better working conditions through industrial strikes. To that effect, mining, once regarded as amongst the worst jobs going, gradually became one of the more desirable occupations (Van Onselen 1975; McIntyre 1996). By the end by early 1960s, mine work became more popular and the workers were better paid than most working classes (in other institutions) on the Copperbelt and the rest of Zambia. As a result, for many years (even in the midst of economic decline in Zambia), *bashi maini* and their household members enjoyed a stable economic base and a wide range of social services that the Zambian Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCM) provided (Lungu 2008). However, the privatisation of the Zambian Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCM) in 1997 resulted in massive job losses and *bashi maini* who were shielded by the mines and long accustomed to the comforts of middle-class life became exposed to poverty and *cintambi* or *insala*¹⁴(food insecurity).

Thus, the implementation of SAPs in 1990, particularly as it was followed by the privatisation of the mines in 1997, marked the beginning of an unprecedented economic crisis on the Copperbelt (Mususa 2010) creating immense numbers of the “new poor”. Thus, the argument underpinning this discussion is that SAPs brought about disastrous socio-economic conditions that have negatively affected the residents of Chingola and Zambia as a whole,

¹⁴The word *insala* has several meanings though on the Copperbelt it is mainly used to refer to lack of food. In the villages for example it can be used to mean any task or job set for the day i.e *natemene nsala nga mulya* (I have cut a stretch of trees as from here to there). When used to refer to lack of food the word *nsala* can be translated in many others ways to denote hunger, famine (*cipowe*), dearth or scarcity of food. E.g. *tulala nensala* (we sleep hungry); *insala yalipona mu calo* (famine has set in the country) or *insala yalipona muno muganda* (there is food insecurity in this home). In this thesis the word *insala* is used to refer to food insecurity as used by many respondents.

making it increasingly difficult for the residents to access services and to feed themselves. In that vein, the economic crisis of 2009 (the focus of this study) merely impacted on a previously depressed region.

This chapter therefore, makes an assessment of the social economic situation on the Copperbelt in general and Chingola in particular and provides the setting of the study. The chapter is in part informed by urban anthropological studies of Fox (1972), Gulick (1989) and Kemper (1975) who argue that it is incorrect to do research in an urban setting, without any concern for the urban context and its impact on human behaviour locally or cross-culturally. Accordingly, it would be wrong for this thesis to analyse retrenchments in urban centres without providing an insight into the larger context within which retrenchees are embedded. This Chapter is divided into two sections. The first section presents the geographical setting and socio-economic background to Chingola, the town in which fieldwork for the study was undertaken. Since Chingola is one of the seven mining towns¹⁵ that constitute Zambia's Copperbelt, the second section examines the emergence and development of the Copperbelt, one of Zambia's most urbanised provinces and traces through a timeline, the social, political and economic history of this region from the 1920s. The chapter thus provides a series of snapshots of the setting in which the study was undertaken and situates it within studies of urban development and change in developing countries.

3.1. Background to Chingola and the Copperbelt

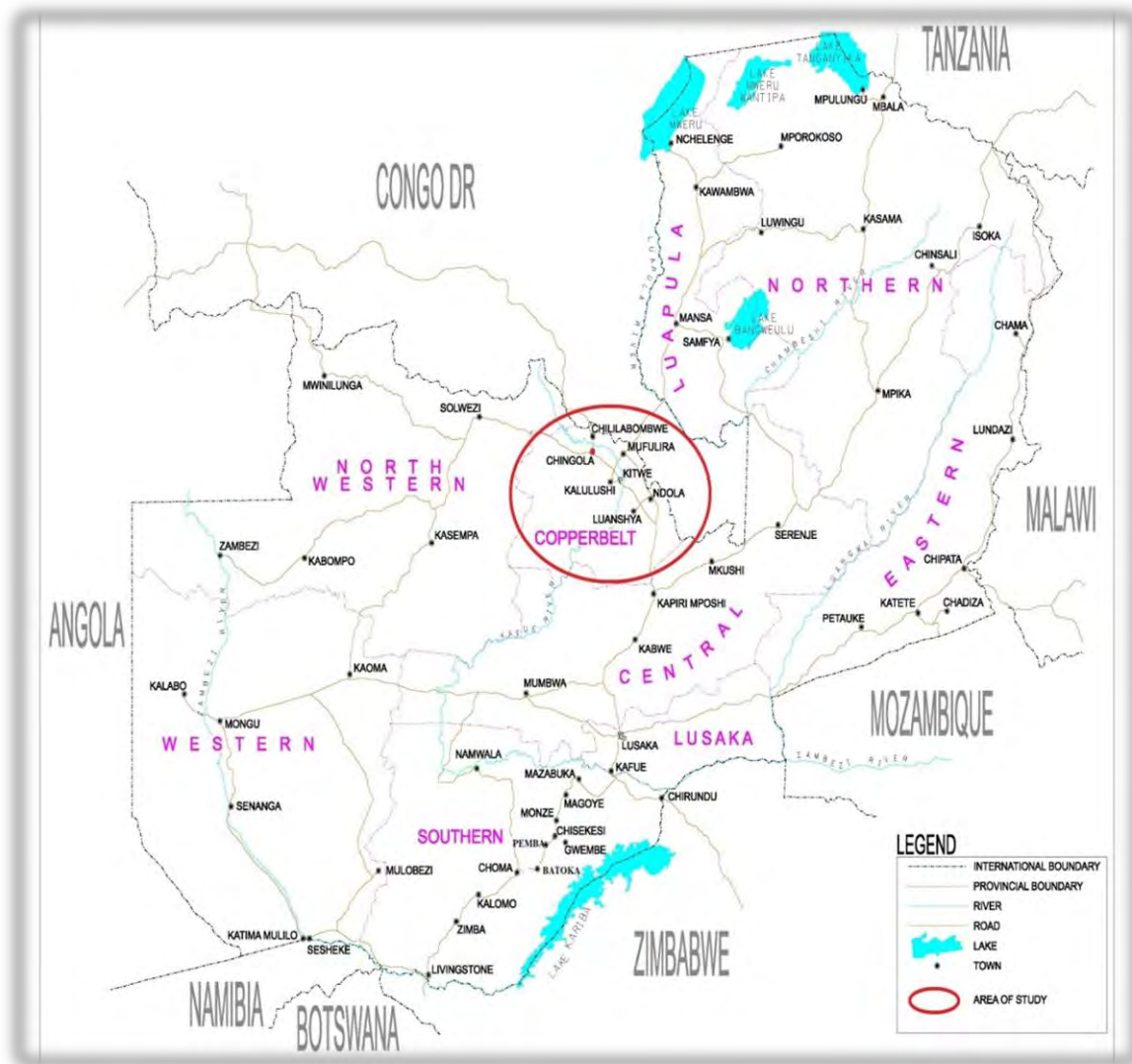
Chingola lies approximately 110 kilometres north east of Ndola, the provincial capital of the Copperbelt. Copperbelt Province derives its name from the "belt of copper deposits" in the region.¹⁶ Figure 3.1 shows the location of the Copperbelt in Zambia. Copper has been the mainstay of the Copperbelt and the Zambian economy since the 1920s when large-scale mining began in the region. It accounts for more than 80% of the country's foreign exchange earnings and provides the bulk of formal employment in all the Copperbelt towns, except

¹⁵ The rest of the mining towns in the Copperbelt Province are: Chililabombwe, Kalulushi, Luanshya, Mufuira, Ndola and Kitwe.

¹⁶ The Copperbelt "ore deposits lie along a 50 kilometre wide strip that extends for 150 kilometres from Chililabombwe in the northwest to Luanshya in the southeast of the Province. The geological setting of the Zambian Copperbelt is unusual compared to other worldwide copper deposits in that it occurs in sedimentary host rocks that have high carbonate content". (See (Mbendi (2009) for more details).

Ndola (GRZ 2010 Economic Report). Mining in Ndola was confined to its Bwana Mkubwa Mine, which was opened in 1913, but extraction difficulties forced its shutdown from 1920 to 1926 (Dobkins 1963; Baldwin 1966). It had experienced several closures and re-openings before it was finally closed at the end of the 1990s, on account of depleted copper deposits. Due to lack of reliable mining activities and its strategic location, Ndola was designated a regional administrative and service centre for the Copperbelt in the 1930s (Gardner 1970).

Figure 3. 1 Location of the Copperbelt Province



Source: Mr S.B. Chileshe 2007

Copper has been mined and processed in Chingola since 1936. Its Nchanga Open Pit Mine is one of the two largest open pit mines in the world (Dobkins 1963). Nchanga or KCM (Konkola Copper Mines) as it is popularly known, accounts for 60% of Zambia’s total copper output. According to Brook Hunt (International mining report 2011) KCM is Zambia’s

leading copper producer. While true, Brook Hunt also projects that it is likely that First Quantum Minerals' (FQM) Lumwana mine in the North-Western Province will become Zambia's top copper producer by 2015. Nchanga mine is nevertheless expected to remain productive for the next 30 years or more as the future for copper looks strong (International Mining Report 2011). Chingola has a total area of 1678 km² and had a population of 210,073 in 2010. The peri-urban parts of Chingola are dominated by peasant farmers and are sparsely populated while the urban area is dominated by miners and is densely populated (DSA 2010). The population of Chingola grew at an estimated 2 percent per annum between 2000 and 2010. This was below the regional and national growth rates of 2.3 and 2.8 percent per annum respectively (CSO 2011). The low population growth rate in Chingola was due to the retrenchment of some employees of the mine leading up to and after its privatization in 2000. As a result, some of the retrenched workers left Chingola for other towns, especially Lusaka, which was perceived as having better employment prospects in both the formal and the informal sectors (CSO 2011).

Chingola, like other mining towns on the Copperbelt, developed under dual planning authorities with the mining company being the De facto authority in the mining area, while the Chingola Municipal Council was responsible for the town outside the mining area. Thus large sections of Chingola town had been under the direct control of the mining company whereas a smaller section was under the council. The mining area consisted of mining, industrial and residential areas, while the municipal area had commercial and residential areas. Residential areas both in the mining and the municipal town were separated on the basis of income with the high, middle and low income households residing in the low, medium and high density townships, respectively. Prior to privatization and sale of mine houses to sitting tenants¹⁷, the mining company was responsible for the provision of essential infrastructure and services, such as water supply and sanitation, roads, education and health services for the mining townships which exclusively accommodated employees of the mining company (Fraser & Lungu 2007; Fraser & Larmer 2010). Similarly, the municipal council was responsible for provision of urban services in its area. However, the services provided by the mining company were by far superior on account of being better resourced. Since the privatization of the Nchanga mine all residential areas including the mine townships have

¹⁷ The mine houses were sold to tenants that were occupying them at the time of sale. These are commonly referred to as sitting tenants.

been brought under the jurisdiction of the Chingola Municipal Council with serious implications for delivery of urban services. The municipal council is made up of 25 elected councillors and two Members of Parliament for Nchanga and Chingola constituencies (DSA 2010).

Administratively, Chingola district has a dual system: an administration system comprising the central government and the local authority or council. There are no chiefs in Chingola. The central government includes all government departments and is headed by the District Commissioner (DC). Under this system, a technical committee, the District Development Coordinating Committee (DDCC) chaired by the DC comprises all heads of government departments, the council, NGOs, the church and the private sector and coordinates all governmental activities in the district. Its role is to help improve the basic social services in Chingola.¹⁸ In terms of culture, Chingola urban area consists of people from various tribes of Zambia such as Kikaonde, Kachokwe, Kalunda, Lamba, Lozi, Luvale, Tumbuka, Mambwe, Namwanga, Tonga and Bemba (DSA 2010). However, Bemba is the *lingua franca* of the Copperbelt.

3.1.1. Chingola's economy

The formal economy of Chingola is dominated by the mining industry. KCM is the second largest employer in Zambia after the government, employing roughly 14,000 to 10,000 people directly and 4,000 through sub-contracted firms. Some evidence suggests that there might be as many as 9,575 contract workers (Fraser & Lungu 2007; Action for Southern Africa *et al.* 2007). Although the number of people employed by KCM has been fluctuating with the state of the mining industry, the mining sector has always been the major formal sector employer. The public sector and other formal employers in Chingola therefore account for a smaller proportion of the formal sector workers. The public sector, for example, employs mostly police officers, teachers, a few health workers, agricultural extension officers, community development officers, social workers, as well as those working for the Chingola Municipal Council. A large informal sector has also been part of the economy in Chingola since the late 1970s, when copper prices collapsed resulting in poor economic performance of the Zambian economy characterized by stagnation and decline (Hansen 2004).

¹⁸ The information in this paragraph was directly obtained from the District Situation Analysis (DSA 2010) document.

The agricultural activities in the peri-urban areas consist of commercial farmers and small-scale farmers. Small-scale farmers make up the majority of farmers in Chingola's peri-urban area. It is important to note from the onset that even though there are agricultural activities taking place in Chingola, these activities are on a very small scale because Copperbelt generally has never been an agricultural but a mining province. However, government officials (especially after massive retrenchments in the area) claim there is a huge potential waiting to be tapped (Hansangule *et al.* 1998).

3.2. Socio-economic issues and food security in the development of Chingola and the Copperbelt from the 1920s to 2011

This section reviews socio-economic issues and food security in the development of Chingola and the Copperbelt since the 1920s. The section also makes an attempt to analyse how the social, economic and political context of Chingola and Zambia at large has affected the food security of households.

3.2.1. The emergence of the Copperbelt and “*Bashi maini*” - miners 1920 to 1970

Prior to the beginning of large-scale mining there were no towns on the Copperbelt. It was an entirely rural region that had been ravaged by slave traders (Gardiner 1970; Bates 1971). As Powdermaker (1962) observed, however, mining towns like the Copperbelt towns, grow at an extraordinary speed, whether in Africa or Central America, in contrast to the more gradual development of towns in non-mining areas. Despite the fact that Copperbelt was growing at extraordinary speed, there were very few Africans in the Copperbelt. The racial segregation of the time and food security concerns made the Government restrict the movement of the majority of the African population into the emerging mining towns (Simon 1979).

As a result, though African labour was crucial to mining, African workers who were exclusively male could only work in the mines for short periods of up to two years at a time. They were then required to return to their rural homes, where their immediate families remained (Mitchell 1954). It was thus assumed that the emerging towns would be for the permanent European residents only and the Africans would live in towns only while in employment for their European employers (Simon 1979). This policy of short-term employment of the African workers led to circulatory labour migration in which the African

workers moved constantly between town and country, though in practice many Africans became urbanized and simply moved between towns with their families (Mitchell 1954; Macmillan 1996). As a result of illegal movements, sex ratios in the emerging towns began to balance as more women and children joined their husbands and fathers (Mitchell 1954). The increased presence of women and children had significant implications for household food security, because there were more mouths to feed. Gann and Duignan (1978) have noted that miners were poorly paid, while the food rations provided by the employers were contaminated by flies and were not sufficient. Their living conditions have also been described as cramped, poorly ventilated, basic and uncomfortable with inadequate washing facilities and terrible sanitary conditions (Global Non Violent Action Database 1935; Gann & Duignan 1978).

Poor wages and living conditions led to industrial action on the three mines in existence on the Copperbelt in 1935 (see Henderson 1973; Perrings 1977). Though sparked off by an abrupt increase in tax for Africans in town, it merely tapped into long standing grievances. The African workers were not paid adequately to provide for themselves and their dependants. Perrings, for example, observed that, "Wages were for the most part, insufficient to support the worker and his dependants in the towns where the cost of living was very much higher than in the rural areas" (1977:42). Other observers of the urban situation on other African mines, however, go further.

Van Onselen, for example, notes that "the quality of food provided by the mines was so bad that workers were forced to make a substantial outlay from the small cash wages if they wished to retain their health" (1975a: 233). He also pointed out that workers were in fact dying due to diseases which could be traced directly to inadequate food and accommodation. According to Gann and Duignan (1978) the deaths among African mine workers were as high as 7%, which was comparable to army casualty rates in war time. The deplorable living conditions were over time gradually improved and in 1948 circular migration was abandoned at the insistence of the mining companies (Audrey 1951; Mitchell 1954; Chauncey 1981). The new policy of stabilizing the African labour in town meant that wives and children of the African workers could live in towns legally. This led to an increase in people moving from rural areas to urban Copperbelt towns (Audrey 1951; Mitchell 1954). Indeed Parpart (1986) observed that, whereas only 30% of the African mine workers lived with their wives and children in the Copperbelt towns in 1931; that proportion grew to between 71 and 81 percent

by 1961. Examination of the African population of Chingola in 1957 also showed that there were 6807 men, 4084 women and 10210 children (Taylor and Lehmann 1961). The policy of stabilization thus helped increase the population of women and children in towns. The increase in household size with no accompanying increase in wages meant that the miners' income did not adequately support their households.

The wages of the African miners are reported to have been extremely low (Perrings 1977), as the African workers were excluded from the better paying semi-skilled and skilled jobs, which were reserved for the European mine workers. More industrial unrest thus followed and led to the formation of the African Mine Workers Union in 1949. In 1952, the African Mine Workers' Union organized a successful and peaceful three-week strike, which resulted in substantial wage increases (Welensky 1964; Harris 1975; Perrings 1977; McIntyre 1996). Improved wages for the miners also enhanced the standing of jobs in the mining industry (Gann & Duignan 1978). The status of jobs in the mining industry was further enhanced by improvements in housing and urban services, which mining companies were compelled to provide in subsequent years. As a result, by the early 1970s an indigenous urban middle class had emerged, particularly on the Copperbelt.

Employees of the mining companies mined copper during their shifts and relaxed after work at various sports clubs and facilities provided by the mining companies. The facilities ranged from in-door sports such as badminton to outdoor sports, including tennis, football, cricket and even golf for those in middle and senior management positions. The children of the employees of the mining companies also went to some of the best financed and managed schools, which were provided to avoid sending the children of senior managers away or abroad even for primary and secondary education and thereby allow them to enjoy uninterrupted family life. The mining companies also provided health services ranging from health centres to hospitals for their employees and their dependants. Social welfare activities were also initiated by the Social Welfare section of the mining companies, which sought to help the wives of the miners settle quickly in their new urban environments. The companies also promoted their domestic roles as carers and mothers by exposing them to good knowledge of nutrition and child care to promote the health and social well-being of the employees of the mining companies and thereby enhance their productivity (Dobkins 1963; Lungu & Mulenga 2005). It should be noted that the mining company did not just provide for

their workers but provided many other social services and infrastructure for the whole community, including roads, security service, water, and electricity and food rations.

Zambians from all over the country migrated to the Copperbelt Province attracted by the relatively well paying jobs and the good working conditions offered at the mines, and by 1963, more than 21% of Zambians lived in urban areas (CSO 1969). After Independence, in 1964, the proportion more than doubled to 43% in 1980 (Rakodi 1990: 144) and 85% of the urban dwellers lived in the Copperbelt (CSO 1980). Table 3.1 shows changes in the population of the Copperbelt between 1963 and 2010, while Table 3.2 presents similar data for the same period in Chingola, as Chingola is the primary study site. It can be seen from Tables 3.1 and 3.2 that the population of both Copperbelt and Chingola grew rapidly between 1963 and 1969, following Zambia's independence, with population growth rates of 7% and 9.6%, respectively.

Table 3. 1: Change in the Population of the Copperbelt 1963-2010

Year	Population	Population Growth Rate	Proportion of National Population	Proportion of Urban Population
1963	543 465		15	76
1969	816 309	7.0	17	62
1980	1 251 178	4.0	21	46
1990	1 458 459	1.7	19	42
2000	1 581 221	0.8	16	36
2010	1 958 623	2.2	15	39

***Sources: Central statistical office 1969, 1974, 1990, 2000 and 2010 reports.**

Though Tables 3.1 and 3.2 also show that the rates of population growth of the Copperbelt towns have declined over the years, this does not detract from the essential fact that the population of Copperbelt and Chingola continues to increase (Macmillan 1993; 2012). For example, between 1963 and 1969, the population of Chingola grew from 59 517 to 103 300 which led to the doubling of the town's population, and by 2010 the population had reached 210 073.

Table 3. 2: Change in the Population of Chingola 1963-2010

Year	Population	Population Growth Rate	Proportion of National Population	Proportion of Urban Population
1963	59 517		1.7	8.32
1969	103 300	9.6	2.75	8.66
1980	130 900	2.1	2.41	5.79
1990	142 400	2.5	1.8	4.81
2000	172 026	0.2	1.7	5.02
2010	210 073	2.0	1.6	4.15

*Sources: Republic of Zambia Central statistical office 1974, 2000 and 2010 reports.

The population of the Copperbelt continued to grow because the economy was thriving. The thriving economy was largely because copper, the country’s main export, was doing well on the international market. Unfortunately, this economic growth did not last long. In the 1970s, Zambia was faced with two economic crises that negatively impacted on its prosperity: the rise in oil prices and the fall in the copper prices on the world market (see Mwanza et al. 1992). The two crises pushed Zambia into debt which in turn led to a serious debt crisis that further entrenched poverty in the 1990s (ibid 1992; Rakner 2003).

3.2.2. Economic decline and food security on the Copperbelt and Chingola 1971-1990

To resolve the economic and debt crisis, the government turned to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank, which called for restructuring of the economy and decreasing the role of the state in the economy (Mwanza et al. 1992; Simutanyi 1996a; Jamal 1988). Unfortunately, these measures lead to a negative impact on the food security of the urban dwellers which resulted in widespread looting and rioting on the Copperbelt and other towns (Larmer 2006; Simutanyi 2008). It is reported that during the economic decline the mining companies “continued to provide social services to mine communities even when the economy was in crisis and the company was performing poorly” (Simutanyi 2008: 2). It is also argued that mine workers on the Copperbelt did not take part in the food riots because they were a privileged group as Simutanyi (1996b: 164) shows:

“Before the cuts in the maize subsidy, the government, Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCM) and Mineworkers Union of Zambia (MUZ) had agreed that miners’ maize meal would be subsidised by the company. Further they were going to be assisted with the procurement of other essential food items, usually in short supply. These items were provided on credit.”

Simutanyi (1996b) further shows that because all social services (water, electricity, health facilities, education facilities and food) were provided to the miners and miners’ maize meal subsidised, the most militant of them did not feel the impact of the increase in maize prices. Hence it was unlikely for the miners at that time to take part in the riots that were resisting hikes in maize prices. Thus even in the midst of economic decline in Zambia, *bashi maini* and their household members enjoyed a stable economic base and a wide range of social services that the mining company, ZCCM, provided.¹⁹ Even though miners did not take part, riots continued in the Copperbelt and in December 1986, there were more riots in urban towns during which fifteen people were killed (Larmer 2006). This was sparked by “the double hike in price of breakfast maize meal consumed by most urban Zambians” (Larmer 2006: 298).

To maintain the status quo, the government abandoned the withdrawal of the subsidies and thereby failed to meet the reform package and had to renegotiate an entirely new programme to continue with the reforms. The on-and-off approach to economic reforms worsened the state of the economy and it continued to contract (Seshamani 2002). As a result, between 1974 and 1994, Zambia’s per-capita income declined by 50% and made it the 25th poorest country in the world (UNDP 2004). As the economic crisis worsened, it turned into a political crisis as well, when the leaders of the trade unions, workers, intellectuals and some business executives joined the call for not only economic but political reforms too. To diffuse the tension, the government led Kenneth Kaunda accepted the reintroduction of multi-party politics and held the first multi-party elections in 17 years on 31, October 1991 (Rakner 2003; Seshamani 2002; Chikulo & Sichone 1996a; Chikulo & Sichone 1996b). Kenneth Kaunda and his United National Independence Party (UNIP), which led Zambia to independence, lost

¹⁹ The comprehensive infrastructure and services provision shape the vulnerability of the *bashi maini* by cushioning them from vulnerable situations thus making them more resilient. However, once one loses that employment and is unable to access such services, the ability to withstand the effects of a hostile environment is weakened making the person more vulnerable to shocks.

the elections to the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD), led by the leader of the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions, Fredrick Chiluba.

3.2.3. Structural adjustment and the sale of the mines 1991-2000

The new government of Fredrick Chiluba used its honeymoon period to implement the contentious economic reforms including liberalisation of prices and privatisation of the state-owned enterprises, including the mines (Meijer 1990; Mwanza et al. 1992; Seshamani 2002; Larmer 2006; Mutesa 2007). As a result, in 1991, under the supervision of the World Bank and IMF, Zambia transformed from a socialist economy dominated by the state-owned ZCCM into a free-market system (Mwanza et al 1992; Simutanyi 2008). ZCCM was divided into several companies and was sold to private investors between 1997 and 2000.²⁰ This marked the completion of one of the most comprehensive and rapid privatisation processes seen anywhere in the world (White & Bhatia 1998; Moomba 2004).

Whereas the World Bank and IMF (White & Bhatia 1998:4-5) concluded that SAP in Zambia was the “most successful” and provided many examples of “best practice” that should be followed by other countries, a review of the programme by NGOs and academic observers (Mwansa et al. 1992; Szeftel 2000; Moomba 2004; Simutanyi 2005; Fraser & Lungu 2007) indicates as discussed in the previous chapter, that economic development in the terms envisaged has not materialized and for the majority of Zambians, the programme has contributed to high levels of poverty, stress, an increase in unemployment, prostitution, crime and the failure of government to provide social services.

In Copperbelt and Chingola specifically, the greatest impact of SAPs was the mass unemployment that it generated. In the run up to the final sale of the mines, a total of 8,329

²⁰ The mines have thus undergone three major phases. “From their establishment to 1969, the mines were in private hands under the control of the Roan Selection Trust (RST) and the Anglo-American Corporation (AAC). In the period after 1969, the mines were first nationalised and then in 1982 merged to form ZCCM. Although ZCCM was a state enterprise, Anglo-American, through its subsidiary, Zambia Copper Investments (ZCI) continued to hold 27.3% of the shares and pre-emptive rights to buy back shares that the Government offered in ZCCM at a later date before they were offered to anyone else. Between 1997 and 2000, ZCCM was split up into seven different units and sold off. The units were initially bought up by seven multinational mining companies, including Anglo-American which chose to exercise its pre-emptive rights, taking on 65% of the mines” (www.fataltransactions.org). However in 2002, Anglo-American pulled out and the situation created a major panic for the Government, which was eventually relieved to sell 51% of interests in KCM, in 2004 to a British/Indian company, Vedanta, at a knockdown price. And so today, the mines in Chingola are run by a company called Konkola Copper Mines (KCM), of which Vedanta Resources is the majority shareholder (See Fraser & Lungu 2007; Action for Southern Africa et al. 2007).

employees were retrenched. Between 1992 and 1994, employment declined by a massive 47, 000, while the number of registered retrenchees was 18, 712 (Mwansa et al. 1992; Rakner 2003). In terms of overall unemployment, these figures are under-estimated since they did not account for the retrenchment of those providing goods and services to the mining sector (Mwansa et al. 1992). The above situation in post-SAPs periods was not unique to the Copperbelt or Zambia. Like Zambia, privatization in Zimbabwe also led to retrenchments and increased prices for services (Potts 2000; Tevera 1995). Tevera (1995) for example, reports that after privatization, the cotton company of Zimbabwe had reduced its workforce from 3000 to 500. Nigeria, on the other hand, experienced a hike in prices of commodities with prices of Kerosene increasing by 6000% between 1985-1995; while during the same period, postal and telecommunications services increased their prices by 2500-5000% and electricity increased by 883% (Harsch 2000; Callaghy 1990). With such prices, goods and services became unaffordable for the majority of the people.

From the above, it is evident that there was more general realization that SAPs was directly responsible for widespread poverty that characterized not only the Copperbelt and Zambia but also most of the developing world, especially countries of Africa (Jamal & Weeks 1993). Most African nations, if not all, that embraced SAPs have not had a great success in making the basic needs available to their citizens (Cornia, Richard & Frances 1988; Callaghy 1990; Harsch 2000). SAPs distinctly lacked a pro-poor bias. Some of the proponents of adjustment, however, contest the notion that SAPs have contributed to high poverty levels in Africa. They argue that far from having adverse social consequences, SAPs have in fact brought about small but significant improvements in the livelihood of many people (See Olukoshi 2000). They further blame any adverse social outcomes on the pre-existing crisis which had already exacted a huge toll. However, this thesis refutes this claim and together with Grant, argues that although we cannot blame all hardships on SAPs; it certainly “laid the groundwork for extreme economic hardships” in several countries particularly for miners in Chingola (2007:79). Miners’ living conditions distinctly deteriorated after privatisation as can be seen through the following examples.

First, it has already been pointed out that ZCCM provided almost everything that held society together in the Copperbelt and specifically Chingola: jobs, hospitals, schools, housing, and a wide range of social services including HIV-AIDS and malaria awareness and prevention programmes (Fraser & Lungu 2007; Action for Southern Africa et al 2007). However, after

privatisation, the new investors made it clear that their “core business” was mining, and that the provision of social infrastructure goes beyond this remit (Fraser & Lungu 2007: 4). This led to a decline in the living standards of Chingola residents as there was deterioration of public infrastructure due to lack of maintenance and neglect, evident in numerous potholes on roads and poor sanitation. The privatisation of public utilities and the introduction of metered charges also helped to put water and electricity out of the reach of vast numbers of the Copperbelt dwellers.

Secondly, Copperbelt towns, like Chingola, were built around the needs of the mining companies and this means that there are limited economic activities on the Copperbelt (Fraser & Larmer 2010). Thus it is quite difficult for retrenched individuals to survive due to a limited informal labour market. Worse still, the limited informal labour markets have become increasingly competitive due to globalisation and so households and individuals fail to secure and position themselves among foreign multinational firms²¹ (Harris & Fabricius 1996; Amis 1997; 2001; McCulloch et al. 2001). With no immediate options for alternative livelihoods, many unemployed miners have had to find work by petty trading. A visible effect of the current economic hardship and lack of formal employment in Copperbelt has been massive street trading activities in central business centres and the growing number of children living on the streets (Tevera 1995).

Thirdly, as previously mentioned, when the mines were privatised all houses owned by the mines were sold to sitting tenants. According to Moomba (1999) and Schlyter (2002) most of the houses were sold below their market value. Houses that had been valued at K4 million (US\$3,082) for example were slashed to K920,000 (US\$709) following presidential directives (Moomba 1999). The cabinet also decided that houses built before 1958 should be

²¹ An example of this situation in Zambia is the following text directly drawn from work by Miller (2008: 2) “In 1998, an academic at the University of Zambia sent students from the Department of Philosophy and Applied Business Ethics to conduct research in the town of Chipata, adjacent to Malawi and Mozambique in Zambia’s Eastern Province. Their mission was to investigate poverty..... When students interviewed farmers, they picked up on bitter complaints about Shoprite from local farmers. These farmers warned that they would burn down the company that had robbed them of their livelihoods. Shoprite had stolen their market, they alleged. Vegetables that they had regularly sold at the local town market were now being supplied from South Africa at the local Shoprite supermarket, opened in 1998. Because the Shoprite supermarket had a better distribution system and a nicer store, the farmers could not compete with this multinational. Previous sources of cash income through the sale of vegetables at the market were now disrupted...” Apart from local farmers there were also complaints by mid-level local shop owners around the country, they too were finding it hard to compete with the multinational company.

given away for free. Sitting tenants were only required to pay the legal fee of K23,750 (\$17.50) for transfer of ownership (see Moomba 1999; Schlyter 2002). This meant that nearly everyone who was a sitting tenant at that time managed to acquire a house. Although this was a positive idea in that local residents were empowered, over the years this move has caused major housing problems in that very few urban residents go back to rural areas when retrenched or retired as was the case before privatisation.

Therefore, there are currently more urban dwellers but very few houses because there has not been a deliberate policy to direct serious investments into housing development projects to build new houses or even replace the obsolete stock. Thus Chingola like the rest of the Copperbelt today, is faced with a challenge of limited housing alongside rapid urbanisation. Consequently, informal settlements have sprung up, often on squatted land, less well served by public amenities such as water and electricity (Fraser & Lungu 2007: 32). What is even more unfortunate is that in Zambia people in informal settlements live in fear because building regulations allow local authorities to demolish structures found to be illegal or sub-standard. In 2007, urban informal settlements believed to be illegal were demolished in an action described as a campaign against “lawlessness” (Mwanagombe 2007). Over the years, demolishing exercises mainly carried out by city councils have continued to take place around the country and more recently on 7 June 2014, Kitwe City Council demolished over 360 houses in Kitwe (Lusaka Times 2014). The list of examples is endless but the few given above clearly show that privatisation of the mines was responsible for the reversal of some of the economic and social gains that miners had achieved since independence. The Copperbelt residents lost the privileged status that they had acquired and a class of the “new poor” emerged.

3.2.4. The current social economic situation and food security 2001 - 2011

Between 2001 and 2008 Zambia experienced positive economic growth fostered in part by the copper boom in 2004 and generally favourable external sector conditions (CSO 2007; Simutanyi 2008; www.zamstats.gov.zm). The mining sector experienced unprecedented growth, with its contribution to GDP increasing from 6.4% in 2000 to 8.4% in 2008 (BoZ, CSO & ZDA 2008). Mineral production was generally buoyant because of increased private investment and capacity utilisation in the privatised copper mines, boosted by investment in new copper and nickel mines. In addition, metal prices remained favourable, with the copper

price reaching a peak of US\$8985 per tonne in July 2008 before slumping back to \$2902 per tonne at the close of 2008. Zambia in general experienced positive economic growth and grew at an average of 5.56% between 2000 and 2008 (www.zamstats.gov.zm; BoZ 2006; 2008; BoZ, CSO & ZDA 2008; Adam & Simpasa 2010). To crown it all, the World Bank on 14 July 2011, re-classified Zambia as a lower middle-income²² country. Zambia and Ghana were the 27th and 28th countries the World Bank re-classified into middle-income status since the year 2000. Regrettably, this economic growth largely masks the inequality and high poverty levels still being experienced by urban dwellers in the Copperbelt. For the “majority of the residents in Chingola and the rest of the Copperbelt poverty is still very high” as people continue to complain about their poverty status (Mususa 2012: 572).

The Afrobarometer survey (2009) which sought to establish perceptions of Zambians with regard to their living conditions in the country for example, reports that the majority of the Copperbelt residents described their own living conditions as either “fairly bad” or “very bad” with 94% of the residents emphatically holding the view that their deteriorating living conditions were as a result of bad government policies which “hurt most people and only helped a few” (Afrobarometer 2009:8). Recent literature also indicates that there has been deterioration in people’s access to basic needs - food, clean water, cooking fuel and cash income (Fraser & Lungu 2007; Simutanyi 2008).

²² The World Bank’s re-assessment is based on the value of a country’s gross national income (GNI). This means that per capita income for the country is now above the low income countries’ threshold of \$1,005. Countries that are considered to be in the lower middle income category are those with GNI ranging from \$1,006 to \$3,975 per person per year while upper middle income countries have a per capita income ranging from \$3,976 to \$12,275.

Figure 3. 2: Snapshot of the poor roads and the protests in Chingola urban area



A and C show the poor state of roads in Chingola. B and D show residents blocking roads during a protest in Chingola. Source: Mubanga Chileshe and social media

Apart from poor access to basic needs, the people of Chingola are also faced with deteriorating infrastructure such as poor roads and health facilities. The poor basic services have led to a number of demonstrations and protests by residents (Mwila 2007; Fraser 2008; Shacinda 2009; Lusaka Times 2012; Mususa 2012). For example, Lusaka Times (2012) reported that, on the 15th of March 2012, local residents rioted and blocked all roads in protest against the poor state of roads (See Figure 3.2). As a result of lack of basic services and infrastructure, there is most likely little hope of achieving food security in many households in Chingola. Poverty in Chingola is also compounded by a 16% HIV/AIDS prevalence (CSO

2009). HIV/AIDS impacts on the ability of the household to actively engage in income generating activities and thus can compromise food security.

The depth and persistence of both the economic crisis and global food price crisis in 2008/2009 therefore impacted on an already depressed people and environment. Retrenchments resulting from the economic crisis simply added to the long list of retrenched individuals in Chingola (Green 2009a; Ndulo et al. 2009; Musokotwane 2009). It is thus surprising that even though massive retrenchments have taken place over the years in Chingola, there has been little research focus on food security and lived experiences of retrenched households in the area or to understand how the “new poor” of Chingola survive in the midst of poverty and continuous deteriorating conditions. This thesis thus argues that more attention should be paid to the “new poor” (retrenchees) because as Hussain (2003:1) shows there are about three salient differences between the “old poor” and the “new urban poor.” The first is that because of multiple crises the “new urban poor” are larger in number than the “old poor.” The second is that the emergence of new urban poverty has gone in tandem with rising inequality in urban areas. The contrast between “haves” and “have-nots” is starker than ever before in the history of Zambia. The last difference is that, unlike with the “old poor”, a large percentage of the “new urban poor” are able and willing to work but have no jobs.

The setting for this study, thus, is an urban area that was once wealthy but over the years has rapidly deteriorated while transforming its dwellers from privileged working class households to “working poor” and “new poor.” The situation on the ground is that the urban dwellers are experiencing a series of interlinked impacts of shocks: rising food prices reduced working hours, greater competition for jobs in the informal sector, underinvestment in smallholder agriculture, pollution and the impacts of unchecked climate change (Cohen & Garret 2009; Frayne & Pendleton 2009; Crush & Frayne 2010; Ruel et al 2010). Despite this apparent problem of urban poverty and the enormity of the challenges that it poses to the poor’s ability to access food, “little is still known about the extent of food insecurity in the cities and towns of Southern Africa” (Frayne & Pendleton 2009:2). In Zambia, for example, because Chingola and the rest of the Copperbelt are the economic backbone of the country it is easy to lose sight of the fact that people in these areas can and are affected by poverty.

In the following chapters, this study focuses on the experiences of former miners who were recently retrenched and traces how these are making sense of their lives as they grapple with retrenchment in an environment that has been described above. Focus on former miners is principally important because miners are an important group in the Copperbelt and in many other mining towns in the world (Gann & Duignan 1978; McIntyre 1996). Miners in the Copperbelt Province comprise about 11% of the total population. They are not, therefore, “the masses,” but they are a significant minority who have access to the cash economy and an influence on the rest of the economy of the community, as the “majority has always derived a livelihood either by servicing the mines in one way or another or by exploiting the purchasing power of the miners” (Palmer 2000:155). Accordingly, when miners’ lives are negatively affected there is a ripple effect in the community. The remaining chapters focus on both the individual and wider impacts of retrenchment.

3.3. Conclusion

The chapter introduced the study area, Chingola, by giving an overview of the geographical setting and socio-economic background. Since Chingola is one of the seven mining towns that constitute Zambia’s Copperbelt, the chapter examined the emergence of Chingola and the Copperbelt from the 1920s to 2011. The historical analyses showed that for many years *bashi maini* (miners) and their household members enjoyed a stable economic base and a wide range of social services that the mining company, ZCCM provided. However, the privatisation of ZCCM in 1997 resulted in massive job losses and poor infrastructure (i.e. poor roads, poor sanitation, and health services) thus creating large numbers of “new poor” with serious consequences for urban household food security. The main argument in this chapter therefore was that SAPs brought about disastrous socio-economic conditions that have negatively affected the residents of Chingola and Zambia as a whole, making it increasingly difficult for the residents to access services and to feed themselves. Although there has been some economic growth since the implementation of SAPs, the benefits have not trickled down to the people as poverty and food insecurity continue to increase. In that vein, the economic crisis of 2009 simply impacted on a previously depressed region. Within this context of increasing poverty, poor infrastructure, food insecurity, inadequate employment opportunities and recurrent retrenchments, people who were once accustomed to a privileged life are faced with the question of how to survive and access healthy foods

without income. To answer this question the study employed a number of research methods and approaches which are discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.0. Introduction

The central task of this chapter involves detailing the specific research design, as well as the techniques and procedures used in this research. It also looks at the analysis and the ethics considered in the conduct of the study. Through a reflexivity discussion, the chapter further shows that “in searching for truth, the researcher, like all human beings whatever they try to accomplish, is influenced by tradition, by his/her environment, and his/her personality” (Myrdal 1969:4).

4.1. Food security methods

Food security is multidimensional, there is no unique “gold standard” or indicator that measures it in its entirety (WFP 2009a:2). Although anthropologists and other social scientists have done a considerable amount of research on the food issues in third world countries and specifically on Africa (Richards 1939; Colson 1979; Guyer 1981; Mortimore 1988; Vaughan 1987; De Waal 1989; Pottier 1991, 1996, 1999; Scheper-Hughes 1992), much of this research focuses on rural areas. Consequently, there was limited literature on urban food security to guide this research on how to conduct food security research in urban areas. Nevertheless, there have been cases where rural methods have been adopted to urban areas, for example Rapid Rural Assessments (RRA) and Participatory Rural Appraisals (PRA) developed by Chambers (1994) have been adapted from rural to urban settings (Ervin 1997; Moser & McIlwaine 1999, 2000).

While it was easy to simply adopt research methods employed in rural food security studies to urban areas, the researcher decided against this because firstly, the means of accessing food in rural and urban areas are quite different and the tools therefore do not translate. Secondly, informed by the political economy approach and asset vulnerability framework, the researcher was aware that, it was not enough to simply know the food security status of urban dwellers but also their thoughts and beliefs about their situation and the concrete actions that they take in response to their situation. Thirdly, as explained in Chapters One and Two, food security research is a vast agenda spanning political, economic and social issues. It is also

related to sustainable food production and above all to access to food of adequate quantity as well as quality. Trying to access all the complexity in one method would be virtually impossible. Finally, using the political economy approach led to recognition that issues of food in/security are driven by both local, regional and global forces and also intra household power relations and dynamics. While all these driving forces of food in/security fall within the purview of dynamics of food security, some of them, like intra household power relations and dynamics, are culture related and cannot be understood or captured by a mere static food security measurement. With that in mind, there was no single method that could fully capture all the complexities of everyday experiences of urban households. Consequently, the researcher had to find creative ways to combine different methods, tools and techniques in order to have a broad and deep understanding of the impact of retrenchment on urban households' food in/security. The actions of the researcher were in line with Denzin and Lincoln (1994:2) who suggest that an effective ethnographer should be a "bricoleur," a "jack of all trades," one who uses whatever tools and techniques are at hand in order to gain an in-depth understanding of the phenomena in question. The research approach will now be discussed.

4.2. Research design

A contemporary research design involving mixed-methods (see Tashakkori & Creswell 2003; Greene 2007; Johnson, Onwuegbuzie & Turner 2007; Creswell 2009; Creswell & Plano Clark 2011) was used for this research. Mixed methods is defined as "research in which the investigator collects and analyses data, integrates the findings, and draws inferences using both qualitative and quantitative approaches or methods in a single study or program of inquiry" (Tashakkori & Creswell 2007:4). The simplest difference between qualitative and quantitative research is that "qualitative research is empirical research where the data are not in form of numbers, while quantitative research is empirical research where the data are in the form of numbers" (Punch 2005: 3). When carrying out data collection, the researcher combined both quantitative and qualitative data collection tools using a survey (quantitative method) with participant observations, in-depth interviews and focus group discussions (qualitative methods). The central premise for mixed methods research is that the use of quantitative and qualitative approaches in combination provides a better understanding of research problems than either approach alone (Tashakkori & Creswell 2003; Bryman 2006; Johnson, Onwuegbuzie & Turner 2007; Greene 2008; Creswell 2012).

Mixed method research was employed for two major reasons. The first, as briefly pointed out above, was to broaden and deepen the understanding of the research problem because, according to Sandelowski who advocates mixed methods research, “the complexity of human phenomena mandates more complex research designs to capture them” (2000:246). Mixing methods thus provided an opportunity to understand some of these human complexities, as Greene clearly states, “Mixed methods generate some important insights or understandings that would not have been accomplished with one method or one methodology alone” (2008:16). The second reason was to strengthen the reliability of data, validity of the findings and recommendations. This reasoning is supported by literature (Yin 2006; Miller & Gatta 2006; Greene 2007; Creswell 2009) that shows that mixed methods researchers, in bringing together the benefits of both qualitative and quantitative approaches to research, often claim greater validity of results. Teddlie and Tashakkori (2003) also show the benefits of mixed methods on the quality of inferences and interpretive rigor that are drawn from the mixed methods design.

