Averting 'New Variant Famine' in Southern Africa: building food-secure rural livelihoods with AIDS-affected young people

Extended project report

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Executive Summary

Southern Africa is experiencing the world's highest HIV prevalence rates alongside recurrent food crises. This has prompted scholars to hypothesise a 'New Variant Famine' in which inability to access food is driven by the effects of AIDS. In line with this, it has been suggested that the impacts of AIDS on young people today is likely to diminish their prospects of food security in adult life. In particular, children whose parents die of AIDS may fail to inherit land or other productive assets, and transmission of knowledge and skills between the generations may be disrupted, leaving young people ill-prepared to build food-secure livelihoods for themselves. However, prior to this research, those propositions were largely untested.

The 'Averting New Variant Famine' research project was therefore undertaken to generate new, in-depth understanding of how AIDS, in interaction with other factors, is impacting on the livelihood activities, opportunities and choices of young people in rural southern Africa. The specific objectives were as follows:

1. To improve understanding of the ways in which AIDS is impacting on young people's involvement in household livelihood strategies in rural southern Africa
2. To assess the ways in which wider policy, institutional and economic environments condition the context-specific livelihood opportunities available to AIDS-affected rural young people
3. To elicit AIDS-affected young people's perspectives on their current situations and future prospects, and to understand how their aspirations and decisions are shaped
4. To improve understanding of spatial dimensions of rural young people's livelihood responses to AIDS
5. To generate evidence in relation to the NVF hypothesis, particularly regarding the long-term food security implications of the impacts of AIDS on young people
6. To work with young people, development practitioners and policy makers, to develop guidelines for appropriate policy responses and interventions to support AIDS-affected young people in achieving sustainable livelihoods
7. To provide an innovative model for similar studies in other settings

The research was conducted in two villages in Malawi and Lesotho, two of the worst affected countries. The fieldwork comprised four elements: 1) community and household profiling to provide a contextual understanding of livelihood responses to sickness and death, and in particular how young people are incorporated in livelihood strategies; 2) participatory research with more than thirty 10-24-year-olds in each community (around half of whom were affected by AIDS) to explore their aspirations, means of accessing livelihood opportunities, obstacles faced and decision-making processes; 3) semi-structured interviews with policy makers and other key informants to explore the linkages with macro-level policies and processes; 4) life history interviews with more than twenty 18-24 year olds in each village to explore the factors shaping their lifecourses and livelihoods.

The research findings indicate diverse ways in which AIDS impacts on the livelihoods and prospects of young people, but no systematic pattern. The only generalised distinction between AIDS-affected and unaffected youth in the two villages is that those directly affected generally remain in school longer. At the individual level, AIDS is one of many interacting factors affecting access to livelihoods and choice of livelihood strategies. It has many impacts, but these differ with individual circumstance, as well as being affected by processes operating locally, nationally and internationally. The livelihood strategies young

people adopt offer differing levels of reward and long-term security. Key areas of interest that will be the focus of further analysis and academic publications include the roles of marriage and of social networks in influencing livelihood prospects. The research also contributes theoretically to studies of livelihood sustainability, particularly in relation to the significance of temporality (when AIDS strikes can have profound effects on young people whose lives are undergoing rapid change) and relationality (relationships with families and the production of new relationships through marriage play key roles in shaping livelihoods). Ultimately, the research suggests that AIDS is unlikely to have the sort of systematic impact on long-term food security that the new variant famine hypothesis envisages.

There are a number of policy recommendations arising from the research. First, focusing on increasing school attendance (which has hitherto been the main response to the impacts of AIDS on young people) is an inadequate response. Education needs to be much more relevant to the livelihood options available to the majority of rural youth. Rural young people would benefit particularly from opportunities for vocational skills training, but also business education and the identification of opportunities that rely not only on the local market, if they are to engage successfully in rural enterprise. Although fertiliser subsidies, food aid and food for work programmes are aimed principally at securing immediate subsistence rather than building assets for the future, they can free young people's time and energy to devote to activities with secure long term prospects. Equally, cash transfers, including those directed at elderly people, can help young people do business and find employment by putting more cash into local circulation. Significantly, however, the project findings do not support the targeting of interventions specifically at AIDS-affected young people.

Background

With adult HIV prevalence rates between 2.1% and 26.1% across southern Africa (UNAIDS 2008), AIDS needs to be understood 'beyond epidemiology' (Kalipeni *et al* 2004) as a 'development' issue (Barnett 2004). There have been calls for research to improve understanding of AIDS' medium-to-long-term impacts, enabling proactive approaches to anticipated challenges (DFID 2004). Children and youth are commonly viewed as victims of the pandemic and burdens on households. Most attention has focused on orphanhood, but there are also less direct impacts, and young people themselves make significant contributions to household responses to AIDS. Due to the effects on families (sickness, employment loss, death of breadwinners) many children are withdrawn from school, take on caring responsibilities for sick relatives, or additional work within and outside the home (Robson 2000; Robson 2004; Robson and Ansell 2000; Robson *et al* 2006), or undertake migration, often to unfamiliar rural places, to join alternative households where they contribute to livelihoods (Ansell and van Blerk 2004; van Blerk and Ansell 2006; Young and Ansell 2003). Not only are children affected by the impoverishment of their own households, however; AIDS is exacerbating poverty more generally, especially among the rural poor (Negin 2005).

A key aspect of this deepening AIDS-related poverty is food insecurity, which affected over 15 million southern Africans in 2002 (SADC-FANR 2003). Six high-prevalence southern African countries have experienced recurrent severe food shortages: De Waal and Whiteside (2003) hypothesise that this indicates a 'New Variant Famine' (NVF) caused by the pandemic. The significance of AIDS relative to other factors is disputed (Ellis 2003; Gillespie 2005), but evidence exists that AIDS is damaging agricultural livelihoods (Gillespie and Kadiyala 2005) and AIDS-affected households proved particularly vulnerable in the 2002 food emergency (SADC-FANR 2003). The negative impact of AIDS on food security is increasingly accepted as commonplace (Bukusuba et al 2007; Mutangadura and Sandkjaer 2009).

Whether the term 'famine' is justified depends on whether famine is understood in terms of aggregate food *availability*, or the diminished capacity of some people to *access* adequate food (Sen 1981; Turner 2003). Aggregate availability measures conceal differences of access between and within households (Gillespie 2005). Households access food through direct production, exchange or purchase (Sen 1981), yet AIDS-impact research has neglected non-agricultural livelihoods (Gillespie and Kadiyala 2005; Murphy *et al* 2005) despite their growing importance (Ellis and Biggs 2001; Kutengule 2000; Rigg 2006; Turner 2001). Research commonly views households and communities as bounded entities, but access to food may be secured through migration and spatially extended relationships (SADC-FANR 2003). Research has also neglected extra-household institutions and practices at local (schools, churches, lending groups), national and international levels (Murphy *et al* 2005). Impacts of AIDS thus vary, depending on characteristics of, and processes operating at, individual, household, community, national and international levels. Subtler, empirically informed analysis is needed to substantiate NVF (Murphy *et al* 2005).

As a 'long wave disaster' (Barnett and Blaikie 1992), AIDS' impacts on food security lie mainly in the future, hence young people require 'sustained support to ensure that they will be in a position to grow or procure food for themselves as adults' (FAO 2003). Numerous reports have suggested that AIDS will diminish long-term food security through its impacts on young people today. Many children lose property when their parents die, livestock and equipment being sold to fund medical and funeral costs, or misappropriated by relatives (Kimaryo *et al* 2003; Munthali and Ali 2000). Those who inherit land may be too young or inexperienced to farm it: usufruct rights may be lost, leaving them landless as adults (Slater and Wiggins 2005; White and Robinson 2000). Traditionally, children acquire livelihood skills by working with parents

and siblings, whose premature death may interrupt intergenerational knowledge transfer (Hlanze *et al* 2005; Loevinsohn and Gillespie 2003; Mphale *et al* 2002; White and Robinson 2000). Where knowledge is traditionally differentiated by age and gender, difficulties may be exacerbated (Alumira *et al* 2005; Haddad and Gillespie 2001). These reports, however, have addressed only isolated aspects of young people's livelihood prospects, and most lack substantive evidence. The impacts of AIDS on young people's attitudes and dispositions remained neglected. Empirical research was therefore urgently needed in order to understand more widely how AIDS will impact on young people's participation in sustainable livelihoods in varying geographical/livelihood contexts (Pinder 2003).

Most recommendations concerning the livelihood needs of AIDS-affected young people have focused on minimising school dropout (Morris and Lewis 2003) or agricultural extension (Barnett and Rugalema 2001; de Waal and Tumushabe 2003; SADC-FANR 2003). Schooling, however, provides few rural southern African youth with access to paid employment (Ansell 2004), contributes little to other rural livelihood skills (Ansell 2000), and can alienate young people from older generations (Boehm 2003; Bryceson *et al* 2004). Furthermore, 'educated' youth are reluctant to engage in agriculture (Gill-Wason 2004). Advocates of sharing agricultural knowledge have also tended towards a simplistic view of knowledge transfer and learning practices. Minimal attention has been given to non-agricultural livelihoods or the removal of other constraints. Moreover, no studies have examined rural livelihoods from young people's own perspectives (White and Robinson 2000). Yet if children contribute to household livelihoods, make decisions about their own lives and are in some cases household heads, they can and should be consulted. This research was a response to growing calls for young people to taken seriously in poverty reduction strategies, and recognised as partners of government and other stakeholders, rather than passive beneficiaries (Kabwato 2005).[1]

Research objectives

Research was undertaken with the following objectives:

1. To improve understanding of the ways in which AIDS is impacting on young people's involvement in household livelihood strategies in rural southern Africa
2. To assess the ways in which wider policy, institutional and economic environments condition the context-specific livelihood opportunities available to AIDS-affected rural young people
3. To elicit AIDS-affected young people's perspectives on their current situations and future prospects, and to understand how their aspirations and decisions are shaped
4. To improve understanding of spatial dimensions of rural young people's livelihood responses to AIDS
5. To generate evidence in relation to the NVF hypothesis, particularly regarding the long-term food security implications of the impacts of AIDS on young people
6. To work with young people, development practitioners and policy makers, to develop guidelines for appropriate policy responses and interventions to support AIDS-affected young people in achieving sustainable livelihoods
7. To provide an innovative model for similar studies in other settings

[1] There may be resistance at the policy level to involving children in livelihood programming owing to concerns about child labour emanating from the international child rights agenda (Alfred Hamadziripi, SARPN, Personal Communication).

Theoretical framework

The research took as a starting point for analysis the sustainable livelihoods approach (SLA) initially developed by Chambers and Conway (1991). A livelihood is said to be sustainable when it has the resilience to survive shocks, including sickness, deaths or environmental disasters. This holistic, actor-centred approach to understanding dimensions of poverty has been further elaborated (e.g. Carney 1998; Ellis 2000; Scoones 1998) and adopted by several donor agencies and NGOs (notably DFID, UNDP, CARE). In most formulations, the (agricultural and non-agricultural) livelihood strategies people adopt, which depend on access to a range of assets, determine their resilience (including food security) or vulnerability. Access to assets and opportunities to pursue particular strategies are shaped by structures and processes operating at both micro- and macro-levels (see Appendix 1).

