



Graduate School of Development Studies

**Gender and Household Food Security:  
A case for Kalulushi District, Zambia.**

A Research Paper presented by:

***Chomba Phyllis Chibende***  
(Zambia)

In partial fulfilment of the requirements for obtaining the degree of  
MASTERS OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Specialization:

**Women, Gender, Development  
(WGD)**

Members of the examining committee:

Dr Rachel Kurian  
Dr Amrita Chhachhi

The Hague, The Netherlands  
December, 2011

***Disclaimer:***

This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

***Inquiries:***

Postal address:

Institute of Social Studies  
P.O. Box 29776  
2502 LT The Hague  
The Netherlands

Location:

Kortenaerkade 12  
2518 AX The Hague  
The Netherlands

Telephone: +31 70 426 0460

Fax: +31 70 426 0799

## *Acknowledgements*

Firstly, I thank Jehovah God for his grace and abundant blessings I have received from him. My sincere gratitude to the following people: my research supervisor Dr. Rachel Kurian for her critical insights, unwavering guidance and patience throughout the research process; Dr. Amrita Chhachhi, my second reader for her valuable comments which enabled me to focus and enlarge my perception of my research topic; members of faculty for their significant contributions to my comprehension of relevant concepts and schools of thought that proved to be the firm foundation of my study.

Furthermore, I express my appreciation to the Netherlands Fellowship Programme (NFP) for facilitating my MA programme; my employers (GRZ-MCDSS) for allowing me to take leave in order to pursue my studies; to Wato, my loving husband and best friend for always believing in me and motivating me to aim high; my family for enduring my long absence and always reminding me that they were looking up to me. To my Zambian country mates Pity, Sharon, Mercy and Nalishiwa for being family away from home; to my fellow WGD 2010/2011 participants for being a source of inspiration and sisterhood during my stay in the Netherlands and I will always treasure our relationship.

## ***Dedication***

*I dedicate this work to my humble and beloved mother who sacrificed so much for us but yet did not live long enough to see the fruits of her labor. I will always love you.*

## Contents

<i>List of Tables</i>	<i>vii</i>
<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>vii</i>
<i>List of Acronyms</i>	<i>viii</i>
<i>Abstract</i>	<i>ix</i>
<b>Chapter 1:</b>	
<b>General Overview of Food Security</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Statement of the Research Problem	2
1.3 Objectives of the Study	3
1.4 Research Question.	3
1.5 Relevance and Justification	3
1.6 Research Methodology	4
1.6.1 Field Work	4
1.6.2 Sample Population	5
1.6.3 Data Collection	5
1.6.4 Data Analysis	6
1.6.5 Limitations of the study	6
<b>Chapter 2:</b>	
<b>Contextualising and Examining the Food Security Pack Programme in Zambia. 8</b>	
2.1 Introduction	8
2.2 Background of the Study	8
2.2 Population and poverty levels	10
2.3 Food Security Pack Programme	10
<b>CHAPTER 3:</b>	
<b>Conceptual Framework of Analysis</b>	<b>15</b>
3.1 Introduction	15
3.2 Food Security	15
3.3 Social Protection Interventions	17
3.4 The Asset-Vulnerability Framework	20
3.4.1 Labor	21
3.4.2 Human Capital	21
3.4.3 Productive Assets	22
3.4.4 Household Relations	22
3.4.5 Social Capital	22
3.4.6 Vulnerability	23
3.4.7 Gender	23
3.4.8 Alternative Livelihood Strategies	24

3.5	Linkages to the Study	25
3.6	Operationalisation of Framework	26
3.6.1	Labor	26
3.6.2	Productive Assets	26
3.6.3	Human capital	26
3.6.4	Social Capital	26
3.7	Summary	27
<b>Chapter 4:</b>		
<b>Presentation and analysis of findings</b>		<b>28</b>
4.1	Introduction	28
4.2	Household Characteristics	28
4.3	Cross Tabulations	29
<b>Chapter 5:</b>		
<b>The Contribution of Food Security Pack to Food Security, Crop Diversification and Livelihood Strategies</b>		<b>36</b>
5.1	Introduction	36
5.2	Food Security	36
5.3	Crop Diversification	37
5.4	Livelihood Activities	39
5.5	Division of Labor	40
5.6	Conclusion: Asset Portfolio of Poor Households	41
<b>Chapter 6:</b>		
<b>Conclusion and Recommendations</b>		<b>45</b>
6.1	Introduction	45
6.2	Challenges to Rural Livelihoods	45
6.3	Critique of FSP	45
6.4	Policy Recommendations	47
	<i>Appendices</i>	<i>49</i>
	<i>References</i>	<i>56</i>

## List of Tables

1.1 Research Indicators	5
1.2 Sample Composition	5
4.1: Distribution of sample population by Age	28

## List of Figures

1.1: Photo narration of female and male household heads	12
4.3.1: Gender and livelihood activities	30
4.3.2 : Food security and Livelihood Activities	31
4.3.3: Gender and Household Food Security	32
4.3.4: Food Security and No. of meals	33
4.3.5: Crop Diversification and Gender	34
4.3.6: Improvements in Food Security and Crop diversification	35
5.1: Household food Security	36
5.2: Crop diversification	38
5.3: Livelihood Activities	39
5.4: Division of Labor	40

## List of Acronyms

AFSC	Area Food Security Committee
FSP	Food Security Pack
DFSC	District Food Security Committee
CSO	Central Statistical Office
MCDSS	Ministry of Community Development and Social Services
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
GRZ	Government of the Republic of Zambia
FNDP	Fifth National Development Plan
UN	United Nations
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organisation
KMC	Kalulushi Municipal Council
ILO	International Labor Organisation
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
CESCR	Committee on Economic Social and Cultural Rights
SADC	Southern African Development Community
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
CEDAW	Convention on Elimination of All forms of discrimination Against Women



## **Abstract**

In November 2000, the Zambian government devised the Food Security Pack as a social protection measure targeting vulnerable farming households with agricultural inputs to promote food security, crop diversification and livelihood activities in all the 72 districts. Using the asset-vulnerability framework and a sample population of thirty-one households, this study analysed the gendered implications of FSP in Chembe ward of Kalulushi district for 2007/2008 farming season. Through household surveys and semi-structured interviews, the study revealed that despite female headed households comprising majority of beneficiaries, these did not experience long term improvements in food production. In addition, male headed households were more likely to grow different crops compared to women headed units. Lastly, involvement in livelihood activities aside agriculture was very low among females in comparison to males who reported natural resource-oriented activities and small businesses as alternative sources of livelihood. Lack of improvements in food production, low levels of crop diversification and livelihood activities could be attributed to insufficient assets, different needs and forms of vulnerabilities among male and female headed units.

The paper concludes by emphasising that the design of such poverty reduction measures requires a transformative perspective to address structural inequalities that perpetuate and sustain social injustices in addition to gender-specific needs and constraints. Additionally, it's important to consider citizenship-based entitlements aside agricultural assistance in order to be responsive to the needs of incapacitated households.

## **Relevance to Development Studies**

Agricultural assistance as a form of social protection for poor subsistence farming households is an important instrument for stimulating rural economic growth and promote socio-economic development. This measure is intended to empower incapacitated households with basic agricultural inputs such as fertilizers and seeds to enable them engage in food production for domestic consumption and market exchange of surplus produce. Such measures facilitate investments in human capital development such as education, health and contribute to improving livelihoods for rural households who often lack necessary amenities that are essential for improving quality of life. With the gendered nature of poverty and vulnerabilities, it is relevant to acknowledge that male and female headed households own varying assets which they employ in efforts to improve food security and livelihood activities.

Consequently, in order for such development interventions to contribute to improving food production and reduce rural poverty, it is important that gender-specific concerns are embedded from design to implementation stage. This entails that development practitioners have to be well informed and integrate factors such as levels and types of household assets, forms of vulnerability, capacities, constraints and forms of livelihood strategies of male and female beneficiary households.

## **Keywords**

Food Security- Social protection- Livelihoods Strategies- Gender-Asset-Vulnerability

# Chapter 1:

## General Overview of Food Security

### 1.1 Introduction

Food insecurity has in recent years become a major concern in development discussions, particularly in tropical regions. Estimates suggest that approximately 1 billion of the world's population experience food insecurity related to three major factors namely availability, utilization of food and accessibility to food or a combination of these factors, (Burke et al: 13:2010). The world food crisis of 1972-74, the African Famine of 1984-83 and declining socio-economic conditions brought about by structural adjustment programmes of the 1980s all worked together to bring issues related to access to food on the international policy arena. Discussions on food security during the 1970s were primarily concerned with national and world food availability centred on quantities and dependability of total food supplies until early 1980s when attention moved to household and individual access to food, (Maxwell and Smith 1992: 6).

Furthermore, recognising problems related to food insecurity, the United Nations (UN), in 2005 formulated Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) aimed at reducing poverty and the first goal related to reducing hunger and poverty by 2015, (Sahn and Stifel 2003:25). The effectiveness of interventions created to achieve these objectives within this timeframe remains a matter of debate in developing countries. As a follow-up to the recognition of food insecurity as a development problem threatening human life, international organisations, aid agencies and national governments formulated policies and corresponding institutions aimed at assisting disadvantaged households to cope with challenges of food insecurity and poverty.

According to Steyn and Walker as cited in Baro and Deubel (2006a:6), an estimated 32% of sub-Sahara Africa experiences food insecurity and is vulnerable to malnutrition compared to between 4% and 12 % in other developing countries. The situation is exacerbated by "environmental crises and natural disasters, economic, social, political inequalities and violent conflicts", (Baro and Deubel 2006b:522). Under these circumstances, governments and international aid agencies have undertaken policies and programs to increase production and accessibility to food while promoting alternative livelihoods for vulnerable populations especially in rural areas. One of the methods through which poor people encountering food poverty have been assisted has been through social protection programmes.

Zambia, like other countries in the region has in recent years experienced enormous challenges to food security dating back to the 1980s during the African famine and in the 2002-2003 Southern African food crisis that affected Malawi, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Zambia, (Eicher 1982:151). The situation was "attributed to a number of factors other than climate, among them structural imbalances, governance, economic and social decline, HIV/Aids and

to a lesser extent drought”, (Drimie 2004:4). Following changes in government priority areas, there was replacement of <sup>1</sup>agricultural subsidies on inputs with the adoption of economic liberalization policies, (Seshamani 1998:4). Consequently, between the 1990s and mid 2000s, there was a decline in food production owing to reduced utilization of fertiliser coupled with deteriorating climatic conditions that affected production of maize which is consumed largely by the poor especially in rural areas, (Kodamaya 2011:23).

The Zambian government through the Ministry of Community Development and Social Services (MCDSS) implemented a social assistance scheme called Food Security Pack (FSP) aimed at improving food security, promoting crop diversification and livelihood activities among targeted farming households. Assessments on program performance had revealed varying implications in beneficiary households. This may be attributed to the fact that these assessments have not been conducted from a gender perspective and therefore overlook the way gender relations mediate the kind of assets possessed by beneficiary households. Assets determine attainment of food security, crop diversification and involvement in viable income generating activities that smooth consumption requirements in periods of vulnerability.

## 1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

There has been general agreement among development practitioners that food security broadly encompasses access, consumption and utilization of food by women, men and children. The quantity and quality of food that people eat is determined mainly by production and distribution mechanisms in households as well as in society. Recent years have witnessed increasing food insecurity in developing countries, some of which were previously major food producers exporting to other countries.

A linkage between gender and food security in traditional Zambian context is significant and becomes evident in the distribution of food and agricultural support within the household and in wider social safety nets that target poor households that have the capacity to grow food if provided with seeds and fertilizers. Slater and Holmes (2008: 3) have noted the increase in extreme poverty and vulnerability in female headed households in comparison to male headed households and rural areas compared to urban areas. This is inspite women assuming traditional roles of food production leading to the notion of feminisation of agriculture and rural areas being food producers whereas urban areas are considered consumer centres. Rebecca Kent and Mairi MacRea (2010:2) in their research on women, nutrition and livelihood in Zambia observed that inspite an increasing number of women being engaged in agricultural production, there had been limited improvements in their well-being. This may be attributed to unequal power relations and resource allocation among others resulting into increased poverty in female headed households.

---

<sup>1</sup> Abolishing of marketing boards and removal of subsidies on agricultural implements resulted in increased prices for industrial maize leading to public demonstrations and riots.

### **1.3 Objectives of the Study**

The objective of this study is to analyse the gendered implications of FSP and its contribution to improving food security, crop diversification and livelihood activities in male and female headed households. The study examined outcomes in Chembe ward of Kalulushi district which is one area where the intervention has been operational since 2001 farming season.

### **1.4 Research Question.**

The Main Research Question was “What are the gendered implications of Food Security Pack and what has been its contribution to improving food security, crop diversification and livelihood strategies of disadvantaged farming households?”

The specific research questions were:

- a) What gender concerns were addressed within the intervention and how have these led to equality in the allocation of agricultural implements?
- b) How have livelihood and crop diversification activities impacted on food security and practical gender needs within the households?
- c) What kind of vulnerabilities did households encounter and which assets did they employ to cushion themselves from resulting effects?
- d) Has improved food security and/or livelihood strategies entailed better consumption and well-being for women and men in the household?
- e) Which coping/adaptation strategies did households make use of when confronted by external changing environment and what assets did they own?

### **1.5 Relevance and Justification**

Social protection programmes have been used as poverty reduction strategies including in attempts to improve food security in incapacitated households. A gender perspective is relevant in analysing food security and alternative livelihood interventions due to an increase in income and consumption poverty among women-headed households in comparison to male headed households as suggested by Chant, S (2008:8). In addition, food security encompasses production and consumption within the household and in this case, a gender lens is important because according to tradition, women only share in food consumption after men and children have eaten and they are not specifically targeted in agricultural interventions of this nature.

The non-integration of gender-specific constraints and needs in policy and initiatives indicate invisibility of women in public policy and disadvantages them in comparison to men who have priority in the control and access of resources as resource allocation occurs within gendered structures. In addition, most research studies on food security, livelihoods and poverty in general focus on household units with the assumption that all families are nuclear in nature. However, recent years have witnessed an increase in female headed units in all income groups due to, among other factors women’s personal choice not to get married, divorce, separation and/or widowed (Chant 1997:29). Furthermore, a focus on households with regards to food consumption entails that

members therein have equal decision making powers over use of assets and share food equally. This may not be so because families are hierarchical and often have power asymmetries.

The study aims to contribute to debates on food security and livelihood activities from a gender perspective considering household assets. A gender focus is significant given the discouraging picture of food insecurity and invisibility of gender-specific concerns in social protection measures. This may be attributed to gendered structures and ideologies that prevent marginalized groups such as women from benefitting from public resources provided through social protection instruments.

## **1.6 Research Methodology**

This study develops the concepts of food security, social protection and asset-vulnerability conceptual framework developed by Caroline Moser. The rationale for using Moser's asset-vulnerability framework is that it provides relevant insights into poor people's tangible and intangible assets and forms of vulnerabilities with a gender lens.

