

**LIVELIHOOD AND COPING STRATEGIES OF MEN AND WOMEN IN THE
CONTEXT OF MALE LABOUR MIGRATION. A GENDER PERSPECTIVE: A
CASE OF MAZABUKA AND KALABO DISTRICTS.**

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**A dissertation submitted to the University of Zambia in partial fulfillment of the
requirements of the of Master of Arts Degree in Gender Studies.**

**The University of Zambia
Lusaka**

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DECLARATION

I, Peggy Muwanei Malesu declare that this dissertation is my own work. It is being presented to the University of Zambia for the first time and has never been submitted elsewhere for any academic award. All published work or materials used herein have been acknowledged.

Signed:

Date :

APPROVAL

This dissertation by Peggy Muwanei Malesu is approved as fulfilling the requirements for the award of Degree of Master of Arts in Gender Studies of the University of Zambia.

Examiners' signature

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ABSTRACT

Labour migration is a situation where people move from one place to the other to look for employment so that they sustain their lives and that of their families. Labour migration existed in the past and still exists in Zambia, Africa and other parts of the world. The study focused on the livelihood and coping strategies in the context of male labour migration.

The main objective was to examine the livelihood and coping strategies of men and women in the context of male labour migration. The specific objectives of the study were to examine the livelihood strategies of men and women, to examine the coping strategies of men and women and to suggest possible recommendations to improve the social and economic welfare of men and women.

The study used semi-structured questionnaires, focus groups in order to generate information from the respondents. The study population comprised of 640 respondents and the sample size was comprised of 100 respondents. The study was conducted in Mazabuka and Kalabo districts. Quantitative data was analysed using Microsoft excel and the data was analysed using tables, percentages as well as totals to present and summarise data for easy analysis. Qualitative data was analysed using themes.

Women and the families left behind sought livelihood and coping strategies to sustain their lives in the absence of their husbands. The study revealed that women changed their ways of life in terms of their livelihood and adopted some coping or survival strategies to help them run their households in the absence of their husbands. In terms of livelihood, they sold vegetables, rice and other food stuffs they grew and in return they earned income. In terms of coping strategies, they reduced on the consumption of meals, withdrew children from school so that they help them with agricultural activities and at times they sold their assets like land.

The men who are the cane cutters also sought livelihood and coping strategies where they went. Apart from feeding themselves, cane cutters also fed their families back home in Kalabo. Cane cutters also sold some merchandise so as to earn a living and also adopted some coping strategies like reduction in expenditure so that they reserve money for important things needed for them and their families. The study also discovered that cane cutters' wives adopted more of the economic coping strategies than their husbands. The study also revealed that some of the strategies adopted did not benefit the men and women.

According to the study, women left behind by their spouses faced some economic challenges such that some of them were forced to exchange sex for food or money and they became vulnerable to HIV. On the other hand some of their husbands were also involved in extra-marital affairs and that exposed them to HIV and AIDS.

The study recommended that Zambia Sugar Company should formulate a deliberate policy to allow cane cutters to be accompanied by their families as a way of enhancing their livelihoods and also Government and NGOs to sensitise the level of awareness of the whole community on gender issues.

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this work to the following people.

Mr Namukulo Malesu, my father for his financial support to enable me complete my masters degree without problems. He also encouraged me to continue working hard even when I passed through difficult situations.

Mrs Violet Malesu, my mother who tirelessly never ceased to encourage me and always told me I will be a great woman.

I also dedicate this work to my lovely sisters, Maureen Malesu, Rabbecca Malesu, Audrey Malesu and my late sister Mable Mundia Malesu Kambanikwaoh for the love and support they showed during the programme.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

- AIDS - Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome.
- CSO - Central Statistics Office.
- HIV - Human Immune Virus
- NGO - Non-Governmental Organisation.
- ZDHS - Zambia Demographic Health Survey.
- IDI - In-Depth Interviews.
- WFP - World Food Programme.
- C-SAFE - Consortium for Southern Africa's Food Emergency.
- FGD - Focus Group Discussion.

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND

Labour migration is a common phenomenon today both in the third world and industrialized countries (Amin, 1999). Zambia's population has a long history of mobility associated with different ethnic groups. (David, 2005). According to David (2005), economies practiced in pre-colonial times involving hunting, gathering of fruits and shifting cultivation entailed movement from place to place. With the development of economic centres, internal migration and immigration became more pronounced (David, 2005). During the colonial period, workers from rural areas often went to work in the mines and estates. They only returned to their villages after completing their contracts (Breman, 2001). According to Breman (2001), the families of these workers remained in the villages because there were restrictions on movements, only people who went to work as miners were allowed to move. Further more, Breman (2001) argued that most migrants were single or were married males who left their families in the village.

When Zambia attained independence in 1964, colonial restrictions on movements were removed and migration became more pronounced mainly in areas along the old line of rail especially the copperbelt where the mining industry provided employment (CSO, 2003). Movements changed from time to time. Therefore, it is not satisfying to argue that movements occurred only from rural areas to urban areas but that there are cases when people moved from urban to rural.

According to the Census report (2000) on Migration and Urbanisation, there are four types of people's movements that are associated with the Zambian population. These types of movements are as follows; rural to urban, urban to rural, rural to rural and

urban to urban. Migration and Urbanisation 2000 Census Report states that rural to urban involves movements of people from rural areas to economic centres or urban centres. The report further states that urban to rural migration involves movements of people from urban areas to rural areas while rural to rural refers to movements of people from rural areas to other rural administrative areas. In addition, urban to urban refers to movements of people from one urban administrative area to another. These movements vary according to the needs of people.

Studies on patterns of migration within countries of Africa have tended to emphasise rural-urban migration as against all other types of movements. (CSO, 2003). The migration and urbanization 2000 Census Report further states that this kind of movement is perhaps due to magnitude of the problems that uncontrolled rural- urban migration creates not only at the urban destination areas but also in the rural places of origin.

In Zambia, there are different types of workers for instance; there are permanent workers who are usually in formal employment and the seasonal workers who are in informal employment (CSO Report, 2003). The permanent workers usually stay with their families while the seasonal workers leave their families behind. The working conditions for the cane cutters are not good enough, for instance they work for long hours and they lack protective clothing (David, 2005). Examples of these seasonal workers are the cane cutters from Kalabo district popularly known as Nyengo people. These men go to work as labour migrants in Mazabuka district at Nakambala Sugar Estate during the period of cane harvesting in readiness for sugar processing or production.

A study conducted by Hann shows that high male migration has led to a modification in the structure of family life and has transformed women's social and economic position to their detriment (De Hann, 2000). Once men leave as labour migrants, it means that most households will be female headed. Female headed households constitute a significant proportion of households in some countries, such as Cambodia and in parts of Nepal. (Floro and Schaefer, 2001). The out-migration of men is one major cause that leads to female headed households. Women household heads are faced with constraints on all sides. Put succinctly, their situation is usually one of too many responsibilities and not enough time or help. This means that women heads of households are overburdened with work such as agricultural activities including decision making on major household issues. It is for this reason that they begin to perform survival strategies in order to run the affairs of the household.

In most cases, labour migrants are away from home or leave their families for a period of one year or more (De Hann, 2000). They do not remit any money to their families since their salaries are too little (Francis, 2000). This implies that women, especially young women, face a lot of challenges in the running of households as most of the tasks that were performed by men are transferred to the young women who are assisted by children since elderly people are unable to perform the tasks to satisfactory levels due to old age.

Women whose husbands have migrated usually have less access to assets, lower educational levels and limited work opportunities (Brock and Coulibay, 1999). This makes them become self employed or work in the lowest remunerated categories of casual wage labour. According to Amin (1999), more female headed households whose husbands are cane cutters face extreme poverty than male headed households. These houses often a time experience a greater labour shortage because there is

usually a higher proportion of elderly members such as grandparents and children who cannot fully participate in the production of the basic needs or engage in gainful employment.

Migration of husbands alone to some other places for economic benefits has a considerable impact on the families left behind consisting of wives and children putting an altogether new situation (Breman, 2001). Migration causes a lot of problems to the families particularly wives of the migrants, in some parts of Zambia up to 45 percent of the males are away from home (Brockhoff, 2002). The absence of men does not suggest that certain agricultural activities come to a halt; it means that women are compelled to take the male share of labour input, hence workload increases.

The prolonged absence of unduly large proportion of the productive men may have any of the following consequences; breaking up of family life, fall in birth rate, insufficient cultivation and consequently shortage in the food supply (Jolly and Reeves, 2005). The fact that the able bodied men are consistently away from their families and villages as labour migrants means that most of the male agricultural tasks are transferred to their remaining wives and children who successfully coped with their absence. In Zambia, Zambia Sugar Company put up a policy that cane cutters should not move with their families because they risk being disturbed as their job demands a lot of hard work. The cane cutters are usually away from home for a period of nine months. The study was conducted to find out what coping strategies men and women employ to help them sustain their lives and that of their families. It is against this background that the present study focused on the livelihood and coping strategies of men and women in the context of male labour migration.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Male labour migration is a situation where men go to work as labour migrants leaving their wives behind. In the past, women were left behind because there were restrictions on movements as only labour migrants were allowed to move. Movements are no longer restricted but still some labour migrants do not move with their wives, for instance, the cane cutters from Kalabo district. These cane cutters usually go for labour migration to Mazabuka district leaving their wives behind because they are not allowed to move with their wives. If they do, it is kept as a secret from their employers. Zambia Sugar Company does not allow cane cutters to go with their wives as the company does not want them to have other responsibilities because their job is very hard.

Most of the studies on labour migration focus on the causes and impact of migration without examining the livelihood and coping strategies the separated men and women adopt in their different locations. The livelihood and coping strategies of the cane cutters and their wives will indicate how they live when they are apart and whether they are beneficial or not. This study however examined the livelihood and coping strategies the men and women adopted and used to run the households in the two locations.

1.3 MAIN OBJECTIVE

To examine the Livelihood and coping strategies of men and women in the context of male labour migration.

SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES

- i. To examine livelihood strategies of men and women.
- ii. To examine the coping strategies of men and women.

- iii. To suggest possible recommendations to improve the social and economic welfare of men and women.

1.3.1 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- i. What livelihood strategies do men and women employ and to what extent do they benefit from them?
- ii. What coping strategies do men and women employ and to what extent do they benefit from them?
- iii. What are the possible recommendations that would improve the social and economic welfare of men and women?

1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The study highlights gender issues of Zambia Sugar Company's policy which forbids cane cutters to bring along their wives and recommends measures that the company and the Government should act on.

It would contribute to the existing board of knowledge on gender issues concerning migrant labour.

1.5 OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS

Male labour migration: This is the movement of men from their place of origin to other places to look for employment.

Livelihood: Comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources and activities required for a means of living) (Carney, 1998:4).

Coping strategy: defined as the way an individual physically and mentally deals with or adapt to a threat (Carling, 2007).

Cane cutters: These are men who work as labour migrants in Mazabuka .

Cane cutters' wives: These are wives of cane cutters.

Remittances: This is the money that is sent to the wives of the cane cutters by the cane cutters.

Gender: Refer to the differences between men and women that are socially constructed, changeable over time and have wide variations within and between cultures.

Gender issues: Situations that are undesirable arising from one gender unmet needs and concerns raising critical questions which need to be resolved such as women's lack of access to credit and agricultural extension services.

Benefits: Refer to basic human needs such as food, cash, income, education, knowledge, health care, etc.

Access to resources: The opportunity to make use of a resource for the production of goods and services.

Control over resources: Control means the authority to decide about the use of resources.

Household: A household refers to a group of people, who live together in one house, provide for each other and often share meals. Household members also share meals.

Household members also include those who are temporarily absent from the household but returned at some point.

Female headed household: refers to a group of people living together with a woman being the one in charge of the house.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter presents a review of the related literature to the study. It presents the study in different themes and these are, gender issues arising from male labour migration, livelihood of men and women due to male labour migration and coping strategies of men and women due to male labour migration.

2.1 Theoretical Frameworks

2.1.1 The Neo-Classical Equilibrium Approach

The first scholarly contribution to migration consisted of two articles by the nineteenth century geographer Ravenstein (1885; 1889), in which he formulated his “laws of migration”, (Asis, 2006). He saw migration as an inseparable part of development, and he asserted that the major causes of migration were economic. This perspective, in which people are expected to move from low income to high income areas, and from densely to sparsely populated areas, that is, the general notion that migration movements towards a certain spatial-economic equilibrium, has remained alive in the work of many demographers, geographers and economists ever since, and as we will see, is also the underlying assumption of push-pull theories (De Haan 2000). According to De Haan (200), at macro-level, neo-classical economic theory explains migration by geographical differences in the supply and demand for labour. The resulting differentials in wage cause workers to move from low wage, labour-surplus regions to high-wage, labour-scarce regions (Carling, 2007). Migration will cause labour to become less scarce at the destination and scarcer at the sending end.

2.1.2 Historical-Structural Approach

A radically different interpretation of migration was provided as of the 1960s by the historical-structural paradigm on development, which has its intellectual roots in Marxist political economy and in world systems theory (Borraz, 2005). Historical-structuralists postulate that economic and political power is unequally distributed among developed and underdeveloped countries, that people have unequal access to resources, and that capitalist expansion has the tendency to reinforce these inequalities (Cligget, 2000).

Historical-structuralists have criticized neo-classical migration theory, stating that individuals do not have a free choice, because they are fundamentally constrained by structural forces (Bryant, 2005). Rather than a matter of free choice, people are forced to move because traditional economic structures have been undermined as a result of their incorporation into the global political-economic system.