4.2.1. Sequential mixed-method strategy

There are various approaches to mixing methods: Bryman (1988) outlines eleven approaches to a mixed method research while Creswell et al. (2003) only classify mixed methods designs into two major categories, which are concurrent and sequential. In the concurrent category, the quantitative and qualitative data are collected during the same stage, although priority may be given to one form of data over the other. In contrast, the sequential method is characterized by collection of either quantitative or qualitative data in an initial stage, followed by the collection of the other data type during a second stage (Creswell et al. 2003). This means that in sequential designs, quantitative and qualitative methods are used in phases. Going by Creswell’s classification, the mixed method research applied in this research was of sequential design with a dominant qualitative approach.

A qualitative approach dominated this mixture because while there have been several studies done on the Copperbelt generally, there is little or no specific ethnography on Chingola. Thus, to have a clear understanding on the way of life in Chingola and most importantly to have an effective measure of the impact of a crisis/shock on individuals, the researcher had to spend sufficient time with respondents and several informants thereby applying more qualitative methods. Anthropological studies, unlike other social sciences, characteristically

involve a long stay among participants in order to get a complete view of participants' lives (Crane & Angrosino 1992) and engage fully with the complexities of human beings (Strang 2009). The researcher began data collection with the quantitative component which later served as a basis for the sampling of cases for the qualitative component (the steps taken in conducting a mixed methods research are shown in Appendix A). A quantitative survey was used to identify and quantify the main kinds or scales of food insecurity. This information was then used to select a representative sample of households for the preparation of in-depth qualitative case studies. The case studies provided a more contextualised understanding of the data collected through quantitative methods. The case studies were analysed using qualitative methods and the sample survey was analysed using quantitative techniques.

4.2.2. Quantitative component

Quantitative research helps to produce information about the world in the form of numbers (Punch 1998). Creswell (2005:39) describes quantitative research as a research in which, “the researcher decides what to study, asks specific, narrow questions, collects numeric (numbered) data from participants, analyses these numbers using statistics, and conducts the inquiry in an unbiased manner.” Like Creswell, other scholars (Punch 1998; Maxwell & Delaney 2004; Kumar 2005) also place emphasis on collecting and analysing data in the form of numbers and on the importance of the research being focused, objective, able to be generalized, and, by implication, value-free. The reason for framing part of this research within a quantitative framework lies in the quest for data that is focused, objective and generalizable. In addition, the researcher wanted to explore and understand if the food security of the households was affected by retrenchment and high food prices and if so, to ascertain the magnitude of the problem, - i.e. how many people in the population were affected.

4.2.2.1. Quantitative data collection

The quantitative data collection method used for this study was descriptive survey. According to Hedrick et al. (1993), the purpose of a descriptive survey is to provide a picture of a phenomenon as it naturally occurs. In other words, no attempt is made to change behaviour or conditions the researcher measures things as they are in their natural environments and does not impose treatments. In this study, participants were studied in their natural setting without making changes to their environment.

4.2.2.1.1 Survey

The purpose of a survey is to generalise from a sample to a larger population so that inferences can be made about some characteristics or behaviour of that population (Fink 1995; Sapsford 1999; Creswell 2009). A survey was therefore the preferred type of data collection procedure for this research because it not only allowed the researcher to achieve generalizable results but also allowed for the collection of significant amounts of data from a sizeable population at a relatively low cost (Babbie & Mouton 2004; Gray 2004; Chambliss & Schutt 2010). Further, the survey was essential because there were more than 500 retrenched individuals in Chingola and thus too large a population to observe directly. However, the survey allowed the researcher to collect original data from a small population whose characteristics were taken to reflect those of the larger population.

4.2.2.1.2. Selection of respondents for the quantitative component

In an effort to provide unbiased and representative information the study used simple random sampling. A simple random sample relies on a chance selection method so that every individual has a known probability of being selected (Bernard 1994; Gray 1994). By using this selection criterion the researcher wanted to be sure that nothing but chance influenced the selection of respondents.

4.2.2.1.3. Sampling Frame

To establish the sample size for the study, a sampling frame containing a list of five hundred and twenty-four (524) retrenched individuals was used. The sampling frame was derived from lists of retrenched individuals that were obtained from the human resource department of KCM in Chingola. While there were over 700 retrenched individuals in Chingola between 2009 and 2010; the researcher only accessed a list of 524 retrenched individuals because some of the retrenched individuals lived in other towns (Kitwe or Chililabombwe) which were outside the scope of the study. In addition, some names lacked street addresses or house numbers and these too were left out. Subsequent to listing all the retrenched that had full addresses the final sampling frame had 524 elements.

4.2.2.1.4. Sample size and sampling procedure

According to Chambliss and Schutta a sample is “a subset of the population used to study the population as a whole” (2010: 108). For estimation of sample size Yamane’s formula was used because it provides a very clear and simplified formula to calculate sample sizes

(Kasunic 2005). The simplified Yamane's formula (1967:886) was thus considered suitable for determining an appropriate sample size:

$$n = N / (1 + N * E^2)$$

Where n is the sample size, N (524) is the population size, and E (0.05) is the level of precision

$$n = N \div (1 + N \times 0.05 \times 0.05)$$

Therefore, with a population of 524 retrenched individuals:

$$n = 524 \div (1 + 524 \times 0.05 \times 0.05)$$

$$n = 524 \div 2.31$$

$$n = 226$$

The above formula with a five per cent error rate yields a sample size of 226. Though the final sample was 226, the study increased the sample by 10% when selecting to come up with a total of 248, which was a number large enough to accommodate possibilities of data collection errors. In order to establish the sampling interval, the population size of 524 was divided by the sample size (248). Respondents were then selected based on the sampling interval of 2; every second person from the list was selected and included in the sample. In the case where selected individuals could not take part because they had moved and could not be traced, the next second person was selected. During the study there was a response rate 95% ($215/226 \times 100$), as data was collected from a total of 215 respondents with no error. Table three (3) below shows characteristics of the respondents. 62% of the respondents were aged 44 and below (see Table 4.1). The other point to note is that the greater percentage of participants was married: 170 (79%), 22 had never married, 9 widowed, 6 abandoned, 5 separated and 3 divorced. The highest level of education attained by majority respondents was post-secondary qualification (132), followed by grade 12 certificates (45). While a few did not complete secondary education (30), some had attained university degrees (7) and post graduate degrees (1). Table 4.1 shows that biggest percentage of the retrenched had acquired some form of post-secondary education.

Table 4.1: Demographic characteristics of households

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS' SELECTED BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS		
Age group	Frequency	Per cent
20-24	9	4.2
25-29	28	13.0
30-34	31	14.4
35-39	36	16.7
40-44	30	14.0
45-49	37	17.2
50-54	28	13.0
55-59	13	6.0
60-64	3	1.4
Total	215	100.0
Marital status	Frequency	Per cent
Married	170	79.1
Never Married	22	10.2
Widowed	9	4.2
Abandoned	6	2.8
Separated	5	2.3
Divorced	3	1.4
Total	215	100.0
Sex	Frequency	Per cent
Male	209	97%
Female	6	3%
Highest education	Frequency	Per cent
Secondary education not completed	30	13.9
Grade 12 certificate	45	20.9
Post-secondary and college qualifications	132	61.5
Attained university degrees	7	3.2
Post graduate degrees	1	0.5
Total	215	100.0

4.2.2.1.5. Unit of enquiry/analysis

Babbie (2005:96) explains that a unit of analysis is what can be studied. In other words, the level of social life on which a research question is focused is known as the unit of analysis (Chambliss & Schutt 2010) and researchers are encouraged to state their unit of analysis before starting fieldwork (Benbasat, Goldstein & Mead 1987). The unit of analysis for this

study was the household. Anthropological studies of households show that, though operating as one unit, households are also a place of intra-household gender conflict, inequality and power relations that affect the allocation of household resources (Richards 1939; Moore 1994). Such a notion is important in food security studies, particularly in light of suggestions that the existence of different levels of nutrition within households may well be linked to intra-household resource allocations. Using the household as a unit of analysis was therefore very useful in understanding both the food security of individuals affected by retrenchment and people around them, and also the intra household food security dynamics such as intra household food allocation and consumption during a time of crisis. In addition, strategies employed to achieve household food security are usually influenced and shaped by those with whom one lives. Therefore, the household provided a chance to look at the problem at hand on a broader perspective and, as earlier stated in the literature review, this work aims to extend the retrenchment literature by moving beyond the individual and introducing the household as a unit of measurement and analysis.

4.2.2.2. Quantitative data collection instruments

Surveys involve the systematic collection of data, whether this is by, questionnaires or observed methods (Gray 2004:99). The survey instrument for the study was a structured questionnaire. A questionnaire is a very effective mechanism for the efficient collection of unbiased data because responses are gathered in a standardised way and this helps in interpreting responses from large numbers of people (Bernard 2006:255-264). The questionnaire was administered through face-to-face interviews with each interview taking about 30 to 45 minutes. The face-to-face interview worked to the researcher's advantage because unlike other methods (i.e self-administered), respondents had an opportunity to clarify what they did not understand. The core purpose of the survey questionnaire was to establish the levels of food insecurity in the population. To achieve this, some sections of the questionnaire included questions on food prices, the Household Food Insecurity Access Scale (HFIAS), Household Dietary Diversity Score (HDDS) and Months of Adequate Household Food Provisioning Indicator (MAHFP) adopted from the Food and Nutrition Technical Assistance Project (FANTA).

While there are several methods for measuring household food security, this study adopted methods used by FANTA because they have already been successfully used in a variety of geographical and cultural contexts in Southern Africa, and so they are a tested

methodological tool for comparable results. In addition, unlike other methods, the FANTA methods are simplified and easy to use (user-friendly), as they also provide a clear guide on how to effectively analyse data collected. The following section provides information on each tool.

HFIAS data: This tool is composed of a set of nine questions that have been used in several countries and appear to distinguish food insecure from food secure households across different cultural contexts. An HFIAS score is calculated for each household based on answers to the nine food consumption-related “frequency-of-occurrence” questions. The minimum score is 0 and the maximum is 27. The information generated by the HFIAS can be used to assess the prevalence of household food insecurity and to detect changes in the food insecurity situation of a population over time. The questions in HFIAS as explained, “represent universal domains of the experience of insecure access to food that can be used to assign households and populations along a continuum of severity” (Coates et al. 2007: 2). The higher the score, the more food insecurity the household experienced and the lower the score, the less food insecurity a household experienced (See www.fantaproject.org for details).

HDDS data: household dietary diversity, defined “as the number of unique foods consumed by household members over a given period” (FAO 2010:1), has been validated to be a useful approach for measuring household food access, particularly when resources for undertaking such measurement are scarce. The FAO classification for Africa identifies 12 distinct food groups. The scale therefore ranges from a minimum of 0 to a maximum of 12. An increase in the average number of different food groups consumed provides a quantifiable measure of improved household food access. A HHDS of less than six is usually accepted as an indicator of likely household malnourishment (See www.fantaproject.org).

The household dietary diversity score (HDDS) is meant to reflect, in a snapshot form, the economic ability of a household to access a variety of foods. Thus, dietary diversity is a useful indicator of household food security (Drewnowski et al. 1997; Drewnowski & Popkin 1997; Hoddinott 1999; Ruel 2002). Hoddinott (1999:10) in his guide to choosing outcome indicators of household food security states that, “observations made in many parts of the developing world suggest that as households become better-off, they consume a wider variety of foods.” This means that increase in dietary diversity is associated with socio-economic

status and household food security (household energy availability). Therefore this tool helped to assess (situation analysis and diagnosis) the food security situation in the retrenched households. Although the retrenched individuals were men, the key women in the households were equally actively involved in this research and were mainly asked about different foods consumed over a 24 hour period. Through the analysis, diverse/limited diets reflected improved/poor household food access. This is because, within the household, women play an important role as roles as food managers, food distributors and in some cases (especially in rural areas) as food producers (ActionAid 2011).

MAHFP data: The MAHFP indicator captures changes in the household's ability to ensure that food is available above a minimum level throughout the year. With this tool, respondents were asked to think back over the previous 12 months, starting with the month of the interview and recall months in which they did not have enough food to meet household needs. This helped to capture changes in the household's ability to address vulnerability in such a way as to ensure that food is available above a minimum level the year round (www.fantaproject.org). According to Swindale & Bilinsky (2010) the MAHFP has the advantage of capturing the combined effects of a range of interventions and strategies, such as improved agricultural production, storage, and interventions that increase the household's purchasing power.

Information on HFIAS, HDD and MAHFP, as noted above, was obtained from the respondents through a survey questionnaire which was administered to retrenched households during the quantitative phase of data collection (See Appendix C for an outline of questions on each – HFIAS, HDD and MAHFP). The combination of the above tools was particularly important for this research because the three tools give the researcher an opportunity to go beyond measuring food availability to include access to food by the retrenched households and also their perceptions of food insecurity. Through this, the researcher was able to have a thorough understanding of the experience of food insecurity at the household level. Apart from questions on food insecurity, the survey questionnaire also helped to provide further information on household composition, linkages of retrenched households with urban/rural kin, social networks, assets and sources of household income.

4.2.2.2.1. Pre-testing of questionnaire

A very important part of the questionnaire construction process is its piloting, known as pre-testing (Bernard 2006: 287; Chambliss & Schutt 2010: 169). This involves testing the research instrument in conditions as similar as possible to the research. The research assistants and the researcher carried out a pre-testing exercise to ensure a culturally appropriate questionnaire. The exercise was done on 12 retrenched respondents that were selected through snowball sampling and these did not take part in the main survey. After the pre-test exercise the research team discussed ways to improve the questionnaire to suit local respondents and necessary changes were made to the questionnaire. The research team comprised of the principal researcher (author of thesis), and three research assistants who conducted the interviews over a period of 8 weeks. The principal researcher was fully in charge of this research process and guided the research assistants through the process. The idea was to conduct 8 to 12 interviews a day, but this did not always go as planned because in many instances, time was spent on locating respondents. Prior to the pre-test, the principal researcher held a 3 day training session with research assistants to help build their interview skills and to familiarize them with the overall research. All research assistants had attained Grade 12 certificates and were waiting to attend university.

4.2.1.3. Data management and analysis

Data management begin with coding, which usually involves allocating numbers to data (Gray 2004). The coding was used for all categorical variables, for example sex, and marital status and variable names were defined. For simple categorical questions of Yes and No type, the common code of 1=Yes, 2=No, 0= no response and 9= missing data was used. For simple numerical information such as age of respondents, the actual number was used as a code and the variable name defined. After coding, all data was entered into the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) and data analysis started with cleaning of data by the principal researcher. Data analysis, as Gray notes, can only be reliable if it is built upon the foundations of “clean” data (2004:290). Fostering this point, Babbie and Mouton also note that “no matter how carefully the data has been entered, some errors are inevitable” (2004:417), thus cleaning is essential. Cleaning of data involved two main procedures. The first entailed examining the distribution of responses to each item in the data set and making sure that the data was correct. The second involved going through the data set and ensuring that missing values (e.g. questions not answered in a survey) were clearly identified as missing data, and correcting obvious errors. Data analysis was carried out using SPSS

computer software and the results were presented in simple percentages of graphs, tables and pie charts. The results from the quantitative component provided quantified background data, in which to contextualise small scale intensive studies for the qualitative component.

4.2.3. Qualitative component

Qualitative research seeks to “understand a given research problem or topic from the perspectives of the local population it involves” (Punch 1998:192). It is especially effective in providing information about the “human” side of an issue that is generating rich detailed accounts of human experiences, like emotions, beliefs and behaviours (Guba & Lincoln 1994; Denzin & Lincoln 2005). In addition, qualitative research affords an in-depth analysis of complex systems, such as family systems, and cultural experiences in a manner that cannot be fully captured with quantitative data alone (Punch 1998; Neuman 2005). This component was very important because at this stage the researcher was seeking depth rather than breadth (Punch 1998; Brewer 2000; Strang 2009) and qualitative research was particularly suitable for generating “thick descriptions” (Geertz 1973), that is rich, complex information on the retrenched households. The qualitative component provided participants sufficient opportunities to describe and explain their feelings and experiences of retrenchments. In addition, the qualitative research gave the researcher an opportunity to understand not only the experiences of the participants, but also how these experiences and perceptions were constructed or framed within the social and political context. All this was possible because “qualitative work does not survey the terrain, it mines it” (McCracken 1988:17).

4.2.3.1. Qualitative data collection

To provide rich genuine and useful information implies studying small numbers in depth. The best strategy of inquiry that could allow a study of small samples was a case study. Thus the strategy of inquiry employed was case studies of households because, in contrast to the survey, case studies tend to be much more specific in focus (Gray 2004:123). Further, while surveys in the quantitative component helped to investigate what was going on in the retrenched households and to establish who the food insecure were and the proportion of insecurity, the case study approach assisted in understanding why people were food insecure and to explore how they were surviving. Apart from answering ‘how’ and ‘why’ questions a case study approach also examines a phenomenon in its natural setting by using various methods of data collection to collect information from one or a few entities: people, groups,

or organizations (Yin 1984, Stake 1988; Miles & Huberman 1994; Brewer 2000). In this case, the quantitative component had shown that many of the households in the survey were food insecure, thus a case study became a powerful and focused tool for determining the social and economic pressures driving this (Yin 1984; www.experiment-resources.com).

The case study also assisted the researcher to focus on specific and interesting cases with the general objective of developing as full an understanding of the cases as possible. In complex societies without clearly bounded groups from which to sample, participant recruitment requires careful consideration (Bernard 2006). There is however, limited guidance in the literature on sample selection or size (Wallman 1984; Bernard 2006). In the same vein, Morse (1991) suggests that the lack of clear guidelines for selections of samples in qualitative research leads many researchers to assume that the sampling strategy for qualitative research is of lesser importance to that of quantitative research where statistical inference is required (Punch 1998; Bernard 2006). That is to say, some researchers in qualitative research make limited attempts to ensure that the sample is an accurate reflection of the population. However, Punch (1998: 193) emphasises that “the sampling strategy for a qualitative study is as important as that for quantitative inquiry” because a well-defined sampling strategy that employs an unbiased and vigorous frame can provide unbiased and robust results.

Thus sampling is an essential step in the qualitative research process and an important consideration that all qualitative researchers must make. Patton (1990) and Miles & Huberman (1994) are among the few scholars that describe different sampling approaches that a qualitative researcher can use when selecting a sample. Their work suggests that if a researcher’s goal is to obtain insights into a phenomenon then the qualitative researcher purposively selects individuals or groups. Chambliss & Schutt define purposive sampling as “a non-probability sampling method in which elements are selected for a purpose, usually because of their unique position” (2010:123). A purposive sample therefore, is one which is selected by the researcher subjectively. The researcher attempts to obtain a sample that appears to be representative of the population and will usually try to ensure that a range from one extreme to the other is included (Lincoln & Guba 1985; Patton 1990; Sandelowski 1995; Punch 1998) and that range must be unique. Schatzman and Strauss (1973) show that purposive sampling is shaped by the research objectives, the time the researcher has available, data collection methodology, interview length, sampling frame and recruitment

method. In this regard, the study used purposive sampling to select all the participants for the qualitative component and important considerations were made at each stage of the selection.

4.2.3.1.1. Purposive sampling of cases

A small number of twenty cases were purposively selected for an in-depth study. The twenty were divided into two groups A and B, where A is a group of ten retrenched households and B is a group of ten people who are still in formal employment (the “working households”) known as the control group. These two groups (people who are still working and those who were retrenched) were created in order to have a comparative study with the objective of having a better understanding of the impact of retrenchment on the households. Bernard shows that a one-shot case study where a single group of individuals is measured to see the impact of an event is not usually ideal because as a researcher “you cannot be sure that what you have observed is the result of some particular event” (Bernard 1994: 67). He further shows that a researcher will get more logic power and more convincing evidence by using a two-group comparison than by studying one group, no matter how in-depth the study is. Similarly, Oyen states that “Actually, no social phenomenon can be isolated and studied without comparing it to other social phenomena” (1990:4). This study hoped to have a better understanding of the impact of retrenchment on household food security by using a control group because information about the retrenched group alone, of course, would not tell us whether we were dealing with an unusual case or a general set of influences (Giddens 2009) thus a comparative study in this case was more appropriate.

Group A - Retrenched households

Using the 215 respondents from the quantitative component as a sampling frame, the study purposively selected ten households. A small number of ten was ideal because it allowed the researcher to focus on a few households and undertake multiple visits to the same households to observe and have semi structured discussions.²³ Picking a number of cases was not a problem but representative cases were by no means easy to identify. Gerring (2007) also shows that selecting good cases is a challenging endeavour but despite the evident complexities in case selection, there is not so much literature to guide a researcher on the best way of selecting good cases. Some scholars (Schatzman & Strauss 1973; King, Keohane, &

²³ At this stage of field work the researcher had one local research assistant. He played a role in clarifying transcriptions and recordings, and offered insight into the cultural aspects of life that needed elucidation.

Verba 1994) however, continue to lean primarily on pragmatic considerations such as time, money, expertise, and access, but these also do not provide a methodological justification for why Case C might be preferred over Case D.

Nevertheless, in defining purposive sampling, Punch (1998:193) explains that “it means sampling in a deliberate way, with some purpose or focus in mind.” Going by this, the ten households were selected on the basis that the researcher’s focus was to have diverse cases in relation to age, number of household members, sex, etc. Sex was also particularly important in this case because when random sampling was done during the qualitative stage, although the women had an equal chance of being selected, the probability of picking a retrenched woman was lower due to the fewer number of retrenched women than retrenched men. Ninety seven per cent of the retrenched individuals were males and so the quantitative sample of 215 consisted of 209 retrenched men and six retrenched women. However during the quantitative interviews (survey) we actually interviewed twelve women because of the 209 men six died months after retrenchment and reasons given by some of the widows were that the shock of retrenchment led to the death of the men.

In line with the above principles, three female-headed and seven male-headed households were selected. The study did not exclude those households (where the retrenched individual had died) from the study for the reason that the unit of analysis was the household and not the individual. Therefore, when picking cases the researcher included two households from the six women that had lost husbands, and one of these two was open about her HIV status and willing to share some of her challenges. The third female headed-household was of a retrenched woman. Then the seven cases (male-headed households) included diverse households in terms of age and other factors, such as households that had moved in with relatives/friends after retrenchment.

Group B – Working households

After recruiting the first set of ten households, the study further identified ten homes that had a person in formal employment and working for KCM (all the respondents in Group A used to work for KCM). To identify a comparative household, the researcher first had

consultations²⁴ with the retrenched household and then the researcher approached a household located in the same area as the identified retrenched household. A brief visit to the household helped to establish from the researcher's perspective if the household was appropriate, because the wage earner was - still working, equivalent in socio-economic status (for example had the same salary scale as the retrenched or worked in the same department as the retrenched) and there was a similar number of household members (more or less by three) This was important to allow for an objective comparison. If so, the household was then asked for written consent to participate in the study. It was not always easy to find a comparative household especially as in most cases only the head of the household knew the salary but this person was at work most of the time. These interviews were usually done in the evening or over the weekend. The second challenge was that some of the retrenched households had moved to areas (shanty compounds) where we could not find households that held a similar social status as the one held by the retrenched at the time of employment, but with the help of the retrenched household we managed to interview people from their previous neighbourhood who they thought were of the same social economic standing as them at the time of employment. After recruiting both sets (retrenched households and working households) the researcher was ready to collect data for the qualitative component.

4.2.3.2. Data collection methods for the qualitative component

To obtain a deeper understanding of the problem being examined and to gain as complete a picture of the participants as possible, researchers can employ a variety of methods when using a case study approach (Yin 1984). The following methods were employed:

4.2.3.2.1. In-depth interviews and focus group discussions

In food security assessments in-depth interviews usually occur within household units (WFP 2009). In depth interviews involve "open-ended, relatively unstructured questioning in which the researcher seeks in depth information on participants' feelings, experiences, and perceptions" (Chambliss & Schutt 2010: 236). According to Punch, in-depth interviews are "a good way of accessing people's perceptions, meanings, definitions of situations and constructions of reality" (1998: 175). In both retrenched and working households groups, in-

²⁴ These consultations mainly involved asking the retrenched household about people in the same area who they thought were of the same wealth group as them and who still worked for KCM.

depth interviews were conducted. Apart from interviews the researcher also used participant observation in the households.

Participant observation characterizes anthropological research and is crucial to effective fieldwork (Spradley 1980: vii; Fetterman 1989:45; Hammersley 1990; Bernard 1994: 136; Punch 2000: 188; Giddens 2009:50; Strang 2009: 5). It involves getting close to people and making them feel comfortable enough with one's presence so that it is easy to observe and record information about their lives (Strang 2009:5). This method was particularly relevant because informed by the political economy approach, the researcher was also concerned with the dynamics of food security and the interactions between people; with multiple ways in which power is exerted to hinder or increase food security in households, formally and informally, seen and unseen, direct and indirect; and with how these dynamics determine relations in the domains of culture, social, economic and political (Clammer 1985; Roseberry 1988; Greenhalgh 1990; Punch 2005; della Porta & Keating 2008). Participant observation, thus, connected the researcher to the most basic of urban household experiences, discovering through immersion and participation the hows and whys of household behaviour within context (Spradley 1980). The researcher used this method to investigate and understand the impact of retrenchment on households by observing both retrenched and employed.

Overall all the methods used in the households helped to generate a wide range of information on the households. The interviews and observations were optimal sources of people's perceptions on retrenchment because they allowed interview candidates to express themselves and talk freely about their experiences. This enabled a better understanding of the impact of retrenchment and also helped to establish household responses to economic shocks. The interviews and observations also provided information on mobility, migration, linkages with urban/rural kin, social networks, assets, sources of household income and living poverty index. The in-depth interviews further provided information on household's perceptions of food insecurity, reflecting food resource constraints and hunger experiences within the home (Lorenzana 2002).

All interviews were tape recorded, in agreement with suggestions by Heritage (1984: 238) as that helps to correct the natural limitations of the interviewer's memories and the intuitive glosses that he or she might place on what people say in interviews; allows more thorough examination of what people say; permits repeated examinations of the interviewee's answers;

opens up the data to public scrutiny by other researchers; and therefore, helps to counter accusations that an analysis might have been influenced by a researcher's value and biases. Apart from focusing on the households, the qualitative component also encompassed the environment in which the households were embedded. This was done by conducting interviews with nongovernmental organisations (NGO), local residents in Chingola and specific government departments to learn about their perceptions on food security and retrenchments in particular and to establish the contributions that these institutions have made in cushioning the impact of retrenchment and towards achieving food security in the area. This was done through one- on-one interviews, focus group discussions and informal discussions.

The focus group discussions were conducted with three groups. The groups included a women's club called Kabuta women's club; a group of farmers in the outskirts of Chingola in an area called Luano and a group of retrenched men. There were between 10 and 15 participants of each the three focus group discussions. In addition, four semi structured interviews were conducted, three with people from two government departments (Ministry of Community Development and Social Services and Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives) and one with an NGO called World Vision. The interviews were held with the aim of finding out the role of government and NGOs in addressing retrenchment and household food security in Chingola.

4.2.3.2.2. Participatory exercises

When conducting interviews and focus groups discussions the researcher employed participatory research exercises. One example of the exercises used was the institutional analysis exercise. An institutional analysis exercise is one of the Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) tools (the exercise is further elaborated in Chapter Six). Though the method is mainly used in rural areas and has rarely been used to analyse food security situations; the FAO used it in Ethiopia to identify and analyse opportunities and constraints to improving nutrition in Ethiopian communities (FAO 1999). This study adopted it to an urban setting and found it to be a very useful tool in identifying and analysing institutions dealing with urban food security.

The institutional analysis exercise has been found (by this study) to be very useful in studying and understanding local people's perceptions of institutions, individuals and

programmes on urban food security. The method provided valuable insights into power structures and key organisations in Chingola and was particularly useful when analysing the following: various institutions and individuals and their influence on local people; the influence of various groups and individuals in the locality; and the relative importance and usefulness of services and programmes. The most important part about this exercise was not the end result but the process, because the discussions during the exercise offered the researcher a chance to learn more not only about how participants actually felt about certain organizations in the community but also about how they viewed their own food insecurity situation and how they analysed their situation (for details on this exercise see literature on PRA Chambers 1995; 1997; 2007; and Adebo 2000).

4.2.3.3. Analysis of qualitative data

Qualitative analysis “is a process of resolving data into its constituent components, to reveal its characteristic elements and structure” (Dey 1993: 31). No formula exists in the process of qualitative analysis because final destinations or findings remain unique for each researcher (Patton 2002:432). Consequently “there is no one kind of qualitative data analysis, but rather a variety of approaches, related to the different perspectives and purposes of researchers” (Punch 1998: 198). Similarly, “there is no general strategy for analysing ethnographic data because the analytic processes from which ethnographies are constructed often are vague, intuitive, and personalistic” (LecCompte & Goetz 1982:40). Generally, anthropology is an interpretive and creative field drawing on narrative and attentive listening to the data (Bernard 1994; Strang 2009). Thorne also explains that there is no single formula for analysis of data, as steps may vary according to factors like research questions, setting and context of study. However she points out a process that ethnographers engage in during analysis:

“Ethnographic analysis uses an iterative process in which cultural ideas that arise during active involvement “in the field” are transformed, translated, or represented in a written document. It involves sifting and sorting through pieces of data to detect and interpret thematic categorisations, search for inconsistencies and contradictions, and generate conclusions about what is happening and why” (2000:69).

There is no single formula. Therefore, “for protection against self-delusion, let alone presentation of unreliable or invalid conclusions” (Miles 1979:591), the research through analysis of literature (i.e. Hammersley 1990; Crabtree & Miller 1992; Denzin & Lincoln

1994; Maxwell 1996; Miles & Huberman 1994; Morgan 1993; Punch 1998; Patton 2002; Tesch 1990; Saldana 2009; Schatzman & Strauss 1973; Silverman 1993; Wolcott 1994) gained some insights into ways other researchers go about analysing qualitative data. For the purpose of this work, the six steps identified by Miles and Huberman (1994) were adopted for the data analysis: organising data, immersion in the data, generating themes, coding, offering interpretations through analytic memos, and searching for alternative understanding.

It is important to note that the six steps were merely a guide for the researcher because the analysis process occurred simultaneously with data collection (data reduction) – through which the sheer volume of data was reduced and made not only manageable but also coherent (Punch 1998: 203). Thus the six steps were not as neat as they appear but were messy and ambiguous and did not proceed in a sequential process but an interactive one. To start the analysis process the researcher listened to all interview tapes each evening to capture initial thinking²⁵ and tentative ideas about the new data collected on that day. In addition to recorded interviews, the researcher also kept a notebook. Owing to the complex nature of social life, ethnographers need to record a variety of elements in their field notes (Spradley 1980; Hammersley 1990; Hammersley & Atkinson 1995; Bernard 1994; Strang 2009). Notes from the notebook were also reviewed each evening. These preliminary reviews helped to reveal areas that were being over looked in the interviews, and it also allowed time to address them in future interviews. This review of data each day helped the researcher to have ideas about codes and emerging themes. In addition, all interviews from both working and retrenched households, focus group discussions, and individual interviews were transcribed, coded and subjected to the researcher's six steps of data analysis. Constant comparison was relied on when analysing working and retrenched household data. This involved continually examining data for examples of dissimilar/similar cases and patterns. No qualitative data management programme was used; all data was analysed manually by the researcher.

4.3. Validity and reliability for this study

Considering that a mixed methods approach was used the researcher was aware that validity and reliability do not carry the same connotations in qualitative research as they do in quantitative research (Patton 2001:14; Creswell 2009:1). In quantitative “research reliability

²⁵ I was asking myself what was in the data that confirmed what I already knew or suspected, what was surprising and what was puzzling. All this was done by taking notes and revisiting data over and over.

is concerned with the accuracy of the actual measuring instrument or procedure” while “validity refers to the degree to which a study accurately reflects or assesses the specific concept that the researcher is attempting to measure” (Creswell 2009:1). In other words, does the research instrument hit “the bull’s eye” of the research object? (Golafshani 2003:599). Thus the definitions of validity and reliability in quantitative research emphasises two things: with regards to reliability, whether the result is replicable and with regards to validity, whether the means of measurement are accurate and whether they are actually measuring what they are intended to (Maxwell 1992).

On the other hand, qualitative researchers view the two differently; for example, whereas reliability and validity are treated separately in quantitative studies, these terms are not viewed separately in qualitative research (Patton 2001:14). In qualitative literature (Lincoln & Guba 1985; Hammersley 1992; Patton 2001; Marshall & Rossman 2011) the two terms speak to ideas on trustworthiness, authenticity, and credibility. Denzin (1994) for example suggests that the terms of reliability and validity be replaced in qualitative research by notions of trustworthiness and authenticity. According to Patton, in quantitative research, when researchers speak of validity and reliability, they are usually referring to a research that is credible while “the credibility of a qualitative research depends on the use of rigorous methods of fieldwork, purposive sampling, holistic thinking and ability and effort of the researcher...” (Patton 2002:552-553). In the same vein Cohen et al. suggest that validation of qualitative research can be addressed “through the honesty, depth, richness and scope of data achieved, participants approached, the extent of triangulation and the disinterestedness ... of the researcher” (2000:105).

With regards to the above, careful consideration was given to both views and several measures were taken to address the different types of errors and biases that both approaches point out. To ensure valid and reliable information in the quantitative component, the researcher formulated the measuring instrument based on theoretical literature and also adopted other research instruments, such as the ones used by FANTA to collect valid information. Pretesting of questionnaire and training of research assistants further assisted to reduce information bias. In terms of reliability the sampling frame and sampling strategy (sample random sampling) allowed the researcher to have an accurate representation of the total population under study. On the other hand qualitative research was validated by

ensuring all essential considerations as articulated by Patton (2002:552-553) and Macmillan and Schumacher (2001:408) as summarised in Table 4.2 below.

Table 4.2: Validity measures for qualitative component

Strategy	Description
Prolonged and persistent fieldwork	Allows interim data analysis and corroboration to ensure the match between findings and participant reality
Purposive sampling	Application of purposive sampling allows for the careful selection of the participants to have a fair representation
Multi method strategy	Use of several methods to explore an issue increases the chances of depth and accuracy i.e. combining interviews with observation will test and fill out accounts given in interviews, and vice versa
Participant language/verbatim accounts	Obtain literal statements from participants and quotations from documents
Mechanically recorded data	Use of tape recorders and photographs
Participant researcher	Use of participants recorded perceptions in diaries for collaboration
Member checking	Check informally with participants for accuracy during data collection, frequently done as participant observer

4.4. Consent, confidentiality and ethical consideration

According to Grills, “a fundamental ethical principle of social science research is the principle of informed consent,” (1998:163) and talking about informed consent Neuman (1994:435) states “never coerce any one into participating; participation must be voluntary.” He further points out that “it is not enough to get permission from subjects; they need to know what they are being asked to participate in so that they can make an informed decision” (p. 435). In this study participants were sufficiently informed about the study, including their right to refuse to take part or to withdraw at any time without penalty. They were also informed about the opportunity and right to review and change responses during/after interviews. Voluntary written consent was sought from all participants. People invited to participate in the study were invited to complete the consent form after the study had been

explained to them and after having read the consent form. However, the researcher was aware that some dynamics apply to the process of obtaining consent as Roth clearly states:

“Even if the subjects of a study are given as precise and detailed an explanation of the purpose and procedure of the study as the investigator is able to give them, the subjects will not understand all the terms of the research in the same way that the investigator does” (1962: 284).

In view of the above, the study was constantly explained to participants whenever they asked for clarification on something they did not understand. In addition, the study was slowly and clearly explained to all participants prior to interviews and observations. During observations in the households, children (below the age of 18) were only interviewed in cases where they were willing and prior consent was granted by the parents or guardians. Confidentiality of participants in this study was ensured by firstly concealing the identity of the participants by the use of pseudonyms in field notes as outlined by Punch (1993). Although all survey questionnaires had names and addresses for references in the qualitative study these were kept in a secure, locked and private place and were not accessible to others. All recorded interviews were also locked. Further publication of all data collected will be done by withholding real names and addresses, in a manner that does not allow for ready identification of participants.

With the disclosure of instances of unethical conduct of research in medical research and social science the need to be sensitive to moral issues in research is emphasized. Ethical principles in research aim to protect the rights and welfare of the participants. According to Cohen et al., “each stage in the research sequence may be a potential source of ethical problems...” and so the researcher has to plan in advance and anticipate all ethical problems to protect participants (2000:49). Further, the study followed procedures of ethics for social science research laid down by the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of the University of Cape Town and from literature on ethical issues in social science (Cassell & Jacobs 1987; Punch 1994).

4.5. Ethical dilemmas

When faced with dilemmas in research Guillem and Gillam (2004:262) advise that the researcher draws on the notion of reflexivity as a resource because “ethics cannot in itself

provide all that is needed for dealing with ethically important moments in qualitative research.”

4.5.1. Reflexivity

Reflexivity is “an attitude of attending systematically to the context of knowledge construction, especially to the effect of the researcher, at every step of the research process” (www.qualres.org). It is a “thoughtful, conscious self-awareness” (Finlay 2002:532) procedure that entails examining how the researcher’s subjective elements impinge on, and even transform, research (Flood 1999; Finlay 1998, 2002; Creswell 2003). The process of engaging in reflexive analysis “enables richer understandings and so should be exploited as a research tool for both quantitative and qualitative research” (Finlay 1998: 453). In the same vein, Creswell (2003) encourages the researcher to state explicitly in the research report, biases, values and interests (or reflexivity). Such openness is considered useful and positive.

4.6.1.1. Reflexivity in the field and ways of looking

The qualitative researcher “filters the data through a personal lens that is situated in a specific socio-political and historical moment” (Creswell 2003:182). Creswell’s aforementioned observation has a bearing on the study I conducted in Chingola. This is because Chingola is a town in which I was born and raised and as such this has shaped who I am and somehow shaped my research. In addition, my father spent his entire career working on the mines as a chief mining surveyor. This has enabled him to acquire some networks within the town which I heavily relied on during the course of fieldwork. This background coupled with my studies in counselling and anthropology; provide the underpinnings for my experiences during fieldwork.

My insider status is undoubtedly significant because there were advantages/disadvantages, biases and assumptions that came from it. One of the advantages of being an insider researcher for me was that I did not experience the “anthropologist’s common dilemmas of isolation” and “the search for social acceptance and ties” with the study site (Finnis 2004; Chavez 2008). In addition I had entrée to certain groups of people with relative ease through my friends, brother and father’s connections. Other advantages of conducting research from this position have been documented (Wolcott 1999; Sprague 2005; Chavez 2008; Naaeke et al. 2011) and such advantages include: establishing rapport and trust with respondents, ability

to ask more meaningful questions and read non-verbal clues, and research participants are better informed.

Although being an inside researcher positions the researcher at an advantaged position during field work, literature (Aguilar 1981; Cochran-Smith & Lytle 1993; Bartunek & Louis 1996) charges the insiders with being inherently biased, and too close to the culture to be curious enough to raise provocative questions. Therefore as a researcher I knew that my insider position came with subjectivity and so reflexive analysis became an important tool (Finlay 2002) and I also knew that “without some degree of reflexivity any research is blind and without purpose” (Flood 1999: 35). Thus I had an important task of locating myself within the research and to explicitly reflect on how personal subjectivities could affect (even transform) research and research relationships (Delamont 1992). Therefore in reflecting who I am as a researcher, I became aware of my subjective influence and was able to step back and take a critical look at my own role in the research process. To explain and illustrate this reflexive process, I draw on some dilemmas that confronted me during the course of fieldwork.

My first example revolves around the need for a researcher to set aside his/her emotions in order to attend to the participant's. As a researcher I was aware that the duty of confidentiality is much broader than protecting identity and includes also issues of privacy and harm to subjects. With regards to privacy, Denzin and Lincoln (1998:175) advise that “the major safeguard to place against the invasion of privacy is the assurance of confidentiality,” while Mccall and Simmons (1969:276) suggest that harm can occur to participants and researchers need to ask themselves “to whom shall harm be done in this study, and in what magnitude?” In supporting this notion, Forrester (2010:102) also states that “researchers have the responsibility to assess the risk of harm coming to participants through their involvement” and this harm can come in many varieties, physical or emotional.

At the beginning of the study I anticipated emotional harm rather than physical harm because 80% of the respondents had recently lost their jobs and considering that retrenchment is a shock, it was expected that some of the participants would be depressed or angry (Waters 2000). However, the emotional pain that I encountered was much more than I anticipated. On several occasion participants cried as they narrated the difficulties they were facing due to unemployment, especially women who had lost their husbands. There were times when I felt

like crying but as a researcher I knew I had to put my emotions aside and I dealt with this pain through empathy. Babbie (1990) mentions that negative emotions may be recalled from the past during an interview session and this could later have repercussions for the participant. With this in mind and using some of the skills of a qualified counsellor and a trained ethnographer, I made efforts to create an emotionally safe environment by ensuring that the interview process moved in tune with the level of willingness for disclosure. It was also my duty as a researcher to make sure that all participants responded only to issues that they felt comfortable discussing.

The second dilemma is about illegal household activities. Scholars like Caplovitz (1981) and Scheper-Hughes (2004) warn that some of the activities households undertake to earn a living can be outright illegal. Some households revealed being part of illegal mining activities (discussed in the findings) and requested that I keep this information confidential. The revelations stem from the fact that some of the participants came to trust me and because of our ‘friendship’ they were able to open up. As a researcher, I was aware that illegal mining remains a serious problem in the mining industry around the world and it actually poses a risk to the illegal miners themselves. However, all I had were their stories and I had no hard proof (i.e. a video of them mining or copper that they had mined) and even if I had proof, I felt as a researcher I would not report this information because I was told this in confidence (Scheper-Hughes 2004). I had assured the participants at the start of each discussion that the study was an academic exercise and the data was going to be kept confidential and that I would not reveal their names nor their identities.

Lastly, through my work as a researcher in Zambia, there has been some pressure sporadically put on me to reveal information about households to others in the community, or to gossip about household visits with others (Chileshe 2008). During this study some neighbours (to retrenched households) constantly asked me or my research assistant why we were visiting only some households and not everyone in the street and they were curious to know what our discussions were about. The general study was explained to those who asked and some insisted they too wanted to be interviewed. As a researcher I could not refuse to talk to them because of fear of bringing enmity between neighbours, and so I ended up having informal chats with many other people and I also took time to explain to the “recruited household” that the neighbours were asking about our talks and reassured them of the confidentiality of their information. All these pressures were responded to by reiterating the

importance of confidentiality. The goal of being reflexive in this sense had to do with “improving the quality and validity of the research thus leading to more rigorous research” (Guillemin & Gillam 2004:275).

4.6. Limitations of the research and potential sources of error

Research and specifically qualitative research is ideologically driven hence it is not bias-free (Janesick 2002). Many of the biases as Sadler (2002) points out arise simply from being a person. A researcher is a human being with self-impressions and is not able to rid her/himself of the cultural self which is brought to the inquiry (Scheper-Hughes 1992). Thus no inquiry is value-free. In this study some of the challenges faced were the following:

Firstly, the problem of arranging appointments for the many interviews that had to be conducted. This was easy in some cases while it was almost impossible in other cases (especially where people had moved houses/towns). Secondly, because food security and livelihoods research have tended to concentrate in rural areas, there are no tried and tested tools which could have been used to investigate the issues under consideration in an urban setting. Despite these limitations, it is believed that the study provided an insight in to the food insecurities of urban residences faced with economic shocks. Thirdly and related to the previous point is that while there has been several studies done on the Copperbelt as a region, there were no specific ethnographies for Chingola that the researcher would draw on or refer too. The researcher thus relied on her insider perspective which might lead to some subjective interpretations. However being fully aware of this danger, the researcher tried by all means to stay objective and to focus on participants’ perspectives.

