

**FOOD SECURITY AND COPING MECHANISMS AMONG
UNACCOMPANIED REFUGEE BOYS AND GIRLS IN MAYUKWAYUKWA
REFUGEE SETTLEMENT IN WESTERN PROVINCE OF ZAMBIA: A
PHENOMENOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE**

By

FRANCINE UMUTESI

**Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Gender Studies**

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DECLARATION

I **FRANCINE UMUTESI** do hereby declare that this dissertation is a product of my individual effort; however scholarly content obtained from various literatures has been acknowledged. This dissertation has not been submitted previously at this University or indeed any other University elsewhere for a degree qualification.

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CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

This dissertation by **FRANCINE UMUTESI** has been approved as partial fulfillment of requirements for the award of the Degree of Master of gender studies by the University of Zambia.

Examiners:

Signature..... Dated this.....day of, 2014

Signature..... Dated thisday of, 2014

Signature..... Dated this.....day of, 2014

ABSTRACT

Zambia has a long history of hosting refugees from different parts of Africa running away from strife and civil wars since its independence in 1964. These refugees once settled they have many challenges including lack of access to food.

The aim of this study was to establish the food security and coping mechanisms among unaccompanied refugee boys and girls in Mayukwayukwa Refugee Settlement.

The study was a qualitative enquiry grounded in hermeneutic phenomenology. Purposive sampling was used to collect a total of 51 individuals to participate in the study. 37 were unaccompanied refugee children, 10 were foster parents and 4 were key informants. Data were collected using face -to- face interviews and focus group discussions and were analyzed using Content Analysis.

The findings indicate that the life of unaccompanied children is not an easy one. They lived a sad, desperate, hopeless and traumatic life in the settlement after losing their parents through separation, death, abandonment or kidnap. Three subthemes described the food security; the first one relates to inadequacy of food, children ate one meal or none per day. The second one is associated with unbalanced diet while the third one shows no food. The food assistance provided was described to be monotony just beans and maize and the amount given per month was not enough. Children confirmed to receive half kg beans, 13 kg maize, 100g salt and 150 ml cooking oil per month. The challenges these children faced to access food were associated with the lack of parents, poverty and loneliness and foster parents' maltreatment. The children used three major coping mechanisms to deal with these challenges. The first one was problem -focused where children faced the situation by finding some piece work to do. Mostly girls worked as maids, plaited hair, begged and did some gardening in the Zambians' fields while boys herded animals, burned charcoal, cultivated and carried luggage. The second one was emotion-focused where children used avoidance, wishful thought and isolation. The third one is social support where children relied on the significant others like friends, church mates and other well meaning individuals.

In conclusion, the reason for using these coping mechanisms was to try and deal with the prevalent starvation in the settlement. In their quest for food, children found themselves in different dangers such as rape among girls and bullying and arrest among boys. While all of these challenges highlighted in the study continue to be unaddressed, these children will continue to find themselves in starvation and trauma-related problems. Hence, the study outcomes suggest that an orphanage be belt in Mayukwayukwa refugee settlement to feed and keep unaccompanied children in order to mitigate the food challenges which seriously affect them. Also, attention must be paid to follow up the fostered children especially girls to insure their well being through psychosocial interventions.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my late father whose passion for God and love for education have left foot prints in my heart. My sincere gratitude goes to the rest of my family who supported me dearly each in his or her own special way up to this far.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
CIN	Committee on International Nutrition
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
CSPR	Civil Society for Poverty Reduction
DIMIA	Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FSP	Food Stamps Program
GBV	Gender Based Violence
GoU	Government of Uganda
IRIN	Integrated Regional Information Networks
MLML	Mae La Ma Luang
MSF-UAE	Médecins Sans Frontières- United Arab Emirates
OVC	Orphans and Vulnerable Children
OXFAM	Oxford Committee for Famine Relief
SCN	Sub-Committee on Nutrition
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNICEF	United Nation International Emergency Funds
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNZA	University of Zambia
USA	United States of America
WFP	World Food Program
W H O	World Health Organization

CHAPTER- ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

No continent is immune to the problem of mass displacement of refugees, either within or across state borders. Sizeable populations who have left their homes to escape from persecution, armed conflict or violence can be found in over 75 countries around the world (UNICEF, 2008). According to a 2009 report by the United Nations Refugee Agency (UNHCR), 42 million people around the world were uprooted from their homes due to conflict or persecution. Of this number, 16 million were considered refugees, while 26 million were displaced within their own countries or were considered asylum-seekers in other countries. Approximately 45% of the world's refugees are under 18-years-old. International data revealed that worldwide migration is increasing and more than half of any refugee population consists of children between the age of 6-16 and a significant number of it is unaccompanied (UNHCR,2009). About 80% of the world's refugees are hosted by developing countries. The largest refugee producing countries at present include Afghanistan, Iraq, Somali and Sudan, while Colombia, Iraq, Sudan and the Democratic Republic of the Congo have the largest internally displaced populations (UNHCR, 2009).This therefore has posed a challenge to the humanitarian organizations and host countries to provide adequate nutrition for these vulnerable groups.

Historically, Zambia has always been considered to be a generous host to refugees even during colonial rule. Since independence the country has hosted refugees from five of its eight neighboring countries. These were Angola, Democratic Republic of Congo, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, and Namibia. Zambia has also hosted refugees from other African countries mainly Rwanda, Burundi, Ghana, Sudan, and Somalia. The Angolan refugees were not only the first to seek a safe haven in Zambia but they are also the largest group in actual numbers making them the most significant refugee group in Zambia (Nsolo, 1995).

Following the influx of refugees in Zambia, the first legislation Act of 1970 was passed to cope with the growing number of refugees. This control act stated that all refugees must live in an area designated by the Zambian government, unless they have been given special permission to remain outside the designated area (Bakewell, 2002). In order to implement the requirements of the control Act of 1970, lots of refugee camps and settlements were opened for the purpose of accommodating refugees. In southern Africa, there are three main countries Zambia, Malawi and Zimbabwe that host refugees in designed settlement models with the view that refugees should become self-sufficient. Out of the three refugee host countries, Zambia has been able to implement this humane policy (Nsolo, 1995). Camps and settlements such as Kala, Mwanze in Northern Province, Maheba refugee settlement in North Western Province, Nangweshi and Mayukwayukwa refugee camps in Western Province and Ukwimi in the Eastern Province were established. Mayukwayukwa is known to be the first camp to be established in 1966 and happens to be the oldest refugee camp in Africa.

Mayukwayukwa Refugee Settlement covers an area of about 150 square kilometers. It is divided into three (3) main zones and fifty three (53) sectors. Two government ministries, the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Ministry of Community Development Mother and Child Health, work hand-in-hand with the UNHCR to take care of the refugees. According to the Ministry of Home Affairs, office of the Commissioner for Refugees and the United Nations High Commission for Refugees in Mayukwayukwa Refugee Settlement, (the Demographic Characteristics for Camp Based Refugees as per 31th December, 2013) is eight thousand and eighteen (8,018) Angolans, two thousand nine hundred and seventy nine (2,979) Congolese, one hundred and thirty six (136) Rwandans, one hundred and fifty five (155) Burundians and one (1) Ethiopian. Out of the (11,341) total number of refugees, five thousand seven hundred and sixty (5,760) are men, while five thousand five hundred and eighty one (5,581) are female. Six thousand one hundred and one (6,101) are children. Of the six thousand one hundred and one (6,101) children, one hundred and thirty (130) are orphans and forty two (42) are unaccompanied orphans. Since unaccompanied refugee children are also part of these figures given above, their needs, especially adequate food require priority attention.

Children and youth migrating whether between or within countries; and whether accompanied by their relatives or not, have become a recognized part of today's global and mixed migrants. Nevertheless, in the research and policy debates, the migration of children and youths is considered a new area of concern and focus (Gundersen and Kreider, 2009). This is because there is little information that is reflected in global debates on children who are migrating. Often, academic and policy discussions tend to represent children as passive victims of exploitation, possibly even including trafficking situations, coerced to move and work in exploitative situations. However, recent research and policy approaches on unaccompanied migrant children are revealing and addressing varying experiences of children migrating as being both positive and negative (Gundersen and Kreider, 2009). According to Radimer et al, (1990) independent child migration is not necessarily an exploitative or damaging experience for children, but rather a multidimensional phenomenon

One of the negative experiences that are encountered by unaccompanied children is child hunger or childhood food insecurity. Food insecurity is defined as limited or uncertain access to food of acceptable quality and quantity in socially desirable ways and it has been identified as one of the indicators of poor health in children (Gundersen and Kreider, 2009). To measure food insecurity, two common scales are used. These are the U.S. Food Security Scale (Bickel et al. 2000) and the ten-item Radimer/Cornell Hunger scale (Radimer et al. 1990). These two scales assess food insecurity using slightly different constructs. In the case of the ten-item Radimer/Cornell Hunger Scale, food insecure households are grouped into three household levels. The first level is where compromises are made on the quality of food. The moderate adult or second level is where adults of the household make reductions in their diet. The third level is the most severe level and is referred to as child hunger. In this stage, children in the households also do experience reduced food intake.

The U.S. Food Security Module divides households into four categories of food security. These ranges from conditions where the household has no trouble accessing food and this is referred to as high food security. The second category is a situation where members of the household worry about food affordability. This is referred to as marginal food security. Low food security is found among those households where the quality and

variety of food is compromised. Whereas very low food security is found in households where there is reduced food intake as a result of food shortages. It is important to note that food insecurity affects girls and boys differently. This is because they have different priorities, responsibilities, and protection needs (Craig et al., 2007; 2010).

1.2 Problem Statement

In most instances refugees cannot produce enough food for themselves. Thus, the primary mandate of relief agencies is to keep refugees alive and safe until they can be repatriated or relocated (Guttieri, 2005; James, 2008). Given that these agencies invariably struggle with economic and logistical constraints and structural limitations, they have challenges in meeting the needs of the refugees (Crisp, 2003; Jansen, 2008). This has exacerbated the vulnerability of the refugees as it has been observed within relief policies in refugee camps and other displaced persons' settlements across the world (Oka, 2011 Pottier, 1996). In addition the constant threat of budget cuts and donor fatigue, also does pose some challenges on how the hundreds and thousands of refugees mostly unaccompanied children can be managed. In most cases, these children are usually in inhospitable and hostile environments (Agier, 2011).

While studies have been conducted elsewhere on unaccompanied refugee children, there is no evidence looking at food security and coping mechanisms used by boys and girls in the sub region Zambia inclusive. The only information available is not empirical as it comes in form of complaints that are raised by some refugee human rights advocates at workshops and conferences (Chilton et al. 2009). There are claims that unaccompanied refugee children in the refugee camps are food insecure that they use various mechanisms to cope with the problem. In the absence of empirical data to affirm these claims, it is difficult to understand the problem. It is therefore not easy to appreciate the kind of assistance unaccompanied refugee boys and girls receive in terms of food. It is also difficult to outline the challenges faced and the nature of coping mechanisms used by refugee boys and girls from a gendered perspective. Thus, this study was set to establish the coping mechanisms that the unaccompanied refugee boys and girls employ in their quest for food in Mayukwayukwa refugee settlement.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

1.3.1 Main Objective

The main objective of this study is to establish the gendered coping mechanisms employed by the unaccompanied refugee boys and girls in their quest for food in Mayukwayukwa Refugee Settlement.

1.3.1 Specific objectives

- i. To investigate the state of food security among unaccompanied refugees boys and girls in Mayukwayukwa Refugee settlement.
- ii. To determine the kind of assistance unaccompanied refugee boys and girls receive in terms of food.
- iii. To describe the challenges faced by unaccompanied refugee boy and girls as they quest for food.
- iv. To explore the gendered coping mechanisms that the unaccompanied refugee boys and girls employ to find food.

1.4 Research Questions

1.4.1 The main research question

What are the gendered coping mechanisms employed by unaccompanied refugee boys and girls to access food in Mayukwayukwa refugee settlement?

1.4.2 Specific research questions

- i. What is the state of food security among unaccompanied refugees boys and girls in Mayukwayukwa Refugee Settlement?
- ii. What type of assistance do the unaccompanied refugee boys and girls receive in terms food?
- iii. What are the challenges faced by the unaccompanied refugee boys and girls in their quest for food?

- iv. What coping mechanisms do the unaccompanied refugee boys and girls employ to find food?

1.5 Significance of the study

This study has notable significances. It fills a significant gap in reported research by providing answers to the four initial research questions. It also specifies preferences regarding support programmes and interventions that overcome barriers and address the unique support needs of unaccompanied refugee boys and girls.

This is also a first known research to focus explicitly on food insecurity as a serious problem in a refugee setting in Zambia from a gender perspective. This study is an initial step toward addressing the various areas that the interviewees sighted as a hindrance to accessing food.

The study also serves as an eye opener for the well wishers to come in and help these vulnerable children as it explains the challenges that they face. It also paves the path for future consideration which can inform the design of culturally appropriate nutritional support programmes and policies for refugee boys and girls.

The new knowledge generated by this study bridges the initial gaps concerning food challenges in a refugee settlement. The unaccompanied refugee boys and girls expressed their plight by emphasizing on the importance of nutritional support, the need to address the hardships of life without a single relative and the need to help them come out of the negative coping mechanisms that they find themselves in.

1.6 Delimitation of the study

This study is about eliciting gendered coping mechanisms used by the unaccompanied refugee boys and girls in their quest for food. The study was conducted in the Western Province of Zambia, specifically in Mayukwayukwa refugee settlement. Only the unaccompanied refugee boys and girls, foster parents and some officials in charge of nutrition of refugees participated in the study and gender studies were used as a field of reference.

1.7 Definition of key words

Coping: This is defined as the behavioral and cognitive efforts one uses to manage the internal and external demands of a stressful situation (Lazarus and Folkman, 1984).

Unaccompanied Children: “Unaccompanied children” refers to children under the age of 18 years who are separated from both parents and are not being cared for by an adult who by law or by custom is responsible to do so (Art 1, CRC, 1989).

Refugee: A refugee is defined as “a person who is outside his/her country of nationality or habitual residence; has a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion; and is unable or unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country, or to return there, for fear of persecution” (UNHCR, 2002).

Gendered: This concept refers to general social trends that assign behavior and attitudes to a particular sex of the human race. It is drawn from the concept gender which refers to the society’s tendency to socially construct and the assigning of roles to men, women, boys and girls (Giddens 2001). The characteristic of suited to or biased against one gender’s coping mechanisms or the other was in this study called gendered.

Food security: According to the Rome Declaration on World Food Security (1996), food security exists “when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life” (FAO, 1996a).

1.8 Structure of the dissertation

This remainder of the dissertation is organized in four chapters: Chapter two provides theoretical framework which anchors the study and also outlines the necessary literature on the topic. Chapter three looks at the design and methods that were employed in the collection and analysis of the data. The chapter also provides information on the study population, study sample and sampling procedures. The chapter lastly discusses ethical issues. Chapter four presents the study findings. The findings are discussed in chapter five. Chapter six presents the summary, conclusion and recommendations of the study.

CHAPTER- TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter reviews the literature related to food security and the coping mechanisms of unaccompanied refugee boys and girls. Most of the literature discussed here is mainly informed by studies conducted in the Western countries and some parts of Africa. This section is divided into four major components. The first component covers the background of food security among refugees. The second component provides a description of food assistance given to unaccompanied boys and girls in the camps. The third component shows the challenges that the unaccompanied boys and girls face as they try to find food. The last section explains the gendered coping mechanisms employed by unaccompanied refugee boys and girls in their quest for food.

2.1 Background of food security among refugees

Throughout the 20th century, the international community steadily assembled a set of guidelines, laws and conventions to ensure the adequate treatment of refugees and protect their human rights. In July 1951, a diplomatic conference in Geneva adopted the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees (1951 Convention), which was later amended by the 1967 Protocol (UNHCR, 2006). These documents clearly spell out who is a refugee and the type of legal protection, other assistance, and social rights a refugee is entitled to receive. According to these provisions, refugees deserve, as a minimum, the same standards of treatment enjoyed by other foreign nationals in a given country and, in many cases, the same treatment as the nationals. It also defines a refugee's obligations to host countries. Since by definition refugees are not protected by their own governments, the international community steps in to ensure they are safe and protected (UNHCR, 2011).

The articulation of food and nutrition rights of refugees in modern international human rights law begins with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948. The declaration asserts in article 25 (1) that everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and his family, including food.

In the Convention on the Rights of the Child, which came into force in 1990, two articles address the issue of nutrition (Kent, 2000). Article 24 says that:

State parties recognize the right of the child to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health (paragraph 1) and shall take appropriate measures to combat disease and malnutrition through the provision of adequate nutritious foods, clean drinking water and health care (paragraph 2c).