### ***1.6.1 Field Work***

The study area was Chembe ward in Kalulushi district on the Copperbelt province. It is situated 15 kilometres from Kalulushi town, 80 kilometres North-west of Ndola, the provincial capital of Copperbelt. The district is divided into different administrative units and this study utilised Area Food Security Committees (AFSCs) established in specific areas consisting of different villages from which beneficiaries were selected. The research area is densely populated and located along the main road linking Chembe with Kalulushi town and accessible by road.

The period of analysis for this study was 2007/2008 farming season. The justification for selecting this period of analysis was to assess the sustainability of the intervention in enhancing households' capacity to produce food after graduating from the two year period of assistance. The aim was to study the pattern of food production by understanding farmer cooperative membership as means of accessing subsidized agricultural inputs in male and female households. In addition, it was important to analyse whether or not viable livelihood activities had been promoted during this period.

The study covered different assets derived from the asset-vulnerability framework namely labor, productive assets, human and social capital in male and female headed households. The following were deemed relevant:

### 1.1 Research Indicators

Social capital	-Membership to women/gender groups, farmers cooperative & community relations of social solidarity, community organisations
Labor	-Household division of work, No. of people able to provide labor, roles assigned to men, women & children
Productive assets	-Ownership of land, housing, farming equipment & livestock
Human capital	Investment in education for children/dependents and health of household members

The study did not directly study intra-household relations due to time constraints but was able to analyse related aspects such as division of tasks among household members through labor asset.

### 1.6.2 Sample Population

A total of thirty-one households comprising male and female household heads that had received agricultural assistance in the period under study were selected. The table below shows the distribution according to gender of household head.

### 1.2 Sample Composition

Gender	Frequency	Percentage
Female	19	61.3
Male	12	38.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>100</b>

### 1.6.3 Data Collection

In order to facilitate data collection, the researcher engaged two assistants and half a day was allocated to briefing them on the objectives of the study. Due to the nature of the topic, the study utilised household surveys and respondents were purposively sampled. The surveys were in English though the local language was Bemba. This meant that there had to be translation from English to Bemba so as to communicate with the respondents. A head of household in this case was regarded as “a person that all household members regard as the one who makes day-to-day decision concerning running of the household”, (Michelo Stanford 2005:20). There were occasions when beneficiary household heads were not available in which case questionnaires were administered to household members available at that time. The questionnaires comprised both open ended and closed ended questions. Open ended ques-

tions allowed the enumerators to obtain detailed information related to the research topic while giving respondents flexibility in terms of responses pertaining to household food security and assets. Closed ended questions were used with the view of maintaining focus on the study topic.

In addition, semi-structured interviews with key informants involved in the implementation and monitoring of FSP were conducted. Two interviews with the National Coordinator for FSP in MCDSS were held. The researcher held the first interview to lay the foundation for field work and it offered useful information on whether or not there were gender and assets considerations in the design and delivery of the project. The rationale and impact on subsistence food production and livelihood activities was also explored in this interview. The second interview was held at the end of field work and was intended to discuss and shed light on findings from the field.

At the district level, a group meeting was held with members of the District Food Security Committee (DFSC). The committee is responsible for actual allocation and distribution of agricultural inputs allocated to the district and performance monitoring of beneficiary household. This meeting was significant in that the expertise of members was critical in understanding the gendered implications of FSP and its contribution to promoting livelihoods. In this discussion, the researcher used English to communicate as the group comprised of technocrats from different government departments and local organisations working in the area.

At the village level, two group discussions were held with committee members of two AFSCs in Chembe west A and B. These interviews provided data on processes of beneficiary identification, agricultural inputs distribution, household characteristics and assets in male and female beneficiary households in respective communities. Another area of interest was whether or not sustainable food security and reliable asset base had been created in targeted households. Furthermore, committee members provided unbiased information relating to food production and livelihood activities among beneficiaries and how assets impacted on household capacity to access food. The local language was used in these meetings though some members were able to speak and understand both English and Bemba. This was done to encourage open discussions.

#### ***1.6.4 Data Analysis***

Data generated in this research was qualitative in nature and analysis relied on descriptive statistics. The researcher utilised computer software called Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) to analyse data and generate charts with the view of demonstrating the significance of variables under study and salient research findings.

#### ***1.6.5 Limitations of the study***

Households that were captured in this study were purposively selected. This poses limitations as findings obtained cannot be used to draw generalisations on FSP's role in improving household food security, crop diversification and livelihood activities.



The background and details of FSP are elaborated in chapter 2. Chapter 3 examines debates on food security, approaches to social protection and the asset vulnerability framework of analysis connecting different assets possessed by farming households with food security, crop diversification and alternative livelihood activities. Chapter 4 explores associations between a set of selected variables relevant to the area of study. Chapter 5 discusses specific findings pertaining to food security, crop diversification and household livelihood strategies in efforts to sustain livelihoods. Finally, chapter 6 provides the summary, conclusion and policy recommendations.

## **Chapter 2:**

# **Contextualising and Examining the Food Security Pack Programme in Zambia.**

### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter analyses factors that brought about food insecurity in Zambia leading to the formulation and implementation of the FSP. In addition, there is an elaboration of the poverty levels and details of FSP as a social protection system.

### **2.2 Background of the Study**

There were political, social, natural and economic factors that contributed to food insecurity in Zambia from the 1980s and 1990s during which the country embarked on economic reforms under Structural Adjustment Programme and during the period 2002-2003 during the food crisis of Southern Africa. Between 1991 and 2000, government's liberalisation policies were influenced by the necessity to cut down on national expenditure while promotion of agriculture and reduction of poverty especially in rural areas was secondary, (Kodamaya 2011:25). Resulting socio-economic reforms included trade liberalization encompassing agricultural market liberalization that resulted in reduction of agricultural production. Fiscal and monetary changes were embarked upon and the manner in which these were implemented by the then political regime interacted with agricultural market liberalization to bring about negative effects insofar as food production, consumption and adequacy were concerned, (Seshamani 1998:540).

In addition, liberalization of agricultural marketing and removal of government controls on pricing system in 1992 meant that fertilizer acquisition became the responsibility of farming households who started to purchase implements at market prices compared to the provision of subsidies on fertilizers and seeds as the case previously. The above measure only worked well for commercial farmers who had the capacity to purchase at market prices as they had returns to consider. However, subsidies were later re-introduced in 2002 in a programme aimed at subsidizing small scale farmers who were organised in farmer cooperatives, (Kodamaya 2011:8). Preceding 1992, the state through established institutional structures exercised control over pricing and marketing mechanisms of agricultural produce by procuring food grains and distributing agricultural inputs to small-scale farmers even in remote and inaccessible areas. During this period, food accessibility for mostly non-farming households in the urban areas and flow of income for rural farming households improved but the system was not sustainable as government incurred huge budget deficits in the implementation of the programme, (Seshamani 1998: 542). As a result, there was a decrease in food production and poor rural households suffered from high costs associated with production and accessibility of food particularly maize meal.

Furthermore, declining and fluctuating <sup>2</sup>copper prices at the international market during the 1990s up to 2004 entailed that the country did not have the capacity to obtain much needed revenues to finance domestic requirements in order to support local development such as agriculture. The result was worsening food insecurity situation for the population but particularly for subsistence farming households in rural areas. Seshamani (1998:546) attributes the worsening of the food insecurity situation to three factors related to the manner in which policies were implemented in the period after 1993 and are linked to the rate, progression and political considerations that were applied in implementing economic restructuring reforms.

There had been ecological and social factors such as droughts and increasing poverty among subsistence farmers that had contributed to food insecurity and reduction of agricultural production particularly of maize which is the staple food and used primarily for human consumption but also livestock. Mungoma and Mwambula as cited in Edmeades (1996:83) observe a decline in agricultural production in Zambia during the late 1980s and attribute this to among other reasons, drought and reduced utilization of fertilizer. This threatened food production adding that the worst drought was during the 1991/1992 farming season which affected most parts of Southern Africa and even at present, the country still experienced periods where there were partial droughts. During years of insufficient food, farming households in rural areas experienced harsh conditions and increasing deprivations due to loss of income and adequate food for personal consumption (Seshamani 1998: 546).

From the fore-going discussion, it can be noted that the political and economic reforms of the 1990s and early 2000s, some of which were aimed at liberalising the agriculture sector did not lead to increased food production as few subsistence farming households were able to utilize agriculture inputs because they were expensive. Results included food shortages, poverty and increased incidence of social unrest, (Kodamaya 2011:6). Change in political regime occurred in 2001 accompanied by modifications in policy direction and priority areas. There were alterations to economic reforms experienced during the implementation of liberalization and stabilization policies of the 1990s. Through the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PSRP) formulated by government in consultation with bilateral and multilateral donors, strategic plans were developed stating priority areas of development.

The vision of the new government was to among others improve household and national food production by ensuring that vulnerable farming households and small scale farmers organised in cooperatives were able to engage in agricultural production throughout the year. In order to stimulate growth and reduce poverty in the agricultural sector, a National Agricultural Policy from 2004-2015 was formulated in 2004 ,(ibid:8) It is under these social, economic, natural and political factors that the Food Security Pack programme was conceptualized and came into being.

---

<sup>2</sup> Zambia is the largest copper producing and exporting country in Africa

## 2.2 Population and poverty levels

In the 2010 census of population and housing conducted by the Central Statistical Office (CSO), Zambia's population was estimated to be at 13,046,505 of which 51 percent were females and 49 percent were males. With regards to area of concentration, it was estimated that the majority of the population representing 61 percent resided in the rural areas and 39 percent were in the urban areas, (Zambia Central Statistical Office website: 2011).<sup>3</sup>The total population of Kalulushi district as of 2010 stood at 96,206 with Chembe having 1,647 of which 844 were males and 803 were females. From the total population figure, a total of 818 were 18 years and above.

According to Kapungwe (2004:485) in a study on the trends, patterns and levels of poverty in Zambia, it was estimated that 73 percent of households in 1998 were poor with the majority of them located in the rural areas. Poverty rates were at variance based on status of employment, sector, gender and marital status of household head. Female headed households, those without any formal education and in agriculture were among those with high poverty rates. In addition, MCDSS (January,2010:1), estimated that rural poverty stood at 79 percent, a situation requiring urgent poverty reduction interventions in order to stimulate rural socio-economic growth. Schubert and Goldberg estimate that in Zambia, there was approximately two million people suffering from moderate food poverty with an additional three million experiencing critical poverty,(2005:4).

## 2.3 Food Security Pack Programme

According to the Regional Hunger and Vulnerability programme (REBA 2007:2), the Food Security Pack is a government-funded social transfer scheme that was established in November 2000. It became operational during the 2000/2001 agricultural season and is implemented in all the seventy-two districts of Zambia .The programme was a response to threats of food insecurity and malnutrition that had become prevalent following drought and socio-economic problems that affected the country's capacity to produce adequate food at household and subsequently, national level. The aim of the programme was to assist food insecure households with productive inputs and corresponding training in efficient farming methods for small scale agricultural production. From inception, the project was conceived as a short term measure to improve household food security and was scheduled to last for three years but was currently still operational and had continued to assist vulnerable but viable households though at a reduced scale.

The programme intended to target an estimated 20% of incapacitated subsistence farming households to improve food security as first priority. However, these households had the possibility of exchanging surplus produce to meet domestic needs in order to improve well-being. The intervention was

---

<sup>3</sup> The district population figures were provided during an interview with Mr. Kaonga Namenda the Deputy Director of the department of Development Planning at Kalulushi Municipal Council on 22<sup>nd</sup> of August, 2011.

meant to achieve three main objectives namely <sup>4</sup>provision of basic agricultural implements to poor subsistence farming households that had no capacity to acquire inputs at market prices, secondly promotion of crop diversification and agricultural activity to include alternative livelihood activities. Lastly, promotion of conservation farming techniques as a method of increasing crop yields was seen as means of increasing agricultural produce, (ibid). It is important to consider these objectives in detail.

The first objective as stated above was to provide essential agricultural inputs to poor farming households based on a set of primary and secondary criteria. In the design of the instrument, it was assumed that these households did not have the capacity to purchase farm inputs at market prices and as such they experienced a form of vulnerability. Those assessed to be vulnerable included incapacitated male and female-headed households, households looking after the sick and elderly, child-headed households and people with disabilities. These had to meet conditions such as not being in gainful employment, having access to land on which to cultivate but not utilizing less than a hectare and had to have human labour to engage in farming activity. The notion of viability of these households was assumed to mean the capacity to engage in agricultural activity in spite experiencing some form of vulnerability that prevented them from engaging in agricultural production.

The second objective was to encourage diversification of crops and agricultural activity including alternative sources of livelihood as means of asset-building. This involved rearing of small livestock such as goats or local chickens. In this vein, the project allowed for the purchase and distribution of breeding livestock among beneficiary households as a way of diversifying agricultural activity, increasing nutritional source and providing income and capital to meet immediate household needs such as investment in human capital (ibid p:5). As explained by Kodamaya (2011:11), the package comprised of different crop seeds aimed at encouraging households to cultivate a variety of food crops in order to promote food security and nutrition. Furthermore, this was done to support the shift from reliance on maize as a main food crop to cassava or other root tubers as drought-resistant crops especially with the experience of droughts in recent years. Each recipient household received 0.25<sup>5</sup> ha of cereal seed, 0.25 ha of legume, 0.25 ha of tubers, two 50 kg bags of compound 'D' and two 50 kg bags of urea fertilizer to be used for maize cultivation, (MCDSS January,2010:9). Households received agricultural inputs for two consecutive farming seasons after which they were expected to become self sustaining and food secure resulting in their graduation from the project.

Within the last objective, it was envisaged that promotion of conservation farming methods over conventional methods would contribute to household food security by increasing and sustaining crop production (MCDSS

---

<sup>4</sup> Inputs were provided as a minimal loan repayment scheme to households to inculcate a sense of responsibility and ownership. They were expected to pay a small percentage of their produce to a community established grain bank which served as a revolving fund where other community members not initially assisted could benefit from.

<sup>5</sup> Ha (hectare) is equal to 4 acres of land. 0.25 ha is equal to 1 acre

January,2010:3). Some conservational farming methods that were promoted included planting in basins, leaving crop residue for the next harvest, nitrogen –fixing crop rotations and early planting during the first rains. This provided for soil fertility improvement and erosion control practices in order to achieve a sustainable farming system. These methods were considered beneficial but time-consuming and labor intensive for female headed households in comparison to male headed units. Majority female-headed units lacked labor and often suffered the consequences of food insecurity and poverty.

As much as there were other factors that contributed to food insecurity as earlier discussed, most farming techniques as practiced in rural areas where the main preoccupation is agriculture have had their role, (Tearfund International Learning Zone. 2009). The project’s emphasis on conservational farming methods was based on the understanding that households needed to acquire knowledge and practices that would increase crop production while utilizing less fertilizer and conserve soil and water while controlling soil erosion. These benefits would then accrue to the farmer households by providing opportunities for improved and sustainable livelihood strategies.

Moreover, in a population experiencing high poverty levels, FSP had a high potential of improving household food security and strengthening livelihood strategies in beneficiary households by addressing gender-specific concerns in relation to assets in female and male headed households. Meaningful assistance to poor people should consider beneficiary household assets as developed by Moser, social risks and vulnerabilities because these impact on food production and ultimately consumption for present and future generations.

