

ZAMBIA

Eating in a Time of Food Price Volatility

Year 3 findings from the Life in a Time of Food Price Volatility Study



Fritters deep fried in oil, Kabwata Market, Zambia. *Credit: Dora Kakomwe*

MWILA MULUMBI

COUNTRY LEAD RESEARCHER, ZAMBIA

A combination of factors including the removal of the miller consumer subsidy, unfavourable rainfall, high cost of fertilizer and high fuel prices were cited by people who participated in the third year of the *Life in a Time of Food Price Volatility* research project, as some of the factors that contributed to the high food prices. The unprecedented rise in prices prompted households with declined income to limit their food consumption and shift to less-balanced and unsafe foods, causing short and possible long run harm to their health and food habits. With the increasing vulnerability, the report highlights and recommends that government has to take on a more aggressive role in mitigating the impact of high food prices on the most vulnerable by focusing on nutrition, food production and supply as well as scaling up social protection programmes.

CONTENTS

1 INTRODUCTION.....	3
2 COUNTRY CONTEXT	4
3 FIELD RESEARCH FINDINGS 2014 AND CHANGE OVER THREE YEARS.....	5
3.1 What people are eating	5
3.2 Work people are doing	6
3.3 Coping	7
3.4 Unpaid care	8
3.5 Family and society.....	9
3.6 Support and social protection.....	9
3.7 Processed and unsafe foods.....	10
3.8 Regulation and information on processed and unsafe foods	11
4 ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS.....	12
5 CONCLUSION	12
REFERENCES.....	14
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	15

1 INTRODUCTION

This report presents major highlights of the research findings from year 3 of the *Life in a Time of Food Price Volatility* research project. The report presents poor people's experiences of food price volatility in Zambia and contributes to a global programme of qualitative research led by Oxfam and the Institute of Development Studies. The research aims to contribute to improving the food security prospects of poor and vulnerable people in Zambia exposed to food price volatility by improving knowledge of how people's lives are affected by changing food prices.

In the main part of the report, which presents people's experiences of food price volatility, the research findings reveal that the prices of essential food items and other commodities had risen between 2013-2014 and had put more pressure on the food security and general wellbeing of the households and research participants we spoke to. With stagnant low incomes, life in the face of the persistent high cost of food had become more precarious and the coping strategies pursued by both rural and urban households had become limited and mainly included minimising the number and quantity of meals in a day, diversifying livelihood income sources, and wage labour. Insights into the special topic of year three which focused on the changing food habits in relation to processed and unsafe foods, revealed that households with very low income were eating cheaper food and in many cases less nutritious and unsafe. The report concludes by highlighting that the government has to move beyond increasing the supply of maize stock on the market to deflate the price of maize. Instead, it has to set-up robust social protection programmes.

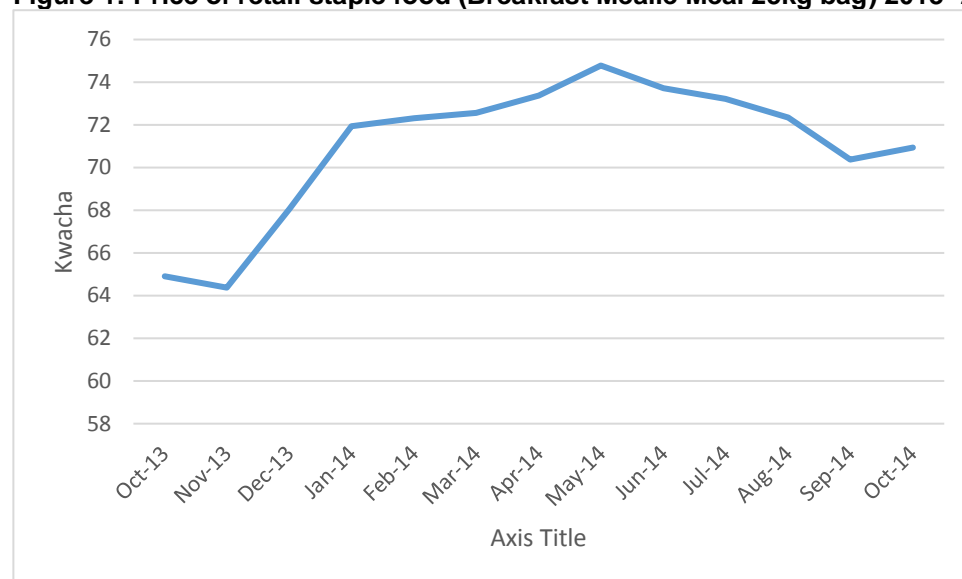
The sites for the third year of research, were maintained as Kabwata and Chikwanda. Kabwata, the urban site, is located in Lusaka district the capital city of Zambia. Kabwata, a medium to densely populated residential area, had been selected as a site for the study because of the diverse economic and social activities taking place in the area. Kabwata has a population of about 46,000 people and the majority of these are within the youth or middle age category. The rural site Chikwanda, is located in Mpika district in the Muchinga province, formally known as the Northern Province. Chikwanda is in the agricultural and gardening belt of Mpika district and therefore the community provides a good case to explore people's perception on likely impact of food production and livelihoods in agriculture. Chikwanda has a population of approximately 18,425. It remains a predominately rural community with 70% of the population in the youth and middle age category.