Article 27 says in paragraph 3 that:

State parties shall in case of need, provide material assistance and support programs, particularly with regard to nutrition, clothing, and housing (CRC).

According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), more than half of any refugee population consists of children and a significant number of it is unaccompanied. In almost all armed conflicts, mass population displacements, natural disasters and other crises, a number of children become separated from their families or from other adults responsible for them. Even though the exact statistics of the unaccompanied refugee children worldwide is not available, it is estimated that children under the age of five, make up about 11% while children in the age group between 6 and 17 make up approximately 32% of forced migrants and asylum seekers (Adams, 2008). The Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN) estimates that up to 100,000 unaccompanied minors live in Europe alone (IRIN, 2003). The United Kingdom has 400 unaccompanied children, 1500 are in Sweden, and 1400 are in Norway and 770 in Australia.

In Belgium in 2004, the asylum seeking unaccompanied refugee minors came from 59 different countries, the main countries include Congo (86, 14.4%), Guinea (80, 13.4%), Afghanistan (44, 7.3%), and Rwanda (41, 6.8%). Of the asylum seeking unaccompanied minors in 2004, 212 (35.4%) were female and 387 (64.6%) male. The majority of the minors in both groups are between 16 and 18 years of age (UNHCR, 2004). The plight of these children in unstable areas confronted by a range of threats such as food shortages due to poverty make them refashion the definition of childhood itself as they are pushed into new adult roles for survival (UNHCR, 2006).

The single most important factor predisposing refugee children to poor health during the emergency phase is an inadequate food ration (UNHCR, 1988). There is a misconception that refugee children can eat anything. Suffice to say that refugees are not only entitled to adequate quality and quantities of food, but must also be culturally acceptable and palatable as they are crucial in the development of children and combating malnutrition (UNHCR, 1991).

While the UNHCR and the World Food Program (WFP) share primary responsibility for meeting the food and nutritional needs of refugees, approximately 21.5 million refugees and displaced people across the world experienced some form of malnutrition in 1999 (WHO, 2003a). The causes and manifestations of malnutrition and micronutrient deficiencies in refugee camps are complex and vary between countries, regions, cultures, ages and situations (SCN, 2004). Ensuring food security for refugees is therefore, of great concern. Given this concern, a series of international conventions have pledged to improve child nutrition, addressing the issues of micronutrient deficiencies and generalized malnutrition. Despite these internationally recognized and agreed upon human rights standards and principles including key documents that are relevant to refugees' nutrition, the international community have failed to deliver on its promises to children (Goette, 2005).

Globally, children but most commonly refugee children, suffer from lack of proper nutrition and food insecurity, despite the intentions of world leaders and the actions of the UNHCR and World Health Organization (WHO) to promote children's rights. Although refugee populations are provided food aid during emergencies and protracted

refugee situations, widespread malnutrition and health problems have been evidenced in refugee camps (WHO 2003a; Marchione, 2002). Changes to a child's environment caused by displacement expose children to a heightened risk of malnutrition. According to MSF-UAE (2002), the abrupt and significant reduction in the quantity and quality of available food, as well as limited access to food, weakens food security. However, a combination of factors, including whether children are separated or unaccompanied, their developmental stage, level of dependency on food aid, access to health care, unique nutritional needs and living conditions determine their vulnerability and the extent of malnutrition.

In United Kingdom, for example, statistics for March 2003 show that overall 83,200 children were looked after by local authorities. Of these children 2,400 were unaccompanied asylum seeking children, 1900 were boys (76%) and 600 were girls (24%). One thousand two hundred (1200) (49%) of these young people were over 16 years. The effect of poverty on the health needs of refugee children and young people cannot be underestimated. The lack of money to buy adequate food leads to health problems for young refugees as a result of poor nutrition. This is particularly acute amongst unaccompanied 16 and 17 year olds living alone (Vu, Quynh-Giao N., 2007). The arrival in the new country may at first bring relief, hope and joy, because the difficult period of war, dangerous living and uncertainty has ended, and a new future is coming to begin. But shortly after the arrival, the child acknowledges the unfamiliarity of the new society, and realizes that he/she will have to struggle multiple barriers to acquire a position and role in this new country. The refugee children have to struggle with different social structures, another school system, unfamiliar role patterns, cultural habits, rules and customs. Most importantly different diet, together with language barriers, render the initial impressions of a society confusing and alien leading to life challenges (Harrell-Bond, Barbara, 2000).

In Australia, past experience has indicated that refugee children, particularly children arriving from Sub-Saharan Africa, require special attention and nutrition services if they are to realize their rights and well-being during resettlement. Each year, the Australian Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (DIMIA) determines the number of visas provided to refugees based on international and

community consultations, as well as the country's capacity to provide effective resettlement services (DIMIA, 2005a). In line with regional priorities recommended by the UNHCR, arrivals from Africa were 70.2 % and children comprise approximately 40% of refugee populations arriving in Australia each year. Since a large number of these children come from Africa, bringing with them diverse pre-arrival experiences and unique vulnerabilities, it is essential that resettlement services address nutrition issues within a culturally appropriate context (DIMIA, 2005a). In many cases refugee children found it hard to adjust to the new diet thus, leading to health complications.

In United States of America, a number of studies indicate that the prevalence of food insecurity and child hunger are higher among immigrants and refugees in comparison to the native population in the United States. Chilton et al. (2009) found that immigrant households were at higher risk of food insecurity, and children from these households had greater odds of fair or poor reported health than low-income children of U.S.-born mothers. Although there is a paucity of studies examining food insecurity in refugee populations, the body of work, demonstrates that refugees in the United States experience a disproportionate level of food insecurity and child hunger.

A pilot study of Somali refugees resettled in the north-east region of the United States found that two-thirds of the Somali households were food insecure, and 26 percent of those households indicated child hunger (Dharod et al. in press). Equally, Hadley and colleagues (2007) examined the prevalence of child hunger in a sample of 101 Liberian refugees in the United States and the results indicated that there was child hunger or very low food security in 16 percent of households. Similarly, in a study with Sudanese refugees it was found that there was food insecurity among 73 percent of the households, and (12) percent experienced child hunger (Sellen and Hadzibegovic, 2003).

According to the study by Chad Ellington in Mae La Ma Luang (MLML) a Refugee Camp in Thailand on the Access to Food Entitlements under Restrictive Encampment in January 2012, it was noted that the rising food prices of the monthly dry-food rations provided to eligible individuals residing in MLML was dramatically reduced to its lowest daily calorie intake per person. Since January 2012, there has been a dramatic ration reduction which fails to even meet minimum standards of 2,100 daily caloric

intakes. The current food basket provides an average of 1,640 calories per person per day, 22% below the international minimum standard of 2,100 calories per person per day (Brown, 2012).

The United Nations High Commission for Refugees noted that, about 80% of the world's refugees are hosted by developing countries and out of these approximately 1.5 million refugees are teenagers (UNHCR, 2009). The study conducted by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) on the Living Conditions and Well-being of Refugees, reveals that Tanzania hosted the largest population of refugees in Africa as at 2005 (UNHCR, 2008). Around 433,000 refugees who came from several waves of violence in the Great Lakes region for some 50 years resided in Tanzania within and outside the camp and the majority of these were Burundians. Kenya had the second largest refugee population of about (255,000) mainly these came from Somalia and Sudan. The share living in camps represented 85 percent of these. Uganda hosted at least 216,465 refugees, the majority came from Sudan followed by those from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), with smaller populations of Rwandese, Burundians, Ethiopians, Eritreans, Somalis, Kenyans, and others (UNHCR, 2008).

With a handful of exceptions, these refugees were assigned by the Government of Uganda (GoU) to live in refugee camps located mostly in rural areas in the west and northwest of Uganda (Machel, 2001). These camps are officially referred to as 'settlements' insofar as refugees are given basic tools upon arrival, along with small plots for subsistence farming. Food rations initially supplied by the UNHCR and World Food Program (WFP) are gradually reduced in accordance with the Self-Reliance Strategy. However, since the early 1990s, UNHCR and other actors working with refugees have recognized that refugees are not homogenous in terms of their vulnerability levels (UNHCR, 2006). In as much as adult refugees can make a life in a settlement by cultivating the land given to them, it is different for unaccompanied children, the old and the sick that are unable to cultivate the land and have no one to take care of them.

When emergencies develop into protracted refugee situations, food aid is typically reduced under the assumption that food is available from other sources. Normally,

partial food assistance is provided to ensure the minimum energy requirement of 2,100 kilocalories per person per day recommended by the Committee on International Nutrition (CIN). Yet while WFP and UNHCR calculate initial reference values for emergency feeding, including ration levels throughout protracted refugee situations, studies show that children in long-term refugee situations frequently suffer from malnutrition as they are not getting the nutrients they need for healthy development (WFP & UNHCR, 1999). Although the assessments may miscalculate children's nutrition needs, it is more likely that complex power dynamics in refugee camps and the politics of food aid prevent children from accessing food. In either case however, targeted nutrition interventions are fundamental if children are to enjoy their human rights.

In a study conducted by the UNICEF on orphans and vulnerable children (OVC) in Liberia in 2012, the findings show two main characteristics: poor food consumption and a high rate of chronic malnutrition. Food availability and access become critical and acute during the peak of the lean season, which runs from May to October each year. During the lean season, stocks of the staple food are depleted. The targeted vulnerable households are at increased risk of food insecurity between the commencement of the rainy season and the beginning of the harvest. While better-off households rely on market purchases, vulnerable households with extremely low income are the most affected (UNICEF, 2012).

In the Kakuma Refugee Camp in Kenya, a study by Gregory (2002), revealed high food insecurity and an unacceptably high level of acute global malnutrition (17.2%) and chronic malnutrition (12.6%) in children (Gregory, 2002). In addition, vitamin A deficiency was noted in 47.2% of the children; anemia was present in 61.3% of children and severe anemia in 6.2% of the children (ibid). Thus, this indicates poor food security as the UNHCR considers households to be food secure when they have year-round access to the amount and variety of safe foods that their members need to lead active and healthy lives" Strategic Plan for Nutrition and Food Security (SPNF,2008, 114).

There is also food security when the households have ability to secure these needs through their own production, purchases, barter or other means. In 28 out of 38

occasions (74 percent), camps in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda could not meet even the UNHCR substandard of 2,100 kilocalories. This is especially clear in Uganda where 35% of the people entitled to food rations received food. The daily amount of distributed food in Tanzanian refugee camps in 2005 and 2006 contained, respectively, 1,700 and 1,460 kilocalories per person (UNHCR, 2006). It was observed that of the protracted refugee situations worldwide, only the camps in Africa had acute malnutrition rates consistently above 15 percent, while the Asia camps usually leveled out below 12 percent.

Zambia like in any other developing country, poverty levels are very high and the majority of the household cannot afford three meals a day. Civil Society for Poverty Reduction (CSPR) 2006 emphasizes that poverty cause poor nutrition and life challenges among children. According to this report, children face several challenges, for example, 'instead of concentrating on learning, pupils get involved in livelihood generating activities and when they did go to school they were too hungry and weak to learn effectively'. When it comes to Orphans and Vulnerable children (OVC), providing care and support is one of the biggest challenges Zambia faces today, as the growing numbers overwhelm available resources. AIDS, fuelled by high poverty levels, is the primary contributor to OVC incidence in Zambia; accounting for more orphans than all other contributing factors combined. This has made it very difficult for the government to adequately help these vulnerable children meet their basic needs including food. With the current economic situation in Zambia, the largest population is wallowing in poverty and the situation becomes worse for the orphaned refugee children living in the camps (CSPR, 2006).

Normally, in Zambia refugees are settled in camps and settlements and they are self-reliant. While Zambia is generally hospitable towards refugees and asylum-seekers, lack of movement by refugees makes it very difficult to promote self-reliance among refugees (UNHCR, 2012). All camp-based refugees are, to a varying degree, dependent on WFP food rations. In Kala and Mwanze refugee camps in Zambia, it was identified that these food rations were inadequate not only in quality but in quantity as well (Darwin, 2005). A fifteen-day ration on average lasted not more than ten days, when refugees consume three meals a day instead of two.

2.2 Types of assistance given in terms of food

Usually, partial food assistance to unaccompanied refugee children is provided to ensure the minimum energy requirement of 2,100 kilocalories per person per day as recommended by the Committee on International Nutrition (CIN) (WFP&UNHCR, 1999). The World Food Program is the responsible UN agency in resource mobilization of basic food commodities, while the UNHCR is responsible for complementary commodities. The basic food commodities include: cereals, oil, sugar, salt, blended foods, and a protein-rich food such as pulses/beans or fish and meat in dry or canned form. The Complementary food items include: fresh meat/fish, vegetables, condiment and spices, dried skimmed milk and energy-high protein biscuits. A new Memorandum of Understanding between WFP and UNHCR signed in January 1994 clarifies the roles and responsibilities of the two organizations (WFP&UNHCR, 1999). In planning and providing food, WFP and UNHCR follow the guidelines for calculating food rations for refugees in line with WHO/FAO recommended daily allowance as the standard.

However, in most cases there is an enormous difference between the treatment and the food given to refugees in Europe and Africa. For example, the Kosovo refugee children in Albanian, are given tins of chicken pate, foil wrapped cheeses, fresh oranges and milk. Some are even given ready-made meals and other items like coffee and fruit arts. This contrasts with Africa, where refugees are far less likely to get ready-made meals and have to make most of their food from scratch. Instead of meals, the refugees are given basic grains such as sorghum or wheat which need to be processed (Saghvi et al, 1997). This however, becomes very difficult for the children living alone who might lack the knowledge of how to process such food. On the other hand, with all due respect to the horrors the people of Kosovo have suffered, there is no child that has experienced malnutrition.

The most common explanation given by the United Nations officials and aid workers was that they must give European refugees a higher standard of living to maintain the refugees' sense of dignity and stability. The writers do acknowledge that it may be perceived as a matter of racial discrimination. Others offer a blunter assessment by saying that wealthy donors in the developed world and the aid agencies feel more

sympathetic and reach deeper into their pockets for those with similar skin tones and backgrounds (Eide, 1999). Redmond G (2008) argues that it may be easier for Europeans and Americans to identify with the Kosovo refugees who they see on television than with those in remote parts of Africa. He adds by saying, "I may be cynical, but personally I think people see the television and say, 'It's just a bunch of blacks over there,'. However, it could be argued that the discrimination among different categories of refugees may arise not from the assistance agencies themselves but from the donors behind them who supply the resources.

Another issue worthy considering is the issue of food delivery process. There is usually a long and complicated process before the food reaches the targeted individuals. The food is first allocated to continents, then to host countries, then to the camps, then to the individual persons within camps. At each stage there are questions of what allocation mechanisms and principles have been put in place, and what mechanisms and principles should be in place (Saghvi et al, 1997). The reasons for gaps in supply and shortfalls in rations received are manifold and often context-specific. The more important causes can be grouped as follows: Restricted access to the affected population for reasons of remote locations, insufficient infrastructure such as roads, transport networks, seasonal closures, possible insecurity, lack of resources and variable donor commitment. Also there may be disagreements over accuracy of beneficiary numbers linked with registration (Kent, 2000). Erratic distribution system and erratic monitoring of distribution and complaints are also some of the reasons for the gaps in food distribution. Donor countries provide much of the food supplied to refugees, either through direct commodity supplies or through the provision of funds to purchase foods on local markets.

In the United States, the majority of refugees are enrolled in the Food Stamps Program (FSP), so that they can purchase food while they acclimatize and begin the search for employment. During the first three months, refugees are expected to take job readiness courses aimed at helping them to become economically self-sufficient. In terms of children including those who are unaccompanied, this kind of assistance goes up to the age of 18. However, Burundian refugees in the USA for example, reported having up to 4 days per month in which there was no food available (UNHCR,2009). They said that

they would have to choose which members of the family to feed first often the elderly, then children and working men when food shortages happened.

In recent years, UNHCR, donor states and other international actors have tended to focus their attention and resources on high-profile crises in which people are either fleeing in large numbers to countries of asylum or repatriating in large numbers to their country of origin. Protracted situations, which drag on for years and where there is no immediate prospect of a durable solution for the refugees concerned, these have consequently been neglected. This however, has put the vulnerable group of refugees such as the unaccompanied children in a serious danger. Reporting from Guinea, Kaiser (2000) writes that “moving around the camps, one routinely hears complaints that the quality and quantity of food assistance has declined. When the 'old' refugees first arrived, they received up to 12 items in the food basket. But today, they receive only three items in the food basket. In addition,” the author states further, that “there are widespread complaints that the food ration is insufficient in terms of quantity and does not last the 45 days it is provided for. Decisions about cutting the food rations seem to have been triggered by WFP announcements that not enough food was available for the whole population.