Fourthly, Cohen et al. (2000) suggests that some qualitative methodological data collection approaches, can pose several difficulties which might affect the reliability and validity of the research. These difficulties include: Reactivity – “the presence of the researcher alters the situation as participants may wish to avoid, impress, direct, deny and influence the researcher” (Cohen et al. 2000:189); and neglect of the wider social contexts and constraints. Research done in highly context-bound situations might neglect broader currents and contexts. Finally, mixed methods approach poses challenges for the researcher and according to Creswell “these include the need for extensive data collection, the time-intensive nature of analysing both text and numeric data, and the requirement for the researcher to be familiar

with both quantitative and qualitative forms of research” (2009: 205). During my prior work as a researcher for example, I was involved in qualitative research and thus had little formal training in quantitative research and little access to formal guidance. Thus, I had to find an expert to give me lessons on how to carry out quantitative research effectively.

4.7. Conclusion

Although mixed method approaches have been used in other areas of social inquiry, research on food security or retrenchment has for the most part continued to focus on exclusively quantitative or qualitative methods. For that reason, this study used mixed methods to get a broader understanding of the real impact of retrenchment and most importantly to try and understand the food security situation of households. A mixed method serves the dual purposes of generalisation and in-depth understanding: “to gain an overview of social regularities from a larger sample while understanding the other through detailed study of a smaller sample” (Bazeley 2004:5). So by utilizing the strengths of both qualitative and quantitative research, this thesis moved a step further because neither quantitative nor qualitative methods are sufficient in themselves to provide a comprehensive understanding of the impact of retrenchment on household food security.

CHAPTER FIVE

FROM PRIVILEGED TO COMMON MAN: FOOD INSECURITY IN RETRENCHED URBAN HOUSEHOLDS

5.0. Introduction

This is the first of the two chapters that present the essential findings of the study. The purpose of this chapter is threefold: to determine the levels of food security in retrenched households; to examine factors that are responsible for increasing the vulnerability of these households to food insecurity; and to expand the understanding on intra-household food dynamics. This chapter, like the rest of the finding chapters is devoted to a presentation of the lived experiences of the retrenched households as “we have much to learn by listening to the voices of the poor” (Farmer & Bertrand 2000:89; Millen et al. 2000: 382). Thus there is a deliberate choice in the rest of the chapters to include fairly extensive excerpts from participants’ narratives. This decision is informed by Clifford Geertz’s ethnographical method of “thick description” (1973) and many other ethnographies (Scheper-Hughes 1993; Das 1995a, 1995b; Farmer 1992, 2000; Farmer & Bertrand 2000; Tvedten et al. 2013) that make salient not only human behaviour or understanding, but also discursive frameworks through which individuals make sense of their lives.

5.2. The state of food insecurity in urban retrenched households in Chingola

Food is essential to human existence because it is energy (fuel) for humans and thus the most indispensable of all human needs (Mougeot 1999). Unfortunately, both qualitative and quantitative data revealed that this essential need was undoubtedly compromised in many of the retrenched urban households in Chingola. The data from the HFIAS scores, which were calculated for each household based on answers to nine “frequency-of-occurrence” questions, indicated that approximately 7.4% of the households were categorised as food secure, 4.2 % as mildly food insecure, 19.1 % as moderately food insecure and 69.3% as severely food insecure.

Table 5.1: Retrenched household food insecurity categories

Household Food Insecurity Categories	
Food secure	7.4%
Mildly food insecure	4.2%
Moderately food insecure	19.1%
Severely food insecure	69.3%

Source: Research Survey Data 2010

This means the food secure (7%) and mildly food insecure (4%) households did not experience any of the three most severe conditions (running out of food, going to bed hungry, or going a whole day and night without eating). They, however, worried about not having enough food, but this happened only rarely. The remaining 88% (moderately food insecure and severely food insecure) of the respondents sacrificed quality more frequently, cut back on quantity by reducing the size of the meals and also ran out of food. They went to bed hungry or went a whole day and whole night without food, with varying degrees of frequency. The food insecure households also reported to have reduced meals.

A high percentage (77%) of households indicated that they had reduced meals and reduced food intake. This was reported to take two forms: a reduction in quantity and a reduction in the frequency of consuming food. During in-depth interviews, for example, some retrenched households reported to have reduced from three meals to two or one meal per day and also spoke of having reduced or done away with snacks for the children as expressed by Rhoda's and Chisanga's households:

“We used to have three meals a day. And the children used to have snacks whenever they felt hungry but now I cannot afford any of that. These days we eat *ubwali* once a day and that's it.”²⁶

²⁶ Rhoda household 8A: interview on 8th June 2010

“When I was working we used to have three meals but now it is down to one meal or nothing in a day. So it is really a bad situation... We have been reduced to beggars. I feel bad that my family cannot eat as much as they would like. We have nothing. Absolutely nothing.”²⁷

*Ubwali*²⁸ which is a dominant staple food in Zambia, with the majority of the population consuming it on a daily basis, was commonly reported to have been reduced from twice (lunch and supper) to once a day in some of the retrenched households (Meenakshi et al. 2010; Fink et al. 2014). In many households, it was also explained that *ubunga* (maize meal used for making *ubwali*) was altered in a specific order of preference and quality. For example, instead of buying the usual breakfast maize meal that the majority of the middle class working households buy in urban areas, the retrenched opted to buy cheap often poor quality maize grains and produced their own home made maize meal. For example, Amanda from household 9A²⁹ clearly explained that “breakfast *yolidula*” (breakfast is expensive) hence she had switched from breakfast to a low-grade meal popularly known as *mugaiwa* (hammer milled maize meal). In other cases, households switched from the expensive breakfast maize meal to another cheaper maize meal called roller meal. Apart from settling for cheap *ubunga* some households reported that *ubwali* (which is eaten in combination with meat, vegetables or legumes) was completely replaced by cheaper food supplements such as sweet potatoes, cassava, groundnuts or samp. However, eating sweet potatoes or groundnuts instead of *ubwali*, was expressed by many retrenched households as being poor and food insecure because the philosophy in Chingola as well as many other parts of Zambia is, you are not eating if you are not eating *ubwali*³⁰ as explained by Chisanga:

“*ubwali* eakulya (*ubwali* is the food). You know, not having *nshima* is the same as not eating at all. When I eat pasta, it’s like I have not eaten because that is not the food I am used to. I cannot get satisfied from such foods. There are days when we cannot afford to buy a bag of *ubunga* because we have no money, so we end up with macaroni or sweet potatoes on the table and we go to sleep on that. I feel bad because my family goes without a proper meal; for me it is the same as going hungry.... For example, there was a day last week when we had

²⁷ Mr Chisanga 3A: interview on 7th June 2010

²⁸ The word *ubwali* stands for food itself (see Audrey 1956) and is at the core of food security in Chingola as expressed by one respondent “*Ubwali ebwatumukusha, without it kufwa*” (*ubwali* has made us grow, without it we die).

²⁹ A represents retrenched households while B represents working households. In this case 9A refers to retrenched household case study number nine. So for example, household case study number one is 1A and the comparative working household is 1B. All household case studies are presented in this format throughout the finding chapters.

³⁰ For more information on this philosophy see Audrey 1956.

samp for lunch and supper and I did not feel good about it. What happened is that we had maize, but we did not have money to take it to the miller or for relish so my wife decided to make samp...”³¹

Like Chisanga, many other households complained and expressed that they were food insecure because they could not eat their preferred meal. Thus by substituting for *ubwali*, the diet of many retrenched households became less acceptable in quality and indeed less enjoyable given cultural preferences and expectations. Other households reported that they avoided substantial reductions or disruptions in food intake. This was done by relying on a few basic foods and reducing variety in their diets. For example, households that did not replace *ubwali* with other food types like sweet potatoes complained that they had cut out “luxuries” such as meat and dairy products because they could not afford them. With “luxuries” cut out, households surveyed noted that their diets basically consisted of *ubwali* with vegetables (some households grew vegetables in their backyard gardens see Chapter Six) which they consumed more often than they liked. Eating *ubwali* and *umusalu* (vegetables) was, however, considered as suffering or lacking because culturally good and preferred foods were meats, fresh fish, foods cooked with oil and served with *ubwali* as explained by Mrs Chola:

“Now we are suffering.....When my husband was working we used to have all the nice foods like chicken, sausages, beef; you name it we had it all. Now all we eat are vegetables and our mouths have turned green.... I try to cook different vegetables each day, like rape³² on Monday, Chinese cabbage, cabbage, sweet potato leaves or cassava leaves on other days, but even that does not help because the children grumble since they are not used to eating vegetables from one month end to the next. Anyway, I understand their frustrations because even I am finding it hard to get used to this type of eating. I know that even though I try to cook a different vegetable each day, ultimately day they are all vegetables.”³³

Complaints about eating too much vegetable and less meat were repeatedly shared by households during in-depth interviews. These complaints echoed the study’s quantitative data on household dietary diversity. Dietary diversity, assessed as the number of different foods or

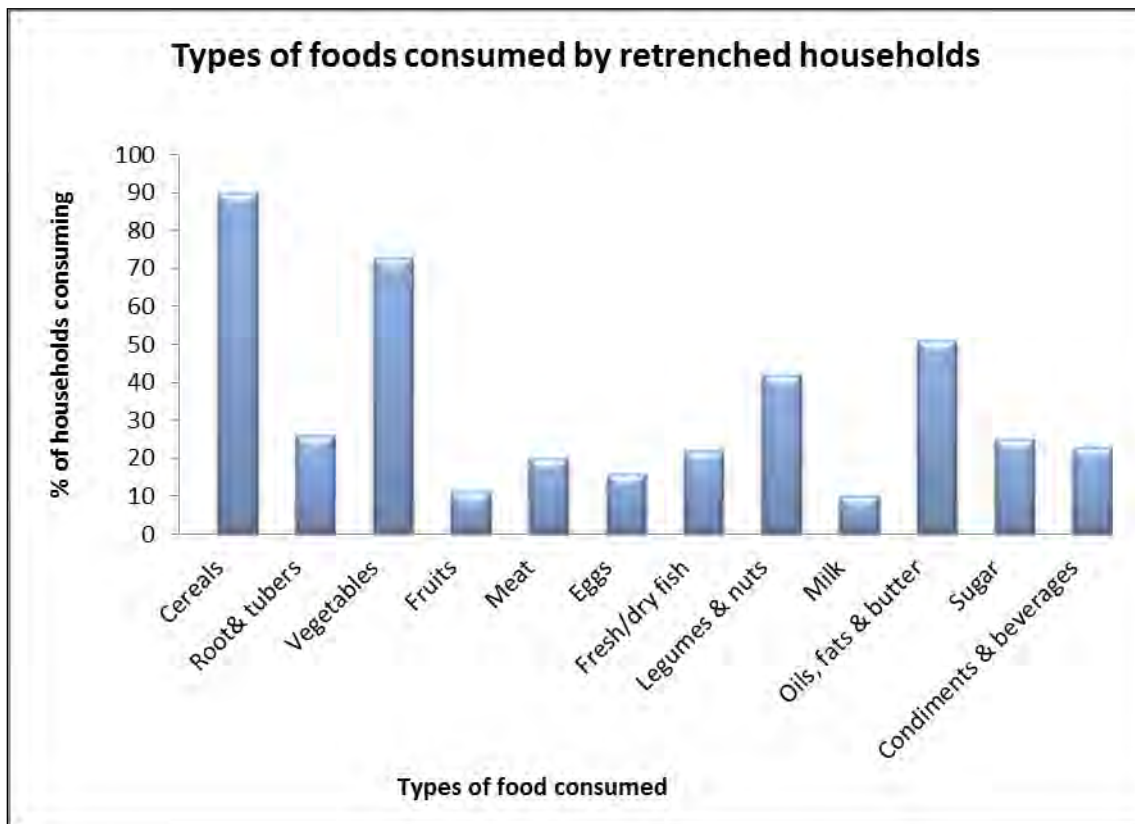
³¹ Mr Chisanga 3A: interview on 7th June 2010

³² A green leafed vegetable or cooking green, often used in Italian cooking, that is related to both the broccoli and turnip family of vegetables. It is a very common vegetable in Southern Africa and more especially in Zambia, Malawi and Zimbabwe.

³³ Mrs Chola wife to Mr. Chola household 2A: interview on 10th June 2010

food groups consumed over a given reference period, is a widely recognized tool for assessing food security status of households (Drewnowski et al. 1997; Hoddinott 1999; Ruel 2002). To further the understanding on the food security status of retrenched households in Chingola, the study evaluated food diversity by a Household Dietary Diversity Score (HDDS, range: 0–12) based on a 24-h dietary recall. The HDDS survey results revealed that retrenched households were consuming a limited number of foods, as no household reported consuming all 12 food types that were investigated. The retrenched households consumed only a mean of nearly 4 (3.9) food groups. Cereals (mainly maize) were the dominant food group eaten by the majority (90%) of the households, followed by vegetables (73%), oils (51%) and legumes (42%). On the other hand, the results showed that fruit (11%), milk (10%), egg (16%) and meat (20%) groups were the least commonly consumed food groups as these were consumed by not more than 20% of the households (See Figure 5.1).

Figure 5.1: Types of foods consumed by retrenched households



Source: Research Survey Data 2010

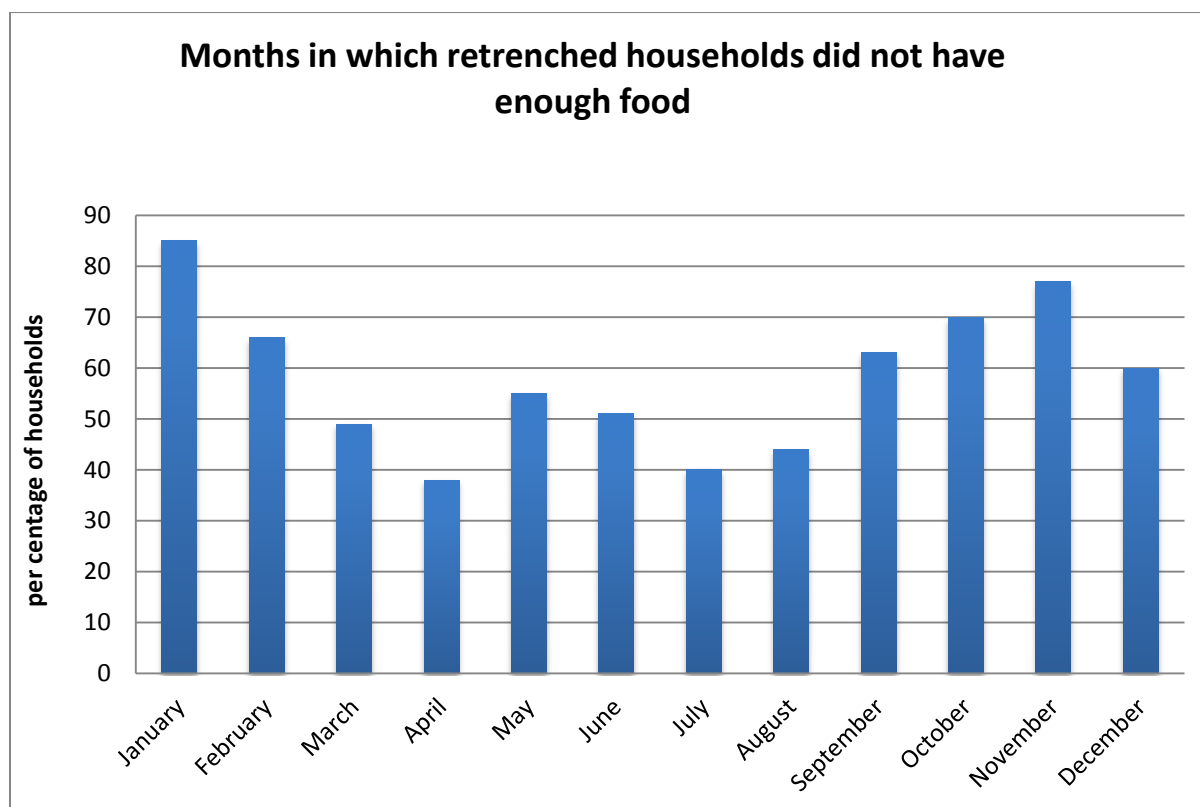
Although the mean score was 3.9, diversity scores for the sample ranged between 1 and 8. Households with low scores had a very basic diet and consumed only 1 or 2 food groups at most. In most cases, these groups were cereals and leafy vegetables or simply tubers.

Households with medium scores consumed oils or legumes/nuts in addition to these groups, and also a little more sugar. Finally, households with higher scores (between 6 and 8), consumed some meat or fish, fat, sugar, fruits as well as some condiments/beverages. Thus households that had scores between 6 and 8 were among the mildly insecure or food secure household and these households were very few as shown in Table 5.1. Lack of food diversity therefore, was particularly a problem among retrenched households.

The majority of the retrenched households' diets were predominantly based on cereals (*ubwali*) and vegetables and often included no animal products. Consequently, diets were rarely balanced because "foods of vegetable origin are often short of one or more essential amino acid" (Hoffman & Falvo 2004:121), and are therefore protein-inefficient (Arimond & Ruel 2004). In fact research in developing countries in general (Rah et al. 2010) and particularly in Africa (Onyango et al.1998; Arimond & Ruel 2004), has also shown that there is a strong relationship between dietary scores and nutritional/health outcomes – both in increasing the likelihood of nutrient adequacy and lowering mortality rates. In the long run, the low levels of dietary diversity reported in retrenched households could lead to greater risk of micronutrient deficiencies and this could cause stunting in both children and adults. The long-term consequences of stunting include deficits in school achievement, reduced work capacity and adverse pregnancy outcomes (WHO 2006; Victora et al. 2008; Rah et al. 2010; Lee et al. 2011). Optimizing the overall quality of diets through the inclusion of a variety of food groups, may be essential to improve nutritional status of households. However, it was difficult for households as they were struggling to find enough food to survive.

When household access to food was measured by Months of Adequate Household Food Provisioning (MAHFP), the majority of households emphasized that they had problems accessing food throughout the year. Food security as measured by months of adequate food provisioning was in general quite low. Only 15% of respondents indicated that they had no difficulties obtaining food for the household, while the rest of the retrenched households explained that they had difficulties accessing food throughout the year. However, severe experience of household food insecurity was reported for an average of seven months in the course of the year. Over 50% of the households indicated that they found it difficult to obtain food for the household during the months of January, February, May, June, September, October, November and December (see Figure 5.2).

Figure 5.2: Months of food shortages



Source: Research Survey Data 2010

According to data from in-depth interviews and focus group discussions, January, May and September are months coinciding with the school opening periods and so households spent money on school requirements such as fees, books and uniforms. A few households also complained that they had found it difficult to access enough food in November, December, January and February because some of their farm products (especially maize) that they either harvested or received from relatives in peri-urban and rural areas (see Chapter Six) ran out during that time of year. The complaints by the households show that their failure to provide enough food was related to the agricultural cycle. Maize grain is not consistently available in public markets during the lean season (November to March) and maize prices are relatively high during this period (See Mason & Jayne 2008).

Apart from being a lean season, January was also identified as a difficult month for households because households overspent during the festive season in December. Some households further mentioned May, June, September and October for the reasons that mushrooms, wild vegetables, wild fruits and many other fruits such as mangoes were in short

supply around that time.³⁴ A number of case studies from around the world, but primarily from Africa (Ogle & Grivetti 1985; Chambers & Longhurst 1986; Kalaba et al. 2009; Langat 2011), have shown that forest foods are widely consumed, not only in rural but in many urban communities in Africa. These foods provide a regular supplement to diet in urban households, while in rural households they provide a primary source of food. Thus with difficulties accessing food for most part of the year, low dietary diversity scores and reported multiple disruptions of eating patterns, it was clear that retrenched households were finding it hard to access food. In short, all useful indicators (HFIAS, HDDS and MIHFP) of household food security in this study revealed that the state of food insecurity in urban retrenched households in Chingola was very high. The next section examines the factors that are responsible for increasing the vulnerability of the retrenched households to food insecurity.

5.3. Factors responsible for increasing the vulnerability of retrenched households to food insecurity

Volatility and shocks can inflict sudden catastrophe and vulnerability, if individuals, households, communities and countries are not prepared for them (Green, King & Miller-Dawkins 2010). Retrenchments provoked by the 2008/2009 economic crisis therefore caused widespread social, economic and psychological distress in affected households because households were unprepared. The volatility of retrenchment exposed household members in virtually all retrenched households to increased risk of poverty and hardship. For some households, this increased risk of poverty and hardship, rendered them even more vulnerable to food insecurity. The factors that increased the vulnerability of households to food insecurity included economic factors (limited severance package, limited job opportunities, and food prices), loss of social and health benefits of employment, historical and political factors, and psychological factors. It is important to note that the factors were not mutually exclusive; they constituted distinct but overlapping forces and processes leading to food insecurity. To these the study now turns.

³⁴ In Zambia mushrooms, wild vegetables and wild fruits are in fact in short supply between March and August while the season for mangoes is December to February.

5.3.1. Economic factors

Economic impacts of retrenchment affect the financial security of an individual, and also bring uncertainty because affected individuals do not, in most cases, know for how long they will be unemployed. Retrenchment has a negative economic impact on affected households. In the case of Chingola, the sudden and unexpected news of retrenchment in households brought about an abrupt stop to income flow. Due to retrenchment, the 215 respondents lost their steady income the day they were retrenched. Of the 215 respondents, 10% did not see a complete disappearance of household income because the spouses in these households were in formal employment.³⁵ Although the major income was lost due to retrenchment, the spouse (usually wives) helped to bring in an income but, unfortunately, this income was reported by many to be insufficient to meet all household needs. For example, when Mr and Mrs Simbaya were asked to share more information about Mrs Simbaya's income and how that was used to cushion the loss of the major income in the household, Mr Simbaya exclaimed:

“Ehe!” (Surprise in disapproval) “If you knew how much my wife gets, you would not even talk about that money. A pre-school teacher only gets about K600 000 (\$115) and that is not enough to feed the family, send children to school, do the day to day running of the house or pay bills like electricity and water.”³⁶

On the other hand, 36% reported a complete disappearance of income in the household because they were either without a partner³⁷ (21%) or had spouses who were unemployed (15%) and not involved in any kind of income generating activities. In total 54% stated that their spouses were involved in informal employment. However, they also explained that the incomes from these informal activities had equally suffered during the economic crisis. For example, some wives to the retrenched individuals who sold goods to mine workers or owned restaurants or retail shops around the mine area stated that they had experienced a fall in income when their customers lost jobs through retrenchment as can be seen by Mrs Chola's narrative:

“We are suffering because of retrenchment..... Apart from my husband losing a job, my business has also been affected. I have a restaurant in the industrial area and my main

³⁵ Most of these were civil servants i.e. teacher, police officer, etc.

³⁶ Mr Simbaya from HH 6A interview on 11th May 2010

³⁷ Without a partner here refers to those who were either single, widowed or divorced.

customers were workers from the construction company, but it has since closed. So I have a few customers, but business is very slow.”³⁸

The above simply shows that the relationship between the modern informal sector and the formal sector is complementary in nature. As a result, “the expansion of organized firms helps to expand the unorganized firms as well” (Bairagya 2010:26). The complaints about lost customers and subsequent incomes from informal businesses were experienced not only by retrenched families but also by some wives in working households.³⁹ The only difference is that the working households still had a major steady income while the retrenched were severely affected because they had no steady income to fall back on. This means that, in Chingola, the economic crisis not only negatively affected the retrenched households but also severely affected the entire community as the crisis deepened and spread beyond the mining sector. Consequently, the loss of income for the retrenched and the ripple effect in the community resulted immediately in poor living standards for the households. The retrenched households reported that they could not afford to pay for basic necessities and more especially food. This result can be seen from Rhoda, who linked her experience of lack of cash with an empty refrigerator, all of which comes to food insecurity:

“After my husband got retrenched we ran out of money; there is no money in this house - not a single ngwee!⁴⁰ You can just see from the empty fridge (she opens fridge). This fridge used to overflow with meat, chicken, sausages, juices, fruits... Any food you can think of was found in this fridge... But now it only holds a container of water. I cannot even remember the last time I had meat or juice; all I eat these days are vegetables and I also drink water because there is completely no money for meat.”⁴¹

This lack of income therefore prevented many households from buying desired foods, causing them to reduce the meals eaten, or to replace the meals they used to eat at the time of employment with cheaper foods which were, in most instances, not of good quality. It is no

³⁸ Mrs Chola from HH 2A interview on 27th May 2010

³⁹ For example a wife in one of the working households (5B) explained that she used to rear chickens and once ready, she distributed them to miner’s wives who used to pay her at the month end. With the massive retrenchments, she lost many customers and some money was never recovered.

⁴⁰ A Zambian monetary unit worth one hundredth of a kwacha. The expression “I do not even have a ngwee” means “I do not have even the smallest unit of the kwacha,” simply put, “I have no money.”

⁴¹ Rhoda from HH 8A: Interview 10th August 2010.

wonder that over 80% of the households had low dietary diversity and experienced periods of hunger.

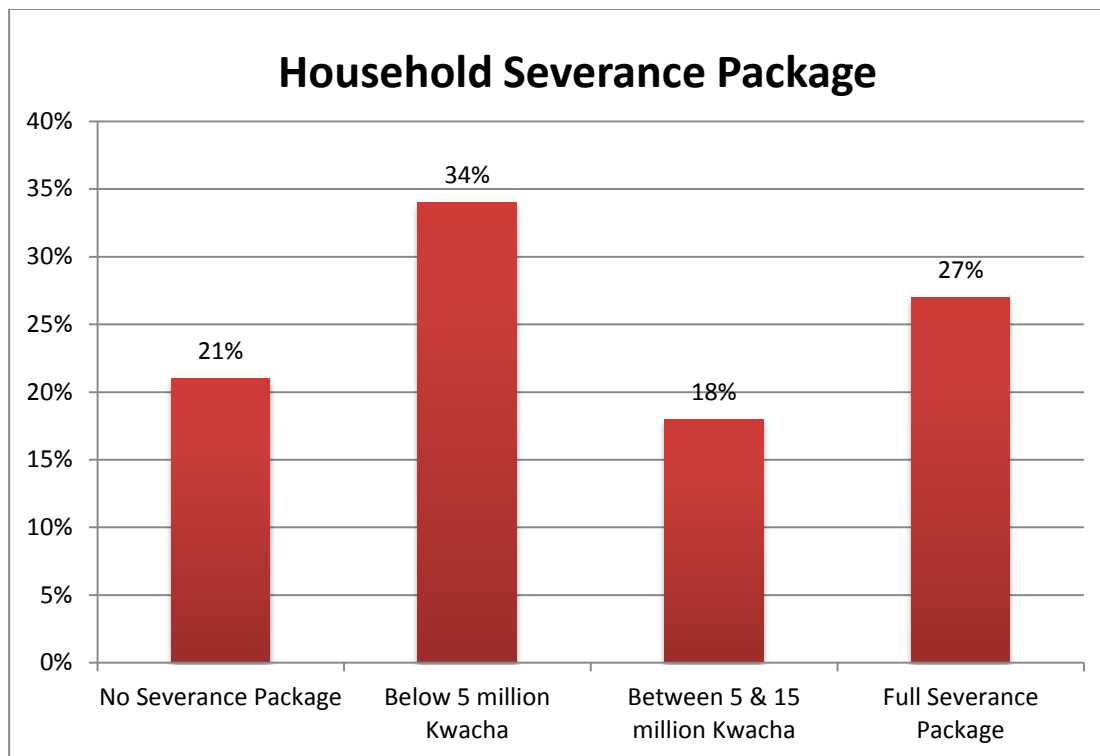
Lack of severance package

The lack of income was made worse by limited severance packages. While all the retrenched individuals received a severance package from KCM,⁴² most of that money was used to pay off outstanding loans. The retrenched had borrowed from banks and other micro financial lending institutions such as Bayport, Microfin and Capital Solutions. Before retrenchment, many of the households had dreams and hopes for the future. Mr Chisanga for example, said that before retrenchment he was building a block of flats⁴³ that he hoped could become a source of income once he retired. Similarly, four other households from the case studies said they were also building houses before retrenchment. To carry out such projects, households took out bank loans. In fact, many other households reported to having taken out loans. When asked why they had taken out a loan, all the respondents had detailed explanations of why and how they had used the money. The common responses were “bought a car”, “bought a house”, “extension of the houses”, “building a house”; and “paid school fees”. The less common ones were “bought household goods”, “started a business” and “bought a farm”. Previously (before the economic crisis and subsequent retrenchments) mining sector jobs were considered the most secure, and this perceived security (by both banks and mining sector workers) meant that miners were seen as being low risk clients and were therefore able to get loans. However, on retrenchment, these dreams were shattered because, banks deducted outstanding balances from severance packages.

⁴² The severance package is calculated based on the years an individual has worked with KCM. At the time the retrenchees received their package, the calculation was based on two months’ pay for each year worked. So those who had worked for KCM longer were at an advantage. However, KCM only paid out money that was accrued after 2000 (after privatisation) because this is the time it took over the company. So benefits accrued up to 2000 were the responsibility of the Zambian government.

⁴³ Mr. Chisanga aged 50 from household 3A said he bought a plot in 2006 and started building a block of four flats. By retrenchment three of the flats were at roof level.

Figure 5. 3: Household Severance Package

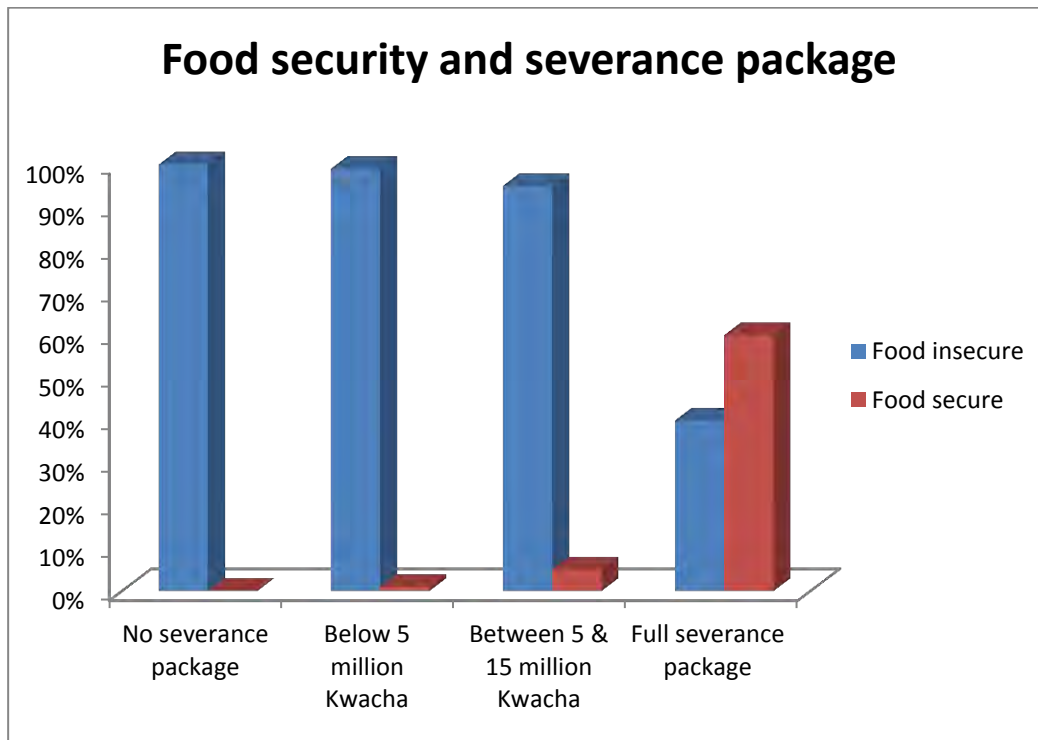


Source: Research Survey Data, Quantitative Component 2010

As can be seen in Figure 5.3, in 21% of the households, the severance package went directly to pay the banks and the retrenched were left with nothing. Some households (18%) reported that after the bank deductions, they were left with amounts that were below K5000000 (\$962) and this money was hardly sufficient to provide savings. The sharp fall in the income of the retrenched households, who previously had been part of the middle-class, meant a rapid increase in the “new poor.” Although 27 % reported to have received the full severance package, this is money that they had not expected at that particular point in their lives; hence 60% of these stated that they had not planned for it adequately. Secondly, with no other sources of income, households were forced to use the severance package to sustain the family and in the long run ended up with very little cash and in some cases with nothing. At the time of fieldwork, 60% of the respondents with full severance packages did not have any money left from their package. This situation was worse for those households with smaller compensation amounts and consequently it affected their food security. Quantitative data showed that there is a link between severance package and food insecurity (See Figure 5.4). Logically, as can be seen in Figure 5.4, household food security declines with low levels of severance package. The figure also shows that a larger proportion of food insecure households in the sample came from households without severance packages or with very

small severance packages. The findings support the theory that lack of cash is an important urban household level food security variable (Crush & Frayne 2010a).

Figure 5. 4: Food security and severance package



Source: Research Survey Data, Quantitative Component 2010

It was thus evident that due to retrenchment and subsequent loss of income, the retrenched experienced massive downward mobility, entering the world of the poor. It was very difficult for the majority of them to retrace their steps up because new jobs that would offer them a good income were hard to come by.

Limited job opportunities

The impact of the total loss of income was worsened by the fact that 83% of the households in the study sample had been unable to find new full time employment since having been retrenched. At the time the study was conducted, 83% were still out of formal employment and looking for jobs and only 17% had found new full time jobs. Of the 83% that were still searching for full time jobs, 24% said they were engaged in some casual jobs, and 59% said they were not engaged in any type of work and were still looking. In line with authors Younger (1996), Gordon (1996) and Waters (2000), nearly everyone that had found a new formal job said their wages were less than those they used to get at KCM. Many of the new

jobs were in Chinese-run mines. In these Chinese-owned and run companies, not only were the salaries poor but workers also suffered from abusive employment conditions that failed to meet domestic and international standards⁴⁴ (See Human Rights Watch Report 2011).

When asked about their new jobs, some of the men bitterly complained about the low wages and poor conditions of service. “I miss KCM because I used to get three and half times what I get today,” said one man during a focus group discussion. When asked how much he was getting from his new job he said, “I get less than 1 million kwacha and most of the money is spent on transport to work because I now work out of town.With the little I get, I cannot provide for my family adequately.” The man further explained that in addition to the poor wages, the Chinese had no *mucinshi* (respect) for their employees. Despite the progress (finding new jobs), the majority still said they were unable to provide adequately for their families because their new wages were very low, as low as K500, 000 (\$96) in some cases. A wage of K500, 000 is not sufficient to sustain a family. In January 2010, for example, JCTR calculated that an average family of six needed, about K842,400 worth of very basic food items per month, and K1,854,630 worth of essential non-food items (soap, water, electricity, sanitation and housing), bringing the total basic needs basket to K2,696,030 (JCTR 2010).

Thus this considerable drop in income in many cases placed the households below the poverty line. For retrenched households, the impact of being retrenched was thus devastating. This is because, to survive in an urban setting like Chingola, as earlier stated in Chapter Two, one needs cash since practically everything (electricity, water, housing, education, etc) depends on cash (Ruel et al. 1998). In the same line, the question of food security is inseparable from loss of income, because in urban areas sufficient nourishment also depends on whether a household can afford to buy enough food (Ruel et al. 1998; Maxwell 1999; Crush & Frayne 2010a). This means the sudden fall in income immediately pushed most of the households into poverty and food insecurity.

⁴⁴ The respondents who had found new jobs in Chinese companies told stories about the poor standards which include poor health and safety standards (such as poor ventilation that can lead to serious lung diseases), hours of work in excess of Zambian law, the failure by management to provide workers with personal protective equipment, and if they refuse to work in unsafe places they are threatened with dismissal (Similar stories/findings can be found in Human Rights Watch Report 2011).

Food prices

The loss of income, lack of severance package and limited job opportunities were compounded by food prices which are still relatively high in the local markets of many poor countries (Baker 2008; Cohen & Garret 2009; Hossain & Green 2011). Due to high food prices of 2007/2008 the price of most food items (and non-food items) increased. In Zambia, annual rates of inflation in food prices rose sharply from 5.7% in 2007 before the crisis to 20.5% during the crisis of 2008 (CSO 2007; 2009; FAO 2009; Mason et al. 2011). It is reported that from 2008 to the end of 2009, “food inflation was highest in Lusaka and the Copperbelt provinces, where households engage least in agricultural activity” (McCulloch & Grover 2010:17). Maize prices were thus typically highest in Lusaka and Copperbelt. Chapoto et al. (2008) and Govereh (2008) show that during the global food crisis, maize prices in Zambia started to escalate in July 2008, and continued to rise until March 2009. For example, in 2008, maize prices rose about 10% higher than 2007 levels. They further show that the urban consumers, who are net buyers of maize, were negatively affected by the escalating maize and maize meal prices. The greatest impact was felt in the hungry season when prices rose above import parity. As noted in the earlier paragraphs, Zambia’s agriculture is mainly rain-fed, so crop production in the country is vulnerable to severe weather shocks. Production shortfalls always have caused prices of the main staple crop to escalate, especially during the hungry/lean season in November through February.

The government of Zambia responded to the global food crisis of 2007 and 2008 by imposing an export ban on maize, as well as by setting up a technical committee to make recommendations on how to deal with the situation (Govereh 2008; Jayne et al. 2008; Mitchell 2008; Chapoto 2012). The response by government came too late, and according to some scholars, “failure by the government and other stakeholders to quickly respond to the global food crisis was the leading cause for the escalation of maize prices in the country, rather than being driven by what was happening on the international scene” (Chapoto 2012:24). Indeed, the response by government was late as it only came after the retail prices for maize meal became unbearably high, triggering food riots in Kitwe, on the Copperbelt Province. In 2014 the prices of maize meal were still high and JCTR on 14th April, 2014 called on government to quickly intervene in the rising cost of mealie-meal in the country to make it affordable to ordinary Zambians (JCTR 2014). Prices for breakfast mealie-meal sharply increased from K57.90 in April 2013 to more than K82 per 25 kilogrammes bag in April 2014, making it difficult for many to purchase the commodity (Namutowe 2014). Both

working and retrenched households complained about high food prices. “Food is very expensive nowadays; every time we go to Shoprite we find that prices have gone up,” explained the head of the household from household 4B.⁴⁵ “It is difficult to keep up with the rising prices because salaries are still the same,” he further added. Similarly, Daka from 4A also, complained about high food prices and explained that it was difficult for him to provide for his family due to high food prices and lack of income:

“The biggest problem for me is that I am not working, and so I have no money to buy enough food for my family. What hurts me more is that the price of food is also very high. What happens is that when I hustle and find a bit of money, I still find that the money is never enough to buy things like bread, meat, biscuits, and many other nice things that my children like. So in the end, when I find money I buy the cheapest foods that I can find just to keep us going. It is not easy; life has become very difficult for me and my family, but I pray to God that one day I will find another job.”⁴⁶

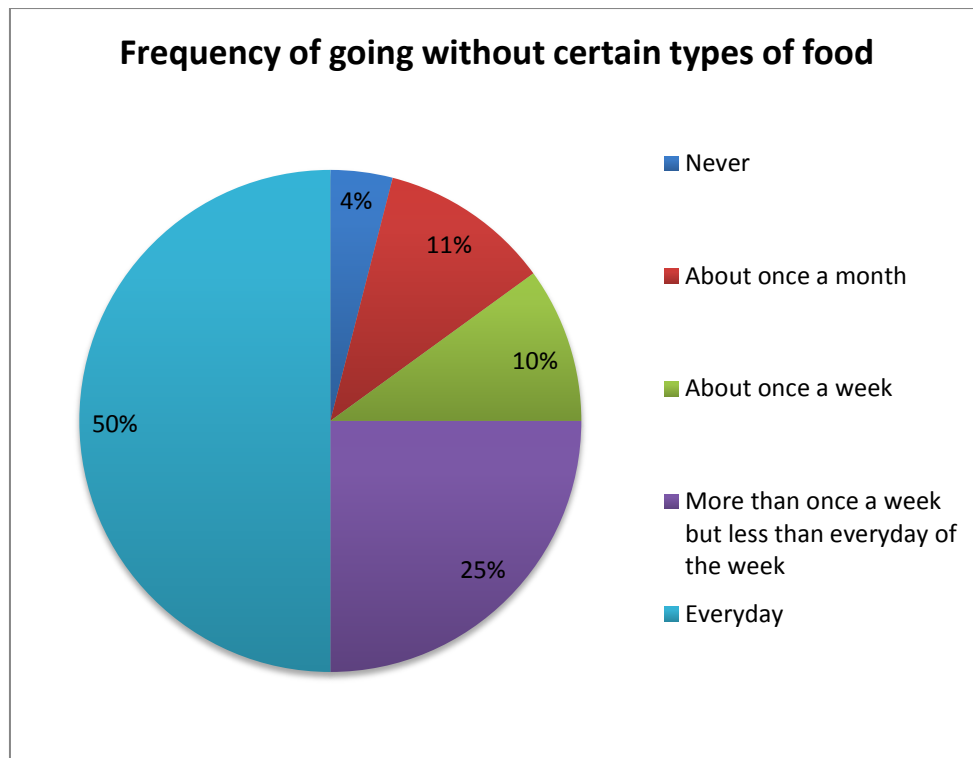
Even though both working and retrenched households complained about high food prices when the question “have you or your household gone without certain types of food because of the price of food?” was asked, none of the working households reported going without any type of food. All the ten retrenched households, on the other hand, said their households had gone without certain types of foods because of the food price.

Results from the quantitative survey also revealed that 50% of the 215 respondents had gone without certain types of foods every day for the last six months preceding the survey. The rest of the respondents had either gone without food more than once a week but less than every day of the week (25%), about once a week (10 %), or about once a month (11 %), and only 4% had never gone without certain types of foods (See Figure 5.5). The foods that were most frequently cited as being expensive were beef, pork, lamb, goat, chicken, kidneys or other organ meats, fruits, maize meal, eggs and milk products. Consequently, due to the high food prices, most retrenched households were compelled to reduce spending on food and shifted to lower quality foods which in turn led to food insecurity.

⁴⁵ Note: throughout the finding chapters, household B refers to working households. Therefore all case studies of the comparative working household shall be referred to as household XB. X here stands for working households’ numbers (1 to 10). For example, for retrenched household 1A the comparative household is household 1B.