The research used a participatory qualitative approach integrating household case studies, focus group discussions (FGDs) and key informant interviews. Most household case study respondents were retained from year one and mainly included households with different levels of income, male and female households, as well as other groups including the disabled and orphaned households. In each site, five key informant interviews were conducted with local administrative officials, NGO staff, religious and community leaders and community politicians. A total of 23 household case studies were conducted. Focus group discussions were also held in each community with different groups including agricultural cooperative, petty traders, young people, men and women. A combination of various tools is used and includes Matrix ranking and scoring, cause effect analysis and household food basket analysis.

2 COUNTRY CONTEXT

During the period under review, Zambia's national maize stock reserves were reported to be adequate to meet national demand and provide stable supplies of staple food on the market (FEWSNET, 2014). Despite this, the price of maize and mealie meal remained high in low producing and high consumption areas. Maize prices in areas with depleted maize stock were as high as 60 percent above the previous year's prices. Based on data from the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) between the period October 2013 and October 2014, the price of mealie meal remained high peaking in May 2014 before the price began to fall steadily. However, in an effort to stabilize maize meal prices, the Government restricted exports which partly helped maintain maize stocks to last beyond the end of the 2014 marketing season (GIEWS, 2014).

Figure 1: Price of retail staple food (Breakfast Mealie Meal 25kg bag) 2013 -2014



Source: Author's own calculations from FAO Food Price Index

The food insecurity situation was moderately high in some parts of the country, particularly among poor households who depleted their own produced food stocks and had to depend on the maize from the market. The 2014-2015 national vulnerability assessment estimated that 351,267 people, compared with 209,498 vulnerable people from the previous period would require food assistance. Most of these households are located in the western parts of the country, which experienced a dry spell earlier in the year resulting in reduced crop production. However, the Vulnerability Assessment Committee reports indicate that no formal request for food assistance had been made, except from one district in the Central province, pointing to a continuation of generally stable conditions.

As a result of high food prices and food insecurity in some parts of the country, people in the Southern and Western Provinces faced food challenges, but there were few steps taken by government beyond providing the traditional social protection. The Government continued to support input access through the Farmer Input Support Programme (FISP), aiming to further diversify crop production (GIEWS, 2014).

3 FIELD RESEARCH FINDINGS 2014 AND CHANGE OVER THREE YEARS

3.1 What people are eating

Based on focus group discussions held in both Kabwata and Chikwanda, the participants felt that the food situation had not changed compared to the 2012-2013 period. According to most groups, the levels of food consumption, particularly the number of meals remained relatively the same and poor. However a look at specific household cases revealed that the type and quality of food being consumed had changed particularly in households with low income or stagnant wages. One of the community members, a male vegetable producer we spoke to stressed that:

Even though some of us still eat two meals, the food is not really that good. We just maintain the number of meals but really the quality of food has changed. For example we used to eat the tasty beans called 'Kabulanketi' but we now eat the 'Solwezi' because it's cheaper.