While SLA can be a useful tool for organising and analysing ideas, and has resonance with many research users, it needs to be employed flexibly (Hinshelwood 2003), taking into account three sets of criticisms. First, in codifying complexity, SLA analyses often underplay the significance of macro-level political economy, which both obscures understanding and risks casting the poor as responsible for their own situations (Arce 2003; Murray 2002; Toner 2003). Secondly, SLA is criticised for its relative blindness to social relations within households and communities (Sneddon 2000). Assets are fundamentally relational (Whitehead 2000) and should not be conflated with the economistic concept, 'capital' (Arce 2003). Access to livelihood opportunities between and within households is mediated by power-laden social relations of age, gender, class, kinship and generation (de Haan and Zoomers 2005; Murray 2001), and shaped by rights, tradition and law (Blaikie *et al* 1994). Finally, SLA has not adequately recognised that decisions about livelihoods are seldom rational pro-active strategies determined by coherent households or independent individuals (de Haan and Zoomers 2005). They also reflect contests over social value and differing understandings of 'reality' (Arce 2003). De Haan and Zoomers (2005) suggest two conceptual alternatives to 'strategies' that reconcile understanding of individual agency with a more structural approach. 'Livelihood styles' and 'pathways' are ways of conceptualising how individuals draw upon cultural understandings and institutional processes in making (and re-making) decisions through relationships with other actors. These concepts are valuable in exploring young people's livelihood decisions.

Research questions

Based on the research objectives and with reference to the theoretical framework, the following research questions were formulated:

1. In what ways are AIDS-affected/unaffected young people involved in livelihood activities?
2. What livelihood opportunities are available to AIDS-affected young people and what shapes access to these?
3. How do AIDS-affected young people make decisions about livelihood strategies in their transitions to adulthood?
4. Do the livelihood strategies adopted reduce or increase long-term vulnerability?
5. How might AIDS-affected young people's prospects of achieving sustainable rural livelihoods as adults be enhanced?

Methodology

Three key methodological challenges confront livelihoods research, and these informed the research design:

1. Research needs to provide in-depth contextualised understanding, but also produce findings that are relevant to other contexts. In-depth understanding of complex interrelationships, and insight into contexts, processes and motivations, was achieved through participatory case studies (Bagchi *et al* 1998; Ellis 2000). Case studies are not statistically generalisable, but the conceptual understanding produced should be analytically generalisable (Yin 2003). Using a comparative approach, we have been able to relate processes to particular characteristics of nation, community, household and individual, including the individual-level impacts of AIDS.

2. Linking micro- and macro-contexts in livelihood analysis is methodologically complex (Murray 2002; Whitehead 2000). Participatory research is justifiably criticised for focusing too much on 'local and personal knowledge' (Pain 2004:653), while neglecting institutions, processes and policies originating beyond the physical bounds of the community (Cooke and Kothari 2001; Hickey and Mohan 2004). Although interest in empowering participants is laudable, 'change will not occur through localised action alone' (Mohan 1999:48). Research must relate to wider processes and, ideally, different scales should be integrated throughout the research (Murray 2002). To achieve this, National Steering Groups (NSGs) were established in each country, comprising representatives of government, UN agencies, NGOs and local academics. Each met with the researchers on three occasions. They were both advisors and 'participants', whose knowledge of, and involvement in, national policy contexts was brought into dialogue with the village-level findings. Following the village-level research, interviews were conducted with national level policy-makers.

3. Livelihoods research (and specifically this project) needs to anticipate future change. Murray (2002) recommends combining retrospective (how livelihoods have changed over time), circumspective (current patterns) and prospective (to influence policy) approaches. Although Lesotho and Malawi 'represent' different stages of the pandemic, findings cannot be simply extrapolated. 'Livelihood trajectories' (Bagchi *et al* 1998), particularly past responses to shocks, may point to future trends, but the course of AIDS is not readily predictable (UNAIDS 2005) and impacts are contingent on other factors including access to anti-retrovirals, macro-economic change and politics. Through participatory research we therefore investigated complex causal chains, which can be related to projected trajectories of the pandemic.

Research design

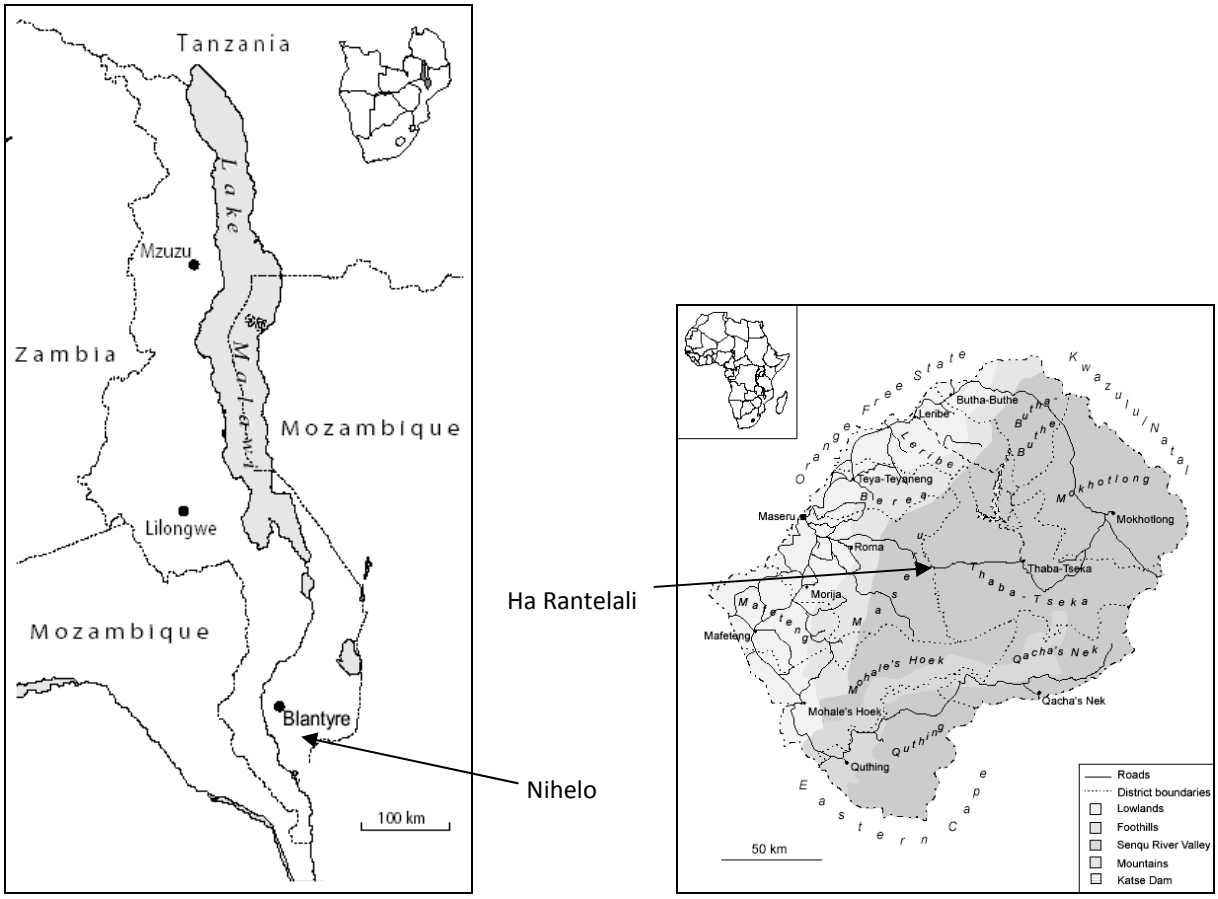
The research focused on two southern African countries that have experienced recurrent food crises in tandem with high HIV-prevalence: Malawi and Lesotho (Appendix 2). These countries were selected from among the six allegedly experiencing NVF, in part, because they are well known to the research team.[2]

[2] Ansell and van Blerk's DFID-funded research on children's AIDS-related migration compared Lesotho and Malawi. Robson is resident and conducting livelihoods research in Malawi.

Moreover, rural residents of the two countries pursue a spectrum of rural livelihood strategies, including labour migration, wage labour, informal income generation and subsistence agriculture.

In each country, one village was selected for in-depth fieldwork: Nihelo in densely populated Thyolo District in southern Malawi and Ha Rantelali in the relatively remote Maluti Mountains in Lesotho (Figure 1). Access to the communities was negotiated through local/traditional leaders, and participation encouraged through an ethical approach and rapport building. The Research Assistant (Hajdu) resided in each village for around three months, while the other researchers made several visits. Field assistants were recruited locally. While the research centred on young people, contextual understanding was acquired through ethnographic and participatory research across the communities.

Figure 1: The two study villages: Nihelo in Malawi and Ha Rantelali in Lesotho



A participatory approach was favoured because it reflects an ethical imperative to research *with* people, rather than extract data *from* them. Participants, recognised as meaning-making agents, engage actively in knowledge production. Participatory methods can also produce 'situated, rich and layered accounts' (Pain 2004:653) and capture complex non-linear interrelationships. Those researching with children have long advocated participatory approaches, recognising that children's insights into their own lives are most readily expressed when they are empowered through self-directed methods (Ansell 2005; Boyden and Ennew 1997; Hart 1992; Johnson *et al* 1995; Young and Barrett 2001). Participatory research is also likely to retain their interests, enhancing the richness of the information they provide (Punch 2002).

Participatory methods are not, however, unproblematic. The quality of research depends heavily on the facilitation and relationships developed between researcher and participants (Chambers 1997). Even with

good facilitation, epistemological limitations need to be considered. Participatory methods do not tap directly into objective experience or unmediated perspectives, but produce particular types of knowledge (Kesby 1999). Apparent consensus views generally conceal powerful interests (Guijt and Kaul Shah 1998) and the multiple/conflicting knowledges held within any group or individual (Cameron and Graham 2005). Furthermore, techniques produce mainly linguistic representations of knowledge (even diagrams need explanations) and thus reveal little about matters that cannot be expressed verbally (Mohan 1999). Given the sensitive and complex research subject, participatory methods at community and group level needed to be supplemented by research with households and individuals and by ethnography.

The field research consisted of four stages in each country:

Stage 1: Community and household profiling

Community meetings were held to inform villagers of the project and undertake participatory community-profiling exercises (Hawtin *et al* 1994; Messer and Townsley 2003). These helped to build rapport, learn how people talk about the research topics and develop an understanding of the villages and their recent history. Young people's roles in livelihoods and the opportunities available to them are strongly shaped not only by their communities but, more significantly, by their households and families. To more fully contextualise the information provided by young people in Stage 2, we profiled all households in each village, mapping and collecting key demographic and livelihoods data. From this, AIDS-affected and unaffected young people were identified, alongside information about their family situations (Appendices 3 and 4). Interviews were conducted with key informants, including village chiefs and home-based care workers.