**Figure 1.1: Photo narration of female and male household heads**



Source: field work,2011



*Harvest of female headed household*



*Source: field work, 2011*





Figures 1.3 and 1.4 -A female and male beneficiary in their respective fields.  
Source: Programme Against Malnutrition (PAM) Presentation, 2008



## CHAPTER 3: Conceptual Framework of Analysis

### 3.1 Introduction

The chapter discusses three relevant concepts that form the basis of understanding the dynamics of food security and livelihood activities in female and male headed households. These are food security, social protection and Moser's asset vulnerability framework of analysis.

### 3.2 Food Security

The concept of food security is defined differently in development studies. Nevertheless, there is general agreement on underlying characteristic of household food security as being "secure access at all times to sufficient food," (Maxwell and Smith 1992:8). According to Seshamani (1998:1), food security is defined as

*"the ability of individuals and households in a country to have adequate access to food either by producing it themselves, by having enough income to buy food from outlets within the country or from abroad, or by taking advantage of a public distribution system"*.

The above definition identifies an individual or household's capacity to access food through a market system which means that these have money to exchange for food. Nonetheless, individual or households who are incapacitated may access food through a public distribution system such as social protection.

Food security is analysed from different perspectives namely international, national and household levels. The 1980s saw a shift in the level of analysis from aggregate food supplies on national and international levels to household and individual food security with a specific focus on accessibility, vulnerability and entitlement, (Maxwell and Smith 1992:6). Hence, it is important to focus on individuals within households due to intra-household dynamics on the basis of gender and age among others owing to the recognition that households may be sources of inequalities with regards to production and sharing of food.

The researcher agrees with the perspective taken by the Rome Declaration on World Food Security at the World Food Summit of 1996 which defines food security from a right-to-food perspective because of its emphasis on human dignity and accountability of national governments to uphold citizen's rights. To demonstrate the importance of the right-to-food, the World Food Summit developed a Plan of Action to promote effective means of attaining food security for everyone. In addition, "the normative content of the right was spelled out in General Comment No.12 of the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR), the supervisory body of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR)", (Mechlem 2004:2).

The right-to-food has been included in international and regional documents such as the 2003 Protocol on the Rights of Women to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights. It is however important to note that the

right-to-food was earlier “recognised in Article 25 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) in 1948 and is enshrined in Article 11 of the ICESCR of 1966” before debates on food security emerged in the 1970s, (ibid). It is this approach to food as a right to be enjoyed by individuals and households that informs this study based on the rationale that food is a right that every man, woman and child should enjoy. For individuals lacking this capacity, national governments have a responsibility to provide a conducive environment and necessary entitlements to ensure this is accomplished.

The Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) in 2005 estimated that about 50 percent of Zambia’s population was experiencing food poverty described ‘as consuming on the average less than the minimum energy requirement. According to FAO, this is “1,800 Kcal per person (adult equivalent) per day”, (Schubert and Goldberg 2005:4). Food security encompasses not only calories or quantity but goes further to include whether or not people are able to lead active, healthy and productive lives. Rural households encounter challenges in producing adequate food due to unfavourable weather patterns, high prices for agricultural inputs and other socio-economic factors. Food is regarded as basic need and therefore assumes first priority in the hierarchy of needs as proposed by Abraham Maslow. It thus needs to be satisfied first before other needs, (Maxwell and Smith 1992: 28).

Food insecurity exacerbates poverty, “not just in terms of negative nutritional effects on health and livelihoods but through the use of coping mechanisms such as asset sales which make it harder for families to lift themselves out of the poverty trap”, (Harrigan 2008:237). This explains increasing poverty and food insecurity in low income female headed households compared to their male counterparts. The 1998 Zambian Living Conditions Monitoring Survey (Zambia Central Statistical Office. 2011) explained how female-headed households had a high probability of being extremely poor and food insecure compared to male-headed households. This is despite a larger proportion of women being involved in livelihood activities directly related to agricultural food production whereas majority of men were reportedly involved in income-generating activities not directly linked to food provision

There are three essential elements to food security namely the extent to which food is available, accessed and utilized so that people continue to be productive. Analysing factors that influence food production in male and female headed units including the way food is distributed and consumed within households is important. These include patriarchal traditions that disadvantage women considering that men and children assume priority followed by women, (Cherinet 2004). Variability in agricultural production due to deteriorating weather conditions and inadequacy of agricultural policies present risks for poor rural households especially those headed by women. This is compounded by the necessity for labor intensive work required in agriculture and the reality that labor may not be available in female headed households’ thereby impacting on food production. Persistence in food insecurity threatens human capital and labor as assets that incapacitated rural households own due to its potential to increase diseases and impact on households’ capacity to take on agricultural activities to avert hunger.

A significant aspect to promoting food security is crop diversification which also serves as a poverty reduction tool. It is an agricultural strategy with the potential of providing sources of income and food for farming households as elaborated by Jayne et al, (2007:14). Crop diversification entails households growing different crops and is encouraged in order to stimulate growth in agricultural-based rural economy as well as improve nutritional sources. It however requires the availability of appropriate assets such as land on which to grow crops and additional labor to prepare land and manage crops. This strategy is also used by households to grow drought-resistant crops that use less or no fertilizer and are ecologically adaptable to specific weather conditions especially in recent years when subsistence farmers have experienced a decrease in maize production due to unfavourable weather conditions. In Zambia, diversifying into crops such as cassava and sweet potatoes is perceived to be viable due to increased local importance as they are not only used to promote food security but also as cash crops that rural households can benefit from, (Mwanaumo 1999:19).

### **3.3 Social Protection Interventions**

Increased patterns of gendered poverty and vulnerability in developing countries has resulted in the recognition that gender equality and women's empowerment significantly contribute to the attainment of socio-economic development goals. Nevertheless, social protection systems as poverty reduction programmes do not sufficiently embrace gender-specific issues in their design and implementation. Holmes and Jones note that the absence of gender sensitive issues in social protection mechanisms influence risks tackled by the intervention and implementation practices, (2010:01). Social protection programmes have been used to address rising poverty and vulnerability but the degree to which gender is addressed in these policies is insignificant. Addressing gender inequalities in social protection programmes is relevant because of their potential to create new forms of inequality or "undermine or reinforce/intensify existing gender inequalities", (Chhachhi 2009:13).

Rural farming households experience an array of vulnerabilities in domestic and production spheres such as loss of production due to droughts, floods and increasing prices for agricultural inputs, (Slater and Holmes 2008: 4). Observations have been made that social protection instruments focus mainly on tackling economic risks and vulnerabilities such as lack of income and consumption while neglecting social risks. This has contributed to rising poverty in beneficiary households especially those headed by women, (ibid: 3). A strong relationship between poverty and food insecurity exists as chronically poor people are susceptible to food insecurity often with narrow coping mechanisms.

Chhachhi (2009:7) explains that there are different conceptual perspectives of social protection schemes with distinguishing factors being on the basis of objectives to be attained and methods in which activities are planned and operationalised. Based on this, she assesses four distinct channels of improving the socio-economic wellbeing of people from a gender perspective. These are citizenship based entitlements, employment based entitlements, community based entitlements and market based entitlements. Recent debates surrounding

social protection and as discussed in this section subscribe to one or more of these areas. They range from the Social Risk Management Framework as advanced by the World Bank, the International Labor Organisation's (ILO) preferred interventions and other approaches focusing on citizenship rights.

According to Chhachhi (2009:8),

“the World Bank’s Social Risk Management framework sees the poor as being the most vulnerable to risks, markets as the best solution, and social protection measures as enabling people to take risks and thereby ‘spring’ out of poverty”.

The World Bank defines social protection as “a collection of measures to improve or protect human capital, ranging from labor market interventions, publicly mandated unemployment or old-age insurance to targeted income support. Social protection interventions assist individuals, households and communities to better manage the income risks that leave people vulnerable”, as cited in Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler (2004:3). This approach assumes a narrow view of vulnerability and its sources particularly for farming households and does not take on board responsibilities of the State to provide adequate entitlements and safeguard basic human rights to ensure a humane standard of living. The role of the State is to ensure that markets perform efficiently so that these in turn provide a cushion when negative changes in the environment occur. Furthermore, recent recurring economic crises have demonstrated that markets are not the best solution in providing social security because of inherent instabilities.

The ILO ‘s approach towards social protection is that of ensuring wide coverage of social security to marginalised populations and promoting decent work more so in this era of increased informalisation of labor in formal and informal organisations. The focus of this approach is to ensure provision of basic income to poor men and women in need of protection, (Reynaud 2002:1). Van Ginneken from the ILO defines social protection as “the provision of benefits to households and individuals through public or collective arrangements to protect against low or declining living standards”, (1999:5). While this perspective may promote a minimum standard of living for poor people, the researcher argues that the capacity of the state to provide this depends largely on the country’s level of development and political will to provide resources in order to uphold basic rights. Developing countries like Zambia may not have adequate resources or may embrace different development priorities such as infrastructure development, mining and quarrying.

The Asian Development Bank (ADB) has advanced a broad definition of social protection which refers to “a set of policies and programs designed to reduce poverty and vulnerability by promoting efficient labor markets, diminishing people’s exposure to risks and enhancing their capacity to protect themselves against hazards and interruption/loss of income”. From this, five major elements are identified. Firstly are policies and programmes relating to the labor markets aimed at creating employment and advance efficient operation of the labor markets. The second aspect deals with social insurance programmes concerned with mitigating risks related to unemployment, disability, health, old age and injuries sustained while on duty. The third aspect is social assistance and welfare service programmes meant to target vulnerable groups of society lacking support by granting subsistence. Encompassed also are micro and area-

based schemes that deal with risks and vulnerabilities encountered at the community level. Finally, there is consideration for child protection by ensuring “a healthy and productive development of the future workforce of the Asian and Pacific region”, (Ortiz and Abada 2001:41).

The researcher agrees with Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler’s criticism of above perspectives on social protection. This is because of limitations based on three major areas. The first concerns the identification of issues to be addressed in which case such perceptions take a narrow view of economic and livelihood risks and exclude important social threats such as “child labor, domestic violence, armed conflict and ethnic discrimination”, (2004:4). The researcher agrees that risks are multidimensional and intertwined as such it is not enough to have interventions that address economic challenges and livelihoods while neglecting social risks. The second challenge is with prioritisation of problems as advanced in these definitions. Emphasis is placed on addressing either “low levels of income or living standards: or downward fluctuations in incomes and declining living standards”, (ibid).

Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler advance that both aspects need to be addressed at the same time through social assistance and social insurance in addition to tackling social injustice resulting from structural inequalities and misuse of authority in order to promote social equity. The last challenge presented by the above perspectives pertains to who is supposed to provide social protection. Apart from public agencies and other collective organisations, the duo suggest that providers should include formal institutions, both public and private as well as informal organisations be they ‘collective’ or community based,(ibid).

Devereux (2001:514) explains that social assistance and social insurance serve as redistributive transfers to the poor and vulnerable. Social assistance facilitates reduction in the severity of chronic poverty whereas social insurance aims at evening consumption and avoidance of poverty. Social assistance mechanisms include social cash transfers, vouchers, food and agricultural inputs support to incapacitated and low-capacity households. Social assistance mechanisms thus aim at protecting and promoting livelihoods of poor populations. Social protection systems are defined as

“all public and private initiatives that provide income and consumption transfer to the poor, protect the vulnerable against livelihood risks and enhance the social status and rights of the marginalised: with the overall objective of reducing the economic and social vulnerability of poor, vulnerable and marginalised groups,” (Devereux et al. 2004:9).

Furthermore, these measures may be distinguished based on set objectives such as prevention of vulnerability, protection from vulnerability and associated risks, promotion of household capacity to be cushioned from vulnerability, deprivations and risks or facilitation of transformation in ensuring social justice among vulnerable citizens, (Ellis et al. 2009:7). Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler further observe that there may be no clear distinction between these measures of social protection interventions as a program may contain elements of two or more at the same time. For instance, there are projects concerned with public works targeting ‘transferring short term food or cash’ to people

while building infrastructure for long term use, (2004:11). A Zambian example is the Programme Urban Self Help (PUSH) which engages people majority women, to undertake public works such as construction of feeder roads in exchange for essential food items or cash.

The researcher argues that other than social protection interventions being primarily concerned with economic risks, attention should be cast at addressing social risks inherent in social structures within which economic risks occur and are addressed. Social risks relate to gender inequalities, intra-household resource access, ownership, and utilisation, discriminatory traditions and customs which increase women's vulnerability. These make visible the gendered nature of poverty and if social protection measures are aimed at reducing poverty, it is important that they reduce inequalities. Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler refer to this form of social protection as the transformative element because it aims at promoting social equity and addressing exclusion of marginalised groups from policy, (2004: 9).

According to Schubert and Goldberg (2005:4), beneficiaries of social protection in Zambia are targeted depending on consumption related food poverty line and not income related absolute poverty line. The consumption based poverty line is deemed appropriate due to the understanding that firstly, real consumption is more likely to reflect one's welfare than earnings. Secondly, a household's capacity to fulfil basic requirements is reflected in consumption patterns and lastly, earnings are not better measured compared to consumption.

The Zambian government in the Fifth National Development Plan (FNDP), which is an instrument of planning for priority policies and corresponding programmes acknowledges that poverty rates among women headed households are higher representing 58% in comparison to male headed households with 43% (GRZ 2006:313). This not only validates the notion of 'feminisation of poverty', which presupposes that female headed households have a likelihood of being extremely poor and suffer from food insufficiency in comparison to households headed by men but also indicates the need to develop poverty mitigating measures. The extent to which social protection systems as poverty reduction interventions have succeeded in lessening poverty is a matter of debate among development practitioners. This is due to structural weaknesses and implementation challenges such as reduced budgetary allocation translating into a reduction in the number of vulnerable poor to be supported, (MCDSS January,2010:1). Reasons advanced for this include preference to increase investment in so-called 'productive sectors' such as tourism and mining while neglecting the social sector.

### **3.4 The Asset-Vulnerability Framework**

Taking a livelihood perspective is central to understanding rural development and poverty reduction mechanisms. Chambers and Conway, quoted in Scoones define livelihoods as consisting "capabilities, assets and activities for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, while not undermining the natural resource base", (2009:175). Without viable livelihood activities and formal systems to mitigate risks and vulnerabilities encoun-

tered by rural populations, people do not have alternative actions but to apply negative coping strategies such as reducing the quality of food especially in low income women headed households, indebtedness and sale of assets out of desperation. This is not only harmful but prevents poor households from accumulating assets again and consequently do not help them to come out of poverty in the long term, (Holmes and Jones 2010:12).

Moser's asset-vulnerability framework of analysis is designed to depict assets possessed and utilized by urban poor populations in developing countries under conditions of poverty. However, it can be applied in rural areas in the same conditions. The framework argues that poor people are managers of a multifaceted collection of assets and further identifies tangible assets namely labor, productive assets and human capital in addition to intangible assets specifically household relations and social capital, (Moser 1998a:25). These assets are relevant in discussions on food security in male and female headed households because the way these are managed determines access to food and income for other domestic requirements.