As a result of increased food prices, slightly better off households in both Kabwata and Chikwanda resorted to consuming smaller quantities of the same foods consumed a year ago in order not to experience a complete abandonment of their former life. However, households with stagnant incomes in Kabwata, stated that they had stopped eating certain foods like meat, bread, and milk, which they were able to eat in the previous period. These foodstuffs were considered essential but not life threatening even though they were no longer in the diet. Instead of bread, some households were substituting with porridge or maize grit. In Chikwanda the situation among the households was similar but slightly worse. The quality of meals being consumed, particularly among households with little income, had deteriorated since our visit in 2012. There was very little variety of the food being eaten, with the majority eating mainly vegetables with beans as the only protein, once or twice a week. The majority of the people couldn't still afford the tasty fish Kapenta and instead ate *daaga* [a small fish that looks like Kapenta but very bitter, smelly with lots of sand]. Only the well to do, who are few in the community, were eating well balanced meals including vegetables and chicken or Kapenta with every meal.

Figure 2: Typical food being consumed



Variety of foodstuffs consumed by majority of households in Chikwanda, 2 years before the 2013 - 2014 research period

Credits: Mwila Mulumbi



Food being consumed now by the majority of the households

3.2 Work people are doing

According to the various focus groups interviewed in both sites, it was indicated that nothing had changed about the type of economic activities that the majority of the people were involved in compared to a year ago. In Kabwata, the majority of the people were still involved in informal employment activities comprising of petty trading and a range of casual jobs. However, in the face of rising costs of food and non-food items like housing, electricity and transport, those said to be doing well and able to meet the rising costs included people working for NGOs or well-established private sector companies. Government and other general workers were said not to be doing well (see Table 1) because their income had stagnated. These groups of workers were said to have readjusted their budgets to suit the circumstances. The readjustment included reducing quantities of food items bought, cutting down on school expenses and adjusting expenses related to social events.

Table 1: Main occupations and changes in work patterns Urban site

Main Occupation groups	Doing well, doing worse or staying the same since last year	Why quality of life
<i>Businessmen</i>	↑	Business men have continued to do well because the government has created a conducive and favourable economic environment, which has increased opportunities for doing business. Excise tax has been reduced on some of the commodities like mobile phones, which some households sell to earn some income.
<i>Working class (public sector)</i>	↓	The government put a wage freeze for those working in the government sector and with the rising cost of living, a majority are suffering and failing to meet their household costs.
<i>Working class (private or NGO sector)</i>	↑	This income was increased according to the rise of inflation.
<i>Petty Traders</i>	↔	A lot of people trading in the same type of enterprises. So this created a lot of competition. Earnings had remained the same due to high competition.
<i>General workers (maids, garden boys e.t.c)</i>	↔	Since the revised minimum wages made in 2012, the earnings have remained the same The government might want to revise again after 5 years. Wages have stagnated and were not commensurate to the cost of living.

In Chikwanda, the people we spoke to expressed that they did not earn much income from the activities they were engaged in. Only the garden owners were said to be doing well and with the extra income, most of them had invested in other business ventures like chicken

rearing, opened shops and constructed houses. In contrast, there was no change in the lives of farmers and those engaged in piece work. Their income and wage levels had remained the same and in a few cases the income levels had gone down. Most of the peasant farmers made an effort to engage in some form of piece work to earn extra income or food. This added stress to most families who had to travel far to look for work. The money earned was used to purchase food only. As a result very few households were able to buy the kind of things they could afford to buy previously.

Table 2: Main occupations and changes in work patterns rural site

Main Occupation groups	Doing well, doing worse or staying the same since last year	Why quality of life
<i>Cooperative farmers</i>	↓	Very few farmers generated enough income compared to what they put in. Considering the high cost of labour and cooperative shares, the profit margin from the sale of maize had gone down.
<i>Piece work (gardening, farming, building, bricklaying)</i>	↓	These groups earned K10- K80 per week (depends on the type of work) Because they were a lot people engaged in piece work and very few people to offer it, people received less wages than previously.
<i>Petty traders (stall owners, marketeers)</i>	↔	The traders were able to adjust profit margins in response to the cost of living and therefore their lives remained the same.
<i>Peasant farmers</i>	↓	Due to the high cost of fertilizer and maize seed, the peasant farmers did not earn any income from their crop production, and only grew maize enough to last for 3 to 5 months.
<i>Garden owners</i>	↑	Demand for tomatoes and cabbages among people and boarding schools had increased in the period and this therefore increased their income.
<i>Formal workers (teachers, councillor)</i>	↔	There was no change in income