⁴⁶ Mr Daka Household 4A: interview 5th May 2010

Figure 5.5: Frequency of going without certain types of food in retrenched households



Survey Data, Quantitative Component 2010

In other words, the retrenched households sacrificed diversity (quality) in order to protect calories (quantity). For instance, due to limited cash and high food prices, Carol said that she paid more attention to quantity than quality when buying food:

“These days we eat for the sake of filling the stomach not that we really like what we eat. I know my children would like to have some meat but I cannot buy meat from a K10000 (\$1.9), and expect to feed the whole family. The children will not be full because it cannot be enough, you see. It can only be enough for one person. So when I go to the market, I do not think about the nice things that I would like; instead I think about the food that will make my children’s stomachs full. You know how it is, when children are not full they start crying for more food shortly after a meal. Therefore I have to ensure that they are satisfied for long hours especially now that I cannot afford snacks.”⁴⁷

It is evident from Carol’s story that some retrenched households paid attention to foods that filled their stomachs but were less nutritious. Many households reported to have reduced both

⁴⁷ Carol household 10A: Interview 30 June 2010.

quality and quantity of foods consumed. Some households, like Carol's, noted changes in their food consumption patterns, particularly less consumption of meat and dairy products, and attributed this change to higher prices. In line with the study findings, other recent studies have also shown that as prices rise; households first try to replace pricier foods with cheaper sources of calories (Friedman et al. 2011; D'Souza & Jolliffe 2012). Food price thus, was one of the major causes of food insecurity and lack of food diversity in households as many switched away from nutritious food to cheap food without quality. The low quality foods consumed by retrenched households placed them at risk of increased malnutrition. According to Save the Children (2009; 2010; 2011), Centres for Disease Control and Prevention (2011) and the Global Monitoring Report (2012), food without quality increases the rates both of stunting and anaemia and of overweight and obesity in many poor and middle income countries. They further state that population groups most affected are those with the highest requirements, including young children, women and the chronically ill (particularly people with HIV/AIDS like Amanda from household 9A). This shows that food insecurity in retrenched households has many long term social and physical repercussions.

5.3.2. Loss of social and health benefits of employment

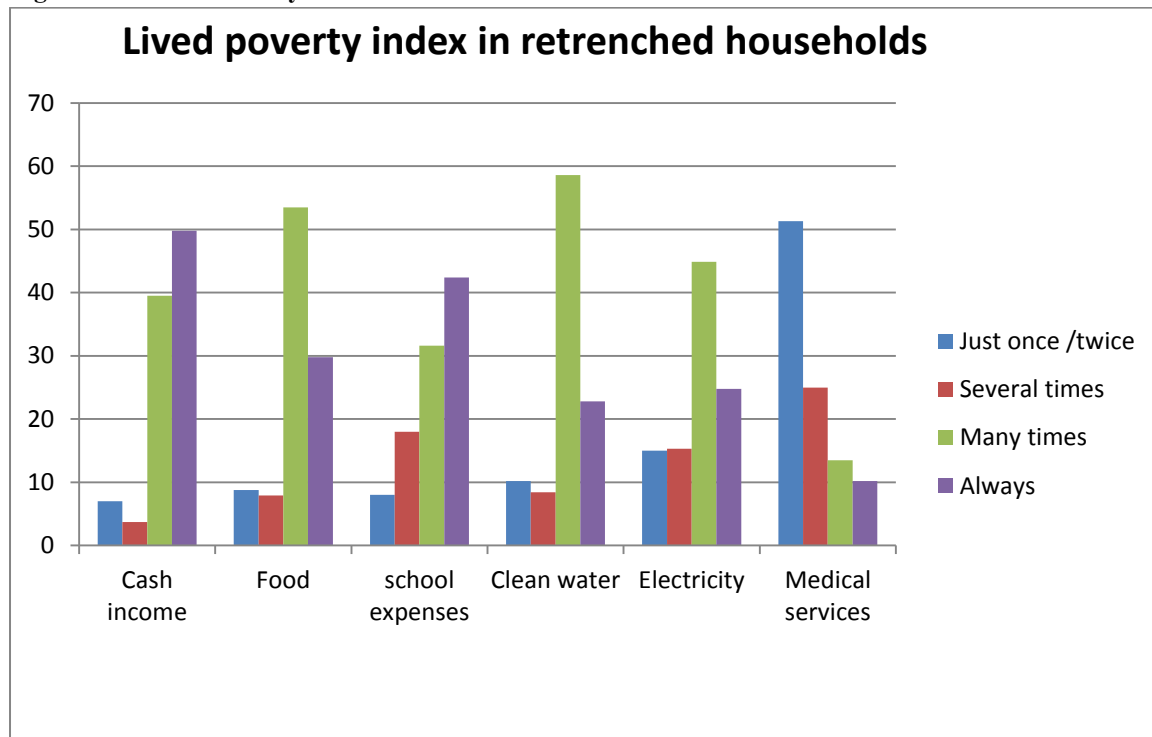
High food prices in combination with other factors of retrenchment caused a clear deterioration in the welfare of retrenched households and increased poverty. Results from the Lived Poverty Index (LPI) survey⁴⁸ that was administered in both retrenched households and working households indicated that the living conditions of the retrenched households had deteriorated compared to the working households, as many of them could not afford to access the basic necessities.

In response to the question, "In the last twelve months, how often have you or your household members gone without a cash income, food, medical treatment, school expenses

⁴⁸ In order to measure poverty, we presented survey respondents with a list of basic necessities and asked: "In the last twelve months, how often have you or your household members gone without (these things): Was it never, just once or twice, several times, many times or always?" We asked about a cash income, food, medical treatment, school expenses for children (like fees, uniforms or books), water and electricity. So the Lived Poverty Index is about how often people report being unable to secure a basket of basic necessities of life. This approach of measuring poverty was adopted from Mattes, Bratton & Davids (2003:10) who say "*we believe that people's answers to how often they go without basic necessities, rather than how much money they make, or what they have in their home, offers us a valid, reliable and direct measure of poverty.*" (See Mattes 2008; Mattes, Bratton & Davids 2003 for details on LPI)

for your children, water and electricity?” the common answer in working households was “never”. On the other hand, many of the retrenched households said that over a space of twelve months they had “many times” or “always” gone without a cash income, food, school expenses for children (like fees, uniforms or books), clean water and electricity (See Figure 5.6).

Figure 5.6: Lived Poverty Index



Source: Research Survey Data 2010

Lack of access to these basic services was aggravated by the fact that provision of basic infrastructure facilities in Chingola has not kept up with urban growth, including unplanned expansion. For example, although there is piped water in almost all residential areas in Chingola, both working and retrenched households complained about lack of clean piped water. Many households also reported frequent water supply shutdowns by Mulonga (the institution that provides water services for Chingola residents). The poor supply of water has been made worse by frequent water pollution by KCM. For instance, during fieldwork, on 31st October 2010, KCM’s pipelines released significant quantities of acidic liquid (sulphuric acids) into several rivers in Chingola, including the Kafue River, the main source of drinking water for all Copperbelt towns (See Lusaka Times 2010). The river poisoning levels were so high that fish and other marine life were found dead along the banks of the Kafue

River. The pollution also caused harm to human beings as some people were hospitalised after drinking polluted water. James Nyasulu, a victim of water pollution explained:

“Upon drinking some water, I felt drowsy with pain and stomach cramps and later started having diarrhoea with mucus and blood, and similar symptoms were experienced by most members of my family and about three households in the neighbourhood.” (In Chulu 2010:1)

Consequently, people were forced to drink bottled water. Retailers capitalised on this disruption to water supply by increasing the price of bottled water to the extent that only working households could afford it. Many retrenched and unemployed households on the other hand, went without safe drinking water. Not having access to clean in-house water sources meant that households faced the daily problem of obtaining potable and cooking water. This forced some retrenched households (who did not have money to buy water) to get water from private shallow hand-dug wells which are usually unclean. Lack of access to clean water has the potential to influence food intake and ultimately the health and nutritional status of households (Ruel 1998). This is because food security and nutrition security is achieved for a household when “secure access to food is coupled with a sanitary environment, adequate health services” (FAO 2012:7), and knowledgeable care to ensure a healthy life for all household members (Benson 2004; FAO 2008; 2012). Hence, lack of clean water among retrenched households contributed to food insecurity. It holds true that vulnerability to food insecurity in urban areas is also greatly influenced by the extent and quality of infrastructure and public services.

The study’s findings revealed that because of dominant urban environmental and social economic problems in Chingola, the retrenched households were made even more vulnerable to poverty and food insecurity. Working households were generally better positioned, not only in terms of dealing with household problems such as food or children’s school expenses but also with general urban problems that Chingola posed, because they had an income. The opposite holds true for the retrenched households because the urban problems compounded their existing problem of retrenchment and subsequent loss of income. The loss of income made it particularly difficult for the retrenched to access the services. It is important to note that though the provision of basic needs was generally poor, the prices for these services were still high, leading many retrenched households into debt with either ZESCO (Zambia

Electricity Supply Corporation) or Mulonga or both. Because of the debt owed to these companies, some of retrenched households were living in constant fear.

“Last year was the worst year ever. Our living conditions deteriorated and it was the start of our suffering. Our meals were pathetic; there were days when we could go without food. Worse still, we started hiding from Mulonga and ZESCO workers because we owed them so much. We had illegally reconnected the water supply and were scared that if they ever caught us, we would go to jail. As for electricity, we went without for many months. If we had known how to reconnect illegally we would have done so. But my sons did not know how.”⁴⁹

In a similar manner, Daka from household 4A complained about the cost of water and electricity:

“It is hard to sustain the life we had before. We cannot pay all our bills; things like electricity and water are very expensive. So at the moment we have no water; we draw from our neighbours.” The wife added, “it is very embarrassing; though our neighbours are kind and have been very helpful, we know all eyes in the neighbourhood are focused on us, and there is a lot of gossip. At the moment I know they gossip, but I have to die a little for my family.”⁵⁰

It was evident from their debt and constant fear that households were struggling to cope with urban expenses because, apart from water and electricity problems, the retrenched indicated that they were also worried about access to health services. Slightly over 50% of the households said they had only gone without medical care once or twice over a space of 12 months. This was not surprising because, KCM company policy allows for the provision of free health services for a period of one year after retirement or retrenchment. Thus even though the retrenched reported that they did not have money to access basic needs they still continued to have access to a mine clinic and two of the main hospitals in Chingola. At the time of the interviews, however, many households expressed fear and anxiety about their medical care because the one year given by KCM had elapsed. The loss of health benefits was particularly difficult for Rhoda who was HIV positive and she complained about the poor service at government clinics. The private clinics and hospitals established by the mining company were not only providing drugs but also the necessary high protein diets (Fraser & Lungu 2007). Lack of this service left Rhoda food insecure. Like Rhoda, several of the

⁴⁹ Chisanga household 3A: interview 4th May 2010

⁵⁰ Mr and Mrs Daka household 4A: interview 5th May 2010

households that had visited government clinics and hospitals complained about the state of government clinics which did not have medicines but simply handed out prescriptions. They further complained about the long queues which resulted in them spending more than three hours at the clinic. The miners had not been exposed to these conditions which point to the discrepancies between privately owned and government controlled health facilities.

To avoid the long queues and poor service at government clinics, some retrenched households spent money on private hospitals, which in turn left them without enough money for food, while other retrenched households were undoubtedly forgoing health expenditures in order to feed themselves. The reason for this phenomenon was clearly explained during a focus group discussion by one man who pointed out that the need for food is more important than clothes “*Insala tabalwila nayo matako*”⁵¹ (loosely translated as “food is more vital than covering one’s bottom, and thus the two cannot compete”). From the man’s explanations, this simply meant when a man is hungry, he worries first about feeding himself before thinking about clothes. This view was shared by many other retrenched households. Interestingly; a few of the retrenched households (from the ten case studies) reported that children’s education was their top priority, and so these households reported spending more on education than food. For example, Rhoda from household 8A emphasised that she would rather go hungry than take her children out of school: “My children’s education is very important and it is what I put first. I make sure they have all they need for school. I do not mind sleeping hungry as long as my children go to school.” Similarly Chola from household 2A also believed that his children were the future. He explained:

“My motto is sacrifice today for a better future. I will suffer now but I know the future will be better because, once my children are educated, they will find good jobs and they can then take care of their siblings and my suffering would have been worthwhile.”⁵²

It was observed that the choice by the households to “sacrifice today for a better future” was one of the ways in which they tried to gain back their previous way of life; the middle class status that they had lost by being retrenched. This phenomenon where people decide to go hungry so as to make a productive investment for the future has also been observed by de Waal (1989) in Sudan. Balancing this priority (education) against other urban basic needs

⁵¹ Focus group discussion with retrenched men 30th July 2010

⁵² Chola household 2A: interview June 2010

was, however, a challenge in the households. In fact, another interesting phenomenon in this study's findings was that whatever a household's priority, be it education, food or health, none of the retrenched households managed to provide adequately all the basic needs of the family. In short, without an income, none of the retrenched households could juggle urban expenses (education, water, electricity, and health) and provide adequately food for the household at the same time. Consequently, they were pushed into food insecurity. From the above discussion, it is clear that the consequences of retrenchment (economic and social issues) caused vulnerability to food insecurity in retrenched households. The poor provision of basic services also compounded the food insecurity situation in retrenched households.

5.3.3. Historical and political factors

Mining in Zambia has been a major contributor to the country's foreign exchange earnings, but mineral price instability has constrained efforts of political leaders to extract attractive concessions from multinational corporations. Thus, revenues from copper mining are externalized and consequently make minimal contribution to the local economy and to the welfare of the ordinary citizen (Simutanyi 2008; Kangwa 2008; Adam & Simpasa 2010; Gewalt & Soeters 2010). Given good policies, the country's considerable mineral wealth clearly represents a real opportunity to grow the economy and tackle food insecurity and poverty. However, despite the high share of copper exports in total exports, the country still has very low revenue from copper, relative to total public revenues (Larmer 2010; Simpasa & Adam 2010; Simpere 2010). This is a direct consequence of poor policies and the poor "nature of contracts, which provided exceptionally favourable incentives in the form of low taxes, low royalty rates and longer stability periods. Illicit financial flows and transfer pricing schemes have also deprived Zambia of much-needed resources" (Simpasa et al 2013: 18).

Recent estimates show that Zambia lost \$17.3 billion (in real 2010 prices) in illicit capital flight in the period between 1970 and 2010 (Simpasa et al. 2013). This was driven by unaccounted-for balance of payment movements as well as transfer mispricing, mainly through manipulation of prices in trade between multinational companies in different tax jurisdictions (See Simpere 2010; Simpasa et al 2013; Boyce & Ndikumana 2012 for details on illicit financial flows and transfer pricing schemes by mining companies in Zambia). The \$17.3 billion would have been used by government to invest in social infrastructure and provide social services.

Lack of good policies evident during the global economic crisis and illicit actions by multinational companies contributed to the impact of food insecurity to urban households. When the global economic recession hit, and the price of copper tumbled along with falling demand for the metal, the government responded to the crisis by scrapping the windfall tax for mining companies⁵³ (Musokotwane 2009). The government reversed the tax and introduced some tax measures favourable to the mines, despite the fact that mining taxation was, according to experts, already clearly very favourable and “well beyond the international norm,” (Green 2009a, Ndulo et al. 2009). The benefits of windfall tax in a country include proceeds being directly used by governments to bolster funding for social services. Thus the action by government to scrap the windfall tax was seen as a negative one because the loss of the windfall tax removed the government’s ability to benefit when fluctuating global copper prices rose to high levels (Green 2009a; Ndulo et al. 2009).

By August 2009, for example, the price of copper had already rebounded to a level where it would have triggered the windfall tax. As OXFAM argues (based on calculations by a local economist), in just the five months of 2009 in which the world price was above the threshold, the windfall tax would have generated “approximately \$50m in revenue, which would have been enough to expand the national health budget by 14%” (Green 2009a:6). In fact, from August 2009 to date, copper prices have rebounded, fetching as much as \$8,455 per tonne on the London Metal Exchange (Reuters Africa 2012). Despite the rebounding prices, the government opted not to reintroduce the mining windfall tax it scrapped in 2009. Because of this action the government was accused of promoting poverty, as its position on windfall tax showed its lack of seriousness about mobilizing resources which could help fight food insecurity, improve schools, build roads, improve health, and provide for many other social services in the country (Kachingwe 2010, Jackson 2012; Tonga 2012). It is no wonder that many of the retrenched households were angry and complained that the government was providing few benefits or developmental prospects for citizens whilst allowing mining companies to accrue steep profits (Simutanyi 2008).

⁵³ Windfall tax is a tax levied by governments against certain industries when economic conditions allow those industries to experience above-average profits. Windfall taxes are primarily levied on the companies in the targeted industry that have benefited the most from the economic windfall.

“No, our government is useless; it only cares about investors,” Then when asked what he meant, he went on to say, “Look, a lot of people have lost their jobs, but you see so many Indians flocking into the country. If you go to the market you will find a lot of Indians buying kapenta. All those are doing manual work that ordinary Zambians can do, so why bring in Indians in great numbers to take over simple jobs that Zambians can do? It is all the more reason why we cannot find jobs. Many of my friends have not found jobs because the so called investors bring in their friends and their relatives. I tell you, Chingola is flooded with Indians. Just take a walk over the weekend and go to the market. You will find many Indians; they are like flies...”⁵⁴

“The government only remembers us when there are elections. Right now we are suffering and they are nowhere to be seen; come election time they will be here. Right now we are not important; we can even starve to death ...they still won't care. It is a waste of time to even talk about the government.”⁵⁵

The above is a deeper reflection of the political economy and weak capacity of government in Zambia and many other governments responsible for natural resources in many least-developed countries. Political economy and weak state policies have major consequences on food security and poverty of urban dwellers. For example, because of government's sympathy towards mining companies, the mining companies around the Copperbelt continued to retrench workers three or four years after the economic crisis. In November 2013, KCM retrenched 76 workers and was to lay off another 1,529 permanent workers by March 2014. In announcing the decision, KCM still cited a slump in copper prices and high cost of production caused by rising fuel prices (Lusaka Times 2013; Wangwe & Kapembwa 2013). Similarly First Quantum Minerals (FQM) and Mopani Mine were also still cutting jobs. Yet the price of copper was still in excess of \$2,000 per ton in the case of Mopani, which was higher than when Mopani bought the mine. Therefore, the findings showed that historical and political economic issues are some of the factors that play a role in increasing the vulnerability of urban households to food insecurity and poverty.

⁵⁴ Mumbi household 1A: 5th May 2010

⁵⁵ Ernest household 7A: 25th May 2010

5.3.4. Psychological factors

Findings revealed that in Chingola, retrenchments happened suddenly and unexpectedly; this suddenness caused shock and stress in nearly all of the respondents, as can be seen by Daka's experience:

“It started like any other working day; it was in April just after my leave. I must first say that I was a boss and so I used to work hard. Everyone who did not understand work procedures used to come to me for clarification and so everyone depended on me and literally everything was based on me; as a result the issue of retrenchment never crossed my mind..... When I received the letter I felt like someone had slapped me hard on the face. I was very angry; I cried”⁵⁶

Though some had heard rumours that KCM was going to retrench, all the retrenched households but one⁵⁷ said they did not think it would happen to them, especially as some of them had been with the company for many years as stated by Limbabala:

“At first there were rumours that some people were going to lose their jobs. My workmates and I in my department used to talk about retrenchment the very week it happened. It was rumoured that our department was over staffed and so it was the first on the list; everyone in the department was scared, but I was relaxed because in my mind I was thinking they would get rid of the new comers. What I knew back then was that companies trust and have faith in their old employees than the new ones but now, I know better; that does not matter. I really feel cheated like all my work was not appreciated. Maybe my performance was not good enough.”⁵⁸

Like Daka and Limbabala's narratives, many other respondents acknowledged that the shock of retrenchment evoked negative feelings such as feelings of helplessness and worthlessness, a sense of being betrayed after decades of service, and anger, fear or worry. 23% of households reported that they were a little helpless, 26% said they were moderately sad and

⁵⁶ 43 year old Mr Daka from household 4A: Interview May 5th 2010

⁵⁷ The one man who said he had anticipated retrenchment is a 53 year old who had been transferred to a less risky work zone due to his failing health. He was admitted to the hospital 8 months prior his retrenchment for a full month and was not fully recovered at the time of retrenchment. He said he knew it would happen to him because he was not performing as much as he used to. He further said that although he had anticipated it he was still very upset that it had happened to him and was very emotional such that he failed to share the news with his wife and only managed to share with her after a few days.

⁵⁸ 37 year old Mr Limbabala household 5A: Interview June 5th 2010

helpless, 12% were quite a bit and 16% felt extremely helpless and worthless. Only 23% said they were very lightly or not at all sad, helpless or worthless. In some households retrenchment was reported to have brought negative health consequences. Amanda, for example, narrated between sobs that her husband's death was a result of retrenchment:

“...My husband died because of retrenchment; after he got that retrenchment letter he was very depressed. Yes, I know he was HIV positive, but when I look back ... before retrenchment he was completely fine. He never got sick or lost weight; he was always happy and never displayed any symptoms of HIV. Actually if you saw him then you could not have suspected he was positive because he was fit and very active. But after retrenchment he got very depressed and was sick all the time. I tried to be strong and encouraged him to look for another job but it was difficult to find a job. He lost a lot of weight. You can imagine within three months he lost something like 25kg. He was worried and upset most of the time. I tell you retrenchment killed him. I have also lost weight but I have told myself to be strong because our children will be orphaned if I die too. It is not easy; above all we have no money, but I pray to God every day and he takes care of us.”⁵⁹

Many other retrenched households reported incidences of depression and somatisation, and anxiety. Though limited in number, longitudinal research studies have also shown that retrenchment is associated with worsening of psychological symptoms such as depression (Graetz 1993; Turner 1995; Ferrie et al. 1995; Gallo et al. 2000) and thus supporting this study's findings. The feelings and stories of shock presented by respondents during field work are also in line with literature that reports on the social and psychological impact of retrenchment on individuals/households (Snyman 1983; Ngonini 2001; Waddington et al. 2001; Strully 2006). Apart from experiences of negative feelings, many of households also shared that they were experiencing poverty and suffering. Mumbi described his experience when he was asked to share his incident of retrenchment. Through tears he explained:

“Twalingila mubucushi nombamba (literally translated “we have entered into poverty and suffering”). I cannot believe it; when I had a job we used to live well, but now we are poor. We are suffering and that hurts me a lot...”⁶⁰

⁵⁹ 32 year old Amanda Household 9A: Interview 7th June 2010

⁶⁰ Mr Mumbi from Household 1A: Interview on 5th May 2010

The sense of suffering and poverty and the negative feelings were worsened by loss of status. The loss of status was clearly pointed out by Simbaya during one of the interviews:

“My story is a sad one, from a good life to a poor life, actually a poor life with no meaning. When I worked for KCM, I was always busy.... with work or chatting with friends at the bar, but now when I wake up in the morning there is nothing to do. I just sit and wait for my wife to come back from work. I feel like I have no purpose in life. I am just a poor man with no job... I miss work....”⁶¹

From Mr. Simbaya’s statement and many other narratives, it was very obvious that retrenchment in Chingola deprived a person of by-products typically gained from being employed at KCM, such as purpose, friends, personal status and identity. KCM as noted (in Chapter Two) is the main employer in Chingola and working for KCM also comes with some attractive terms, conditions and bonuses. Thus in a town with high unemployment rates; and limited social security benefits, and where the few that are in employment are privileged. Loss of employment implies not only losing a job, but also losing a social class status; moving from being in the privileged working class with access to a steady income, medical care and company incentives, to becoming a mere common man with no income or benefits. This means that retrenchment did not only affect the job/financial security of the individual, but also their personal sense of worth because these individuals derived a lot of self-worth from their employment. It is no wonder that retrenchment stirred up psychological feelings in many of the household members involved.

Psychological aspects of retrenchment included worry, fear, anxiety and sadness about how they would survive and provide for the family without a job. Anxiety or uncertainty about and actual depletion of the household food supply; is one of the common domains that describe the experience of food insecurity (Bilinsky & Swindale 2010). The shock of retrenchment and the social consequences that came with it caused many households to worry about their household food supply.

⁶¹ Mr Simbaya household 6A: Interview 11th May 2010

Figure 5. 7: Household food security status and Anxiety (fear, worry and nervous)

		Anxiety (fear, worry and nervous)					Total
		Very slightly or not at all	A little	Moderately	Quite a bit	Extremely	
Household food security status	Food secure	68.8%	12.5%	12.5%	6.3%	0%	100.0%
	Mildly food insecure	44.4%	22.2%	22.2%	11.1%	0%	100.0%
	Moderately food insecure	9.8%	14.6%	17.1%	22.0%	36.6%	100.0%
	Severely food insecure	4.0%	4.7%	12.8%	26.8%	51.7%	100.0%
Total		11.6%	7.9%	14.0%	23.7%	42.8%	100.0%

Source: Research Survey Data, Quantitative Component 2010

“*Katwishi efyo tukalalisha abana*” (“I don’t know how we will feed the children”) lamented Mumbi’s wife.⁶² This situation, where time was spent on worrying about food - was a common phenomenon amongst retrenched households. During the in-depth interviews, when households were asked to share their lived experiences over the course of the past month, all the households said that they were worried and uncertain about accessing enough food for the family. The most common response was not simply “yes, we are worried” but “*sana fye*” – the local Bemba equivalent of “very much.” Other responses given by household members to express their worry ranged from words that explicitly expressed a psychological state of distress such as “scared” to more subtle expressions of concern. For example, Chisanga⁶³ pointed out that he was scared, “I am scared that my family might die of hunger if my son and I do not get employed soon.” Anxiety/uncertainty about food was therefore one of the major causes of food insecurity in retrenched households because the mere

⁶² Mrs Mumbi wife to Mumbi household 1A: Interview 5th May 2010

⁶³ Chisanga and his son were both retrenched in 2009. Chisanga worked for KCM while the son worked for a construction company.

anxiety/uncertainty that supplies could not be enough in future provoked substantial reductions or disruption in food intake, in some households.

The study further revealed a strong connection between worry and anxiety/uncertainty and food insecurity because food insecurity was significantly higher in those households with prolonged extreme anxiety and fear, compared to those without prolonged extreme anxiety and fear (see Figure 5.7). This was one important finding in this study, as it heightened the actual experience of food insecurity within households and directly captured the important element of uncertainty/worry/anxiety (Swindale & Bilinsky 2009). The finding was particularly important because as shown by some studies (Coates 2004; Coates et al. 2006) and specifically this study, psychological aspects either in rural or urban areas are central to understanding household food security because they closely approximate perceived vulnerability, or, food insecurity itself.

Although the retrenched households may have in common the fact that they had lost jobs, which in turn caused food insecurity, the intensity and experience of food insecurity was different by households and within households. Accordingly, measuring household food security comes with a realization that not all households or household members experience food insecurity in the same way. Before concluding the chapter, therefore, it is necessary to discuss briefly the retrenched households in general and the intra household dynamics.

5.4. Retrenched households and intra household food security dynamics

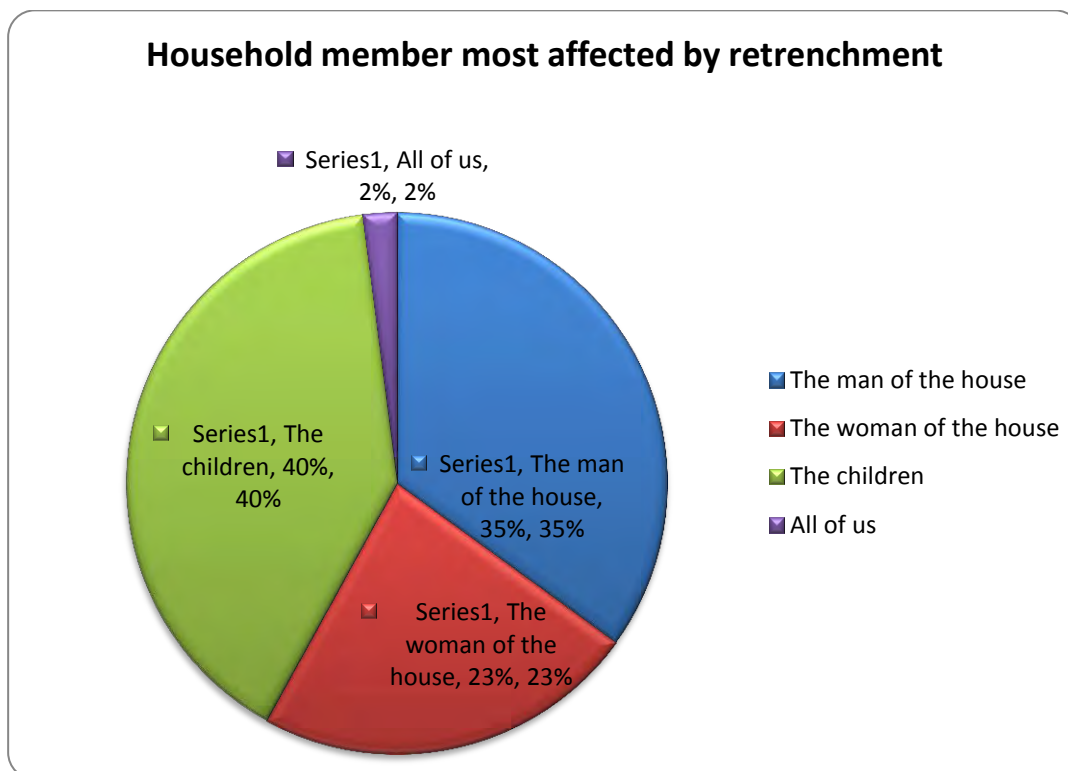
While the survey revealed that the majority (88 %) of the retrenched households were food insecure, different households were affected differently by food insecurity. Food insecurity was, for example, more prevalent among households with large family size (especially those with a large proportion of dependants⁶⁴) than those with small family size. Although the mean family size was six, some households had over 10 members, with 18 members⁶⁵ being the highest recorded. Secondly, nuclear (50%) and male (14%) households fairly fared better than female headed (3%) or the extended (33%) households. In the same way, within the married couple category, those with wives in formal employment (10%) seemed to be better

⁶⁴Dependants in this case excludes a spouse or biological children and only refers to anyone from the wider family (i.e. nephew, niece, grandchildren, in-laws) living within the households that the head of the household was feeding and supporting financially

⁶⁵ The 18 members included dependants.

off in terms of their food security situation than those with wives in the informal sector (54%). This perhaps was due to the fact those with wives in formal employment had at least some form of steady monthly income. According to explanations gathered during in-depth interviews, this is because wives in formal employment were guaranteed a monthly salary while those in informal employment were equally affected by retrenchment and thus their incomes were low, irregular and unreliable. Low and unstable sources of income is one of the main reasons why households lacked access to food. Lastly, all of the households that had not found new full-time jobs (83%) were worse in terms of their food insecure situation compared to those who had found new jobs (17%). However, those who had found new jobs but with incomes below the poverty line experienced food security problems just as much as those who had not found new jobs.

Figure 5.8: Household member most affected by retrenchment as reported by households



Source: Research Survey Data, Quantitative Component 2010

In terms of intra household dynamics, though every member in food insecure households (88%) was affected by food insecurity, the findings revealed that some members were more affected than others. When asked the question, “In your view, who in this household is/was most affected by retrenchment?” 40% of the respondents said “*Abana*” (the children) were most affected, while 35% said “*Abaume*” (men) or “*abalume*” (husband), 23% said

“*banamayo*” (women) or “*abakashi*” (wife) and only 2% said “*Bonse*” (all were affected) (see Figure 5.8). Although children were affected by retrenchment (i.e. did not eat the foods they preferred, moved from private to public schools, etc. See Chapter Six); the belief that children were the most affected by retrenchments resulted in parents’ attempts to shield children.

Consequently, parents became “shock absorbers” of food insecurity because they reduced their own consumption to allow more food for the children eventually experiencing more food insecurity themselves. This phenomenon was observed in both male and female headed households, while in many married couple households the women in the households placed a particular emphasis on trying to protect children from experiencing hunger. This was perhaps because women were primarily responsible for the management of food in the household. There is a considerable amount of research which indicates similar findings (Quisumbing et al. 2002; Hansen 2007; Coon 2008; Quisumbing et al. 2008; Sharma 2008; Women Thrive Worldwide 2008; Holmes et al. 2009), in which women bear the burden of feeding and caring for family at their expense. As a result of such practices of protecting children from experiencing hunger, women in some households experienced more food insecurity than other household members.

In other households, it was observed that it was not only the woman that decreased consumption but children too. This is because some children were made to eat less as food was often earmarked for the man of the house (head). According to data from focus group discussions and in-depth interviews, the justification for this trend was that men were the heads of the households thus should be respected and given priority when it comes to feeding. The lack of nutritional investment in children and women was less intentional than routine as the women were simply following cultural feeding priorities (see Scheper-Hughes 1992). In Zambia, and other African countries, culture designates the socially standardised activities of people and more especially of women (FAO 1997; Byaruhanga & Opedum 2008; Hossain 2009). These socially standardised activities sometimes include customary systems of food-sharing and food distribution within the family (FAO 1997).

This distribution pattern is often related to hierarchical position, with the head of the family and the income-earning members of the household receiving priority in eating. Hence in many African households the customs around food distribution within the households usually

disadvantage children and women (Hossain 2009). In the case of the retrenched households, allocating more food to men is actually a good example of a negative cultural feeding practice. By giving their husbands more food, the women were doing what they thought was best for their families in their own cultural terms. However, this negatively affected their food security. This choice therefore, “partly reflects gendered cultural practices, but also the real insecurities and likelihood of deeper impoverishment” (Hossain 2009:69) faced by women in Africa. In a few households, a unique phenomenon related to intra household food security was reported. Living in highly stressful and depressive circumstances was also perceived to lead to chronic food insecurity experiences in some men. Some wives reported that their husbands were so affected by retrenchment that even when they were offered “nice foods” they barely touched the food. Amanda, for example, explained that her husband was so greatly affected by retrenchment that it was hard for him to eat.

“My husband stopped eating and even though I tried to give him nice foods, he barely touched them. I think he died from lack of food and it is the reason he lost so much weight. He was too depressed to eat.”⁶⁶

The inability to eat because of stress and depression was a common theme in the narratives. This stress and depression emanated from the frustrations of being unable to provide for the family. For example, Simbaya lamented:

“It hurts to see my wife come back from work very tired from taking on some extra work. I should be the one working hard not her. I ask God, “Why? Why should my family suffer?” I get very frustrated because there is nothing I can do about it. I have tried to look for a job but failed to find one.”⁶⁷

In a culture where men have been taught to take up traditional roles in the family such as acting as the household head (the main provider and main authority), failure to perform these roles can lead to extreme stress, depression and loss of self-esteem (Zuo & Tang 2000; Chileshe 2008). The results revealed that the psychological and emotional anguish related to retrenchment caused the retrenched men to eat less and made them even more vulnerable than other members of the household. Nevertheless, though children, men and women were all

⁶⁶ Amanda household 9A: Interview 7th June 2010

⁶⁷ Simbaya household 6A: interview 11th May 2010

affected by food insecurity, it was observed that the women were most affected because they tended to pay more attention to the food needs of their children and their husbands at the expense of their own food needs.

5.5. Conclusion

How do retrenched urban households manage to pay for education, shelter, health services, water, and electricity and at the same time maintain their food security? This question was asked in the introduction to this thesis. The experiences and stories of the retrenched households seem to suggest that retrenched urban households cannot juggle urban expenses (education, water, electricity, and health) and adequately provide food for household members. The main reason, as shown in this chapter, is that retrenchment comes with a lot of negative factors such as economic factors (loss of income, poverty and food prices), loss of social and health benefits of employment, and psychological (uncertainty/worry/anxiety) factors. These, together with historical and political economic factors rendered households vulnerable to food insecurity and poverty. The consequences of retrenchment constituted distinct but co-occurring factors that acted together in complex ways to drive poverty and food insecurity. Hence, the majority of households had experienced food insecurity, with 19.1% reporting to be moderately food insecure and 69.3% reported to be severely food insecure. Thus, due to retrenchment, 88 per cent of the households were, at times, uncertain of having, or unable to acquire, enough food for all household members because of sufficient money and other resources to access food. Only a small percentage of the retrenched households were food secure (4.2%) or mildly food insecure (7.4%). This chapter therefore provided a picture of the devastating contribution of the economic crisis to household food insecurity among retrenched households in urban Chingola. Thus, the economic crisis not only made the retrenched households food insecure but also created categories of the “new poor.”

The lived experiences of the retrenched households that have been presented in this chapter are only one side of the story. The other side involves the social context in which the retrenched live. Understanding urban food security and new poverty requires not only knowledge about the household but also the context (local, national and global) in which the household lives. It is equally important to look at the knowledge of city and national governments, the private sector, and international donor and lender groups and their interventions to create and sustain enabling environments for the food security of all. This

means that one has to get to know not only household lived experiences, but also the larger social contexts in which they experience food insecurity and poverty, and also the concrete actions that households take within the constraints and opportunities imposed by their environment. The next chapter explores the larger social context in Chingola and how this heightened or cushioned the vulnerability of the households and also the strategies of the retrenched households.

CHAPTER SIX

ADDRESSING RETRENCHED URBAN HOUSEHOLDS’ FOOD INSECURITIES IN CHINGOLA

Look beneath the statistics - to recognise the real misery of the poor and to appreciate the grit, the courage, and the determination that they bring to the endless challenge of survival (Moser 1996:v)

6.0. Introduction

The previous chapter established that 88% of retrenched households were food insecure and struggling to keep up with urban expenses. The question then is: how do households cope with food insecurity? What strategies are employed by urban retrenched households to meet their food needs? What role does the government, NGOs, residents and KCM play in addressing urban food insecurity? This chapter attempts to shed light on these questions.

In order to address the above questions, this chapter is divided into three main sections. The first section analyses the survival strategies of retrenched households. A positive approach to urban food security and new poverty is one that starts from, but is not confined, to local ideas and focuses on local households’ strengths and explores the particular opportunities open to them – rather than simply dwelling on their weaknesses. The second section moves from households to city and national governments, the private sector, and international donor and lender groups and their role in addressing urban food insecurity. By critically analysing the first and second sections, the third section, provides an insight into the effect of food security responses (both by households and stakeholders) on the everyday lives of urban households. Lastly, a conclusion of the chapter is drawn.

6.1. “Getting by”: household responses in the face of economic shocks and urban insecurities

This section analyses the various strategies used by retrenched households to build resilience to food insecurity and poverty caused by economic shock. The findings presented in this section are particularly important because understanding of coping strategies can help in

better monitoring and timely assessment of the impacts of shocks at the household level, as well as helping devise interventions that can forestall negative long term outcomes.

6. 1.1. Agency, strategies & tactics of the “new poor”

To explain the new poor’s ingenuities and everyday struggle for survival effectively, the study uses the notions of “strategy” and “tactics”. Michel de Certeau (1984), in the book *“The everyday practice of everyday life,”* makes a useful distinction between the social practices of strategies and tactics. Strategy, he argues, is “calculation or manipulation of power” that is possible among people with power and resources (de Certeau 1984:471). Making strategic choices also depends on having an array of opportunities (money, skill, jobs) that allow one to “look optimistically to the future” (Scheper-Hugues 1992: 471), opportunities that many retrenched households did not have. Tactics, on the other hand, are the art of the weak that have no place (resources) on which to rely, so they need to rest on “a clever utilization of time, of the opportunities it presents” (de Certeau 1984: 39).

Therefore, while strategies imply organised, implemented plans that go hand-in-hand with resources, tactics, developed by those without resources, take advantage of opportunities, that is, they take place on the spur of the moment and may use deception and trickery (de Certeau 1984: 37; Scheper-Hugues 1992: 471; Melin-Higgins 2003: 57). The thesis thus uses the notions of both “strategy” and “tactic” when explaining the retrenched households’ everyday struggles for survival because both concepts provide the kind of analytical spotlight that is needed to articulate comprehensively the everyday, oppositional survival practices of the “new poor,” faced with food insecurity and poverty amid a covariate shock. Further, within a political economic context, these two concepts also clearly articulate the everyday actions and experiences of urban residents.

6.1.2. End of the middle-class dream: building agency in the face of insecurities

Utilising de Certeau’s delineation between strategies and tactics and looking closely at the survival actions of the retrenched households, what became clear in the analysis was that, when urban households are faced with situations that threaten their food security; they are not passive but dynamic beings who are actively involved in the daily creation and recreation of the world in which they live. They do this by employing different mechanisms to help them

realize opportunities for human survival (Williams & Popay 1999; Lister 2004; UNDP 2008), and this was one of the most striking characteristics of some of the households interviewed.

Even though the retrenched were facing many difficulties (lack of jobs, inadequate formal social protection regimes, limited incomes and limited business skills) and were located in an environment that limited their choices and ability to strategize, through exercise of agency, they still found room to manoeuvre (Torres 1992; Long 2000) and managed scarcity through a combination of diverse sources of income and social creativity. In the respondents' own terminology, the act of exercising agency within constrained circumstances fitted the simple and straightforward expression: '*ukukalabana*' (valiantness). This term was clearly explained by the retrenched men during a focus group discussion.

“Chingola has no opportunities for work or for business like Lusaka. It also has no opportunities for farming like in the village. If one is not working, life becomes very hard but that does not mean that one has to sit around and wait for a job because one will die of hunger. Therefore, if one wants to put food on the table *ufwile waba uwa kalabana* (one has to be valiant).”

The above was explained by one participant and everyone seemed to be in agreement, and so when asked what the word *ukukalabana* meant in their own words, the same man replied:

“You have to be active, resourceful and do a lot of stuff at a go, not just relying on one activity like selling at the market. You have to try several avenues; that is what *ukukalabana* or *ukubilingana* means. Even if things are not working, you have to fight (*ukulwisha*).”

Another man added “*ukukalabana* or *ukubilingana* means to be active, bold, alert to new opportunities, resourceful, and brave to try new things and also be determined because things do not work out easily. We have testimonies to share with you; we have tried and failed, but we are still going and fighting it out. So the word means to be active, courageous and not to give up.” And another added, “to be a tough person and not afraid to try, even if things do not work out, but you try anyway.”⁶⁸

⁶⁸ Focus group discussion with retrenched men 30th July 2010

The terms *ukukalabana* and *ukubilingana* graphically captured what in fact the “new poor” were doing: displaying courage and adopting an array of strategies and tactics to get through the crisis. As can be seen from Table 6.1, the “new poor” drew on a portfolio of close to 30 strategies and tactics to deal with the crisis. Though some of these strategies and tactics were not completely effective or positive and may have large negative effects upon the life prospects of those involved; they attest to the fact that when urban households are faced with shocks which put their access to food at recurrent risk, they are not passive but able to take action and “make a difference to pre-existing state of affairs or course of events” (Giddens 1984: 14). The diverse strategies and tactics employed by the “new poor” were categorized into four themes: income sources, dietary adjustments and expenditure reduction, use of private social protection and food production.

The first interesting aspect to note is that some of these strategies and tactics were adopted by working households as well. This was because some anticipated job loss and also because they were “shaken” by the economic crisis and were afraid to end up like the retrenched households. A man in working household 3B explained:

“I am shaken by the poverty that the retrenched households are experiencing. It is so hard to believe that one minute someone can be doing very well, living in a big house, driving a car, and the next minute he has nothing and living in a shanty compound. If I tell you some of the stories you will be amazed... Some of my friends were doing well, and now they have nothing. I pray every day that I do not end up like that. In that regard, I am now planning ahead and putting measures in place, so that if I lose my job my children will not suffer.”⁶⁹

However, though both the “new poor” and working households were adopting some survival mechanisms, the degree of use in the “new poor” households was higher than it was in working households. The second interesting point is that, in their struggle for survival and in order to improve their standard of living, over 90% of the “new poor” drew on a variety of strategies and tactics from all four categories. For example, Mr Simbaya and his household members drew on strategies and tactics from all four categories to protect their welfare and increase resilience to food insecurity.