Ellis refers to assets as 'stocks of capital that can be utilized directly or indirectly to generate the means of survival of the household or to sustain its material well being at differing levels above survival ,'(2000:31, Ellis and White 2010). Being stocks of capital, assets are 'sometimes equated to resources, assets give rise to a flow of output. In other words, they are brought into being when a surplus is generated between production and consumption thus enabling an investment in future productive capacity to be made' (Ibid).

Nevertheless, the researcher disagrees with assumptions made within the framework that suggest households are unitary and regardless of their composition, there would be agreement regarding usage of assets therefore supposing that members have identical priorities. This study observed that household members in female and male headed units had competing needs and interests such that decisions on asset utilization became a process of negotiations. The following section examines these assets before a discussion on their application in this study is developed.

### ***3.4.1 Labor***

According to the framework, labor is the most important asset possessed by poor households and is used to promote income earning ventures in response to vulnerable conditions. Among some of the strategies employed included increasing the number of women working outside the home either in the formal or informal sector depending on educational attainment and opportunities in addition to men working, women's involvement in an array of activities in order to meet mounting household tasks and dependence on children's labor to assist in household tasks and/or home based income earning ventures,(Moser 1998a:30).

### ***3.4.2 Human Capital***

In order for poor households to use their labor productively, they should invest in basic health and education. This is an important aspect because it de-

termines their ability to work and type of work in efforts to sustain livelihoods. Investment in education increases their chances of coming out of poverty and improves future livelihoods because of expected returns on their labor as people acquire skills and knowledge. These two aspects of human capital development are critical in rising from poverty and reducing vulnerability.

### ***3.4.3 Productive Assets***

Poor people in urban areas possess productive assets including housing, sewing machines, refrigerators and bicycles. Of all these assets, housing ownership was found to be the most important productive asset for this category of people as they were able to rent out housing to other people or for use in home-based enterprises especially for women allowing them to combine income generation activities and domestic tasks, (Moser 1998a:32). The use of productive assets was important as a source of income to smoothen consumption and reduce vulnerability.

### ***3.4.4 Household Relations***

The manner in which household members relate with each other with respect to contributing incomes, resources and dividing consumption among themselves determine the unit's 'ability to adjust to changes in the external environment', (Moser 1998a:33). In addition, composition, structure and unity of household members may most likely influence the rate at which members will organize supplementary labor and divide tasks. This may increase or reduce vulnerability or rate of recovery from risky events. As much as households are assets insofar as they provide security and redistribute income to members, they are also viewed as sources of inequalities for some members especially pertaining to allocation of resources and tasks. For instance, women in the urban study took on multiple tasks thereby combining paid work with domestic responsibilities whereas men only took on productive work, (Moser 1998a: 35).

### ***3.4.5 Social Capital***

The asset-vulnerability framework recognizes social capital as an important asset not only in building but also maintaining mutual trust that is critical in promoting unity and transformation. According to this framework, the stocks of social capital available within a community will influence the degree to which vulnerabilities reduce and new opportunities emerge for poor households, (Moser 1998a: 36). Stocks of social capital include reciprocal relations both long and short term, social and local networks of trust and cooperation in organizations at the community level. The level of social capital in the community is dependent on whether or not social institutions present are horizontal or hierarchical in structure citing the former as having potential to promote more stocks of social capital. Like other assets within this framework, social capital is not stable because households and communities undergo changes resulting in changes in support to each other.



### ***3.4.6 Vulnerability***

Assets are used by incapacitated households as means of responding to vulnerabilities in the external environment. Socio-economic risks are gendered because men and women experience poverty differently and as such are affected differently by the same vulnerabilities. Vulnerability as conceptualised within the asset-vulnerability framework refers to “insecurity and sensitivity in the well-being of individuals, households and communities in the face of a changing environment”, (1998a:3).

Additionally, literature on food security defines vulnerability within the context of undesirable results directly related to a household’s inability to grow food such as hunger, famine or food insecurity (Dilley and Boudreau 2001:231). Moreover, endogenous and exogenous risk factors are identified as being critical to discussions on vulnerabilities related to food security. Exogenous risk factors include natural hazards, political and economic hazards that can have adverse effects on food security and are resolved using policy provisions. Endogenous risk factors on the other hand comprise of “intrinsic vulnerability of exposed elements”, (Dilley and Boudreau 2001:232). Both sets of risk factors proved valuable in this research specifically that FSP was a of policy response to unfavorable climatic conditions and socio-economic changes that threatened rural livelihoods. The level and resulting effects of vulnerability as experienced by households is related to types of assets owned entailing that the more assets one possesses, the less likely they will be vulnerable and coping strategies will be strengthened.

Male and female headed households own different asset portfolios and consequently utilization and depletion levels would vary as such. The influencing factors are household constitution and organisation as noted by Moser, (1998:10). While the framework has provided valuable insights on the urban poor people’s assets, coping and adaptation strategies, it has proved to be inadequate in explaining risks and challenges related to agricultural food production such as lack of income to purchase farm inputs, drought, floods or inadequate rainfall that have the potential to negatively impact on farming households capacity to grow adequate food, later alone sale of surplus in order to access domestic requirements. The framework emphasizes risks and vulnerabilities related to income-poverty that affects people’s capacity to access food and other household requirements in conditions of rising prices and deteriorating socio-economic circumstances.

### ***3.4.7 Gender***

The framework establishes a close linkage between assets and socio-economic gender-specific vulnerabilities which are often multiple and inter-linked. Gender assumes significance specifically with respect to division of tasks with regards to adequate manpower in periods of vulnerability and household asset base. Depending on whether the household is male or female headed, composition and structure, potential inequalities emerge owing to unequal division of labor within the households,(Moser 1998a:30). Kent and MacRea (2010:387) observed that women were involved in both agricultural food production and reproductive work resulting in increased workload compared to men. Thus, it can be deduced that households may be sources of ine-

quality with regards to tasks and responsibilities. This is because regardless of the type of household, families are hierarchical and there are power structures that influence allocation of resources and tasks, (Curtis 1986:169).

Socio-economic factors determine forms of livelihood activities that male and female households undertake. These include assets such as household relations, labor, productive assets, human and social capital, one's access and control over resources. In order to improve sources of livelihood, people should exercise agency and make appropriate decision relating to utilization of proceeds arising thereof. Differences in this regard arise depending on type of household. Women are traditionally not allowed to exercise direct control over productive assets and often need the permission of husbands or male relatives to do so. Consequently, they have limited choices in livelihood activities and the problem is compounded by low levels of education and skills among rural women.

This dispels assertions that since women are responsible for food production, they are less likely to encounter vulnerabilities related to food. In reality the agricultural sector in Zambia is comprised largely of poor women farmers in low income stratum. Majority of these are in rural areas and have little or no education resulting in lack of control and access to productive resources such as land, effective extension services, fertilizer, seed, irrigation technology and credit facilities. This is compounded by discriminatory traditional norms of ownership and inheritance that prevent women from owning property and other productive resources. These factors influence the extent to which women headed households would successfully engage in production of food to ensure sufficient food availability and stable livelihoods.

### ***3.4.8 Alternative Livelihood Strategies***

Components of social assistance in developing countries given increasing patterns of poverty and inequality, in part attributed to effects of neo-liberal economic globalization include not only provision of welfare support to poor households but also protection and promotion of household livelihoods, (Slater and Holmes 2008: 5). Poor households employ a number of strategies to cushion themselves against risks and sustain livelihoods by generating income from different sources. In the urban study, households reacted by widening sources of income through drawing more women into the informal and formal labor force, inclusion of children into income earning ventures and activities in home-based enterprises among others, (Moser 1998a:29). Considering different forms and sources of vulnerability experienced by rural households and types of assets owned, it's important to examine the manner in which they manage these assets because this determines their capacity to circumvent or ease rising negative effects

Diversifying livelihoods away from agriculture is important for poor farming households because it provides avenues for alternative sources of income essential for enhancing a minimum standard of living. In addition, the consideration of gender relations in livelihood diversification activities is relevant given the social context of households. The degree to which households will diversify livelihoods depends on factors such as seasonality as this may determine availability of labor for agricultural production as well as engagement in

other income earning activities, household assets such as labor and composition, skills of members, social and familial context, (Ellis 1998:11).

As a source of livelihood, agricultural assistance to poor households in the form of fertilizer and seeds enhances their capacity to diversify sources of livelihoods in order to improve well-being. Livelihood diversification according to Ellis refers to a “process by which rural families construct a diverse portfolio of activities and social support capabilities in their struggle for survival and in order to improve their standard of living”, (1998:4). Furthermore, livelihoods are not only limited to cash and in-kind incomes but include social institutions, existing gender relations, right to and benefits of particular services made available by the state and property rights that are critical in ensuring a particular measure of living. Diversification of livelihoods and enhancement of future capabilities in this case depends on investment in household assets as indicated earlier.

Incapacitated households, especially those headed by women make use of social ties within familial and community structures as livelihood sources in periods of negative effects of the external environment. This form of social capital asset may provide opportunities that include obtaining credit (cash, maize grain from neighbours or informal community structures) and exchanging maize grain with items such as beans, fish or locally available food items. Closely connected to livelihood activities is the concept of agency which refers to a person’s capacity to determine his or her goals and to do something that leads to the attainment of set goals,(Rozel 2010:19). Furthermore, one’s ability to make decisions largely rests on assets or resources possessed and as noted earlier, women from low income population in rural areas have limited access to and control over productive resources. This tends to undermine their ability to engage in meaningful livelihood activities to improve their well-being and promote effective agency in decision making.

Given that women have limited access to resources such as land, farming equipment and finances, their income earning capacity is often weak and involvement in entrepreneurship activities is mainly at a small scale principally in less profitable merchandise such as kitchen equipment and small livestock , (ibid). Rebecca Kent and Mairi MacRae observed that while men engaged in income-generating activities such as fishing, carpentry and other natural-resource related activities, women were involved in beer brewing, agricultural based livelihoods and mushroom growing,(2010:394).

### **3.5 Linkages to the Study**

Firstly, the asset vulnerability framework of analysis is important in understanding the asset base of poor households and how they utilize available assets to buffer themselves against vulnerabilities and sustain livelihoods. Secondly, a gender perspective is significant in understanding poverty because of its gendered nature. This is in addition to comprehending vulnerabilities and strategies that male and female headed units employ to sustain livelihoods. Lastly, it challenges socio-economic development planners to comprehensively integrate poor people’s assets and gender needs in the design and implementation of poverty reduction policies and subsequent initiatives such as social protection.

## **3.6 Operationalisation of Framework**

This section discusses the manner in which assets as propounded within Moser's framework were applied in this study. Due to time limitation, the researcher selected four out of five assets which were subsequently studied during the research namely labor, productive assets, human and social capital. As the framework links assets to household vulnerability, it is plausible that there may be dynamics in male and female headed households with regards to possession and utilization of productive assets, labor and household relations.

### ***3.6.1 Labor***

Labor availability and utilization in this study was a major determinant of a household's capacity to produce adequate food, divide tasks and increase sources of income and livelihoods. Labor was of particular significance to this study because it forms part of the eligibility criteria for potential beneficiaries of assistance. The degree to which labor was available in households influenced resilience and rate of recovery in times of vulnerability. Thus it was relevant to analyze labor asset in male and female households

### ***3.6.2 Productive Assets***

Productive assets in this study were important to analyse as they were influential in ensuring household well-being. Rural subsistence farming households productive assets included land and housing, agricultural implements such as hoes, ploughs and cutlass or machetes which could be put to use in order to avert vulnerabilities some of which relate directly to access to food. These assets were important as they determined the level of decision making with respect to usage, ownership and control in male and female headed units. Additionally, they were used to analyse their role in meeting consumption needs and generation of income.

### ***3.6.3 Human capital***

FSP's contribution to increasing investment in education and skills acquisition for children/dependents through sale of surplus produce and income raising activities was an important aspect to analyse in this study. Such investment increases opportunities for breaking the cycle of poverty and reduce food vulnerability because it is assumed that when children/dependents acquire skills, their chances of joining the labor market are enhanced. Additionally, engaging in viable livelihood activities that have potential to reduce food poverty and dependency on agricultural assistance is possible. It is also envisaged that when people are healthy and active, their production capacity is enhanced. It was in this manner that human capital as an asset was applied in this study.

### ***3.6.4 Social Capital***

In this study, social capital was taken to mean social and community networks of mutual trust and reciprocity that incapacitated households rely on in periods of food scarcity. The aim was to determine the extent to which households

utilized social ties in efforts to overcome/cushion themselves from risks related to food and how these contributed to well-being. To achieve this, the researcher studied membership to community based organisations such as women/gender clubs, church organisations and farmers cooperatives. Choice of indicators for this asset was inspired by assertions made by Coleman (1990) that social capital had the propensity to have an important influence on ‘development processes and outcome, in helping build human capital’. Narayan and Pritchett (1996) also added that social capital had an element of “contributing to household welfare”, as cited in (Moser 1998a:37)

### **3.7 Summary**

This chapter discuss the major conceptual debates surrounding food security, social protection programmes and livelihoods in poor subsistence farming households. Assets that poor rural households possess and use in efforts to sustain livelihoods were discussed based on the asset vulnerability framework which also provides valuable insights on livelihood sources and gender dimensions. Considering that the framework was adapted from the urban study that focused on assets owned by urban poor population experiencing vulnerabilities in periods of economic restructuring, it was relevant to situate the framework in a rural setting experiencing food poverty in the context of agricultural assistance and the last section demonstrates how this was achieved.

## Chapter 4: Presentation and analysis of findings

### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses research findings. The first section highlights household characteristics particularly age and gender of household heads captured in this study. A household in this study was defined as “a person or co-resident group of people who contribute to and/or benefit from a joint economy, in either cash or domestic labor – that is, a group of people who live and eat together”, (Rakodi 2002:7).

The last section shows one variable distribution while at the same time establishing linkages between carefully selected variables related to the study with the aim of understanding associations between them.

### 4.2 Household Characteristics

4.1: Distribution of sample population by Age

Age	Frequency	Percentage
20 to 30 years	4	12.9
31 to 40 years	7	22.6
Above 40 years	20	64.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Field Work, July 2011

Table 3.1 demonstrates that the majority of beneficiaries were aged above 40 accounting for 64.5%. This may be attributed to the project’s inclination towards targeting households headed by middle aged or elderly people as they were more susceptible to having livelihoods threatened by vulnerable conditions and lacked reliable assets that would cushion them against food insecurity. In addition, this age range was more likely to be poor with limited opportunities with regards to earning income in formal or informal jobs due to low levels of schooling among the older population. The other explanation would be that young people in the rural areas were more likely to have less interest in agriculture and would prefer to go out into the city to look for jobs or engage in income earning activities like running small businesses locally known as *tu temba*.