3.3 Coping

Coping mechanisms among the families in Kabwata and Chikwanda were not very diverse and remained the same over the past three years of the research. Except for support from the church, institutional assistance which could influence coping mechanisms, was absent in both communities. In Chikwanda, the majority of those with low income sought for piece work as a way of coping with the high cost of food. However, due to the stress of both looking for work and the workload involved in doing the piece work, the people we spoke to, as highlighted by one of the youth FGD participant, complained of being stressed and sick:

The cycle has become more vicious, previously we used to have breaks, in a week we would do piece work for 4 days out of 7 days, but now we work even on Sundays.

Another participant from the women's FGD stated that:

Some of us have developed high blood pressure. There have been a few cases of people who have suffered a stroke. We are always worried about making ends meet and this forces us to work twice as much than previously.

Those who could not find piece work such as the elderly, sick or disabled, resorted to reducing food intake to deal with food insecurity, further exacerbating the issue itself. In Kabwata, households were said to cope by mainly reducing food intake, or changing shopping strategies or increasing financial resources for example taking on informal trading activities and borrowing money from friends or relatives. Though these coping strategies increased food options for low income households once in a while, they did not eliminate the real issues in the long run and instead they left most of these household even more vulnerable.

3.4 Unpaid care

Both in Kabwata and Chikwanda, women reported doing more unpaid care work than men. However these responses had not changed from previous years. In Kabwata, the men spoken to felt that it was the role of women to care for the household, while the role of the men was to engage in economic activities that would generate money to support the household. A member of the men's FGD put it this way about the different responsibilities:

Our role is simple, we provide the money and the women plan for it [...] It is easier to do household work than it is to make money. So we don't feel guilty that women have to do all the housework because we are busy hustling the whole day so that the family can be well taken care of.

The women spoken to in Kabwata however felt that in this time of food price volatility, the majority of women in the community had become involved in informal trading to raise more income for the household and as such had split their time at home and business, while the men had not taken up any additional role in the household. As a result of taking on trade activities in addition to unpaid care work, the women we spoke to – as expressed by Mrs A of Kabwata - estimated that they worked between 15 to 20 hours a day and that the men worked for an estimated time of 5 to 10 hours a day:

We women are vital to the running of a home for family survival and food security. We tend to work harder and take on more activities because we were designed that way.

The women in Chikwanda expressed similar sentiments with the women in Kabwata and further stated that due to the pressure to look for food for the house, women were working alongside the men in various piece work in addition to their unpaid care responsibilities. As expressed by one woman from the women FGD:

When we wake up until the time we go to bed, we do not have the luxury to rest like the men do. We wake up to clean the house, to work or look for food, to cook the food which the men eat, to then go and work for more food, then we come back home to bath the children, cook the food and then put everyone to bed. During this time the men are resting most of this time.

Another woman expressed that:

We work non-stop and instead of the men taking half of the responsibility, they insist that we must go with them to do piece work. When we don't go with them, they bring very little food or income at home so we are forced to go with them to make sure that there is enough food or money earned.

3.5 Family and society

In Kabwata, almost everyone we spoke to stated that they belonged to different types of church congregations. This was the main form of social gathering that brought people together, especially women. On the other hand, most men and the male youth preferred to meet at the bars. The youths as expressed by one of the FGD participants preferred to be at the bars than sit idle at home because they hoped to make job or business connections in such places:

We interact more with each other than anyone else. We meet to play pool, watch football and make music. Through this interaction we make business deals and find job opportunities.

When asked whether community members were participating in community voluntary work, it was indicated by all groups spoken to that there was a very low spirit of volunteerism. One male FGD participant emphasised that:

There is still apathy to participating in collective action activities because of the economic hardships. We are only interested in generating income for survival. We can only come together to work collectively on activities that would potentially yield greater financial returns for us individually.