Stage 2: Participatory research with young people

Young people aged 10-24 were informed about and invited to participate in the project. Participants were divided into four groups based on age and gender[3], and attended nine participatory sessions (Appendix 5; Figure 2) that were scheduled to fit around their everyday livelihood/school activities. In most sessions, participants were involved in self/group-directed production of a diagram, visual or dramatic output. Because attention was not on the researcher, less dominant individuals could participate more comfortably, and sensitive subjects were addressed more easily (Kesby 2000). Outputs produced were used to promote discussion. Full notes were taken and, where appropriate, discussions recorded and transcribed. The methodology was progressive and cumulative, results of each technique feeding into another, as well as enabling triangulation of findings.

To understand how AIDS impacts differentially on young people's livelihoods and opportunities requires a cross-section of young people of different characteristics, who are affected in different ways by AIDS. The household profiles were used to ensure that participants from each village represented a range of ages, balance of genders and included young people resident with one or two biological parents, with foster parents (grandparents, aunts, uncles, step-parents and others), in orphan-headed households and those who have established their own households. The wide age range spans the roughly parallel transitions most young people experience between ten and twenty-four (leaving school, leaving home, marriage), allowing insight into multiple points between childhood and adulthood. Participants ranged from ten-year-olds,

[3] The young people were allocated to groups depending on whether they were aged under or over 18 (the legal age of majority), but ages were not always well known and some young people asked to change groups based on other criteria such as marital status. In Lesotho a fifth group comprising herdboys (predominantly 18+) met at a mountain cattlepost, to avoid disrupting their livelihood activities.

attending school and playing minor roles in supporting their households, yet able to articulate their current situations, expectations and aspirations, through to young adults who were able to reflect on experiences of negotiating livelihood pathways.

Figure 2: Participatory activities included drawing, transect walks, photography, drama and video

In Ha Rantelali 42 (51%) and in Nihelo 37 (53%) of young people aged 10-24 years participated in the project, although not all attended every session (Appendix 4).[4] For ethical and practical reasons, children affected by AIDS were not singled out. Because deaths of relatives are almost never openly attributed to AIDS, a proxy based on sickness and death was used initially to identify AIDS-affected young people, and progressively refined as further information about individuals emerged (Appendix 4). AIDS' impacts on young people are diverse, and the research sought to explore this diversity rather than simplistically distinguish between categories of affected and unaffected. Nonetheless, broad comparisons between those affected and those not (directly) AIDS-affected assists in attributing findings to the pandemic. Differences were also explored relating to age,[5] gender and household/family morbidity/mortality profiles.

[4] In terms of selection bias, the participants did not include young people who were studying, training or working elsewhere; those too busy to attend (especially male youth and high school boys in Lesotho); and those whose employers objected. From the household surveys, no difference between participants and non-participants relating to AIDS impacts is apparent.

[5] Chronological age is not necessarily very meaningful to young people (Ansell 2005), but distinguishing 10-17-year-olds from 18-24-year-olds permits insight into issues faced by those legally defined as 'children' and 'young adults'.

Stage 3: Interviews with policy makers

In order to integrate micro- and macro-scales, and specifically to answer Research Questions 2 and 5, discussions with NSGs were supplemented by a series of interviews with decision-makers in district and national level government departments, donor and UN agencies, national and international NGOs. 33 and 49 interviews were conducted in Malawi and Lesotho respectively. These focused on perceptions of the impacts of current policies, legislation and activities pertaining to young people, AIDS and food security; and responses to issues arising from the fieldwork. Interviews were recorded and transcribed.

Stage 4: Interviews with young people

Preliminary data analysis suggested a need for further detailed empirical accounts of the impacts of AIDS on individuals over a sustained time period. Hence in-depth life history interviews were conducted with all available 18-24-year-olds during the dissemination phase (27 in Malawi and 21 in Lesotho). These were recorded, transcribed and translated.

Analysis

In participatory research, the production and analysis of data should be an iterative process involving participants in exploring connections and causality. According to the purist view, participants are the analysts, the researcher merely facilitating (Chambers 1997). This is, however, epistemologically naïve (Mohan 1999). Knowledge is generated within a cultural context; researchers are involved in its co-production and inevitably bring to bear their own knowledge and theoretical understandings, both in guiding the data production process, and in analysis (Pain 2004). Researchers must take ultimate responsibility for analysis, approaching the data reflexively, to inform academic and policy debates, and make findings relevant to other contexts.

There are no explicit frameworks for analysing participatory research (Pain and Francis 2003). The methods generated five main forms of data: observed behaviour, and reports of facts, perceived causal relationships, and attitudes/values, all embedded in discourse. Since these were produced together in a relatively naturalistic way, we sought to avoid decontextualising types of data for analysis. To ensure rigour and reliability, and allow integration of information from different sources, data were generated systematically, answering the research questions as directly as possible. The research tools were designed to answer research questions derived from the SLA framework. This allowed theoretical concepts to be interrogated while not retrospectively forcing the data to conform to formal structures that were unapparent to participants. By keeping close to emic meanings, the analysis remains attuned to the way people make sense of their own lives, their social agency and the fluidity of situations, thereby maximising its relevance.

It is appropriate to employ different modes of analysis at different levels (Pain and Francis 2003), engaging participants in the early stages and returning subsequent interpretations to them for validation and further analysis. Throughout the fieldwork, researchers, participants and NSGs engaged with the emerging findings in relation to their own knowledge and experience. Following the fieldwork, transcripts, notes and other materials were analysed in depth by the research team, in an iterative process involving constant critical dialogue with the SLA framework. We have examined the construction of narratives and the discursive repertoires young people draw on in explaining their livelihood experiences and aspirations. Matrices were used to identify differences between communities and ‘categories’ of young people. Causal network charts were used to build logical chains of evidence. Findings have been verified by crosschecking across the research team, looking for negative evidence and testing explanations for coherence (Miles and Huberman 1994). Through the analysis we have generated empirical descriptions and explanations, but also sought to project forward.

Results

In this section we briefly summarise empirical results in relation to each research question. Analysis is still ongoing and further findings will be reported in other fora in due course.

1. In what ways are AIDS-affected/unaffected young people involved in livelihood activities?

In answering this question, we draw on empirical evidence from the household surveys and from interviews and activities with young participants. Although we present some numerical data to illustrate where there are and are not differences between AIDS-affected and unaffected young people, we acknowledge that these are descriptive only of the communities in which the work was conducted. The empirical evidence is supplemented by some young people's views on the differences between the lives of affected and unaffected youth.

The young people who participated in the project were involved in a range of livelihood activities. Their principal activities are set out in Appendix 6. While most of those under 18 were still attending school, the prominent livelihood activities among older youth in Lesotho were herding livestock (among young men) and farming (predominantly maize and wheat) and domestic work (among young women). In Malawi there was a greater diversity of activities, with many young people engaged in growing vegetables for sale on *dimba* (riverside plots irrigated by watering can; see Figure 3); casual labour for other villagers (*'ganyu'*); and a host of informal businesses, besides cultivating maize and cassava in the fields. Table 1 is far from comprehensive: all young people undertook a range of activities on a daily, weekly and seasonal basis, in support of themselves and their households. In Nihelo, for instance, Yamikani (aged 17) not only attended school but also worked on the fields, irrigated a *dimba*, and looked after the household's pigs and rabbits; while Lucius (aged 13) combined school with farming, making baskets and *ganyu*. The table also only provides a snapshot view. Many of the older Malawian youth had at times engaged in small businesses of various sorts, generally either baking and selling food or trading in goods such as fish or maize. In both countries a substantial number had undertaken paid work, mostly in town or (in Malawi) on agricultural estates, and at the time of the research, ten young people from Ha Rantelali were employed elsewhere (four domestic workers, three herding, a taxi driver, a factory worker and a shop worker). A further fourteen were studying elsewhere, including two at university.

It is important to recognise that all livelihoods have a temporality: people undertake activities both to fulfil their immediate needs for sustenance and to secure their longer term prospects. Even cultivating fields brings rewards over a period of months. Young people are more oriented to the future than most. All young people in the study participated in the day-to-day activities of their households (notably food crop production – although it is noteworthy that few households in either village grew enough food to last all year, and thus required income to purchase food), but many also undertook activities geared to their future livelihoods (whether with this intention or not). Engagement in day-to-day livelihood activities also, of course, provides experience that has value in future lives. In SLA terms, young people were engaged in the accumulation of assets: human capital, through formal and informal learning (most under-18s attended school as their principal livelihood activity); natural capital, through for instance acquiring land through marriage; social capital through forming useful friendships; and physical capital through accruing livestock or tools.

Figure 3: Dimba cultivation is an important livelihood activity form Nihelo young people: in the photography exercise a group of young men chose to photograph their tomatoes while in his activity calendar, Fasan, 14 years, drew himself using watering cans to irrigate tomatoes

Livelihoods are also relational: very few young people undertake livelihood activities in isolation. Most combine activities that contribute to their households (those of parents, guardians, employers, or 'independent' households with siblings or spouse) with activities intended principally to benefit their individual welfare. In Ha Rantelali, young people's livelihood activities were particularly closely interlocked with their households, and even following marriage, couples often waited years before establishing a truly independent household. Young men engaged in herding for an unrelated household and paid in livestock, also allowed their families to decide whether to sell those animals, as Hlobola (aged 21) explains:

> *I have to first go to my mother and father and we have a discussion. If they disagree then I cannot sell. They will maybe help me out with what I need if they are able to do so.*

In Nihelo, by contrast, young people expected to keep their own earnings. In turn, they were expected to support themselves at an earlier age, and usually established independent households within a year or two after marriage. This perhaps contributes to the willingness of young Malawians to experiment with business ventures, but it might also deprive youth of useful intergenerational learning, and explain the high rate of business failure. It undoubtedly also promotes a sense of urgency for marriage as a means of securing a food supply. Marriage is certainly a livelihood strategy for many, if not a 'livelihood activity' and will be considered further in relation to question 3.

In terms of identifying the impacts of AIDS, it is striking from Appendix 6 that orphanhood and other impacts of AIDS do not appear to have a generalised impact on the principal livelihood activities young people undertake. While a number of participants reported having left school upon the death of a parent (usually a father), school attendance was actually higher among AIDS-affected than unaffected participants. Among 18-24-year-olds, those deemed AIDS-affected had on average progressed further through school. Of the fourteen young people belonging to Ha Rantelali but studying elsewhere, ten were AIDS-affected. While such quantitative measures cannot be generalised beyond the villages studied, they do emphasise that many young people drop out for reasons unrelated to AIDS. It seems that a sense of the importance of education combined with access to bursaries and scholarships at secondary level is enabling many AIDS-affected young people to remain in school.