2.3 The challenges faced in trying to find food

Among refugee groups, the most vulnerable are the unaccompanied children. In the absence of special efforts to monitor and protect their well being, their basic needs often go unmet and their rights are frequently violated. This however, makes them feel demeaned and demoralized, devalued and ignored. As a result, they are pushed in new adult roles as they try to fend for themselves (Women’s refugee commission, 2000). In order to grow and develop normally, Koszewski, W. (2012) noted that a child has certain age-specific requirements which must be satisfied. This is especially between the ages of 9 to 18 when children hit periods of rapid growth. At these times their appetites expand and they may appear to be constantly eating. For the unaccompanied refugee children however, this is the most disturbed age group. In most cases, due to starvation these children are forced to involve in child labor to try and earn a living a system which

usually jeopardizes a child's normal growth (Ayotte & Williamson, 2000 and Rutter, 2003a).

Age and sex are crucial factors in people's needs, options and choices across the life course and positions in society. In refugee situations, where the fabric of society has been altered dramatically, these demographic characteristics are of foremost relevance to identify the vulnerabilities as well as the development potentials of the people concerned (UNHCR, 2013). Women, girls, men and boys face different risks in relation to deterioration in their nutritional status in emergency contexts (Young, 2000). These different vulnerabilities are related both to their differing nutritional requirements and to socio-cultural factors related to sex. For instance, Iron intake is especially important for teenage girls, as menstruation depletes iron reserves (OXFAM, 2004). The Teen boys need between 2,200 and 3,200 calories per day to keep up with the growing demands of their bodies. While the teen girls need fewer calories, about 1,800 to 2,400, per day. Puberty for girls occurs between ages 12 and 13, while for boys it occurs between ages 14 and 15. During this period, physical changes affect food choices (Bode, 1999).

Understanding how conflicts and disasters affect females and males is critical to the overall effectiveness of humanitarian response (Egeland, 2007). According to the research conducted by the Amnesty International in the Yida refugee camp in 2012, it was discovered that the unaccompanied girls face a lot of challenges which are related to inadequate food provided. These challenges included early marriages, unwanted pregnancies and other related violence such as rape (UNHCR, 2012). With frequently late food distributions, these young people complained of severe hunger. Even when the food supplies are not late, rationing is very poor that it cannot sustain the children for the given period of time (Lowick, 2001). Lack of food security has affected many unaccompanied children especially in terms of education and has caused some psychological problems as children panic to find solution on their own.

In a report published by the Irish Refugee Council in 1999, a group of unaccompanied minors discussed some of the problems that they had encountered since arriving in Ireland. Among the issues that arose was racism, verbal abuse, confusion about their entitlements and about the role of the various bodies and organizations with which they

had been in contact. Most of these minors did not practice any leisure activities due to lack of information and language difficulties. They were also forced to cope with hostility, marginalization, insecurity and anxiety within the asylum process as they had no choice and needed to survive (Pine et al. 2005). There are two main ways in which unaccompanied minors may be particularly vulnerable: First is in their external world where they can be at risk of exploitation or negative influence. Second is in their internal world where they are at risk of being overwhelmed by anxiety and by loss of culture. This describes the disorientation and distress that people feel when they are placed in unfamiliar surroundings (Refugee Project, 2000).

While foster families are sought as the best interim solution for unaccompanied and separated refugee children, girls are at particular risk of being abused sexually, trafficked, or exploited as domestic workers or child labor. Another issue is the level of support by foster parents or discrimination by foster siblings, which also plays a vital role in the well-being of the child. As girls are kept at home more often than boys, a foster home has a huge impact on their lives (Egeland, 2007). Some children prefer to preserve their sibling relationship rather than being split into different foster families, thus remaining together as a child headed household. This often puts a girl child into the position of having to take on parental responsibilities for her siblings as she tries to earn a living. As a result, such a situation renders girls to cut off access to recreational activities and decision-making opportunities.

For all refugees, and certainly for unaccompanied children, migration does not only involve uprooting but multiple losses. It involves loss of home, parents and siblings, friends, social networks, familiar environment, school, belongings, culture, social status, way of living, usual patterns of family life, customs and habits, future perspectives, and so on. It has also been observed that, the relocation and disruption of the social and cultural milieu may also result in loss of self-identification, social isolation, and loss of sense of security and well-being (Boothby, 1991). Davies, (2000), uses the term “cultural bereavement” to describe these losses, identifying this as a condition that might affect physical and mental health and can lead to severe sadness and regrets. This is the case especially in a situation where the immediate needs including food are compromised. Lack of adequate food and nutrition is one of the most important

humanitarian concerns which have exposed displaced unaccompanied children to serious risks such as being bitten by snakes as they try to find food (Pejic, 2001).

The women's commission (2008) noted that the unaccompanied teenagers suffer in so many ways as they try to earn a living. Due to frustration, these children develop rebellious behavior such that they are refusing to follow the instructions given to them by authority figures. Some go out of the camp against the will of camp authorities and they are usually disrespectful and stubborn. Others steal in order to get money for a drink, food or other reasons (women's refugee commission, 2008). The desire to survive, has made these children to be manipulative and sometimes they lie in order to get what they need, for example lying to the camp officials so that they can receive an extra set of non-food items and sell them for a profit to help them survive. Sometimes as hunger becomes unbearable, the unaccompanied children engage in foraging for whatever foodstuffs can be collected in the wild - including some which may prove to be poisonous (Phillips, 2002).

2.4 Coping mechanisms in their quest for food

Although many refugee children and young people may bear a high level of personal costs and vulnerabilities due to experiences of exile, it must also be recognized that these young people consequently have been able to build resilience that has enabled them to cope with their situations (Stein, 2005). Unaccompanied children usually show enormous strength in coping with situations of crisis. Some of the skills they develop have helped them survive armed combat, extreme poverty and deprivation. Some of the coping mechanisms they employ are highly constructive, while others are more destructive. Each, however, serves a purpose in getting them through a process of recovery. When relationships with caregivers are disrupted or become unhealthy, children may seek to cope by seeking connections and relationships elsewhere.

Research on unaccompanied children indicates that homeless and separated children develop their own social networks to provide the emotional and instrumental support they need to survive (Garbarino J. et al, 1992). These new coping methods however, may clash with traditional views of children in the affected society. As a result, these

children are often seen as urban blight, rather than rights-holders trying to cope with social and economic pressures as they lack family support.

Sexual exploitation, sadly, is one of the most frequent means for refugees to survive in a protracted situation by means of exploitative sexual relationships, either by commercial prostitution or through forms of concubinage in which a woman or girl receives goods and gifts from a regular sexual partner. As Davey explains in the case of Kenya; the poor food basket provision by WFP is undoubtedly having an effect on the necessity of refugees to use other resources to acquire food and some degree of balanced diet. The diminished food basket is, at present, one of the key factors putting teenage girls at high risk of sexual exploitation and gender abuse (Davey, 2002). While there is relatively little evidence on this matter, there are some indications that young refugee males might also be the victims of sexually exploitative relationships though mostly is considered to be a female strategy. Dick, (2002), further, points out in her case study of Ghana that sexual exploitation is often self-reinforcing. “Refugee girls and women are particularly susceptible to dependency on relationships with men as a way to sustain them financially and to access luxury items that they value. As a result, teen pregnancies are common in the camps, giving many young women the added burden of providing for a child, thus perpetuating the need to be dependent on a boyfriend.”

Exploitative employment, another way for coping with long-term refugee’s problems to make ends meet is to work for minimal rewards, whether for members of the local population, for more prosperous refugees, or for aid organizations. In some situations, refugee girls may be sent to work as domestic laborers in other households, a situation that evidently increases the risks that they will be subjected to sexual exploitation and abuse (Kaiser, 2000). While little data are available on the income earned by refugees, it is evident that a large scale refugee presence in a situation where there is little income-earning opportunity has the effect of driving down wages. According to one Guinean businessman, refugees were employed at 1.500 francs a day in 1999 which now has dropped to 500 francs a day. While the purchasing power of the currency has declined significantly during the same period (Kaiser, 2000). In Northern Uganda, Sudanese refugees have little option but to engage in Lejaleja (an exploitative form of piecework). Payment is usually very small and can be made in kind or cash.

Refugees sometimes use different techniques in order to maximize the assistance they receive. These include: Recycling, in this situation, refugees leave the camp and when they return they re-register for assistance again. Sometimes they split households into smaller groups so as to qualify for more additional rations. In some cases, they even obstruct the re-registration exercises that might lead to a reduction of relief entitlements. Some even keep their children deliberately undernourished so that they qualify for special feeding programs. While others engage in ration card fraud and sales. The humanitarian personnel in Africa's longstanding refugee camps often complain that they spend much of their time trying to prevent beneficiaries from cheating system (Kaiser, 2000).

However, the UNICEF report found that the psychological impact of daily frustrations, hunger and lack of employment for unaccompanied refugees can sometimes lead to negative coping mechanisms such as theft, drinking, smoking marijuana and prostitution among the unaccompanied teenagers. Increases in insecurity and rape were consistently reported in all locations (Weine, et al 1997). The involvement of marginalized groups such as the unaccompanied refugee children in criminal activities like stealing and prostitution reveals their lack of alternative ways to secure their basic needs and protections (Mena, 1987).

Mobility is also a well-established means of coping with food insecurity in Africa's refugee camps where people's ability to survive in harsh circumstances is predicated on the assumption of regular movement (Horst, 2002). This may involve leaving a camp and moving to a town to look for piece work an act which is often illegal, it does not only separate family members, but it often exposes refugees to new forms of exploitation and insecurity especially the children. It might also entail moving to a refugee camp in another country; Burundian refugees are known to move from Tanzania to Uganda, for example, because the conditions of life and the policies of the host government are thought to be more favorable in the latter than the former. In addition, it can mean that refugees try to move on from their country of first asylum to other parts of the world a decision which is increasingly likely to put them into the hands of unscrupulous human smugglers and traffickers (ibid).

Finally, there is considerable evidence to suggest that the poor quality of life in many of Africa's protracted refugee situations has led a growing number of exiles to regard resettlement as the only way out of their difficult situation. In fact, as Horst (2002) explains, Somali refugees in Kenya have a word (buufis) to describe this syndrome, which essentially means 'extreme hope for resettlement'. With the development of this syndrome, resettlement has become an increasingly competitive process, a source of tension within and between refugee communities, and it is a serious source of corrupt behaviors.

2.5 Theoretical framework and coping theories

This study is grounded in three complementary theoretical frameworks, namely, Resilience and young people leaving care, Transactional Model of stress and coping theories and Transaction Analysis Theory. However, Social Exchange Theory and Empowerment Theory were also considered to guide the study. These theories critically examine ways in which coping results try to overcome a challenge.

2.5.1 Resilience and young people leaving care: Overcoming the odds Theory.

In this paper, resilience will be defined as the quality that enables some young people to try to find fulfillment in their lives despite their disadvantaged backgrounds, the problems or adversity they may have undergone or the pressures they may experience. Resilience is about overcoming the odds, coping and recovery. But it is only relative to different risk experiences and relative resistance as distinct from invulnerability and is likely to develop over time (Rutter, 1999; Schofield, 2001).

Stein (2005), notices that the reasons why some young people cope better than others is complex and there may well be innate and linked personal attributes we do not understand. Children find themselves in challenging situation because of different reasons some are rejected by their parents, others due to poverty and others due to war which makes them refugees. This situation provides them opportunities to develop both problems solving abilities and coping skills (Blackburn, 2002).

For the majority of young people today their journey to adulthood does not take the same path. The life-course choices, from which adult rights and responsibilities flow, are mediated by the impact of their socio-economic background, ethnicity, gender and any disability they may have. The journey to adulthood for many young people is shorter, steeper and often more hazardous (Jigna M. Dharod, 2010). And yet, against many odds, some of these young people have succeeded in that they have found fulfillment in their careers and personal lives.

Theoretical frameworks guiding the development of resilience research have included: The three-level (community, family and child) 'protective' and 'risk' factor model; ecological perspectives identifying the influence of different contexts (culture, neighborhood and family) varying in proximity to the individual; and the structural organizational perspective, which views individual choice and self-organization as critical as other factors to the development of competence over time (Luthar et al, 2000).

2.5.2 The transactional Model of Stress and Coping

Looking at the fact that refugees are in a very stressful situation, this study is guided by stress coping theories representing distinct approaches to the field of stress studies. Lazarus states that transactional Model of Stress and Coping is a framework for evaluating the processes of coping with stressful events (Lazarus, 1993). Stressful experiences are construed as person-environment transactions. These transactions depend on the impact of the external stressor. This is mediated by firstly the person's appraisal of the stressor and secondly on the social and cultural resources at his or her disposal (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). When faced with a stressor, a person evaluates the potential threat (primary appraisal). Primary appraisal is a person's judgment about the significance of an event as stressful, positive, controllable, challenging or irrelevant. Facing a stressor, the second appraisal follows, which is an assessment of people's coping resources and options (Lazarus and Folkman, 1984). Secondary appraisals address what one can do about the situation. Actual coping efforts aimed at regulation of the problem give rise to outcomes of the coping process. In most approaches, stress designates bodily processes created by circumstances that place physical or

psychological demands on an individual (Selye, 1976). Lazarus' theory believes that these appraisals are determined by a number of personal and situational factors.

Most approaches in coping research follow Folkman and Lazarus (1980), who define coping as 'the cognitive and behavioral efforts made to master, tolerate, or reduce external and internal demands and conflicts among them.' They can attempt to change the person–environment realities behind negative emotions or stress (problem-focused coping). They can also relate to internal elements and try to reduce the negative emotional state, or change the appraisal of the demanding situation (emotion-focused coping). Other theories are resource theories of stress; these are not primarily concerned with factors that create stress, but with resources that preserve well being in the face of stressful encounters. Several social and personal constructs have been proposed, such as (social support) (Schwarzer and Leppin, 1991).

The approaches on critical life events state that stress occurs whenever individuals are forced to readjust themselves to situational circumstances (Holmes and Rahe, 1967). Lazarus and co-workers define four coping modes:

(a) Persons who score high on vigilance and low on cognitive avoidance are called sensitizers. These persons are primarily concerned with reducing uncertainty by directing their attention towards stress- relevant information.

(b) Individuals with the opposite pattern are designated as repressers. These persons minimize the experience of arousal by avoiding aversive information.

(c) Non defensives have low scores on both dimensions. These persons are supposed to flexibly adapt to the demands of a stressful encounter. Instead of frequently employing vigilant or avoidant coping strategies, they prefer to act instrumentally in most situations.

(d) Individuals who exhibit high scores on both dimensions are called high anxious. In employing vigilant as well as avoidant coping strategies, these persons try to reduce both

the subjective uncertainty and the emotional arousal induced by stressful encounters (Krohne, 1996).

2.5.3 The transaction Analysis theory

Transaction analysis theory by Eric Bern is grounded on the assumption that we make current decisions based on past premises that were at one time appropriate to our survival needs but that may no longer be valid. It emphasizes the cognitive, rational and behaviour aspects of the therapeutic process. More especially, it stresses the capacity of the person to change decisions and is oriented towards increasing awareness with the goal of enabling people to make new decisions (Dusay, 1989). The transaction analysis theory believes that humans need to receive both physical and psychological support. There is ample evidence that lack of physical contact can impair children growth and development and in extreme cases can lead to death.

The basic goal of transactional analysis is to help clients make new decisions about their current situation and the direction of their lives. Individuals learn alternatives to sterile and deterministic ways of living. The practice of Transaction Analysis is ideally suited to groups. Berne (1966) believes that group therapy yields information about one's personal plan for life that would take much more time to obtain through individual therapy. In a group, people are able to observe others changing, giving them models and increasing their own options. Thus, since the unaccompanied refugee children live in a multinational society, they are able to copy from one another or encourage each other on different ways of coping or dealing with life challenges such as lack of food.

The strength of Transactional Analysis is that its concepts are congruent with a gender-sensitive approach to group work. When women and men enter a group, they are often unaware of the role that gender plays in their lives. Furthermore, not all practitioners are aware of the detrimental effects of gender socialization when working with individuals in a group. A Transaction Analysis therapist is in a good position to assist members in exploring how they are affected today by the messages they have incorporated regarding what it means to be a woman or a man, boy or a girl in this society (Lusterman, & Nutt, 1997).