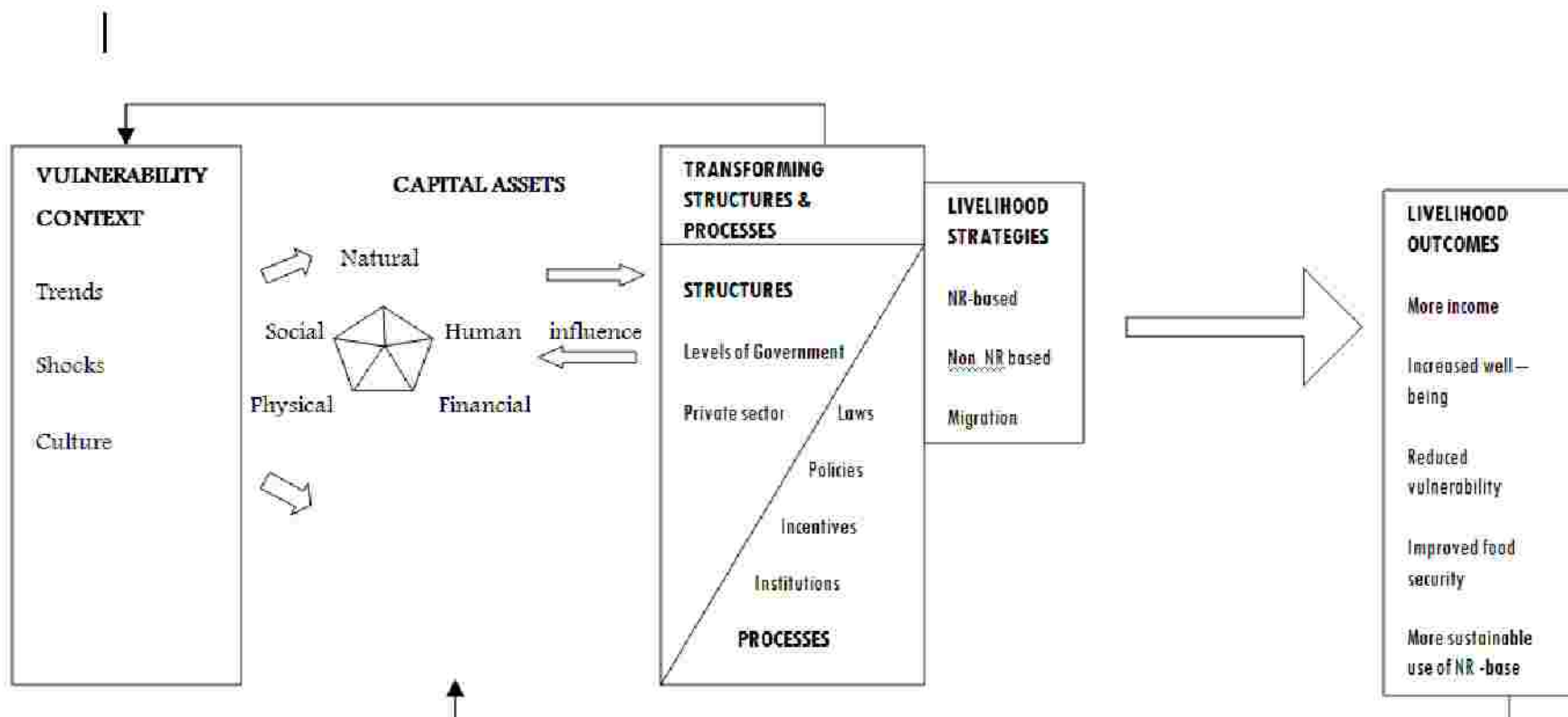
2.1.3 A framework for sustainable rural livelihoods

According to a theoretical framework conducted at Institute of Development Studies, an individual needs to have five different types of capital assets and these are, natural capital, social capital, human capital, physical capital and financial capital (Carney, 1998). The natural capital is where the resources useful to mankind are derived from nature such as land, water, wildlife, biodiversity and environmental resources. Social capital are simply networks, membership of groups, relationship of trust, access to wider institutions of society upon which people draw in pursuit of livelihoods. Human capital refers to skills, knowledge, ability to labour and good health important to the ability to pursue different livelihood strategies. Physical capital are the basic infrastructure such as transport, shelter, water, energy as well as communication and the production equipment and means which enable people to pursue their livelihoods.

Financial capital refers to the savings, supplies of credit or regular remittances or pensions which provide people with different livelihood options. When the assets are disturbed, people adopt coping strategies. Insufficient finances prompted migration of cane cutters.

Figure 1 below shows capital assets which influence transforming structures and processes as a result an individual adopts livelihood strategies which lead to livelihood outcomes. Livelihood outcomes are as a result of the capital assets. The transforming structures and processes also influence capital assets and if the transforming structures and processes are corrupt then vulnerability comes in. It means that there is a shock and so an individual needs to adopt coping strategies.

Figure 1: Sustainable rural Livelihoods: Framework



2.2 Labour Migration

Labour migration is the movement of people from their place of origin to other places to look for employment. Labour migration is a world wide phenomenon and people move both nationally and internationally, such movement from different age-groups, involves both women and men, who work away from home either on a daily basis, periodically or for a single period of a few months or few years and some also tend to stay permanently in towns and cities (Borraz, F, 2005).

According to CSO (2003), there are two types of migration and these are internal and international migration. Internal migration refers to changes of residence within a nation and is defined in terms of residential movements across boundaries that are often taken as the boundary or minor divisions of the province or district of a country. International migration refers to changes of residence involving crossing a national boundary. The study however adopted internal migration because that is what is under discussion.

People migrate to other places for many reasons. Research by Bryant shows that some people migrate in search of higher incomes while Borraz (2005) alluded to the fact that others migrate because they have been lured by friends and relatives and social networks. Networks of friends and relatives already working in destination countries serve as sources of information and anchor communities for new comers (Borraz, 2005). Another research conducted by Brown (1997) indicates that some people migrate in search of adventure, exploration or curiosity. Some people are interested in visiting other lands from a sense of adventure or for exploration and the emerging demand for labour may provide the required opportunity (Brown, 1997). Brown (1997) also argues that others migrate because they are fleeing from persecution and armed conflict. In a number of cases, the migrants have no choice and may simply be

forced out because of armed conflict, persecution at home or environmental degradation.

Zambia has a long history of men migrating to work in large agricultural estates, in chiawa in rural Lusaka province, Nakambala sugar estates in Southern Province, in Mpongwe, rural Copper belt Province (Cligget, 2000). Mazabuka is a major commercial farming and trucking town which is 130 kilometers south of Lusaka. Nakambala estate in Mazabuka has in the past 30 years has as a practice of hired labour nearly 400 cane cutters from Kalabo, a very poor rural fishing area in Western province of Zambia (David, R, 2005). The cane cutters who are the productive men leave Kalabo district for Mazabuka district to work as labour migrants. The fact that, these productive men leave Kalabo district means that the majority of people who remain are the women both young and elderly, elderly men and children.

2.3 Gender Issues Arising From Male Labour Migration

A study of 44 migrant Mexican men and women in the San Francisco Bay area suggests that the migration of men typically entails expansion of their wives' responsibilities their wives necessitates undertaking domestic tasks that they would not have otherwise done (Breman, 2001). This means that women perform roles of their husbands due to the fact that their husbands are absent and this over burdens them.

However, the dismantling in gender-segregated roles is only partial since frequently families return to a patriarchal division of labour once they reunite. Another study of male migration from rural to urban areas for unskilled manual and white collar employment in the coastal state of Goa, India, suggests that in the absence of husbands women are *de facto* household heads and execute various responsibilities such as hiring and supervision of agricultural labour(Amin,1999).

A research by Ballard (1999) emphasizes financial hardships and increased responsibilities for women. Further, the assumption of responsibilities outside the home may in some instances increase the work burden of women. For instance, in rice-producing villages of India, if remittances are not large enough, women's work load is likely to increase as they have to compensate for the absence of their husbands' farm labour (Ballard, 1999). Other studies also note that frequently remittances from the migrants are not enough and women who get left behind in the native villages have to assume the role of sole breadwinner in addition to added familial and domestic responsibilities (Asis, 2006). Domestic responsibilities may be shared by older daughter who acts as a little surrogate mother to her brothers and sisters.

The intensification of women's work is likely to aggravate the health risks they face. When women over work themselves in trying to provide for their families or households, they stress themselves and end up being sick (Mayoux, 2001). The stressing experience results from the need to work hard as they are the only ones to take up the challenge. Female household members shoulder an intensified burden of work in order to allow the household to cope with the loss of male labour and face greater difficulties in access to health care (Brockerhoff, 2002).

According to a study by Silvey (2006), women's greater work load associated with male migration has been pointed out. When men migrate from rural areas, women are left with a greater burden of agricultural labour. Since both men and women work together in the agricultural sector, absence of either sex would mean extra work for the other (Silvey, 2006). Women's participation in traditionally male social and economic activities in a broader sense may increase over and above their tasks in the domestic sphere (Jolly and Reeves, 2005). Involvement of women in the tasks of men entails that apart from doing their house chores, taking care of children they also have to perform tasks for men such as ploughing in the fields.

The migrant labourer has to make arrangements so that his absence will not entail a shortage of labour in the household which has to be compensated for an increase in female participation in the production process (Cligget, 2000). Women therefore, complain if the absence of their husbands compels them to take over tasks which are usually only done by men, feeling uneasy to have to move suddenly into a male dominated sphere (De Haan, 2000).

Male labour migration did not bring any change with respect to women's right to land because even if men are away they still keep the title (Golini,2001).Women reported

that most men believe paying the annual tax by sending remittances is enough to keep their land title and control it.

According to the studies carried out by Deshingkar (2004), women decreased the amount of land to be cultivated because they could not cope with the labour required for cultivating all their land. Furthermore, the women argued that the reason for not cultivating all the land was the lack of adequate money to hire labour due to low amount or absence of remittance from their migrant husbands (Deshingkar, 2004).

Male labour migration brings severe problems to rural women's livelihood and productivity. Besides the obvious labour-gap the absentee husband creates, women's access to agricultural extension and other desirable inputs is constrained by the still male biased agricultural system (FAO, 2005). The situation gets more complicated to women due to the low amount of remittance sent back to the women from the migrant husbands. In most cases, the women are expected to be self sufficient by the migrant male folk and the little remittance(if any) sent is for land tax payment purpose.

Women left behind by their spouses, faced with the same economic challenges, and other challenges besides (e.g. food insecurity) that contributed to their husband's migration, may be forced to exchange sex for food or money and thus become vulnerable to HIV (De Haan,2000).They may also be at risk if their husbands returns infected with HIV.

Women also appear to be at risk of HIV infection as the stay-home spouse of a migrant. This may be due to several factors, including having unprotected sex with an infected spouse or with other sexual partners in the absence of the spouse (De Haan, 1999). De Haan (1999) argued that women may be unable to negotiate condom use

with a spouse when he returns home, or with other partners. Several contributors to the discussion highlighted the fact that women left behind with insufficient resources may be forced to engage in transactional sex in order to support their families (David, 2005)

The men also had their own experiences. According to a study conducted in Malawi by FAOSTAT(2005) , more than 50 of the cane cutters interviewed were below 20 years and most of them were school drop-outs. They are housed in dormitories in camps for workers and slept on papyrus mats on a cement floor. The daily assignment for each cane cutter was to harvest 3.5 tons of sugar cane (FAOSTAT, 2005). As if it is not enough, FAOSTAT (2005) argues that the boys (cane cutters) reported that they had to wake up at 5:00 AM. The cane cutters complain that they work for long hours in the hot sun in a swampy environment heavy with herbicides and fertilizers used on the plantation (FAOSTAT,2005). Furthermore, the cane cutters describe their experiences as work so demanding. According to them, working is like a long, difficult physical exercise.

The cane cutters also state that due to severe physical demands of work, most cane cutters take a break for two seasons before accepting a second contract. They further state that it is difficult to work continuously for more than 3 years.

The long separation between the cane cutters and their families has led to the promiscuous behaviour of cane cutters which has exposed them to HIV and AIDS (Phillips, 2010). According to Phillips (2010), the promiscuous behavior has pushed them further into abject poverty due to the fact that the meager wages generated are diverted towards the medication of the ill.

Another study conducted by Illovo (2009), revealed that sexually transmitted diseases were a major problem. Other health problems cited by the cane cutters are malaria, chest infections, skin diseases, diarrhoea and stress. Illovo(2009), alluded to the fact that there was lack of information about sex and sexuality. Some cane cutters believed that abstaining from sex for than two weeks could lead to virility. In addition, cane cutters usually complained that the money they got was so little that they resorted to sharing concubines just to save their virility. The cane cutters complained bitterly about the concubines stating that they were very expensive so they resorted to going out with school girls who charged less (Illovo, 2009). Furthermore, homosexuality was also revealed amongst cane cutters, with older cane cutters having allegedly enticed the younger ones accept the relationships (Illovo, 2009).

Although wages in sugar companies are often above the national minimum, they are still not enough for some of the poorest employees to provide basic necessities for themselves and their family (Phillips, 2010). According to Phillips,(2010), the problem of low wages is especially acute for seasonal workers who lack the job security, employment rights and decent housing of permanent employees.