Unlike the people in Kabwata, there was a spirit of volunteerism among the people in Chikwanda. Some people, during the period of review, volunteered to carry out maintenance work for the community water furrow and others, especially women, volunteered to visit the sick or helped to provide food or cook at funerals. Similar to the situation in Kabwata, most of the people interacted through church activities. Apart from church interaction, other social relations were almost non-existent as most people felt they instead needed to spend their time looking for food or doing piece work. This point was highlighted by one of the FGD women participants:

We are all busy looking for food that we can no longer spare a minute to visit each other. We usually meet at funerals or at church.

3.6 Support and social protection

Social protection continues to be non-existent in Kabwata. Those in need of financial or business assistance were said to either receive support from their friends or family in form of a loan. During the previous field work of 2012-2013, the youth we spoke to said that they were able to access money from money lenders with good interest rate. But since then, the interest rates had increased from 30% to 50%, discouraging the majority of the youth from borrowing money from money lenders. On the other hand, social protection support received from the church had gone down compared to the previous years. Some households we spoke to indicated that this was because church members were giving much less to the church as a result of the high cost of living. One FGD participant stated that:

The church is also waging war against the increasing levels of poverty but it does not have enough resources so you can't expect much.

As in the previous years of our field research, different forms of social protection exist in Chikwanda but at a very small scale. The Government continued providing support through the Farmers Input Support Programme, the Food Security Pack Programme and the Public Welfare Assistance Scheme (PWAS), but none of these were large scale programmes that adequately supported the vulnerable members of the community. In addition to the support from Government, CAMFED, the Catholic Church and World Vision also provided different forms of social protection. However, according to the different households and groups we spoke to, the type and numbers of people supported had gone down compared to the last two years of research. For instance only one household benefited from the PWAS and further only 50% of tuition fees were paid by St. Charles Lwanga compared to the 100% in the previous year. According to the people we spoke to, they felt that these organisations perceived the community of Chikwanda to be better-off than in previous years. However, the people themselves denied that they were doing well. Informally, friends formed a major source of support for some community members, which was offered in form of money or food for work.

Table 3: Formal Social Protection

Institution	Type	Frequency
Ministry of Agriculture	Farmers Input Support Programme – Subsidised fertilizer and maize, rice or beans seeds	Every farming season
Ministry of Community Development, Mother and Child Health	Food Security Pack Programme – livestock, a seed pack of maize, legumes, and tubers	Once a year
Ministry of Community Development, Mother and Child Health	Public Welfare Assistance Scheme – provision of a blanket, 2 bags of 50kg maize	Once every year
CAMFED	School sponsorship programme - covers tuition fees and school requisites for vulnerable children. Also provide groceries for vulnerable children in boarding school.	Every school term.
Catholic Church - St. Charles Lwanga	School Sponsorship Programme – 50% of tuition fees (the previous year they were paying 100% tuition fees), school requisites mainly shoes and uniforms and food stuffs for vulnerable children	Three times a year
World Vision	Sponsorship programme - Clothes and shoes for children on the sponsorship programme.	Once or twice a year

3.7 Processed and unsafe foods

The special topic for the third year of research sought to explore views, attitudes and behaviours of communities on processed and unsafe foods in the face of rising food prices. The views on processed and unsafe foods and how this affected people's health varied

between the urban and rural sites. However, the insights we were able to gather, particularly on processed fast foods, was very limited. The notion of “fast food” and the role it plays in influencing dietary behaviour and health outcomes was generally uncommon in both sites, particularly in Chikwanda. In Kabwata, very few households ate fast food, the majority of the participants, just as in Chikwanda, predominately ate and cooked food within their homes. Only a few and generally those considered to be rich with a busy lifestyle, were said to occasionally eat fast food. The consumption of fast food was generally considered to be a sign of wealth and according to the people we spoke to, very few people in Kabwata had that sort of wealth. Other food considered somewhat unsafe due to the content of oil were fritters. These however were not commonly consumed by a number of people but rather were being eaten as a snack by a few school going children.

In Chikwanda, people were more concerned about the safety of the food being consumed than in Kabwata. The high price of food items was said to be a strong barrier to healthy eating practices among most households in Chikwanda. For instance due to the high cost of Kapenta, which is the most preferred and common source of protein, low income households were consuming *daaga*, an inferior form of Kapenta reportedly with a lot of sand and rodents droppings due to the way it is processed. The change in consumption came after the price of Kapenta went up and those who sell Kapenta started to offer *daaga* as a cheaper alternative. Despite the reported health effects of consuming *daaga* (including ring worm, gall stones, skin rashes and severe headaches), the people we spoke to, as expressed by Mr. B, preferred to consume it because they had very little choice or alternatives of cheaper sources of protein:

We eat because we have no choice. When we can, we gather wild foods and we also eat other vegetables such as pumpkin leaves which are tasty but these are seasonal.