With regards to gender of recipients, data obtained from the field revealed that the category of female headed households as defined within program guidelines was not strictly applied in actual implementation. AFSCs instead used their discretion to enrol females from male headed units due to prevailing conditions in addition to genuine female households. An AFSC member affirmed as follows:

*“Most of the beneficiaries are females, whether they come from male headed households or female headed households. The understanding in this community is that women are the*

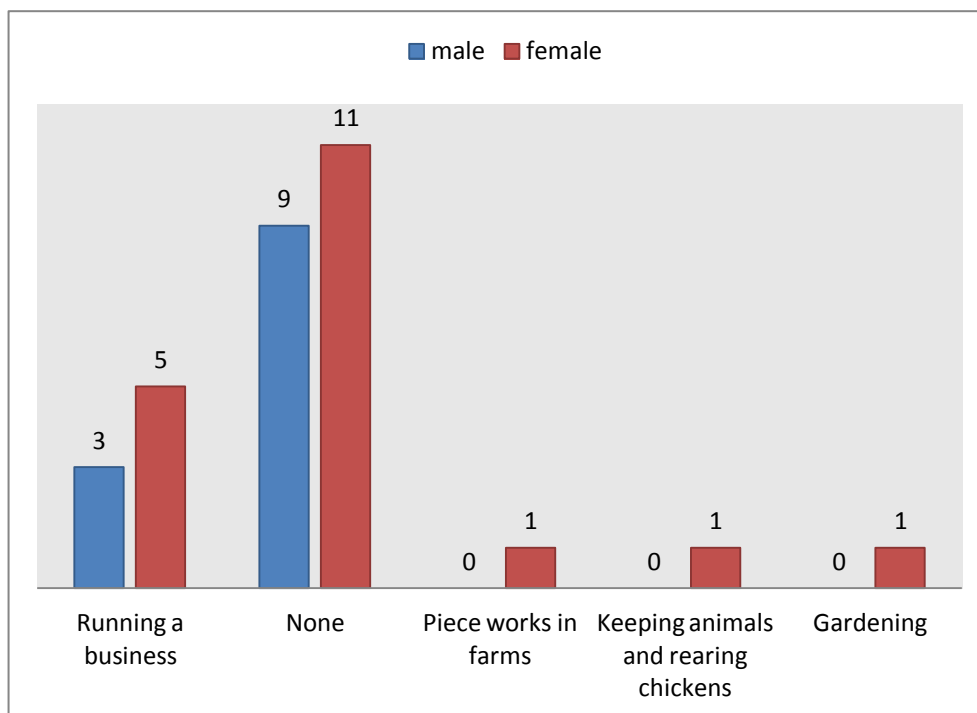
*ones who take care of homes and are responsible for food production. Women headed households are also among the poorest in this community. The norm is that when you help a woman, you have assisted the entire household. This is unlike assisting a man who may use the agricultural assistance in a way he deems fit such as selling in order to purchase luxury items such as beer or restricting other members of the household from benefiting. Most men in this community have been known to sale assistance items. The committee endeavours to assist both men and women but the majority of men are fond of drinking beer. In this regard, the committee is reluctant to assist men directly but may do so through their wives. In addition, female headed households are less likely to default on recoveries that each recipient is supposed to pay back to the community grain banks”, ( E. Mwaba, Secretary AFSC Chembe west B, personal interview, July 2011).*

AFSCs identified female beneficiaries even when they were coming from male headed households due to challenges that they were encountering such as being sidelined from benefitting from assistance obtained in a man’s name as head of household. In both situations, women were considered to be poor and thus they were targeted for assistance in order to improve production and consumption.

### **4.3 Cross Tabulations**

The section cross tabulates and analyses the following variables: livelihood activities household engage in aside agricultural production and gender of head of household, livelihood activities households engage in aside agricultural production and household food security, household food security since they started to receive agricultural assistance and gender, food security of the household since they started to receive agricultural assistance and number of meals per day, type of crops grown and gender and type of crops grown and food security of the household since they started to receive agricultural assistance.

**Figure 4.3.1: Gender and livelihood activities**



*Source: Research findings, 2011*

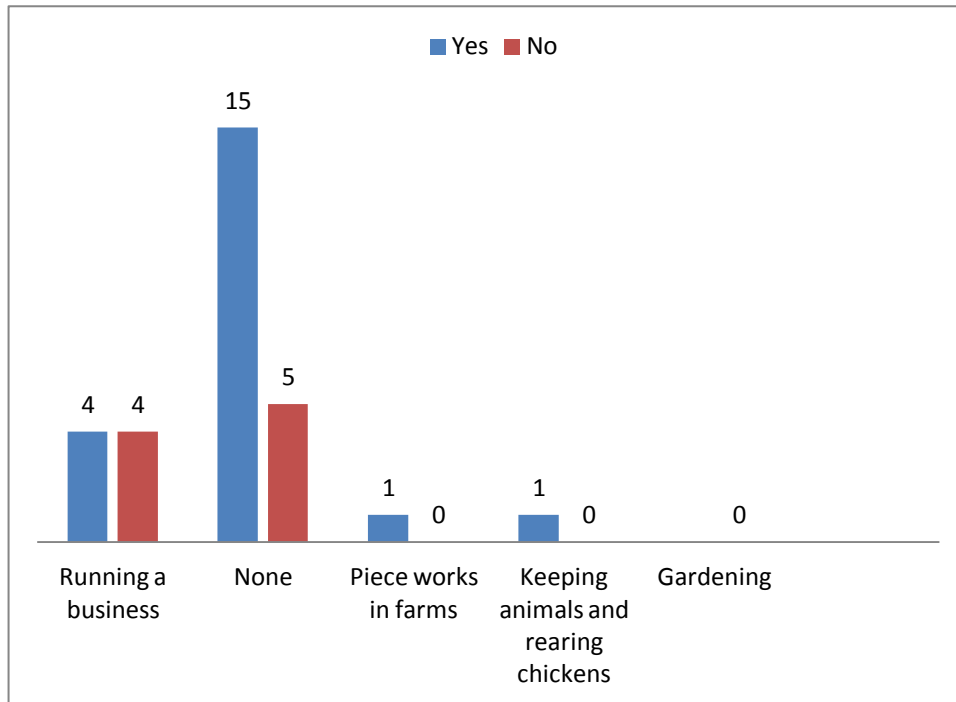
The cross tabulation of household livelihood activities and gender was done with the purpose of establishing which gender, with regards to heads of household was more involved in livelihood activities aside agriculture because livelihood activities were dependent on asset base and these in turn determined resilience to food insecurity and other sources of vulnerability. The chart in Figure 4.3.1 above reveals that 8 out of the sampled 19 female headed households were engaged in other livelihood activities aside agricultural production while the rest were involved in activities directly related to agriculture. These included vegetable growing in wetland gardens and small livestock rearing which were not very viable to ensure steady flow of income and asset accumulation. This could explain female headed household susceptibility to food insecurity and lack of assets and also reinforcement of women's traditional role as agricultural producers because majority of livelihood activities are connected to agriculture.

The chart also reveals that of the total male respondents, only three male headed household were engaged in other forms of livelihood activities not directly related to agriculture while the other nine were involved in agricultural or natural resource related activities such as charcoal burning and bee keeping which are considered to be more lucrative than vegetable growing. It can further be observed that male headed household preferred running a business as supplementary activity from agricultural production unlike the female headed households who mainly practice gardening in addition to crop production, rear animals or engage in piece works. This finding is in agreement with Kent and MacRea findings in their study on food security, nutrition and women's livelihood activities in the western province of Zambia. In their study, they found



that men were more inclined to engage in income generating activities in addition to crop production unlike women who were more likely to be involved in agricultural based livelihoods primarily crop production,(Rebecca Kent and Mairi MacRae 2010:394).

**Figure 4.3.2 : Food security and Livelihood Activities**



*Source: Compiled by Author, 2011*

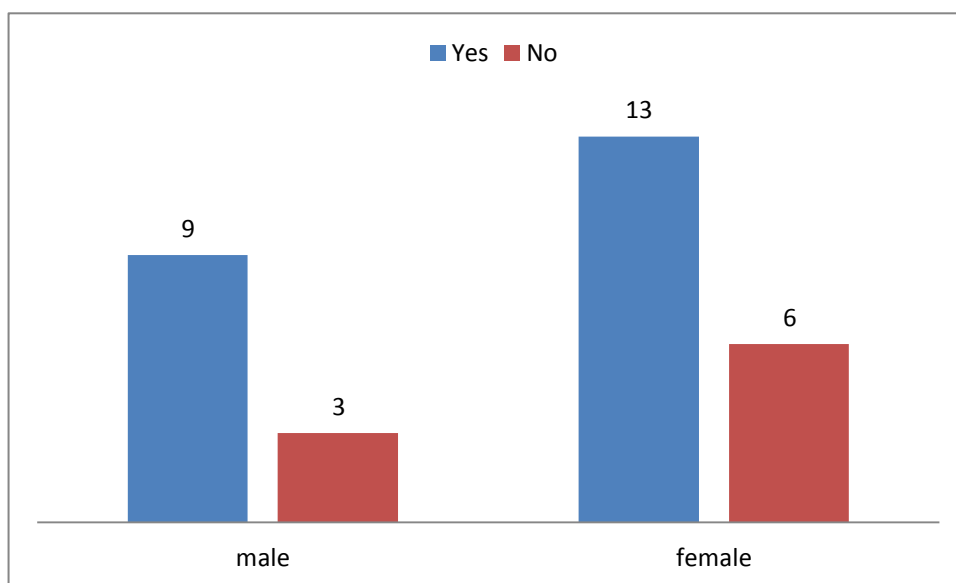
Above is an analysis of the association that exists between household food security situation from the time they started receiving agricultural assistance and the initiative to diversify livelihoods from main stream agricultural production as a way of improving food security and well-being. Research findings revealed that the majority of respondents in the study area did not involve themselves in any other activities aside agriculture. This is evident from Figure 4.3.2 above where a total of 20 respondents stated that they had not diversified livelihood activities leading to the conclusion that the relationship between household food security and livelihood activities was weak. This could be attributed to high dependency ratios for agricultural assistance, lack of assets, economic incentives and activity for people in the community to access and utilise. Of the 20 respondents, 15 had had the food security improved since they started receiving the agricultural assistance while the other 5 respondents' food security situation had not improved.

The chart also indicates that the other livelihood activity outside agricultural production as can be deduced from the sampled population is running a small business. Of those beneficiaries interviewed, a total of 8 respondents reported running small businesses. Amongst the 8 respondents, 4 respondents' food security had improved unlike the other four. In the least is each one of the other three respondents who did piece works, rearing small livestock and

growing vegetables as livelihood activities.

The results of the cross tabulation on food security with the livelihood activities practiced generally indicate that majority households benefited from the FSP programme, hence increased food security. However, it is clear that majority of households have not diversified alternative livelihood activities that have the potential to improve food security and contribute to household asset accumulation.

**Figure 4.3.3: Gender and Household Food Security**



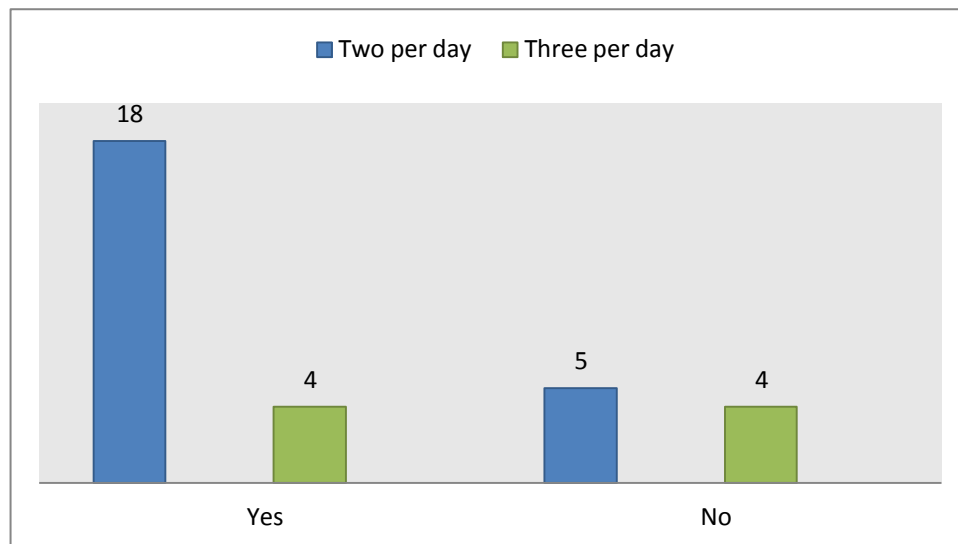
*Source: Study Findings, 2011*

In Figure 4.3.3 above is a cross tabulation on household food security and gender of household head. Establishing the relationship between gender and household food security was significant in this research due to possible differences in household assets such as labor and productive assets in male and female headed households which directly influence quantity and quality of food production and consumption. The results revealed that 22 respondents, out of which 13 were female headed households, experienced improved food security since they started receiving agricultural assistance. The other nine, of which six were females and the rest were males reported that their household food security had not improved. A number of factors may explain the non attainment of food security in these units which include but not limited to inadequate human labor to engage in farm work to produce enough food, lack of sustainable sources of livelihoods to ensure stable flow of income to facilitate food acquisition and other household requirements, high disease burden and responsibilities as women are responsible for taking care of the sick and elderly thereby limiting their capacity to efficiently produce food and lastly declining intra-household relations resulting in reduced income and consumption levels.

From Figure 4.3.3 and the analysis of gender in one variable analysis, it can be concluded that the majority of beneficiaries of FSP project are female headed households. Thus, there have been varying outcomes pertaining to im-

provement of food production and consumption, crop diversification and livelihood strategies across female headed household.

**Figure 4.3.4: Food Security and No. of meals**

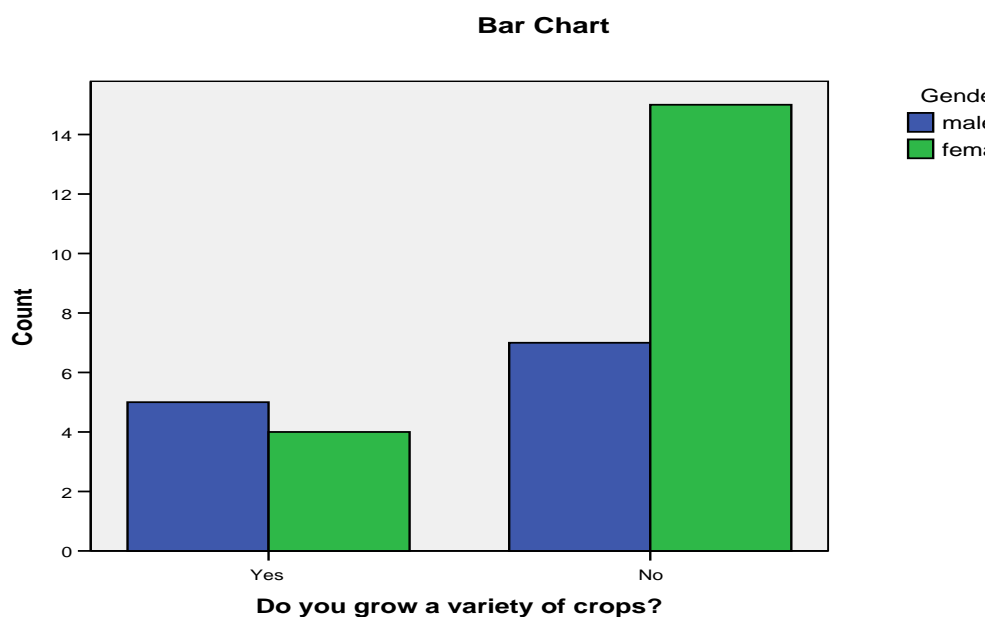


*Source: Research findings 2011*

It is anticipated that if household food security increases, an average number of three meals are expected to be consumed daily. However, the results of the cross tabulation for household food security and number of meals consumed in a day indicated a weak relation than the average standard of three meals required. This is evident from the above Figure where a total of 23 respondents only afford two meals in a day and 8 households are able to afford three meals. Thus, it can be inferred that the increase in food production at household level has only achieved an average of two meals a day for most of the beneficiaries. In addition, this also may be an indication that increased food production does not automatically translate in to improved consumption among household members. However, it is also plausible that the understanding of a meal for most respondents meant lunch and supper. Hence, the results may not be very representative of the situation in most households as many grow sweet potatoes and cassava which are primarily consumed at breakfast.