Richardson(2010) observed that the health of the seasonal cane cutters is jeopardized because of poor accommodation offered by the company where by four workers share single sleeping room and bathing room, making it a challenge for workers to bring their children and wives. Richardson (2010) further observed that when the children and families visit, accommodation problem becomes worse.

In another instance, Richardson (2010) states that the cane cutters revealed that the company provides them with accommodation which is tied to employment but complained that the accommodation was sub-standard and lacked related services as

piped water and electricity. It was observed that most of the houses offered to cane cutters lack proper ventilation and that they were divided into single rooms (Richardson, 2010). Furthermore, Richardson (2010) argues that some of the cane cutters bring their families with them and it is common to find a family of six persons living in one room. To deal with the problem of overcrowding, some sugarcane cutters have established social networks with other sugarcane cutters and casual workers who do not have large families to have some of their family members accommodated especially at night. Some cane cutters who are married resorted to leave their families behind. However, leaving the wife and children in the rural areas has been costly since the cane cutters have to constantly send groceries to the rural areas as well as to frequently travel to visit their wives.

Water and sanitary facilities for the cane cutters are bad. It was observed that the water and sanitary facilities were substandard and were in need of upgrading. Research has shown that some of the toilets used by sugarcane cutters are almost collapsing since most of them were constructed a long time ago without being renovated or maintained. It has also been argued that some sugarcane cutters preferred the bush toilets because the public toilets are always messed up.

2.4 Coping Strategies Of Women

A research by Brock and Coulibay (1999) pointed out that globally, withdrawing children from school is a short term strategy that has permanent effects that could make it difficult to reduce poverty in the long term. When women realize that they are overburdened with work, they usually involve their children to help them. This is done by stopping children to go to school so that they have more time assisting their mothers especially with agricultural activities. In Cambodia, a recent study conducted revealed that about one in five children whose households were affected by male

labour migration had to start working in order to help their mothers (Black and King, 2004). Many children had to leave school; of course their mothers supported that so that they forego necessities such as food and clothes. Educational expense would be the last item to receive the axe in Kerala households (David, 2005). According to Fazeeha (2004), cutting down private tuition and shifting children from unaided to aided schools are the two strategies adopted in a few small and medium farmer households.

According to Ballard (1999), still in Tanzania, another option was the withdrawal of children, especially girls from school in order to utilize their labour and save money, which amongst other things, had ramifications for future literacy levels and the child's participation in the modern economy.

Reduction in household consumption expenditure was one of the coping strategies commonly employed by the farmers in times of livelihood crisis in one of the study areas called Kerala in India where there was shortage of labour due to male labour migration has been to tighten the belt (Dercon, 2000). According to Dercon(2000), under the condition of distress frequency of meat consumption in many households is cut down from two times a week to two or three times a month and of consumption from daily to once or twice a week.

Ballard (1999) indicates that coping strategies tend to be defined as short-term responses to entitlement failure giving the impression that it involves few additional costs thereby obscuring the true cost of coping. In Tanzania, Ballard (1999) found that short and long term costs included curtailing the number and quality of meals that a household could afford which resulted in poor nutrition with obvious implications for health.

Sending children to urban areas was another strategy women used. The women send their children when they find it difficult to support all their children with the livelihood options open to them or in the hope of getting assistance in the form of remittance. Studies conducted in Ethiopia have indicated that children migrating to urban areas, especially in Addis Ababa are exposed to high child labour abuse in urban areas and are mostly deprived of their basic rights to education (Golini,2001).

Bryant (2005) argued that distress sale of assets was also a coping strategy adopted to run households. To cope up with the fall in incomes, households have sold off assets, one such asset is land (Bryant, J, 2005). A recent study on the impact of male labour migration on female microfinance clients in Kenya and Uganda, found that there was a clear sequence of asset liquidation among women in order to cope with the economic impact (Brockerhoff, 2002). Most women sold items like ploughs so that they obtained money. They even went to the extent of disposing of land as the last resort. This last resort of disposing of land has profound consequences for people losing their economic base. Leasing out land is another strategy women used in order to obtain inputs like seed, manure or labour. However, wives of migrant men reported that renting out land had many problems, for example, the women mentioned that the land renter may refuse to share the produce according to the arrangement or after utilizing the land for some years he may totally refuse to give any of the produce and in some cases may claim the land for his own (Markos, 2001).

Women involve themselves in different coping mechanisms in order to earn a living with their families as most men are away. For instance, many resort to home based activities such as vending to earn extra money to support their families (Brockerhoff, 2002).

Some women often make long journeys to the markets, sometimes with children on their backs, carrying heavy heads of farm produce to sell (Breman, 2001). A study carried out on the Copperbelt by Cligget (2000) revealed that women face problems in combining their responsibilities as mothers, food processors, water carriers, wood gatherers and to generate income, women sell their surplus garden produce and also engage in petty retailing of items such as sugar, cooking oil, bread and other commodities.

Gardener and Osella (2003) further elaborate that whereas women acknowledge and appreciated the collective benefits of migration, for example in the form of improved housing and better food, their personal assessment of the impact of migration is often negative. This is mainly based on the intensification of the departure of male household members. In addition women's transformation labour allows for the generation of the economic capital of foreign remittances, but does not benefit them personally.

Gardner and Sella (2003) argued that an improvement on the economic status of the household may lead to increase work demands being placed on women without enabling them to secure the product of that work.

Ox-sharing and hiring labour on credit basis was also undertaken by the women who owned oxen but no able bodied man. Women in this kind of households lend their ox to a man who has an ox or has a single ox so that he will cultivate his own land as well as that of the lender (Taylor, 2000). In this arrangement, the women benefit from the labour of the man and the benefits from the service of oxen power of the women. Taylor (2000) further reveals that women in poor households who do not receive remittance on regular basis resort to hiring agricultural labour on credit basis.

According to Taylor (2000), women ended up having a lot of credit which they couldn't pay in time.

The other resort that women who cannot cope up with life in rural areas is to follow the footsteps of her husband to urban areas or get a divorce and leave for her parent (Markos,2001). The prolonged absence of men facilitated divorce as women could not cope with the long absence. The divorces that were granted to the women had negative consequences to the family.

In spite of high male labour migration peasant households in most parts of Zambia have sufficient food. In North-Western province, some men leave rural areas to go and work in the urban areas as miners. These men who leave rural areas are usually not educated and in the mines they have low positions but are given heavy work. The men remit little money to their families since their salaries are little. In addition their job is on a contract basis (Findley, 2007).

Findley (2007) argues that female headed households brew and sell beer or sponsor communal work parties to secure male labour to perform male tasks in gardens, along side family labour. The women sometimes are not offered the labour they needed after sponsoring communal work parties.

In Zambia, some women engaged in 'kaloba' as a coping strategy due to lack of access to formal credit (Bryne, 1994). Kaloba is a system where women borrow money from relatives and friends to meet some of their basic needs and to engage in income generating activities. According to Bryne(1994), borrowing from family and friends or private lenders cannot usually provide a regular source of income and often only consists of short term loans, kalabo, at very high rates of interest(up to 100 percent). Women have further formed some self help groups where they take part in

a rotating credit scheme known as 'chilimba' in which the members agree to hand over a certain of money each month to one member (Hansen,1984).

In extreme cases, due to economic hardships and the need to survive, women engage in prostitution activities (Katusiime, 2003). They engage in commercial sex, an extremely risky activity given the high prevalence of HIV and AIDS and the lack of their bargaining power to protect themselves in order to make ends meet. The consequences of their life threatening activities are quiet devastating in their future life as they only serve to increase their already vulnerable position.

Extended families have also played a role in trying to help women run their households. This is another coping strategy that women have adopted. However due to the increasing number of vulnerable households as a result of the HIV and AIDS pandemic, support from the extended family has drastically reduced (Korayem, 1996). The extended family system has been overwhelmed and over stretched by the increasing number of female headed households living in absolute poverty. A study conducted in Zambia by the Consortium for Southern for Southern Africa's Food Emergency (C-SAFE) and the World Food Programme (WFP) in October 2003 and March 2004, revealed that there is less reliance on the extended family to provide assistance in times of trouble than in the past. The study also revealed that some traditional extended family leveling and support mechanisms, such as communal meals, have broken down entirely.

Religious organization offer support to poor female headed households suffering in the community. Church outreach activities are often directed to people affected by poverty, age, ill health or being widowed or experiencing a death in the household. In some cases religious organizations provide comprehensive services for the whole community such as hospitals and hospices, home based care, AIDS education and

support for schooling, livelihood development, rural infrastructure and water supplies.(Katusiime,2003). Like the extended family network, religious organizations are also overburdened and overstretched by the magnitude of problems.

Another way women get help is through non-governmental organizations and community based organizations. These organizations offer support to poor female headed households in form of school fees, food rations and through various income generating ventures. However due to the magnitude of problems, the non-governmental organizations, like the extended family and religious organizations are unable to cope with the increasing number of clients. Remittances play an important role in ensuring the well-being of elderly and female headed households. Some women receive money from either relatives or their husbands to make ends meet.

2.5 Coping Strategies of Men.

The fact that cane cutters face a lot of challenges socially, economically as well as emotionally has made them adopt surviving or coping strategies. Researchers have observed that cane cutters find it very difficult to run their households by sending money as they get meager salaries. Apart from that, they find it difficult to stay for a long time without their wives. The following are the coping strategies that the cane cutters adopt.

2.5.1 Part-Time Jobs.

Most cane cutters engage in part-time jobs in order to get extra money to add on their meager salaries. Cane cutters argue that they have families that need to be looked after and so they need to work extra hard so as to cater for their families. Cane cutters influence their wives back home to reduce on the consumption of meals. Cane cutters alluded to the fact that they usually have free time and that they use the free time to look for part-time jobs. A number of cane cutters interviewed noted that they engage

in part-time employment as a strategy of supplementing their income (Richardson, 2010). Some cane cutters have other partners to cope socially and so they need to find means of supplementing their income so that they pay their partners. Most of the cane cutters participate in income-earning activities such as vending. They earn some income from informal trading in agricultural produce and selling fruits such as mangoes and oranges.

Some cane cutters work in other people's fields and are given money or agricultural produce which they later sell to earn money. Others work as garden boys and they work hard so that they maintain the relationship with their masters. They do this so that they continue going there whenever there are jobs. Even if the cane cutters engage in part-time jobs, they are usually given little money and sometimes it is difficult to find these part-time jobs.

2.5.2 Career Breaks

Cane cutters usually go on breaks and only return during cutting or harvesting time. Most cane cutters take advantage of this period. The cane cutters reveal that they take advantage of the career breaks to pursue own-account farming which enables them to continuously meet household consumption needs (Richardson, 2010). The breaks make it possible for cane cutters to perform agricultural activities at home. When the cane cutters are not home, they ask their wives to reduce on hired labour. It is observed that cane cutters stay away from home for a good number of months so they need to maximize their time whenever they are on break. Sometimes these career breaks don't meet the demands of the cane cutters.

2.5.3 Job Sharing

The tasks performed by cane cutters are hard and painful for them to achieve their goal within a day. Some sugarcane cutters use relatives or friends who are not

employed by the estate to assist them in accomplishing their daily tasks. According to Richardson (2010), job sharing enables the cane cutters to meet the expectations of their supervisors and reduce the chances of failing to accomplish their daily tasks. The strategy of job sharing benefits the cane cutters in that they end up achieving their goals by getting maximum rewards at the end of the month as compared to those who work alone. It was noted that failure to meet the daily targets at the estate results into being paid very little wages so cane cutters have to struggle to meet the target. Though sharing of jobs is a good idea, problems of sharing money between various teams emerges. Even if there are problems of sharing money after working, cane cutters still continue with job sharing as it is the only way of working efficiently and effectively.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the various methodologies used in the collection and analysis of data. The study used a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection. The chapter also outlines the research design of the study, study population, study sample, sampling procedure, study limitations problems, ethical consideration and Data analysis.

3.1 Research Design

The study used descriptive research. Descriptive research is a method of collecting information by interviewing or administering a questionnaire to a sample of individuals. It can be used when collecting information about people's attitudes, opinions, habits or any of the variety of education or social issues (Cresswell, 207). The study was both qualitative and quantitative. The study adopted qualitative kind of research because it sought to describe and analyse the culture and behaviour of men and women being studied. The study also adopted quantitative kind of research for the purpose of head counting.

3.2 Study Site

The study was conducted in Kalabo and Mazabuka districts. Kalabo district is located in Western Province of Zambia. Mazabuka district is located in Southern Province of Zambia. In Mazabuka, cane cutters are found at Nkabika, Njomona, Kaleyia and Kamwala barracks. The study was conducted in Kalabo and Mazabuka districts because that is where the cane wives cutters' and cane cutters are respectively.

3.3 Study Population

The study population comprised cane cutters' wives as well as cane cutters who provided information. The study was designed to use the cane cutters and their wives on the livelihood and coping strategies of women in the context of male labour migration. The total study population was six hundred and forty (640).

3.4 Study Sample

A sample of one hundred (100) respondents participated in the study and these were broken down as follows: sixty (60) cane cutters and forty (40) cane cutters' wives.

3.5 Sampling Procedure

It is a procedure a researcher uses to gather people, places or things to study (Cresswell, 2003). Six hundred (600) cane cutters from Kalabo district were captured. These were captured from Nkabika, Kaleya, Njomona and Kamwala barracks in Mazabuka. The study adopted systematic random sampling because the population of the cane cutters was too large to be studied, so there was need to reduce. The following method for systematic random sampling was used:

$$SN = P/N$$

$$SN = 600/60$$

$$SN = 10$$

SN is every tenth of the cane cutter selected, P is the total number of cane cutters while N is the desired sample.