2.5.4 The Social Exchange theory

Early Social Exchange Theory applications in family science arose out of the work of Homans, (1961) a sociologist who focused on the rational assessment of self-interest in human social relationships. This theory believes that society has social classes and that ultimately the lower the class the higher the need to depend on the upper class. The theory's fundamental principle is that humans in social situations choose behaviors that maximize their likelihood of meeting self interests in those situations (Sprecher, S. 1988).

Social Exchange Theory follows three stages: Firstly, it operates on the assumption that individuals are generally rational and engage in calculations of costs and benefits in social exchanges. Secondly, the theory builds on the assumption that those engaged in interactions are rationally seeking to maximize the profits or benefits to be gained from those situations especially in terms of meeting basic individual needs. And thirdly, this theory believes that processes that produce payoffs for individuals lead to patterning of social interactions. Individuals may seek relationships and interactions that promote their needs but are also the recipients of behaviors from others that are motivated by their desires to meet their own needs (Homans, 1961).

Because of the competitive nature of social systems, exchange processes lead to differentiation of power and privilege in social groups. Females for example, may be exposed to more daily strains and constraints in broadening their social resources, and they may experience more distress than males (Blau, 1964). It is in this respect that, in a stressful situation, the disadvantaged individuals uses what they have to come out of such a situation. Thus, gaining their immediate need regardless of whether the cost is regrettable or not. This is however, the case in this study where the unaccompanied refugee girls offer sex to older men in the settlement or nearby villages, in the exchange of earning a living regardless of the danger it may put them in.

2.5.5 The Empowerment theory

Due to the poverty levels among the unaccompanied refugee children, and after understanding their vulnerability caused by lack of adequate support from the UNHCR, the empowerment theory was used to guide the study. The Empowerment Theory believes that poverty and problems among the vulnerable group of the society such as women and children, are the consequences of oppression and exploitation (Wiley and Rappaport, 2000). The poor welfare and lack of access and control of resources have been noted to be the major cause of anxiety and depression among the poor people. Thus, there is a need to empower the women and legalize the power in children so that they can use it to navigate towards a resilience which is also valued by the community (UNDP, 2010). Ryff and Singer (2003) defines an empowerment as an increased self knowledge and self reliance, caring and group participation, through which people lacking an equal share of valued resources gain greater access to and control over these resources. Due to the lack of empowerment, poor people reported somatic complaints, uncertainty about their future, and some expressed suicidal thoughts as they felt powerless to face the life challenges. It is in this line, that the unaccompanied refugee teenagers need some skills to help them secure their future by becoming self-reliant and stop relying on humanitarian aid.

According to Tones and Green, (2004: 3) Empowerment does not just happen; there is a reciprocal relationship between individuals and their environment. Not only must individuals be “strengthened” in some way, but their socio- economic, physical and cultural environments must be conducive to their making empowered choices. When referring to internal locus of control, it describes a tendency to believe that one is in charge of one’s life. On the other side, the external locus of control describes the feeling of being general powerless. The person feels controlled by chance, luck, fate, or by powerful others (ibid). The significance of this theory however, is its strong stance that the solution to poverty and vulnerability, lies in empowering the affected individuals, in order to reduce on their level of dependency on others.

Table1. Summary of theories explaining Coping

Theories	Description
Resilience and young people leaving care Theory.	This theory critically examines the quality that enables some children to find fulfillment in their lives despite their disadvantaged backgrounds, the problems or adversity they may have undergone or the pressures they may experience (Mike Stein, 2005).
The Transactional Model of Stress and Coping theory.	This theory explains coping as the cognitive and behavioral efforts made to master, tolerate, or reduce external and internal demands and conflicts among them. It emphasizes on three major coping strategies: a) Problem-focused coping where one faces the challenge, b) Emotion-focused coping, where one avoids the challenge and c) Social support coping where one depends on the significant others (Folkman and Lazarus, 1980).
The Transaction Analysis theory.	Transactional analysis theory believe that we make current decisions based on past premises that were at one time appropriate to our survival needs but that may no longer be valid. It stresses the capacity of the person to make new decisions about their current situation and the direction of their lives and its practice is ideally suited to groups (Berne, 1966).
The Social Exchange Theory.	Exchange theory believes that society has social classes and that ultimately the lower class depends on the upper class. It supports the fact that in a stressful situation, the disadvantaged individuals might wish to use their abilities to come out of such a situation (Homans, 1961).

Theories	Description
The Empowerment Theory	This theory believes that poverty and problems among the vulnerable group of people are the consequences of oppression and exploitation. It suggests that the only way these problems can be reduced is by empowering them. The theory's fundamental principle is that humans in social situations choose behaviors that maximize their likelihood to meet self interests in those situations. (Wiley, A. and Rappaport, J., 2000).

Summary

The literature reviewed in this chapter, has revealed that no continent is immune to the problem of mass displacement of refugees, either within or across state borders. Across the globe people are always in motion running away from war zones, escaping injustices and persecution or seeking better life opportunities for themselves and their children. More than half for any refugee population consists of children and a significant number of it is unaccompanied. In almost all armed conflicts, mass population displacements, natural disasters and other crises, a number of children become separated from their families or from other adults responsible for them. This necessitates the need to give them extra attention as they are more vulnerable to hunger than other children. However, the problem of not accessing nutrition by refugee children is not unique to African countries as the literature shows that 80% of world refugees are hosted by developing countries.

Refugees in Africa are settled in camps and settlements. Government policy forbade them to go out of the designated areas thus they depend entirely on the United Nation High Commission for Refugees and other humanitarian organizations. This has made refugee's life more difficult as they are less exposed to piece work opportunities from the locals. Refugees are given unbalanced and inadequate monotony food rations which can only reach half of the expected days. Unaccompanied refugee children suffer psychosocial trauma as they face several challenges, such as discrimination, and poor

health resulting in weakness and sickness. Thus these children use different coping mechanisms to try and find food such as social support, emotional-focused and problem-focused.

However, one must be cautious in making generalizations about protracted refugee situations in Africa, as each of these situations has its own history, dynamics and peculiarities. Nevertheless, on the basis of this study, it is possible to identify some features which are common to many of the continent's protracted refugee situations.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter describes the methodology used in the study. It explains the methods used in collecting and analyzing data, the research designs employed, the study population, the sample size and sampling techniques, as well as the instruments used.

According to Langdrige (2007), phenomenology is a discipline that "aims to focus on people's perceptions of the world in which they live in and what it means to them and the focus is on people's lived experience". Phenomenology is concerned with the meaning, and the way in which meaning arises in experience. It helps to discover reality in circumstances where little is known about a phenomenon. According to Lo Biondo-Wood et al., (1993), phenomenology provides a broader understanding and deeper insight into complex human experience and meanings ascribed by individuals living the experience. It is believed that only those who have experienced the phenomena are capable of communicating them to the outside world. Phenomenological tradition is divided in three major headings. These are the transcendental phenomenology, hermeneutic phenomenology and existential phenomenology.

Transcendental phenomenology as conceptualized by Edmund Husserl (1859-1938), is the original form of phenomenological philosophy. The basic premise of this school of phenomenology is its adherence to the notion that experience is to be transcended to discover reality. Transcendental phenomenology is built up round the idea of reduction that refers to suspending the personal prejudices and attempting to reach to the core or essence through a state of pure consciousness. This school believes in discovering and describing the 'lived world' (Creswell, J.W., 2007).

Hermeneutic phenomenology comes off the writings of Martin Heidegger (1889-1976). Based on the premises that reduction is impossible and acceptance of endless

interpretations, this school of phenomenology puts an effort to get beneath the subjective experience and find the genuine objective nature of the things as realized by an individuals and groups. It is an attempt to unveil the world as experienced by the subject through their life world stories (Creswell, J.W., 2007). Martin Heidegger (1889-1976) rejected the theory of knowledge known as epistemology, and adopted ontology. He broadened hermeneutics by studying the concept of being in the world rather than knowing the world (Lopez KA, Willis DG, 2004). Thus, hermeneutics moves beyond the description or core concepts of the experience and seeks to interpret the meanings that are embedded in everyday occurrences.

Existential-phenomenology is the implicitly accepted causal way of being seen as only one of many ways human beings can experience themselves and the world. More specifically, our being presents itself to awareness as a being-in-the-world in which the human individual and his or her surrounding environment are regarded as inextricably intertwined. The person and world are said to co-constitute one another. One has no meaning when regarded independently of the other. Existential phenomenologists all share the view that philosophy should not be conducted from a detached, objective, disinterested, disengaged standpoint (Warthel, 2000). The ground that keeps it distinct to other schools of phenomenology is its rejection of Husserl's belief of possibility of complete reduction and its firm belief on the attempt to concentrate upon re-achieving a direct and primitive contact with the world. For this, existential phenomenology stresses on the description of everyday experience as it is perceived by the consciousness of the individuals.

This study however, is grounded in hermeneutic phenomenology. Hermeneutic phenomenology is focused on the subjective experience of individuals and groups. It is an attempt to unveil the world as experienced by the subject through their life world stories. Cohen (2001), states that 'hermeneutic phenomenology' is concerned with understanding texts. In this approach the researcher aims to create rich and deep account of a phenomenon through intuition, while focusing on uncovering rather than accuracy, and amplification with avoidance of prior knowledge. In using this approach we accept the difficulty of bracketing (suspending the personal prejudices). To overcome this difficulty we acknowledge our implicit assumptions and attempt to make them explicit.

Hermeneutic phenomenology is concerned with the human experience as it is lived. The focus is toward illuminating details and seemingly trivial aspects within experience that may be taken for granted in our lives, with a goal of creating meaning and achieving a sense of understanding (Wilson & Hutchinson, 1991).

3.1 Research Design

This study used a qualitative research paradigm and it is grounded in hermeneutic phenomenology design. Based on the fact that qualitative research is exploratory in nature, the researcher wanted to explore and understand the phenomena under study in a real-life setting. Thus the reason for choosing such a design is to allow a thorough understanding of the gendered coping mechanisms used by the unaccompanied refugee boys and girls in their quest for food in Mayukwayukwa Refugee Settlement. Since the unaccompanied children live in a protracted refugee situation, the researcher was conscious of how time and place affected their social life (Layder, 1993). This call for the researcher to be a participant and observer in the study while at the same time take a critical look at issues surrounding gender.

3.2 Research Site

The study was conducted between the months of December 2013 and February 2014 in Mayukwayukwa refugee settlement. The settlement is situated 80 kilometres from Kaoma District in Western Province of Zambia. Mayukwayukwa refugee settlement happens to be the oldest refugee settlement in Africa. It was established in 1966, and it has remained as one of the main refugee settlements until today. It is a multinational settlement as it accommodates refugees of different nations such as Angola, Congo, Rwanda, Burundi, Sudan and Ethiopia.

3.2.1 Reasons for choosing Mayukwayukwa as a research Site

Mayukwayukwa refugee settlement was selected for two reasons. First, it is not only the oldest refugee settlement in Zambia, but it is also host to many refugees from several different countries, as such, the settlement allows for possibility of a wider sample.

Secondly, the settlement has no orphanage as compared to other settlements like Maheba refugee settlement, which has an orphanage.

3.2.2 Access to the Settlement

In order to get access to the settlement, the researcher first communicated with the Refugee Officer in Mayukwayukwa on the phone. Who advised that the researcher gets written permission from the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) main office in Lusaka. The researcher then got an introductory letter from UNZA, Department of Gender Studies which was taken to the UNHCR (see Appendix E). Based on the introductory letter, the UNHCR then issued an authorising letter to enter the settlement. Using an authorising letter, the researcher was well received by the refugee officer in Mayukwayukwa. The refugee officer even organised accommodation for the researcher. The officers from the Ministry of Community Development Mother and Child Health made available the children to the researcher as they are in charge of orphaned children.

3.3 Target Population

A population is defined as all members of any well defined class of people, events, or objects (Kombo & Tromp, 2006). In research, a target population is the population that the researcher is interested in studying. In this study the researcher was interested in the unaccompanied refugee children from the age of 12 to 17, foster parents, and some key informants from Non- Governmental Organizations responsible for the nutrition of unaccompanied refugee children in Mayukwayukwa refugee settlement.

3.4 Sample size

There are six thousand one hundred and one (6,101) children below the age of 18 years in the settlement. One hundred and thirty (130) of these are orphans and forty two (42) were unaccompanied at the time of the study. A total number of 51 participants were studied. This included 37 unaccompanied children, 23 boys and 14 girls. The reason for this sex imbalance was due to the fact that there were more unaccompanied boys in the

camp than girls. Ten (10) foster parents (5 males and 5 females) and 4 officials, 2 males and 2 females also participated in this study. The settlement is classified as private by UNHCR and the Ministry of Home Affairs; as such the researcher was not given total freedom to get access to the children personally. The researcher was instead asked by representative from Ministry of Community, Development Mother and Child Health to specify the children that would qualify to participate in the study.

3.5 Sampling techniques

Purposive sampling was used, to select participants. Merriam (1998: 61) notes that “purposeful sampling is based on the assumption that the investigator wants to discover, understand, and gain insight and therefore must select a sample from which most can be learned”. Using purposive sampling, it was possible for the researcher to carefully select reliable participants for the study. According to Kombo and Tromp (2006), in this method of purposive sampling, the researcher purposefully targets a group of people believed to be reliable to the study. The researcher created two pairs of clusters into which children would be part.

- a) Pair one: children aged 12 to 14 and 15 to 17.
- b) Pair two: Male and female children

In total, five focus group discussions (FGDs) were conducted. Four focus group discussions with the children and one focus group discussion with the foster parents were conducted. The procedure of the focus group discussion was as follows: two focus group discussions were composed of males and females based on class intervals of (12 to 14 and 15 to 17); this was to try and characterise hardships across the age. The other two focus group discussions were based on sex homogeneity, (one male and one female) this was to try and characterise how hardships featured across the sex groups. As earlier mentioned, one focus group discussion was with foster parents, and comprised of 5 males and 5 females. These FGDs were held in the open ground under a tree to create a natural setting for discussion and freedom for the participants as enclosures seemed uncomfortable to them. All the focus group discussions were held with not less than 6 and not more than 12 participants.

3.6 Data Collection

All efforts were made to obtain rich, deep and detailed description of the subject. In this study, in-depth interviews and interview schedule using focused group discussions were used to collect the primary data. Secondary data were collected through the published materials such as books and also by the use of the internet. By using the in-depth interviews and focus group discussions, it enabled the researcher to enter into the participants' perspectives and understand their lived- life experiences and the meanings they attached to these experiences. Interview schedule further allowed the researcher to probe deeper and deeper (Merriam, 1998; 2002).

Focus Group Discussion

A focus group is referred to as group interview designed to foster discussions among participants on a given issue (Morgan, 1997). Focus group discussions were important for this study as they provided the researcher with room to find out things that cannot be directly observed such as feelings, thoughts, intentions, and even those behaviours that took place earlier in time (Merriam, 2002; Morgan, 1997). They enabled the researcher to get insights into nutrition, hardships and coping strategies. Through FGDs, the researcher was able to learn what it was to be an unaccompanied child. Moreover, the FGDs facilitated open discussions from numerous points of views and as a result, the researcher was able to get a range of views. In the focus group discussion participants were able to stimulate each other to express their views.

Interviews

An interview is defined as a purposeful conversation, usually between two people but sometimes involving more, that is directed by an individual who wants to get information from the other (Morgan, 1997). Before the interviews started, the researcher introduced herself to the participants and thanked the participants for accepting to participate in the study. The researcher then explained the purpose of the study to the participants. This was followed by an explanation of the rights of the participants where they were informed that they were free to withdraw from the study any time they felt

like. It was also explained that anonymity was assured as no names were going to be made known in the report. The researcher finally, asked for the participants' verbal consent as Bogdan and Biklen (2007) noted that a researcher needs to get the consent of participants while conducting a study. Interview notes were taken and where the participant had agreed to have a recorded interview, the interviews were recorded. When it was noticed that the response was not clear, the question could be rephrased or explained.

During the in-depth interviews, open ended questions were asked to avoid limited answers from the participants. An interview guide was used to make sure that the intended questions are asked. Interviews were also conducted with the officials from the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) and government in order to obtain additional information concerning the nutrition of the unaccompanied refugee children.

No research assistants were employed. The researcher conducted the interviews alone. All interviews and focus groups were face-to-face and participants indicated willingness to participate. These interviews and focus group discussions with the participants lasted 50-80 minutes per session. After the end of each session, the researcher thanked the participants and wrote clear notes to ensure that links up the auditions with personal memoirs.