⁶⁹ Head of household in working household 3B: 7th June 2010

Table 6.1: Strategies and tactics adopted by retrenched households

Theme	Strategies and tactics adopted by retrenched households
Income generation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sublet part of house or whole house • Informal, small scale trading i.e. vending • Casual and manual work • Sale of possessions • Credit • Illegal activities i.e. illegal mining, prostitution and theft • Global pyramid schemes • Promoting the labour force participation of additional family - engaged children in income generation • Preaching in public spaces for money • Migration to other towns and countries in search of employment • Going back to school –though not immediate income generation but investment in the future
Dietary adjustments and expenditure reduction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reduced food intake - reduction in quantity and a reduction in the frequency of food consumed • Reduced variety in diets • Relied on less preferred food • Substituted cheap relish like vegetables and avoided meat and dairy products • Gather or eat wild fruits and vegetables • Modify intra-household allocation of resources (specifically food) • Migrated to rural/peri - urban areas • Reduced spending on transport, water, electricity and health • Storing medicines for future use • Reduced spending on children's educational needs • Taking children out of school • Distress migration - moving in with extended family members i.e. back to parents' house
Private social protection	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Remittances • Borrow money from friends and relatives • Begged for food • Sale of food transferred through networks from rural to urban • Revolving funds
Food production	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Farming and gardening

Source: Research Survey Data 2010

Apart from income from Mrs Simbaya's pre-school job, they also reared chickens, grew vegetables in the backyard, reduced spending on transport and health, and borrowed money to start a business. Mrs Simbyaya was also involved in *icilimba* (a revolving fund scheme) with her networks. Like the Simbayas' household, most of the households reduced risk and increased resilience by developing and maintaining wider options. The study will now discuss in detail the strategies and tactics listed in Table 6.1. Although a variety of strategies and tactics were employed by the "new poor," the chapter discusses only the important and most common strategies and tactics from each category, as perceived and employed by the respondents. The discussion starts with income generating strategies and tactics as these were the most important and most common, followed by dietary adjustments and expenditure reduction, food production and then finally private social protection.

6. 1. 2.1. Income generating activities

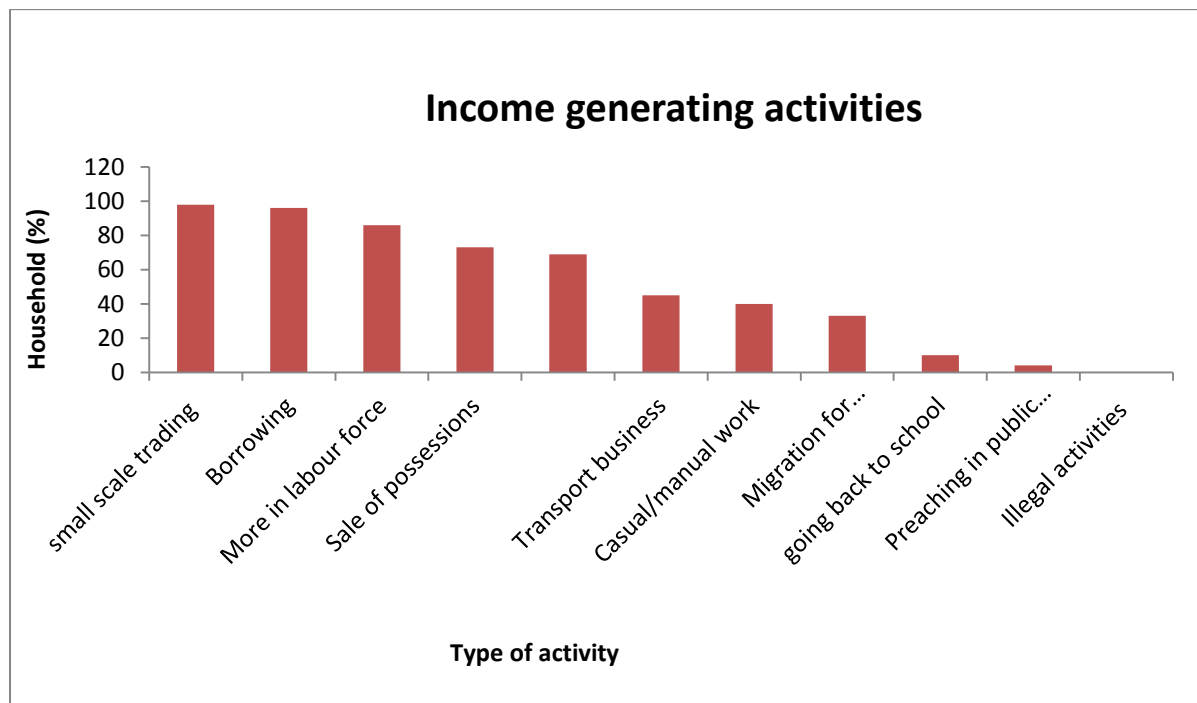
According to the asset vulnerability framework, one of the greatest assets that the middle class possess is their human capital: skills, education and work experience (Moser 1996) and in spite of retrenchment, human capital still remains high because it is not easily or suddenly lost (Ozarow 2008). Similarly, the first line of thought about retrenchment discussed in Chapter Two argues that the "new poor" possess human capital, by way of good education and skills (Minujin 1995; Ozarow 2013) that they can use to find new jobs. While it is true that the retrenched possess skills, education and work experience, over half of the 215 survey respondents who sought formal employment explained that this strategy was not successful. This failure was explained by respondents as "*takwaba incito pantu tapali abaleingisha*" (no work exists because no one is employing).

In other words, the "new poor" were unsuccessful because during the crisis many businesses were not hiring new staff but rather were cutting costs related to staffing, i.e. retrenching (Green 2009a; ILO 2009). This shows that covariate shocks have serious negative effects particularly in secondary cities in Africa which often dependant on one industry; thus when there is a particular form of economic downturn, everyone is affected at the same time. Clearly, although this asset (academic qualification/work skills) still remained high among the "new poor" and had shown to be very effective in the past, it could not be transformed into capital since opportunities for work - and, by extension for permanent, waged jobs - were very limited during the economic crisis. Therefore, it was to the informal sector (mainly petty trading) that households increasingly looked as their source of employment. The failure to

find a formal job by the “new poor” shows that the capacity to exercise ‘choice’ and use assets during an economic crisis is far more complex than the first line of thought retrenchment literature suggests (Minujin 1995; Townsend & Gordon 1981; World Bank 2001).

Therefore the thesis argues, in contrast to the first line of thought retrenchment literature, that while possessing human capital assets in form of education and work skills is valuable and helps “new poor” households out of poverty or food insecurity during idiosyncratic shocks, a covariate shock leads to weak labour demand, preventing this capital asset from serving the same role as a coping mechanism during covariate crises (McKenzie 2003). In turn, it was difficult for the “new poor” to use their work experience or work skills to generate income at the time. As a result, virtually all retrenched households were engaged in some form of informal income generating activity. Firstly, and unsurprisingly, informal small scale trading was by far the major survival strategy of the households (See Figure 6.1).

Figure 6. 1: Income generating activities employed by the new poor



Source: Research Survey Data 2010

6. 1. 2. 1.1. Informal trading: “to trade to eat”

Altogether, 98% of the retrenched households indicated that they had started some kind of “business” to generate income after being retrenched. The sheer volume of households

involved in informal trading “is symptomatic of larger structural problems in the economy which leave many individuals with little choice but “to trade to eat” (Little 1999:2). Almost half of the households engaged in petty trading had home-based kiosks popularly known as *tuntemba*. The *tuntemba* generally sold basic food stuffs such as small packets of maize meal, cooking oil, loaves of bread, air time, candies, juices and some selected canned foodstuffs. Apart from *tuntemba*, other retrenched households were small-scale traders of building materials like bricks or cement blocks and gravel. The selling of building materials on the Copperbelt grew rapidly after the advent of privatisation. As discussed in Chapter Three, houses were sold to sitting tenants, consequently those wishing to live in Chingola or Copperbelt were generally forced to rent or build their own houses. Aside from *tuntemba* and building materials, retrenched households with a little bit more capital were engaged in cross border trading - buying clothing in Tanzania, South Africa and Asia and selling in Chingola. Others ran cinemas, hair salons, barber shops, tailoring and small restaurants (in the backyard or at the market) and some recharged batteries, engaged in car washing or in street vending of grocery items, second hand clothing, soap, matches, cigarettes, cell phone accessories, arts and crafts and many more.

In relation to informal petty trading, a few points stood out. The first is that of the 215 respondents only 7% of the households reported to be “doing well” as they were earning more than they used to earn at KCM. The main business ventures of households reported to be doing well involved selling vehicles (mainly imported from Durban, in South Africa and Japan), selling motor vehicle spare parts, and bar. The seven per cent that managed to gain upward mobility accomplished this through their varying abilities to adjust themselves skilfully to ever-changing conditions within the limited windows of opportunities (Mususa 2010) and also through their ability to exploit their personal connections to negotiate a better deal for themselves. For example, one man reported that after his retrenchment, his sister – a nurse in Europe – sent him money for his motor vehicle spare part business and “luckily” for him, one of his relatives worked as an immigration officer at the border which made it “easy” for him to import his goods. As a result, it was easy for him to excel.

Another example was of a man who explained that after his retrenchment, he, unlike many other retrenched households, was lucky to get his full severance package, which he used to start up his business and “by trial and error and by learning from other people,” he was able to excel and regain his middle class status. It should be noted that this is something very

positive; people becoming more involved in enterprising ventures. Unfortunately, this was a very small number because the majority of the “new poor” involved in informal trading complained that their incomes were very erratic and low (in some cases as low as K400 000 (\$76 per month), that it was still very difficult for them to acquire enough food for the family. This was because; the households had to rely on their own scarce resources to finance their operations. Most of the households started their businesses with a very low capital base, which led to a low volume of trade, operating on a day-to-day basis, which in turn led to low earnings. Secondly, apart from getting low returns due to low investments, three issues also contributed to low business returns. The first, as illustrated by Chisanga, was because everyone was trying to open up a business:

“After my retrenchment looked for a job but failed to find one. I tried business and I am still trying, but it is so slow that I fail to make much out of it because everyone who got retrenched is doing business. In addition, everyone seems to be selling the same things, and now I do not know what to do because I have tried everything. If only I could find a job ...”⁷⁰

Since everyone was trying to open up businesses, there was also a general cash flow problem as this happened during an economic crisis. Consequently, there were too many households doing the same things and because of the high level of competition for the scarce money available, they could not earn enough from their businesses. It should also be noted that because the economic shock was sudden and impacted the whole community, even those retrenched individuals who had entrepreneurial skills were also “unable to successfully start up a new small business because of the massive decrease in spending power within the local community” (Solidarity Research Institute 2008: 16). Further, the households also complained about the government’s practice of sweeping mobile sellers off the street into markets or back alleys; this was given by Rhoda and Amanda as one of the reasons why households had low returns:

“It is very difficult to make money on the streets because we spend half the time running away from council police.”⁷¹

⁷⁰ Mr Chisanga household 3A: Interview 7th June 2010

⁷¹ Rhoda household 8A: interview 10th August 2010

“... I sell both from home and outside the market, but I fail to make enough money to buy food because not many people buy from home. I have nowhere to sell because the market stands are all occupied, and when I sell from the streets the police attack us. It is really difficult for us.”⁷²

The other factor contributing to low returns was both local and external competition. In Zambia, “freeing the market has almost come to mean opening it up to external rather than local participation” (Hansen 2010:15). Apart from local competition, some households (especially those selling second hand clothes and chickens) also bitterly complained and accused foreign traders, specifically Chinese traders, of unfair competition, crowding out of Zambian businesses and saturating the Zambian market with cheap goods. A woman from a focus group discussion expressed this clearly:

“The Chinese are now selling chickens and maize at the market for half the price! How do you expect local people to compete? It is totally impossible and government should do something about this. We are failing to educate our children because Chinese have taken our jobs and our business. It is very sad *mwandini* (indeed).”⁷³

The complaints by small scale traders support Bonacich’s (1973) argument that ethnic migrants’ economic activities often lead to conflicts with the host society, especially with local competitors and customers, who feel their livelihoods are threatened. In the case of Zambia, the threat posed by Chinese seems to be widespread, as Bracht (2012), who carried out a survey on the Copperbelt and other parts of Zambia to assess the Zambian views on Chinese people and their involvement in Zambia, also shows that small scale traders reported being affected by Chinese competitors. One of Bracht’s interviewees, like this study’s participants, lamented and emphasised that the Chinese “very much” posed a threat to her business and were making her family suffer: “it affects even my family, people don't buy from me but from the Chinese, it makes my family suffer” (Bracht 2012: 76).

As a result of both local and external competition, most of the “new poor” failed to secure positions in the competitive market, especially as more than half of the “new poor” had entered into petty trading not because they had commercial vision and sufficient management

⁷² Amanda household 9A: Interview 7th June 2010

⁷³ Focus group discussion with women: 14th June 2010

skills to be successful in business but simply for survival - survival entrepreneurs. Therefore, as survival entrepreneurs the “new poor” could not easily attain upward mobility because even though they had employed several tactics of diversifying businesses, having a number of business ventures at once disadvantaged them in many ways. While they were diversifying, their competitors - with more resources (Chinese and working households) - were strategizing and specializing. Lack of specialization among the “new poor” had its cost in the sense that it only increased insecurity and smoothed consumption rather than maximising profits. Consequently, most of the retrenched did not earn enough money to reinvest or help them cope but just enough to help them ‘get by’ on a day-to-day basis.

6. 1. 2. 1.2. Borrowing

The findings revealed that borrowing was another main survival mechanism used by the “new poor” in response to the economic crisis. Empirical evidence shows that the middle class usually borrow from formal credit and insurance markets because they have “substantially better access to formal sources of credit” (Banerjee & Duflo 2008:17). However, because of their new status, the “new poor” were constrained from borrowing from formal credit markets for a number of reasons. Firstly, before retrenchment, the households had borrowed from banks and ordinarily the “new poor” would have accessed loans from banks but after retrenchment they could not, because many of them still owed the banks. Thus even though literature shows that in times of crisis returning clients are likely to be approved for loans because the relationship with the bank has already been established (Berg & Schrader 2009), in the case of Chingola, this could not hold true for some of the “new poor” because outstanding loans made them ineligible for more loans.

Secondly, and related to the first is, “macroeconomic policy response to an aggregate crisis is often an increase in interest rates,” making borrowing from formal institutions even less of an option for households (McKenzie 2003:1197). In Chingola, and the rest of the Copperbelt for example, evidence by Ndulo et al. reveals that during the economic crisis, because the retrenched were unable to service their loans; banks “became more circumspect in lending” to households and this “contributed to the increase in lending rates during the fourth quarter of 2008” (2010:8). Hence, though 27% of the “new poor” were “free” to access loans from formal banks and micro finance institutions, very few were successful due to high interest rates that they could not afford to pay.

Consequently, the “new poor” had few or no formal credit options. Access to formal credit and insurance markets lowers the vulnerability of households to income risk and in turn to food insecurity⁷⁴ (Morduch 1999; Gitter & Barham 2007; Antigen 2010; Gebre 2012). Lack of formal credit therefore reduced the chance of the “new poor” to escape food insecurity and attain upward mobility. As a result of limited formal options, most of the “new poor” were forced to borrow from relatives and friends. A few still complained that it was difficult for them to access loans from social networks perhaps because their networks were equally affected by the crisis considering that it was a covariate shock (McKenzie 2003; Skoufias 2003; Shoji 2008; Sawada et al. 2011). In addition, their difficulty could have been because, as stated by Mumbi, some networks were reluctant to give loans to people who were not employed:

“My friends used to lend me money but now I think they are running away from me. I know they are scared of loaning money to someone who does not work. It is understandable because even me, if I were in their shoes I would not lend *ilofwa* (an unemployed person) money. Each time I call them to ask, they say they do not have but deep down my heart I know they do have. This is so because the last time, I called a friend at the month end and still he said he did not have.”⁷⁵

Lack of access to secure loans in “new poor” households had significant negative impacts on households as some resorted to borrowing *kaloba* (money from loan sharks). This is because money from these sources was readily available as *kaloba* was administered by individuals within the community. Although the *kaloba* system had easily accessible loans; conditions were that the loan had to be repaid within one month at a 100% interest and over 100% in some cases. Secondly, loans were secured by threats, as well as by the prospect of having household items grabbed, even beyond the value of the loan and interest (World Bank 2009). However, even though taking credit on *kaloba* was very expensive and risky, many of the “new poor” still became victims of *kaloba* as they were desperately looking for money and would not negotiate for suitable terms. For the unfortunate ones who could not pay back in time, this type of loan resulted in loss of property; Mr and Mrs Mumbi are a clear example of victims of *kaloba*:

74 Access to formal credit offers households an opportunity to engage in income generating activities and derived revenue increases financial capacity and purchasing power of the household to escape from risk of food insecurity. Furthermore, it helps to smooth consumption (See Gebre 2012 and Antigen 2010).

75 Mumbi household 1A: interview 2nd August 2010.

“...because of *kaloba*, my fridge and a few other items are gone. We owed someone money but the interest kept going up, so they got the fridge.” I asked her how much they owed and Mrs Mumbi explained, “We got a 250 pin⁷⁶ and the interest was 250 pin, but since we had not paid him for two months it went up to 1m and that is when he (loan shark) got the fridge and some other small things like the iron, mattress and the like. I do not know if we will ever get them back and if we do they might not be in the same condition.”⁷⁷

It was observed that while some retrenched households depended on this system for loans none of the working households in the study reported to have accessed this type of loan perhaps because they had access to formal credit facilities. Further, while working households reported that their loans were contracted for investments in business and building projects, relatively few loans in the “new poor” households were contracted for “productive investment” purposes as the loans were used for consumption, mostly for food and to a lesser extent to finance expenses related to health, transport, education and small vending operations. In addition to borrowing money for food, 36% of the “new poor” also said they had resorted to purchasing food on credit. This trend of purchasing food on credit was also observed in working households. It was interesting to note the differences in the borrowing patterns between working and “new poor” households. While the food stuffs purchased by working households were usually in bulk i.e. a box of fish, a dozen chickens, a sack of rice, a pack of game meat, the “new poor” purchased the minimum essential necessities and usually these were purchased from local *tuntembas* and packed in tiny sachets locally known as *pamelas*. When households were asked why they purchased food on credit the working households explained that they were sought after by lenders:⁷⁸

“My neighbour rears and sells chickens so when they are ready she usually brings us some then she collects money at the month.”⁷⁹

⁷⁶ Pin is a slang term used to refer to the 1000 Kwacha currency notes. In this case, 250pin means to K250, 000

⁷⁷ Mrs Mumbi household 1A: interview 2nd August 2010

⁷⁸ As explained in Chapter 3 business men and women in Chingola who do not have formal jobs depend on the working classes (especially KCM employers as they are the most well paid) to make a living in one way or another.

⁷⁹ Household 3B: interview 7th June 2010.

“My brother’s friend sells game meat so when he has a lot in stock he brings us some and when I am not home he leaves the meat with my wife or with the children and he collects his money at the month.”⁸⁰

Therefore because of their creditworthiness – a creditor’s measure of an individual’s ability to meet debt obligation (Swain 2007) - traders targeted working households by disbursing food stuffs or other commodities in advance to secure the market and increase sales. On the other hand, the “new poor” targeted lenders to purchase food on credit because of lack of a steady income as Limbambala put it:

“I have no job and I do not always have money to pay cash... You know with business, some days you make money and other days you do not. When I do not make enough money I purchase food on credit so that my children can have a meal.”⁸¹

The fact that working households could purchase food in bulk meant that they had the ability to plan effectively for their household food while the “new poor” on the other hand could not plan effectively but rather could only afford to get by on a day to day basis. This in short shows that during the economic crisis, the “new poor” not only lost their ability to effectively plan for their food needs but also their creditworthiness - an asset that they definitely enjoyed before retrenchment. To make matters worse, the majority of the “new poor” were far from regaining their creditworthiness because they usually failed to pay their debts on time due to lack of income. Thus they still owed and, as already mentioned in Chapter Five, many of the retrenched owed not only their social networks but also loan sharks, ZESCO (Electricity Company) and Mulonga (water supply company); and as such were apprehensive and constantly in hiding for fear of credit collectors. To get by, many developed tactics of survival. The fear experienced by retrenched households and their tactics of survival are illustrated by an extract from a debriefing session as explained by a research assistant:

“I arrived at house number x and knocked at the gate but no one came out. While waiting I noticed a man peeping, he was in the neighbour’s yard hiding behind a tree. I don’t think he realised I had seen him but the man kept poking his head and I wondered what was wrong with him and so I waved at him. When he realised I had seen him he walked over and asked

⁸⁰ Household 10B: Interview 15th July 2010

⁸¹ Household 5A: Interview 23rd August 2010

in a very threatening tone, “What are you doing by this gate? What are you looking for? Are you from ZESCO? Mulonga? A debt collector?”⁸² After I had effectively introduced myself and the research, the man revealed that he was in fact hiding from debt collectors.”

The incident described above was observed on several occasions by the lead researcher and some research assistants during the course of field work. What this suggests is that some of the “new poor” were living in fear and had to devise tactics to survive. Respondents also reported that when debt collectors threatened violence or in the event that a household was desperately in need of food but had no chance of getting more debt because of owing too much; they used a tactic of “cycle borrowing” – borrow from one source to pay off a violent debt collector. While this tactic offered the “new poor” temporary relief, it did not entirely solve their debt problems but rather, forced them into a vicious cycle of debts making it even more difficult for them to regain their former status.

6.1.2.13. Subletting part of house or whole house

Housing was found to be the most important productive asset of the “new poor” as it played a very significant function in their lives during the economic crisis (Moser 1996). Sixty nine per cent of the retrenched households reported that one major source of income for the household was rental income. Some households were either subletting or were still living in the main house but renting out a small house in the backyard. Others rented out the whole house and moved to a smaller house in their backyard or high density areas. This also explains why the retrenched did not move back to the rural areas.

The use of housing as a strategy for survival simply shows how, during an economic shock, assets change meaning. Fundamentally a big house among the middle classes is not for subletting but for living in and is also a sign of wealth (Burawoy 1972) - but due to change in status and limited opportunities for sources of income a house was no longer a sign of wealth but “an important productive asset” (Moser 1996:9). With no other steady sources of income, rental incomes were crucial for the provision of food and thus played a major role in the retrenched households especially that renting out required little or no investments, as compared to most other tactics and strategies that households employed. Actually, it was one of the few effective survival strategies because income sources were steady with rentals

⁸² Debriefing session on researcher’s notes 17th March 2010

ranging between R300, 000 and K 2, 000, 000. In some cases very large houses in good condition fetched as much as K3, 000, 000 per month in rent from working households, especially expatriates (Also see Mususa 2010 on importance of housing). Despite the important role that this asset (house) played, the majority still complained that they were unable to provide adequately for their families and meet all urban expenses (i.e. utility bills) because the money earned, especially for those with smaller houses, was not sufficient to sustain a family. Their complaints were in line with JCTR monthly basic needs basket which stood at K2, 696, 030 in January 2010 (JCTR 2010).

6.1.2.1.4. Illegal tactics: ‘bujerabo, amaule naba kabolala’ - illegal miners, prostitutes and thieves

One surprising finding was that some of the individuals who perceived their retrenchment to be “unfair” engaged in more problem-focused strategies and tactics. The trends were difficult to prove statistically as obviously households were reluctant to divulge such information formally. As a result the survey data did not produce any direct data on these activities as can be seen in Figure 6.1 (no percentage shown for illegal activities). However, after building rapport, that is, once the researcher was able to relate with households in a way that created a level of trust and understanding (Spradley 1980; Springwood & King 2001; Strang 2009) it became evident that illegal mining, prostitution and theft were all on the increase.

Bujerabo – illegal mining

In an attempt to escape food insecurity and poverty, an increasing number of retrenched households were engaging in illegal copper mining activities locally referred to as *bujerabo* and the perpetrators are commonly called *jerabos*.⁸³ Ernest’s story is a typical example of *jerabo* survival tactics. His everyday struggle to make enough money to feed, clothe and educate his two children absorbed all his resources especially that subsequent to his retrenchment, the bank deducted his entire severance package. After trying a succession of options: from searching for a job, to borrowing money from loan sharks and eventually starting up a petty business, he, like many other retrenched traders, suffered the consequences and lost his capital. Things were going so badly wrong that his wife left him and moved in

⁸³ The original meaning of Jerabos is ex-jail birds (ex-jail boys) but over the years this term is commonly used to refer to illegal miners on the Copperbelt

with another man who Ernest believed worked for KCM. Almost at rock bottom, with no capital to speak of and having a hard time “getting by”, Ernest turned to a life of a *jerabo*.

Like Ernest, many other retrenched households confronted by job losses, food insecurity and poverty have had an awakening reality to devise survival tactics and use huge mine dumps⁸⁴ to help them earn money. Some of the mine dumps belong to KCM thus making this activity illegal. The respondents also reported that, apart from the dump sites, some of their “operations” also involved encroaching on KCM unused areas. This activity was employed by men with the help of women and children in the retrenched households, as explained by Ernest:

“I work with my friends but sometimes there are children and women to help us out. The children are also very useful when it comes to looking out for the police and KCM officers who are constantly hunting us...”⁸⁵

The use of illegal mining as a principal livelihood option in households experiencing poverty has also been reported in other developing countries (Jennings 1999; Hilson 2002; Hilson 2003), and more specifically in African countries (Labonne 2002; UNECA 2002; 2003; Banchirigah 2006; Hilson 2008a; Banchirigah 2008).

Though illegal, the respondents were ensnared by this survival tactic because of its lucrative nature. A *jerabo* earned for a day’s work, close to K100, 000 (close to \$20) which, for a five day working week, amounted to K5, 200, 000 annually. Some *Jerabos* reported that they generally earned a daily wage regardless of how much was mined. Lured by the prospect of earning an income, this tactic of making a living appeared to have become a safe haven for the food insecure retrenched households. Unfortunately, this tactic was by no means a safe haven because illegal mining is done without the necessary equipment or safety attire (Banchirigah 2008). Consequently several *Jerabos* have lost lives through this activity and actually, Ernest explained that he lost two of his friends during their “operation.” In fact during the economic crisis, many lives were lost and are still being lost as a result of illegal

⁸⁴ Chingola like many other Copperbelt towns has huge mine dumps accumulated over years of mining. As early as the 1960s when technology was not very advanced it was difficult to extract copper from the ore and so the mining companies dumped the ore in selected locations thereby creating huge mountains of ore overtime and it was these dumps that many *Jerabos* targeted.

⁸⁵ Household 7A: Interview 12th August 2010

mining. For instance, in 2009 eighteen illegal miners died in Chambeshi after being trapped by rock falls in a tunnel at Nkana Central shaft slag dump (Lusaka Times 2009). In the same year, one person in Chingola was shot dead while twelve others were wounded when KCM security officers opened fire at illegal miners (Times of Zambia 2009). Another *Jerabo* died in 2012 after a pit caved in at the KCM scrap yard in Chingola. This means that, though this tactic provided enough cash for households, it was by far the worst tactic reported, especially that it not only endangered the lives of the men involved but also the lives of women and children who were forced to take part in illegal subsistence tactics in the struggle for survival.

Amaule naba kabolala - prostitutes and thieves

Households also reported that many teenagers had resorted to prostitution and theft. Although very few respondents openly said they were involved in such vices; virtually all the respondents (especially during focus group discussions) complained about the rise in anti-social economic activities such as prostitution and theft especially among young girls. They also stressed that prostitution was in fact more prevalent than theft. Mr and Mrs Chisanga's household was one of the few households that openly shared about anti-social economic activities taking place in their household. In-between sobs, Mrs Chisanga narrated that she feared her 17 year old daughter had turned to prostitution and was finding it difficult to "discipline" the daughter due to limited resources:

"My family has been greatly affected by retrenchment because both my husband and son were retrenched at the same time. It has been very difficult to provide for the family especially that we are so many (11 members) ... And to keep up with all the nice things my daughter is now hanging around with the wrong people, she leaves home very early and only comes back after midnight... She usually comes back with money though she hides it and whenever I ask where she has been, she answers very rudely and I do not know how to discipline her because she always tells me a girl needs lotion and clothes... What can I say to that knowing very well that I cannot provide what she needs? ...I know she is sleeping around because the girls she hangs out with make a living through prostitution. I fear that she might get HIV and die... I do not know what to do... I have talked to her but she doesn't listen. I even took her to church but she ran away..."⁸⁶

⁸⁶ Mrs Chisanga household 3A: Interview 7th June 2010

While the illegal strategies and tactics described above were able to provide cash for the households involved, they however, have long term negative effects that harm not just present, but also succeeding generations.

6. 1.2.2. Dietary adjustment and expenditure reduction

The “new poor” as reported in Chapter Five, responded to the economic crisis by changing their consumption patterns in both essential (food) and non-essential (other) items. An early and almost universal survival strategy employed by the “new poor” was to adjust their food consumption patterns. This, as shown in Chapter Five, was done in various ways such as reduction in the frequency of food consumed, substituting to less expensive lower quality products as well as cutting out “luxuries” such as meat and dairy products because they could not afford, thereby consuming a very limited number of foods which consisted mainly of *ubwali* and green vegetables. The “new poor” also changed intra-household allocation of food with women prioritizing children and men’s consumption over their own thus experiencing more food insecurity than other household members. Each one of these food consumption survival adjustments might be very harmful in the long run, especially with respect to nutrition (UNDP & UNICEF 2011) and for the “new poor” it means it might even be more difficult to become upwardly mobile with such kind of harmful strategies. Apart from the food-related adjustment strategies, the “new poor” also reported that they had reduced consumption of non-food items. The majority of the “new poor,” relatively more in those that had not found new jobs, indicated that they had cut down housing-related costs, transport, clothes and sought alternative heating options - used charcoal instead of electricity to cook and only used electricity for lighting. While the “new poor” reported reduced consumption of many other non-food items, the study revealed an interesting change in the use of and access to various types of services, specifically education, health services and housing.

In relation to education, the first thing to be noted is that two types of strategies and tactics were used. The first is that a few of the “new poor” protected education investments by continuing schooling rather than withdrawing their children from school. This, as explained by the respondents was because they were trying to protect what according to them was the most important type of investment they could make for their children and also for the future of the entire household. The choice by some of the “new poor” to try particularly hard to invest in children’s education under difficult circumstances was perhaps inspired by the

cultural and social values that most middle class households place on education (Ozarow 2008; 2013; Kessler & Di Virgilio 2010). According to the asset vulnerability framework, investment in education increases poor people's chances of coming out of poverty and improves future livelihoods because of expected returns on their labour as people acquire skills and knowledge (Moser 1996). However, though this was one of the few positive strategies employed by the "new poor," it also had negative consequences for the households in the sense that the households that used this strategy applied further survival strategies and tactics by opting to go hungry or extremely reducing their food intake in order to pay for education as was seen by Rhoda's narrative in Chapter Five. Rhoda explained that she would rather go hungry than take her children out of school.

The second type of survival mechanism employed by households with regards to education, and opposite to the first, was reducing expenditures on children's education. A very large proportion of households transferred children from private schools to public schools, reduced children's pocket money and expenditures on school needs and activities (i.e tutoring) or simply put them at greater risk as they were forced to drop out of school to assist the household with income-generating activities. Households that employed this survival mechanism increased their vulnerability to further shocks and potentially reduced long-term human capital accumulation (UNICEF 2009).

In the case of health services, it is important to remember, as discussed in Chapter Five, that before retrenchment households had access to subsidized KCM's private clinic and hospital where they received preferential treatment and had access to a variety of medicines and treatment options. Thus the loss of the KCM job meant that the "new poor" had lost one of their valued privileges and had to shift from private to government clinics and hospitals. The fact that they no longer had an income also meant that they could not afford many other private clinics in the area. Consequently, the "new poor" employed several tactics of survival. For example, during the one year period of free health services given by KCM to retrenched individuals, some of the "new poor" confessed to stockpiling medicines to be used when the free service elapsed. The "new poor" did this by faking illness and going to the hospitals to collect medicines. This medicine was later used and administered to household members who fell sick long after the free service had elapsed as explained by Mumbi from household 1A:

“Last year we ensured that we stocked up on many medicines... This has been helpful because government hospitals do not have medicines but just hand out prescriptions. Therefore whenever someone falls sick we easily give them something to help them feel better... Yes anyone in this family or a neighbour.”⁸⁷

This means that the “new poor” cut back on health services in one way or another as a result of the economic crisis and resorted to self-medication by picking from their assorted collection. In other cases, they reported to have used generic medication in place of branded options. Apart from self-medication, other households also reported to have visited prophets (church pastors) instead of clinics. In fact one surprising finding was that there were very few reports on seeking health services from traditional healers as many of the households seemed to have much more faith in prophets than in traditional healers. This was perhaps because middle class African households generally tend to turn “their backs on traditional medicine” (Nyathikazi 2011:1), or it was perhaps because the church had played a critical role during the economic crisis by spiritually and emotionally supporting the retrenched households compared to other institutions (This is further discussed the next section).

Migration was another strategy used by households in order to reduce expenditure related to rent and utility bills. Some households moved from low density areas popularly known as *Kuma yadi* (middle class residential areas with big yards) to very high density areas known as *Ku komboni* (compounds). Mumbi was one of those households that moved and he describes his experience as one of the lowest points in his life:

“I had no money, the bank got everything from me and I was forced to sell my house to have a starting point. But the house did not fetch much because I think buyers realised I was desperate to sell. The day I moved here, I could see my children’s faces; they were very disappointed, and that day I felt very sad. It was one of the worst days of my life. You know the children usually ask me, “daddy when are we going back to our house because there is no water or electricity here and we miss our friends?” I cannot answer because I do not know if or whether I will ever take them back... I know they miss their friends because I also miss my friends...”⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Mumbi household 1A: interview 2nd August 2010

⁸⁸ Mumbi household 1A: interview 2nd August 2010

Mumbi's narrative above clearly shows that though migration is an established mechanism that has been used by households for decades to cope with food insecurity (WFP 2008), it also has a lot of consequences in the sense that it can lead to households becoming "structurally isolated" with limited ties being formed with other households in their new environment. Furthermore, it might not actually solve their food insecurity situation but exacerbate it. For example, in Mumbi's case, lack of access to water and also living in a tiny space with no big yard made it difficult for him to engage in subsistence activities such as gardening that could have helped in supplementing his family diet "I cannot grow vegetables because there is no space here. Whenever we need vegetables, we have to buy but I have no money to buy vegetables every day," he said. This means that Mumbi and his family had to spend more on food.

Apart from moving to compounds, some households (10%) living in rented accommodation had to move immediately after retrenchment due to a loss of income. These moved in with family (8%) and friends (2%). For those that moved in with family, the majority said they had moved in with their parents. Moving in with parents was described as a "humiliating" and "depressing" strategy by men during a focus group discussion. Though described as humiliating, some of them still moved in with their parents because they had "no choice". They explained that they were "ashamed," "felt less of a man" and "helpless" because in an African setting and Zambia specifically, parents invest in the children and expect the children to care for them once they grow old (Lin 2001).

However, due to retrenchment they were forced to move in with their parents, out of necessity rather than choice in order to survive. Faced with an unfortunate circumstance that could not allow them to produce returns, it is no wonder that the retrenched men were humiliated because it meant their parents had to continue caring for them. During the focus group discussion the Bemba proverb that says *mayo mpapa naine nkakupapa* ("Mother take care of me and I will take care of you") was repeatedly twisted to *mayo mpapa, upape nabana bandi* ("Mother take care of me and take care of my children also") by the men. The "new proverb" by the retrenched men; literally shows how the impact of the economic crisis can cause devastating effects in the lives of the "new poor" leading to low self-esteem in men who have to be cared for by their parents and also causing economic strains on the host households as illustrated by household 5A below.

“We got a loan from the bank and used it to buy a car but it was involved in an accident. After retrenchment, we did not have any money or much to sell because we lived in a rented house. We had nowhere to go and without an income we could not continue living in that house. My husband then decided that we would move back to his parents’ house because my parents are dead...”⁸⁹

When asked how this strategy was working out for her and the rest of the family, Mrs Limbambala explained through tears:

...But I am not getting on well with my mother in law because she doesn’t like the way I cook or how I do things... I don’t think she likes me. When we first came here it was ok and they welcomed us but now she complains that there is not much food in the house... but my father in-law is a good man.”⁹⁰

Reductions of expenditure or dietary adjustments therefore caused more food insecurity and emotional stress in the “new poor” thus pushing them more towards structural poverty than upward mobility.

6. 1.2.3. Food production

For food supplementation, own food production was another important strategy employed by the retrenched households not only in response to the crisis but was said to have been practised even while they were employed. The location of these production activities was mainly in back yards. Out of the 215 households surveyed, 66% had a vegetable garden in their backyards. Green leafy vegetables were the most grown including tomatoes and onions. Although a few grew maize in the back yards, “maize was (and often still is) seen as a health hazard, because of the possibility that mosquitoes might breed in the water caught in the stems, although there is no evidence to support this theory” (Rakodi 1988: 502). Hence, in addition to backyard gardens, a few of the households also carried out agricultural activities *Kumabala* (on larger plots) located predominantly in the peri-urban areas of Chingola. The farming carried out *Kumabala* involved among other things, the growing of maize, vegetables, pumpkins, cassava, beans and groundnuts. Most of the produce from both the gardens and larger plots was for subsistence as nearly all respondents who owned gardens

⁸⁹ Mrs Limbambala household 5A: interview 23rd August 2010

⁹⁰ Mrs Limbambala household 5A: interview 23rd August 2010

and larger plots noted that access to food for direct consumption was their primary reason for engaging in agricultural production in the city (Maxwell, Levin & Csete 1998). “Farming has helped my family survive because we no longer buy *ubunga* (maize meal). All we do is when we run out of *ubunga* we take our own maize to a miller,” expressed Amanda from household 9A a clear sign that the produce played a role to the retrenched household’s survival.

Similarly, literature also shows that agriculture production is a critical livelihood strategy for the majority of urban residents in the poorest countries (Rakodi 1988; Webb 1998; Mougeot 2000; Thornton et al. 2010; Hampwaye & Rogerson 2010). Apart from growing crops, also common was the rearing of poultry in backyards, while livestock such as goats and pigs, were also occasionally found. This finding resonates with Mususa’s (2010) finding of her study on the livelihood options of Copperbelt residents. It is worth noting that both working and retrenched households carried out agricultural activities in backyards and on larger plots. However, farming on larger plots was mostly practiced by working households than retrenched households. This as explained by some of the “new poor” was due to distance to the farming blocks and cost associated with agriculture labour:

“It is difficult to farm far from home because you need transport money to get there. Even if you have your own car you need fuel. Also it is not like the village where you will have the extended family by your side to help you farm. With us, we depend on extra help from people that live around the farm area and they usually want bread, sugar, salt and the like as payment, but you need to have money to purchase those things. The other issue is that because the farm is so far away we cannot afford to go there every day; to get to our farm we walk for about an hour and in the end we do not plant as much as someone would who lives on the farm. Then sometimes we find that our crops have been stolen because the best thing is to employ a person to live on the farm so that such a person can take care of the farm but, since we do not have enough money right now we, cannot engage someone. The other year we found most of our maize and sweet potatoes harvested by thieves and my suspicion is that the local people in the farm area harvested due to hunger. You see, it is not that simple, it is actually difficult to farm in town.”⁹¹

It is clear that costs associated with urban farming hindered many of the retrenched households from engaging in farming activities where they could produce surplus. The

⁹¹ Chisanga household 3A: interview 4th May 2010

finding of this present study is consistent with literature (Tevera 1999; Crush et al. 2011, Mkwambisi et al. 2011; Lee-Smith 2013) on urban agriculture (See Chapter Two) that states that, urban agriculture is more common among higher income households than households with little incomes due to costs associated with land and farming inputs. This study further found that while urban agriculture was a good source of fresh vegetables in urban households, it was not, however, a source of income because households reported that they engaged in urban agriculture for consumption rather than extra income.

Hence, only a tiny minority of retrenched households produced a surplus for sale and these reported that they often sold to marketers or to Food Reserve Agency (a government agency that buys maize from local farmers). This means that urban agriculture in retrenched households was mainly practiced in backyards. Although farming was practiced by some households, it should be noted that a few of the “new poor” did not practise it mainly because it was perceived to be an activity for the “uneducated” households in rural areas. Thus because of their previous status some of the “new poor” could not engage in this survival strategy.

6.1.2.4. Use of private social protection as a strategy

Private informal social protection strategies here, includes strategies that rely on assistance from social networks - classified as family and friends (Mitchell 1969; Putnam 1995). “Social networking plays an important role in coping with urban life since it works as social capital” (Moser 1996). In Chingola the survey results show that the “new poor” had “lost” friends due to the economic crisis. Networks that were lost were mainly friends from their former work place and in some case, households that had relocated to cheaper areas also reported to have lost friends from their former neighbourhood. Mumbi and his family was one of those households that lost networks:

“I no longer visit my friends and they do not visit me because they live very far and then some of them are still very busy with work because, unlike me, they still have their jobs... Well, yes I do not visit them because I feel bad that they still have a job and I do not, it is not their fault but I do not want them to see me suffering.”⁹²

⁹² Mumbi household 1A: interview 2nd August 2010

By Mumbi's explanation, it was evident that some of the "new poor" lacked social networks because of their new status. Accordingly, many of the "new poor" reported to have more of kinship networks than social networks. However, the kinship networks offered more of emotional support than tangible support. For example, 91% of the "new poor" reported to have received emotional support (a word of advice, encouragement and motivation) from relatives from both the rural and urban areas while, 69% of the retrenched households reported unsuccessful attempts to gain financial support and only 31% of the households indicated having received financial assistance from friends both within and outside Zambia. In a country where 80% of the population is poor (UNDP 2011b), it was not surprising that many of the networks could not offer tangible support.

Thus the argument by the retrenchment literature that "new poor" have many capital assets loses sight of the social economic context within which these capital assets operate. To make matters worse, the literature also loses sight of the horrible effects of covariate shocks. The low levels of remittances to the "new poor" from networks show that covariate shocks also reduce the scope of remittances (McKenzie 2003: 18-19). In the case of Chingola, for example, the respondents constantly explained that most of their relatives did not have resources; it was in fact the retrenched households who used to send remittances to relatives in both urban and rural areas. Hence, because of the crisis the majority of the "new poor" had to stop or reduce help that they were previously (before retrenchment) rendering to relatives and friends.

Interestingly, this brought about a change in roles especially between the rural-urban networks. Several networks from rural areas transferred food to urban "new poor" households in order to help them deal with the economic crisis. This, as explained by the respondents, was based on the Bemba saying *akakulya takachepe* - food is never too little to share - as expressed by men during a focus group discussion:

"I know my relatives do not have money but they have sent me and my family some food to help us out because they know *akakulya takachepe* ("Food is never too little to share"). So within their limited resources, they still share with us."⁹³

⁹³ Man, during a focus group discussion on 30th July 2010.

Perhaps based on the *akakulya takachepa* saying, 30% of the respondents had received food transfers from rural areas while 62% reported to have received food transfers from relatives and friends from urban centres within and outside Chingola (27% from relatives and 35% from friends). The common foods received included chickens, meat cereals/grain, roots and tubers, groundnuts, beans, millet, cassava and vegetables.