Furthermore, it was relevant to consider intra-household meal-sharing patterns that were prevalent. Majority households reported that they ate together while in other households, it was either males and females ate separately or parents and children ate separately. It can be assumed that there was equitable sharing of food in female headed households in comparison to male headed units as they constituted the majority.

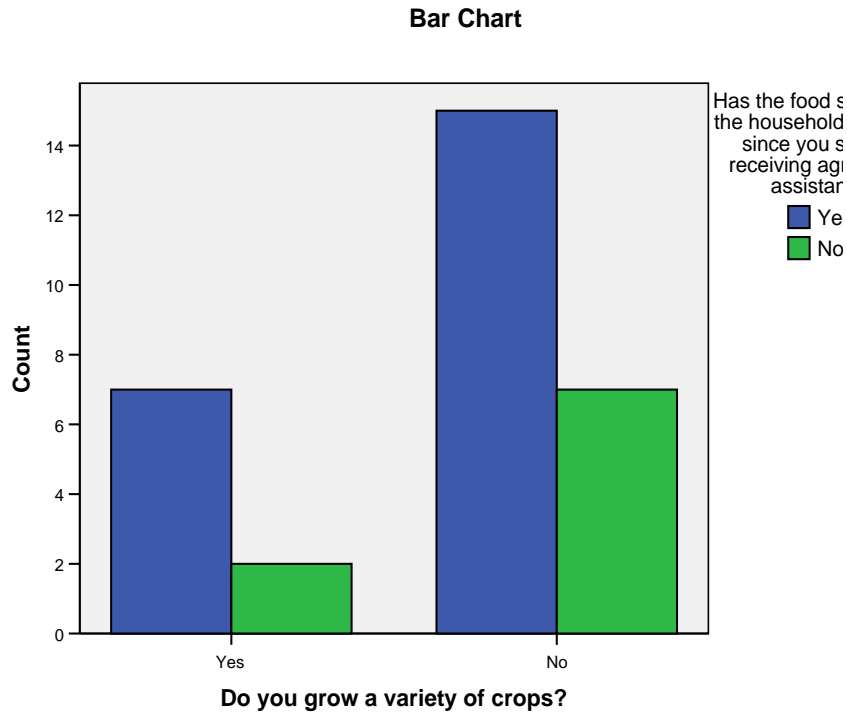
**Figure 4.3.5: Crop Diversification and Gender**



*Source: Field research finding, July 2011*

The cross tabulation above was done to ascertain the extent to which male and female headed households were involved in growing a variety of crops. This was also an indication of quality of household relations and additional household labor available. The analysis revealed that only four female headed households grew a variety of crops from a total of nineteen female headed units sampled. It was also clear from the chart that, five male headed households grew a variety of crops while the other seven did not. For respondents growing a variety of crops, they stated crops including soya beans, sweet potatoes, cassava, sunflower and groundnuts as being grown. Choice of crop was influenced mainly by climatic conditions and prospects of earning extra income if they decided to sale surplus. Thus, crops were grown not only for supplementary purposes to the staple food, but as cash crops which could be exchanged for cash in order to obtain other households requirements.

**Figure 4.3.6: Improvements in Food Security and Crop diversification**



*Source: Field research findings, July 2011*

Crop diversification as an agricultural strategy is an essential indicator of sustainability for FSP because of the understanding that different crops grown by households provided sources of food/nutrition and livelihoods. Considering this, a cross tabulation for crop diversification and food security since the start of receiving agricultural assistance was done. From this figure, an inference can be made that nine households from the sampled population were growing a variety of crops apart from the staple food. Of the nine, seven respondents' food security had improved from the start of receiving the agricultural assistance unlike the other 2 households. Of the total sample interviewed, households that did not grow a variety of crops were highest in frequency, accounting to a total of 22 respondents. From the 22 respondents, 15 households' food security had increased from the time they were enrolled onto the programme. It can be deduced in this case that the programme had yielded an increase in food security, but not crop diversification. Hence, sustainability of FSP through ensuring crop diversification had not been achieved.

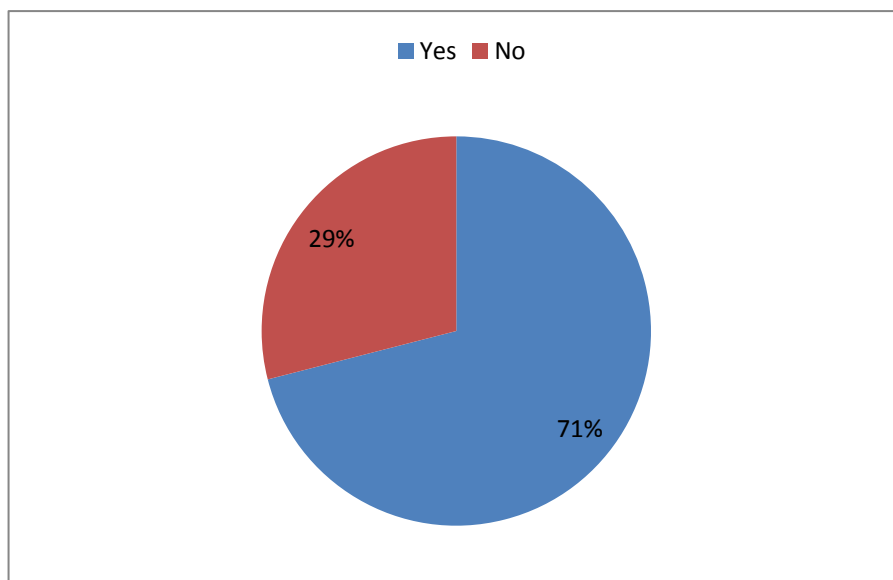
# Chapter 5: The Contribution of Food Security Pack to Food Security, Crop Diversification and Livelihood Strategies

## 5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses findings obtained from the field taking into account the main variables of the topic of study. This is an analysis of the contribution of the intervention to food security, crop diversification practices, types of alternative livelihood activities that households are involved in and division of labor among the sampled male and female headed households.

## 5.2 Food Security

Figure 5.1: Household food Security



Source: Field Research findings, July 2011

From the above, out of the total number of 31 respondents, majority of households representing 71% reported that food security had improved while 29% said that it had not. However, it is important to acknowledge that most recipient households had reported improved food production and consumption during the two year period of assistance, that is 2007/2008 farming season but after that, they did not have enough to eat as food production had reduced. This may explain the unsustainability of the intervention and high dependency ratios for assistance among this rural population. Among those who had reported improved food security, six female headed households had progressed to join farmers cooperatives where they would be eligible to purchase agricultural inputs at subsidized prices and access livelihood enhancing skills. The

study also revealed that male headed households were more likely to join farmers cooperatives compared to female households. This may be attributed to absence of division of labor or possession of adequate assets in which case female headed households were solely responsible for food production, domestic work and community work among others.

Based on the findings above, it can be deduced that the project has not in the long term improved food security because of the high probability of previously assisted households to not have enough food to eat after the two year period of assistance as stipulated under the implementation guidelines. There are assumptions made under the programme that if poor people are assisted with agricultural inputs for two years, they would become food secure. Findings from the study indicate otherwise because there are other factors such as climatic conditions, household assets and level of vulnerability that play a role in determining food security. In this regard, poor people require a lot of assistance in order to improve food security and standard of living beyond the two years that they are eligible for and other entitlements apart from agricultural assistance. In addition, the study revealed that the obligation that recipients have to pay back a minimal percentage of their harvest to a community grain bank while encouraging a spirit of ownership had also worked to bring about a measure of food insecurity in these households. When asked about factors contributing to household food insecurity, one female head respondent reported:

*“In some seasons, our harvests have not been good. Even when we plant on time, we may have unfavourable weather conditions such that we would have floods or not enough rain in which case we will not harvest enough to keep for the coming season. But then we are required to pay back a percentage on each crop and when we do that, we are left with little to feed our families”, (A. Bwalya July 2011, personal interview).*

The above stated situations and factors are more likely to have contributed to the cycle of food insecurity in households.

### **5.3 Crop Diversification**

The figure below shows that the majority of beneficiaries were not practising crop diversification as a method of increasing food production as opposed to 29 percent growing variety of crops. Crop diversification was encouraged among beneficiary households to lessen over-dependence on maize which is the staple food to drought-resistant crops such as cassava which were most preferred in seasons when there was inadequate rainfall. The composition of the pack was designed in a manner that this objective would be attained through the inclusion of a cereal seed, pulses seed, cassava or sweet potatoes tubers, basal and top dressing fertilizers to be used to grow cereals, (REBA 2007:1).

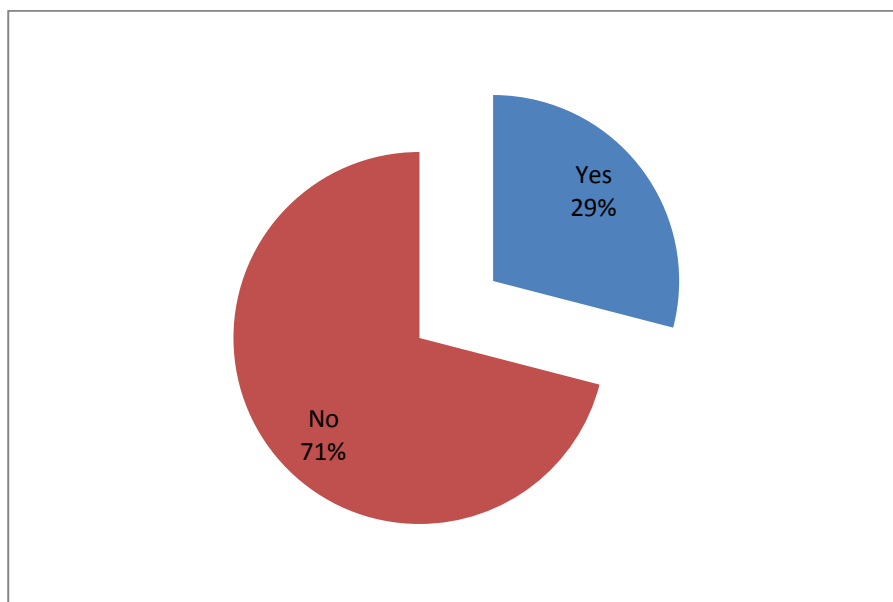
The trend based on findings was that majority would grow a variety of crops in the period within which they were receiving these inputs but after that, they resorted to growing a limited number of crops mainly maize and vegetables. For some, even within this period of assistance when they received seeds of different crops they would decide to share some seeds with some members of the family stating that they did not have adequate labor to cultivate land or they had limited time.

Furthermore, the study revealed that there were underlying factors that would explain why majority female households did not manage to produce a variety of crops. Poverty levels, especially among female headed households contributed to the likelihood of not diversifying to grow different crops due to lack of adequate labor to engage in preparation of land, planting and weeding of crops. Growing more crops entailed more work because at that time, they were experiencing difficulties to grow few crops and often relied on school going children to help with farm work. This was different among male headed households who divided their human labor, though some may equally involve children to facilitate growing of different crops and farm activities. The situation was worse in households that attributed non crop diversification to having consumed part of the seeds meant for planting because they did not have food to eat.

*“We have witnessed in this community, households that have been given different seeds and fertilizers in order to grow so that they have more food for the coming season but have ended up washing the chemicals from the seed especially pulse and maize seeds and cooking them in order to feed the family because they do not have food and cannot wait for the next harvest in order to eat”, (A group of women, July, 2011)*

This situation meant that such households would not be able to grow all the different seeds as expected but would end up planting remaining seeds leading to harvesting limited crops which may not be enough for the next season.

**Figure 5.2: Crop diversification**

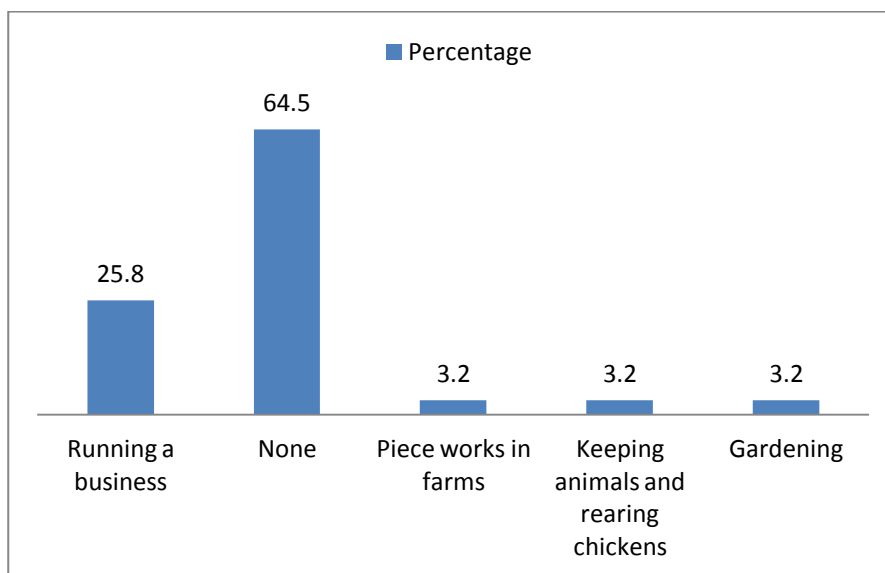


*Source: Field Research Finding, July 2011*



## 5.4 Livelihood Activities

Figure 5.3: Livelihood Activities



Source: Field Research Findings, July 2011

The figure above shows livelihood activities not related to agriculture that male and female households are involved in. It can be deduced that from 31 households, majority beneficiaries were not involved in livelihood activities not related to agricultural production. Low levels of education, limited access to and control over resources may hinder beneficiaries from improving sources of livelihood that may act as buffer in times of food scarcity. From research findings, it can be inferred that among households sampled, female headed households were the majority due to low education attainment among women in comparison to men and limited access and control over assets such as land and housing which could be used in order to generate start-up capital for income earning ventures among others.