On the other hand in Kalabo district, the study used purposive sampling so that targeted cane cutters' wives (women) were captured in the sample.

3.6 Data Collection Methods

The methods that the study used to collect data were through in-depth interviews using semi- questionnaires and focus groups. Data was collected from the cane cutters and their wives. The information sources further explained the interpretive process involved in the experiences of cane cutters and their wives.

3.6.1 Focus Group Discussion

Focus group discussions (FGD) were adopted and provided different perspectives on the livelihood and coping strategies of men and women. Five FGDs for men and four for women were conducted and each FGD had 8 participants which lasted about 1 hour 30 minutes each.

The discussions allowed group members to spontaneously talk about male labour migration, its impacts and the coping strategies at household level. The fact that the respondents were free to discuss amongst themselves meant that a lot of information was collected without obstacles. The participants gave different views on the topic making it interesting.

3.6.2 Semi-Structured Questionnaire

In-depth interviews (IDI) using semi-structured questionnaires were conducted with the cane cutters and their wives. IDI allowed the cane cutters and their wives to give accounts of their life experiences on their livelihood and coping strategies.

3.7 Data Analysis

Data collected was both quantitative and qualitative. Data was collected from the questionnaires and processed. Quantitative data was then analysed using Microsoft Excel in form of tables and graphs and qualitative data was presented in form of themes.

3.8 Limitations of the study

The study should have studied issues to do with the children because they were also affected in one way or the other. For instance, children attending primary school and above could have been asked on how migration impacted on their lives and how they were coping.

3.9 ETHICAL CONSIDERATION

The researcher explained to the participants what the study was all about. In the study, it was important to inform the participants how long it would take, for instance to interview them. Participants were assured that there would be no physical risks to them if they took part in the study. At the same time, they did not have to answer any questions if they did not want to. The participants were informed that they would not receive any personal benefit by participating in the study.

The participants were also informed that the information that would be gotten from them would be kept completely confidential. They were free to end an interview at any time they wanted without penalty.

CHAPTER 4

PRESENTATION OF RESULTS

4.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the results of the study under the following headings: background characteristics of respondents, Male labour migration, Livelihood and coping strategies of men and women and gender issues arising from male labour migration.

4.1 Background characteristics of respondents

The study sought background characteristics of the respondents such as age, education attainment of the respondent, ethnic group from which the respondents belong to and the religious denomination they belong to.

4.1.1 Age of respondents

The respondents were asked to state their age in years as at their last birthday. There were more men in the age group 30-39 years represented by 42% (25) who participated in the migration than the other age groups while there were more women in the age group 16-19 years represented by 37% (15) whose husbands migrated than the other age groups. Few men in the age group 16-19 years represented by 8% (5) participated in the migration while there were few women in the age group 40-49 years represented by 13% (5) whose husbands migrated.

Table 4.1 Percentage distribution of age by sex of respondents

AGE GROUP	MEN		FEMALE		TOTAL	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
16-19	5	8%	15	37%	20	20%
20-29	10	17%	10	25%	20	20%
30-39	25	42%	10	25%	35	35%
40-49	20	33%	5	13%	25	25%
Total	60	100%	40	100%	100	100%

Source: Survey data

4.1.2 Education attainment of respondents

The respondents were asked to state their highest level of formal education attained. Table 4.1.2 reveals that 83% (50) of the men attained some education and 17% (10) never attained formal education. The table further revealed that 75% (30) of the women attained some formal education while 25% (10) never attained any formal education. A total of 80% (80) of both men and women attained some education and a total of 20% (20) of both men and women never attained any formal education.

Table 4.2 Percentage distribution of education attainment by sex of respondents

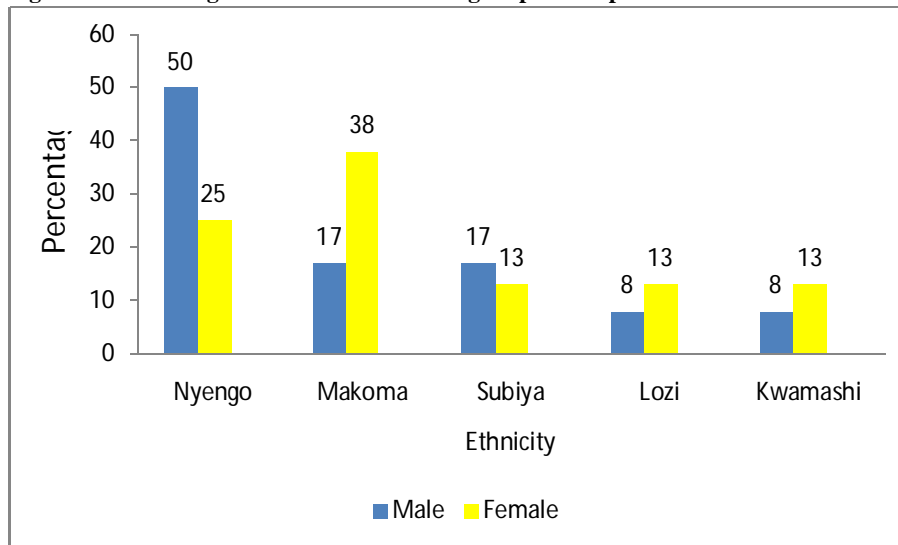
Education Attainment	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
No Education	10	17%	10	25%	20	20%
Primary	40	67%	20	50%	60	60%
Secondary	10	16%	10	25%	20	20%
Total	60	100%	40	100%	100	100%

Source : Survey data

4.1.3 Ethnicity

The majority of the men interviewed belonged to the Nyengo ethnic group represented by 50% and 25% women. The other ethnic groups included Makoma, 17% men and 38% women and Subiya, 17% men and 13% women. The Lozi and the Kwamashi had an equal proportion of 8% men and 13% women each.

Figure 1: Percentage distribution of ethnic groups of respondents

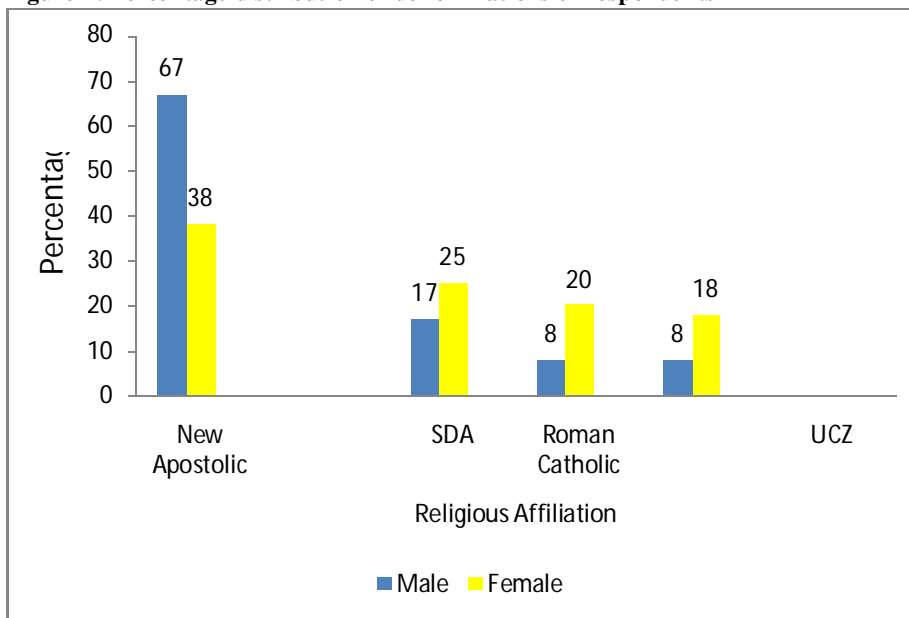


Source: Survey data

4.1.4: Religious affiliation

Respondents were asked to state their religious affiliation. Most respondents were Christians and belonged to different denominations. The majority of the respondents belonged to New Apostolic Church which had 67% men and 38% women followed by SDA, 17% men and 25% women. Roman Catholic Church had 8% men and 20% women while UCZ had 8% men and 18% women.

Figure 2: Percentage distribution of denominations of respondents



Survey: Survey data

4.2 MALE LABOUR MIGRATION

4.2.1 Reasons for migration

The respondents were asked why male labour migration takes place. The majority of the respondents represented by 83% men and 63% women argued that migration takes place because the men go to look for employment. 17% of the men and 25% of women said migration takes place due to low agricultural activity. 13% of the women said that migration takes place due to shortage of land.

4.2.1.1 TO LOOK FOR EMPLOYMENT

Most cane cutters lamented that it was their duty to look for employment so as to sustain the lives of their families. They argued that they tried by all means to look for employment in Kalabo district as well as other towns in Western Province but that did not help them. According to most cane cutters, they resorted to migrating because it was the only option they had to raise money to help their families. One of the cane cutters had this to say, *“I have tried fishing as a means of earning money but haven’t*

gotten any profit and sometimes there are no customers to buy the fish so I decided to migrate.” Some women also argued that their husbands migrated because there wasn’t much to do at home. They alluded to the fact that they would rather encourage their husbands to go and work as labour migrants as they stay back home performing other economic activities especially agricultural activities. A 24 year old woman had this to say, *“It is better for one of us to find something to do so that we are able to take care of our family.”*

4.2.1.2 LOW AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITY

Agriculture is regarded as a very important activity in the lives of the people of Kalabo district. According to some cane cutters, most farmers have difficulties in acquiring fertilizer which they said is expensive and that has led to most crops not doing well leading to low agriculture produce. A 31 year old cane cutter had this to say, *“When I realized that I wasn’t doing well in agriculture, I decided to do something that would benefit me and the family.”* In a separate interview, the women also argued that it was important that their husbands migrated because sometimes they did not yield good harvests and so it was important to find means of survival.

4.2.1.3 SHORTAGE OF LAND

Land is one major asset that an individual needs for survival and most people have the privilege of owning land but this is not the case for some people. The study however found out that there were still few people who did not have enough land. Those who argued that land was not enough were mostly women. They further alluded to the fact that the land they used to cultivate belonged to some people and that is why their husbands migrated.

Table 4.3: Percentage Distribution of responses for the reasons for male labour migration by sex

Reason	Male		Female		Total	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
To look for employment	50	83%	25	63%	75	75%
Low agriculture productivity	10	17%	10	25%	20	20%
Due to shortage of land	0	0	5	13	5	5%
Total	60	100%	40	100%	100	100%

Source: Survey data

4.2.2 Reasons for cane cutters migrating alone

The respondents were asked why the cane cutters migrated alone or went to Mazabuka without their wives. The majority of the respondents reported that the men migrated alone because there was no accommodation, of these, 50% (30) were men and 38% (15) women. Some respondents lamented that the men migrated alone because there was no money for the men to travel together with their families, 33% (20) of which were men and 38% (15) women. Only 12% (5) of the women had other reasons as to why men migrated alone.

4.2.2.1 NO ACCOMMODATION

Zambia Sugar Company gives accommodation to cane cutters only and it has a policy that forbids cane cutters to migrate with their wives because their job is hard. The company offered small apartments for cane cutters, for instance a one roomed apartment was occupied by six cane cutters. Even if the cane cutters were to be allowed to move with their wives, there would not have been enough accommodation since their husbands shared accommodation with other cane cutters. One of the cane cutters had this to say, *“The Company should provide enough accommodation so that we come with our families since we spend most of the time here.”* The cane cutters’ wives said it would not be conducive for them to stay with their husbands in the

rooms they shared with their friends even if the company allowed them to migrate. A 23 year old woman who sought anonymity had this to say, *“I would really want to go with my husband because we are usually apart for so long but there is no accommodation.”*

4.2.2.2 JOB IS TEMPORAL

Cane cutters at Zambia Sugar Company work on contract basis. Their contracts are renewed every season. Cane cutters begin work in March and end in November. Most cane cutters fear migrating with their wives because they are not certain of their stay at the company. One cane cutter said, *“I did not come with my wife as well as my family because I am not sure whether my contract will be renewed or not.”* The cane cutters’ wives also alluded to the fact that they would not migrate with their husbands as their job is temporal. They further alluded to the fact that they would rather remain and perform duties than go with their husbands.

4.2.2.3 NO MONEY

Cane cutters and their wives would want to migrate together except they do not have enough money to allow them to go together and find accommodation for their wives in the near by compound. Most cane cutters rent houses in the near by compounds for their wives and visit them in their free time but it is expensive for them as they get meager salaries. One cane cutter had this to say, *“I once came with my wife and children but discovered that it was too expensive for me to rent a house and buy all the necessary commodities needed for the house because my salary was small.”* On the other hand, the cane cutters’ wives said sometimes their husbands failed to meet the demands of the households when they went with them. One woman had this to say, *“When I followed my husband in Mazabuka, he rented a house for me but it was very expensive for him as he also had to buy food for us unlike back home where as a*

wife I would go and look for piece work to help buy food and since that time I have decided to remain home due to lack of money.