Among the young people who have left full-time education there is also little evidence that those affected by AIDS find it systematically harder to find employment or to engage in business. *Dimba* cultivation,

popularised in Nihelo following agricultural extension work in 2007, appears to be practised in equal measure by those who are and are not affected by AIDS. In Lesotho, most young men report leaving school in order to herd, a roughly equal number herding for their own family (usually unpaid) as for unrelated families (usually remunerated with a cow a year). It might be expected that herding for pay would be undertaken disproportionately by orphans (they are provided with food and accommodation in winter, as well as the opportunity to begin their own herd), yet only one of the participants herding for an unrelated family in Ha Rantelali is an orphan. Equal numbers of affected and unaffected Ha Rantelali youth were working away from the village. An exception to the apparent lack of negative impact of AIDS on principal livelihood activities is perhaps the more lucrative informal businesses such as building (Figure 4), which in Nihelo is principally undertaken by young men whose parents are living.

Figure 4: Building is a relatively lucrative activity that may be less accessible to AIDS-affected youth

It should not be assumed that because generalised impacts of AIDS on current livelihood activities are not apparent, that AIDS has no impact. Young people in Lesotho told us that orphans are expected to work harder in the home, and those in Malawi said that when a parent is sick there is no capital for business, as the following extract from a discussion of the consequences of sickness reveals:

Assistant:	*How does it affect the future of youths whose parents are sick?*
Participant 1:	*Your future is doomed*
Participant 2:	*If you were doing business, your capital is used up*
Assistant:	*Why is it used up?*
Participant 3:	*It is used up because you are at home and use the money in helping your parents*

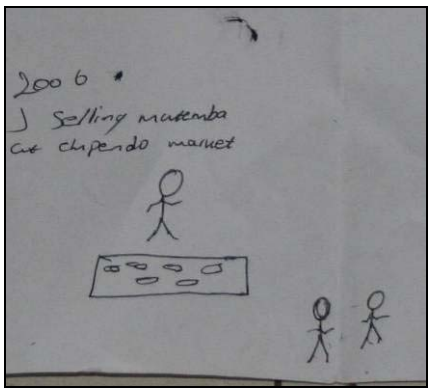
There are also instances where young people's livelihood options were certainly diminished by the death of a parent.

2. What livelihood opportunities are available to AIDS-affected young people and what shapes access to these?

In answering this question, we highlight a number of causal relationships. Some of these were directly identified by young people in the two communities in participatory activities while others are based on our own analysis of the empirical findings. We draw attention to various impacts of AIDS but are cognizant that AIDS is one among many factors affecting young lives and, as was seen in the previous section, does not have a systematic, regular impact on all individuals affected.

A range of livelihood opportunities is available to young people in both villages. These can broadly be categorised as subsistence agriculture; cash crop production; livestock rearing; business (ranging considerably in scale and character); local casual employment; and migrant work (including formal sector professional posts, factory (in Lesotho), shop, agricultural estate (in Malawi) and domestic work). Rewards (and levels of security) vary within and between categories (Figure 5). In Nihelo, for instance, tea estate work is available at 1212 kwacha[6] for 12 days; *ganyu* pays upwards of 100 kwacha/day; selling scones can generate 620 kwacha/month; radio repair might earn 350 kwacha/day (but not every day) and bicycle repair 800 kwacha/day; while a teacher is paid 12,000 kwacha/month.

Figure 5: Selling fish can be profitable, but the young woman selling fried fish in Nihelo (left) makes much less money than young men who buy fresh fish at the lake and sell them in a local market, as Wyson, aged 19, depicts in his life map



Engagement in any of these livelihoods depends on access to a combination of factors. In the first instance, it is necessary to be aware of opportunities – both at a broad level (in Ha Rantelali, for instance, young people are unaware of many of the business possibilities that those in Nihelo consider) and also specific job opportunities. Most livelihoods require skills, but some demand higher levels of skill, or less commonly transmitted skills. Business or agriculture generally requires capital for inputs and equipment. To start a fish trading business for instance, requires around 30,000 kwacha whereas setting up a radio repair business has only low start-up costs. Agriculture also requires land, and different types of agriculture (such as *dimba* cultivation) require particular types of land. Some forms of (better paid) employment require educational qualifications, and access to urban employment opportunities requires that a young person has somewhere to stay when seeking and undertaking the work.

Shaping access to these prerequisites are a range of factors operating at various scales from the international and national, through the local environment, families and households to the individual young person (although in producing opportunities these scales are intimately interconnected). At the level of international and national political economy, the availability of job opportunities reflects international market conditions and trade agreements (which, for instance, no longer favour Malawi's agricultural estates but have enabled a burgeoning of garment factories in Lesotho). National policies are also

[6] Exchange rate: 250 kwacha = £1.

outcomes of international and national conditions, including the roles played by donor agencies and lobbying by NGOs. They have also been revised, to an extent, in light of the AIDS pandemic. The livelihood prospects of the AIDS-affected research participants were shaped to an extent by education policy (particularly measures relating to access including free provision, bursaries and uniform requirements) although in practice education gave very few young people access to a more secure livelihood. Education policy also encompasses the provision of vocational training, yet only one young person had experienced formal training, and she was unable to employ her skills for lack of capital. No young person had benefited from formal loans or grants, and as yet the provision of other forms of cash transfer have not provided young people with direct opportunities to invest (although on pension day in Lesotho, some young women brew beer in order to tap some of this income, and the community dissemination workshop in Ha Rantelali advised that pensions were benefiting children). Land policies have begun to make a difference to livelihood prospects, with some young couples in Lesotho being allocated fields and some people from Nihelo being relocated to former estate land, thereby relieving pressure on fields for those who remain in the village. Agriculture policy in Malawi (notably the targeted fertiliser subsidy) is also shaping access to livelihood opportunities, particularly in the agriculture sector, but also by freeing time and money to invest in other ventures.

Differences between the communities are partly explicable in relation to national level differences, but local conditions also play a prominent role. Ha Rantelali, although less than 3 hours by road from Maseru, is quite remote and poses challenges in relation to knowledge of opportunities, as well as a poorly developed market for locally produced goods and services (Figure 6). In contrast, Nihelo's proximity to several markets was seen as highly advantageous, and many alternative livelihoods could be explored. Environmental conditions also differ. Nihelo suffers from a high population density and poor soils, limiting the viability of some types of agriculture, but benefits from the availability of riverine land for *dimba* cultivation. Ha Rantelali's cold climate and mountainous topography make it suitable for livestock rearing but challenge incomers who are unused to the environment. Khotso, who moved to stay with his grandmother in Ha Rantelali following his parents' death, soon dropped out of high school because he was unused to the two hour walk across a mountain pass to school. There are also significant cultural differences, including between patrilineal traditions in Lesotho and matrilineal in southern Malawi, which affect how marriage impacts on young people's livelihoods.

Figure 6: In remote Ha Rantelali the village shop is one of very few non-agricultural businesses

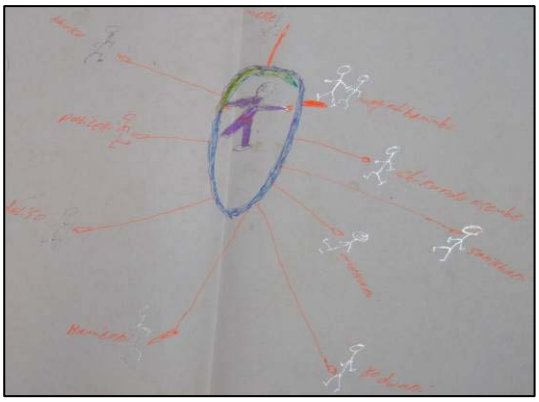
At a more individual level, access to opportunities can depend on the availability of ideas, encouragement, land, equipment and funds from among personal acquaintances, and in particular the commitment of

adults and strong social networks. Many young people in Nihelo learn skills from their friends, including quite lucrative trades such as building.

> *[my best friend] is important to me because we build houses together and we assist each other in many things*
> ***Where did you learn to build houses?***
> *From the man who built this house*
> ***Did he teach you everything?***
> *We learned through experience, by helping with mortar when they were building, and sometimes we were told to do certain tasks*
> ***Did you have to pay something for that?***
> *No, we did not pay*
>
> *(Patric, 18 years)*

It is much more difficult to borrow money from friends. Social networks are also very important for learning about job opportunities, and to provide a place to stay in order to search for employment outside the village (Figure 7). Even obtaining a bursary to attend secondary school may depend on having a friendly adult to support one's case.

Figure 7: On Patric's social network map he marks numerous friends: those with whom he goes hunting, from whom he learned skills such as tomato irrigation and house building, and those who have helped him find ganyu or work in town



AIDS can impact on these individual circumstances in various ways that diminish the livelihood options available and chances of success. AIDS can reduce the money available for a young person to invest (in a participatory exercise young women spoke of having to spend money caring for sick relatives rather than investing in business, for instance). On the other hand, young people whose parents die do sometimes inherit land, livestock, equipment and even money that they are able to employ, provided these are not seized by others because the children are deemed too young, or because (as happened to more than one participant) there is no money to transport equipment from the parent's place of work to the village. Inheritance of property was seldom a significant issue in Nihelo, where few households possess significant material assets. In Lesotho inheritance was more important, but affected by many factors, not least sibling order. The eldest son very often inherited fields, livestock and other items, thus younger boys and girls would be left without assets, irrespective of whether property was grabbed by relatives.

AIDS in the household may also mean less attention and encouragement from adults, if they are sick or having to devote their time to caring for others, or if significant adults have passed away. It can also impact on social networks, which are of particular importance for those affected by AIDS. Some of the most successful young people in the study were orphans, who had access to support and encouragement from adult relatives. In other cases, AIDS affected young people were very vulnerable because of weak social networks, which can be exacerbated by AIDS-related stigma and gossip. It is not unusual for AIDS to diminish young people's social networks, at least in the short term, as when a parent is sick there is less time to spend socialising, and young people in Nihelo reported that children in such situations are viewed

as sad and not fun to spend time with. Moreover, many children engage in AIDS-related migration and lose contact with their friends (although some reported that migration offered the possibility of extending social networks and exposure to ideas). It is noteworthy that marriage, too, disrupts the social networks of men in Malawi and women in Lesotho, reducing some livelihood opportunities. Rex, a double orphan who had moved to live with his wife in Nihelo, for instance, was less able to gain work as a builder than unmarried men with more established networks in the village (some young men actually retain a home in their natal village for a few years after marrying, until they have developed new connections). This may in part explain why AIDS-affected young men were less likely to be employed in such trades. In some respects the development of valuable social networks depends on individual personality, with likeable young people better able to gain opportunities in the event of parental sickness or death.