During the course of the interviews and focus group discussions, stumbling, such as "ums", "huuu", "'ooooh'", oops or "'wooh'" were not translated as the researcher was faithful to the word usage and sentence structure of the interviewees. On a number of occasions, some participants approached the researcher days after an Interview or a focus group discussion had transpired and requested to "talk", which the researcher always gladly accepted. Some of the richest conversations during the field work came out from the questions that the participants asked. Some of the questions were related to the nutrition rights of refugees. Despite having explained the aim of the study, the most common question that came out of every interview and focus group discussion was how will the information given be used to improve the food challenges in the settlement? In several instances, the researcher spent an average of 15-30 minutes answering and

discussing questions of interest raised by the participants. This was done based on the fact that phenomenological studies are self standard thus continue to collect data until saturation point is reached. Saturation refers to a point where no new information emerges from the ground. It is flexible and enables new issues to emerge that which the researcher may not have thought about previously (Glaser and Strauss, 1967).

3.7 Data Analysis

Data were analyzed using qualitative content analysis. Qualitative content analysis involves a process designed to condense raw data into categories or themes based on valid inference and interpretation. The study used induction as the basis for its analysis. Patton (2002) holds that the strategy of inductive analysis of qualitative data is to allow the important analysis dimensions to emerge from patterns in the cases under study without presupposing in advance what the important dimension would be. The constructs, themes, and patterns were identified from the interviews, to get a description of phenomenon that was being studied (Gall et al., 1996). The understanding of the phenomenon under study and outcomes emerging from the experience were noted. Interviews were recorded and transcribed before the analysis. The objective of the analysis of the interviews was to understand and explain the nutrition challenges of the unaccompanied children in the settlement from the narratives. Transcriptions and written texts of interviews were independently read and analyzed by the researcher.

Qualitative content analysis involved:

- a) Data preparation, since the data were transcribed directly into texts, the choice of the content was justified by what the researcher desires to know (Patton, 2002).
- b) Unit of analysis identification, the researcher was primarily looking for the expressions of an idea (Minichiello et al., 1990).
- c) Coding of all the Text, when sufficient consistency had been achieved, the coding rules were applied to the entire corpus of text. During the coding process, the researcher checked the coding repeatedly, to prevent “drifting into an idiosyncratic sense of what the codes meant” (Schilling, 2006).
- d) Recording insights and reflections on the data across the codes.
- e) Sorting through the data to identify similar phrases, patterns, themes, subthemes sequences and important features.

- f) Looking for commonalities and differences among the data and extracting them for further consideration and analysis.
- g) Gradually deciding on a small group or generalizations that hold true for the data.
- h) Examining these generalizations in the light of existing knowledge.
- i) Draw Conclusions from the Coded Data, this step involves making sense of the themes or categories identified, and their properties. At this stage, the researcher makes inferences and presents reconstructions of meanings derived from the data. Researcher's activities may involve exploring the properties and dimensions of categories, identifying relationships between categories, uncovering patterns, and testing categories against the full range of data (Bradley, 1993). This is a critical step in the analysis process, and its success relies almost wholly on the researcher's reasoning abilities.

Qualitative content analysis does not produce counts and statistical significance; instead, it uncovers patterns, themes, and categories important to a social reality. Presenting research findings from qualitative content analysis is challenging. Depending on what type of data, the researcher may want to incorporate other options for data display, including matrices, graphs, charts, and conceptual networks (Miles & Huberman, 1994). When presenting qualitative content data analysis results, the researcher strives for a balance between description and interpretation. Description gives readers background and context and thus needs to be rich and thick (Denzin, 1989). Qualitative interpretation represents the researcher's personal and theoretical understanding of the phenomenon under study. The combination of the two, makes the report an interesting and readable to allow an easy understanding of the reader (Patton, 2002).

3.8 Ethical Consideration

Locke and Silverman (2000) argue that it is necessary that researchers obtain approval to work with human subjects prior to starting a research involving human subjects. The permission to conduct the research was sought from the relevant authorities before the beginning of the study. The researcher explained the purpose and the aim of the study to the participants before the commencement of the study. An open and honest approach was maintained to ensure that the participants are protected. As a way of protecting the

participant's right to privacy, the researcher promised to keep confidential the information released on an individual participant. This includes names, address, or any other form of identification.

3.9 Study limitations

Like any other studies, this study had some notable limitations. The following are the limitations that the researcher encountered during the study.

Firstly, there was fear of security and suspicions by the refugees. Some children were not willing to be interviewed giving the reason that they have been over studied and that people come to ask them about their problems but do nothing for them thereafter.

The second limitation was the language problem. Inability to speak Portuguese, Mbundu, Lingala, Kikasai and Silozi was a limiting factor in recruiting participants to the study. However, the researcher was able to converse with refugees in English, French, and Nyanja. This became inevitable in a multilingual set up. The children also tried to speak to the researcher in the languages they could both speak.

The third limitation was the absenteeism of children as some of them went outside the camp in search of some piece work and came back quite late in the night. The contributing factor to their coming late in the night was associated with the poor road network from Kaoma to Mayukwayukwa as the road was in an extremely bad state during the rainy season even at the time of the research.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS

4.0 Introduction

In this chapter, the researcher presents the research findings in accordance with the research questions. The researcher tries as much as possible to present an understanding with openness in order to provide answers to the research questions. The understanding, from this perspective is supported by Blaikie (2010), who supports the use of verbatim which allows the researcher to generate a technical account which is a creation from the data which has a scientific touch.

A range of themes emerged. In presenting the findings, the researcher takes a naturalistic point of view. As a model of qualitative research, naturalism focuses on the factual characteristics of the object under study (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). The goal is to describe the food security and the coping mechanisms of the unaccompanied refugee boys and girls in Mayukwayukwa based on what the researcher heard and observed. The researcher uses hermeneutic phenomenology to transform the experience by contextualising it. This is the original description of phenomena as lived by the social actors and can be called as original meaning. Although no description is free of interpretation, hermeneutic phenomenology entails a kind of interpretation that is low to moderate inference.

Before answering the research questions, the researcher describes the demographic profile of the sample studied. This helps to appreciate associations and correlations when needed (Balikie, 1997; 2000).

4.1 Demographic profile of the respondents

All the participants were refugees residing in Mayukwayukwa refugee settlement. Some few unaccompanied children especially Angolans were born and raised up in Mayukwayukwa and lived all their lives in the settlement while others especially

Congolese who are the majority came in Zambia either alone or with some other family members. All the unaccompanied refugee children who participated were between 12 and 17 years. There were more male children (23) than females (14). And twenty four (24) children lived alone, while 13 were fostered. Twenty (20) children could have been in upper primary school while seventeen (17) children could have been in secondary school, but only 15 were able to attend school. Twenty (29) nine of the children started off at least with a parent from their home country but unfortunately died on the way. Eight (8) started off alone from their home country.

Table 3: Shows the Demographic Features of the Participants between 12 and 17 years.

Unaccompanied children	Number	Sex	
		M	F
Came with a guardian	29	18	11
Came alone	8	5	3
Lived alone	24	15	9
Fostered	13	5	8

Source: Field work, 2014

It was noted that almost every child that was interviewed desired to go to school. However, due to several challenges, the majority of children did not manage. Some children had no evidence to prove that they were once in school in their home countries as they left their certificates. Others were too sick and weak to concentrate on school. Others spent their time looking for piece work and they could not find time for school.

For those in high school, 35 km distance to Mangango secondary school which is the nearest school was a barrier. However, as the table below shows, some few children managed to go to school.

Table 4: Shows Education Features of the Participants

Education							
Children ready to be in school	No	Sex		Those in school	No	Sex	
		M	F			M	F
Primary	20	12	8	Primary	8	6	2
Secondary	17	11	6	Secondary	7	5	2

Source: Field work, 2014

4.2 Thematic Presentation of Findings

It should be noted that the views of the respondents were not contradictory in most instances. Views of the unaccompanied children and those of the foster parents were in line. The key informants interviewed also complemented what the unaccompanied children said in most cases. However where the children felt ignored and uncared for by the people in charge, the responsible offices gave contradictive views claiming to have tried all they could to address the food challenges faced by the children. On the other hand, both the unaccompanied children and foster parents strongly stressed that very little was done by the UNHCR and the government to address food challenges in the settlement.

The results are thematically presented and both the face-to-face interviews and the focus group discussions were combined to come up with the themes. The thematic discussions are structured around the research questions as follows:

- a) What is the state of food security among refugees in Mayukwayukwa Refugee settlement?

- b) What type of assistance do the unaccompanied refugee boys and girls receive in terms of food?
- c) What are the challenges faced by the unaccompanied refugee boys and girls in their quest for food?
- d) What are the gendered coping mechanisms employed by the unaccompanied refugee boys and girls in their quest for food?

4.3 The state of food security among unaccompanied children in Mayukwayukwa.

The food security in Mayukwayukwa refugee settlement is that of starvation and where food was available it was not balanced. On average a child eats one meal a day as three meals were unlikely. Vitamins and proteins were also least available. This is compounded by many factors such as the withdrawal of the World Food Program (WFP) from providing food stuffs in the settlement since 2012. This has caused the scarcity of food as very few people are now receiving food rations. The other factor is the poor yield experienced by those who practice subsistence farming. The soil is infertile and refugees are very poor to afford fertilizer and good seeds. Thus, perpetuating food insecurity in the settlement. The findings indicate that all the boys and girls had experienced household food insecurity in the month prior to the study and they explained that the problem was perennial. The Unaccompanied children used terms like bad, poor, inadequate and unbalanced to describe the state of food security in the settlement. Three subthemes were used to typify the state of food insecurity in the settlement these are; inadequate food, unbalance diet and no food.

4.3.1 Inadequate food

Inadequate food was the most prevalent form of food insecurity that was described. It was repeatedly mentioned by the refugees that the food ration given for 30 days was too little to sustain someone even for 10 days. This means that the rest of the days in a month a child had to go through sufferings to find food on his or her own. These sufferings are associated with anxiety disorders which may not be observed by camp authorities. The children attribute all the challenges they encountered in the camp to the

shortage of food. When the refugees were asked about their state of food security, they had so much to say and were illustrated by the following statements:

A 16 year refugee boy said;

“I and my brother appreciate the food given, even though it is not enough, and not what we like. But it is just too little and it is like they are indirectly telling you how we should eat, what we should eat and when we should eat....”

A 15 year old fostered Angolan boy also remarked about food insecurity and said:

“My foster father sells whatever we get including my portion and I have no say over it. He is not the only one in this mess because a lot of my fostered friends complain the same. They sell our food to buy what they need because they have no other source of income because what they plant doesn’t grow well they say....It is very hard for the new comers who are still settling, just as it is for us who have no parents in this camp, because we are just forced to starve.....”

A 16 year old boy explained that.....

“In our household, the most eaten food is nshima with beans. But even these two items are not easily found. They run out and you will find that my friends and I eat one meal per day. You will find that a lot of children in this camp are doing a lot of bad things just to find food... May be child rights do not apply to refugee children....”

A 13 year old girl further said.....

“Relish is very difficult to find here ...we struggle to find relish unless one goes to Kaoma and only those with money can afford to travel to Kaoma. This means that the majority of the poor people including children like us will just eat boiled maize grains or simply drink maize

porridge. But you see a boy or even a girl of my age cannot manage this life....”

The above narration shows that there is a gender issue in the way these children worry about food. While the boys are worried about food in general, this girl is concerned with relish which is a gender role.

A 15 year old Congolese girl remarked...

“The food they give us it’s too little and it doesn’t help us at all, let me just say that food is a big challenge in this camp. When you can stay here and see how shortages occur during food distribution you can even cry...we are told that the UNHCR has no money to feed us...now if they can’t feed us and we are not allowed to go out of the camp... How can one survive? The majority of us we eat once or never....Few people eat twice I don’t know if there are those who eat three times in this camp.”

A refugee officer admitted that food in the camp was scarce and said...

“Food in this camp.... I will admit that it is a challenge at the moment. The biggest problem is that the rations are not adequate and run out before the next is given to them...”

4.3.2 Unbalanced Diet

The narrations from the unaccompanied refugee boys and girls show dissatisfaction on the food provided. Apart from it being inadequate, children complained that the food was also unbalanced. According to the refugees, some food stuffs are not found in the settlement and that what is available is very expensive. The food variety is limited especially among the poor persons. The only food eaten by the majority is beans and maize. Some children confirmed not to have eaten certain foods from the time they left their home countries. These are some of the descriptions as illustrated by the participants:

A 16 year old Congolese boy narrated...

“You know, in this camp food is just nshima with beans but beans is usually in short supply, so we can just talk of maize grain or porridge with salt. I can lie if I say that I have ever eaten meat since I left Congo in 2010.”

A 15 year old girl said...

“I would say that food in most of the camps is not very good but here it is too much.... Relish is difficult to get. The only relish for the poor people in this camp is beans. Things like fish and meat you cannot find.”

A 17 year old girl had this to say...

“It’s just hard sometimes even if you have money you can fail to find certain things especially fruits, some vegetable, potatoes or meatare not found. We only eat sometimes boiled maize grains, nshima with beans or porridge with salt. Now like me who have stomach ulcers I am in trouble because are not allowed to eat both nshima and beans. Here they just don’t care about us because a lot of vitamins are not there in maize and beans. And that is why you find that some of us are always sick.”

A foster parent commented that...

“There is no variety of food in this camp for instance the majority of us we only eat nshima and beans. Eating nshima is not a problem but the problem is relish. You have nothing to change, vegetables are limited and there is no variety of relish to alternate for instance no fish, meat or sausages. Sometimes even the cooking oil finishes before everyone gets so you can just imagine....This is really had especially for the children who are still growing.”

Just like this 17 year old boy had this to say....

“All the orphans receive food. But the problem we have is that the food they give us is not enough, and is not good sometimes. Can you imagine the UNHCR people give us beans which are rotten now how can you eat such beans? If it’s not finished then it is rotten I can simply say that we don’t receive relish. So a bit of maize that they give us, you have to sell some potion to buy relish. Then when it finishes you only remain with salt since cooking oil is also mostly in short supply. It’s really hard for us here and this food is not balanced at least from what I was taught about a balanced diet....”

Due to unbalanced diet, unaccompanied children experienced health challenges. Most of boys and girls who were interviewed complained of being ever sick, weak and fatigue. This however, can be associated with some micronutrients deficiencies in the food provided as one can see from the narrations of the children. Even if a person consumes enough calories, this does not guarantee adequate intake of essential micronutrients, vitamins, minerals and trace elements. Micronutrient malnutrition is often called “hidden hunger” as it is only show through the symptoms of deficiency in a given vitamin or nutrient (Marchand E., 2005).

During the interviews with teenage girls, the majority of them complained to have a problem with inconsistency or lack of menstruation. When children went to the clinic, they were told to be eating foods rich in iron and to stop worrying. These advices were received as being a mockery by the girls. As for the boys, the major complaint was that they were unable to play with other children as they often felt weak and sick.

According to the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees micronutrient deficiencies are widespread in camps due to unbalanced rations. This is especially worrisome among the children as it disturbs their growing process (UNHCR, 2006). For example, lack of B vitamins is a serious problem in camps in Nepal and Bangladesh.

4.3.3 No food

The refugee boys and girls rejected the perception that the donated food is enough looking at the fact that many are the times that they starve. There are a number of instances when boys and girls had literally no food or had one kind of food item that they are not accustomed to. They considered this as no food. The children stressed that they were moments when they got nothing from UNHCR for a good five months. And most of the times when they received, it ran out so fast that they remained with nothing. Some children felt that the food was rationed to make sure that they ate once every other day lest they starve to death. Although some of the refugee boys and girls reported that the UNHCR and government were doing a good job to help them, they bitterly complained about persisting food shortages and starvation.

For instance this 17 year old boy explained that....

“There is a time we spent five months without receiving anything.... you can imagine what it means to be hungry and you have no hope at all of where you can find food. And sometimes you will be given food which means no food at the same time. Imagine receiving maize grains when you have no money to grinded it. How can you eat it?”

A15 year old girl said...

“You know sometimes I fail to understand how they calculate what they give us. To be honest with you, hunger pains. I know you might have never experienced it to the extent that we do, but staying in a place where food is a challenge like here is very difficult. The rations they give us are very little that it only takes us for a week and the rest three weeks in a month we stay without food. This has really put us in a serious fix and most of the girls are being taken advantage of...”

A 14 year old boy narrates....

“Sometimes we are not given food when the month ends. I wonder why the UNHCR has stopped caring about refugee problems. The only answer they give us when we complain is that there is nothing they can do... madam (referring to the researcher) this answer sounds very bad I tell you, especially when it comes from someone whom you consider to be your only hope...”