Table 4.4: Percentage distribution of responses on the reasons the cane cutters migrated alone

Reason	Male		Female		Total	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
No accommodation	30	50%	15	38%	45	45%
Job is temporal	20	33%	15	38%	35	35%
No money	10	17%	5	12%	15	15%
Other	0	0%	5	12%	5	5%
Total	60	100%	40	100%	100	100%

Source : Survey data

4.2.3 Responses of cane cutters and their wives on migrating alone or not.

Respondents were asked whether they wanted to migrate together or not. The majority of the respondents said they would want to migrate together, 67% (40) were men and 75% (30) were women. The male respondents said they would want to migrate with their wives because it was very expensive to stay apart and that sometimes their wives were unfaithful to them. On the other hand, the female respondents argued that their husbands were also unfaithful and that led to divorces as well as HIV/AIDS. A few respondents said they would not want to migrate with their spouses, 33% (20) were men and 25% (10) were women. The female respondents who said they would not want to migrate together argued that they would rather remain home so that they cultivate the fields back home after all there isn't accommodation for them.

Table 4.5: Percentage distribution of responses of whether they would want to migrate together or not

Response	Male		Female		Total	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
YES	40	67%	30	75%	70	70%
NO	20	33%	10	25%	30	30%
TOTAL	60	100%	40	100%	100	100%

Source: Survey data

4.2.4 Frequency of communication of respondents.

Table 4.9 shows the responses of cane cutters and their wives on how often they communicate. Cane cutters are usually away from their wives for a period of nine months and so there is great need for them to communicate with each other. According to the study 83% of the men said they communicate all the time and 75% of the women also said they communicate all the time. Those who said they communicate most of the time, 8% were men and 12% were women. Some respondents said they sometimes communicate, of these 8% were men, 13% were women.

Table 4.6: Percentage distribution of frequency of communication of respondents

Response	Male		Female		Total	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
All the Time	50	83%	30	75%	80	80%
Most of the Time	5	8%	5	12%	10	10%
Sometimes	5	8%	5	13%	10	10%
TOTAL	60	100%	40	100%	100	100%

Source: Survey data

4.2.5 Benefits of migration

Respondents were asked what benefits male labour migration has brought. The respondents who said migration has increased income for education, 25% (15) were men and 50% (20) were women. Some said it increased income for medical fees, 50%

(30) were men and 13% (5) women. Others said it increased income for agricultural activities, 17% (1) were men and 25% (10) were women. Both respondents argued that the money they got was used to buy fertiliser and other farming inputs. Some respondents said they had other benefits, 8% (5) were men and 12% (5) women.

Table 4.7: Percentage distribution of the benefits of male labour migration by sex of respondents

Benefit of Migration	Male		Female		Total	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Increase in income for education	15	25%	20	50%	35	35%
Increase in income for Medical fees	30	50%	5	13%	35	35%
Increase in income for Agricultural Activities	10	17%	10	25%	20	20%
Other	5	8%	5	12%	10	10%
Total	60	100%	40	100%	100	100%

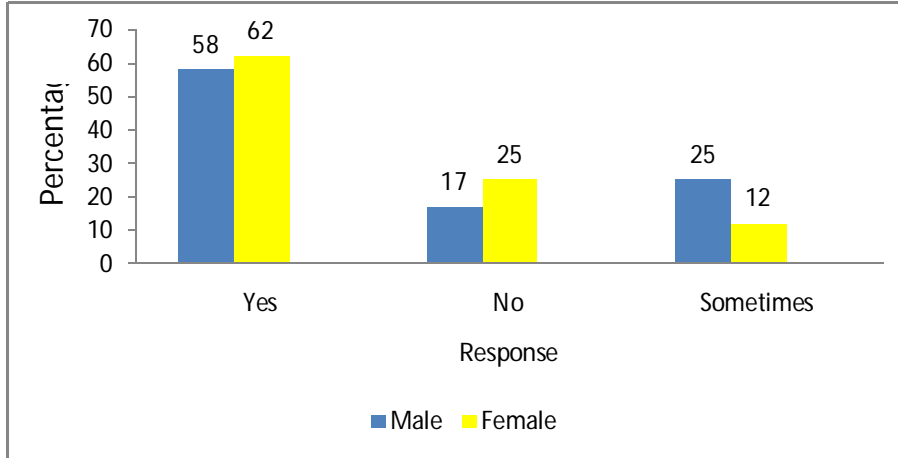
Source: Survey data

4.2.6 Responses on whether money sent was enough or not.

Respondents were asked whether the money sent is enough or not. 58 % of the men and 62% of women said the money sent was enough. Women who argued that the money was enough said they used the money to buy food and other necessities for the household. One woman had this to say, “ *When my husband sends money I manage to buy food and other commodities needed for the house.*” The cane cutters also alluded to the fact that they send money because the money assists their wives to buy items needed in the house. A 23 year old cane cutter said, “ *My wife back home manages to buy commodities such as cooking oil, soap, salt and other commodities.*” Of the respondents who said the money sent was not enough, 17% were men and 25% women. The men who said the money was not enough argued that they failed to support their families adequately. They further said that sometimes they were not

given their salaries two months after their arrival at Zambia Sugar Company. So, for them to survive, they looked for piece works. 25% of the men and 12% of women said that sometimes the money was enough.

Figure 3: Percentage distribution of whether the money sent is enough or not



Source: Survey data

4.2.7 Amount of money sent to the cane cutters' wives.

Respondents were asked how much money is sent. 58% (35) of the men and 37% (15) of the women said the money sent was K300, 000. Some respondents said the money sent was K250, 000, of these, 25% (15) were men and 25% (10) women. Other respondents said the money sent was K 200,000 represented by 8% (5) men and 25% (10) women. Some respondents said the money sent was K150,000 represented by 8% (5) men and 13% (5) women.

Table 4.8: Percentage distribution of the amount of money sent by the cane cutters to their wives

Amount of Money (ZMK)	Male		Female		Total	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
300,000	35	58%	15	37%	50	50%
250,000	15	25%	10	25%	25	25%
200,000	5	8%	10	25%	15	15%
150,000	5	8%	5	13%	10	10%
TOTAL	60	100%	40	100%	100	100%

Source : Survey data

4.3 LIVELIHOOD AND COPING STRATEGIES

4.3.1 Income generating activities of cane cutters and their wives.

Respondents were asked what income generating activities they are involved in. Those who said they work in other people’s fields, 67% were men and 33% women. Both respondents alluded to the fact that sometimes they didn’t find any field to work in and if they did they were given little money. Some were engaged in vending, 33% represented men and 50% were women. The male respondents took rid mats, dry fish and rice from Kalabo for sale in Mazabuka. On the other hand, the women sold vegetables which they grew from their small gardens as well as mangoes. One woman had this to say, “*I sell mwanja (local name used in Kalabo for cassava).*” A cane cutter interviewed had this say, “*I sell merchandise that I come with from Kalabo to the near by compound.*” The women complained that it was not always that people would buy what they sold. Renting out ploughs and brewing beer were some of the income generating activities women are involved with and they were represented by 13% each. The women who rented out ploughs did not benefit as they expected instead those who rented benefited more by cultivating huge tracks of land and having big harvests.

Table 4.9: Percentage distribution of income generating activities of men and women

Activity	Male		Female		Total	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Vending	40	67%	10	25%	50	50%
Working in other people's fields	20	33%	20	50%	40	40%
Renting out Ploughs	0	0%	5	13%	5	5%
Brewing Beer	0	0%	5	13%	5	5%
TOTAL	60	100%	40	100%	100	100%

Source: Survey data

4.3.2 Economic coping strategies of cane cutters and their wives

Respondents were asked what economic coping strategies they adopted. The majority of the men adopted reduction of hired labour and were represented by 75% men while 25% were women. One cane cutter said, “*When I am at home I hire labour because our field is very big but when I am away I advise my wife to reduce on hired labour so as to reduce on the expenses.*” The reduction of labour has led to the reduction of crop harvesting. Some respondents reduced on household consumption, 25% were men and 50% women. The men revealed that they advised their families to cut on food like meat because it was expensive and some female respondents said they resorted to eating wild fruits and vegetables. A woman called Mrs Lubasi said she takes care of a lot of people, her children and dependants. To make sure that everyone eats in the house, she has decided only to have two meals a day or once. She had this to say, “*We cannot afford to eat meat because it is expensive so we resort to eating vegetables such as sindambi.*” (Sindambi is a local vegetable found in Western Province). She went on to say, she goes in the bush to look for wild vegetables which she uses for home consumption and selling. She sells vegetables and she is popularly known as ‘Ma Lubasi at the market. “*Sometimes sour milk also assists because we mix it with nshima and eat, this helps us a lot because the use of relish is not there.*” Most children have ended up being malnourished. Other respondents said they

withdrew children from school and these were women represented by 25%. The women however, argued that withdrawing children from school was just like destroying their future but they had no option but to withdraw their children from school.

Table 4.10: Percentage distribution for economic coping strategies by sex

Reason	Male		Female		Total	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Reduced hired labour	45	75%	20	25%	65	65%
Reduction of household consumption	15	25%	10	50%	25	25%
Withdrawing children from school	0	0%	10	25%	10	10%
Total	60	100%	40	100%	100	100%

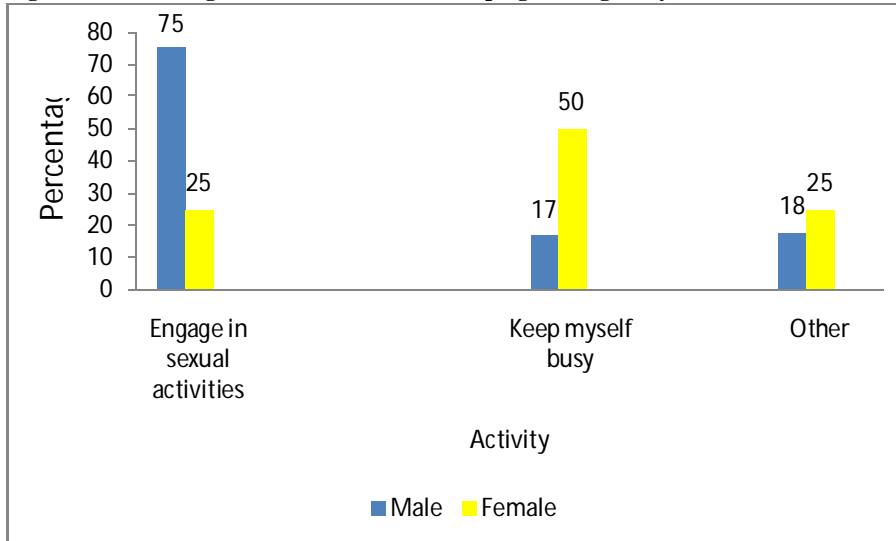
Source: Survey data

4.3.3 Social coping strategies of cane cutters and their wives.

Respondents were asked how they cope with the separation. Both men and women were engaged in sexual activities to cope up with the separation, 75% were men and 25% women. The male respondents said that they engage in sexual activities because they stay away from their wives for a period of nine months and so they find it difficult to stay alone. Others said they have even married other women and have children with them. One cane cutter said, “ *I have impregnated another woman here and she has a child for me, so I need to look after my child.*” The women also said it was difficult to stay without their spouses for a long time and so they resorted to having extra marital affairs. The women however argued that having extra marital affairs brought about diseases and had no option but to have other partners to help them run their households. A woman commented that she had decided to engage herself in extra marital affairs because her husband had a lot of girlfriends in Mazabuka, “ *My husband sends little money because he has another wife there.*” Some respondents said they just keep themselves busy to cope up with the separation,

17% were men and 50% women. There were also other respondents who said they did other activities to cope up with the separation, the men were represented by 18% and women 25%.

Figure 4: Percentage distribution of social coping strategies by sex



Source: Survey data

4.4 RISKY BEHAVIOUR

4.4.1 Responses of whether the respondents have partners or not.

Respondents were asked whether they have partners or not. There were some respondents who said they have partners beside their spouses, of these, 75% (45) were men and 37% (15) women. Most cane cutters alluded to the fact that they resorted to having girlfriends because they could not manage to stay without their wives for a period of nine months. Some respondents argued that they didn't want to have partners, these were represented by 17% (10) men and 50% (20). Others said they sometimes had partners, 8% (5) represented men and 13% (5) were women.

Table 4.11 : Percentage distribution of whether they have partners or not by sex

Response	Male		Female		Total	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
YES	45	75%	15	37%	60	60%
NO	10	17%	20	50%	30	30%
SOMETIMES	5	8%	5	13%	10	10%
TOTAL	60	100%	40	100%	100	100%

Source : Survey data

4.4.2 Effect of labour migration on marriages.

Respondents were asked how male labour migration was affected, 58% of the men and 38% of women said it led to separation. Amongst those who said migration led to divorce, 25% were men and another 25% women. The study revealed that cane cutters were away from their wives for a period of nine months and this made them have partners whom they later on married. The men ended up divorcing their wives back home in Kalabo and that meant that their marriages were affected. On the other hand, their wives upon hearing that their husbands had married other women, they also started having affairs with other men. Some respondents said migration affected their reproduction in the sense that it limited them to have children, of these, 17% were men and 25% women. Some women argued that migration affected their marriage in other ways and these were represented by 13%.