One interesting finding in relation to networks was that although the networks did not offer financial assistance, the “new poor” exercised agency and found practical measures to secure survival during crises, by devising tactics based on the non-financial material resources available within the limits of their networks. This is illustrated by Daka (household 4A) and Carol (household 10A) who through their families in the rural areas managed to exploit “free” rural resources - mainly foods such as mushrooms, wild vegetables, fish and caterpillars to enable them survive in the urban area:

“...One day my wife and I went to town and while there I saw a lady selling caterpillars and when I asked how much it was she shouted out a ridiculous price. I was very shocked at how expensive the caterpillars were because in the rural areas people pick them for free. On our way back I kept thinking about the price of those caterpillars...It was then that my wife and I decided to ask my brother to send us some food stuffs from the village. Having lived in the village, I know you can get mushrooms, caterpillars and different kinds of vegetables for free - all you need is someone to go in the bush and pick them. My brother organised his children and they sent us some caterpillars and mushrooms... We now sell these and are able to feed our children... We make enough money from this business but the problem is that we still have school fees and utility bills to worry about. It is hard to save but, at least, the business has helped to push us from one day to the next...”⁹⁴

“My sister lives in Luapula Province and is married to a fisherman and when I was retrenched, I asked if they could help me. They said that we would help each other... So what happens is that after I sell fish, the profit is shared between me and my sister... Well my profit is ok because I can afford to feed my family now and I have also been saving and will soon open a boutique in the town centre. I think I will make more money because many working people buy from boutiques because it is more classy and well, at least, I will no longer sell at the market.”⁹⁵

⁹⁴ Mr Daka household 4A: interview 22nd June 2010

⁹⁵ Carol household 10A: interview 30th June 2010

The innovative ways in which Daka and Carol utilized “free” rural resources to guarantee their households’ livelihood give insights into some of the tactics which food insecure urban households improvise - within limited resources and opportunities - in order to exert control over capricious circumstances. Although Daka could only earn enough to feed his family, Carol on the other hand was able to save and with time might, from Carol’s perspective, open a business that would give her more money and also “status,” because then she would move from selling at the market to owning a shop in the town centre. This in short shows that when faced with circumstances that threaten their food security (in this case economic crisis) urban households negotiate for themselves new forms of lifestyles by exercising agency within the limits of their assets and capabilities in order to protect their welfare and increase resilience to food insecurity. However, not all households could exploit these resources because a large majority reported that they did not have relatives in rural areas - probably because a large proportion of the respondents (66%) was born and raised in the urban areas.

Apart from making use of rural resources the “new poor” also utilised their networks by engaging in a revolving fund strategy locally known as *icilimba*. This strategy was mainly practised by women who organised themselves into groups depending on the networks available to them (in many cases the groups comprised of not more than six members). *Icilimba* functioned like a co-operative, all of whose members contributed an agreed amount of money every so often e.g. one month, and the total sum was then allocated to one member on a rotation basis. The *icilimba* was practised by women from both working and retrenched households. This strategy as Bouman (1995) shows has been observed all over Africa and is an effective strategy in helping women raise capital for business and for feeding their households. What the above shows is that social capital in form of friends was slightly low among the “new poor” due to the economic crisis making it difficult for these households to exploit these networks for upward mobility. However, social capital in the form of kinship networks was high but, because of the social economic context in which most of these networks are embedded, they could not offer much financial assistance.

The above discussion shows that though exercising agency and employing different tactics and strategies to survive, the majority of the “new poor” in Chingola do not cope, but rather “get by” on a day-to-day basis and are likely to be pushed deeper into poverty and food insecurity because some of the tactics employed have large negative effects upon the life

prospects of those involved. The next question, then, is: what role does the government, NGOs and local stakeholders in Chingola play to improve the wellbeing and food security of urban households. FAO (2003; 2011) advises that in countries where household food insecurity is a problem, governments, NGOs and non-profit organizations, the private sector and international organizations should, as appropriate, work in a collaborative manner to ensure that they improve the food security situation. The next section will now examine the role of these institutions and organisations (government, NGOs and local stakeholders) in fighting urban household food insecurity in Chingola.

6.2. The role of government, NGOS and various stake holders in addressing retrenched urban households' food insecurity in Chingola

This section will discuss public social protection responses by government, NGOs, CBOs, FBOs and KCM to the economic crisis in Chingola and examine how these institutions have helped retrenched urban households increase their resilience to food insecurity.

6.2.1. The government

Interviews with government departments revealed that the Zambian government has a long history in social protection⁹⁶ although they have not always been labelled as such (See Table 6.2 for social protection programmes by the government of Zambia). All of the programmes in Table 6.2 are under the Ministry of Community Development and Social Services (MCDSS). Therefore, thus MCDSS is the focal point for poverty reduction interventions to counter food insecurity and vulnerability.

Furthermore, the government also has policy documents that address hunger and poverty such as the National Long Term Vision 2030, articulating alternative long-term development policy scenarios, and the Sixth National Development Plan 2011-2015 (SNDP). The SNDP outlines the government's vision for poverty reduction and growth plans for 2011-2015 and reflects recent developments in social protection – both conceptually and programmatically (See SNDP 2011: 174).

⁹⁶ From as early as the 1960s, pensions have been provided to salaried workers largely in the formal sector through the National Pensions Scheme Authority (NAPSA) and the Public Service Pension Fund (PSPF). The scope of the coverage though was, and still remains quite limited since workers in the informal sector are largely excluded.

Table 6.2: Government of Zambia Social protection programmes

Programme	Target population
Food Security Pack	Targeting vulnerable small scale farmers for support with farming inputs and capacity building
Public Welfare Assistance Scheme	Providing in-kind support for the destitute
Kalomo Social Cash Transfer Scheme	Aims to reduce extreme poverty among the 10 percent poorest households in the pilot region of Kalomo District
Micro-Bankers Trust	Providing loans and financial services to vulnerable persons
National Trust for the Disabled	Social assistance to incapacitated households
Victim Support	Support to access justice system - enhance vulnerable people's access to justice
Child Care Upgrading Programme	Provide adequate legal and social protection to children living in difficult circumstances or in need of care
National Pensions Scheme Authority(NAPSA)	These provide employment-based old age, retirement, survivor, and disability pensions for formal sector workers
Future Search	Job seekers - to equip them with business skills for the future.
Programme Urban Self-Help	Conditional transfers – for work

Sources: MCDSS (2010); SNDP (2011); FNDP (2006); DFID (2005)

The goal of the policy documents and, more specifically, the chapter on social protection in the SNDP is “to promote the livelihoods and welfare of the poorest and those most vulnerable to risks and shocks” (SNDP 2011:174) by ensuring that incapacitated and low capacity households have sufficient livelihood security to meet basic needs, and are protected from the worst impacts of risks and shocks (SNDP 2011:174). Overall, and on paper, Zambia presents a very good strategy for social protection.

The Zambian government has frequently been criticised for its lack of commitment to social protection (DFID 2005; Schüring & Lawson-McDowall 2011). Despite the fact that the government has all these programmes and policies, social protection programmes are seriously undermined by low and erratic funding; hence not many vulnerable populations are

assisted. Between 1994 and 2006, for instance, social protection funds were less than 1% of the GRZ total expenditure (Musokotwane 2009). Similarly, in 2010 the budget ceiling for MCDSS for poverty alleviation and social protection measures was fixed at 0.5% (about \$15.5 million) of total government revenue (Ministry of Finance and National Planning 2010). The low and erratic funding plus a shortage of staff was in fact pointed out repeatedly by government workers as key constraints to assisting vulnerable people.⁹⁷ Thus many poor people go without assistance. The government workers were eager to provide support to the poor. All the workers interviewed expressed common views and seemed to agree that much more needed to be done, but pointed out that it was very difficult for them to assist the “new poor” because they were already over-burdened with people who were already poor before the economic crisis.

“There are many poor people in Mushishima, Luano, Luankole and several other areas in the outskirts of Chingola that need more help, but because of limited recourses we do not help as many as we can. At the moment, it is not easy to help those who recently lost their jobs and most likely have a few kwachas to spare....No, there is no specific programme for the retrenched people. .. I have heard that many of them are not doing so well Actually I know a few of them who lost their jobs and are not doing well, but there is nothing this office can do. There is no money to help everyone; already we are overburdened but have no money and have few staff.”⁹⁸

“There have been many retrenchments in the past few years, and more and more people are becoming poor because once they lose their jobs they fail to care for their families. As a result we have a lot of people coming to our offices asking for assistance but we fail to assist because we have limited resources... We wish we could help more people, but the government doesn’t give us much, and sometimes the funds do not come on time.”⁹⁹

Though many people had lost jobs during the economic crisis and were pushed into poverty, government did not put in place any specific new policy measures to address the crisis (Green 2009a; ODI 2010). All the surveyed/interviewed retrenched households indicated that they had not at any time received any assistance from government (See Figure 6.2). To the

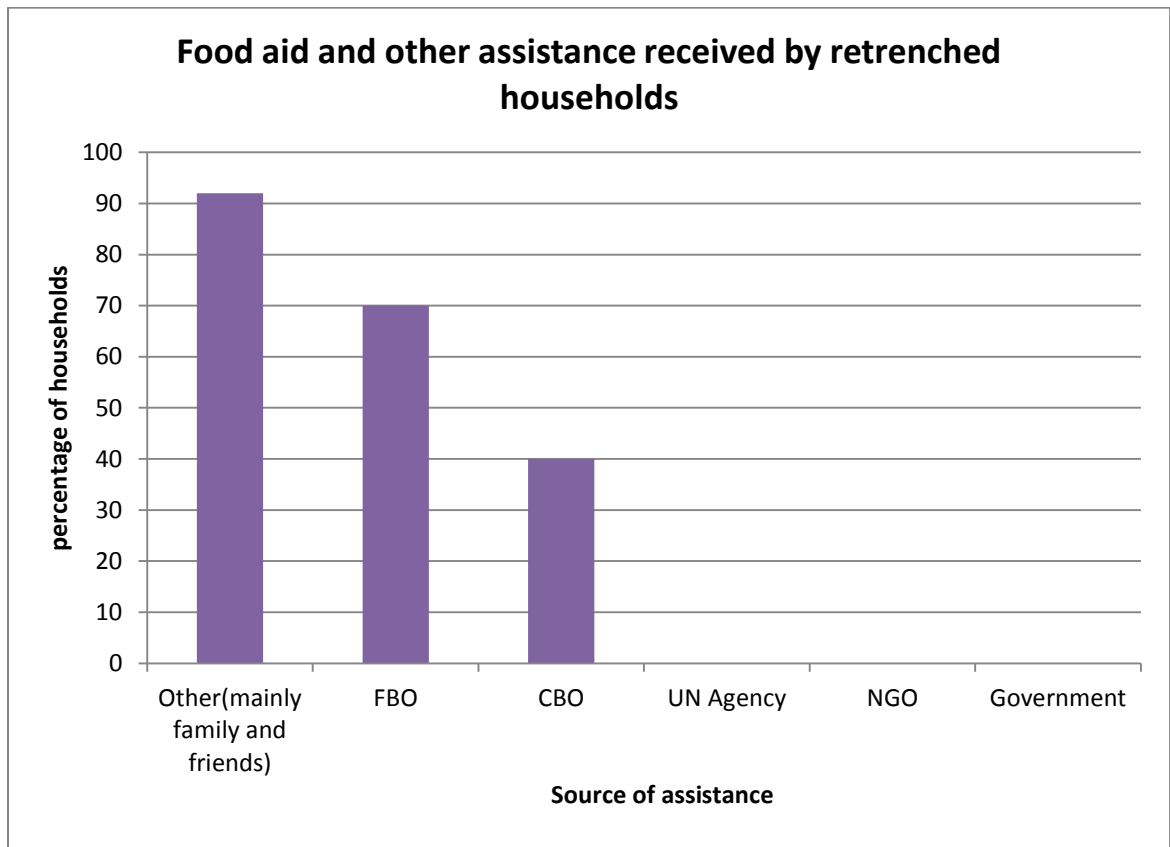
⁹⁷ For example during the two week visit with Community Development and Social Services (CDSS) in Chingola the department did not have money for fuel and it was difficult for the workers as well as the researcher to visit the beneficiaries. To make the visit possible the researcher provided fuel.

⁹⁸ CDSS officer in Chingola 15th June 2010

⁹⁹ CDSS officer in Ndola 11th June 2010

question, “has anyone in this household received food aid or any other form of assistance from government?” all 215 surveyed households responded in the negative.

Figure 6.2: Food aid or any other form of assistances to retrenched households



Source: Research Survey Data, Quantitative Component 2010

Similarly, a participatory exercise of institutional analysis conducted with retrenched men also revealed some interesting findings about the role played by government during the economic crisis. Results from an institutional analysis exercise done during focus group discussions with two different groups (retrenched men in urban centres see Figure 6.3 and a group of people in the outskirts of Chingola see Figure 6.4), showed that government had not offered much assistance to retrenched households during the economic crisis.

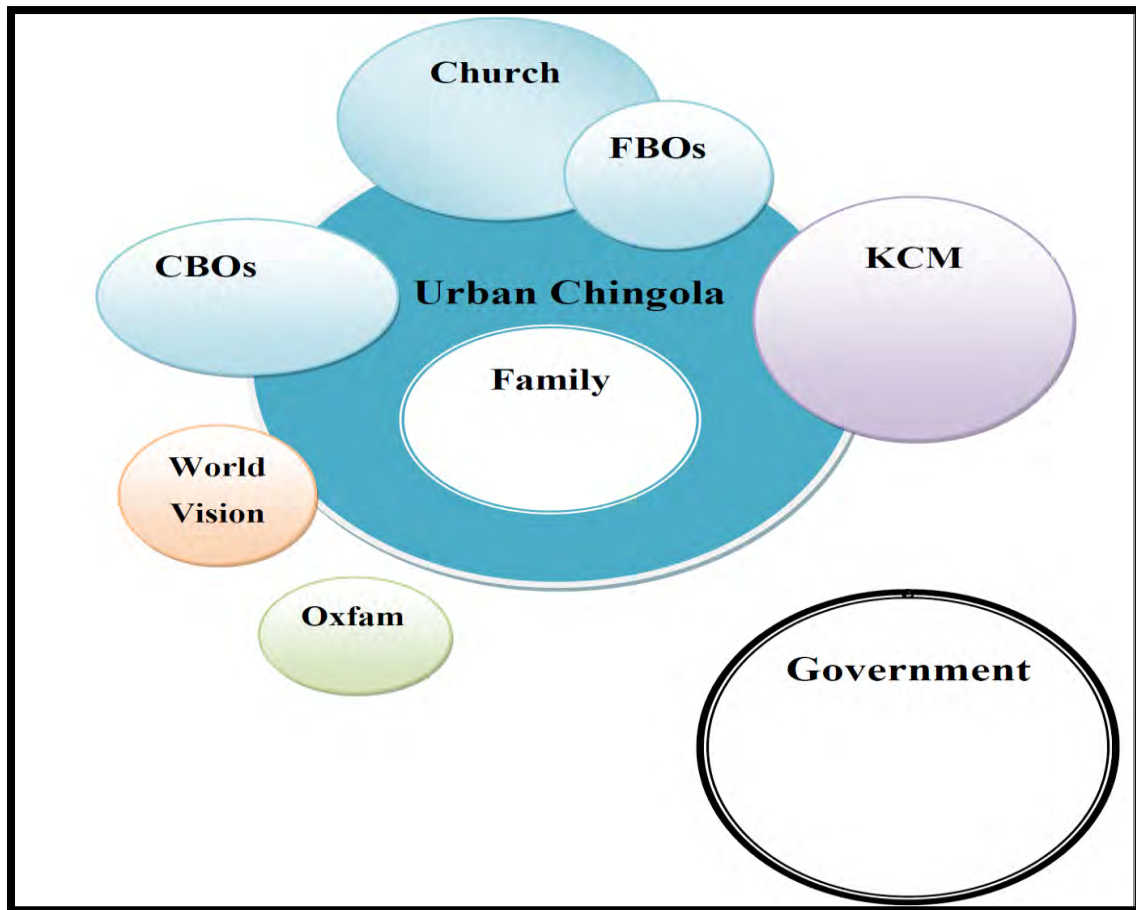
An institutional analysis exercise provides a visual representation of the relationships and linkages between people and institutions. The purpose of the institutional analysis exercise in this study was to identify groups and institutions operating both in rural parts and in the urban centre of Chingola, and to discover the role and significance of various institutions in dealing with retrenchment and food insecurity as perceived by participants. First, the participants

were asked to list all groups/organisations/institutions within their location and outside the location with which they maintained contact in one way or another. Subsequently, the participants were asked to discuss how frequently they had contact with each organisation and the importance of that contact in addressing retrenchment, food insecurity, poverty or any nutrition issues during the economic crisis. They had to make different sized circles to represent the relative importance of each institution, i.e. big circle meant a very important organisation, a decision maker, whereas a small circle represented an organisation of little importance. A circle representing urban Chingola was drawn by the researcher on flip chart paper placed on the ground, and participants were asked to place circles of discussed institutions in relation to the circle of urban Chingola (see Figure 6.3). The size of the circle indicated the importance of the institution, and the distance between the circles indicated the degree of contact between institutions and community. For instance, large overlaps showed high interaction; no overlap meant a distant relationship and reflected inaccessibility.

Results from this exercise revealed that government support was seen by urban men as less relevant in dealing with the crisis because no major government programmes were noted to be important in the area or dealing with retrenchment, food insecurity or any poverty related issues. During the exercise, the participants, as shown in the previous chapter, expressed feelings of anger towards the government. When placing the circles in relation to urban Chingola, one participant said “the government needs to be placed outside the gate, behind the fence, where we cannot see it because it never sees us”, implying that the government had no influence on wellbeing of the urban retrenched households and needed to be placed outside the location where the discussion was held;¹⁰⁰ some of the other participants agreed with the speaker.

¹⁰⁰ The discussion was held under a tree at one of the participant’s house. The house had a fence and outside the fence is where some participants wanted to place the government. This sparked a lot of laughter and a heated discussion.

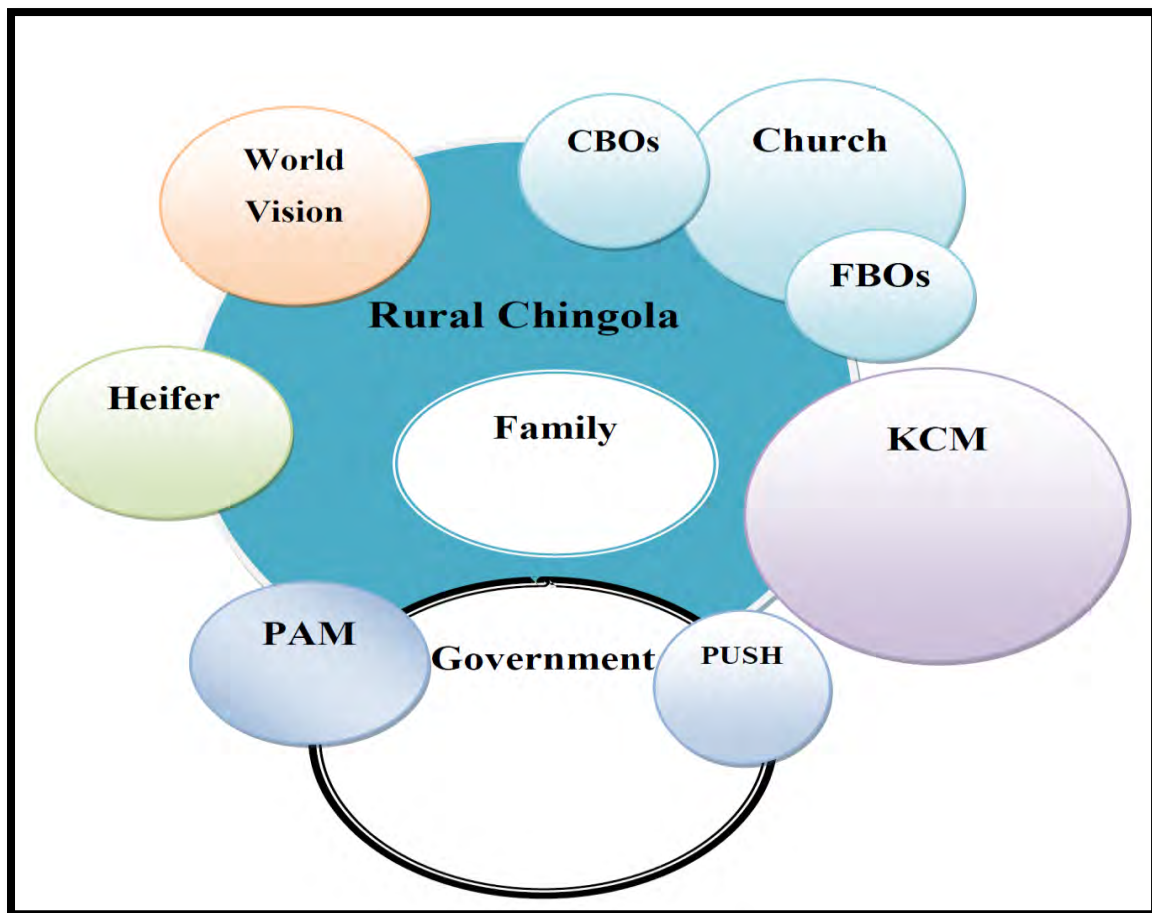
Figure 6.3: Institutional analysis by a group of retrenched men in urban Chingola



Source: Research Survey Data 2010

As Figure 6.3 illustrates, government is outside the community circle which simply means that it was seen by the participants as an institution with little or no influence on their wellbeing. By the size of the circle it is clear that the participants acknowledged that government was important and a big decision maker. However, as was seen in Chapter Five, government, in their view, was more concerned with the wellbeing of mining companies than that of local residents.

Figure 6. 4: Institutional analysis by a group in rural areas



Source: Research Survey Data 2010

This phenomenon, people’s complaints about government’s lack of concern for the people during the economic crisis, has also been observed in Green (2009a). Green carried out interviews with a number of international donors, government officials, economists, and civil society organizations in Lusaka to assess the impacts of the global economic crisis on Zambia’s trade and financial sectors. One of Green’s interviewees claimed that “the government doesn’t have a major commitment to reducing poverty” (Green 2009a:9) and one of Green’s conclusions was “both civil society and international institutions in Lusaka are concerned at an apparent lack of urgency in the government’s response” (Green 2009a:9). In a similar manner, one of the conclusions at a Centre for Policy Dialogue (CPD) seminar on the impact of the global financial crisis on labour and trade unions held in Lusaka in May 2009, was that government had done very little to address the global economic crisis and its consequences. One of the presenters at the seminar, Mr Mudenda, described the government’s response to the economic crisis as “pathetic” (Mudenda 2009:6). The

frustration expressed by the people clearly shows that government did not introduce new programmes or use existing programmes to protect the poor from the impact of the successive crises.

New programmes or policies could have helped to cushion the impact of the covariate shock on the households. As seen in the previous section, retrenched households tried to look for new jobs and also attempted to allocate time resources to additional labour in order to compensate for the income loss. This did not, however, guarantee perfect income recovery under a covariate shock, since marginal productivity of labour decreased (Rosenzweig & Wolpin 1993; Kazianga & Udry 2006; Shoji 2008). Therefore, if the central government had provided some programmes to alleviate the impact, it would have helped people overcome some of their food insecurity problems. This shows that there are few or no food security programmes for urban households affected by shocks.

On the other hand, the focus group discussion with households in rural centres of Chingola revealed that they had received assistance from government. The group from the rural centres expressed gratitude for the food security services rendered by government. They also explained that although government usually delivered the farm inputs late, it compensated for the delay by taking other organisations to the area.

“The government has really helped us; today we are able to farm because of the help that we have received. The only problem is that it delays bringing farm inputs, but we can forgive them because they have brought us PAM, KCM and other organisations from overseas.”¹⁰¹

¹⁰¹ Man from focus group discussion held in Luano 16th June 2010

Table 6. 3: Organisations identified as providing food security related programmes in Chingola

Organisation	Service provided	Beneficiaries	Location of service
African Vision of Hope (AVOH)	Spiritual, physical, economic and social to help poor families	Widows, orphans, and the vulnerable children in Zambia	Peri-urban and rural Chingola
CARE International	Copperbelt Urban Livelihoods Project (CULP)	Small scale farmers	Peri-urban areas of Chingola
Government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Food Security Packs • Fertilizer Support Program Public Welfare Assistance Scheme (PWAS) • Livestock and fisheries 	All vulnerable people in Zambia	Rural and per-urban areas
Heifer International	Chingola rural community development project on agriculture and health	HIV/AIDS affected households, widows, elderly people and unemployed youth	Rural areas of Chingola
KCM	Sustainable livelihoods	Mainly vulnerable children, orphans and farmers	Rural and peri-urban areas of Chingola
Manchester Aid for Children	spiritual, physical, economic and social help to children	Children and youth	Rural Chingola
PAM	In partnership with government provide food security services	Vulnerable households especially small scale farmers	Rural and per-urban areas of Chingola
Oxfam	Oxfam's Copperbelt Livelihoods Improvement Programme (CLIP)	This work is mainly with poor households to try and improve their food security and access to assets.	Rural areas of Chingola
World Vision	HIV/AIDS issues, feeding, farming skills and many more	Dedicated to working with children, families and communities to overcome poverty and injustice	Urban, peri-urban and rural areas of Chingola

Source: Research Survey Data 2010

The study findings showed that there were several food security programmes in Chingola (See Table 6.3). However; distribution of government and as well NGO food security programmes was inequitable as it was disproportionately focussed on the rural areas, rather

than the urban centre. A case in point is the way government operates its Fertilizer Support Program (FSP) and food security project in general. During fieldwork it was observed that the Food Security Pack (FSP)¹⁰² was restricted to co-operatives that had been registered for this purpose, and all the co-operatives were in rural or peri-urban centres of Chingola. Although financial and administrative constraints contributed to this imbalance, a lack of knowledge of the scale of causes and consequences of urban poverty also contributed.

The lack of government interventions to protect urban households adequately from the crisis points to the weak social protection services found in many urban centres of developing countries - social protection programmes are seldom well established in developing or low income countries (ODI 2010), which is why the impact of shocks on households in these countries is usually very severe. According to the literature, the actual impact of shocks on individuals or households greatly depends on the availability of sound social protection programmes in the country, as social protection programmes are important determinants of both the depth of the impact and the speed of recovery (Lindstrom 2008; UNRISD 2010; Schüring & Lawson-McDowall 2011). The lack of government support in the urban centre of Chingola during the crisis thus heightened the vulnerability of retrenched households.

The findings discussed above show that the government seems to have a perception of where the poor and food insecure are located – in the outskirts of towns (Maxwell 1999; Parnell & Simon 2014). Further, by focusing more on rural food insecurity as seen in the above discussion and by working towards increasing agricultural production through small-scale farmers in the rural parts of Chingola; the government simply reaffirms that “conceptual and programming simplicity of “rural development” and “green revolutions” for smallholders is still seen by African Governments as the key solution to food insecurity (Crush & Frayne 2010a:8; Crush & Frayne 2014:113).

¹⁰² The targeted Food Security Pack (FSP) programme for vulnerable farmers was initiated by government in November 2000 in order to assist farming households who had lost capacity to access inputs and the market due to economic liberalization and erosion of resources base due to recurrent droughts and floods. The overall objective of the programme is to empower the targeted vulnerable but viable farming households to be self-sustaining through improved productivity and household food security and thereby contribute to poverty reduction. The programme, along with other interventions, is contributing to the attainment of Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and is within the Sixth National Development Plan (SNDP).

6.2.2. The NGOs

The vulnerability of the retrenched households to food insecurity and poverty was also made worse by limited assistance from NGOs in the urban areas of Chingola. Since Copperbelt was considered as one of the more “prosperous” provinces (the backbone of the nation), at the time of fieldwork there were generally very few United Nations or other international agencies present to provide assistance in the province (Musokotwane 2009; Ndulo 2009; ODI 2010). Consequently, Chingola has few international organisations providing social protection in the community. As can be seen from Figure 6.3, only two organisations (Oxfam and World Vision) were listed as organisations working in urban Chingola. Although Figure 6.3 does not represent an exhaustive list of all NGOS offering support in urban Chingola; it helps to show that there are very few organisations, because the participants in the focus group were asked to mention all programs that they knew were in operation, even if they did not directly benefit from them. Data from in-depth interviews and the focus group discussions¹⁰³ also revealed that there were no responses made by international NGOs to cushion the impact of retrenchment on households in Chingola. It was also reported during focus group discussions that World Vision assisted people in shanty compounds of Chingola. However, during the institutional analysis exercise none of the retrenched households reported to have received assistance or social protection services from World Vision or from any other international organisation or institution apart from KCM. As can be seen from Table 6.3, most of the NGOs also have food security programmes only in peri-urban areas.

6.2.3. Local organisations

The findings revealed that some members of the community had developed community-based organizations (CBOs) and co-operatives to help the retrenched households start-up businesses which could provide incomes and eventually reduce food insecurity. One example of community action against retrenchment and food insecurity is a group for retrenched households called Buyantashi Retrenched Miners Multipurpose Co-operative (BRMMC). This group is not only found in Chingola, but the rest of the Copperbelt. At the time of fieldwork, many of the respondents were not registered members. However, the group was still fighting for their well-being as could be seen from their demonstrations against Barclays Bank over their refusal to refund monies deducted from the retrenched severance packages

¹⁰³ Focus group discussions with Kabuta women’s club on 14th June 2010; and with retrenched men on 30th June 2010.

(FlavaFM 2011). The Buyantashi Co-operative argued that the retrenched were living in poverty and could not afford to put food on the table because Barclays Bank had taken all the terminal benefits, and thus they demanded that Barclays Bank and other lending institutions pay back what they had deducted. Apart from Buyantashi Co-operative, many other women and men had formed community based groups that seek to fight poverty and food insecurity by providing small scale business opportunities to their members and these were invigorated by the crisis. In some cases some of these groups are not limited to small local groups, but have formed into large national and transnational organizations as shown by the Zambia Cross-Borders Association¹⁰⁴ (Nchito & Tranberg-Hansen 2010) that has members trading across the borders with other countries.

Aside from CBOs and co-operatives, focus group discussions many times pointed out that the church was a respected institution at community level with a strong role in fighting poverty and food insecurity. It was very clear that Faith Based Organisations and generally the church were very instrumental in helping households during the time of the crisis. Nearly all households said they had received spiritual, emotional or monetary assistance from the church. It was evident from the respondents' comments that spiritual support was vital to them as many seemed to find comfort in God, perhaps because the church was the most responsive institution in their time of need.

“I believe God has a plan for me and my family and he will make a way for us.”¹⁰⁵

“If it were not for God we would be died by now, we live by the grace of God. He helps us through the church. Everyone at church has been very supportive; they pray with us and encourage us to stay strong. God is working wonders through them.”¹⁰⁶

The support given to retrenched households by religious institutions during the economic crisis was a striking reminder of the significance of faith and Christianity in Chingola and generally in Zambia (Hossain 2009), - a country that has been declared a Christian nation. It should be noted that although CBOs and FBOs have put in measures to help fight poverty

¹⁰⁴ Zambia Cross-Borders Association was founded in 1999 and registered in 2000. It is headquartered in Lusaka and has a membership of over 5000, with over 60% being women. Its main achievements include advocating for simplified trade regimes, cheap trade visas and many other private sector deals.

¹⁰⁵ Carol household 10A: 30th June 2010

¹⁰⁶ Amanda household 9A: 7th June 2010

and food insecurity in urban Chingola, most if not all CBOs and FBOs lack the resources necessary to help effectively resolve problems of food insecurity and/or poverty. CBOs and FBOs rely mostly on the human and financial resources they can raise locally, but in times of crises not many people have much to spare (Morduch 1999; ODI 2007; ODI 2009a). A “distinguishing feature of economic crises and natural disasters from other types of shocks experienced by households is that they affect many households simultaneously” (Skoufias 2003:1089). The shock is usually correlated across several households within the same community and informal insurance mechanisms within communities usually break down during such shocks (Gaurav & Hoogeveen 2000; Kim & Prskawetz 2006; Shoji 2008).

A shock that affects the entire community has high negative impacts on households. This is because when the shock is isolated in the household, family and community support can attenuate the effect of the shock by giving help and transfers (Kim & Prskawetz 2006; Shoji 2008; Sawada et al. 2011). On the other hand, during economic crises nearly everyone in a community can be affected directly or indirectly, “social capital can be damaged” and community ties eroded (ODI 2009a). Evidence from Indonesia (Grootaert 1999), Thailand and the Philippines (Gaurav & Hoogeveen 2000) for example, shows that economic hardships had severely eroded family and community ties in these countries during the economic crisis that hit the Southeast Asian Nations (SEAN) in 1997. Thus the aggregate nature of economic shocks is that many informal social protection mechanisms put in place by communities to help vulnerable members become ineffective.

In the case of Chingola, the findings revealed that when retrenchments hit the community, being a member of a CBO, FBO or co-operative was of little help because most of the members in CBOs, FBOs and co-operatives were also negatively affected by the shock. This is because the crisis had significant ramifications not only in the households affected, but also more widely in the communities. Thus, because of the severe lack of resources, only a few CBOs and FBOs, like the Catholic Church, provided effective support. The majority of the FBOs at best only offered spiritual support, as they could not afford to help in any other way. This was another interesting finding of study; community characteristics play a role in how a shock affects households. When a crisis strikes a community that depends on one main source of livelihood for survival, the whole community is affected. In the case of Chingola, a single company (KCM) accounts for a significant share of total formal employment and so

the impact of the crisis was severe due to ripple effects. If Chingola had more diverse livelihood options, the impact could have been less severe.

6.2.4. KCM

As the size and position of KCM in Figure 6.3 illustrates, participants in urban Chingola agreed that KCM was an important institution in Chingola because it provided jobs which in turn lead to food security in employed households. However, they positioned it only slightly within urban Chingola because, apart from providing jobs which in turn led to food security in employed households, KCM was also seen as responsible for the retrenched household's food insecurity situation in the sense that it retrenched them. Some of the participants felt that KCM had employed too many foreigners who they believed had taken up their positions; they believed that none of the expatriates were retrenched while many local people were retrenched. The other reason given by participants for KCM's position in the diagram was that as much as KCM offered employment to the people of Chingola and offered them credit services, participants felt that it was not really concerned about their welfare, but profit making.

Other participants however, felt that KCM was partly concerned about employee welfare because it offered social protection to the retrenched by providing severance packages (although banks deducted most of the money). It was further pointed out that apart from the severance packages, KCM had also organized a training workshop in financial management and entrepreneurship for all the retrenched individuals.¹⁰⁷ Given the contraction of the formal sector in Chingola and Zambia generally (Ndulo 2009 et al.), virtually all those retrenched households had to make a living in the informal sector, thus the training was essential for retrenchees. However, although the men acknowledged the training was a good gesture, some said they did not understand it and, in their views, the training was irrelevant and unhelpful. Some of the reasons given were that many of them were still in shock at the time of the training, and this made it difficult for them to grasp the issues under discussion. Chola explained:

¹⁰⁷ The importance of local business development was recognised by all the parties involved in the negotiations surrounding the privatisation of the operations that now belong to KCM. Thus training of retrenched individuals is reflected in the requirements and commitments contained in KCM's Development Agreement and Interim Social Management Plan (<http://www.odi.org.uk/work>).

“Those meetings are a waste of time because firstly, it was hard for a person to get what the teacher was saying because most of the time the men were absent minded thinking about how life was going to change and how they were going to take care of their families, where food would come from. I personally was thinking about where I was going to find a job at my age and how I was going to feed my family without income. When I asked my friends about the meetings they also brought up the same issues I am telling you. They said they found it hard to pay attention.”¹⁰⁸

In some cases, the participants explained that it was difficult to implement the skills acquired because they lacked financial capital.

“We were taught different skills on how to run your own business and how to use and invest the severance package wisely and successfully. But after the bank deducted its money, I had nothing left to feed my family let alone start a business.”¹⁰⁹

“The skills taught included farming, driving and other income generating activities. If the skills were taught before retrenchment many of us would be rich by now because we would have used our salaries wisely by investing in some big businesses, but after retrenchment many of us were left with nothing, so it was impossible to start up business ventures. A few that got their full or part of their packages did start up small businesses but nothing big...”¹¹⁰

The views expressed by the participants on the training offered by KCM resonate with work done by Barwa (1995), Kanji (1995), Mitlin (2000), Auer et al (2005), Card et al. (2009), and Horn (2009; 2011). These scholars’ evaluation of training programmes or any income generating ventures developed during economic crises to address urban poverty through employment opportunities suggest that training programmes might work well during times of economic prosperity but may not be very effective during periods of economic recessions or other adverse economic changes. This is because during economic crises “markets are subject to many different sources of instability, and therefore support to improve livelihood strategies does not necessarily result in secure improvements in incomes” (Mitlin 2000). Because of market instabilities, the impact of training programmes is sometimes insignificant because gains from skills development may take a while to materialize and may manifest only two to

¹⁰⁸ Chola household 2A: 10th June 2010

¹⁰⁹ A retrenched man: focus group discussion with retrenched men on 30th June 2010

¹¹⁰ A retrenched man: focus group discussion with retrenched men on 30th June 2010

three years after the crisis is over (Card et al. 2009). Therefore, the entrepreneurship training exercise offered by KCM to retrenched households might have had significantly positive impacts on retrenched households if the training had been provided at any time other than the economic crisis period.

In addition, Chola's narrative above and the failure by retrenched households to implement effectively the skills acquired from the KCM training also point to the bad timing of the training. Some scholars (Schaie 2006; Leist et al. 2014) reveal that economic recessions and other shocks are associated with low cognitive function. This is because; shocks caused by recessions or job loss "seems to result in the dropping of the cognitive behaviour of the individual from previously stable level of functioning to lower level" (Schaie 2006:13). This means that emotional shock dismisses peoples' cognitive ability and skills or income training programmes offered during or after shocks may not be comprehended and utilised.

The above discussion shows that during the economic crisis no new programmes were developed to help the new poor increase their resilience to food insecurity and poverty. This suggests therefore that during the crisis not only was urban Chingola lacking in government and international NGO food security interventions but also in CBOs and FBOs food insecurity interventions, because these could not effectively assist the "new poor" due to limited resources. It showed that despite alarming levels of food insecurity among these urban households, little was being done to help them cope with the hardships, as there were few or no social protection mechanisms to increase household resilience. The lack of effective public social protection services in Chingola made the retrenched households more vulnerable to their environment and to any further shock (continued rise in food prices, not finding new jobs) as they could not rely on anybody for temporary help. Therefore, the real burden of poverty and food insecurity in Chingola fell on individual households and their relatives.

Using data presented in the two preceding sections, the next section critically analyses the "everyday lives" of retrenched households. The section establishes if the households were able to use their previous socio-economic status and assets as suggested by the literature in Chapter Two to quickly re-establish their lives and gain upward mobility or if retrenched household recovery is a slow, drawn-out process that leads them closer to or deeper into structural poverty.

6.3. Towards upward mobility or structural poverty?

Looking back at the literature review in Chapter Two, the first line of thought on retrenchment and the “new poor” (Townsend & Gordon 1981: 235; Brockner et al. 1987; 1992; Vinod et al. 1991: 248; Minujin 1995: 159-62; Mone 1994; 1997; Kaye 1998; World Bank 2001: 19 – 20), refers variously to the capacity of the “new poor” to easily re-establish their lives after an economic shock. In looking closely at both the role played by government, NGOs and local stakeholders in addressing the food insecurity of retrenched urban households in Chingola, and the survival mechanisms of the “new poor” in the preceding two sections; is it correct to agree to the first line of thought’s assertions? Can this study say that the food security responses by both stakeholders and households have assisted urban retrenched households to gain upward mobility?

Paying attention to the institutions through which policies are developed and also the interaction of political and economic processes in Chingola; the findings of the study reveal that it was not easy for the retrenched households to attain upward mobility. Firstly, urban food insecurity as shown by literature (Maxwell 1999; Crush & Frayne 2010a; Battersby 2011a; 2011b) is politically an invisible problem in Chingola. Behind the tall buildings, big houses, expensive cars and neatly well-dressed individuals, urban food insecurity remains well hidden that government, international agencies, donors and NGOs barely acknowledge its existence. For example, in section two of this chapter, it was revealed that none of the government programs targeted urban food insecure households. This clearly showed that urban food security is still invisible to institutions and stakeholders.

While occasionally there are sympathetic portrayals of homeless people looking hungry, it is difficult to observe urban food insecurity because it is not as visible as rural food insecurity. This was clearly evident in this study - although the retrenched were experiencing poverty and severe food insecurity many of them were living in big houses they acquired after privatisation. Although some of the “new poor” in Chingola had moved to recognisable low income areas, many remained in middle income neighbourhoods. In addition to living in big houses which many have been forced to modify to make room for small shops or for tenants for additional sources of income, the “new poor” were also generally well dressed. Given this obscuring of poverty through residential location and appearance, it is therefore not

surprising that the “new poor” remained invisible to agencies providing assistance. A few households like Simbaya from 6A, explained that they had in fact tried to seek assistance from government, but were turned down because they looked “posh” as one man said. So the new poor were turned down because their geographic location and cultural patterns differed from those of the old poor or from the decades-old logic of food insecure people.

What this means is that although the new poor are food insecure and genuinely in need and suffering they will for a long time go without assistance because, unlike the old poor or people in rural areas whose poverty can easily be seen, the new poor are generally better educated, well dressed and seem to maintain middle-class social and cultural values. Food insecurity and new poverty as a result “takes place behind closed doors and is hidden” (Kliksberg 2000:105) and for this reason it is easy to lose sight of the sufferings of the “new poor”. Nonetheless, government, international agencies, donors and NGOs should not lose sight of the new poor’s poverty and food insecurity because what this simply means is that the concepts of food insecurity and poverty generally have changed. They are no longer homogenous but now more complex and heterogeneous.

The fact that urban food security and poverty are multidimensional, extraordinarily complex, and difficult to understand entails a need to move away from official definitions when talking about urban centres because these definitions seldom take sufficient account of the cost of non-food needs. In consequence, “poverty thresholds applied to urban populations make inadequate allowance for the costs of transport, rent, water, sanitation, schooling and health services” (UNICEF 2012:3). There is need to combine both the poverty line and basic needs approaches when understanding the problems of urban areas and in administering social protection programmes. It is the only way to help the “new poor” and many others impacted by shocks in urban areas to gain upward mobility. As it stands, it is impossible for the majority of the urban poor households to attain upward mobility.

Despite the clear evidence of poverty and food insecurity in urban areas, its relative invisibility and characteristics have meant that the social construction of poverty and food insecurity as rural issues has remained unchallenged. The construction of poverty and food insecurity as rural issues has political implications, and these negatively affected the retrenched households. The study findings showed that though there were several programmes as shown in Table 6.3, these were, however, in the outskirts or rural parts of

Chingola. For example, as part of its social responsibility programme, KCM had integrated community development programmes in ten rural areas of Chingola and Nampundwe focusing on income generation, personal hygiene, sustainable livelihood and training. According to KCM's report, since the beginning of the project, KCM had "empowered over 120 households in the rural communities of Chingola and Chililabombwe in goat rearing for food security and income generation" (KCM 2012:1). It was surprising to learn that even KCM, an organisation that was aware of the retrenched households' predicament, did not offer any assistance to the households in urban areas, but focussed all its social responsibility effects in rural areas.

The focus of these organisations on rural than urban centres suggest that these organisations strongly believe that the only way to solve food insecurity is by pumping resources into rural food production with the view that this will eventually reduce poverty and food insecurity in the whole country - it seems from their standpoint, the right "fix" for food insecurity in Zambia is through increased small holder agricultural production (Crush & Frayne 2010a). While government, NGOs, KCM and other stakeholders may have good intentions in fighting food insecurity, this approach however is problematic because, though it may in some way benefit urban areas, it does not help to solve urban food insecurity. Urban food insecurity involves not only food supply issues, but also issues of access, prices, environmental hazards and a variety of other factors (Maxwell 1999, Ruel et al. 1999; Crush & Frayne 2010a; Battersby 2011a).

In this regard, government, NGO and donors should not merely focus on increasing food production and the availability of food in the market because production and availability are only two components of food security (Maxwell 1998). Additionally, their focus on rural sections of the country suggests that these organisations have a particular perception of who the poor or food insecure are – the urban food insecure do not fall into this category. Sadly, such perceptions or social construction of poverty and food insecurity constitutes an important aspect of a country's welfare culture. Not only does it shape the national debate on urban poverty but also the design of the social protection programmes, anti-poverty programmes, food security programmes and welfare generally.