Complaints of no food arose when the refugee boys and girls could not have anything to eat because of the difficulties in food preparation, and its cultural inadequacies. Mayukwayukwa refugees received beans and maize more regularly than other products they are supposed to get according to UNHCR guidelines. This in turn, created demand for money and fuel and process among refugee boys and girls for processing these items (Pottier, 1996). However, the major complaints in relation to other refugee camps, is about the relief food which is considered inappropriate. By inappropriate, the refugees meant that it did not take cultural preferences into consideration. A general perception among the refugees was that the needs and preferences of their home countries received less attention. Some of the participants reported as follows....

“Though we are refugees, we know that there is a difference between us and Zambians....Yes we are all Africans but of course we do not eat similar staple foods...us in Congo we eat mostly cassava nshima with fish and the only vegetable we eat is cassava leaves..... But here they give us maize grains; they don’t even mind how hard we find it to eat the food we are not used to.... “(Boy, 14).

“Us in Rwanda the only porridge we know is sorghum porridge but here they tell us to eat maize grains and drink maize porridge...and some food stuffs we used to eat back home are not found here like bananas. This simply means that the only food they want us to eat is maize nshima just because here in Zambia it is their food.... I wonder why they can’t give us food that we are able to eat at least like rice I know everyone in the world can eat rice” (Girl, 17)

4.4 The type of assistance received in terms of food

Due to continuous logistical challenges among the responsible food agencies, Mayukwayukwa just like any other camp especially in Africa is faced with serious food challenge. The resources available are only able to cater partially for the vulnerable groups of refugees such as orphans, the sick and the old. However, the food assistance in Mayukwayukwa is very limited. Boys and girls compared the current food basket to that in the past years and said that..." before food was enough and balanced compared to now". The majority of children stated that they only receive maize and beans, when in the past years they could receive close to 12 food items. To determine the food assistance that is given to unaccompanied boys and girls, the following two sub-themes were considered: a) The food items given and b) the amount given per month.

4.4.1 The food items given

A 17 year old boy narrated ...

"The Community Development gives food to the vulnerable people but it's like they don't have enough money because the food they give is too little and mostly there are shortages, for example, the last ones get sometimes one item. When the WFP was still in place, every new comer was getting food for two years and they could give enough food at least, than now. They could also give a variety of food to vulnerable people such as beans, mealie meal, Kapenta, soya pieces, sugar, salt and cooking oil at least you can see that this food was okay even for the patients. But now we are only given beans and maize throughout...."

A 14 year old girl said....

"We just receive four food items: maize grain, beans, cooking oil and salt. But only few people are given so it's not available even in the market. There is so much hunger in this camp.... Again some food is just

hard to manage imagine maize with rotten beans it's just something else.....”

A 13 year old boy also said...

“They only give four items, maize, beans, salt and cooking oil. The problem they give very small amount which does not sustain us for the whole month. At times, beans and cooking oil finish fast so you will find that someone just receive maize and salt. It's very hard to survive here like me for two months I find beans finished...”

A 16 year old girl complained...

“The only food we receive here is maize, beans, salt and cooking oil. But usually it's very little so that is why we still struggle even if we are on the food ration. The food is not good there are a lot of things that we have forgotten about eating in this camp. Its only God who keeps us otherwise we were all going to have malnutrition diseases since we eat once a day and also eat poor food....”

A 17 year old boy also had this to say...

“The food we get here is not very helpful. Beans are very little sometimes we don't even get beans because it has finished or we get rotten ones. Then they give us maize grains to have them grinded ourselves but they don't give us money to use, again they give us a bit of cooking oil and salt in short they give us four things but when you unlucky they only give you two; maize and salt.....Now these beans are so hard so it is not easy to find the firewood to cook it. So like me I just sell them to the locals...”

4.4.2 The amount given

Whereas some boys and girls complained about the quality of food given to them, the majority complained about the quantity of food given. It was observed from both the interviews and the focus group discussions that the amount of food provided is very little and cannot sustain someone for the given period. The boys and girls complained that budgeting the food they are given becomes a brain torture. This is the reason why these children still struggle to find food even when they are on food rations.

The following narrations explain the amount of food given to the boys and girls per month.

The Drop in Center Coordinator had this to say...

“At the moment, we are only able to cater for the vulnerable groups which are the orphans, the sick and the old. However, looking at what they are given, one would say that is not enough. They rely entirely on us and we are unable to support them adequately that’s just the challenge that we are facing. I really don’t want to be unfair to say that half kg beans can sustain a person for one month then I will be lying...”

Community Development assistant also added to say...

You know food is now a challenge in this camp. When you can stay here and see how these children cry for food you can really be touched. They receive very little I must admit and this is because there is no adequate funds given for food even what they receive is the initiative of the UNHCR and the Ministry of Community Development Mother and Child Health . Sometimes the Community Development will buy the maize and salt while the UNHCR will buy beans and oil it is just the matter of helping the vulnerable group of refugees otherwise the budget is very tight. So due to inability to buy enough food, children really receive very small amount per month.

A 15 year old girl said...

“The food that we receive is too little. For instance every vulnerable person is supposed to receive 13kg maize, half kg of beans, half tangy bottle of cooking oil (150 ml) and one tomato paste tin (100g) of salt. Already this is not enough per month but the fun thing is that sometimes you find that beans and cooking oil have finished so you only get maize and salt.”

A 13 year old boy explains...

“Sometimes they will only give you 10 kg maize and a tin of tomato paste salt and they will expect you to survive on that for the whole month. This sounds like a joke but that’s what we are given.... It is very hard to survive here... like me this food issue depresses me very much.”

A 16 year old girl lamented....

“Madam, (referring to the researcher) beans and cooking oil is just too little to call it a help...imagine like beans they give us half kg per month while cooking oil we receive half bottle of a tangy drink...to be honest with you that beans one can cook it once or twice so what happens in the remaining 28 days of the month? This is the reason you find that we still suffer in this camp please talk to the UNHCR people because us they don’t listen when we complain our voices are really insignificant.....”

A 17 year old boy had this to say...

“The food assistance we get here is not very helpful. Beans half kg, maize 13 kg, cooking oil half bottle of tangy drink (approximately 150 ml) and salt one tomato paste tin which is about (100 g) do you think this can sustain someone for 30 days? Now since we have no parents or even guardians what do they expect us to do? I tell you madam (referring to

the researcher) when hunger is out of control you can do anything. So we are not unruly like they call us we are just forced to do what we do.....”

4.5 The challenges

The life of the unaccompanied refugee children in Mayukwayukwa settlement is surrounded by numerous challenges and some are dependent on food while others are independent of it. The living standard is very challenging as children have no one to run to hence, nowhere to start the life from. They came in the camp alone and with nothing while others have lost parents while in the camp. This therefore has made it difficult to cope up with life challenges in Mayukwayukwa. The difficulties faced by the unaccompanied children could be categorized using the following sub-themes: Lack of parents, poverty and loneliness and bad foster parents. Below are the hardships in general describing the ways in which the children became loners and the meaning of being an orphan and have no food.

4.5.1 Lack of parents

There were numerous circumstances that made children become loners. Some lost their parents in their home country, others on their way while others lost their parents or guardians in the camp. Some of the parents were kidnapped while others just abandoned their children.

Death of parents

Death was frequently mentioned to be the cause of lack of parents and the descriptions below point to how death of parents created hardships.

A 17 year old Congolese boy lamented and said....

“I don’t have anything good to say about my life. My father died in 1997 during the war because he was a soldier. We were the two of us with my elder brother. In 2011 my mom and my brother were also killed by the

rebels and now I am alone, the way you see me here. I stay alone, and my life has lost the direction, I don't go to school, in short everything is just depressing and no one cares about my problems. When we reached here in Zambia I thought I could find rest but little did I know that even finding what to eat is going to be added to my problems....”

Separation from parents

A 15 year old Congolese girl narrated her ordeal and said...

“I was separated from the rest of my family last year and since then I don't know their where about if they are dead or alive. My life is just complicated. Look I am supposed to be in school but I don't go. I cry every time I think about life especially like now that food is very hard to find. I do remember how my mother used to force me to eat the food of my choice. I have been given a foster parent but I think all she does is to frustrate me more. She lost all her children and now every minute is to remind me that am not her child. Life is so hard for me madam (referring to the researcher) you just can't understand. The added problem like for us girls is that men usually want to take advantage of us in every chance they get because we are poor and with no parents to speak for us....It is very hard because as you try to look for food you cannot avoid finding yourself in the hands of these men...”

Kidnapping

A 14 year old Burundian girl whose parents were kidnapped cried and complained stating that...

“My life is just meaningless. My uncle who took care of me from childhood after the death of my parents in a civil war was kidnapped last year in Congo in 2012 and now his wife rejected me too. I live with my friend and madam (referring to the researcher) we suffer I hope you

... speak for us to these people (referring to the UNHCR officials). I don't go to school we just try to work for the people so that we can survive. I want to go to school but if I go my friend will be not happy working alone and meaning she won't be giving me to her things. It's very hard to live here in this camp it's just like it's not on earth there is no life....)

Abandonment

A 17 year old Angolan boy who was abandoned had this to say about his loss of parents...

“Madam, (referring to the researcher) life is terrible. Look, I used to stay with my aunt but when I was 10 years she got married to a Zambian in Kaoma and refused to go with me so I dropped out of school in grade 4 and started looking for life up to now. Now the problem I am not even considered anymore as a refugee they (the UNHCR officials) say the refugee status for the Angolan has ended. Now no parents, no education and no food.... I just suffer like any other orphan but me they say I am not a refugee...I think dying can be the best solution right now... “

4.5.2 Poverty and Loneliness

Poverty among the unaccompanied refugee children was noticed to be extremely high. Children worry about almost everything but from their narrations, the most disturbing need was lack of access to food. Some children stay alone or with a friend or with younger siblings without any guidance from adults. As a result, some children complained of being often weak and sick. Others complained of lack of sleep as they toss around in bed alone in the night thinking about their problems and wishing things were different. Children also complained of discrimination they face while trying to look for food. In other words the food challenge burden is too heavy for the children to handle.

Life alone

A 17 year old Congolese girl who lived alone expressed her grief and loneliness and said...

“Madam, (referring to the researcher) even for an adult it is very hard to stay alone. Look when you have a problem there is no one to tell, and when that problem finishes, you have no one to tell. You are in the house alone just thinking about your problems sometimes you can’t even sleep. When my mother died last year I even knew that I will suffer now the suffering I meant was the normal suffering but not in a refugee camp. In this place even the UNHCR is silent about refugee problems. School I don’t even think of it because I know that gone are the days I could wear the uniform and go to school. I really don’t know what to do in order for me to survive in this camp and when you complain to any adult refugee, they will just advise you to get married....God this was never my wish but how do I find food?”

A 15 year old Congolese girl lamented....

“I can’t even play like other children due to hunger...mostly I just want to be left alone. More over me is often sick and spend my time at the clinic. I have stomach ulcers and the food that they recommend me to eat I can’t afford it and the little they give us I fail to eat. Madam (referring to the researcher) you just can’t understand.....”

Living with friends

A 16 year old Congolese girl narrated her experiences with sorrow and said..

“In this camp no one cares about you they think you are big and you can cope with life just like any other refugee. I live with my friend who is also an orphan at least her she is in grade 8 so she goes to school here

in the camp but as for me, am supposed to go in grade 10 and there is no grade 10 here in the camp. So we really suffer and men sometimes want to take advantage of us in the name of helping us. If we were given enough food we could tolerate other needs but we need to eat so we have no option but to move about trying to find some piece works thus finding ourselves in more problems.... I mean only my fellow unaccompanied girl children can understand what I am saying....”

A 17 year old Burundian boy sobbed while describing his responsibility for the sister...

“Life here in Mayukwayukwa is very difficult especially if you have no parents. This is my fourth year here and I tell you it is hard. Imagine I have to look for food for the two of us my young sister and I... it's to sacrifice and do what I can because we have no one to go to no uncle, no aunt no one at all. The problem is that even when we complain to the people in charge no one hears us they will say we have done what we can afford the rest it is up to you. Now when they say the rest is up to us what are they expecting us to do? Just to seat and wait until we die or what? I mean there is no food and we are not allowed to go out of the camp where maybe the locals can help us as we work for them, I tell you even if you can't die of hunger in this camp depression can kill you...”

4.5.3 Foster Parents

Child fostering was seen as the best way to help children who are too small to stay alone or those who feel uncomfortable to stay alone especially girls, to be under some parental guidance. However, in some instances the fostered children felt that the fostering method was a burden to them. They described some foster parents as cruel and too harsh to provide parental protection and guidance. Girls especially, complained that if they are not mistreated by the foster parents then they are discriminated and abused in so many ways by the foster siblings. Bullying, refusing to share house chores and denial of food were some of the forms of maltreatment

fostered children faced. This therefore, makes some of the fostered children feel more helpless and frustrated.

A 17 year old fostered Rwandese girl narrated her story and remarked as follows...

“I live with foster parents but am telling you madam (referring to the researcher) it is not easy for me. Instead of understanding me they keep on reminding me that am a big girl that I should stop complaining and find myself a husband at times they even suggest for me. School I have stopped just like that even when I wished to reach somewhere with my education it really hurts....and on food, I have no say on what I get they use it in any way they wish and I cannot complain. What more next year when I will be off the food ration as I turn 18...I really don't know.”

Another teen a 14 year old Congolese girl said....

“In this place even food it's hard to find. I don't go to school I just cry every time I think about my life because I do remember how I used to live well. I have been given a foster parent but I think all she does is to frustrate me more. In short the life I lead here is undesirable to be honest with you. Many are the times that she beats me, denies me food and always is to insult me even when I have not done anything wrong. I can't even play with my friends....”

In a related manner, a 15 year old fostered Angolan boy narrated his story and said...

“I stay with a certain family but they don't love me. They deny me food and I do the house chores alone while their children just play. I have so many problems that make me feel like I can be better off dead. But the saddest thing is that even these offices here they can't help me they say Angolan are no more refugees. You know it pains when you have problems and you have no one to really understand you...”

A 13 year old boy had this to say...

“Living in this camp is just a nightmare. All you think about is today is gone but what will I eat tomorrow? My foster parent does nothing to help me... He says his children must eat first whenever the food is not enough...He uses the excuse that I am older than his children....”

4.6 Gendered Coping Behaviours

The refugee boys and girls in the camps were overwhelmed with food insecurity such that they developed diverse coping mechanisms that enabled them to try and find solutions and in some cases to get fulfilment in their lives despite their disadvantaged backgrounds. One of the coping mechanisms employed was problem-focused. This approach aimed at doing something to alter the source of the stress and it was predominated when these young people felt that something could be done to change the situation. The second coping mechanism is termed emotion- focused coping. This aimed at reducing or managing the emotional distress that is associated with or cued by the situation. It was predominated when the children felt that the stressor was something that must be endured. The third coping mechanism was social- support. This is where the children depended on the significant others. This was mainly used where the children felt that the solution to their situations could be found in friends, church mates or any other individuals.

There were no differences in problem focused coping, the only differences occurred in the areas of coping. However, individual differences influenced coping as there are stable coping "styles" that are typical of boys and girls, boys only and girls only that these children used as they encountered food insecurity. Emotion-focused were mostly used by children who are believed to have come from the cities in their home countries than those who came from the villages. Whereas social-support was mostly used by girls as compared to boys, it was noted that the children copied differently and gender roles were taken into consideration in refugee society. The motives for coping in a particular manner also were dissimilar among refugee boys and girls and this is because each child saw life and experienced life differently. However, the commonest motive for coping was the

desire to survive. In order to show what the children did to survive and the reason for choosing it, this was put in bold under three major coping themes.

4.6.1 Problem-focused coping

These coping strategies were related to activities aimed at overcoming food difficulties. Refugee boys and girls confirmed to operate under so much stress and when interviewed they claimed to benefit from problem-solving strategies where they chose to do things they thought would help them. They believed in self-support even if it was not easy as most of them explained.

Strategies used ranged from farming, car washing, selling merchandise like sweets and cold water, herding of cattle, charcoal burning, working at the barber shop, working at the mill, and currying luggage for the people in case of boys.

On the other hand, girls work as maid, plait hair, garden the fields of the nearby Zambians as well as some better off refugees, sweep and wash plates in the restaurants and beg from the people around or in the market.

Suffice to say that most of these strategies are new areas in which the youths have no experience of any kind they plunge into these ventures just to have some kind of livelihood but just to end up with a lot of challenges. The following are the narrations given by the participants.

A 15 year old Congolese boy said...

“I tried cultivation in order for me to survive but I failed because I have never done it anywhere before, that Zambian chased me without even paying me with a lot of insults that am lazy and am just playing in his field. It hurt me but I couldn’t do anything. Now I just sell sweets and cold water in Kaoma to see if I can find food and sometimes I also carry luggage for people there in Kaoma. The problem is that mostly am teased or even beaten up by the Zambian call boys or street children so I

want to stop but I really don't know how I will be living.... It's a very risky move I must admit."