Table 4.12: Percentage Distribution of how marriages have been affected

Effect	Male		Female		Total	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Led to my separation	35	58%	15	38%	50	50%
Led to divorce	35	58%	15	38%	50	50%
Affected my reproduction	10	17%	10	25%	20	20%
Other	0	0%	5	13%	5	5%
Total	60	100%	40	100%	100	100%

Source: Survey data

4.4.3 Extra-marital affairs

Respondents were asked whether they have had other partners beside their spouses. Some respondents lamented that they had partners beside their spouses because they had difficulties of being alone for a very a long time. Others said that they had partners beside their spouses because they were informed that their spouses were also involved in extra marital affairs. The researcher found out that women were involved in extra marital affairs because they were told that their husbands had other women. One woman said, *“My husband has another partner whom he gives money so I have also decided to have another partner who will treat me like a wife.”* Of those who had other partners, 50% (30) were men and 38% (15) women. The study discovered that more men were engaged in extra marital affairs than women. 17% (10) of the men and 37% (15) of women said they were not involved in any affair with other partners. Those who did not want to have other partners argued that they did not want to infect their partners with HIV and AIDS. One cane cutter said, *“I don’t want to have another partner because nowadays there are diseases like HIV and AIDS.”* The Cane cutters further alluded to the fact that it was expensive to have other partners because they also needed money. Some respondents said they were sometimes involved in extra marital affairs, of these 33% (20) were men and 25% (10).

Table 4.13 : Percentage distribution of respondents who have had other partners beside their spouses

Response	Male		Female		Total	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
YES	30	50%	15	38%	45	45%
NO	10	17%	15	37%	25	25%
SOMETIMES	20	33%	10	25%	30	30%
TOTAL	60	100%	40	100%	100	100%

Source: Survey data

4.4.4 Number of partners

The study sought to find out how many partners the cane cutters and their wives had. 25% of the men and 63% of women said they had only one partner. Some respondents said that they had two partners, and these were represented by 42% men and 12% women. Some respondents revealed that they were not sure of the number of partners they had, of these, 33% were men and 25% women.

Table 4.14: Percentage Distribution of respondents of how many partners they had

Response	Male		Female		Total	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
ONE	15	25%	25	63%	40	40%
TWO	25	42%	5	12%	30	30%
OTHER	20	33%	10	25%	30	30%
TOTAL	60	100%	40	100%	100	100%

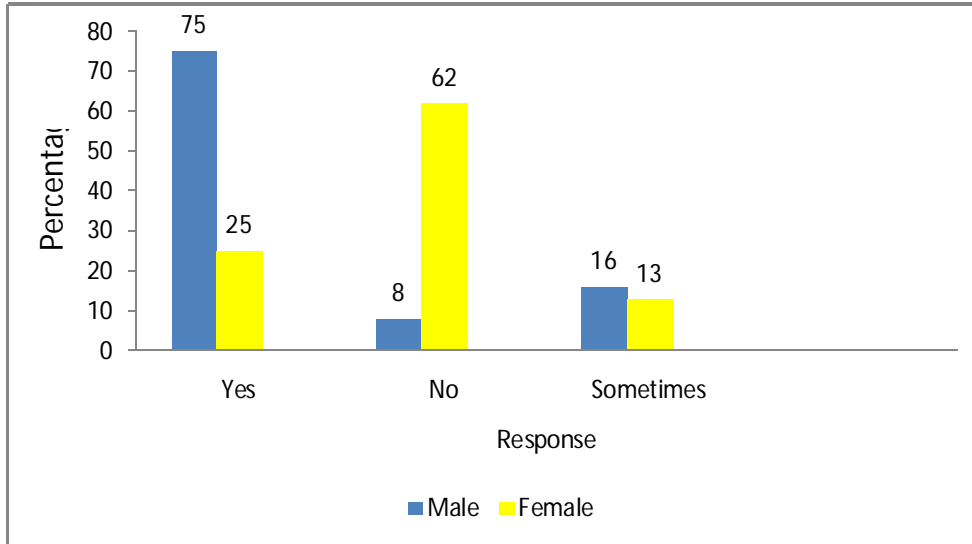
Source: Survey data

4.4.5 Sexual behaviour

The respondents were asked whether they had sex with other partners. Most cane cutters argued that they found it difficult to stay without their wives for a very long time and so they resorted to having girlfriends. They further stated that they ended up having children with their girlfriends. On the part of the women, they argued that their husbands were not sending enough money so they decided to have sex with other partners in exchange for money so as to help run their households. Amongst those

who said they had sex with their partners, 75% were men and 25% women. Those who said they did not have sex with other partners were represented by 8% men and 62% women. There were some respondents who said they sometimes have sex, of these, 16% were men and 13% women.

Figure 5: Percentage distribution of respondents who have had sex with their partners

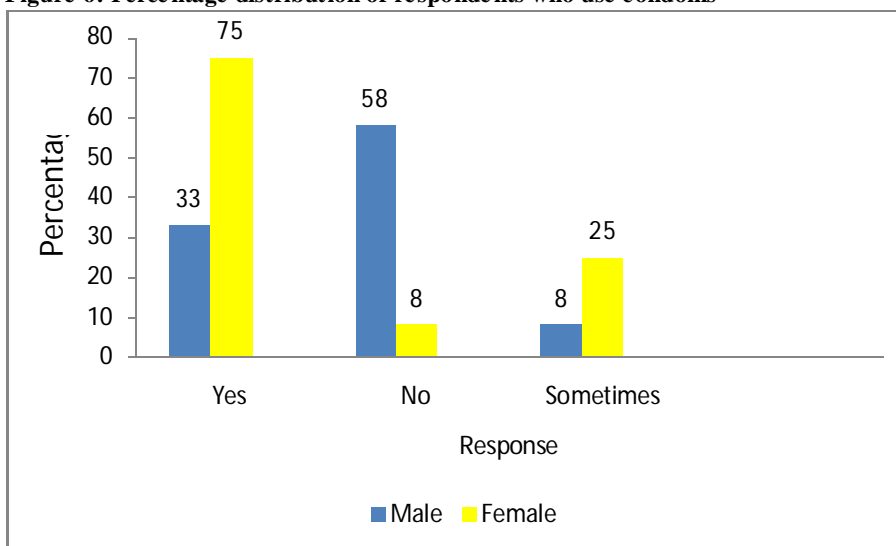


Source: Survey data

4.4.6 Respondents who used condoms

Respondents were asked whether they used condoms or not. Some cane cutters said that they used condoms because they wanted to protect themselves from contracting HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases. Their wives back home in Kalabo also used condoms so as to avoid HIV/AIDS and sexually transmitted diseases as well as unwanted pregnancies. Among those who said they use condoms, 33% were men and 75% women. Those who said they did not use condoms were represented by 58% men and 8% women. Some respondents said they sometimes used condoms, of these, 8% were men and 25% women.

Figure 6: Percentage distribution of respondents who use condoms



Source: Survey data

4.4.7 Respondents whose partners agreed to use condoms.

Respondents were asked whether their partners agreed to use condoms or not. 67% of the men and 25% of women said their partners agreed to use condoms. The study discovered that cane cutters had more influence in convincing their partners to use condoms than their wives. Some respondents said their partners did not agree to use condoms, of these, 8% were men and 50% women. Others said their partners sometimes agreed to use condoms and were represented by 25% men and 25% women.

Table 4.15: Percentage distribution of respondents whose partners agree to use condoms

Response	Male		Female		Total	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
YES	40	67%	10	25%	50	50%
NO	5	8%	20	50%	25	25%
SOMETIMES	15	25%	10	25%	25	25%
TOTAL	60	100%	40	100%	100	100%

Source: Survey data

4.4.8 Response of whether male labour migration was a source of HIV/AIDS or not.

Respondents were asked whether male labour migration was a source of HIV/AIDS or not. 75% of men and 75% of the women said male labour migration was a source of HIV/AIDS. The respondents who said that migration was a source of HIV/AIDS lamented that they were aware of HIV/AIDS but couldn't resist the pressure of having other partners apart from their spouses. An equal proportion of 25% was allocated to both men and women respectively.

Table 4.16: Percentage distribution of respondents of whether male labour migration was a source of HIV/AIDS or not.

Response	Male		Female		Total	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
YES	45	75%	30	75%	75	75%
NO	15	25%	10	25%	25	25%
TOTAL	60	100%	40	100%	100	100%

Source: Survey data

4.5 OTHER EFFECTS OF MALE LABOUR MIGRATION

4.5.1 Response on whether children dropped out of school or not.

Respondents were asked whether children dropped out of school or not. Table 4.8 indicates that more women than men said children had dropped out of school. The study also revealed that there were more men than women who said children did not drop out of school. Among those who said children dropped out of school, 25% represented men and 75% women. The women said children who dropped out of school did so to help their mothers with agricultural activities. Those who said children did not drop out of school, 75% represented men and 25% women.

Table 4.17 : Percentage distribution of whether children have dropped out of school or not by sex

Response	Male		Female		Total	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
YES	15	25%	30	75%	45	45%
NO	45	75%	10	25%	55	55%
TOTAL	60	100%	40	100%	100	100%

Source: Survey data

CHAPTER 5

5.0 DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

This chapter is discussing results of the study based on the research questions. The discussion attempts to answer the research questions. It begins with an introduction of the study aim and objectives, methods followed when collecting data and highlights major findings of the study. The paper ends with a conclusion and recommendations.

The main aim of the study was to identify the livelihood and coping strategies of men and women in the context of male labour migration. The objectives of the study were, to examine livelihood strategies of men and women, to examine the coping strategies of men and women and to investigate the gender issues arising from male labour migration.

5.1 GENDER ISSUES ARISING FROM MALE LABOUR MIGRATION.

The study revealed that women were overburdened with work when their husbands left as labour migrants. This was because when they were together, there was division of labour. Both men and women in the focus group discussions revealed that they usually shared tasks, for instance the women performed house chores as well as did some agricultural activities while the men hunted, fished and also performed agricultural activities. Both men and women argued that their separation overburdened women because they had to perform the roles of both men and women. The findings revealed that women faced challenges when it came to farming, for instance, the women alluded to the fact that when their husbands left as labour migrants, there was lack of man power. When asked whether without their husbands, they did not practice agriculture, the women said they still practiced agriculture

except they were overburdened with work. Focus group discussions also revealed that women performed male tasks such as ploughing, those who did not have ploughs had to use a hoe which was a hard job.

The study found out that both men and women experienced low yields due to reduction in man power. A study by Silvey (2006) has indicated that when men migrate from rural areas, women are left with a greater burden of agricultural labour. Literature has further shown that, since both men and women work together in the agricultural sector, absence of either sex would mean extra work for the other. Another study by Jolly and Reeves (2005) has revealed that involvement of women in the tasks of men entails that apart from doing their house chores and taking care of children, they also have to perform tasks for men such as ploughing in the fields. Literature also argued that women complain if the absence of their husbands compels them to take over tasks which are usually only done by men, feeling uneasy to have to move suddenly into a male dominated sphere.

The cane cutters on the other hand alluded to the fact that they were paid meager salaries by Zambia Sugar Company. Literature has shown that the cane cutters failed to support their wives financially back home. The argument has also been supported by men and women who were interviewed. The findings show that the women ended up involving themselves in extra-marital affairs so as to earn some income. The findings found out that the women were involved in extra marital affairs with soldiers from Angola. In the focus group discussion, the women argued that they engage in extra marital affairs because they heard that their husbands married other women. The study found that some women risked their lives with HIV and AIDS. Literature has also argued that women appear to be at risk of HIV infection as the stay-home spouse of a migrant labourer due to having unprotected sex with an infected spouse or with

other sexual partners in the absence of their spouses. On the other hand, the men also risked their lives by having several partners. The study also found out that some cane cutters had married and had children with other partners. Some cane cutters stated that they couldn't stay for a long time without their wives and so they resorted to having sexual partners. Literature has shown that the long separation between the cane cutters and their families has led to the promiscuous behavior of cane cutters which has exposed them to HIV and AIDS. In addition, literature has also revealed that some cane cutters complained that the money they got was so little that they resorted to having concubines just to save their virility.

5.2 LIVELIHOOD OF CANE CUTTERS AND THEIR WIVES.

Livelihood comprises the capability, assets (including both material and social resources and activities required for a means of living) (Carney, 1998:4).

According to a sustainable rural livelihood frame work, there are five different assets upon which individuals draw to build their livelihoods. The study found out that the five assets that an individual should have are the natural, social, human, physical and financial capitals. The natural capital is where the resources useful to mankind are derived from nature such as land, water, wildlife, biodiversity and environmental resources. Social capital are simply networks, membership of groups, relationship of trust, access to wider institutions of society upon which people draw in pursuit of livelihoods. Human capital refers to the skills, knowledge, ability to labour and good health important to the ability to pursue different livelihood strategies. Physical capital are the basic infrastructure such as transport, shelter, water, energy as well as communication and the production equipment and means which enable people to pursue their livelihoods. Financial capital refers to the savings, supplies of credit or regular remittances or pensions which provide people with different livelihood

options. The cane cutters and their wives alluded to the fact that they engaged in economic livelihood activities or income generating activities to earn a living such as vending and working in other people's fields. The study revealed that even when they went separate ways, they still continued with their livelihood.

As the cane cutters went to work as labour migrants leaving their families behind, their social capital was disturbed. According to the findings, their wives were also affected in the sense that their social and financial capitals were disturbed. The fact that there was change in their livelihood due to the fact that their assets had to be disturbed, the cane cutters and their wives had to find means of surviving or rather coping strategies because there was a shock or threat.

5.3 COPING STRATEGIES OF CANE CUTTERS AND THEIR WIVES

The term coping strategy is defined as the way an individual physically and mentally deals with or adapts to a threat (Carling, 2007).