The temporality of these relationships is vitally important. When people are young, their lives change quickly and they have to take 'once-in-a-lifetime' decisions, such as when to drop out of school, get married, settle in a village/migrate to town, or start up a livelihood activity. They need adult help and support at these moments and may be especially vulnerable to AIDS-related disruptions. Financial problems can cause children to drop out of school and/or get married, with potentially long-term effects on future livelihoods. Typically, after leaving school a young person has a window of opportunity before marriage gives them new responsibilities, at which point they are supposed to be independent, or to depend on their spouse. During this period, they may experiment with different livelihood activities and try out business ideas, provided they have access to financial capital and encouragement to do so. Many young people are able to secure financial support from parents at this time, but if their parents are sick or have died, their opportunities are reduced.

3. How do AIDS-affected young people make decisions about livelihood strategies in their transitions to adulthood?

Young people's livelihood strategies develop over a period of time, with aspirations shaping plans and plans shaping actions, but intervening events and circumstances contributing greatly to the dynamic process. De Haan and Zoomers (2005) notion of livelihood pathways describes the process more accurately than 'strategies', although elements of strategic thinking are certainly involved. At all stages the options adopted carry opportunity costs, some of which young people are aware of and factor into their decisions.

While still in school, children in both villages, but especially in Ha Rantelali, aspire almost exclusively to formal sector careers that require secondary education (and generally entail a move to town). Many Basotho girls insisted that a sad future would be one in which they had to hoe. Some of the Nihelo schoolchildren had more modest aspirations: to repair radios or become car mechanics, for instance. This difference probably relates to the fact that the young Malawians are exposed to many opportunities locally (Figure 8), while the Basotho children do not see the same range of possibilities in their local area and rely on the images propagated in school. Other than among some boys in Lesotho, however, there was a universal aspiration to continue education as long as possible, and while many recognised that their families could not afford secondary fees, they believed that by taking a few years out to earn money, they would be able to pay for themselves. Those who did not plan to attend secondary school had similar plans to gain other training.

First I will have to find some ganyu. After I'm from the ganyu, the money from there has to be invested in a dimba and after the end of the season is when I am going to pay the fees [for training as a driver]

(Tiamike, 13 years, AIDS-affected boy, Group discussion on livelihood opportunities and assets, Malawi)

Figure 8: Children in Malawi are exposed to a range of trades from an early age, and come to admire and learn from particular adults

Other than in the case of Basotho herdboys, leaving school was seldom a strategic decision, and certainly not one that was entirely freely made. Most boys in Lesotho stated that they left school in order to herd (Figure 9), usually because they saw herding their family stock, or gaining employment as a herdboy, as a way to secure their futures, but sometimes at the insistence of a guardian. Mote, a paternal orphan in Lesotho, left school in standard 3 to herd the family livestock against his family's wishes, 'but because of the animals they kept quiet'. Relebuhile, not directly affected by AIDS, told a similar story:

I left school because I wanted to herd the animals. I'm herding for my own family, and a younger brother is also herding. The other two brothers are schooling. […] this is our choice because our parents sent us all to school but we decided school was a waste of time. [Our parents] were very upset and they were forcing us but we wanted to be herdboys […] because my home flock didn't have a herdboy so the animals were getting finished.

When you were at school, did you think it was boring or were you doing fine?

I was enjoying myself very much but still the animals came first.

How do you like it now as a herdboy?

I like it! I like being a herdboy because I am going to have my own animals.

Is there anything else that you would rather do apart from herding if you had a choice?

I like herding only.

What are your plans for the future?

It's to have many animals and get married.

(Relebuhile, 20 years, herdboy whose father is working in the mines, life maps exercise, Lesotho)

Figure 9: Herding livestock often takes priority over schooling among young men in Ha Rantelali

Usually, though, leaving school was precipitated by the failure of end of year exams (which tended to reflect irregular attendance over the previous year, itself an outcome of challenging circumstances); the sickness or death of a parent; growing poverty (lack of uniform, soap for washing clothes, money to pay school user fees) or by pregnancy or marriage.

Having left school, young people must make decisions. These are not generally one-off decisions, but a progression of actions with greater or lesser strategic intent. Most wish to maintain continuity in their rural homes, and expect to have fields and generally livestock in the future, but some do make the decision to seek work elsewhere at least in the short term. A number who had relatives in town that they could stay with made speculative visits, hoping to pick up some form of employment. This was often part of a larger plan; a way of saving money toward investing in further education or training, rather than an end in itself. Others seized opportunities for work as they arrived, for instance when agents from agricultural plantations visited Nihelo recruiting unskilled labour. Others, such as Mozambican double orphan Rex, learned about business possibilities opportunistically:

> *I thought of the business myself because I could admire fish sellers, this admiring started a long time ago when I saw that they were not short of money anytime. While, I could find five hundred from ganyu and it couldn't last long and they were the same people who were employing me [to do the ganyu]… I was also hearing from the fish sellers when they were discussing how much profits they had made, and I thought, ah, is this the way they do it and so it was like I found their secret and thought of doing it.*

In Malawi it is common for young unmarried school leavers to be able to borrow small amounts of money from parents to invest in starting a business – although this option is less available to those who have lost one or more parents. Young people's plans at this stage are often highly strategic, taking into account relative start-up and running costs of different business options, as well as their own talents and dis/abilities.

> *I'm having two plans for my future, one is to repair radios and the other to irrigate crops […] these things are not very difficult and the materials and equipment are simple .. It is only watering cans that are going to be bought… This is comparing to a man who is willing to do bicycle repairs where the equipment to do that is very expensive … with the radio if there is a wire inside that is missing you have to tell the owner of the radio to buy that wire and then you are going to replace it.*
>
> *(Yamikani, 17 years, AIDS-affected boy, village walk, Malawi)*

The decision to marry is often a pivotal moment, and again can be strategic – or inadvertent. In matrilineal southern Malawi a man needs to marry in order to access land for farming. In Lesotho a man is traditionally allocated land when he marries (although this is becoming increasingly unusual given the pressure on land), but men are mainly motivated to marry to have someone to help them and their families. Many young women in Malawi married because they no longer felt their families were supporting them, and believed marriage not only provided access to land, but also the labour of someone who would support them. In one of the dissemination activities, a young person told us that following orphanhood: 'If you see that there is no help, you just think that it's better to be married so that you can be eating fish'. Of the eight women aged 17+ whose fathers had died, six told us they had married because they needed assistance – in several cases to a man that they would not, under ideal circumstances, have chosen. This was, however, also the case among four of the eight young women who had not been so directly affected by AIDS. Most married while still at school (requiring them to drop out) or soon after leaving. Ultimately, however, most were pleased to have married and said their lives had improved as a consequence (Figure 10). Girls in Lesotho

were less enthusiastic. Nyefolo, for instance, said she wanted to become a nun because she did not want to marry and have children as this leads to extreme poverty and hard work, because 'most men around here don't work so it becomes difficult to eat'. Although this view was common, it was very unusual for a woman not to be married by her mid-20s. Men generally married considerably later (only three male participants were married), having accumulated the cattle needed to pay the substantial bridewealth that is expected. Only one young man expressed concern about being able to pay bridewealth in the future, and one other was doubtful that he would be able to support a wife.

Figure 10: Attitudes to marriage differ markedly between Nihelo and Ha Rantelali. While many Nihelo women (left) find livelihood security through marriage, in Ha Rantalali women's livelihood opportunities often deteriorate when they marry. Mafusi, aged 12 (right), crossed out a man and drew herself as a nun on her life map.

Young people with limited resources recognised their more limited options in relation to marriage. Rex spoke of how he 'couldn't be picky' because, as an orphan from Mozambique, he had nothing to offer a wife. A number of fatherless women in Lesotho had married without payment of bridewealth, one of whom suggested that it was because her husband had no cattle that he had chosen her. A number of marriages involved less deliberation, at least from the perspective of one party. Some were outcomes of unplanned pregnancies and the expected responsibility to marry in such circumstances. Two young women in Lesotho had 'been eloped': they had stayed out with boyfriends (willingly or otherwise) until it was too late to return home without being viewed as 'spoiled' and had no option but to marry.

Following marriage, the available livelihood options change. Most aspire to find more lucrative and reliable livelihoods, but few wish to return to education at this stage (and schools do not like to accept students who are married). In Lesotho, many young people expressed interest in learning new skills (although this was more common among those not affected by AIDS), while Malawian youth had complex plans to start or restart businesses. Several, for instance, envisaged earning money through *ganyu* to invest in their *dimba*, and in turn to use the profits to start a more lucrative business, perhaps trading in fish from Lake Malawi.

4. Do the livelihood strategies adopted reduce or increase long-term vulnerability?

In both communities, the majority of households are vulnerable to hunger, and in Nihelo many described having experienced real hunger in recent years, which required the adoption of particular coping strategies. Such vulnerability is certainly not confined to those affected by AIDS, and when discussing the difficulties they face in their lives, AIDS-affected young people were not systematically more or less content with their lives than others. Young people attributed their experience of poverty to the retrenchment of migrant workers from their households (particularly miners in Ha Rantelali), to marriage (particularly young women

in Ha Rantelali) as well as to sickness and death among family members. Hunger also results from poor harvests (attributed to late arrival of fertiliser subsidies in Malawi and to drought, frost, hail or unseasonal rain in Lesotho). Sources of potential security include income from employment (a prospect improved by having a large household with several migrant workers); pensions; livestock (particularly in Ha Rantelali, but also employed as a form of saving by some in Nihelo); and good social networks that provide gifts of food or offers of casual employment in times of need. To reduce vulnerability, livelihood strategies need to help young people avoid challenging circumstances and develop sources of security.

It is far from clear that continuing in education improves the livelihood prospects of rural youth. With a few exceptions (the young teacher in Ha Rantelali and three young builders in Nihelo), those who have received some secondary education are not engaged in more secure livelihood ventures than those without. Of the seven young people from Ha Rantelali working in Maseru, only three received secondary education. Of these, two are employed as domestic workers and one in a factory.

Many herdboys chose to leave school and herd as a way of acquiring their own cattle, paying bridewealth (entitling them to land through marriage), and having livestock for future security. Herdboys are usually paid one cow a year and as the cattle breed the herd should increase. However, cattle are vulnerable to drought (a quarter of those in Ha Rantelali died in 2007), disease and armed cattle theft. Herdboys are also vulnerable since their employers determine their working conditions (their food, time off, penalties for loss or injuries to animals). As young men in a dependent relationship, paid annually, it is hard to protest against unfair practices. Many herdboys forwent payment in order to change employer. Nonetheless, herding does allow some boys to accumulate valuable assets.

Casual work is often understood as a livelihood strategy for people in desperate situations, which increases long-term vulnerability by eroding human, natural, physical, financial or social capital (Bryceson 2006). However, the situation is more complicated than this, and casual work may be fruitful or harmful to particular individuals at specific points in time. Relying on *ganyu* might be problematic for a family head in Malawi, reducing the time available for their own farming activities, and some young people see it as suitable only for accessing food in times of hunger. However, many young people with no dependants and relying on parents or guardians for food and shelter are at a point in their lives where they can invest the money they make from *ganyu* in inputs for a business such as tomato growing. Nonetheless, the amount of pay is small, and most young people recognise that it is not possible, for instance, to pay for secondary schooling in this way.