A 14 year old Rwandese girl said that...

"I work as a maid for this woman who works at the clinic just to earn a living. I cook, wash clothes and also look after her baby and she gives me thirty (30) kwacha per month. But I want to stop because this woman beats me up every time she finds the baby crying. This makes me feel bad but there is no one I can tell because even my foster parent tells me bad words every day and when she finds me crying she tells the neighbors that I am a bad girl..."

A 16 year old Burundi girl also said...

"I plait hair but the problem we are a lot so it's not easy to find someone to plait and if you find her, they give you little money like K5 for a hair style worth K 75 because they know that even if you refuse they will find someone else. So I sometimes go to the market to see if I can find something to do especially in the restaurants where I clean the plates and sweep. Sometimes when I have nothing I go to my friend to see if they have anything when they have they give me and also when I have and they don't have I give them."

A 14 year old Angolan boy said...

"Like now in the rainy season I slash grass or wash cars for some Zambians who work here then they pay me anything they want. Sometimes I also go in the market to look for some piece work but the problem is we are too many of us in the market so jobs are not readily available to everyone. So sometimes you just stick around even if you are doing nothing just to pass time because home is too stressful. So you just

move around the camp thinking about your problems thus passing time...

A 16 year old Angolan girl also said that....

*“You just have to do something so that you are not taken advantage of. **Like me I do the weeding for this Angolan woman and she pays me some food stuffs...** You know, not only do we need food but also some other essentials as girls even if they give us it is just not enough. At least boys are better off because they only worry about how to find what to do but us you worry about that too and worry about the problems you might meet in trying to find that job. Like being arrested by the immigrations, raped and so on...here men have no respect for girl children so before taking the road alone in the bush to find piece work in the nearby villages you have to surrender and be ready for anything that happens to you....It is hell here you can even wish you were born a boy.”*

A 13 year old girl from Rwanda further said...

*“Me, **I wash plates in the market so that I can survive.** But it pains me because maybe my father is alive and keeps on looking for me in wrong places. But how can I know? If I was with him I would have been better off but now even school I have stopped.”*

A fourteen year old boy said....

*“**I offload the trucks in the market so that I can survive** because the food they give us can't keep us and I can't just stay in the house where there is no food. Also there is no one else who can help me if I don't stand up and do something for myself. It's a hard life but you just try what you can manage to do and do it.”*

A 15 year old boy narrated...

“I chose to sell cold water so that I can find survival means. I can’t sit and fold my hands when others are finding something to do and when I have nothing to eat so you just go to bed with hunger maybe around 19 hours and you can only sleep at 01 hours just thinking, at times you will even wonder if you will wake up alive the following day. And when there is no way out you even feel more frustrated and helpless. You look around in the house there is no food and you are all by yourself not even a relative that you can turn to, to go and tell your problems. I tell you, you can even die of depression or simply commit suicide.”

A 16 year Congolese boy explains....

“I look after the animals for a certain Zambian man and he just gives me food. It’s a big challenge to make a choice because hunger has no mercy. When you complain to the people in charge then they will ask you if you did not receive your food ration but they forget that sometimes we only get maize when everything else finishes.”

Another 15 year old boy said that....

“I just burn charcoal due to lack of option and poverty. Budgeting half kg of beans in 30 days is just a brain torture no matter how economical one can be. So that is why you find that even if you are not happy you will just do anything so that you cannot die....”

A 15 year old Congolese boy added by saying...

“I just carry luggage in order for me to find food otherwise I have never done the things I do here before. Sometimes I feel shy but then I don’t have an option...” if I have a chance, I also work at the barber shop or work at the mill for a certain Angolan here in the camp

4.6.2 Seeking social support

Just like Bodenmann (2005) and Reis & Shaver (1988) have theorized that, stress leads some people to seek support from others as a way of coping, it was observed that refugee boys and girls tended to help each other to try and overcome food insecurity. The quality of close relationships was influenced by how partners or groups jointly responded to stress. Supporting this view, the evidence collected on social support shows that refugees depended on each other even though they had less to share.

A 15 year Congolese boy said...

*“Me, **I beg** but no one gives me because they say that am a big boy to just beg; only a few do help so **I just survive through the help of my friends who understand me.** You know in this camp everyone has something to complain about. Like me I have a chest problem since the time I was beaten by the rebels in Congo. But when I ask to do some house chores, people don’t give me because they just don’t trust boys. So in this camp all the comfortable jobs which do not require a lot of energy are given to girls. Even begging they feel pity for girls first than boys. When people see us they think we are thieves.”*

A 15 year old sick Burundi girl complained....

*“**Me I survive through my church mates.** Am sick and I can’t do the hard work so when they have they contribute and give me but many are the times that` they have nothing also....Sometimes I also go begging. Those who are good give me others insult me but that’s life I will just come and cry to myself when am done I will go and beg again....”*

Another 16 year old Congolese girl said....

“I am asthmatic so I just look around and see what I can do according to how I am feeling. Usually, I don’t do hard jobs so that is why I chose beggingI ask friends if they have something they will give me and sometimes they come to help if they are able. It is very difficult to be an orphan, sick and a refugee at the same time.....”

A 16 year old Congolese teenage and mother of nine months old baby said...

*“I am burdened you see... I have a baby and I cannot survive these harsh conditions. I can’t breast feed him because he finds nothing because I mostly starve... I think and think about solutions but to no avail. It is this food shortage that led me to be pregnant...I stay alone and so I couldn’t even share my problem. I had to work for a man in the village and he raped me in the field. Now I have a baby and we both need to survive so **I ask from here and there for something to feed my child...** My church members are willing to help but they are equally poor...”*

When the researcher asked the teenage mother whether she reported the rape case to any relevant authority, the response was that she stayed alone and had no one to tell to help her. She also felt shy to tell anyone because she believed that no one cares about her so it could have been a sheer waste of time. She added on to say that no one could have believed her as the majority who saw the pregnancy afterward, mocked her to say that she just wanted.

A 14 year old Congolese girl said that....

*“**We put our food together and see how far it will get us. In case one gets beans only then the other one gets mealie meal then that makes it easy for us. I mean...The fact that we all do not have parents makes us stick together even when we are in a worse situation...**”*

4.6.3 Emotional coping

Emotion-focused strategies on the other hand, aimed at regulating the boys or girls emotional state and this included, detachment, resorting to prayer and self-talks. Avoidance of coping with emotions is also considered a coping strategy that may have short-term beneficial effects. Self-talk, for example helped them to cope with emotions, which are felt strongly under such conditions of hunger. More girls than boys resorted to prayer as one way of dealing with hunger challenges.

4.6.3.1 Self-Talk

Self-talk describes a situation in which individuals talked to themselves, either internally or externally. The boys and girls in this study asserted that self-talk affected their emotional state. This was very common among girls than boys. An example is provided from three reports provided by one Angolan and two Congolese girls.

A 14 year old Angolan girl lamented....

*“I was sure that the UNHCR was going to support us very well. This is what I always speak about to myself and I also tell my friends...I say **when will I start doing well? Will this hunger leave me one day?**”*

A 15 year old Congolese girl stated....

*“This hunger has made me look like a mad person. I do not stop talking to myself. I find it helpful but sometimes it torments me...**Why should life be like this? Will this come to an end honestly?**”*

A 13 year old Congolese girl sobbed and said....

*“It is hard madam (referring to the researcher) you know **I have a problem of shouting loud** sometimes when am alone or when am sleeping. This is because the video of how my mother was gang raped*

and killed in my eyes starts playing in every chance I get to be alone. So because of this I was chased from where I was working as a maid that Zambian woman said she can't tolerate my behavior and at the clinic they say it's just a dream. Now I don't even mind to die too."

4.6.3.2 Detachment

It was observed in the interviews and focus group discussions that many unaccompanied refugee children suffer from ongoing stress and trauma due to war-related trauma and the pressures associated with migrating to another country. Lack of food in the settlement, exacerbated the frustration of the children to the extent that some children saw no need of hassling to find food. They saw no solution coming their way and this made them give up on their lives. The following narrations express their sadness.

Frustrated and sick 13 year old Congolese boy narrated that...

*"**Me I do nothing** because all these things they do I can't manage... am not used to do those jobs so I just stay, if my friends give me something I eat if they don't give me it is okay. Apart from that **I have a back problem I can't do hard things now** when I tell the UNHCR people they don't listen so am just waiting to die one day after all am the only one remaining in my family"*

A 14 year old mentally broken to cope with life boy said...

*"The food they give us in this camp I am not used to it. In Congo we eat cassava nshima and not with beans. Also I have stomach ulcers so I can't eat either nshima or beans. I don't mind whatever happens to me because I have no option. **I can't manage to find the food that am allowed to eat** and at the clinic there no medicines so life in this camp is just depressing even my friends are tired of helping me because am ever sick."*

Another depressed 16 year old boy complained that...

*“Me I look after animals because **I want to be in the place where I can be alone where there is no one to talk to me.** When am in the camp and see what is happening I think too much especially when I see others go to school I start thinking a lot because there is no grade 11 in the camp and am unable to continue outside school. But again even when someone wants to pay for me I don’t have any paper with me to prove that I ever went to school. So in the bush I find time to sit and reflect on my life quietly alone. It seems in this camp I will just grow and wait for my futureless life... **I mean you just grow even when you know that you will not become anything in life.**”*

A 13 year old lonely Burundian girl said...

*“**When I am alone, I find solace.** In fact I don’t like it when some friends who have their parents come to me and say let us go and play...It really makes me unhappy. At times I will just be crying even when I don’t know the reason why I am crying. Sometimes my friends will come and comfort me by telling me to stop crying and giving me hopes that I will be okay one day.... But it is not an easy thing to live without anyone to call a relative...”*

4.6.3.3 Turn to prayer

It was revealed that children lost their parents or guardians during the war. Some died; others became crippled while others went separate ways. Some children lost their entire families in the war and it is not easy to accept the situation. As a result, they find themselves with no one to support or fend for them, they only turn to prayer as a source of hope. According to the transactional Model of Stress and Coping, coping is a cognitive and behavioral effort which enables one to master, tolerate, or reduce external and internal demands and conflicts among themselves. In this case some children chose to turn to

prayer as their only source of comfort to their problem. Examples are in the following stories

A 15 year old Congolese girl had this to say...

*“I keep thinking that maybe my parents are dead and so I will never see them again... When I came here last year, I was thinking all kinds of positive things, like starting school, receive food and clothes but nothing....., apart from the bullets that I stopped hearing my life remains the same... I still starve and go through rough time in this camp... Sometimes you really feel bad when you look at a bad life you are living especially when there is no hope of coming out of it. I always ask myself, why was I born? Is it a sin to be a refugee? Why did I not just die? But after asking myself all these questions **I remember that my God who protected me during the war time will not fail me now.....”***

A 16 year old Angolan boy also lamented that...

*“I beg from some refugees here in the camp sometimes they give me especially the Angolans because a lot of my friends here are Angolans. But sometimes when I feel so depressed **I go and see my pastor who usually prays for me then I would feel so relieved...** So if I find nothing to eat, I have stopped worrying I just go and see him when he has something he gives me and if he doesn't he just comforts me.”*

A 16 year old Congolese girl said....

*“There is nothing impossible with God. He has cared for me so many times. **I wait upon him in prayer.** Even in this situation, I believe that he will come through for me one day...”*

A 17 year old Congolese girl further said....

In this camp, when you try to solve a problem you find yourself in more problems...us girls go through a lot as we try to look for survival means.

*It is so annoying to see that these men who are supposed to be our guardians are the ones trying to abuse us... they think children are just their daughters and us we are valueless and big to be used by them... **I was very bitter but I realized that God cannot forgive me if I don't forgive others. So it is okay our God will fight for us. I am speaking on behalf of my fellow girls....***

Table 5: Shows the Descriptive Summary of the Lived Experiences of the Respondents.

No	Fostered		Living alone				Comment	
	Male	No	Female	No	Male	No		Female
2	Boys said that they are mostly denied food by their foster parents so they survive by looking for piece works.	3	Girls complained of verbal abuse from their foster parents.	5	Boys Admitted the hardship of living alone without any one to run to as they were unable to fend for themselves.	4	Girls complained of sexual harassment by male refugees also Zambian officers in exchange with money or food.	According to the responses of the respondents, the life of unaccompanied child was not an easy one in a camp. Lack of food exposed children to so many challenges which made their burden heavier. Some were raped in their quest for food. Others were arrested while others were discriminated. Fostering method was not seen as a solution at time as some foster children complained to suffer more than those who stayed alone. However some children valued education so much that they could even attend classes on empty stomach.
2	Boys were happy with the way they were kept only that their foster parents were poor to support them adequately.	2	Girls said they are usually discriminated by their foster siblings and at times they are bullied.	5	Boys were happy to live alone because their movement was not limited by any one and the choice of what they did to survive was not compromised.	3	Girls added on to say it was very hard for them to go outside the camp to search for peace work because there were frequently raped on their way.	
2	Boys stated that even if life was very hard and unbearable in the camp they strived to find piece work but still they went to school.	2	Girls appreciated the guardianship of their foster parents as they felt secured than those who stayed alone.	5	Boys complained of lack of piece work in the camp because most simple jobs were given to girls and whenever they went out of the camp they were arrested by immigration officers.	2	Girls noted that it was all about self-principles even if they stayed alone, they manage their lives better and they were happy than those who were fostered.	

4.7 Summary of the findings

This chapter presented the findings on the food security and coping mechanisms among the unaccompanied refugee boys and girls in Mayukwayukwa refugee settlement in the Western Province of Zambia. Inadequate food, unbalanced food and no food typified the food security in the settlement. The kind of food items given and amount given per month showed the kind of assistance given to the children in terms of food. Death of parents, poverty and loneliness and bad foster parents were recognized as challenges faced by unaccompanied children as they try to find food. Finally problem focused coping, emotion focused coping and social support coping represented the coping mechanisms employed by unaccompanied children in their quest for food. The next chapter represents the discussion of the research findings.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION

5.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings of the study. Explaining the meaning of the results of the study to the reader is a prime purpose of the discussion of findings' section (Dean, 2002). The findings are initially discussed using research questions to clearly show what the research outputs are in relation to the problem the study had at the onset. A regional and global context is considered to make the findings outline what is similar and dissimilar.

5.1 The Answers to the Research Questions

It is prudent that at the end of an inquiry, answers to research questions or those using objectives, phenomena related to them are shown (Creswell, 2009). In this study, the researcher chose to use the research questions model because they acted as tools to think with in generating knowledge to fill the gaps that existed before the inquiry (Balikie, 2000). In general, research questions are "specific questions that researchers seek to answer" (Creswell, 2005: 117). According to Maxwell (2005:69), "research questions state what you want to learn". Therefore, this study was designed to answer four subsidiary research questions set as follows:

What is the state of food security among unaccompanied refugee boys and girls in Mayukwayukwa Refugee Settlement?

There is evidence to show that Mayukwayukwa refugee settlement was food insecure. All the boys and girls had experienced household food insecurity in the month prior to the study and they argued that the problem was perennial. Food insecurity for refugee boys and girls in Mayukwayukwa is now classified as (a) no food, (b) inadequate food and (c) an unbalanced diet.

What kind of assistance do unaccompanied refugee boys and girls receive in terms of food?

The food assistance in Mayukwayukwa is very limited. Boys and girls admitted that they are currently starving as compared to the past years, and there seems to be no solution in sight. The majority of the children stated that they are given strange and very little food that they find budgeting as a brain torture. To determine the food assistance that is given to unaccompanied boys and girls, the following two sub-themes were considered: a) the food items given and b) the amount given per month.

What are the challenges the unaccompanied refugee boys and girls face in their quest for food?

There were numerous harsh circumstances that the unaccompanied refugee boys and girls found themselves in that were exacerbated by lack of access to food. The living conditions are very difficult as children have no one to turn to whenever they have no food. This makes it difficult for them to begin a new life, as they came in the camp alone and with nothing. According to the Empowerment Theory, poor welfare and lack of access and control of resources is a major cause of anxiety and depression among poor people especially women and children. This study has shown that boys and girls suffer a lot of untold misery due to lack of empowerment. According to this theory welfare addresses basic needs while access addresses the ability to use resources such as education. Some had lost their parents in the home country, others on the way and others in the camp. As such, the life of the unaccompanied refugee children in Mayukwayukwa settlement is surrounded by numerous challenges. While some are dependent on others for food, others are independent of it. The main challenge these youngsters face, were either related to the lack of parents, poverty and loneliness or bad foster parents.

What coping mechanisms do unaccompanied refugee boys and girls employ in their quest for food?