Governments and all stakeholders need to recognise therefore, that the poor and food insecure are not only found in rural areas, but are everywhere because several decades of

impoverishment mainly caused by structural adjustment programmes, coupled with the impact of unemployment, reoccurring economic shocks and rapid urbanisation have broken the mould that once confined the poor and food insecure to clearly defined and identifiable geographic areas (Kessler & Di Virgilio 2010). This means that “people can look healthy and live relatively functional lives while still being malnourished” and poor (Battersby 2011a:13). It is also important to keep in mind that with a rise of second hand clothing and inexpensive Chinese clothing on the market (Hansen 2000; Conway & Shah 2010; Davies 2010); it is very possible and easy for the urban poor to look “posh” than “poor” especially that clothing is now part of the social world and it represents a symbol of age, status, geographic location and so on (Hansen 2000).

The thesis thus, argues that there is a problem with the literature which over stresses the capacity of the “new poor” to quickly “bounce back” and re-gain their previous status. It pays inadequate attention to the fact that “new” poverty and urban poverty generally is constrained by and embedded in social, political and economic processes which provide a more difficult environment for upward social mobility or for households to insulate against food insecurity and poverty. Organisations and institutions as seen from this study approach food insecurity and poverty from constructed lines and outward appearance,¹¹¹ thus leaving a significant urban population of the poor and food insecure out of the dialogue. This in turn has a profound influence on how the urban poor and food insecure experience their own poverty or food insecurity and on how they manoeuvre their way out of it.

It is therefore essential to look not only at the capacity of individuals or households to re-establish their lives after various shocks (be it economic or not) but also, as shown by Scheper-Hughes (1993), to look at the role that differential economic and political power play in determining vulnerability of individuals and groups. This is because the causes of food insecurity cannot be viewed as either structural or individual; rather, it is some combination of the two that is at the root of the problem (Greenhalgh 1990). In the case of Chingola and the Copperbelt more generally; looking at the structural environment and

¹¹¹ Rural food insecurity is “a more visible seasonal and community-wide phenomenon” (Maxwell 1999:1940) that is, insecure households can be identified through poor pasture, poor looking environments and bad harvests because many of the rural dwellers dependent on own production (FAO 2010; Oxfam 2012; Taylor 2012). For example, Chileshe (2008) in her study on the impact of TB and HIV on household food security in rural Zambia observed that food insecure households had little or no maize in the *butala* (Grain bin) while food secure households had a lot of maize and other food stuffs.

actions taken by retrenches in trying to build resilience, it therefore becomes very difficult to conclude that the retrenched will easily gain upward mobility.

To begin with, while the “new poor” adopted multiple survival mechanisms as a form of diversification, a large percentage of all actions taken to deal with the crisis was not beneficial, either to the household or to its environment. Firstly, in many cases the strategies and tactics used by the “new poor” were harmful towards children. Taking children out of school, for example, can limit the future earning potential of children, making it more difficult for them to move out of poverty as adults (UNICEF 2009). In addition, engaging children in dangerous tactics, such as illegal mining, places them at great risk especially that police are constantly hunting for perpetrators. While adults can easily get away, children are usually caught and punished. For instance, in 2010 (at the time of fieldwork) KCM officials and the police raided illegal mining activities in one of the dumpsites and they found many men, women and children digging. While the men and women managed to run away from the police, the children could not, and when journalists interviewed some of these children, one journalist, Chansa from the Post Newspaper reported:

“Ordinarily, one would expect such a young boy (13- year- old) to be in school, trying to lay a good foundation for his future, but alas, selfish individuals are using him as a money spinner at great risk. This boy goes out with grown-ups to try and collect as much ore as possible from the mine dumps...It is clear that the boy has already been initiated into the business of telling lies. When he was asked to say his name, the young boy mentioned three names in a space of two minutes and it became hard to know which one amongst the three was really his name.” (Chansa 2010:3)

This shows that some of these actions are harmful towards children and may in the long run build up a vicious cycle of poverty in the affected households which in turn might affect the country’s future economic growth and human development. In short, it shows that some of the household survival actions cannot bring about upward mobility but simply push households more towards structural poverty. The material from Chingola thus demonstrates that, in the face of a recession, the capacity of the “new poor” to quickly escape poverty and food insecurity (using their capital assets) is far more complex than reported in the literature. This is because actions such as getting involved in illegal activities, reducing basic food intake to minimal levels, distress migration or cutting back on health services; simply erode

the capacity of households to build resilience to food insecurity or to protect themselves from future shocks and thus pushing them further towards structural poverty.

Therefore, the poor can exercise agency but this agency has to work hand in hand with social protection services from the government and stakeholders. While the “new poor” exercised agency and actually took advantage of opportunities by making the most of what was available to them within and outside Chingola (i.e. making use of rural resources) through logics of survival that de Certeau (1984) explains as tactic, only a few (7%) attained upward mobility. For the 7% that had attained upward mobility, a door may have opened but considering that there is very little support from government during times of crises, it could ultimately prove to be a revolving door (Batty & Cole 2010). The majority of the “new poor” on the other hand, continue to struggle to make ends meet. Even after exercising agency by seeking out economic opportunities (trading and various business ventures) they failed to cope with retrenchment but simply managed to get by. This is because their environment circumscribed them into survival entrepreneurs. As survival entrepreneurs, they failed to specialise. For example, they engaged in business or agriculture not to the point where it would afford them a full living but just to earn enough to buy food. This was due to several constraints in their environment such as limited capital base and too much competition especially from foreign competitors. Consequently, the profits earned were not enough to warrant upward mobility but just to help the household get by.

The retrenchment literature therefore tends to idealise the private coping capacity of the “new poor” by focusing only on the innate characteristics and personal resources of the “new poor”, and forgets completely about the social, economic, political and spatial settings they inhabit. Unfortunately, idealising the private coping capacity of the new poor to effectively deal with economic shocks by the literature depoliticizes and “shifts responsibility for dealing with crises away from those in power” (Harrison 2012: 2-4). In a setting such as Chingola, an injection of capital for instance, by those in power in the form of a micro-credit loan or any form of social protection to the affected households could have been welcome, for these “new poor”, especially at the lowest point in their lives, it would have certainly helped get them back on their feet.

With regard to the above, this thesis argues that effective strategies during an economic shock (either among “old poor” or “new poor” households) are a process – the product of the on-

going interaction between the individual and their social, political, economic and physical environment (McKenzie 2003; Harrison 2012). Therefore, by utilising de Certeau's distinction between strategies and tactics and making use of the political economic theory, the thesis in contrast to the retrenchment literature (first line of thought), made an attempt to unpack some of the social, political, economic and physical factors in Chingola and Zambia generally that provide either a more fertile or a more difficult environment for urban households. What the overall chapter reveals is that because of the severity of economic shocks (covariate shocks), and also because of the ways in which socio-economic and political structures operate in many developing countries such as Zambia, households - new or old poor - find it very difficult to survive shocks and are pushed more into food insecurity and poverty because strategies employed during idiosyncratic shocks might not work during times of severe economic shocks such as the 2009 economic crisis.

The principle summary of this chapter then is that, in the context of accumulating urban risks and inadequate formal institutions to manage the risks, middle class households are like the old poor, equally vulnerable to food insecurity and poverty in the event of economic shocks. Interestingly though, when the food security of urban households is threatened, the households exercise agency and are usually diverse and dynamic as they draw on an array of tactics and strategies to help build resilience to food insecurity. It is unfortunate that strategies are usually not supported by government and government policies often seem to hinder the progress of the poor urban households e.g. the example of Chinese chicken traders in this Chapter, section one. Thus, economic shocks (covariate shocks) may, as experienced by the new poor in Chingola, cast a household into a downward spiral causing food insecurity and poverty irrespective of a household's initial asset endowments (Shoji 2008; Sawada et al. 2011). Furthermore, apart from limitations imposed by covariate shocks, new poverty in Zambia is constrained by and embedded in social, political and economic processes which provide a more difficult environment for upward social mobility or for households to insulate against food insecurity and poverty. As a result, though exercising agency and employing different tactics and strategies to survive, the majority of the "new poor" in Chingola do not cope, but rather "get by" on a day-to-day basis and are likely to be pushed deeper into poverty and food insecurity than upward mobility because some of the tactics employed have large negative effects upon the life prospects of those involved.

Despite the hardships and problems identified, when taken together, the chapter also provides a ray of hope. The ability to take advantage of and to make use of social situations skillfully by some households shows that urban households are optimistic and have an impetus to take positive steps towards achieving household food security. Tapping this potential would greatly help reduce urban household food insecurity and poverty.

6.4. Conclusion

This chapter set out to examine the strategies that urban households in Chingola use to cope with after-crisis economic hardships and also to examine the role of government, NGOs, CBOs, FBOs and local stakeholders in addressing food insecurity. It assessed the extent to which the “new poor” were able to use their previous socio-economic status and capital assets to establish their lives. The evidence presented in this chapter points to a number of findings that are central to building a better understanding of the nature of food insecurity in urban areas, and more specifically how the “new poor” position themselves and tackle food insecurity as they grapple with retrenchment in the context of rapid urbanisation, increasing urban poverty and high food prices. Firstly, the findings revealed that despite the alarming levels of food insecurity and poverty in Chingola, little has been done to help the retrenched urban households increase their resilience to food insecurity. Survey data from Chingola revealed that while the new poor experienced poverty and food insecurity due to the economic crisis, there were no food security programmes or social protection services that had been developed to alleviate the plight of the poor in general, or the retrenched households in particular. Although Chingola has a number of food security projects run by government, NGOs and KCM, none of these projects were being implemented in urban Chingola, but were rather found in the rural areas of Chingola with little or no help to the urban poor.

Secondly, the chapter has clearly shown that though the “new poor” were seriously affected by the economic crisis and faced many difficulties (lack of jobs, inadequate formal social protection regimes, limited incomes, limited business skills, etc.) and were located in an environment that limited their choices and ability to fully strategize, they were not simply “helpless victims,” but active beings willing to exercise agency (*ukukalabana*). Through exercise of agency, they managed to negotiate for themselves new forms of lifestyles within the limits of their capabilities and draw on an array of 29 tactics and strategies to generate resources for food and other obligatory urban expenses. Thirdly, though the households

exercised agency and possessed capital assets it was not easy for them to regain their previous status because of two issues. The first is that because the households were affected by a covariate shock many of the survival mechanisms used could not work. For example, the households tried to increase labour supply by seeking employment but this strategy was unsuccessful because a covariate shock leads to weak labour demand.

The second issue is that household food insecurity and poverty, both in Chingola and elsewhere in southern Africa, is constrained by and embedded in social, economic and political processes that make it particularly difficult for households to tackle food insecurity. For example, apart from not benefiting from food security programmes by NGOs or KCM, households found it difficult to access formal credit which could have provided substantial capital for an effective business. In addition to the failure to secure financial capital for their business ventures, households also faced problems such as restrictions against street peddling as well as competition from foreigners who were clearly better positioned in the market. Therefore, the political, social and economic institutional context is critical to household food security since it is this context that either hinders or heightens food security.

Fourthly, the chapter has demonstrated that in response to the two crises, a significant proportion of the “new poor” survived by engaging in informal sector activities. They also engaged in food production, used their social networks to survive and resorted to altering the composition of their consumption in both essential (food) and non-essential (other) items. Also interesting to note is that the “new poor”, through their networks, also relied on their linkages with the rural areas to get access to food for urban survival. Further, the chapter also showed that in an attempt to escape food insecurity and poverty, the “new poor” were also involved in illegal activities such as illegal mining, prostitution and theft. Finally, although some of the strategies and tactics employed by the “new poor” to deal with the economic crisis are destructive and could gravely harm future generations, a few showed the ability of the urban dwellers to provide for themselves and their families. The actions taken by the “new poor” also attest to the fact that when urban households are faced with shocks which put their entitlement to food at recurrent risk, they are not passive but dynamic beings who are actively involved in the fight against food insecurity and poverty. Policy-makers and donors can tap the qualities of “new poor” such as the zeal and the stimulated creative agency for survival, as a stepping stone to tackling urban food insecurity in the area. Having established how economic shocks impact on retrenched urban households and the ways in

which the retrenched respond to shocks in an urban context characterised by poverty, unemployment, poor infrastructure, lack of social services and limited assistance for government, the next chapter, Chapter Seven provides a comprehensive conclusion to the thesis.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND AVENUES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

7.0. Introduction

This chapter gives the conclusion of the entire research thesis and a discussion on how the results of the study, both empirically and conceptually, contribute to urban development and more specifically to studies in the emerging field of urban food security, and also to retrenchment literature.

7.1. Summary and conclusion

The point of departure for this study has been a search for an understanding of the impact of the economic crisis on the food security of households in urban areas. It set out to understand and explore how once middle class households in urban areas build resilience to food insecurity as they grapple with economic shocks (specifically retrenchment) in the context of increasing urban poverty and high food prices. The central thesis for the study was that, due to the rising pattern of urban risk it is not only the rural or structural urban poor that are vulnerable to food insecurity but middle class urban households too. In developing countries where there are rapidly urbanising populations, where city infrastructure is weak and, where formal institutional capacity to manage urban risk is severely constrained, it is not only the “old poor” or the “poorest of the poor,” who carry the burden of protecting themselves from food insecurity and economic shocks such as the global economic crisis and high food prices, but also previously middle class households.

A review of the literature (Chapter Two) in the area of poverty, food security and job retrenchment showed that there is a dearth of descriptive material about urban households’ lived experiences of poverty, food insecurity and retrenchment. While there have been studies done on poverty and food insecurity, the studies are disproportionately biased towards the lived experiences and survival strategies of rural households. In-depth, long-term studies that examine how urban households respond to economic shocks; and specifically how urban residents build resilience to food insecurity in the event of retrenchment, have not been carried out. Further, no study pays attention to food issues of the “new poor.” The literature

also showed according to Maxwell (1998), that the lack of attention to urban food security stems largely from three reasons. One of the reasons is that because of limited budgets, cities tend to prioritise “more urgently visible problems” of unemployment, deteriorating infrastructure related to housing/water, and all those visible service delivery issues while downplaying food security and leaving it off the agenda (1998: 3). Another reason is that urban food insecurity is rendered invisible by the way it manifests. The last reason is that for many decades “development theory has suggested that food insecurity and poverty in general are rural problems, not urban problems” (Maxwell 1998:5). Consequently, food issues are generally regarded as rural issues.

However, whilst food insecurity has been considered to be a predominantly rural problem, some emerging data (Frayne & Pendleton 2009; Crush & Frayne 2010a; Battersby 2011a) show that the incidence of food insecurity (as measured by food-energy deficiency) in urban areas is the same as or higher than in the rural areas, even though urban areas on average have higher incomes. For example, in Zambia and India the incidence of food insecurity is the same in both rural and urban areas, while countries like Ethiopia, Malawi, Senegal, South Africa, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Pakistan and Laos have higher incidences of food insecurity in urban than rural areas (Ahmed et al. 2007).

Therefore, this study argues that the food insecurity of urban dwellers cannot be wished away or continue to be ignored as lack of focus on household food security can lead to dire consequences. USAID (2005), for example, shows that individual or household food insecurity leads to serious effects on the health status of a country’s population. It can also lead to a sharp increase in infant and child mortality and a fall in economic productivity as working families lack the strength and energy needed for productive labour. Understanding the food security of urban dwellers is therefore important. The problem, however, is that “very little is actually known about the food security of the urban poor” (Crush & Frayne 2010a: 9). The focus of this study is therefore important as the results fill a gap by providing a better understanding of the depth and dynamics of urban food security in the context of a developing country.

The review of retrenchment literature also showed an anti-urban bias, similar to that found in food security and poverty literature. Although research on the consequences of retrenchment is very limited, emerging literature on the subject revolves around two arguments. The first

argument which resonates with the urban bias theories argues that the retrenched might not be vulnerable to poverty because they have acquired capital assets to fall back on and therefore are not necessarily vulnerable to food insecurity. The basic premise behind this argument is that most of the retrenched individuals live in urban areas which are considered to be areas of abundant opportunities. Retrenched workers are therefore envisaged to have the prospect of finding other employment.

In contrast, the second line of line of thought (Snyman 1983; Ferguson 1999; Ngonini 2001; Waddington et al 2001; Strully 2006) in line with this study, argues that within the context of rising urban risk (climate change, economic shocks), rapid urbanization and rising urban poverty which characterizes much of sub-Saharan Africa, the retrenched are vulnerable to both poverty and food insecurity. The premise behind this argument is that when households are affected by a covariate/aggregate shock, it causes serious deterioration of household welfare.

In summary, the literature revealed that, firstly, urban food security is poorly researched and documented in the southern African context. Urban household food security and urban poverty have largely been ignored and perceived as issues of rural areas. Yet, food insecurity is likely to translate over time into clearly detrimental effects on household wellbeing - adult and child malnutrition (Gillespie 2008). The United Nations for example reports that food insecurity is “in fact the number one risk to the health world - greater than AIDS, malaria and tuberculosis combined” (WFP 2009: 1). Hence having a deeper and better understanding of urban food security is particularly important. Secondly, the review of literature also showed that there is a dearth of literature on the victims of retrenchment - limited literature that examines the lives of urban dwellers that are retrenched and the hardships they face. Thirdly, all retrenchment literature fall short on details about household food security issues. Lastly, both literature on retrenchment and food security pay no particular attention to the “new poor”. These are all areas in need of examination.

In relation to the research gaps identified, this study set out to make a contribution firstly to literature on urban food security, which remains poorly researched and documented. Secondly, by giving specific attention to middle income households’ food security in the context of widespread economic shocks, the study adds a new dimension to the food security literature as it departed from the more traditional focus on the “old poor.” Thirdly, by

examining food security through a mixed method approach the study provides the methodological means to evaluate food security especially with regard to shocks in an urban context. Much of the research and methods on food security have been employed in the rural areas and are less frequently used to assess the food insecurities of urban dwellers this thesis therefore may provide a guide to researchers on how to assess food insecurity among urban dwellers. Fourthly, the study also contributes to the debate on retrenchment literature by providing new information, for example, on how urban dwellers deal with shocks and the mechanisms used to help them survive in a globalised environment. Lastly, the study contributes to literature on the livelihoods of Copperbelt residents as very few scholars have explored the lives of the residents since the implementation of SAP and the subsequent economic decline in the area.

To fill the identified gaps in the literature, the study focused on three main questions:

- i. What is the food security status of retrenched urban households - are there differentiated intra-household impacts of retrenchments in relation to food?
- ii. When faced with economic shocks what coping strategies are employed by urban retrenched households to meet their food needs?
- iii. What role do the government, NGOs and residents play in addressing urban food insecurity?

To answer these questions, intensive field work (Chapter Four) was undertaken which involved both qualitative (participant observations, in-depth interviews and focus group discussions) and quantitative (survey) methods. The findings of the study showed in Chapter Five, that middle class households were severely affected by the economic crisis through retrenchment and a consequent cut in their incomes.

7.1.1. Summary of findings

Firstly, due to retrenchment, all the 215 respondents lost their steady income the day they were retrenched. In addition to lack of income, some of the households, who had existing bank loans, received no severance payment at all. The impact of the total loss of income was exacerbated by the fact that the large majority of sample respondents had been unable to obtain another job since having been retrenched. At the time the study was conducted, 83% still had no formal employment and were seeking jobs and only 17% had found new formal

jobs. These factors caused a clear deterioration in the welfare of retrenched households and moved them into poverty. Results from the Lived Poverty Index (LPI) survey that was administered in both retrenched households and working households also indicates that the living conditions of the retrenched households had deteriorated compared to those of the working households. The majority of retrenched households could not pay for their basic needs such as water, electricity, education and food.

Secondly, food security of the retrenched households was certainly compromised by the economic crisis as both qualitative and quantitative data showed substantial household food insecurity, with over 80% of households being uncertain or insecure about their food (Chapter Five). The findings showed that 7.4% of the households were categorised as food secure, 4.2% as mildly food insecure, 19.1% as moderately food insecure and 69.3% as severely food insecure. The severity of food insecurity in retrenched households reflected not only in the prevalence but also in the poor range of foods consumed by retrenched household. HDDS survey results showed that retrenched households were consuming a limited number of foods as no household reported consuming all 12 food types that were investigated. The retrenched households consumed only a mean of nearly 4 (3.9) food groups. This means that retrenched households had very basic diets which mainly consisted of cereals and leafy vegetables or simply tubers. Food security as measured by months of adequate food provisioning was also in general quite low; only 15% of respondents indicated no months in which it was difficult to obtain food for the household. The rest of the retrenched households explained that they had difficulties accessing food throughout the year. Another interesting phenomenon in the study was that whatever a household's priority of expenditure; whether education, food or health, most of the retrenched households did not manage to provide adequately all the basic needs of the family. In short most of the retrenched households could not juggle urban expenses (education, water, electricity, and health) and adequately provide food for the household at the same time. Consequently, they were pushed into food insecurity.

The thirdly (Chapter Six) and a compounding factor to the above findings, is that despite the severe repercussions of the economic crisis on households, in the way of- alarming levels of food insecurity and poverty - the response by government, NGOs and stakeholders has been marginal. There were limited social protection services to assist urban households increase resilience to food insecurity. The study findings showed that while there were several food

security programmes in the Chingola area, the majority of these were in the rural parts of the town. This study's findings thus reveal that urban food insecurity is still politically an invisible problem. Fourthly, while government is making efforts to fight food insecurity and poverty they seem to be directing more resources in rural agricultural production. In short they focussed more on availability and not so much on access.

Fifthly, SAPs and the subsequent withdrawal of the mines from welfare provision has radically altered people's well-being and contributed to high levels of poverty and food insecurity on the Copperbelt. Mining in Zambia has been a major contributor to the country's foreign exchange earnings, but mineral price instability has constrained efforts of political leaders to extract attractive concessions from multinational corporations. Thus revenue from copper mining is externalized and consequently makes a minimal contribution to the local economy and to the benefit of ordinary citizens. One lesson that can be drawn from this particular finding is that dependency on minerals may have seriously distorting effects on economies and local residents. This is because,

“Minerals are wasting assets and their exhaustion may leave huge social and environmental problems, including urban unemployment and rural impoverishment, as well as toxic dumps and polluted water supplies. All too often the governments, and the corporations that benefit from their exploitation, fail to make compensatory social welfare provisions or to invest the profits locally” (Macmillan 2012: 548).

Sixthly, (Chapter Six), the results also showed that retrenched food insecure households were not just passive victims of the crisis or urban problems but active agents who creatively exercise agency and employ different tactics and strategies to help them survive and build resilience to food insecurity. The retrenched households drew on a portfolio of close to 30 strategies and tactics to deal with the crisis. Some of the tactics and strategies include informal trading, borrowing, subletting part of their house or the whole house, illegal mining, prostitution, dietary adjustment and expenditure reduction, own food production and use of social networks such as friends and family to survive. Unfortunately, though employing a wide range of survival strategies and tactics most of the households failed to attain upward mobility but rather moved closer to structural poverty as their survival mechanisms could not work during covariate shock.

Seventhly, apart from limitations imposed by covariate shocks, the retrenched were constrained by social, political and economic processes which provided a more difficult environment (lack of social protection or formal loans) for upward social mobility or for households to insulate against food insecurity and poverty. In Zambia, as shown, freeing the market has almost come to mean opening it up to external rather than local participation and this has serious implications for local traders, who fail to comfortably secure positions in the competitive market. Their competitors, as shown in Chapter Six, usually have more resources and tend to strategize and specialize as cited in the case of the Chinese selling chickens on the Zambian market.

What this study has shown is that in the context of rapid urbanisation, economic shocks, increasing urban poverty and high food prices, it is certainly possible for urban middle class households to become vulnerable to food insecurity and poverty. Hence, the findings of this study contribute significantly to knowledge both in the emerging field of urban food security and in economic retrenchment and more generally in urban development especially as few scholars pay attention to victims of retrenchment or to urban household food security. The results of the study provide a deeper and better understanding about poverty and food security in cities, but most importantly, the study helps to reassess basic assumptions in urban development: about food security; what poverty means in the contemporary world; the structural position of the poor in a developing country and global world; the relevance of social protection programmes; the usefulness of the household as a unit of analysis; the utility of the political economy approach; and mixed method approach in understanding complex lives in urban areas. The study will briefly elaborate on some of these contributions in the following section. The next section provides government, local Zambians, local and global institutions, social scientists and more specifically anthropologists a chance to critically reassess their understanding of poverty and food insecurity; as well as determine their roles in urban development and in the alleviation of food insecurity and urban poverty.

7.2. Some contributions to Zambia

Findings from Chingola bring to light a number of critical insights which have implications for residents on the Copperbelt and more generally for Zambia's development and poverty reduction. Firstly, it is evident that the dramatic decline in living standards from the 1980s to the present day has had a negative impact on the lives of the urban residents. This can be seen

by the high levels of food insecurity among the retrenched. The study has shown that while food insecurity of retrenched households can be said to have come about due to retrenchments resulting from the economic crisis, the overall increase in high levels of poverty and food insecurity on the Copperbelt are products of larger historical, political and economic movements and are embedded in structures and processes of power (both local and global). People on the Copperbelt, for example, remain at least partially dependent on the price of copper “the value of which soars and plummets as a result of forces beyond their control” (Fraser 2010:1). What this means then, is that there is need to start thinking about the Copperbelt not only as an extractive locale for copper but also as a place where residents engage with the reality of losing jobs, and also struggle to earn a living (Mususa 2010:572). This thesis does not argue that structural poverty should be forgotten or that the new poor need more assistance or attention than the structural poor. The argument here is simply to highlight the changes that are taking place in urban Copperbelt and to show that these changes are unfortunately contributing to the vulnerability of residents. Though “boom and bust” cycles might be familiar to Copperbelt residents, they now occur under totally different circumstances as Fraser clearly shows:

“Though price fluctuations might be familiar, they now occur in a deinstitutionalised and depoliticised context. The ideological frameworks that helped previous generations make sense of an unstable world no longer exist or are no longer active. Zambia’s famous trade unions are shadows of their former selves, and the tribal authorities, political parties, and government agencies that framed life on the Copperbelt have lost their vital connections with society. We are left with a chaotic context in which investors arrive one year, making grand announcements about returning ghost towns to their former glories, and leave the next, in which populist political entrepreneurs forward radical new agendas, only to U-turn six months later.....” (Fraser 2010:3)

The chaotic context outlined by Fraser and many other circumstances outlined in this thesis have laid bare the acute vulnerability of the urban dwellers to food insecurity and poverty and more importantly to the slightest additional shock such as economic crises. Secondly, and related to the first, is that in understanding the struggles of the Copperbelt residents and in order to reduce poverty there is a need to fully understand and reduce food insecurity. Though urban poverty, leads to urban food insecurity and is much broader than food security, the thesis proposes that a food security lens is a valuable tool to track and reduce poverty.

This, as explained in Chapter Two, and Chapter Five, is because hunger is central to people's experiences of poverty. Results in Chapter Five clearly demonstrate that local poverty is defined in terms of hunger.

Further, food security captures a dimension of material well-being not captured by other indicators of poverty or low income (Hoddinott & Yohannes 2002). Income-based measures tell very little about the sufficiency of incomes relative to household needs. For example, they do not account for income variation over a period of time, nor do they capture a lack of access to resources to counter unexpected expenses. Relative to other household expenses like rent and utility bills, food expenditure is flexible, meaning that in times of financial stress, food spending is one of the first things to be compromised (Crush & Frayne 2010; Friedman et al. 2011; D'Souza & Jolliffe 2012). This is why household food insecurity is a good indicator of a household's financial well-being. It takes into account security, stability, and sufficiency of income, whereas income-based measures do not (Hoddinott & Yohannes 2002; Tacoli et al. 2013).

In addition, and as stressed throughout the thesis, food is critical for survival and so a lack of food security points to the deeper social ills people struggle to contain. When people cannot get enough to eat because they do not have the resources, not only does physical health decline, but so does mental health and wellbeing, people's ability to engage with others, to participate in work or recreation, and more generally their ability to function in a healthy way also decline (Gillespie 2008; Centres for Disease Control and Prevention 2011; Global monitoring report 2012). It is the more reason that this thesis strongly argues that urban household food insecurity should be given attention.

In relation to the study findings, the thesis also proposes that Zambia needs policies that specifically address urban food security. Firstly, logically income security is crucial to food security for urban dwellers. Government should therefore aim to create more urban employment opportunities. Policies should move beyond the quality of current jobs being experienced in Zambia "where the workforce explodes in violent protest on a relatively frequent basis but with little apparent long - term effects" (Fraser 2010:3) and concentrate on creating jobs that are higher paying and more secure. Secondly, the study has shown that in the absence of viable formal employment opportunities, the informal sector has become the major survival mechanism for a large portion of the urban population.

Therefore, policies are needed that recognize the importance of this sector i.e. remove the bureaucratic impediments surrounding the issuance of vending licenses. In addition, policy makers need to bear in mind that the informal traders need to be allocated specific places to trade so that battles with city authorities are reduced. Thirdly, while retrenched individuals are offered entrepreneurship and skills training services most of them tend not to use them because of lack of capital. In that regard, capital in the form of micro-credit loans should be provided to retrenched individuals to help them start businesses so that they can live a decent life.

Apart from the above recommendations, in order to reduce food security and poverty in any country, policy makers involved in improving food security and livelihoods must go beyond a focus on urban or rural settings and aim to link the two. The study has revealed that during a crisis, for survival, the rural and the urban population depend on each other. Fifthly, own food production as shown in chapter six was another important strategy employed by the retrenched households. Urban planners and local governments should consider how to incorporate environmentally sound urban agriculture in their plans. Just like rural farmers, urban farmers also need access to agricultural extension services as well as credit facilities to enable them to farm more productively, either in their backyards or on larger plots (*Kumabala*). Lastly, there is a clear need for social protection programmes in Zambia to reduce or manage the risks that urban households face. Effective food security policies and social protection mechanisms have to be in place before crises strike (Davies & McGregor 2009; Oduro 2010). Thus, there is need for a permanent system for crisis management. Rather than introducing interventions in a rush in the midst of a crisis which end up being administered very late and unequally, policy makers can plan and prepare long term interventions by learning from previous crises. More specifically development interventions should aim to use the existing household capacities and strategies to reduce both poverty and food insecurity.

These points apply equally to KCM and many other institutions operating in urban centres because, as the FAO's Director-General, Dr. Jacques Diouf argues, "The challenge of food security can only be resolved through a global partnership involving national, international, public, private and voluntary sectors" (see http://www.fao.org/tc/private/index_en.asp). In the same vein the United Nations also urges the private sector to take part in fighting food insecurity when they state "while government leadership is crucial for addressing the

implications of the food crisis, business also has a vital role to play in partnership with others to develop and implement innovative responses” (UN 2008:5). Thus, the thesis argues that government and all international and local NGOs, donors and private companies such as KCM should pay more attention to urban Chingola where multiple retrenchments and the recent economic crisis have pushed households into poverty and food insecurity. And most importantly, they should pay attention to the fact that food insecurity in urban Chingola will not simply disappear by increasing food production, because most of the poor in the city lack the economic resources to ensure access to food.

7.3. Contribution to literature and implications for urban development

What might be learnt from the stories and experiences of retrenched households shared in this study? And what do the insights that can be gained from the hurdles faced by the retrenched households (confronted by an economic shock) have to offer academicians and those social scientists working in urban development who seek to understand and alleviate food insecurity and urban poverty? The narratives of the households force social scientists to examine basic assumptions in urban development. Firstly, in 1998, Maxwell observed that “for many decades development theory has suggested that food insecurity and poverty are predominantly rural problems” (Maxwell 1998:5) and unfortunately it is sad to note that at present, period government and donors seem to still have this misconception. As demonstrated in Chapter Six, government, private institutions and donors seem to have a misconception that food insecurity and poverty are predominantly rural. However, as clearly shown through the lived experiences of retrenched urban households, the assumption that food insecurity is mainly a rural issue is simply false. Urban food insecurity and poverty as demonstrated by this study are very real and affect not only rural populations but urban populations as well. This is because SAPs policies as argued by Maxwell (1998:7) and as shown by this study have reversed many of the factors believed to have given urban populations an economic and political advantage in the 1970s and 1980s. Due to SAPs, urban economies have declined significantly leading to increases in poverty and food insecurity.

Hence, it should be noted that SAPs, an increase in urban poverty and rapid urbanisation have laid bare the acute vulnerability of the urban dwellers to the slightest addition shock such as economic shocks or high food prices. Therefore, while poverty and food insecurity have been

viewed as predominantly rural; this study by recording the lived experiences of urban dwellers, helps to make a contribution to urban food security, by showing that the locus of poverty and food insecurity is shifting to the urban areas. Secondly, a careful analysis of the lived experiences of the retrenched households also helps to highlight the fact that food insecurity in urban areas is not necessarily caused by shortage of food. Thus the assumption by government and donors, as shown in Chapter Six that the right “fix” for food insecurity in the country is increased small-holder agricultural production (Crush & Frayne 2010a) will not help much in alleviating food insecurity. What this study reveals therefore, and as advanced by literature (Ruel et al. 1998; Maxwell 1998; Crush & Frayne 2010), is that urban food insecurity involves not only food supply issues, but also issues of access, prices, environmental hazards and a variety of other factors (Maxwell 1999, Ruel et al. 1999; Crush & Frayne 2010a; Battersby 2011a). Hence, the theory that has been advanced in this study is that the causes of food insecurity as well as poverty in urban areas involve a wide range of factors.

As clearly articulated in Chapters Five and Six, apart from economic issues, urban households are pushed into poverty and food insecurity because of factors such as social fragmentation (lack of social networks and social protection systems by government and other stakeholders in communities), as seen in the case of Mumbi in household 1A – he lost his networks after he moved from a high to a low density area. Poverty and food insecurity in urban areas also include physical factors (exposure to shocks, exposure to multiple pollutants, lack of basic services such as clean water and education) and psychological factors (shock, fear and anxiety) as evidenced in this study. In relation to urban development then, there is a need for social scientists to understand the causes and dynamics of urban food security fully because they cannot simply transfer conceptual frameworks, food insecurity alleviation strategies and programmes from rural to urban centres (Ruel et al. 1998). Although complex social phenomena rarely have simple causes, one of the real benefits of social science is that it forces us scholars to consider complexity because the field has an array of methods that can help to unpack this complexity.

The third contribution of this study to literature is to do with retrenchment literature. Looking closely the lives of urban dwellers faced with an economic crisis (the retrenched households), and what happens as the affected households seek to get on and get by with their lives, it can be seen that, in the face of a recession, the capacity of the “new poor” to escape poverty and

food insecurity quickly (using their capital assets) is far more complex than suggested by the first line of thought. The first line of thought in the literature review (Townsend & Gordon 1981; Brockner et al. 1987; 1992; Vinod et al. 1991; Minujin 1995; Mone 1994; 1997; Kaye 1998; World Bank 2001) suggested that the retrenched were not necessarily vulnerable to food security and poverty in the sense that they had been working for some time and acquired capital assets that they could easily fall back on.

By contrast, this study has helped to advance the argument of the second line of thought that argues that the retrenched are vulnerable to poverty and food. Like the studies done by Furtado (1984), Mills & Sahn (1996), Howell & Kambhamhati (1999), and many others (Martin & Wallace 1984; Weber & Campbell 1997; Hanisch 1999; Mitlin 2000; Waters 2000), this study demonstrated that it takes a long time for the retrenched to find a job and when they find new jobs, the total earnings fall by over half of what they used to earn in their previous jobs. This leads to poverty. Like the second line of thought, this study showed that retrenchment leads to poverty: due to a loss of income, 88 % of retrenched failed to juggle food security and other basic needs such as education for their children, health services, water and electricity. Further, the study also demonstrated that apart from an economic struggle to survive, retrenched individuals and their households also face physical, emotional, social problems such as shocks, fear, loss of dignity, loss of social networks and may engage in forms of crime like prostitution and illegal mining. These findings resonate with Ferguson's (1999), Ngonini's (2001) and Snyman's (1983) findings.

However, by focusing on the food security issues of people that are retrenched, this study adds a layer of analysis absent in the existing work on retrenchment. The study advanced the debate on retrenchment by providing new information, for example, on the food security status of retrenched households and also on the strategies used by retrenched households to build resilience to food insecurity. The study also demonstrated that new poverty resulting from an economic shock such as retrenchment is constrained by and embedded in social, political economic processes which provide a more difficult environment for households to insulate against food insecurity and poverty. Therefore in advancing the retrenchment debate, the study shows that overemphasis by the first line of thought on the capacity of the "new poor" to reshape their lives easily (using their assets) underestimates the severity of covariate shocks or the ways in which socio-economic and political structures constrain the livelihood options of the retrenched households.

Lastly, and using political economy theory, and asset vulnerability framework, this study confirms and provides nuance to the argument that food insecurity, poverty and retrenchment are strongly linked to an accumulation of contemporary and historical social, political and economic processes that have increased over time the vulnerability of urban dwellers and reduced their resilience to shocks (Baro & Deubel 2006). Accordingly, to understand and alleviate urban poverty, social scientists must not simply focus on a single factor. The focus should therefore be on both the innate characteristics and personal resources of the urban poor, and the social, economic, political and spatial settings they inhabit (Lister 2004; Batty & Cole 2010). Emphasising these elements will help social scientists to have a better understanding of poverty, food insecurity and retrenchment, and also the coping strategies used by poor urban households and the reasons behind the strategies employed. This is because the complex relationship between structure and agency is an important aspect of urban households' survival mechanisms as was elaborated in Chapter Six.

Furthermore, in trying to understand food insecurity, poverty and the challenges of retrenchments in urban areas, this study re-emphasised the need for social scientists to reassess basic assumptions about where poverty and food insecurity are situated in the city. The study showed that in urban settings, poverty and food insecurity are no longer confined to certain geographical spaces. The theory advanced throughout the thesis has been that urban centres have increasingly over the years become unsafe places and as clearly described by Sociologists like Giddens (1991) and Beck (1992), the contemporary world is in fact a 'risk society', where insecurities are not only great in magnitude with pervasive impacts¹¹² but are increasingly managed by individuals alone as traditional institutional arrangements are unsettled. Thus anyone and everyone is vulnerable to food insecurity and poverty. Evidence from this study also shows that, poverty and food insecurity are no longer confined to the shanty compounds or slums but are more widespread and can be found in the affluent sections of the city. As stated in Chapter Six, several decades of impoverishment mainly

¹¹² Risks have been part of every era; however, in earlier times the main sources of risks were acts of God or nature (earthquakes, plagues, pestilence, diseases, etc.). Blame for these risks lay outside of society. In contrast, modern risks are characterized not only by nature but also by acts of society or reflections of human actions and omissions. They depend on decisions-political, economic, social, and organizational ones. Further modern risks are of a different type than those faced in earlier times in that they are no longer limited socially (they can potentially affect all social classes) and physically (they cross political and geographical boundaries), they are greater in magnitude and have more pervasive impacts¹¹² (For details, see Giddens 1991; 1992; Beck 1992).

caused by SAPs, coupled with the impact of unemployment, reoccurring economic shocks and rapid urbanisation have broken the mould that once confined the poor and food insecure to clearly defined and identifiable geographic areas (Kessler & Di Virgilio 2010). Thus poverty and food insecurity in Chingola is everywhere and this implies that social scientists should not restrict their research to slums or to the structural poor because food insecurity and poverty are now more complex and dynamic than before. Acknowledging this fact is a significant step both in clarifying and understanding the nature of urban poverty and food insecurity in general; and in identifying specific ways of alleviating them.

7.4. Recommendations for further research

Further research is required to confirm and explore the findings of this study. In fact, more research on the victims of retrenchment in general is needed, especially concerning households pushed into poverty (the “new poor”) who fail to find new jobs and do not receive social protection services. Survivors of retrenchment are studied more often because they are easily available to researchers through retrenching organisation administrative data and also because of funding from retrenching organisations. Researchers pay less attention to victims of retrenchment – their struggles and survival mechanisms are not well understood, particularly in the Southern African context. In short, victims of retrenchment and more specifically the “new poor” are often missing in social science research, and when they are the focus of inquiry, the emphasis is limited to economic issues. Thus, an in-depth analysis is still needed in other towns and cities of Zambia in order to find out whether the trends and practises observed in Chingola are common to other urban centres, as well as the extent to which they can be generalized to the rest of Southern Africa.

In addition, most research on understanding the impact of economic shocks on urban households and how they respond to economic shocks, including food insecurity, is cross-sectional. Longitudinal data that traces the lives of affected households, especially of the “new poor” are needed. Longitudinal research will capture and document if the state of poverty and food insecurity observed in the affected households in this study eventually diminishes, allowing households to gain upward mobility or if households simply fall even deeper into poverty. This is important because understanding the impacts of economic shocks on urban households is very complex as many of the effects are likely to be considerably lagged, especially for the “new poor” households that might have some margin to employ

tactics (illegal mining) for a period of time before they visibly show clear signs of deterioration (Ruel et al. 2010).

Last, but not least, more research in food insecurity in urban areas is necessary. While food insecurity has been researched, much of that research has mainly focused on the rural areas, with limited attention being paid to urban areas. The importance of having a good and deeper understanding of urban food insecurity is emphasised by an increase in urban poverty, an increase in shocks (economic and environmental), and by the growing significance of the world's urban dwellers as these render urban households susceptible to food insecurity. In addition, it could be helpful for social scientists to use different kinds of approaches and methods to understand urban food insecurity and poverty. As clearly stated and shown in this study, food insecurity and urban poverty are both complex and dynamic. They present a set of issues distinct from general food insecurity and poverty and thus might require additional tools and techniques.

The final conclusion of this study then is that, in the context of accumulating urban risks and inadequate formal institutions to manage the risks, middle class households are equally vulnerable to food insecurity and poverty in the event of economic shocks or any other shock. Economic shocks (covariate shocks) may, as experienced by the “new poor” in Chingola, cast a household into a downward spiral causing food insecurity and poverty irrespective of a household's initial asset endowments (Shoji 2008; Sawada et al. 2011). Moreover, apart from limitations imposed by covariate shocks, new poverty and generally poverty in developing countries like Zambia is constrained by and embedded in social, political and economic processes which provide a more difficult environment for upward social mobility or for households to insulate against food insecurity and poverty. As a result, despite exercising agency and employing different tactics and strategies to survive, the majority of the poor - new or old - fail to fully escape poverty or food insecurity but rather only manage to “get by” on a day-to-day basis. The strategies and tactics employed by urban households affected by shocks however, are a clear sign that poor urban households are not passive but dynamic beings who are actively involved in the fight against food insecurity and poverty. Policy-makers in Zambia can use the creative agency for survival of urban households as a stepping stone towards tackling urban food insecurity and poverty. Although this study may not be generalizable to other African countries, it is hoped that the study will be instructive for similar towns and cities in Southern Africa and more broadly, that are experiencing shrinkage

in the formal labour market, rising food prices, rapid urbanization, poor levels of social and physical services and infrastructure, as well as increasing poverty.