Many young people in Malawi and some in Lesotho had engaged in business of various forms, but the majority had ultimately failed for myriad often unpredictable reasons. Some businesses are more lucrative than others: these generally have higher start up costs and greater risk associated with failure. However, failure need not imply livelihood vulnerability unless money has been borrowed: businesses generally generate income for a time and can provide valuable experience and contacts. Nonetheless, having engaged in a relatively lucrative business did not appear to offer long-term security.

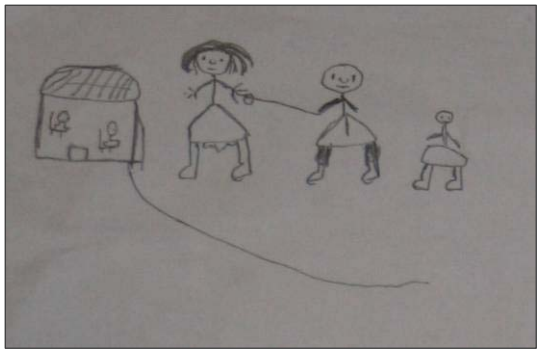
Young people from both communities had engaged in migrant work, most commonly as domestic workers, but also on agricultural estates in Malawi and in garment factories in Lesotho. Experiences were quite mixed. Some young people had enjoyed domestic work and had been paid well, although very few had made any savings or been able to invest in their longer term future and most were unable to continue in such a role beyond marriage. A significant number had, however, experienced sexual abuse in such contexts. Work on agricultural estates was seen as poorly paid (lower even than *ganyu*) and generally only

worth undertaking if there were no alternative to support subsistence. This was also seen as gruelling work and not to be undertaken over a prolonged period. It also takes people away from their villages and fields especially at crucial times for weeding and harvesting. Similarly, while many girls in Ha Rantelali envisaged factory work as a means of saving money to invest in furthering their education, those families from which young people had migrated to the factories for work reported that they were unable to remit any funds to their homes, and those who had children were not even able to support their own offspring, owing to the paucity of wages and high cost of living around the factories. Because many factory workers are hired only by the day, it is reportedly common for them to engage in sex work as a supplementary activity, jeopardising their future prospects of favourable marriage and potentially adding further burdens of offspring.

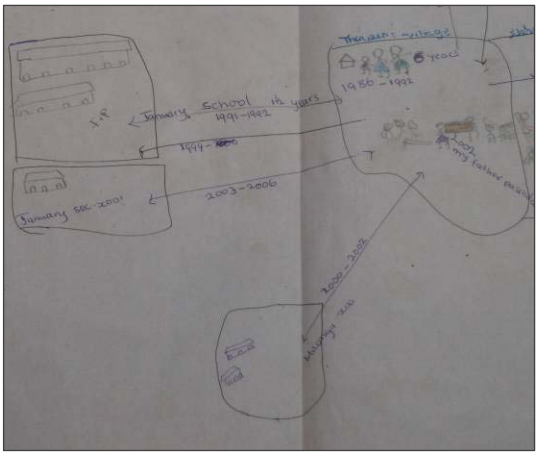
Marriage is a highly significant event in young people's livelihood trajectories. In general, young women become very dependent on their husbands (and in-laws) when they marry, while young men become more independent – but also take on new responsibilities. There are considerable differences between patrilocal Lesotho and matrilocal southern Malawi. In general, young women in Malawi were pleased to have married, and felt their lives had improved as a consequence. Nonetheless, some were abandoned by their husbands, leaving them vulnerable to poverty, especially if they had children to support; others were fearful of their husbands leaving. In Lesotho, by contrast, where women are expected to move in with their in-laws, many young married women complained that their husbands or in-laws would not permit them to seek employment away from home. In combination with men's difficulties finding work, this left most married women believing their situations had deteriorated following marriage.

Overall, the extent to which young people are rendered vulnerable to food insecurity often rests less on individual decisions about particular pathways, but a combination their own decisions, structural conditions, family circumstances and particular incidents, as the stories in Figure 11 Illustrate.

Figure 11: AIDS and vulnerability: two contrasting stories from Nihelo



Emily, aged 21, drew this picture on her emotion storyboard to illustrate that the happiest day of her life was when she married. She also drew her biggest fear: that her husband would leave her. Since she dropped out of school after Grade 1 because she lacked good clothes to wear, Emily has felt very insecure about being unable to read and write. Her father died when she was 15, after which she worked in Blantyre on various occasions as a domestic worker. One employer once approached her for sex, but she refused and lost the job. Her first husband worked at a tea plantation, but he died a few years after their marriage, and so did their first child. She married again in 2004 and moved to a small local trading centre where her husband had a business selling fish. However, having problems with where to keep earnings from his business, he entrusted 10,000 Kwacha to a friend, who had a car accident and used the money for hospital fees and was unable to pay it back. The business failed and the couple decided to move to Emily's home village where she had a house and fields. However, her husband's relatives were opposed to this move and were trying to persuade him to leave his wife. The couple had a small child, but the child was often sick, and there was gossip in the village that Emily was afraid to go to the clinic with her child because she feared they both had HIV. Emily ended her storyboard by drawing how she would poison herself if her husband left her, saying 'lack of money and unstable relationship such that you change husbands now and then, it's when I can commit suicide'.



Mary, also aged 21, was living with her family in Blantyre where her father was working. She attended school and was doing well. In 2002, her father passed away and Mary was worried that she might not be able to continue going to secondary school since there was no longer any income from her father's work. The family had to move back to her mother's village, but through the encouragement and support of the extended family and the assistance from two paternal uncles, Mary was able to continue at the local secondary school. She succeeded in being the only girl in the village to finish secondary school. Now she is aiming to continue her education, and is not yet married.

5. How might AIDS-affected young people's prospects of achieving sustainable rural livelihoods as adults be enhanced?

The findings above and outputs from dissemination workshops support a range of policy recommendations, some of which we highlight below.

In relation to education, free primary education and bursaries for vulnerable children have clearly had some success in enabling young people affected by AIDS to continue attending school. There remain some obstacles to attendance, for instance the charging of 'development fees', requirement for children to wear uniforms, and expulsion of girls who become pregnant or marry, that persist even where they are formally prohibited. To assure future food security, however, educational curricula need to be more relevant to rural livelihoods. In pursuing the elusive goal of formal sector employment (heavily promoted by schools), schoolchildren forego other opportunities to accumulate resources that would benefit them in the longer term.

Vocational training merits far more investment, as was acknowledged by young people, communities and policymakers attending the dissemination workshops. Currently opportunities are restricted to very small numbers (only one young person in the study had received any formal training, and informal training was expensive for those without personal connections). Some NGOs have schemes whereby local artisans are paid to provide basic training: these might usefully be scaled up, although there is a need to make a diverse range of scales available in any community if local markets are not to become saturated. In Nihelo, young people require guidance on how to make businesses successful and self sustaining as well as training in skills. In Ha Rantelali the challenge is to identify business opportunities in an environment where the local market is small and people are accustomed to purchasing competitively priced industrially produced goods imported from South Africa under the terms of the Southern African Customs Union. In both countries, the identification of opportunities and mechanisms for tapping non-local and international markets would benefit young people. Many youth have skills that they are unable to employ for lack of start-up capital. Loans are mistrusted in both communities, but start-up grants or other means of transferring cash to young people for potentially productive activities would be of benefit.

Figure 12: The policy recommendations presented here are based on discussion of the research findings at a series of participatory dissemination workshops with young people, their communities, and with representatives of government, UN and donor agencies, NGOs and local academics in Blantyre, Lilongwe and Maseru

Basic minimum levels of security are needed to enable young people to expend time, energy and money on anything beyond day-to-day subsistence activities. Various forms of social protection are being explored in both countries. Malawi has been providing agricultural subsidies in various forms for some years. For young people in Nihelo, an efficiently delivered fertiliser subsidy is considered vital. This enables higher levels of production from the very limited land available, and frees the time that would need to be spent in casual labour to pay for food or fertiliser. It does, however, encourage continued cultivation of maize in a way that is dependent on imported fertiliser, and perhaps inhibits innovation and forms of livelihood that are more sustainable environmentally. In Lesotho, agricultural policy has been concerned with national self-sufficiency rather than household level food security. Investment in household level food production is

viewed as inefficient in the context of unrestricted import of cheap South African grain, although in the mountains, where prices are higher and income generating options more limited, household production remains important. Rather than support food production, the Lesotho government responds to food insecurity with food aid or food-for-work schemes, when food availability becomes problematic. This is a valuable safety net, but does little to assist young people to develop sustainable livelihoods in the longer term. An innovation that is allowing rural Basotho youth to produce crops to help sustain themselves is the work of land allocation committees in enabling otherwise landless youth, including orphans who have moved into the village as well as others who do not inherit land, to have their own fields. It is important that such opportunities are available to young unmarried men and women.

Both Malawi and Lesotho have been introducing forms of targeted cash transfer over recent years. In Lesotho old age pensions were introduced in 2004. These have proven beneficial, including to AIDS-affected children, many of whom live with elderly relatives. Malawi has opted instead for cash transfers targeting ultra-poor, high-dependency-ratio households. This scheme is rolling out and has yet to reach Nihelo. Not only do such measures offer security to those in benefiting households – allowing young people to remain in school, or to have access to resources to invest in business for example. The availability of greater resources in some households doubtless also provides other young people with more opportunities to undertake paid casual work and provides a better market for small businesses.

The issue of targeting of all of the forms of intervention suggested above is one that is frequently raised. Those targeted are very aware of the benefits:

> *[My life is easy compared to other girls' lives in Ha Rantelali] because we have been supplied by food aid, we get the uniforms, shoes and school fees.*
>
> *(Lisebo, 11 years, double orphan living with her grandmother, Lesotho)*

However, our research suggests that directly targeting young people affected by AIDS is generally inappropriate, not because AIDS has no effect, but because it is a poor predictor of vulnerability. In Nihelo, all households were poor and vulnerable. In Lesotho a minority were significantly less vulnerable. These were households in which members had been employed as miners or in other relatively lucrative jobs, and which had accumulated livestock as a reserve. In many cases the miner had died leaving orphans. These children were seldom among the most needy.

It is important that interventions targeted at children affected by AIDS do not weaken the social mechanisms through which such children currently receive care by, for instance, shifting responsibility from extended families to the state or providing incentives for children to remain living apart from adult relatives. In Lesotho the Department of Social Welfare, with funding from the EU and UNICEF is developing a scheme in which small cash transfers will be made directly to orphans, on the basis that many are not provided for adequately by their foster carers. There is a risk here that such young people become seen as the responsibility of the state, rather than of families and communities. It is also noteworthy that social protection interventions often ignore the transition in an AIDS-affected household from being a household with a sick adult to being a household with orphaned children. For example, food aid to AIDS sufferers, which usually benefits their children as well, is stopped once the person has died. Bursaries are not available for poor children with dying parents, but to orphans whose parents have died, as the following extract points out:

> ***How did you find the money to go to secondary?***

I was assisted by a certain mission, the Evangelical Lutheran

Is it common for the churches to have something like that?