The refugee boys and girls in the camps were overwhelmed with food insecurity such that they devised diverse coping or resilient mechanisms that enabled them to try and find

solutions and in some cases to get fulfilment in their lives despite their disadvantaged backgrounds. Coping was defined in three categories:

(a) Problem-focused coping that aimed at problem solving or doing something to alter the source of stress.

(b) Emotional coping which aimed at reducing or managing the emotional distress that is associated with or cued by the situation.

(c) Social support coping which aimed at relying on significant others for help in trying to overcome the source of stress.

There were numerous motives for choosing a particular coping mechanism. In most cases, motives were dissimilar among the unaccompanied refugee boys and girls and this is because each child saw life and experienced life differently. However, the commonest motive was the desire to survive.

5.2 The Lessons learnt from this Study

After having an understanding of the life of unaccompanied refugee boys and girls in Mayukwayukwa refugee settlement, and after having the main answers to the research questions, it is expected to discuss the findings and contextualize them. While refugees are displaced from their home countries, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugee (UNHCR) and the host nation become their source of hope and livelihood. However, the descriptions in this study show the contrary. Mayukwayukwa is located in an inhospitable area and unaccompanied refugees boys and girls have shown that they are particularly vulnerable with distinctive needs and suffer untold misery. According to Jansen (2008) and James (2008:6) however, this is a feature seen in most settlements on the globe.

Beyond this, as we contextualize the findings, we see a common pattern of events in Africa and the West. These findings on food insecurity in Mayukwayukwa are not far from those of the migrants in USA (Chilton et al, 2009) and also among Somali refugees resettled in the north-east region of the United States (Dharod et al. in press). The findings in this study are supported by UNHCR (2006), which indicate that 74% of camps in

Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda were food insecure. According to Heptinstall et al. (2004), an experience of being a refugee itself contributes to the overall stress response as children are forced to leave behind all they have ever known, including friends, communities, schools, homes, and family members and live their entire lives in refugee camps where they are exposed to extensive deprivation of their basic needs including nutrition.

Evidence from this study suggests that starvation played an important role in the emotional and behavioral adjustment of unaccompanied refugee boys and girls in Mayukwayukwa refugee settlement. These children spend a lot of time thinking about how to budget the little food that is given to them and wishing that things were different.

The findings of this study support the UNICEF (2012), study on orphans and vulnerable children in Liberia which showed that there was poor food consumption. Young (2000) also argues that camps and refugee settlements are vulnerable to hunger and malnutrition. In his study, Kaiser (2000), in Guinea he also noted that moving around the camps, one hears complaints that the quality and quantity of food assistance has decreased. However the Transaction analysis theory explains that we make current decisions based on past premises that were at one time appropriate to our survival needs but that may no longer be valid. In this study some children made decisions based on how their parents or guardians brought them up regardless of how much they starved. For instance some children said that they would better die of hunger than begging because their parents were against it. Others refused to be fostered and decided to stay alone and face the challenges as they come because they were taught never to stay with the people that they do not know. Earlier on, refugees received 12 items of food, but now they only receive three. This however, shows the commonalities between the food insecurity in Mayukwayukwa refugee settlement and other refugee settlements.

Even though the WFP&UNHCR (1999) mention food given to refugees as cereals, oil, sugar, salt, blended foods, protein-rich food such as pulses/beans, fish and meat in dry or canned form, including complementary foods like fresh meat/fish, vegetables, condiment and spices, dried skimmed milk and energy-high protein biscuits. The findings of this study shows that unaccompanied refugee children only received maize,

beans, cooking oil and salt. And these children confirmed to have never eaten any different food since the time they came in the camp.

Challenges are not new in refugee studies. The social exclusion among refugees by the host country as shown in this study of compelling refugees to live in camps and settlements is commonplace (Nsolo, 1995). Lack of movement by refugees makes it very difficult to promote self-reliance among the refugees (UNHCR, 2012). The 1970 refugee control act excludes refugees from full participation in economic activities outside the camps or settlement unless they have a permit (Nsolo, 1995). This was seen to be common complaint among the unaccompanied refugees boys and girl as they narrated their dissatisfaction over the camp regulations which hinder them from going outside the camp to look for the piece works. Since Bode, (1999), affirms that boy's and girl's physical changes affect their eating habits and food choices by increasing their body's nutrition needs by recommending 2,200 to 3,200 calories for boys and 1,800 to 2,400 per day, then one would say that the unaccompanied boys and girls in Mayukwayukwa are malnourished as they hardly afford even one meal per day.

It was noticed in this study however, that the food shortages affect girls more than boys. Girls are easily taken advantage of whenever they try to look for help and also where foster parenting is concerned. This is also in line with what Egeland (2007), found when he noted that though foster families are sought as the best interim for unaccompanied refugee children, girls are at particular risk of being sexually abused or exploited as domestic workers. The level of support by foster parents or discrimination by foster siblings disturbed well-being of the girl child as they spend more time at home than boys. Equally in this study, children stressed maltreatment by the foster parents to be one of their major concerns. Sexual abuse just like in any other society especially in Africa was repeatedly reported to be the big challenge faced by girls in Mayukwayukwa refugee settlement. This was also supported by Davey (2002) who in her study in Kenya, stated that the diminished food basket is at present one of the key factors putting teenage girls at high risk of sex exploitation and gender abuse.

The fact that UNHCR is the main architect of relief in refugee camps and settlements, the influx of refugees in different parts of the world has become too much to handle. As

hunger became unbearable, it necessitated the unaccompanied refugee boys and girls to use other means to acquire food and some degree of balanced diet. Most of the coping mechanisms exhibited in this study are unhealthy and unsuccessful. Successful coping mechanisms have been related to better quality of life, mental health, and illness remission (Aldwin, 2000). Coping efforts in this settlement have not resulted in positive adjustment to stressors linked to malnutrition (Holland & Holahan, 2003). Lazarus (1993) emphasized that there are no universally appropriate or inappropriate coping strategies, although some coping strategies are more often better or worse than others. The Resilience and young people leaving care Theory explains that the reasons why some young people cope better than others is complex and that there may well be innate and linked personal attributes we do not understand. It is clear in this study that children coped differently depending on their background. Those who came from the towns or from well to do families refused to do some odd piece works that their friends from villages or poor families did for survival. Therefore, failing to mobilize oneself when faced with a confirmed and imminent threat can have disastrous consequences for physical and psychological health. As an outcome of successful coping, individuals might reappraise a stressful encounter as less threatening and alleviate the intensity of their negative emotions. This was evident in some of the boys and girls who participated in this study.

This study shows that, as unaccompanied children tried to face the food challenge, a number of girls were pushed into sexual exploitation as a means of survival. This was also supported by Dick (2000) who in her case study in Ghana stated that, sexual exploitation is self-reinforcing. As the Social Exchange Theory explains that society has social classes and that ultimately the lower the class the higher the need to depend on the upper class. It was noted in this study that due to vulnerability of the unaccompanied children girls tended to depend on older men for survival in exchange with sex. Exploitative employments for minimal rewards were very common in Mayukwayukwa where the children worked for the locals or prosperous refugees. Kaiser (2001), also found the same situation in Guinea when noting that for that kind of exploitative works children received very small payments and usually in kind or cash. Horst (2002) in his study, noted that movement of refugees to towns in search of piecework exposed children to new forms of insecurity. This is in line with the situation in Mayukwayukwa where

children reported being raped, arrested and bullied when searching for piece works especially whenever they went outside camp.

It should also be noted that a number of coping mechanisms were constrained by legal restrictions (refusal to leave the settlement) and language difficulties as shown in other migration studies (Schimmele, 2004). These findings reinforce results from previous research reporting (McMichael and Manderson, 2004), language barriers (Karunakara et al., 2004), forced family separation, loneliness, and isolation (Beiser et al, 2010 and Goodman, 2004). It has been established in this study that loss of parents through migration and diminished social networks exert detrimental impacts on integration (Simich et al., 2010). These unaccompanied refugee boys and girls suffered from depleted social networks and separation from family. As such, they led lonely lives even if they were able to live among sororities and fraternities.

A critical examination of lack of family is one aspect that this study has brought out as a cause of failure to access food. This is not far from the findings by Richman (1998), who noted that lack of family support among refugees who experienced prolonged asylum made them suffer loss of culture and much needed support. Some unaccompanied refugee boys and girls in Mayukwayukwa use avoidance as a coping mechanism to ignore the tough time of thinking about the solution to the food challenges faced. In other words, the burden is too heavy for the children to handle and as a result, children give up and wait for whatever happens to them. This signifies the importance of social support networks.

The significance of social networks and desire for support from family members and like-ethnic communities for refugee children cannot be over emphasised. This has also been noted by others (Davies, 2000 Schweitzer et al., 2006; Warner, 2007). The importance of family and community are particularly poignant given that the refugee boys' and girls' cultural life is centred on the extended family. The extended family is a key source of emotional, social support, solidarity, and sharing (Goodman, 2004; Schweitzer et al., 2006; Stewart et al., 2010).

According to Garbarino, J. et al (1992), homeless makes the unaccompanied children develop their own social networks to provide the emotion and instrumental support they

need to survive. Social support as a coping mechanism in this study was seen by many children as a helpful one but was limited by high poverty levels in the settlement. People were willing to help the children and children were willing to help each other but they were limited by lack of resources. This in agreement with the Empowerment Theory which explains that, poor welfare and lack of access and control of resources have a negative impact on the health of poor people especially women and children. As it causes depression and anxiety. Thus, the only way to eradicate their vulnerability is through empowering them.

5.3 Summary

This chapter has discussed the findings of the study. It has shown that the voices of the unaccompanied refugee boys and girls are only present within a predefined context. The voices are not listened to when demands arise but only listened to when directed towards exploring traumatic events in the past (WHO, 1996). The next chapter presents the conclusion and recommendations.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0 Introduction

After presenting and discussing the research findings on food security and coping mechanisms of the unaccompanied refugee boys and girls in Mayukwayukwa refugee settlement in the Western Province of Zambia, this chapter concludes the study and also makes recommendations based on the major findings of the study.

6.1 Conclusions

There is obvious food insecurity among the unaccompanied refugee boys and girls as food assistance provided is not adequate. This causes serious hardships and in some cases, this yields negative coping mechanisms. A better understanding of how the refugee population structures its livelihoods and the consequences of a failed nutrition programme will help the international community shape its aid policy toward both refugees and the fragile states that host them. From a humanitarian point of view, it is important to address the concerns that host states like Zambia have about the negative impact of refugees by promoting nutrition programmes that benefit both refugees and nationals.

Donors, host governments, and UNHCR have been unimaginative in their response to refugees in protracted situations. It is important to realise that refugees and assistance programmes could be an asset to countries of first asylum, or that they could promote development and human security there.

The tendency of restricting refugees in camps and the failure to look for more creative and positive approaches to the endless food security problems, represents an extraordinary waste of resources, and fails to see the multiple ways in which by pursuing

livelihoods refugees can contribute to the economic vitality, and ultimately to the development of host countries.

6.2 Recommendations

The following recommendations were made:

The findings from this study inform both the Zambian Government and the UNHCR policy and suggest ways to strengthen delivery of support to refugee's especially unaccompanied boys and girls. The policies may reduce vulnerability to food insecurity and ensure adequate nutrition. There is need to ensure the protection of the refugee boys and girls from child labour and sexual abuse. This can be done by designing friendly nutritional policies. The UNHCR and the Government of the Republic of Zambia should ensure that food rations are balanced and adequate and emphasis should be on meeting minimum dietary needs.

The UNHCR may have to monitor the way food assistance is kept and distributed carefully in order to avoid shortages caused by stealing and damaged food. This may be useful for promoting healthy diets among particular ethno-cultural groups. Changes should not only be made to the food provided but should be made also to engage concepts of natural foods and links between certain diet and illnesses among specific refugee groups. Prior knowledge about health and nutrition based on nutrition science needs to be enhanced rather than devalued.

There should be a follow up by the responsible humanitarians on the children fostered in order to protect their well being. Unaccompanied refugee boys and girls complained that the strategy of fostering them is more frustrating and disturbing. On the other hand, foster parents should be supported so that they can help the fostered children adequately.

Furthermore, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in collaboration with the Government of the Republic of Zambia should build at least one orphanage in Mayukwayukwa Refugee settlement where the unaccompanied refugee boys and girls can be kept and fed in order to avoid certain problems faced by these children as they try

to look for food on their own. This can also help the children to concentrate on school in order to secure their future.

The Government should extend the entrepreneurship programs to the settlement, so that boys and girls can acquire some skills to help them become self reliant especially after reaching the age of 18. This can also be helpful to those children who have no qualification to show that they were in school in their home countries thus, who are unable to continue with normal education.

6.3 Recommendations for further studies

It is recommended that a comparative study be done. This should include refugee boys and girls who were accompanied to see how they too lived. Thus, the study will provide a holistic understanding and provide a life picture of refugee boys and girls in a refugee settlement.

Since this study was carried out in a setting that was multilingual and multi cultural, language barrier became a limitation. Hence the next researcher should consider using interpreters who are native language speakers that embrace all refugee types to allow freely expression and better understanding between the researcher and the respondents.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Dear respondent,

This serves to give you an understanding of the purpose of this research and procedures that will be followed. Further the implications for your participation are explained below, finally you are asked to sign this form to indicate that you have agreed to participate in this exercise.

Thank you in advance.

1. Description

This is an educational research; the researcher is a student at the University of Zambia pursuing a Master degree in Gender studies. This research is a major requirement for the researcher to complete this program. Therefore this exercise is purely academic.

2. Purpose

The researcher wishes to examine food security and the coping mechanisms among the unaccompanied refugee boys and girls. The researcher is interested in knowing how the unaccompanied refugee boys and girls lead their lives in the settlement in terms of getting access to food.

3. Consent

Participation in this exercise is voluntary. You are free to decline to participate in this exercise.

4. Confidentiality

All data collected from this research is treated with utmost confidentiality. Participants are assured that they will remain anonymous and untraceable in this research.

5. Rights of respondents

All efforts will be taken to ensure that the rights of participants are protected and respected. Participants are assured that they shall suffer no harm for their participation in this exercise. Participants are free to ask for clarification at any point of the exercise and to inform the researcher if they feel uncomfortable about any procedure in the research.

6. Declaration of the consent

I have read and fully understand this document. I have agreed to participate in this exercise.

Signature.....

Date.....

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION WITH CHILDREN

1) Please tell me about yourself.

.....
.....

2) What types of food are available in the households in this settlement?

.....
.....

3) What kind of assistance do you receive in terms of food?

.....
.....

4) What are the challenges hindering you to access food?

.....
.....

5) Are there any specific challenges for boys or girls in the quest for food?

.....
.....

6) What coping mechanisms do you employ to access food?

.....
.....

7) Do you think fostered children are better off in terms of accessing food?

.....
.....

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION WITH FOSTER PARENTS

- 1) How is the food security like in this settlement?
.....
.....
- 2) Which foster child do you prefer keeping a boy or a girl and why?
.....
.....
- 3) Is there any assistance offered to the foster children in terms of food?
.....
.....
- 4) Do these foster children do anything to find food?
.....
.....
- 5) In your views, do you think food challenges affect boys and girls differently?
.....
.....
- 6) Do you receive any kind of assistance to help you take care of these children?
.....
.....
- 7) What can you suggest to be done in order to reduce food challenges faced by these children?
.....
.....

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR REFUGEE OFFICER

1) Could you please describe for me how the food security is like in this settlement?

.....
.....

2) What could be the reasons for the current state of food security in this settlement?

.....
.....

3) Do unaccompanied refugee children receive any kind of food assistance?

.....
.....

4) Do you have any idea of what these children do to cope up with food challenges?

.....
.....

5) Is there any future possible solution to mitigate food problem among these children?

.....
.....

INTRODUCTORY LETTER



UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA
SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF GENDER STUDIES

Tel: +260-295210

P.O. Box 32379

LUSAKA

02 December, 2013

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Dear Sir/Madam

I write to confirm that **Umutesi Franscine**, Computer Number **513807960** is a Master of Arts Student in the Department of Gender Studies at the University of Zambia for the academic year 2013. One of the requirements for this programme is to conduct research in any relevant area of interest. Her research topic is "**Coping mechanisms of unaccompanied refugee boys and girls towards inadequate nutrition in Mayukwayukwa Refugee Settlement, Western Province of Zambia.**" She is seeking to collect data from your institution.

The department would appreciate any assistance rendered to her in this regard.

Yours faithfully

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'T. Kusanthan'.

DR. T. KUSANTHAN
ACTING HEAD – GENDER STUDIES DEPARTMENT