Figure 3: Photos of Kapenta and Daaga



Kapenta

Credits: Mwila Mulumbi



Daaga

Apart from that, rape (collard greens) were also said to be unsafe due to the amount of pesticide residue that remained on the vegetables. These kinds of vegetables are readily available all the time in the community and are cheap and due to their source of vitamins, people continue to consume them despite the residue of chemicals. The vegetables with chemicals caused diarrhoea, and other illnesses, which contributed to decreased worker productivity thus lowering incomes and access to food.

3.8 Regulation and information on processed and unsafe foods

Generally, the perception by communities was that government does not think that food can be a danger to society, such that the efforts to protect consumers from unsafe food were

minimal. For instance, while efforts were made by government to control the border between Zambia and Tanzania so as to stop the importation of *daaga* from Tanzania, these efforts were not enforced. Food traders found a way of illegally bringing the food in the country by stating that they were bringing the food for the consumption of pigs. In relation to the unsafe vegetables, some community members made an effort to caution vegetable producers not to sell vegetables with chemical residue until after the window period of 10 days has passed.

4 ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

There are many factors present in this period that make Zambia's experience of the food price volatility unique compared to the global trends. The factors that shaped the high food prices included the removal of the miller consumer subsidy, unfavourable rainfall which affected low crop production, high cost of the most commonly used fertilizer, and increasing fuel prices.

The responses from the communities suggests that increasing food prices have represented negative changes, though not enormously different from the last two periods of research. The drastic decisions made by low income households such as decreasing food intake, skipping meals, eating cheaper but poor quality food as a way of coping with the high cost of food had definitely a major impact on their food and nutrition security. The changes in dietary habits coupled with limited informal support, may further exacerbate food insecurity among urban and rural food insecure groups. Particularly for children, worsening of nutrition can lead to permanent detrimental effects. The fear is that the increasing food prices, will force poor families to continue to allocate more income to food, while reducing other expenditures on education and health. The abandonment of these areas may further create a long-lasting poverty trap that becomes ever harder to escape.

Though the research on the special topic provided limited insights, a number of issues were highlighted that require attention. The responses from Chikwanda on the consumption of unsafe food, revealed that people were not only concerned about the health implications of these foods, they were also concerned that the traditional and local food habits could be eroded as communities adopt unhealthy eating behaviours due to the high cost of food (Mulumbi 2015). The impact of high food prices on the traditional and local food customs is an area that very few institutions or research studies have paid attention to in Zambia. However an article by the World Bank points out that food safety is slowly becoming a priority in Zambia and that the government is revising its food safety strategy and preparing new legislation to improve and modernize food safety governance. It is recognized that improving food safety systems has many short and long-term costs and can be a challenging process for many countries to undertake. However, if the government is going to protect its citizens, especially the most vulnerable and safeguard the traditional food habits, then more work is required to promote the access of healthier foods.

5 CONCLUSION

The impact of the high and at times volatile food prices, has become dire among food insecure and low income households. The choices that these households have made in responding to this situation such as limiting food consumption, shifting to cheaper foods with lower nutritional value and skipping meals threatens to reinforce the poverty cycle. An attempt

to personally mitigate the price effects at household level has led to stress and further destitution. At national level, government has not been successful in boosting small scale agriculture or stabilising staple food prices. To generate powerful positive impacts, the government in collaboration with other institutions, should work on designing and implementing strategies for hedging against food price shocks and reaping the benefits of higher producer prices. Addressing the consequences of rising food prices will continue to be challenging for Zambia for many years to come but what is critical is to start addressing the pertinent issues now.