No. They mostly do this when the student is an orphan.

What about those whose parents are alive but poor?

It means they have not to go to school. Sometimes it also includes poor dressing that can be a factor to stop someone from going to school.

(Edison, 21 years, AIDS affected young man, village walk, Malawi)

From the child's perspective it is quite illogical that he or she can start schooling but stop eating when a parent dies.

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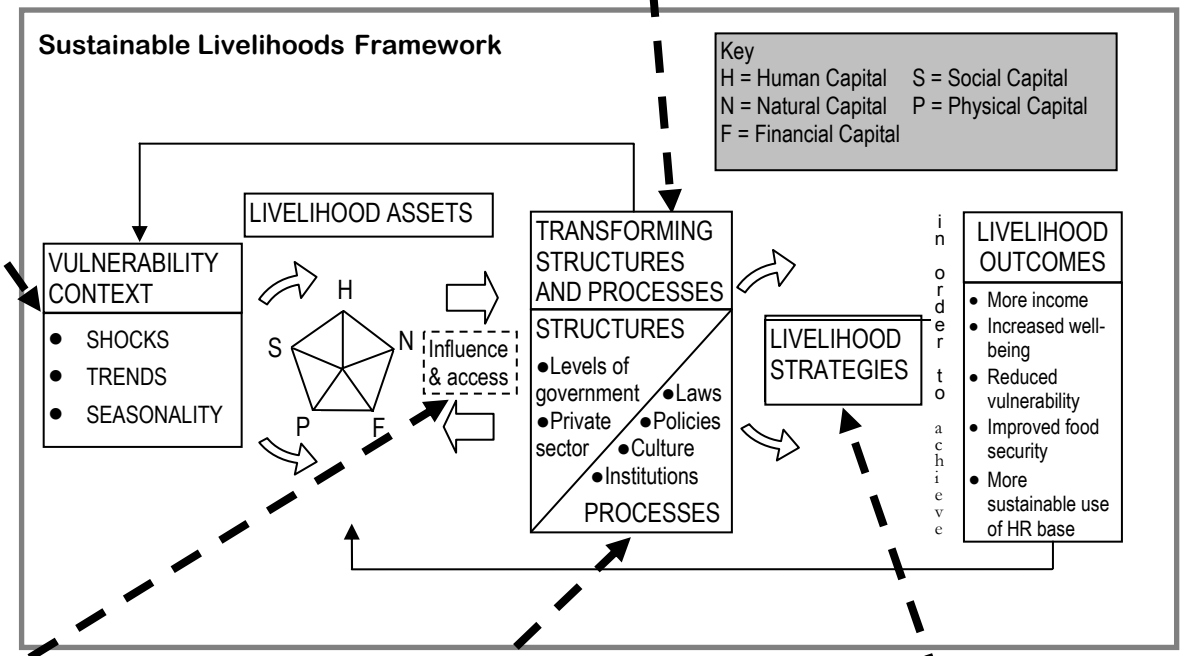
Appendices

Appendix 1: Examples of areas to be investigated through the research

Key to methods
Method 1: Community and household profiling
Method 2: Participatory research with young people
Method 3: Policy interviews

How do political and economic structures operating at global and national levels affect young people's access to assets and the strategies they adopt? What policies and practices of government ministries, parastatals, donor and UN agencies, NGOs, CBOs and FBOs impact on the livelihoods of AIDS-affected young people? [methods 1, 2, 3]

What are the impacts of AIDS? What other changes happening at the macro-level are impacting on vulnerability, e.g. climate change, liberalisation of global and domestic trade in agricultural produce, retrenchment of miners, instability of garment industry, political instability? How do they interact? [methods 1, 2, 3]



How do social relations of age, gender, generation etc impact on young people's access to livelihood assets? [methods 1, 2]

What are the laws concerning inheritance? What is government policy and practice on education provision and fees, availability of ARVs, counselling and testing services, agricultural extension services? What are the prevalent attitudes towards youth? Do Child Rights and protection agendas, and attitudes toward 'child labour' preclude government from engaging children in livelihood programmes? [methods 1, 2, 3]

What livelihood activities do young people engage in currently (formal/informal, independently/ within household, farming/ non-farm activities/ migration)? How much time do they spend generating livelihoods? What are their future plans? [method 2]

LIVELIHOOD ASSETS
H – how much education has a young person received? Do they have formal qualifications? Have they acquired other useful skills and knowledge? Are they likely to remain free from HIV, or to be able to access ARVs if necessary?
N – have they inherited/ will they inherit land? Are they permitted to access grazing land, firewood?
F – have they any savings or are they indebted? Do they have access to monetary income? Can they obtain credit if needed?
P – do they have access to (ownership or capacity to borrow) productive equipment, e.g. plough and oxen for agriculture, equipment for non-farm income generation?
S – if they have recently moved into a community, e.g. to foster care following parental death, do they have social networks in that community that will provide income earning opportunities, sharecropping arrangements, access to common property resources etc? [method 2]

Appendix 2: HIV prevalence, orphanhood and food security in the six countries affected by 'New Variant Famine'

	*HIV prevalence rate among population aged 15-49**				*Orphans as percentage of all 0-17 year olds, 2003*[5]	*Orphans due to AIDS as percentage of all 0-17 year olds, 2003*[5]	*Double orphans as percentage of all 0-17 year olds, 2003*[5]	*Food emergency declared*[6]							*Percentage of population requiring food aid, 2006*[7]
	1994[1]	*1997*[2]	*2001*[3]	*2005*[4]				*2000*	*2001*	*2002*	*2003*	*2004*	*2005*	*2006*	
Lesotho	**3.1**	**8.3**	**28.9**	**23.2**	**19**	**10**	**5**			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	**30.6**
Malawi	**13.6**	**14.9**	**14.2**	**14.1**	**14**	**7**	**3**			✓	✓	✓	✓		**40.0**
Mozambique	5.8	14.2	12.2	16.1	15	5	2	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			2.5
Swaziland	3.8	N/A	38.8	33.4	18	11	5			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	23.0
Zambia	17.1	19.1	16.5	17.0	19	10	5		✓	✓	✓				9.4
Zimbabwe	17.4	25.8	24.6	20.1	19	14	6		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	26.2

* Owing to revisions to methodology, years are not directly comparable.

[1] World Bank (1997)
[2] World Bank (1998)
[3] UNAIDS (2004)
[4] UNAIDS (2006)
[5] UNAIDS/UNICEF/USAID (2004)
[6] FAO (2006)
[7] WFP (2006)

Appendix 3: Case study villages: demography and livelihoods

Criteria for selection:

- Located in an area that has experienced recurrent food shortages
- Located in an area of at least the national average HIV-prevalence
- Not been the target of any aid/development project that would render it unusual
- A range of livelihoods that is not exceptional

1. Ha Rantelali, Lesotho

Ansell conducted fieldwork here in 1996 and 1997. It is located in the Maluti Mountains, 140 km from Maseru, the capital city and 6 km on a very rough road from the main Thaba-Tseka road. Two hours walk away are the amenities of Marakabei, a larger village, including schools, a clinic, small 'supermarket' and agricultural extension department.

2. Nihelo, Malawi

Nihelo is located in the densely populated Thyolo District, 38km south-east of Malawi's main commercial city, Blantyre. It is 14 km from the tarred road from Limbe to Thyolo and close to the traditional authority headquarters of Chimaliro. It is a short walk from the market and trading centre at Chipendo, and there are a number of other markets within a relatively short walk from the village.

	Nihelo 2007		***Ha Rantelali 1996/7***		***Ha Rantelali 2007/8****	
	Total	*Per household*	*Total*	*Per household*	*Total*	*Per household*
Number of households	74		42		42	
Total population			219	5.2	219	5.2
Resident population	253	3.4	155	3.7	169	4.0
Residents aged 10-17	34	0.5	33	0.8	52	1.2
Residents aged 18-24	40	0.5	27	0.6	27	0.6
Cattle	0	0.0	171	4.1	200	4.8
Sheep	0	0.0	398	9.5	514	12.2
Goats	40	0.5	132	3.1	303	7.2
Pigs	45	0.6	3	0.1	63	1.5
Poultry	78	1.1	159	3.8	149	3.5
Horses/donkeys/mules	0	0.0	81	1.9	71	1.7
Fields	126	1.7	96	2.3	83	2.0
Maize (sacks)	416	5.6	86	2.0	254 (2007) 123 (2008)	6.0 (2007) 2.9 (2008)
Millet	25	0.3	0	0.0	0	0.0
Wheat (sacks)	0	0.0	48	1.1	73 (2007) 56 (2008)	1.7 (2007) 1.3 (2008)
Ploughs	0	0.0	16	0.4	20	0.5
Bicycles	29	0.4	0	0.0	0	0.0
Motor vehicles	0	0.0	1	0.0	2	0.0
Latrines	43	0.6	8	0.2	17	0.4
Radios	41	0.6	25	0.6	34	0.8
Beds	11	0.1	39	0.9	54	1.3
Irons	12	0.2	-	-	42	1.0
Cell phones	1	0.0	0	0.0	10	0.2
Refrigerators	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	0.0
Primary source of cash	Casual work ('ganyu') (26)		Brewing beer (9)		Brewing beer (23)	
	Selling crops (22)		Mining remittances (8)		Pension (8)	
	Paid work (9)		Other remittances (5)		Selling livestock (3)	
	Business (7)		Selling livestock (4)		Selling crops (2)	
	Selling irrigated crops (4)		Selling crops (4)		Selling mohair (1)	
			Cash for work scheme (3)		Remittances (3)	
			Casual work in village (2)		Shop (1)	
			Shop (2)		Teacher (1)	
			Selling wood (1)			

* Apart from the harvest figures for 2008, this data was collected in January 2008