The study revealed that both cane cutters and their wives adopted coping strategies so as to adapt to the (shock or threat) situation of staying apart for a long period of time. The households of the cane cutters and their wives were slowly being impoverished. According to a study conducted by (Carney, 1998), very few poor families could survive over a long period of time on their resources alone. The study further found that in order for the poor families to supplement income, they relied heavily on transfers of money, goods and services from friends, relatives and neighbours. However, the existence of transfer networks could be readily identified, exact measurements of the extent, composition and dynamics of those networks has proven to be extremely difficult to obtain. The findings of the study showed that the coping

strategies that the cane cutters and their wives found were not fully beneficial because they did not entirely meet their demand.

Literature has also shown that extended families have stopped offering help. For instance, a study by Korayem (1996) has argued that extended family system has been overwhelmed and overstretched by the increasing number of female headed households living in absolute poverty. Another study by the Consortium for Southern Africa's Food Emergency (C-SAFE) and the World Food Programme revealed that there is less reliance on the extended family to provide assistance in times of trouble than in the past.

A study conducted by Hansen (1984) on African systems of kinship and marriage among the lozi people showed that some men whose brothers are labour migrants are often afraid to help their brothers' wives with work lest their brothers charge them with being lovers of their sisters in law. Both men and women in the focus group discussions alluded to the fact that most relatives have stopped helping because they complain that the economy has become bad. The cane cutters further argued that they just encourage their wives to work extra hard in order to earn a living and stop depending on relatives.

The findings of the study revealed that cane cutters and their wives adopted coping strategies such as reduction of household meals, withdrawing children from school as well as reduction of hired labour. According to Ballard (1999), withdrawal of children from school, especially girls from school in order to utilize their labour and save money, amongst other things, had ramifications for future literacy levels and the child's participation in the modern economy. The study found that withdrawing

children from school had negative impact on the children in the sense that illiteracy levels went high.

The study further found out that most children stopped going to school because they were helping their mothers with work, especially agricultural work. When asked why some children stopped going to school, the cane cutters argued that the children had to help with work at home.

Reduction of household meals was another coping strategy adopted by cane cutters and their wives. When the cane cutters' wives were interviewed, they alluded to the fact that they reduced on the meals and that affected their health. They argued that most children had poor nutrition leading to diseases such as malnutrition. The findings of the study also stated that women received some money from their husbands but was not enough to meet the demands of the household as there were a lot of issues to be sorted out. The findings showed that 25% of the cane cutters and 50% of the cane cutters' wives reduced on the household meals.

Literature revealed that cane cutters and their wives reduced on hiring of labour. The statement was backed by the findings which showed that 75% of the cane cutters reduced on hired labour and 25% represented the women. The women in the focus group discussion said that their husbands advised them to reduce on the expenses but that had a negative impact on agriculture in that there were poor harvests.

The findings of the study revealed that the cane cutters and their wives engaged in sexual activities during the long separation and of these, 75% were men and 25% women. When interviewed in their different locations, both cane cutters and their wives alluded to the fact they risked their lives through indulging in sexual activities

with other partners. According to the findings, most cane cutters had sexual partners. In the focus group discussion, the cane cutters argued that they could not endure the pressure of being without their spouses for a long period of time. The findings further revealed that some cane cutters even had children with other sexual partners. The study also found out that some cane cutters married their sexual partners and never went back home (Kalabo). Their wives also involved themselves in extra-marital affairs. The findings indicated that most cane cutters' wives involved themselves in extra-marital affairs so as to earn income. Some of the women talked to alluded to the fact that the money sent by their husbands was not enough to sustain their families. Literature has revealed that economic hardships and the need to survive has made some women to engage themselves in prostitution activities. According to a study conducted by Katusiime (2003), women engage in commercial sex, an extremely risky activity given the high prevalence of HIV and AIDS and the lack of bargaining power to protect themselves in order to make ends meet.

According to the study, the cane cutters adopted coping or survival strategies at their work place, for instance to meet the target of their job, they shared tasks with other people to help them with their job. When interviewed, the cane cutters stated that as much as the sharing of tasks reduced their workload, sharing of money was a problem.

The findings revealed that most cane cutters said that their job was very hard and had no option but to work hard so as to gain income for their livelihood and their families. The findings further revealed that some cane cutters said that if they had to stay home (Kalabo), it would be difficult for them to sustain their lives and that of their families as there wasn't much activity to do. The cane cutters also said that they did everything possible to work extra hard at Zambia Sugar Company.

The study found out that, apart from engaging in coping strategies concerning their households at home together with their wives, cane cutters also had to find means of survival at their work place in order to meet the target and so that they are given another contract next time. The findings revealed that the cane cutters needed to work faster and share tasks with friends in order to meet the target. According to Richardson (2010), job sharing enables the cane cutters to meet the expectations of their supervisors and reduce the chances of failing to accomplish their daily tasks. Richardson further argued that failure to meet the daily targets at the estate resulted into being paid very little wages, so cane cutters had to struggle to meet the target.

The findings showed that cane cutters usually go on break and are only needed at Zambia Sugar Company during harvesting time. Literature has also indicated that cane cutters go on breaks. The cane cutters argued that whenever they were home, they took advantage of the time working on the activities that their wives failed to do. Their wives also argued that they made sure their husbands performed the tasks that they didn't manage to do such as building of houses and renovating the dilapidated ones. During the interview, some cane cutters said that even if they went on breaks, they still didn't finish the tasks. According to Richardson (2010), the cane cutters revealed that they took advantage of the career breaks to pursue own-account farming which enables them to continuously meet household consumption needs. Cane cutters also alluded to the fact that they looked for part-time jobs so as to supplement their income. The findings revealed that cane cutters started work at 04:00 hrs and knocked off at 14:00 hrs. The findings further revealed that the cane cutters did their part-time jobs after 14:00 hrs. The study revealed that the cane cutters mostly performed their part-time jobs in the near by compounds. The study also revealed that it was sometimes difficult to find part-time jobs. Literature has also shown that even if the

cane cutters engaged in part-time jobs, they were usually given little money and that sometimes it was difficult to find part-time jobs.

Literature has indicated that when one of the assets is disturbed the livelihood of a person changes. For instance according to the findings, the cane cutters were mostly affected socially, meaning their social asset was affected. The study further revealed that when the cane cutters left for Mazabuka, they left behind their wives for nine months and so they had difficulties staying without their wives. The findings revealed that the cane cutters' wives suffered socially because they missed their husbands who were away for a very long time and also financially because they didn't have any income.

5.4 CONCLUSION

The role of migration as an important avenue to diversify household economy out of agriculture is highly recognized these days. Many research outcomes in the third world countries emphasise the role of circular or short term migration to sustainable rural livelihood. However, the livelihood and coping strategies of the women left behind and the men who go as labour migrants in rural areas is less explored area of research.

According to the study, there are five different assets upon which individuals draw to build their livelihoods and these are the natural, social, human, physical and financial capitals. Lack of any asset can lead to adopting coping strategies.

The research indicates that the livelihood of women who are left behind as the male household heads migrate is highly affected by the labour gap and the social, cultural and institutional barriers, which constrain women's effort to improve and diversify their livelihood and come out of poverty and food insecurity.

The study has highlighted the plight of female headed households in terms of increasing family responsibilities arising from the increasing male labour migration. Due to increased family responsibilities, female headed households have to struggle to provide for their families' education, health and nutrition needs.

The study managed to identify coping mechanisms employed by female headed households in view of their high levels of poverty. The study revealed that female headed households depended on doing casual works, reducing on expenditures and consumption, prostitution in extreme cases, withdrawing children from school and selling assets. Coping strategies increased workload and perpetuated female headed household poverty. For instance, withdrawing children from school implies that the children will also continue living beyond the poverty line, thus the family will continue with the 'culture of poverty'. Doing casual work most of the time entails abandoning their own productive activities, thus continuing in the web of poverty. Engaging in prostitution entails more illness from HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases and therefore more health expenses.

The study has disputed the common notion that, female headed households are entirely responsible for their own high levels of poverty, but has instead identified the problem as arising from the cultural, economic and social structures within the community.

On the other hand, cane cutters face a lot of problems, for instance they are paid meager salaries which do not allow them to save and sustain their lives and that of their families. Cane cutters resort to engaging in economic activities like vending in commodities like second hand clothes, selling fruits like mangoes and selling

agricultural products which they harvested in their spare time. Apart from vending, cane cutters also engage in part-time jobs. In order to cater for their families back home, cane cutters use their free time to work elsewhere so as to earn more money. Furthermore, cane cutters pursue their own agricultural activities at their rural homes when they are on break. This is the only time they can utilize to help their family members since they are away from home for a long period of time.

Cane cutters work in unhealthy conditions for long hours. Even if they work for longer hours, they still don't meet the target because the job is hard. If they don't meet the target, they get little wages. This has enabled them to start sharing jobs with outsiders to help them reach the target though it is sometimes difficult when it comes to sharing money.

This has made both the cane cutters and their wives to adopt coping strategies which help them to sustain their lives. However, with the adoption of coping strategies, problems of cane cutters and their wives still exist and so there is need to come up with measures which can help sort out their problems economically, socially as well as emotionally.

5.5 RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Women should be taught agricultural skills and other skills so that they should not depend on their husbands when they are away.
2. The Government and the NGOs must work hard to sensitise the level of awareness of the whole community on gender issues. This will help to empower women to understand and defend their rights better and involve themselves actively in the development process by correcting the wrong perceptions held about women by the rest of the community.

3. Zambia Sugar Company should formulate a deliberate policy to allow cane cutters to be accompanied by their families as a way of enhancing their livelihoods.
4. The fact that the cane cutters leave their places of origin to go and work some where else means that they are looking for money so that they run their households. In this case, the Government should develop their areas so that they also find means of taking care of their families within their areas.
5. The Government should instruct Zambia Sugar Company to increase the salaries of the cane cutters especially seasonal workers.

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Appendix A: Consent form for questionnaires

Livelihood and Coping strategies of Men and Women in the context of Male Labour Migration. A Gender Perspective: A Case of Mazabuka and Kalabo Districts.

Introduction

Dear respondent

My name is Peggy Muwanei Malesu, a student at the University of Zambia conducting a research on: “the Livelihood and Coping strategies of men and women in the context of male labour migration, a case of Mazabuka and Kalabo Districts.

You are kindly requested to take part in this study and answer questions you will be asked. The information you will provide will help improve the welfare of cane cutters and their wives.

Your participation is purely voluntary. You have the right to withdraw at any time without explanation. Even when you agree, you can refuse to answer any questions you feel like. Information obtained from you is confidential and will be treated as such to the extent permitted by law.

If you need any clarification or help, please feel free to contact my supervisor Dr. T. Kusanthan, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Gender Studies Department, University Of Zambia, P.O Box 32379, Lusaka.

**A GUIDE TO AN IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE ON
LIVELIHOOD AND COPING STRATEGIES OF THE CANE CUTTERS IN
THE CONTEXT OF MALE LABOUR MIGRATION, A CASE OF
MAZABUKA DISTRICT.**

FILL IN WHERE APPLICABLE.

(A) SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS.

NAME OF RESPONDENT:.....

(1) Sex of Respondent: (1) Male { }

(2) Female { }

(2) Age of Respondent: (1) 15-19 { }

(2) 20-29 { }

(3) 30-39 { }

(4) 40-49 { }

(3) Education status of Respondent: (1) No education { }

(2) Primary { }

(3) Secondary { }

(4) Religious: (Specific name of denomination):.....

(5) Ethnic group (e.g. Tonga):.....

(B) MALE LABOUR MIGRATION

(6) Why did you migrate alone?

(1) No accommodation to cater for family { }

(2) No money to travel together { }

(3) The job is temporal { }

(4) Other { }

(7)What kind of employment are you involved in?

(1) Seasonal { }

(2) Permanent { }

(3) Other { }

(8)What benefits has labour migration brought on your household?

(1) Increase in income for Education { }

(2) Increase in income for medical fees { }

(3) Increase in income for agricultural activities { }

(4) Other { }

(9) How long have you stayed away from home as a labour migrant?

(1) 10-12 months { }

(2) 7- 9 months { }

(3) 5- 6 months { }

(4) 1- 4 months { }

(10) Would you also want to migrate with your wife?

(1) Yes { }

(2) No { }

(11) How often do you visit your wife?

(1) Every month { }

(2) 2 or 3 times a year { }

(3) Never { }

(4) Once { }

(5) Other { }

(C) LIVELIHOOD AND ECONOMIC STATUS OF RESPONDENTS.

(12) What do you do to earn a living apart from working?

(1) Work in other people's fields { }

(2) Have a garden where I grow crops { }

(3) Other { }

(D) ROLE OF REMITTANCES

(13) What is your monthly income?

(1) K 1 500,000 { }

(2) K 1 000,000 { }

(3) K 800 000 { }

(4) Other { }

(14) Is the money you get enough?

(1) Yes { }

(2) No { }

(3) Sometimes { }

- (15) How often do you send the money to your wife?
- (1) Monthly { }
 - (2) Once in six months { }
 - (3) Once a year { }
 - (4) Other { }
- (16) What amount of money do you send to your wife?.....

- (17) How much do you contribute towards family expenditure?
- (1) K 250,000 { }
 - (2) K 200,000 { }
 - (3) K 150,000 { }
 - (4) Other { }

- (18) What is the purpose of the money you send to your wife?
- (1) Agricultural investment { }
 - (2) Household consumption { }
 - (3) Saving { }
 - (4) Land tax { }
 - (5) Other { }

- (19) Do you have a savings account?
- (1) Yes { }
 - (2)) No { }

(E) LIVELIHOOD AND COPING STRATEGIES OF MEN

- (20) What income generating activities are you involved with?
- (1) Vending { }
 - (3) Working in other people's fields { }
 - (4) Other { }

- (21) How do you cope up with the separation between you and your wife?
- (1) Engage in sexual activities with other partners { }
 - (2) Keep myself busy with work { }
 - (3) Other { }

(F) MALE LABOUR MIGRATION AND MARRIAGE

(22) How often do you communicate with your wife?

