



Overseas Development  
Institute

# **Vulnerability and coping with AIDS in Zambia: Longitudinal data and cluster analysis**

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# Overview of presentation

- Background - Zambia
- Methodology - Clusters/livelihood networks
- Key findings – vulnerability and resilience
- Some conclusions / implications

# Background (1)

- History of migration, mining, urbanisation, one of most urbanised countries in Africa (44%)....
- 64.3% of pop live on less than \$1.25/day, 81.5% live on less than \$2/day (WDI, 2008)
- 15.2% HIV prevalence rate, 1.1million people living with HIV, 46% of those who need it have access to ART
- Copper accounts for 80% of Zambia's foreign earnings, has helped drive economic growth of 5% for the last 6 yrs
- Though question the effects of this growth on poverty reduction “no equitable distribution of wealth from growing economy”

## Background (2):

- But copper prices have fallen from record highs of US\$9,000/ton btwn 2005 & 2007, to \$5,000/ton (Nov08)
- Prices of key commodities rocketed over last 3 yrs, e.g. 25kg bag of maize-meal \$18.00, up from \$11.00 in 2006
- All doom and gloom? Record prices triggered by strong demand from China and India, will/has demand dropped?
- How will this external shock (economic downturn?), interact with other shocks
  - People being laid of, economy contracting, etc....
  - Increasing internal/cross border migration - urban-urban, rural-urban, urban-rural, increase pressure on resources
  - Can cluster/livelihood network approach help us to understand people's behaviour during external shocks?

# Methodology

- Longitudinal study in Mpongwe CBP (urban near) & Teta CP (urban remote):
  - 1993 looked at impacts of HIV/AIDS on livelihoods, 2005 re-study what had happened in terms of adaptability and resilience
  - Participatory, qualitative methods, multi-disciplinary teams, included members from local areas
- Used (developed) cluster/livelihood network methodology:
  - “a group of households between which there are critical resource flows”, range from 5 (single hh) to 20 people (multiple hhs)
  - usually extended family based, geographical proximity but not necessarily
  - Highlights complexity and fluidity of individual’s lives
  - Short-cut means of obtaining richness of anthropological and ethnographic method

# What's interesting about clusters?

- Moves away from hh as unit of analysis, hhs rarely self-contained production and consumption units
- Allow identification & understanding of social & economic relationships btwn generations, gender, marital & kinship
  - Identified different types of hh within clusters based on life-cycle issues, age, productive activities
  - Explored how interacted and related to each other
- 1993 developed cluster typology according to resilience and vulnerability
  - continuum from commercial to resource-poor (access to resources, food security, initial impacts of HIV and AIDS)
- 2005 re-study traced original clusters to see if had moved within continuum & to understand reasons for moves

# 2005 Findings: Mortality and Resilience in clusters

- Did find *expected* mortality and morbidity data, likely to be AIDS related
- Varied by locations
  - CBP higher AIDS death rate - 1.5 AIDS deaths per cluster vs 0.72 deaths per cluster in CP
  - In CB contracting AIDS locally and dying of it
  - In CP limited evidence AIDS contracted locally, still from outside
- Found *unexpected* resilience, despite high impacts of health shock, despite our 1993 predictions....

# 1993 predictions vs 2005 realities?

- Increasing mortality rates as a result of AIDS - **Yes, but unclear as to whether mortality rates had peaked or not**
- Food insecurity and vulnerability would increase, hhs would become less resilient – **Vulnerability increased, but resilience was greater than expected**
- Increasing number of dependants in cluster (producer/dependant ratio) would lead to a greater reliance on e.g. piecework - **Yes**
- Number of hhs in resource poor clusters would increase – **Minimal overall change in numbers, though many individual clusters changed categories, up and down**
- Increasing numbers of orphans - **Yes**
- Further breakdown of social relations - **More resilience than expected**

# How can explain variations in resilience?

- Cluster/livelihood network approach provided broader lens through which to understand vulnerability and resilience:
  - Category of person(s) who had died in the cluster - if main producer, organises production, labour, etc, lessens resilience...
  - Characteristics & stage of life-cycle of Primary Producer - if PP still young/fit, easier to recover or if upcoming PP already in cluster, coping may be better - issue of succession
  - Clusters actively recruiting younger men as new PPs
  - Length & degree of incapacity during AIDS related illness- drawing down on resources, selling assets the longer the illness
  - Overall cluster composition - if many female hh or dependent producers, increased vulnerability
  - Livelihood & agricultural production opportunities – ability to diversify, less labour insensitive activities, off-farm, seasonality

# Some conclusions

- Vulnerability is high but also surprising amount of resilience
- Methodology highlights that to understand resilience need to understand arrangements/structures of clusters & relationships
  - By just looking at hhs miss coping relationships between, beyond, within hh, clusters; it misses understanding how people see the world, and strategise within it
  - By looking longitudinal (historically) and understanding trends, can see how coping, resilience and vulnerability interact, and why people make certain choices
  - Clearly context also important, affects resilience - access to services - health, agricultural input and output markets - employment opportunities; importance of distance.
- Through shifting the lens, methodology can be applied to other shocks/stresses – combined, triangulated with quantitative approaches
- Methodology has considerable value for the targeting of social protection strategies

# Broader Implications

- Future holds an inevitable increase in shocks and stresses - HIV/AIDS, food security, climate change...
- Need to understand perspectives of the other and how they strategize, through a 'broad lens' approach – our methodology captured this encompassing perspective
- More creative approaches then required for buttressing the safety protection functions of livelihood networks, ie for supporting the role of relationships and not just focusing on technical/fiscal strategies. Needs decentralized approaches, like the Poor Laws.
- Policies acting in ignorance of the above often obstruct instead local strategies/coping mechanism (eg, in Zambia definitions of OVCs, able bodied)
- Need to bolster existing forms of resilience at different levels
- Finally, let's remember that all forms of inequity involve power relations. These cannot be addressed at different levels without a great deal of negotiation – and the overall sum of power in a society, just like wealth, can be expanded!!!