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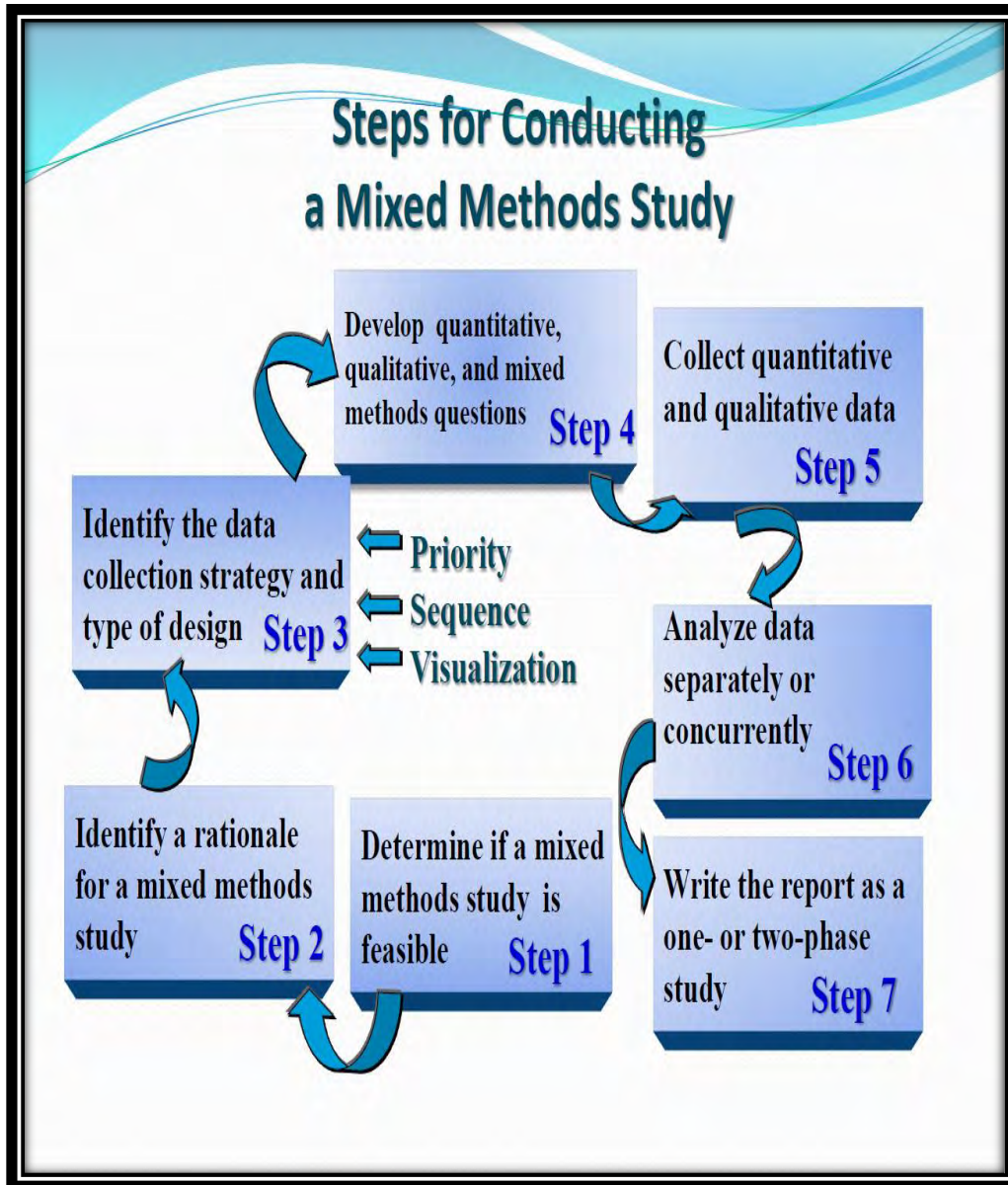
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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Steps for conducting a mixed methods research



Sources: Fischler 2012 and Creswell 2012

Appendix B: Household profile – composition and recruitment dates

Household – no, name	Marital status of head of household	Gender & Age of retrenched/working individual	No of household members	Recruitment date	Last visits
1A – Mumbi	Married	Male 40 years	9	5/05/2010	October
1B – Bupe	Married	Male 35 years	7	7/05/2010	October
2A – Chola	Married	Male 48 years	8	27/05/2010	October
2B – kachingwe	Married	Male 42 years	5	28/05/2010	October
3A – Chisanga	Married	Male 50 years	11	4/05/2010	October
3B – Kaloko	Married	Male 36 years old	9	7/05/2010	October
4A – Daka	Married	Male 40 years old	6	05/05/2010	October
4B –	Married	Male 28 years old	6	10/05/2010	October
5A – Limbambala	Married	Male 37 years	7	05/05/1020	October
5B – Kelvin	Married	Male 40 years old	7	06/05/2010	October
6A – Simbaya	Married	Male 29 years old	8	11/05/2010	October
6B – Kabungo	Married	42 years old	7		October

Household – no, name	Marital status of head of household	Gender & Age of retrenched/working individual	No of household members	Recruitment date	Last visits
7A – Ernest	Single (separated)	Male 30 years old	3	25/05/2010	October
7B – Mwenya	Married	Male 26 years	6		October
8A – Rhoda	Widowed	Head is female 33 years old (the retrenched was male but died)	6	8/6/2010	October
8B – Godfrey	Married	Male 35 years old	8		October
9A – Amanda	Widowed	Head is female 32 years (the retrenched was male but died)	5	7/6/2010	October
9B – Saka	Married	Male 28 years old	7	7/06/2010	October
10A – Carol	Married	Female 45 years old	6	30/06/2010	October
10B – Kapeso	Married	31 years old	8	2/07/2010	October

Notes:

- All names are pseudonyms
- Head of household's age is in bold
- Lighter shading is retrenched household
- Darker shading is the working household (comparative)

	<input style="width: 60px; height: 30px; margin-bottom: 20px;" type="text"/> <input style="width: 60px; height: 30px;" type="text"/>
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<p>TO BE COMPLETED BY INTERVIEWER</p> <p>TIME INTERVIEW: STARTED _____ COMPLETED _____</p> <p>NAME OF INTERVIEWER _____</p> <p>SIGNATURE _____</p> <p>COMMENTS:</p>	<p>DATE OF INTERVIEW</p> <p>D _____</p> <p>A _____</p> <p>Y _____</p> <p>M _____</p> <p>O _____</p> <p>N _____</p> <p>T _____</p> <p>H _____</p> <p>Y _____</p> <p>E _____</p> <p>A _____</p> <p>R _____</p>
<p>TO BE COMPLETED BY SUPERVISOR</p> <p>NAME OF SUPERVISOR _____</p> <p>SIGNATURE _____</p> <p>COMMENTS:</p>	<p>HOUSEHOLD BACK-CHECKED? [Yes=1; No=2] <input style="width: 50px; height: 30px;" type="text"/></p> <p>QUESTIONNAIRE CHECKED? [Yes=1; No=2] <input style="width: 50px; height: 30px;" type="text"/></p>

For office use only

SUPERVISOR	INTERVIEWER	FIELD EDITOR	OFFICE EDITOR	CODED BY	KEYED BY
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SUPERVISOR	INTERVIEWER	FIELD EDITOR	OFFICE EDITOR	CODED BY	KEYED BY
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STANDARDIZED URBAN HOUSEHOLD QUESTIONNAIRE

Introduction and consent

READ OUT ALOUD

My name is (INSERT NAME). I am a Researcher from within Chingola. We are conducting an academic research on urban food security and retrenchment on behalf of a student from University of Cape Town in South Africa. We are talking to people about retrenchment and food security and are therefore talking to people in Chingola about how they get food, where they get it, its adequacy, the problems they face in accessing it, and how they deal with food shortages as well as other related important social and economic issues. Your household has been randomly selected and we would like to discuss these issues with yourself, or an adult member of your household.

[APPLY RANDOM CARD SELECTION PROCEDURE AND THEN RE-READ INTRODUCTION TO THE PERSON SELECTED]

Your opinions will help us to get a better idea about how people in Chingola feel about these issues. There are no right or wrong answers. The interview will take about 45 minutes. Your answers will be confidential. They will be put together with those of over 215 other people we are talking to here in Chingola to get an overall picture. We will not be recording your name or your address and it will be impossible to pick you out from what you say, so please feel free to tell us what you think.

Are you willing to participate? (CIRCLE THE ANSWER GIVEN)

Yes...1

No...2

IF NO: READ OUT: Thank you for your time. Goodbye.

IF YES: IF WILLING TO PARTICIPATE, READ OUT THE FOLLOWING:

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study. Just to emphasize, any answers you provide will be kept absolutely confidential, and there is no way anyone will be able to identify you by what you have said in this interview. We are not recording either your address or your name, so you will remain anonymous. The data we collect from these interviews will always be kept in a secure location. You have the right to terminate this interview at any time, and you have the right to refuse to answer any questions you might not want to respond to.

Are there any questions you wish to ask before we begin?

Specify:

.....

.....

.....

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SECTION A: HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION

List on the grid below the details for **all people** living in the household including people who are usual members of the household who are away working (migrants) or for other reasons. See page 4 for codes to be entered.

PNO	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1a Relation to HHD head										
1b Sex										
1c Age										
1d Marital status										
1e Highest level of education										
1f Occupation (most important first accept up to two)										
1g Income last month for main occupation										
1h Lives away from this household?										
1i Work status										
1j Current country of work										
1k Where born?										
1l Where living now?										
1m Why moved to present location? (Enter up to three reasons for moving)										
1n Health Status										

(Enter up to three health issues)										
1o Where was main meal eaten yesterday?										
1p Who in the household normally does any of the following: (See code list on page 5 for activities. Enter up to four activities)										

Codes for Q1 (One code for each)

1a Relation to head

- 1 Head
- 2 Spouse/partner
- 3 Son/ daughter
- 4 Adopted/ foster child/ orphan
- 5 Father/ mother
- 6 Brother/sister
- 7 Grandchild
- 8 Grandparent
- 9 Son/ daughter-in-law
- 10 Other relative
- 11 Non-relative
- 97 Refused
- 98 Don't know
- 99 Missing

1b Sex

- 1 Male
- 2 Female
- 9 Missing

1c Age at last birthday

- 0 under 1 year
- Whole numbers only
- 97 Refused
- 98 Don't know
- 99 Missing
- (If respondent is older than 96, record 96)

1d Marital status

- 1 Unmarried
- 2 Married
- 3 Living together/ cohabiting
- 4 Divorced
- 5 Separated
- 6 Abandoned
- 7 Widowed
- 97 Refused
- 98 Don't know
- 99 Missing

1e Highest education

- 1 No formal schooling
- 2 Some Primary Education
- 3. Some Secondary Education (Junior or Senior)

4 Secondary Education Completed

- 5 Post secondary qualifications not university
- 6 Some university
- 7 University completed
- 8 Post-graduate
- 97 Refused
- 98 Don't know
- 99 Missing

1f Occupation

- 01 Farmer
- 02 Agricultural worker (paid)
- 03 Agricultural worker (unpaid)
- 04 Service worker
- 05 Domestic worker
- 06 Managerial office worker
- 07 Office worker
- 08 Foreman
- 09 Mine worker
- 10 Skilled manual worker
- 11 Unskilled manual worker
- 12 Informal sector producer
- 13 Trader/ hawker/ vendor
- 14 Security personnel
- 15 Police/ Military
- 16 Businessman/ woman (self-employed)
- 17 Employer/ Manager
- 18 Professional worker
- 19 Teacher
- 20 Health worker
- 21 Civil servant
- 22 Fisherman
- 23 Truck driver
- 24 Pensioner
- 25 Scholar/ Student
- 26 House work (unpaid)
- 27 Unemployed/ Job seeker
- 28 Other (specify)
- 97 Refused
- 98 Don't know
- 99 Missing

1h Lives/works away from this household but still a member of the household

- 1 No
- 2 Yes, migrant-working

3 Yes, migrant-looking for work

- 4 Yes, attending school
- 5 Other (specify)
- 9 Missing

1i Work status (wage employment)

- 1 Working full-time
- 2 Working part-time/ casual
- 3 Not working – looking
- 4 Not working – not looking
- 7 Refused
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Missing

1j Current country of (work

- 1 Works in home country
- 2 Mozambique
- 3 Namibia
- 4 Angola
- 5 Zambia
- 6 Lesotho
- 7 Botswana
- 8 Malawi
- 9 Zimbabwe
- 10 Swaziland
- 11 Tanzania
- 12 South Africa
- 13 Rest of Africa
- 14 Europe/UK
- 15 North America
- 16 Australia/NZ
- 17 Asia/China
- 18 Other
- 19 Not applicable (students, pensioners, etc)
- 97 Refused
- 98 Don't know
- 99 Missing

1k Where born

- 1 Rural area
- 2 Urban area
- 3 Foreign country rural area
- 4 Foreign country urban area
- 7 Refused
- 8 Don't know
- 9 Missing

1l Where living now?

- 1 Same rural area

- 2 Different rural area
- 3 Same urban area
- 4 Different urban area
- 5 Foreign country rural area
- 6 Foreign country urban area
- 7 Urban area
- 8 Rural area
- 97 Refused
- 98 Don't know
- 99 Missing

1m Why to present location

- 1 Housing
- 2 Land for livestock/grazing
- 3 Land for crop production
- 4 Formal sector job
- 5 Informal sector job
- 6 Food/hunger
- 7 Military Service
- 8 Drought
- 9 Overall living conditions
- 10 Safety of myself/family
- 11 Availability of water
- 12 Political exile
- 13 Asylum
- 14 Education/schools
- 15 Crime
- 16 Attractions of the city: urban life/modern life
- 17 Illness related (HIV/AIDS)
- 18 Illness related (not HIV/AIDS)
- 19 Moved with family
- 20 Sent to live with family
- 21 Marriage
- 22 Divorce
- 23 Abandoned
- 24 Widowed
- 25
Freedom/democracy/peace
- 26 Retirement
- 27 Retrenchment
- 28 Eviction
- 29 Deaths
- 30 Floods
- 31 Religious reasons
- 32 Returned to former home
- 33 Other (specify)
- 96 Not moved
- 97 Refused
- 98 Don't know
- 99 Missing

1n Health Status

- 1 Accident
- 2 Diabetes
- 3 Asthma
- 4 Hypertension and stroke
- 5 Heart problems
- 6 Arthritis
- 7 Physical disability
- 8 HIV/ AIDS
- 9 Tuberculosis (TB)
- 10 Malaria
- 11 Chronic diarrhoea
- 12 Weight loss (severe)
- 13 Pneumonia
- 14 Cancer
- 15 Mental illness
- 16 Other (specify)
- 17 None of the above (good health)
- 99 Missing

1o Where was main meal eaten yesterday?

- 1 Home (this household)
- 2 Small shop/restaurant/take out
- 3 Informal market/street food
- 4 Shared meal with neighbours/or other households
- 5 Work place
- 6 School
- 7 Community food kitchen
- 8 Food provided by neighbours/ or other households
- 9 Did not eat a meal
- 10 Other (specify)
- 99 Missing

1p Who in the household normally:

- 1 Buys food
- 2 Prepares food
- 3 Decides who will get food (allocates)
- 4 Grows food (produces)
- 5 Does none of the above

SECTION B: HOUSEHOLD DATA

2 a	<p>Which one of the following housing types best describes the type of dwelling this household occupies? <i>(DO NOT read aloud - circle only ONE answer for the column labeled 'Code')</i></p>	Housing Type	C o d e
		a. House	1
		b. Flat	2
		c. Traditional dwelling/ homestead	3
		d. Hostel/ Compound	4
		e. Hotel/ Boarding house	5
		f. Room in backyard	6
		g. Room in house	7
		h. Room in flat	8
		i. Squatter hut/ shack	9
		j. Other (specify):	1 0
		a. Owner/Purchaser/Family Accommodation	1
		b.Tenant/Lodger	2
		c.Tied Accomodation	3
2 b	<p>What is the tenure status of your household?</p>		
3 a	<p>Which of the following best describes the household structure? <i>(DO NOT read aloud - ask about household type and circle only ONE answer)</i></p>	Household Structure	C o d e
		a. Female Centered (No husband/ male partner in household, may include relatives, children, friends)	1
		b. Male Centered (No wife/ female partner in household, may include relatives, children, friends)	2
		c. Nuclear (Husband/ male partner and wife/ female partner with or without children)	3

		d. Extended (Husband/ male partner and wife/ female partner and children and relatives)		4
		e. Under 18-headed households female centered (head is 17 years old or less)		5
		f. Under 18-headed households male centered (head is 17 years old or less)		6
		g. Other (specify):		7
3	Does your household have access to, or is connected to;		Ye s	N o
		Piped Water	1	2
		Electricity	1	2
		Flush Toilet	1	2
		Pit latrine toilet	1	2
4	RERENCHMENT INFORMATION			
	a. Who was retrenched in this household		Ye s	N o
		Head of the house		
		Spouse (wife)		
		Dependent (child)		
	b. How long had the retrenchee worked for the mines?		Ye s	N o
		Below one year		
		One to five years		
		Five to ten years		
		Ten to fifteen years		
		Fifteen to twenty years		
		Above twenty years		
	c. How much was your severance package		Ye s	N o
		zero		
		Below one million kwacha		
		Between one and five million		
		Between five and ten million		
		Between ten to fifteen million		
		Between fifteen to twenty million		
		Between twenty to twenty five million		

		Above twenty five but below thirty million		
		Between thirty and fifty million		
		Above fifty million but below one hundred		
		Above one hundred million		
	d. New job opportunities?		Yes	No
		d1. Have you found a new job?		
		If yes specify the type of job below		
		d2. Is your new job better paying than the old job in the mines?		
		If yes specify by how much		
	e. How negatively are you affected by retrenchment		tick	
		Not at all		
		affected		
		Very affected		
		Extremely affected		
	f. who is most affected by retrenchment	The man of the house		
		The woman of the house		
		The children		
		All of us		

<p>5</p> <p>Household income from all sources (in the last one (1) month):</p> <p><i>(a) & (b) Read list aloud, circle the code that applies (column (b)) and complete the information for that row; leave rows blank for categories that do not apply.</i></p> <p><i>(c) Enter amount over the past one (1) month to nearest currency unit in column (c). For income in kind i.e. 'Remittances – goods/ food', 'Income from farm products' and in some cases perhaps also 'Gifts', estimate the monetary value over the past month and record this figure in (c).</i></p>			
	(a) Income categories	(b)) C od e	(c) Amount (to nearest currency unit)
	a. Wage work	1	
	b. Casual work	2	
	c. Remittances – Money	3	
	d. Remittances - Goods	4	
	e. Remittances - Food	5	
	f. Income from <u>rural</u> farm products	6	
g. Income from <u>urban</u> farm products	7		

	h. Income from formal business	8	
	i. Income from informal business	9	
	j. Income from renting dwelling	10	
	k. Income from Aid 1) food	11	
	2) cash	12	
	3) vouchers	13	
	l. Severance package/ other social grants	14	
	m. Gifts	15	
	n. Other (specify)	16	
	o. Refused to answer	17	
	p. Don't know	18	

6	<p>Household monthly expenses for the last month for items (a) through (f) & year for items (g) through (o).</p> <p><i>(Read list aloud, circle the code that applies and complete the information for that row; leave rows blank for categories that do not apply; if an annual expense give a monthly estimate.</i></p> <p><i>If the household has no expenses, circle ONLY code = '17' for 'NONE'.</i></p> <p><i>If respondent refuses to answer, circle ONLY code = '18' for 'Refused to answer'.</i></p>			
	(a) Expense categories	(b) C o d e	(c) Amount (Rand) (to nearest currency unit)	
	a. Food and Groceries	1		Last month
	b. Housing (rent, mortgage)	2		Last month
	c. Utilities (write total for all: water, sewer, electricity, telephone, etc)	3		Last month
	d. Transportation	4		Last month
	e. Savings	5		Last month
	f. Fuel (firewood, paraffin, gas, candles, etc)	6		Last month

	g. Medical (medical aid, medical costs)	7		Last year
	h. Education (school fees, books, uniforms)	8		Last year
	j. Insurance (life, burial, etc.)	1 0		Last year
	k. Funeral costs	1 1		Last year
	l. Home-based care	1 2		Last year
	m. Remittances	1 3		Last year
	n. Debt service/repayment	1 4		Last year
	o. Goods purchased to sell	1 5		Last year
	p. Other (specify type of expenditure & time)	1 6		
	q. None	1 7		
	r. Refused to answer	1 8		
7	<p>To what extent do people in your household use strategies other than jobs (regular formal employment) to make a living?</p> <p>Use the code list below to record the extent to which people in the household use other strategies: 1 = Not at all 2 = Slightly 3 = Partly dependent 4 = Totally dependent</p> <p><i>Record the appropriate code in the last column.</i></p>	Way to make a living		Code
		a. Field crops		
		b. Garden crops		
		c. Tree crops		
		d. Livestock		
		e. Marketing		
		f. Crafts		
		g. Begging		
		h. Gifts		
		i. Casual labour		
		j. Rent out space to lodgers		
		k. Formal credit		
		l. Informal credit		
		m. Self-employed at home		
		n. Other (specify)		
8	How would you say the economic conditions of your household are today compared to your	Economic conditions		Code

<p>household a year ago?</p> <p><i>(Circle one answer only)</i></p>	Much worse	1
	Worse	2
	The same	3
	Better	4
	Much better	5

Living Poverty Index (LPI)

9 Over the past year, how often, if ever, have you or your family (household) gone without?

Conditions	N e v e r	Just once or twice	Severa l times	Ma ny time s	A l w a y s	D o ' t k n o w
a. Enough food to eat						
b. Enough clean water						
c. Medicine or medical treatment						
d. electricity in your home						
e. school expenses for your children (like books, fees, uniforms, etc)						
f. a cash income						

SECTION C: CONTRIBUTION OF TRANSFERS TO SURVIVAL/ LIVELIHOODS

IF THIS HOUSEHOLD HAS A MEMBER LIVING AND WORKING ELSEWHERE - A MIGRANT WORKER - (SEE QUESTION 1H - M), PROCEED TO SECTION C BELOW.

IF NOT, SKIP SECTION C AND PROCEED TO SECTION D

10	<p>Do you think that this household has been affected positively or negatively by having a person(s) living and working elsewhere? <i>(Probe for strength of opinion; circle only ONE answer)</i></p>	Affect on household	C o d e
		Very positive	1
		Positive	2
		Neither positive nor negative	3
		Negative	4
		Very negative	5
		Don't know (do not read)	6
11	<p>How important are remittances (cash, food and goods) for the survival of this household? <i>(Probe for strength of opinion; circle only ONE answer)</i></p>	Importance of remittances	C o d e
		Very important	1
		Important	2
		Neutral	3
		Not important	4
		Not important at all	5
		Don't know	6
12	<p>What are these remittances used for?</p>	Food	C o d e
		School Fees	1
		Investment/Goods for resale	2
		House construction	3
		Rents and rates	4
		Consumer goods	
		Medical expenses	
		Savings	
12b	<p>If other members of this household were to migrate to another location to work, do you think this household would be: <i>(Probe for strength of opinion; circle only ONE</i></p>	Condition of household	C o d e

	<i>answer)</i>	Better off	1
		About the same	2
		Worse off	3
		Don't know	4

SECTION D: FOOD INSECURITY

1 **HOUSEHOLD FOOD INSECURITY ACCESS SCALE (HFIAS)**
3 (READ the list and categories and circle only ONE answer for each question)

Household Food Insecurity Access Scale (HFIAS) <u>for last four weeks</u>	No (Answer to question is 'No')	Rarely (once or twice)	Sometimes (3 to 10 times)	Often (more than 10 times)
a. In the past four weeks, did you worry that your household would not have enough food?	1	2	3	4
b. In the past four weeks were you or any household member not able to eat the kinds of foods you preferred because of a lack of resources?	1	2	3	4
c. In the past four weeks did you or any household member have to eat a limited variety of foods due to a lack of resources?	1	2	3	4
d. In the past four weeks, did you or any household member have to eat some foods that you really did not want to eat because of a lack of resources to obtain other types of food?	1	2	3	4
e. In the past four weeks, did you or any household member have to eat a smaller meal than you felt you needed because there was not enough food?	1	2	3	4
f. In the past four weeks, did you or any household member have to eat fewer meals in a day because there was not enough food?	1	2	3	4
g. In the past four weeks, was there ever no food to eat of any kind in your household because of lack of resources to get food?	1	2	3	4

SECTION D: FOOD INSECURITY

h. In the past four weeks, did you or any household member go to sleep at night hungry because there was not enough food?	1	2	3	4
i. In the past four weeks, did you or any household member go a whole day and night without eating anything because there was not enough food?	1	2	3	4
j. In the past week, did you or any household member eat a cooked meal less than once a day?	1	2	3	4

1	HOUSEHOLD DIETARY DIVERSITY SCORE (HDDS)		
4	<p>Now I would like to ask you about the types of foods that you or anyone else in your household ate yesterday during the day and at night. <i>(Read the list of foods. Circle yes in the box if anyone in the household ate the food in question, circle no if no one in the household ate the food)</i></p>		
	Types of food	Y e s	N o
	a. Any [INSERT ANY LOCAL FOODS], bread, rice noodles, biscuits or any other foods made from millet, sorghum, maize, rice, wheat, or [INSERT ANY OTHER LOCALLY AVAILABLE GRAIN]?	1	2
	b. Any potatoes, yams, manioc, cassava or any other foods made from roots or tubers?	1	2
	c. Any vegetables?	1	2
	d. Any fruits?	1	2
	e. Any beef, pork, lamb, goat, rabbit, wild game, chicken, duck, other birds, liver, kidney, heart, or other organ meats?	1	2
	f. Any eggs?	1	2
	g. Any fresh or dried fish or shellfish?	1	2
	h. Any foods made from beans, peas, lentils, or nuts?	1	2
	i. Any cheese, yoghurt, milk or other milk products?	1	2
	j. Any foods made with oil, fat, or butter?	1	2
	k. Any sugar or honey?	1	2
	l. Any other foods, such as condiments, coffee, tea?	1	2

1 5	<p>MONTHS OF ADEQUATE HOUSEHOLD PROVISIONING (MAHP)</p> <p>Now I would like to ask you about your household's food supply during different months of the year. When responding to these questions please think back over the last 12 months.</p> <p>(a) In the past 12 months, were there months in which you did not have enough food to meet your family's needs? (<i>READ the question and circle the appropriate answer</i>)</p>	<p>Yes</p> <p>No</p> <p>(If NO, skip to Question 15 If YES, continue with Q 14b)</p>	<p>1</p> <p>2</p>
	<p>(b) If yes, which were the months (in the past 12 months) in which you did not have enough food to meet your family's needs?</p> <p>(<i>Do not read the list of months. Working backward from the current month: Circle the one ('Yes' column) if the respondent identifies that month as one in which the household did not have enough food to meet their needs. Circle the two ('No' column) if the respondent identifies that month as one in which the household did have enough food to meet their needs</i>)</p>	<p>Months in which household did not have enough food to meet needs</p> <p>a. January</p> <p>b. February</p> <p>c. March</p> <p>d. April</p> <p>e. May</p> <p>f. June</p> <p>g. July</p> <p>h. August</p> <p>i. September</p> <p>j. October</p> <p>k. November</p> <p>l. December</p>	<p>Y e s</p> <p>1</p> <p>1</p> <p>1</p> <p>1</p> <p>1</p> <p>1</p> <p>1</p> <p>1</p> <p>1</p> <p>1</p> <p>1</p> <p>1</p> <p>1</p> <p>1</p>
1 6	<p>EXPERIENCE OF FOOD PRICE CHANGES</p> <p>Now I would like to ask you about your household's experience of food prices over the past six months.</p> <p>Over the past six months, have you or your household gone without certain types of food because of the price of food (it is unaffordable)? (<i>Circle the appropriate answer</i>) (If NEVER OR DON'T KNOW, skip to Q18 OTHERWISE, continue with Q16)</p>	<p>Frequency of going without food</p> <p>Never</p> <p>About once a month</p> <p>About once a week</p> <p>More than once a week but less than everyday of the week</p> <p>Every day</p> <p>Don't know</p>	<p>C o d e</p> <p>1</p> <p>2</p> <p>3</p> <p>4</p> <p>5</p> <p>9</p>

1 7	<p>You have said that over the past six months, you or your household have gone without food because of the increase in the price of food items. Which types of foods have you or your household gone without?</p> <p><i>(Read the list of foods. Circle 'Yes' in the box if anyone in the household has gone without this food and 'NO' if they have had this food)</i></p>		
	Types of food	Yes	No
	a. Any [INSERT ANY LOCAL FOODS], bread, rice noodles, biscuits or any other foods made from millet, sorghum, maize, rice, wheat, or [INSERT ANY OTHER LOCALLY AVAILABLE GRAIN]?	1	2
	b. Any potatoes, yams, manioc, cassava or any other foods made from roots or tubers?	1	2
	c. Any vegetables?	1	2
	d. Any fruits?	1	2
	e. Any beef, pork, lamb, goat, rabbit, wild game, chicken, duck, other birds, liver, kidney, heart, or other organ meats?	1	2
	f. Any eggs?	1	2
	g. Any fresh or dried fish or shellfish?	1	2
	h. Any foods made from beans, peas, lentils, or nuts?	1	2
	i. Any cheese, yoghurt, milk or other milk products?	1	2
	j. Any foods made with oil, fat, or butter?	1	2
	k. Any sugar or honey?	1	2
	l. Any other foods, such as condiments, coffee, tea?	1	2

1	Besides the increase in food	Problem	Rank
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8	<p>price, what other problems (by order of importance) prevented you in the past six months from having enough food to meet your family's needs?</p> <p><i>(Do not read options, write number in front of the identified cause by order of importance (1=highest).</i></p> <p><i>Probe: Did you experience any other problem?)</i></p>	a. Insecurity/violence	
		b. Death of a working household member	
		c. Death of the head of the household	
		d. Death of other household member	
		e. Serious illness of household member	
		f. Accident of household member	
		g. Loss/ reduced employment for a household member	
		h. Reduced income of a household member	
		i. Relocation of the family	
		j. Reduced or cut-off of remittances from relatives	
		k. Taking in orphans of deceased parent(s)	
		l. Health risks/ epidemics (e.g. cholera)	
		m. Floods, fire and/or other environmental hazards	
		n. Increased cost of water	
		o. End of a social grant	
p. End of food aid			
q. Theft			

		r. Political problems/issues	
		s. Other (please specify)	
		t. None	
		u. Don't know	99

1	a) Where does this household normally obtain its food?						
9	<i>(Read the list of food sources. Circle 'Food Code' in the box if anyone in the household answers yes to the food source on the list.)</i>						
	b) How often does the household normally obtain its food from these sources?						
	<i>(Probe for <u>frequency that food is obtained from the source</u> as given by respondent (a - k) and circle the appropriate number on the scale)</i>						
Source of food	(a) Fo od Co de	(b) Frequency Food Obtained from this Source					
		At least five days a wee k	A t l e a s t o n c e a w e e k	A t l e a s t o n c e a h w e e k	At least once in six mon ths	Le ss tha n on ce a yea r	N e v e r
a. Supermarket	1	1	2	3	4	5	6
b. Small shop / restaurant/take away	2	1	2	3	4	5	6
c. Informal market / street food	3	1	2	3	4	5	6
d. Grow it	4	1	2	3	4	5	6
e. Food aid	5	1	2	3	4	5	6
f. Remittances (food)	6	1	2	3	4	5	6
g. Shared meal with neighbours and/or other households	7	1	2	3	4	5	6
h. Food provided by neighbours and/or other households	8	1	2	3	4	5	6
i. Community food kitchen	9	1	2	3	4	5	6
j. Borrow food from others	10	1	2	3	4	5	6

	k. Other (specify):	11	1	2	3	4	5	6
	l. Don't know	99						
2	In the last week, where did members of this household obtain their food?							
0	<i>(Read the list of food sources. Circle 'Yes' in the box if anyone in the household answers yes to the food source on the list.)</i>							
	<i>(Circle 'No' if no one in the household obtains food from the source being read out on the list.)</i>							
	Source of food		Ye		N			
			s		o			
	a. Supermarket		1				2	
	b. Small shop / restaurant / take away		1				2	
	c. Informal market / street food		1				2	
	d. Grow it		1				2	
	e. Food aid		1				2	
	f. Remittances (food)		1				2	
	g. Shared meal with neighbours and/or other households		1				2	
	h. Food provided by neighbours and/or other households		1				2	
	i. Community food kitchen		1				2	
	j. Borrow food from others		1				2	
	k. Other (specify):		1				2	
	l. Don't know		9				9	

SECTION E: RURAL – URBAN LINKS AND FOOD TRANSFERS

2 1	Do you have a home in the rural areas?				
		Yes	N o	Don't know	
		1	2	9	
2 2	Are there members of this household who were normally resident in the city, but are now living in the rural areas?				
		Yes	N o	Don't know	
		1	2	9	
2 3	What are the reasons for these household members going to live in the rural areas? <i>(Accept multiple responses)</i>			C o d e	
	Reason				
	To save on food				1
	For children to be cared for by grandparents				2
	To save on rent				3
	To save on school fees				4
	For member to look after the rural home				5
2 4	Do members of this household normally visit the rural areas?				
	<i>(If no-one visits the rural areas, skip question 24)</i>	Yes	N o	Don't know	
		1	2	9	
2 5	How frequently do these household members visit the rural areas?				
	Frequency of visits		Code		
	Every week		1		
	Every month		2		
	Every six months		3		
	Every year		4		
	Never		5		
	Other		9		

26	For what reason(s) do these household members visit the rural areas?		
	<i>(Accept multiple responses: do not read answers)</i>	To get food and/or money	1
		To send money and/or food	2
		To see relatives/friends	3
		To send children to school	4
		For social events (e.g. marriage, funerals e.t.c	5
		Farming and other economic purposes	6
		Other (please specify)	9

27	Does this household normally receive money from the rural areas?	Y	N	Don't know	
		e	o		
		s			
		1	2	9	
28	How important do you feel the money is to this household which is received from the rural areas?				
		Not important at all	1		
		Important	2		
		Very important	3		
		Critical to our survival	4		
		Don't know	5		
29	Does this household normally receive food from relatives /friends in the rural areas and or other urban areas?				
	Location	Relations hip	Yes	No	Don't know
	Rural areas	Relative	1	2	9
		Friends	1	2	9
	Urban areas	Relatives	1	2	9
		Friends	1	2	9

30 (a) What kind of food do people in the household normally receive from the rural and/or urban areas?
(Circle 'Food Code' in the box if anyone in the household answers yes to the food source on the list. Probe for traditional foods).

(b) How often is the food received?

(Probe for frequency that food is received from the source as given by respondent (a-k) and circle the appropriate number on the scale)

	(a) Source of Food		(b) Frequency of Food Received				
	Local a t i o n	Food C o d e	A t l e a s t o n c e a w e e k	A t l e a s t o n c e e v e r y 2 m o n t h s	3 - 6 t i m e s a y e a r	A t l e a s t o n c e a y e a r	Don' t know
a. Any [INSERT ANY LOCAL FOODS], bread, rice noodles, biscuits or any other foods made from millet, sorghum, maize, rice, wheat, or [INSERT ANY OTHER LOCALLY AVAILABLE GRAIN]?	R u r a l	1	1	2	3	4	9
	U r b a n	2	1	2	3	4	9
b. Any potatoes, yams, manioc, cassava or any other foods made from roots or tubers?	R u r a	3	1	2	3	4	9

	l						
	U						
	r	4	1	2	3	4	9
	b						
	a						
	n						
c. Any vegetables?	R						
	u	5	1	2	3	4	9
	r						
	a						
	l						
	U						
	r	6	1	2	3	4	9
	b						
	a						
	n						
d. Any fruits?	R						
	u	7	1	2	3	4	9
	r						
	a						
	l						
	U						
	r	8	1	2	3	4	9
	b						
	a						
	n						
e. Any beef, pork, lamb, goat, rabbit, wild game, chicken, duck, other birds, liver, kidney, heart, or other organ meats?	R						
	u	9	1	2	3	4	9
	r						
	a						
	l						
	U						
	r	1	1	2	3	4	9
	b	0					
	a						
	n						
f. Any eggs?	R						
	u	1	1	2	3	4	9
	r						
	a						
	l						
	U						
	r	1	1	2	3	4	9
	b	2					
	a						
	n						
g. Any fresh or dried fish or shellfish?	R						
	u	1	1	2	3	4	9
	r	3					
	a						

	l						
	U						
	r	1	1	2	3	4	9
	b	4					
	a						
	n						
	R						
	u	1	1	2	3	4	9
	r	5					
	a						
	l						
h. Any foods made from beans, peas, lentils, or nuts?	U						
	r	1	1	2	3	4	9
	b	6					
	a						
	n						
	R						
	u	1	1	2	3	4	9
	r	7					
	a						
	l						
i. Any cheese, yoghurt, milk or other milk products?	U						
	r	1	1	2	3	4	9
	b	8					
	a						
	n						
	R						
	u	1	1	2	3	4	9
	r	9					
	a						
	l						
j. Any foods made with oil, fat, or butter?	U						
	r	2	1	2	3	4	9
	b	0					
	a						
	n						
	R						
	u	2	1	2	3	4	9
	r	1					
	a						
	l						
k. Any sugar or honey?	U						
	r	2	1	2	3	4	9
	b	2					
	a						
	n						
l. Don't know DO NOT READ		9					
		9					
3	How important do you feel the food is to		Importance of food				Code

1	this household which is received from the rural and/or urban areas? <i>(Circle the appropriate response)</i>	Not important at all	1
		Somewhat important	2
		Important	3
		Very important	4
		Critical to our survival	5
		Don't know DO NOT READ	9
3 2	Why do you think people in the rural and/or urban areas normally send food to people in this household? <i>(Circle all that apply)</i>	Reasons for sending food	Code
		To help this household feed itself	1
		For traditional uses	2
		As gifts	3
		To make business	4
		Other (SPECIFY):	5
Don't know DO NOT READ	9		
3 3	How do people in this household use the food which is received from the rural and/or urban areas? <i>(Accept multiple responses)</i>	Use of food	Code
		Eat it	1
		Sell it	2
		Give it away to friends/relatives	3
		Feed it to livestock (including chickens)	4
		Don't know DO NOT READ	9
3 4	If people sell the food, do they: <i>(Accept multiple responses)</i>	Selling of food	Code
		Sell on the street (hawker/vendor)	1
		Sell it from home	2
		Sell it to/from a restaurant	3
		Make alcoholic beverages for sale	4
		Other SPECIFY:	5
		Not applicable (do not sell the food in any way)	6
		Don't know DO NOT READ	9

SECTION F: URBAN FOOD AID

3 5	Does anyone in this household receive food aid?	Yes	1		
		No	2		
		If NO, skip to the 'End'. If YES, continue with Q35 below.			
3 6	What kind of food aid is received, and from which source(s)? <i>(Accept multiple responses for type of aid and source of aid).</i>	Type of Aid	Code	Source of Food Aid	Code
		Food	1	UN Agency	1
		Cash	2	CBO	2
		Vouchers	3	FBO	3
		Other (specify):	4	NGO	4
				Government	5
		Other (specify):	6		
Don't know (do not read)	9	Don't know (do not read)	9		
3 7	How important is food aid to this household? <i>(Probe for strength of opinion; circle only ONE answer)</i>	Importance of food aid		Code	
		Very important		1	
		Important		2	
		Neutral		3	
		Not important		4	
		Not important at all		5	
		Don't know		6	

I have finished my questions. Before we end, is there anything in particular that you would like to add to what you have said or to change?

Do you have any questions that you would like to ask?

Questions	Office use
-----------	------------

	only
1.	
2.	
3.	

Thank you very much for spending this time talking with us. The information you have provided is very valuable and we appreciate you sharing it with us. Just to reiterate, as we have not recorded your family name or address no one can link what you have said to you or this household, so your confidentiality is totally guaranteed. Goodbye.

Appendix D: Interview guide for NGOs

Dear Participant:

My name is Mutale Chileshe. I am a PhD student in the Department of Environmental and Geographical Sciences at the University of Cape Town, South Africa. I am carrying out an academic research on the impact of retrenchment on urban household food insecurity in Chingola, Zambia. My intention is to use this information for my doctoral thesis. I also intend to publish all or part of my findings from this study, which may include information that you would have kindly provided. The information may also be made available to organizations that are involved in, or have an interest in urban food security work.

Your organization has been selected to participate in this survey on the basis of it being a key NGO working in Chingola. The general purpose of this interview is to collect information on urban food security, particularly issues surrounding how you work in and with communities in helping to reduce hunger and food insecurity. Your opinions and experiences gained in working with these communities are important in helping me to understand how people in the urban areas of Zambia generally, and in Chingola in particular, live with and cope with retrenchment with a variety of food security issues. I hope that you will participate in this survey as your views are important to my research. The interview will take about 40-60 minutes.

Are you willing to participate?

Yes	1
No	2

If No, Thank you for your time. Goodbye.

If yes; Do you want me to tape record the interview or write notes as we progress?

Use Tape Recorder	1
Write Notes	2

Do you understand that you have the right to stop this interview any time you want and you can choose not to answer any or all the questions or particular issues that you may not wish to discuss?

Yes	1
No	2

At this time, do you wish to ask me anything or are there issues that you need to be clarified about the survey before we proceed?

Yes	1
No	2

If _____ yes;

Question/clarification.....

.....

May I begin the interview now?

Yes	1
No	2

Participant Declaration

1. I fully understand the purpose of the research.
2. I am participating in this research on my own free volition without force or coercion.
3. I am aware that I have the right to terminate this interview whenever I may feel so without any prejudice on my part.

Participant

signature.....Date.....

.....

Name of Interviewer	
Signature	
Date of Interview	

Section A: Background Information

- Briefly tell me about the history of your organization (e.g. origin, aims, and areas of operation).
- What has been your motivation for implementing aid programmes in the urban area?
- Which cities do you operate in? Which areas do you operate in Chingola? Why those particular areas?

Section B: General Poverty Issues

- What is your perception of the levels of poverty in the urban areas of the country and in Chingola in particular?
- In your own assessment, has poverty levels been increasing or decreasing in the city during the past five years? Why do you say that?

- In which parts of the city is this poverty most concentrated? Why do you say that?

Section C: Food Security and Aid

- What is your general assessment on hunger and food insecurity levels in Chingola?
- What about in Zambia's other urban areas?
- What kind of aid does your organization provide? Why that kind of aid?
- If it provides food, what kinds of food do you give? How much? How frequently?
- Why those kinds of foods?
- How do you select your beneficiaries? Do they have a choice in what food they receive?
- From your experiences with working in urban communities, what are the major challenges faced by poor households in acquiring food?
- How can these challenges be overcome? As an organization, how have you ever tried to deal with these issues? With what results?
- How do food insecure households in these communities cope with food shortages?

Section D: Successes and Challenges

- How has your aid programme been received by communities that you operate in?
- What successes have you had in reducing vulnerability to food insecurity at household levels?
- What have been your major challenges? How have you tried to deal with these challenges? With what success?
- From your organization's point of view, how best can urban poverty and food insecurity be tackled?
- How effective would this be in increasing food security at both household and community scale?

Thank you for your participation. Do you have anything that you may wish to ask, add, explain or retract?

Appendix E: Informed Consent for group discussions

INVESTIGATOR'S STATEMENT

Introduction

Greetings!

Our names are Mutale Chileshe and (name of research assistant). I am a student at University of Cape Town in South Africa and my assistant is from within Chingola. We are working on a project whose aim is to learn about the impact of retrenchment on urban household food security.

You have been selected to participate in this study. We would like to learn about the impact of retrenchment on your lives, your views on household food security and also on government, NGOs and other organization and institutions dealing in food security that found in the area. Your opinions are valuable to us.

There is no financial benefit for your participation. Participation in this study will not benefit you directly, but it **may** benefit others in the future. My intention is to use this information for my doctoral thesis. I also intend to publish all or part of my findings from this study, which may include information that you would have kindly provided. The information will also be made available to organizations that are involved in, or have interest in urban food security work and retrenchments.

This discussion will not take more than two hours. If you agree to take part in the discussion you will be asked to sign this paper. Please note that:

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You will be free to decline if you wish. If you agree to participate, you can decide not to answer certain questions and can stop the interview at any time.

I will tape the interview if that is ok with you BUT I will not record your names or your addresses. Your names and those who refuse to take part will be kept confidential.

If you have questions feel free to ask before you sign the paper.

You understand that you are free to ask questions before signing this form and that if you have other questions after the discussion you may ask:

If you have any queries you can contact me on 0977233456

You have been provided with this information in writing and/or had it read to you by a research from the study.

Consent statement for signature

I have read this entire consent form, or had it read to me, and any questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in this study.

Respondent:

Signature of facilitator 1:.....

Signature of facilitator 2:.....

Date:..... Place:.....