- (1) All the time { }
- (2) Most of the time { }
- (3) Sometimes { }

(23) How has this migration affected your marriage life?

- (1) It has led to divorce { }
- (2) Has affected my reproduction { }
- (3) It has led to long separation { }
- (4) Other { }

(24) Do you have other partners beside your wife?

- (1) Yes { }
- (2) No { }
- (3) Sometimes { }

(25) If yes, how many partners do you have?

- (1) One { }
- (2) Two { }
- (3) Other { }

(26) Do you think this migration can be a source of HIV/AIDS?

- (1) Yes { }
- (2) No { }

THANK YOU FOR YOUR CO-OPERATION!

A GUIDE TO IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE ON LIVELIHOOD AND COPING STRATEGIES OF THE CANE CUTTERS' WIVES IN THE CONTEXT OF MALE LABOUR MIGRATION, A CASE OF KALABO DISTRICT.

FILL IN WHERE APPLICABLE.

(A) SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS.

NAME OF RESPONDENT:.....

- (1) Sex of Respondent: (1) Male { }
(2) Female { }

- (2) Age of Respondent: (1) 15-19 { }
(2) 20-29 { }
(3) 30-39 { }
(4) 40-49 { }

- (3) Education status of Respondent: (1) No education { }
(2) Primary { }
(3) Secondary { }

(4) Religious: (Specific name of denomination):.....

(5) Ethnic group (e.g. Tonga):.....

(D) TYPES OF HOUSEHOLDS COMPOSITION

(6) How long have you been living in this area?

- (1) Less than 1 year { }
- (2) 1 year- less than 5 years { }
- (3) 5 years- less than 10 years { }
- (4) Since birth { }
- (5) Not sure { }

(7) How many children do you have?

- (1) 1-4 { }
- (2) 5-7 { }
- (3) 7-8 { }
- (4) None { }

(8) How many are your own children?

- (1) 1-2 { }
- (2) 3-4 { }
- (3) 5-6 { }
- (4) None { }

(B) WOMEN AND MALE LABOUR MIGRATION.

(9) Why did your husband leave?

- (1) To look for employment { }
- (2) Due to shortage of land { }
- (3) Due to low agriculture productivity { }
- (4) Other { }

(10) What kind of employment is your husband in?

- (1) Seasonal { }
- (2) Permanent { }
- (3) Other { }

(11) What benefits has male labour migration brought on your household?

- (1) Clothing { }
- (2) Increase in income { }
- (3) Increase in income for agriculture { }
- (4) Other { }

(12) How long does your husband stay away from home as a labour migrant?

- (1) 10-12 months { }
- (2) 7- 9 months { }
- (3) 5- 6 months { }
- (4) 1- 4 months { }
- (5) Not sure { }

(13) Would you also want to migrate with your husband?

- (1) Yes { }
- (2) No { }

(14) How often do you visit your husband?

- (1) Every month { }
- (2) 2 or 3 times a year { }
- (3) Never { }
- (4) Other { }

(15) Why did your husband go alone?

- (1) Accommodation is not provided where he works { }
- (2) The job is temporal { }
- (3) As a wife I cultivate the fields at home. { }
- (4) Other { }

(16) What would you do if your husband does not return?

- (1) Follow him { }
- (2) Leave him { }
- (3) Nothing { }

(C) LIVELIHOOD AND ECONOMIC STATUS OF RESPONDENTS.

(17) What do you do to earn a living?

- (1) Sell fish { }
- (2) Sell agricultural produce { }
- (3) Own cattle and sell cattle produce { }
- (4) Other { }
- (5) { }

(E) HOUSEHOLD FOOD PROVISION

(18). who should normally provide for the household?

- (1) Husband { }
- (2) Wife { }
- (3) Both { }

(19). How many times do you have meals in a day?

- (1) Once { }
- (2) Twice { }
- (3) Three times { }
- (4) Other { }

(20) Do you get enough of the food to feed the family?

- (1) No { }
- (2) Yes { }

If no, why?.....

.....

(21) Have you had food for the last two days?

- (1) Yes { }
- (2) No { }

(22) How have you managed to cope with feeding in your household?

- (1) Reduced the number of meals per day { }
- (2) Resort to eating wild fruits and vegetables { }
- (3) Other { }

(F) SOCIAL NETWORKS AND LIVELIHOOD

(23) Do you have relatives in Kalabo district?

- (1) Yes { }
- (2) No { }

If no skip questions 24 and 25.

(24) Do they help you in any way?

(1) Yes { }

(2) No { }

If no skip question 25

(25) How do they help you?

(1) Help me financially { }

(2) Give me food { }

(3) Give me clothes { }

(4) Other { }

(26) Do you receive help from else where?

(1) Yes { }

(2) No { }

If no skip question 27 and 28

(27) Where do you get this help?

(1) Friends { }

(2) Church { }

(3) NGO { }

(28) Is the help you receive adequate?

(1) No { }

(2) Yes { }

(3) Sometimes { }

(29) What kind of help would you want to be given?

(1) Financial help { }

(2) Help in farming { }

(3) Food { }

(G) ROLE OF REMITTANCES

(30) Do you receive any money from your husband?

(1) Yes { }

(2) No { }

If yes, what do you use it for?.....

(31) Is the money you receive enough?

(1) Yes { }

(2) No { }

(3) Sometimes { }

(32) Have you received money for the past three months?

(1) Yes { }

(2) No { }

(3) Sometimes { }

(33) How often do you receive the money?

(1) Monthly { }

(2) Once in six months { }

(3) Once a year { }

(4) Other { }

(34) What is the amount of remittance you receive?.....

(35) What is the purpose of the remittances?

(1) Agricultural investment { }

(2) Household consumption { }

(3) Saving { }

(4) Land tax { }

(5) Other { }

(36) What is your average total monthly expenditure?

- (1) K 300 000 { }
- (2) K 250 000 { }
- (3) K 200 000 { }
- (4) K 100 000 { }
- (5) Other { }

(37) What is your contribution towards the family expenditure?

- (1) K 300,000 { }
- (2) K 250,000 { }
- (3) K 150,000 { }
- (4) Other { }

(38) What is your monthly income?

- (1) K 250,000 { }
- (2) K 200,000 { }
- (3) K 150,000 { }
- (4) Other { }

(39) What is your husband's monthly income?

- (1) K 1 500,000 { }
- (2) K 1 000,000 { }
- (3) K 800,000 { }
- (4) Other { }

(40) How much does your husband contribute towards family expenditure?

- (1) 250,000 { }
- (2) 200,000 { }
- (3) 150,000 { }
- (4) Other { }

(41) Do you have a savings account?

- (1) Yes { }
- (2) No { }

(42) Has any member of the family been sick since your husband left?

- (1) Yes { }
- (2) No { }

If yes, who contributes to the fees for medication?

- (1) Wife { }
- (2) Husband { }
- (3) Friends { }
- (4) Other { }

(43) Do your children go to school?

- (1) Yes { }
- (2) No { }

(44) If yes, who sponsors your children to go to school?

- (1) Wife { }
- (2) Husband { }
- (3) Other { }

(45) Has any of the children dropped out of school?

- (1) Yes { }
- (2) No { }

If yes, why did they drop out of school?.....

- (1) No money for school { }
- (2) They assist their mother in the field { }
- (3) Other { }

(H) LIVELIHOOD AND COPING STRATEGIES OF WOMEN.

(46) What income generating activities are you involved with?

- (1) Vending { }
- (2) Renting out ploughs { }
- (3) Working in other people's fields { }
- (4) Brewing beer { }
- (5) Other { }

(47) What means have you used to minimize the cost of running the household in the absence of your husband?

- (1) Reduction in household consumption expenditure { }
- (2) Withdrawing children from school { }
- (3) Reduced maintenance works in garden lands
for instance weeding and pruning { }
- (4) Sale of assets { }
- (5) Other { }

(48) What assets do you own?

- (1) Cattle { }
- (2) Ploughs { }
- (3) Land { }
- (4) Nothing { }

(I) MALE LABOUR MIGRATION AND MARRIAGE

(49) How often do you communicate with your husband?

- (1) All the time { }
- (2) Most of the time { }
- (3) Sometimes { }

(50) Do you have other partners beside your husband?

- (1) Yes { }
- (2) No { }
- (3) Sometimes { }

(51) If yes, how many partners do you have?

- (1) One { }
- (2) Two { }
- (3) Other { }

(52) Have you had sex with your partners?

- (1) Yes { }
- (2) No { }
- (3) Sometimes { }

If no, skip questions 53 and 54.

(53) Do you use condoms?

- (1) Yes { }
- (2) No { }
- (3) Sometimes { }

(54) Do your partners agree to use condoms?

- (1) Yes { }
- (2) No { }
- (3) Sometimes { }

(55) How do you cope up with the separation between you and your husband?

- (1) Engage myself in agricultural activities that keep me busy { }
- (2) Spend more time at church { }
- (3) Other { }

(56) Do you think this migration can be a source of HIV/AIDS?

- (3) Yes { }
- (4) No { }

(I) IMPACT OF MALE LABOUR MIGRATION ON AGRICULTURE.

(57) Do you have a farm or garden?

- (1) Yes { }
- (2) No { }

If yes, what do you grow?

- (1) Maize { }
- (2) Rice { }
- (3) Sorghum { }
- (4) Millet { }
- (5) Cassava { }
- (6) Other { }

(58) Do you encounter problems when farming or gardening?

- (1) Yes { }
- (2) No { }

If yes, what problems do you encounter?.....

(59) Has male labour migration affected the agricultural activity of your household?

- (1) Yes { }
- (2) No { }

(60) If yes, what changes have occurred with respect to your agricultural activity?

- (1) Change in crop mix { }
- (2) Change in hectares ploughed { }
- (3) Change in labour allocation { }
- (4) Change in agricultural technology { }

(61) Do you have enough man power to work on the farm?

- (1) Yes { }
- (2) No { }

If no why?.....

(62) Do you get help from any where in case of labour constraint for certain agricultural activities?

- (1) Yes { }
- (2) No { }

(63) If the answer to Q52 is yes, who assists you?

- (1) Friends { }
- (2) Children { }
- (3) Relatives { }
- (4) Hired labour { }

THANK YOU FOR YOUR CO-OPERATION!

Appendix B: Consent form for FGDs

Interview Guide for Focus Group Discussion for cane cutters' wives

Introduction

Our names are..... andWe are conducting a study on the “Livelihood and Coping strategies of men and women in the context of male labour migration in Mazabuka and Kalabo Districts.

You are kindly requested to take part in a discussion. Feel free to talk and share with others your experiences.

Your participation is purely voluntary. You have the right to withdraw at any point of the discussion without explanation. Information obtained from this discussion is confidential and will be treated as such to the extent permitted by law.

If you need more details, please contact Dr. T. Kusanthan School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Gender Studies Department, University of Zambia, P.O Box 32379, Lusaka.

CHECKLIST FOR GROUP DISCUSSION FOR CANE CUTTER'S WIVES

1. Research has shown that when men go to work as labour migrants, women are left with a lot of responsibilities, as a woman how do you cope up with these gender roles?
2. When men go to work as labour migrants, most of the responsibilities are left in the hands of their wives, what economic challenges do you face in taking care of the family in the absence of your husband?
3. Women involve themselves in different coping mechanisms in order to earn a living with their families as most men are away, what economic coping strategies have you engaged in to help run your household?
4. Some studies have shown that women face problems whenever their husbands go to work as labour migrants, what do you think are the emotional problems that you face as women and how do you cope up with such challenges?
5. A study conducted in Zambia by the Consortium for Southern Africa's food Emergency in October 2003 and March 2004 revealed that there is less reliance on the extended family to provide assistance in times of trouble than in the past, apart from your family where else would you get help in times of the absence of your husband and what kind of help?
6. Some studies have shown that the prolonged absence of men have brought about social challenges between husband and wife due to male labour migration, what coping strategies have you put in place to overcome these social challenges?
7. The fact that men go to work as labour migrants, it has been discovered that women usually take up the role of men, what changes with respect to your role occur as a result of male labour migration?
8. Men who go to work as labour migrants usually stay away from their wives for a very long time, what would you do if you discovered that your husband has married another woman?

CHECKLIST FOR GROUP DISCUSSION FOR CANE CUTTERS

1. Some studies have shown that some men leave their places of origin to go and work as labour migrants in order to sustain their lives and that of their families, what major problems do you face in relation to your pay?
2. Research has shown that men go to work as labour migrants leaving their places of origin, what major benefits have you gained from the migration?
3. When men go to work as labour migrants, their wives are over burdened with a lot of responsibilities, what do you think are the major problems that your wife face when conducting these tasks?
4. According to some studies, women have taken up the role of their men in their households due to the absence of their men, what do you think are the changes that have occurred with respect to the role of your wife as a result of the migration?
5. Labour migrants usually go for a very long time to work as labourers leaving their families behind and this causes problems, as a labour migrant what social problems do you face if you stay longer and how do you cope up with such problems?
6. Men who go to work as labour migrants usually stay away from their wives for a very long time, what emotional challenges do you face and how do you cope up with these emotional challenges in the absence of your wife?