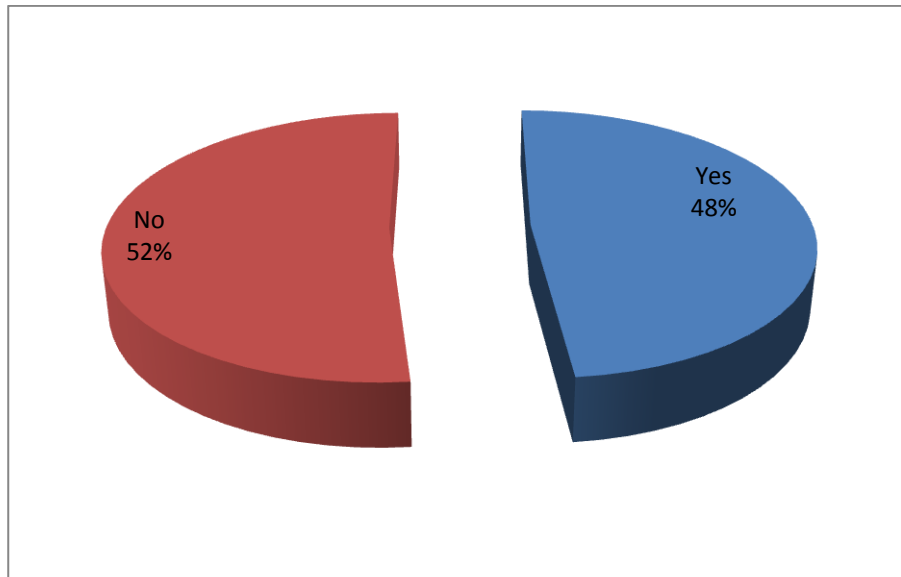
In addition, it is not enough to merely have huge 'stocks' of assets but an important aspect is quality. It is for this reason that having a lot of human labor was not seen as being of value except if these possessed some form of skills that could be beneficial in improving livelihoods. To this effect, Moser (1998b:16) explains that "the more assets people command in the right mix, the greater their capacity to buffer themselves against external shocks". Moreover, household relations can be a determinant in how effective a household responds to change in the external environment taking into account its composition and membership,(ibid:13).

It can further be deduced that among those running small business mainly dealing in groceries and food items such as soap, sugar, salt among others, male households represented the majority because of the nature of business as it involved frequent travelling to and from town. Female headed households were more likely to be involved in activities that were within the confines of

the home so that they could fulfil their traditional reproductive roles and at the same time earn income mainly from agricultural oriented enterprise.

## 5.5 Division of Labor

Figure 5.4: Division of Labor



Source: Field Research Findings, July 2011

Labor available within the household determines to a large extent production capacity, sources of income and livelihoods. From figure 5.4, majority households representing 52% reported that there was no division of labour within the household as 48% reported that they divided tasks among members. According to research findings, there were dynamics in relation to division of tasks and household relations in male and female headed households. The research revealed that it is not just a matter of having human labor but productive skills attached to it were important in determining its contribution to household well-being. This in turn was noted to influence household relations as members of the households had to devise ways of contributing incomes together in order to share in food consumption.

Male headed households were more likely to divide tasks among household members and cultivate bigger pieces of land in a short period and engage in income earning ventures compared to female headed households which might depend on the availability of school-going children and extended family members to help in land preparation and other agricultural activities. The use of child labor in this study did not in essence mean that children dropped out of school but rather households took advantage of shift school system to ensure that children contributed labor to farming activities. This is in agreement with what Chant observes that female headed units were associated with extended family units because of the advantage of having increased human labor to help in domestic tasks, non-market production and childcare, resulting in

‘perhaps no surprise to find a greater incidence of extension among female headed units’, (Chant 1997:38).

In male headed households, it was likely that both parents and children would pool together labor to perform tasks or divide tasks among themselves. Furthermore, inequalities in the allocation of tasks in male headed households were observed due to the involvement of women in both reproductive work and food production. This reinforces traditional roles performed by women which are discriminatory because women have to navigate these challenges with the aim of providing for families while neglecting their well-being or personal advancement.

This study revealed that culture has a role to play in promoting unequal sharing of responsibilities in male headed households in which majority of women perform more tasks compared to men. In female headed households, it was either the head worked alone in the field or asked her children or relatives to help in food production. Consequently, women households remain poor and vulnerable to food insecurity thereby impacting on their health and quality of life. The use of child labor in male and female households in efforts to smooth consumption, contribute to household income and farm work reduces the time children have to spend on school work thereby reducing the potential of developing their human capital with regards to educational attainment. This not only compromises the quality of their contribution with regards to future income-earning capacity but also increases the probability of a vicious cycle of poverty for future generations.

## **5.6 Conclusion: Asset Portfolio of Poor Households**

According to Caroline Moser’s fivefold ‘Asset-Vulnerability framework’, poor people are credited with the ability of managing both tangible and intangible assets in their possession, (Moser: 1998:26). This framework provides linkages between vulnerabilities, gender and tangible and intangible assets. Tangible assets include labor, human capital and productive assets such as land, agricultural equipment and housing. Intangible assets include household relations and social capital. Poverty in urban and rural areas, specifically a farming community is seen in the context of absence of these assets. This increases vulnerability and threatens access to food and viable income earning activities primarily non-crop activities such as small livestock production.

Environmental changes for subsistence farming households targeted by FSP range from “ecological, economical, social and political factors and can take the form of sudden shocks, long-term trends or seasonal cycles, thus increasing risks and uncertainties”, (Moser 1998a:3). FSP as a social protection intervention targets poor households because of their susceptibility to encountering vulnerabilities such as lack of income to purchase agricultural inputs, inadequate policies, inequalities within the household in sharing resources, unequal power relations within the household and unfavourable climatic conditions.

Results obtained from the study revealed that while male and female headed units experience food insecurity and depending on cultural norms and socio-economic status of the household, they may have different assets that they can employ to overcome food insecurity. This follows the fact that socio-

economic risks are gendered thus male and female headed households encounter poverty differently. It being a farming community, assets possessed by beneficiary households impacted greatly on their capacity to produce sufficient food for domestic consumption and their ability to engage in income earning activities in order to provide food among other requirements. Drawing on the framework, significant assets that were identified as being important among female and male headed households included productive assets in the form of land and agricultural equipment, human labour, household relations, human and social capital.

In studies on household food security, Devereux (1993:57) as cited in Moser (1998:6) makes a distinction between two strategies that poor households draw on in efforts to cope with food insecurity. These are “income – raising strategies aimed at acquiring food and consumption modifying strategies aimed at restraining the depletion of food and non-food resources”. This correlates with research findings obtained in this study as households tended to employ both strategies in the quest to secure flow of food. Consumption modifying strategies employed included reduction in the number of meals consumed daily from a standard of three meals to two or the composition of meals changed to include locally sourced foods particularly ‘nshima with preserved vegetables from previous farming seasons or available during the rainy season.

Income raising strategies used in majority households particularly in those headed by women included going out to other farms to look for piece rate jobs in order to generate cash or obtain food as payment in kind. This was observed to be one of the reasons why some female headed households were not able to grow enough food. They would leave their farms and crops unattended as they performed piece rate jobs on other farms resulting in poor management of crops. Consequently, majority households under study did not pursue viable livelihood activities due to limited assets. This in turn affected their harvests and contributed to the cycle of food scarcity for coming seasons. The situation was particularly worse in households that had inadequate human labor to assign to different tasks that would enhance livelihoods. In periods of inadequate food, male headed households were able to divide tasks among members such that men would go out to look for work while women remained at home attending to domestic and farm work. Consequently, women performed more tasks than men as they were responsible for reproductive and agricultural production.

The use of social capital as an asset comprising of traditional forms of credit, community and local networks of reciprocity was found to be of significance for beneficiary households especially female headed units. This was demonstrated by their membership to networks such as women/gender groups, church organisations in which females outnumbered males and farmers’ cooperative clubs where mainly dominated by males especially in leadership positions. It can be deduced from the above finding that female headed units were to some extent dependent on these networks as means of support

---

<sup>6</sup> Nshima is regarded as a staple food and it’s a thick paste prepared out of maize meal and is served with vegetables or chicken/meat or both.

and survival when faced with risks by obtaining financial and material assistance such as cash credit, food/maize grain and other requirements. In addition, through a system of group work rotation were a group of women would agree to work on a member's field for an agreed period and then move on to the next, female headed households that lacked adequate labor would have their land cultivated or crops harvested instead of them spending more time on the activity.

In this study, productive assets in the form of land and housing and agricultural implements were significant determinants for food production and household livelihood. All beneficiaries were resident-farmers with majority owning land through the local authority (KMC) which administered land on behalf of the state. Households would rent out portions of land that they might not use due to insufficient labour or if land was big for them to completely utilise as a way of earning income or foster social ties of reciprocity. None of the households captured in this study had viable home based activities such as hammer mill operations with the only mill in the area being owned by a local cooperative farmer. Lack of modern agricultural equipment such as ploughs and tractors was also observed to hinder livelihoods and greatly contributed to low agricultural productivity. Beneficiary households were involved in more labor intensive and time-consuming work as they depended on hoes and machetes to clear and cultivate land. Majority male and minority female heads decided on how assets would be used were as some female heads relied on male relatives who often decided on asset utilization.

Poor households regarded investment children/dependents education, skills training and health as being significant in determining household's future prospects with respect to ability to work, type of work, widening sources of livelihoods and improving household asset base. Some heads of household attributed their non-improvement in food production to investment in children's education stating that they would sell their produce in order to send their children to colleges so that they could have better jobs in the city and earn better to take care of families. For those with children in basic education where the state provided free education, they used proceeds to purchase uniforms, books and other school requirements. With regards to health, the community was generally happy to mention that they had been no reports from the local clinic relating to malnutrition and hunger-related diseases aside from common health illnesses which was an indication that households were investing in their health.

In summary, female headed households have generally been represented in development literature as being poor in comparison to male headed units leading to female headship being synonymous with poverty. Development practitioners perceive poverty in these units as being a consequence of the absence of an adult resident male head. This study revealed that some male headed households studied were equally poor and equally needed agricultural assistance in order to improve food production. Similarly, some female headed households particularly those that had graduated and joined farmers cooperative were better off with regards to household assets and livelihood activities than some male headed households. Moser's (1996:50) findings in her urban study supported the idea that there was no relationship between poverty and gender of household head. In addition, it is plausible to find female headship in middle and upper income households as much as they can be found in low in-

come populations. This observation places limitations on the stereotype of 'feminization of poverty' as reflected in studies on gender and development studies.

# Chapter 6:

## Conclusion and Recommendations

### 6.1 Introduction

National governments and agencies involved in the provision of social protection to benefit poor people tend to neglect social risks and vulnerabilities in policy design given emphasis that is placed on tackling economic risks and vulnerabilities. These social risks include gender inequalities, power asymmetries and inequalities in the distribution of resources within the household and community. These factors result in formulation and subsequent operationalisation of policies that fail to holistically address gendered poverty and inequalities. The paper explored the contribution of FSP to household food security, livelihood activities and crop diversification with a gender perspective. It used Moser's fivefold asset vulnerability framework to analyse research data which comprises tangible and intangible assets possessed by poor people.

### 6.2 Challenges to Rural Livelihoods

The study showed that common assets among poor farming households include labor, productive assets such as land and farm equipment, human and social capital. Rural poor male and female headed households undertake an array of livelihood activities but mainly depend on seasonality due to reliance on rain-fed agriculture and include running small grocery businesses, piece rate jobs in which they are given a wage or in-kind payment, growing vegetables (gardening) and small livestock rearing. The study established that poor households did not pursue sustainable livelihood activities due to among others low levels of education and skills acquisition which limited income earning opportunities and lack of efficient productive assets such as modern farm implements in the vein of tractors and ploughs. Of those interviewed, none used modern farm implements but instead used traditional machetes and hoes to clear and cultivate land, all of which were labor intensive.

### 6.3 Critique of FSP

At the level of policy design and subsequent implementation, the lack of a <sup>7</sup>gender sensitive approach has increased gendered poverty and vulnerability resulting in ineffectiveness of poverty reduction strategies. Zambia as a signatory to international and regional protocols on gender and the emancipation of women including CEDAW (1979), The Beijing platform of Action (1995) and SADC declaration on gender and development (1997), has not attained tangible outcomes in moving from policy to complete operationalization of com-

---

<sup>7</sup> Known as 'Wollstonecraft dilemma' refers to an approach which 'has to constantly navigate between *equality* and recognition of *difference* and women-specific needs, constraints and special abilities' Chhachhi (2009:13).

mitments with regards to making visible gender specific issues. Gender mainstreaming in social protection programmes has been neglected in comparison to areas such as education thereby relegating the gendered nature of poverty and vulnerability. This is demonstrated by the non-inclusion of gender-specific considerations in the framework of FSP.

Research findings so far discussed have revealed a disconnection between gender equality considerations in relation with empowerment goals and social protection objectives. Instead of only considering gender in the context of inclusion of women as a target group, programmes should move forward by addressing social risks such as unequal power relations and transformation of gender relations in recipient households and communities. This will ensure the development of effective and efficient redistributive social protection systems that allow poor households in urban but most importantly rural areas to invest and accumulate assets that can cushion them against vulnerabilities and enable them to benefit from public resources.

FSP can be accessed to be both preventive and protective but ultimately short term for reasons earlier discussed. It is preventive in that its initial objective was to avert food deprivation for poor subsistence farming households. Additionally, its protective element was in giving seeds and fertilizer support to avoid poverty and scarcity when the country was confronted by the negative effects of neo-liberal economic restructuring of the 1980s/90s compounded by unfavourable climatic conditions resulting in increased socio-economic problems. The package was designed to smooth consumption but research data obtained reveal that it has not in the long term attained this objective and has not lead to creation of viable income earning activities. From a gender perspective, these measures are narrowly designed because of limitations in addressing issues related to social equity and exclusion.

As a targeted social protection instrument, recipients of FSP support are regarded as vulnerable but viable and are eligible for assistance according to program guidelines. According to policy, this is one way of ensuring that limited resources meant for poverty reduction are directed at the right people. Nevertheless, it does not ensure entitlement to everyone and has the potential of excluding other people experiencing poverty. The way AFSCs are organised and the approach used in the identification process are breeding grounds for client-patronage relationships that may result in exclusion of some people that deserve assistance.

From the findings obtained, FSP is an example of how policy interventions aimed at reducing poverty appear neutral yet produce gendered implications for different categories of people. It thus produces varying implications in male and female headed households owing to the fact that it is not gender sensitive and does not take into account different cultural and institutional arrangements that perpetuate unequal power relations within the household/community and discrimination in the distribution of resources. The non-integration of gender-specific issues may explain why even though female headed households constituted 68 percent majority recipients, they were still poor and susceptible to food poverty.

Chhachhi, A (2009:5) in review of social protection interventions in south Asia observes how planners involved in devising such interventions ‘assume,



incorporate or ignore gendered structures and gender ideologies which impinge on the outcomes of these interventions'. Furthermore, gender-specific vulnerabilities and assets that directly influence food production are not considered. It is for these and other factors that findings from the field paint a discouraging picture with regards to attainment of food security, promotion of crop diversification and alternative livelihoods outside agriculture.