While there is an increased recognition of studies on rising food prices, the implication of this on poverty needs an in-depth study. This current research was set to capture the voices of the poor as they grappled with high food prices. However, if the link between rising food prices and poverty is to be made, long conventional researches must be undertaken. Further, recommendations for future studies should include a more in-depth investigation of cultural food practices and the use of food as a means to satisfy nutritional needs. It would also be of interesting to examine these differences with a geographical lens, particularly as they relate to access, availability, and quality of food resources among food insecure groups and to take into consideration the influences of socioeconomic status.

REFERENCES

- Famine Early Warning Systems Network (FEWS NET) (2014), *Zambia Food Security Outlook*, www.fews.net/sites/default/files/documents/reports/Zambia_FSO_10_2013.pdf (accessed 9 June 2015)
- Food and Agriculture Organization (2014), *Food Price Index*, www.fao.org/worldfoodsituation/foodpricesindex/en/ (accessed 9 June 2015)
- Global Information and Early Warning System (GIEWS) (2014) *Zambia Country Brief*, <http://www.fao.org/giews/countrybrief/country.jsp?code=ZMB> (accessed 4 February 2015)
- Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives (2004), *National Agricultural Policy*, Lusaka
- Ministry of Health (2009) *The National Food and Nutrition Policy*, Lusaka
- Ministry of Finance and National Planning (2011) *Sixth National Development Plan 2011-2015*, Lusaka
- Mulumbi, M. (2015) 'Eat With Us: Insight into Household Food Habits in a Time of Food Price Volatility in Zambian Communities', *IDS Bulletin* 46.6:53-59,
- National Nutrition Commission of Zambia (2011) *National Food and Nutrition Strategic Plan for Zambia (2011-2015)*, Lusaka
- World Bank (2014) 'Food Safety in Zambia: How Small Improvements Can Have Big Impact', <http://blogs.worldbank.org/voices/food-safety-zambia-how-small-improvements-can-have-big-impact>. (accessed 9 June 2015)
- Zambia Vulnerability Assessment Committee (ZVAC) (2014) *In-Depth Vulnerability and Needs Assessment Report*, Lusaka: ZVAC

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This report has been written by Mwila Mulumbi through research that she led with support from a dedicated team of research assistants who included Kafula Humphrey, Lubinda Emmanuel and Kasomo Chanda'ngoma. These also provided assistant with transcribing and translating the data collected in the field.

Joseph Chikwanda and Regina Mubanga of Chikwanda community and Gift Mataa of Kabwata community are thankfully acknowledged for their support in arranging the field work in their localities. Last but not least, we are sincerely thankful to the women, men and youths who gave their time to provide information to the research. Their participation contributed to the successful completion of this work.

Oxfam and IDS have embarked on a four-year research project to better understand the impact that food price volatility is having in different communities around the world. The project aims to fill the gap in evidence and understanding of the impact that volatile food prices are having on the lives of poor people living in rural and urban areas, including personal income and finance, health, social, family and security. This national research report is a contribution to that project.

This research report was commissioned to contribute to public debate and to invite feedback on development and humanitarian policy and practice. It does not necessarily reflect Oxfam or IDS policy positions. The views expressed are those of the author and not necessarily those of Oxfam or IDS.

This report is co-published by the Institute of Development Studies and Oxfam International. IDS and Oxfam cannot be held responsible for errors or any consequences arising from the use of information contained in this report. The views and opinions expressed are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect those of IDS or Oxfam policy positions.

© Institute of Development Studies and Oxfam International October 2014

This publication is copyright but the text may be used free of charge for the purposes of advocacy, campaigning, education, and research in non-commercial outputs, provided that the source is acknowledged in full. The copyright holder requests that all such use be registered with them for impact assessment purposes. Readers are encouraged to reproduce material from the report, but copying for any circumstances other than those listed above, or for re-use in other publications/translation or adaptation, permission must be secured. E-mail G.Edwards@ids.ac.uk.

The information in this publication is correct at the time of going to press.

Published by the Institute of Development Studies under ISBN 978-1-78118-279-6 in October 2014.

OXFAM

Oxfam is an international confederation of 17 organizations networked together in 94 countries, as part of a global movement for change, to build a future free from the injustice of poverty. For further information, visit www.oxfam.org

IDS

The Institute of Development Studies (IDS) is a leading global institution for development research, teaching and learning, and impact and communications, based at the University of Sussex. For further information, visit www.ids.ac.uk

Funded by