## 6.4 Policy Recommendations

Transformative social protection is most relevant for gender analysts and those involved in promoting social justice for marginalised groups in society. Transformative aspect in social protection according to Devereux and Sabates-Wheeler refers to 'the need to pursue policies that relate to power imbalances in society that encourage, create and sustain vulnerabilities', (2004:9). Though provision of agricultural assistance is important for households given the level of food poverty, FSP should encompass objectives relating to addressing social risks and entitlements as they contribute to well-being. Suffice to say that these economic risks that are intended to be addressed by such policies occur within social contexts. Transformative measure is most applicable in changing unequal division of work in male headed households where women's workload is more than that of men given that they perform both productive and reproductive work, ownership, access and utilisation of resources within the household and socio-cultural values that disadvantage women.

Altering structural inequalities can be achieved by applying different strategies in order to reduce poverty and promote socio-economic wellbeing. This is because as elaborated by Chhachhi, attaining gender equality involves 'complex, multi-levelled interventions to deal with the interlocking and cumulative aspects of gender discrimination', (2009:13). These may include having a regulatory framework that provides for the advancement of women's needs and interests while recognising gender differences, initiatives aimed at informing men and women on their rights, altering cultural resistance, public attitudes, behaviours, common beliefs about women's roles and capabilities and promoting social justice, (Devereux et al. 2004:9).

It is important to integrate gender planning in socio-economic development planning as advocated for by C.O.N Moser (1989:1799). She notes that women and men in developing countries not only have different roles to play but frequently have different needs. While women's contribution to development has gained recognition, this has not translated into inclusion of their needs into planning approaches. The integration of gender planning in policies such as social protection would allow for the inclusion of women and men's roles and specific needs in socio-economic development measures. Furthermore, it would allow for the realisation of differences between women's practical and strategic gender needs.

Among categories of people targeted by FSP is that of elderly people provided they have land and people to cultivate for them. While this is appreciated, the introduction of old age pensions for this category would be appropriate given that some of them have been used by household members as means of obtaining assistance which they later use for their own benefit while neglecting them. The elderly experience challenges among others access to reliable

income and social services such that other entitlements would be more appropriate.

Research findings as discussed earlier revealed that the main objective of improving food security in incapacitated households had not been attained in the long term. This is because majority of beneficiary households only have enough food during the two year period of assistance after which they revert to back to food insecurity. From this, it would be justified that these are households that suffer from critical levels of poverty that agricultural assistance for two seasons may not be enough to improve their well-being. Such households are slow to respond to poverty reduction programs and require more initiatives such as savings or credit schemes to suite their socio-economic situation.

It would be prudent to consider increasing years and quantity of assistance to ensure broader well-being. As noted by Schubert and Goldberg (2005:4) people that experience lack of food are more likely to become physically weak resulting in diseases and infections that may lead to death. In addition, their household assets deplete as they are more likely to sell or consume productive assets such as livestock, tools and seeds and may not have the capacity to invest in future human capital such as educating their children so as to broaden their future sources of livelihoods.

An area that requires further research for Zambia is exploring whether or not conditions pertaining to structural and regulatory framework are conducive for designing and implementing citizenship-based entitlements in social protection as advocated by Chhachhi (2009:29). This is because these are inclusive, universal and unconditional and provide pathways through which accomplishments pertaining to gender equality are feasible while reducing poverty. This form of measure would allow citizens to be provided with an income that allows them to access food and other requirements that promote a humane standard of living.

# Appendices

## Appendix i: Use of female and male headed households.

-The term female headed household in this study was used to mean *de jure* female headed households as suggested by Due (1991:104) where the woman is the head in the absence of an adult resident male. This may be due to divorce, death or separation leaving the woman to be responsible for family well-being.

-The terms male or joint headed household is used in a context where both the man and women are present in that household.

## Appendix ii: Key Informants

Name	Position	Organisation
Mr. E. Siasimbi	Nat. FSP Coordinator	DCD-MCDSS
Mr. D. Mwansasu	DACO	MAFF
Ms. A. Mulongo	Acting/DCDO	Dept of Com.Devt
Mr. K. Namenda	Deputy Director/DDP	KMC
Mr. L. Sakala	Com.Dev.Asst	Dept of Com.Devt

## List of Area Food Security Committee members

Name	Position
Mr. E. Mwaba	Secretary
Ms. A. Bwalya	Committee member
Ms. M. Namukonda	Treasurer
Mr. P. Nchenga	Chairperson
Mr. H. Kanyenga	Committee member
Mr. G. Musonda	Committee member

## Appendix iii: Household Survey

### Household Survey

#### a) General identification information

1. Name of Village:
2. Date:

#### b) Beneficiary Profile

1. Age of respondent ; [ ]
2. Gender: male [ ] female [ ]
3. Type of household: MHH [ ] FHH [ ]

#### c) Household Characteristics

1. Size of household [   ]
2. How many meals do you have daily? [   ]
3. What is the composition of meals?

.....  
 .....

4. Have any of these changed after being enrolled on the project? Yes [   ] No [   ]

5. If yes how

.....  
 .....

6. How are meals shared among household members and has there been changes since you become a recipient of assistance?

.....  
 .....

7. Is there division of work in the household? Yes [   ] No [   ]
8. If so, what roles are assigned to men and women and are these rigid or flexible?

.....  
 .....

- 9) Have you joined a farmers' cooperative since graduation from FSP? Yes [   ] No [   ]

- 10) If your answer is No, why

.....  
 .....

**d) Asset/Vulnerability Profile**

1. What productive assets does the household own e.g. land, housing, modern agricultural implements, e.g. plough, tractor e.t.c?

.....  
 .....

2. Who determines the use of these assets and why?

.....  
 .....

3. What forms of vulnerability does the household experience threatening food security and livelihoods? Social [ ] Economical [ ] Ecological [ ]

4. How to members of the household contribute to labor for farming activities?

.....  
.....

5. How do household assets cushion vulnerabilities?

.....  
.....  
.....

6. Has the food security situation of the household improved since you started receiving agricultural assistance? Yes [ ] No [ ]

7. If yes Specify.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

8. What livelihood activities is the household engaged in aside agricultural activity?

.....  
.....

9. Among livelihood activities stated above, which ones would you like to receive more support in?

.....  
.....

10. Do you have any gardens for vegetables? Yes [ ] No [ ]

11. If yes, what do you grow and how does this help to smooth consumption in periods of food insufficiency?

.....  
.....

12. Are you a member of any community group? Yes [ ] No [ ]

13. If yes, to what extent has this membership contributed to improving well-being?

.....  
.....

14. Do you feel that other community members (men, women, elderly and children) receive more assistance than yourself? Yes [ ] No [ ]

15. If yes Explain.....  
.....

**e) Factors constraining livelihoods**

1) What difficulties do you experience in improving food production in the context of the project intervention?

.....  
.....

2) What strategies do you employ to lessen the effects of these difficulties on the household?

.....  
.....

3) What form of support do you require in order to boost your capacity to meet household food requirements and improve livelihoods ?

.....  
.....

4) What form of action would you recommend in effort to improve FSP and the package to make it responsive to your needs and abilities?

.....  
.....

## References

- Baro, M. and T.F. Deubel (2006a) 'Persistent Hunger: Perspectives on Vulnerability, Famine, and Food Security in Sub-Saharan Africa', *Annu.Rev.Anthropol.* 35: 521-538.
- Baro, M. and T.F. Deubel (2006b) 'Persistent Hunger: Perspectives on Vulnerability, Famine, and Food Security in Sub-Saharan Africa', *Annu.Rev.Anthropol.* 35: 521-538.
- Chant, S. (2008) 'The 'feminisation of poverty' and the 'feminisation' of Anti-Poverty Programmes: Room for Revision?', *Journal of Development Studies* 44(2): 165-197.
- Chant, S. (1997) 'Women-Headed Households: Poorest of the Poor?: Perspectives from Mexico, Costa Rica and the Philippines', *IDS Bulletin* 28(3): 26-48.
- Cherinet, H. (2004) 'Gender and Food Security'.
- Chhachhi, A. (2009) 'A Gender Perspective on Social Protection in South Asia', *Democratic Citizenship or Market based entitlements?* .
- Curtis, R.F. (1986) 'Household and Family in Theory on Inequality', *American Sociological Review* : 168-183.
- Devereux, S. (2001) 'Livelihood Insecurity and Social Protection: A Re-Emerging Issue in Rural Development', *Development Policy Review* 19(4): 507-519/28/05/2011.
- Devereux, S., R. Sabates-Wheeler and University of Sussex. Institute of Development Studies (2004) *Transformative Social Protection*. Institute of Development Studies.
- Dilley, M. and T.E. Boudreau (2001) 'Coming to Terms with Vulnerability: A Critique of the Food Security Definition', *Food Policy* 26(3): 229-247.
- Drimie, S. (2004) 'The Underlying Causes of the Food Crisis in the Southern African Region: Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia, and Zimbabwe', *A paper commissioned by Oxfam GB* .
- Due, J.M. (1991) 'Policies to Overcome the Negative Effects of Structural Adjustment Programs on African Female-Headed Households', *Structural adjustment and African women farmers* : 103-127.
- Edmeades, G.O. (1996) 'Developing Drought and Low N-Tolerant Maize: Proceedings of a Symposium, March 25-29, 1996, CIMMYT, El Batán, Mexico', 'Developing Drought and Low N-Tolerant Maize: Proceedings of a Symposium, March 25-29, 1996, CIMMYT, El Batán, Mexico', Cimmyt.
- Eicher, C.K. (1982) 'Facing Up to Africa's Food Crisis', *Foreign Aff.* 61: 151.
- Ellis, F. (2000) *Rural Livelihoods and Diversity in Developing Countries*. Oxford University Press, USA.
- Ellis, F. (1998) 'Household Strategies and Rural Livelihood Diversification', *Journal of Development studies* 35(1): 1-38.
- Ellis, F., S. Devereux and P. White (2009) *Social Protection in Africa*. Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Ellis, F. and P. White (2010) 'Vulnerability to Hunger and Policy Responses in an Era of Global Instability: Southern Africa and the '3 Fs Crisis''.
- GRZ (2006) 'Ministry of Finance and National Planning, Fifth National Development Plan 2006-2010'. Lusaka: Government Of Zambia.
- Harrigan, J. (2008) 'Food Insecurity, Poverty and the Malawian Starter Pack: Fresh Start Or False Start?', *Food Policy* 33(3): 237-249.
- Holmes, R. and N. Jones (2010) , *Rethinking social protection using a gender lens* .

- Jayne, T.S., J. Govereh, P. Chilonda, N. Mason, A. Chapoto and H. Haantuba (Last updated 2007) 'Trends in Agricultural and Rural Development Indicators in Zambia' (a webpage of Michigan State University, Department of Agricultural, Food, and Resource Economics). Accessed May 10 2011  
<[http://www.aec.msu.edu/fs2/zambia/w\\_24.pdf](http://www.aec.msu.edu/fs2/zambia/w_24.pdf)>.
- Kapungwe, A. (2004) 'Poverty in Zambia: Levels, Patterns and Trends', *Development Southern Africa* 21(3): 483-507.
- Kodamaya, S. (2011) 'AGRICULTURAL POLICIES AND FOOD SECURITY OF SMALLHOLDER FARMERS IN ZAMBIA', *African study monographs. Supplementary issue*. 42: 19-39.
- Maxwell, S. and M. Smith (1992) 'Household Food Security: A Conceptual Review', *Household Food Security: concepts, indicators, measurements*. Edited by S. Maxwell and T. Frankenberger. Rome and New York: IFAD and UNICEF .
- MCDSS (January, 2010) 'Ministry of Community Development and Social Services: Food Security Pack: Implementation Manual'.
- Mechlem, K. (2004) 'Food Security and the Right to Food in the Discourse of the United Nations', *European Law Journal* 10(5): 631-648.
- Michelo Stanford (2005) 'Baseline Survey Report: Kalomo Social Cash Transfer Scheme. Ministry of Community Development and Social Services, Deutsche Gesellschaft Fur Technische Zusammenarbeit'. Lusaka: German Technical Cooperation.
- Moser, C.O.N. (1998a) 'The Asset Vulnerability Framework: Reassessing Urban Poverty Reduction Strategies', *World Development* 26(1): 1-19.
- Moser, C.O.N. (1998b) 'The Asset Vulnerability Framework: Reassessing Urban Poverty Reduction Strategies', *World Development* 26(1): 1-19.
- Moser, C.O.N. (1989) 'Gender Planning in the Third World: Meeting Practical and Strategic Gender Needs', *World Development* 17(11): 1799-1825.
- Moser, C.O.N. and World Bank's annual international conference on environmentally sustainable development (1996) *Confronting Crisis: A Comparative Study of Household Responses to Poverty and Vulnerability in Four Poor Urban Communities*. World Bank Washington, DC.
- Mwanaumo, A. (1999) 'Agricultural marketing policy reforms in Zambia', Workshop on agricultural transformation in Africa, Nairobi, Kenya, Citeseer.
- Ortiz, I. and J.C. Abada (2001) *Social Protection in Asia and the Pacific*. Asian Development Bank.
- Rakodi, C. (2002) 'A Livelihoods approach—conceptual Issues and Definitions', *Carole Rakodi with Tony Lloyd-Jones (editors), Urban Livelihoods: A People-centred Approach to Reducing Poverty, Earthscan Publications, London* : 3-22.
- REBA (2007) 'Food Security Pack, Zambia', No. Case study Brief Number 10. Johannesburg, South Africa: Regional Hunger and Vulnerability Programme (RHVP). Accessed 09/05/2011  
<[http://www.wahenga.net/sites/default/files/Briefs/REBA\\_Case\\_Study\\_Brief\\_10.pdf](http://www.wahenga.net/sites/default/files/Briefs/REBA_Case_Study_Brief_10.pdf)>.
- Rebecca Kent and Mairi MacRae (2010) '**Agricultural Livelihoods and Nutrition - Exploring the Links with Women in Zambia** ', *Gender & Development* 18(3): 367-409.
- Reynaud, E. (2002) 'The Extension of Social Security Coverage: The Approach of the International Labour Office', *Extension of Social Security Working Paper No. 3* .
- Rozel, C. (2010) 'Gender Aware Approaches in Agricultural Programmes' <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/22/22/46145893.pdf> 18 May, 2011.



- Sahn, D.E. and D.C. Stifel (2003) 'Progress Toward the Millennium Development Goals in Africa', *World Development* 31(1): 23-52.
- Schubert, B. and J. Goldberg (2005) , *The Pilot Social Cash Transfer Scheme. Kalomo District, Zambia* .
- Scoones, I. (2009) 'Livelihoods Perspectives and Rural Development', *Journal of Peasant Studies* 36(1): 171-196.
- Seshamani, V. (1998) 'The Impact of Market Liberalisation on Food Security in Zambia', *Food Policy* 23(6): 539-551.
- Slater, R. and R. Holmes (2008) 'Social Protection for Low Capacity Households in Zambia'.
- Tearfund International Learning Zone (Last updated 2009) 'Conservational Farming in Zambia'. Accessed May 05 2011  
<<http://tilz.tearfund.org/publications/footsteps+71-80/footsteps+77/conservation+farming+zambia.htm>>.
- Van Ginneken, W. (1999) *Social Security for the Excluded Majority: Case Studies of Developing Countries*. International Labour Organization.
- Zambia Central Statistical Office (Last updated 2011) 'Zambia Census of Population and Housing Preliminary Report'. Accessed April 10 2011  
<<http://www.zamstats.gov.zm>>.