Appendix 4: Young people in the villages

Malawi – Young people in the study

Name	*YOB*	*Participatory exercises*	*Individual interviews*	*Comments on affected/unaffected*
Women above 18				
Aleya	1987	Yes – 5 sessions	Yes	Yes, mother and stepfather died
Emily	1986	Yes – all sessions and walk	Yes	Yes, father died, first husband died, two children have died
Agnes	1986	Yes – 6 sessions	Yes	Yes, father died
Ethel		No	Yes	Yes. Brother died and she was taking care of him. Father?
Julita		No	Yes	Yes, double orphan, AIDS confirmed
Irene	1986	Yes – 6 sessions	Yes	Yes, Father died (drowned)
Mary	1986	Yes, all and many discussions	Yes	Yes, father died
Milka	1986	Only once	Yes	Yes, double orphan
Lucy	1988	No	Yes	Yes, father never married mother, moved away, later died. Mother married someone else, left daughter to be raised by a divorced grandmother.
Janet	1988	No	Yes	Yes, mother died
Sharon	1986	No	Yes	Yes, father died
Brenda		No	Yes	No
Aline	1986	No	Yes	No
Margret	1985	Yes – 7 sessions and walk	No	No
Loveness	1983	No	Yes	No, but parents are divorced
Fanny	1988	No	Yes	No, but parents are divorced
Limnile	1982	No	Yes	No
Yvonne	1990	No	Yes	No
Maria		No	Yes	No
Men above 18				
David	1991?	Yes – all of them and walk	Yes	Double orphan, AIDS confirmed
Edison	1986	Yes – 3 sessions and walk	Yes	Yes, father died
Rex	1981	No	Yes	Yes, double orphan
Patric	1989	Yes, 3 sessions	Yes	No
Makwete	1987	No	Yes	No
Gabriel	1980	Yes – all sessions plus many	No	No

		conversations		
Jackson	1988	Yes – 3 sessions	Yes	No (parents divorced though)
Mussa	1989	Yes – 3 sessions	No	No
Chipewa	1983/78?	No	Yes	No
Wilson	1989	No	Yes	No
Wyson	1988	Yes – 6 sessions	Yes	No, but parents divorced early and mother is often sick
Girls below 18				
Trinity	1998	Yes, 8 times	No	Yes, father died
Alice	1994	Yes, 7 plus walk	No	Yes, mother very sick, sent to live with aunt who is on ARVs
Elubi	1997	Yes, 8 plus walk	No	Yes, parents alive but is living with aunt who is on ARVs
Jamiya	1991	Yes, 4 times plus other info	No	Yes, mother died, father absent. Experiences AIDS related gossip
Elida	1993	Yes, 2 times	No	Yes, mother died, has moved around and living with sick relatives
Susan	1995	Yes, 7 times	No	No, but lives with grandmother
Alena	1993	Yes, 6 times	No	No, but lives with grandmother
Aida	1994	Yes, 6 times plus walk	No	No
Lydia	1997	Yes, 5 times	No	No
Mandida	1991	Yes, 6 times	Yes	No, lives with husband
Boys below 18				
Lamiki	1994	Yes, 8 times	No	Yes, father died
Yamikani	1990	Yes, 4 times plus walk	No	Parents separated, new stepfather is often sick, other sickness in family
Viktor	1995	Yes, 8 times plus walk	No	Double orphan, lives with great grandmother
Blessings	1997	Yes, 8 times plus walk	No	Double orphan, lives with great grandmother
Fasan	1993	Yes, 8 times	No	No
Lucius	1994	Yes, 7 times	No	No
Ntendere	1998	Yes, 6 times	No	No
Manuel	1995	Yes, 2 times (know other things)	No	No
Pirilani	1997	Yes, 3 times	No	No
Filip	1997	Yes, 4 times	No	No, but lives with grandmother

Lesotho – young people in the study

Name	*YOB*	*Participatory exercises*	*Individual interviews*	*Comments on affected/unaffected*
Women above 18				
Mathabang	1984	No	Yes	Yes, father died
Manthlomeng	1988	Yes, every time	No	Yes, father died
Mamoletsane	1985	Yes, often	Yes	Yes, father died
Mabatho	1988	No	Yes	Yes, mother died, father absent, aunt was supporting but died also
Maselloane	1986	Yes, often	Yes	Brother-in-law and sister-in-law died recently, probably of AIDS, with a significant impact on her
Momokete	1984	Yes, often	Yes	Yes, she has TB and learning difficulties but parents are alive
Malast	1982	Yes, often	Yes	No (but brother died young; adult sister died recently)
Mapoka	1984	Yes, every time	Yes	No
Puseletso	1986	Yes – only one exercise	Yes	No
Men above 18				
Khotso	1988	Yes, twice	No	Yes, double orphan, lives with grandmother
Boloka	1988	Yes, twice	No	Yes, double orphan, Child headed household head
Bakoena	1988	No	Yes	Yes, double orphan
Tumelo	1985	No	Yes	Yes, double orphan (but mother died quite late)
Mote	1986	Yes, often	Yes	Yes, father died
Retselisitsoe	1989	No	Yes	Yes, mother died
Tseliso	1984	No	Yes	No
Hlobola	1986	Yes, often	Yes	No
Relebuhile	1987	Yes, often	Yes	No
Taelo		No	Yes	No (father died in fire, but he was already married at the time)
Letsema	1987	No	Yes	No
Sechaba	1989	Yes, often	Yes	No (but two paternal uncles died and g'mother had been sick with lebanta)
Girls below 18				
Lisebo	1997	Yes, often	No	Yes, mother died, possibly also father, lives with grandmother
Masefali	1994	Yes, often	No	Yes, double orphan, lives with grandmother
Mamello	1994	Yes, often	No	Yes, father died, mother now sick
Sophia	1991	Yes, twice	Yes	Yes, father died
Malaose	1990	Yes, twice	No	Yes, mother died
Matelina	1993	Yes, three time	No	Yes, Mother died
Nyefolo	1995	Yes, every time	No	Yes, father ill with TB

Mommokho	1995	Yes, four times	No	Yes, father sick with pulse and mother with chest
Mathabo	1990	Yes, every time	No	No
Mafusi	1996	Yes, often	No	No
Makhetang	1998	Yes, twice	No	No
Makhututsa	1995	Yes, every time	No	No
Tebello	1993	Yes , often	No	No
Boys below 18				
Thabo	1993	Yes, several times	Yes	Yes, double orphan, lives with grandfather
Tsolo	1994	Yes, often	No	Yes, double orphan, lives with grandmother
Moleboheng	1991	Yes, only for walk though	No	Yes, double orphan, child headed household
Souane	1990	Yes, once	No	Yes, father died
Tsekolo	1997	Yes, every time	No	Yes, father died
Joseph	1997	Yes, every time	No	No
Molibeli	1998	Yes, often	No	No
Nonyana	1995	Yes, often	No	No
Ticha	1991	Yes, often	No	No
Tsili	1993	Yes, every time but one	No	No

Summary totals

Summary Malawi	*Number of participants*	*Double orphan*	*Father died*	*Mother died*	*Sickness and other*
Women over 18					
Unaffected	8				
Affected	11	2	6	2	1
Men over 18					
Unaffected	8				
Affected	3	2	1		
Girls under 18					
Unaffected	5				
Affected	5		1	2	2
Boys under 18					
Unaffected	6				
Affected	4	2	1		1
Total affected/unaffected	23/47 i.e. **49 % affected**	6/23 26% double orphan	9/ 23 39% father died	4/ 23 17.5 % mother died	4/23 17.5 % sickness
Summary Lesotho	*Number of participants*	*Double orphan*	*Father died*	*Mother died*	*Sickness and other*
Women over 18					
Unaffected	4				
Affected	5	1	3		1
Men over 18					
Unaffected	5				
Affected	7	5	1	1	
Girls under 18					
Unaffected	5				
Affected	8	2	2	2	2
Boys under 18					
Unaffected	5				
Affected	5	3	2		
Total affected / unaffected	25/44 **57% affected**	11/ 25 affected 44% double orphans	8 / 25 affected 32% father died	3/ 25 affected 12% mother died	3 /25 affected 12% sickness

Appendix 5: Participatory research methods

Community profiling

	Activity	*Method*	*Participants*	*Purpose*
1	Good and Bad aspects of village	Asked villagers to identify the positive and negative things about their village as compared to other villages.	Community members at village meeting (discussion in groups)	Provided a quick village profile and understanding of how the villagers themselves see their own village as compared to other villages.
2	Livelihood activity matrices	Asked villagers to identify current livelihood activities in the village, then discussed the changes to these activities over the last 5 and 10 years.	Community members at village meeting (discussion in groups)	Collected information on livelihood activities in the village and on inter-household distribution of activities.
3	Changes in young people's lives	Asked villagers to reflect on what had changed in young people's lives as compared to the time when the elderly people where young.	Community members at village meeting (discussion in groups)	To focus on the lives of young people and understand the villagers' own perspectives on the changes that have taken place.
4	Village timeline	Asked villagers to mark important events in the community on a timeline. These could include migrations, significant developments, famine or other issues deemed important by the community.	Community members at village meeting (discussion in groups)	Provided historical information about the village and gave details about the important events that have shaped life in the villages.

Household profiling

	Activity	*Method*	*Participants*	*Purpose*
1	Household composition tree	Asked the households to help draw a family tree of their family, including persons who have died or moved away.	Household or, if available, extended family	Collected information on the households, the intra-household relationships and morbidity/mortality in the household. Provided a basis for selection of children for group work.
2	Activity matrices	For each person in the family tree, specified their daily livelihood activities.	Household or, if available, extended family	Collected information on livelihood activities in the village and on inter- and intra-household distribution of activities.

3	Livelihood activities and household assets	Discussed with household members and asked them to identify what sources of income they have, what assets are available to them as individuals and as a group.	Individual households, members of every household in the village	To understand asset availability and how this determines livelihood choices and activities.
4	Household timeline	Asked members of the household to mark important events in the household on a timeline, discussing the family history.	Household or if available, extended family	Collected information on changes over time in family composition and resources, and their relation to mortality and livelihood activities.

Participatory research with young people

	Activity	***Methods***	***Participants***	***Purpose***
1	Mental maps	Each young person drew a map of places, people and things that are important to them. Discussed in group. [In Lesotho they identified their houses and places of importance in groups on an aerial photo of the village.]	4 groups, divided by age and gender	In first session, talked about the project, introductions made. Mental map was to find out about their perceptions of the village and the places of importance to them.
2	Daily, weekly activity charts, seasonal calendars	Made activity calendars over a day and a week. Drew various activities. Explained and discussed in group.	4 groups divided by age and gender	Livelihood activities and their distribution in a day, over a week, and a year. Looked for age and gender differentiation in livelihood activities and discussed why activities differ for different persons - AIDS impact?
3	Photography	Learnt about camera and to take pictures, assignment to take pictures of important things young people do to help themselves, i.e. livelihood activities. Explained pictures and discussed.	6 friendship groups (within age and gender divisions) in Malawi; 4 usual groups in Lesotho	To see the world with “their eyes” and to look for important issues and problems, identify livelihood activities. It was important to discuss afterwards what they took a picture of and why they took a certain picture. Each young person chose 2 pictures to print and keep.
4	Guided transect walks	Guided walks with 8 individuals showing and talking about places of importance in the village and the vicinity. [In Lesotho, they walked in groups of 2-5 young people.]	8 individuals, one from each basic group, 4 usual groups in Lesotho.	Opportunity to work with individuals and find out more personal details. Seeing the places of importance prompted new queries and gave greater understanding.

5	Life maps	Made a map of life history, focusing on mobility and livelihoods. Discussions in group. [Herdboys and women's group in Lesotho told the researcher about their lives so that she drew the life map under the supervision of the person it concerned.]	4 groups, divided by age and gender.	Assessed mobility (compare with mental maps) and assessed livelihood change over space and time. Discussed why people move and why livelihoods change.
6	Socio-spatial networks and knowledge transfer	Drew diagrams of social networks, marked knowledge transfer in the networks. Discussed. [In Lesotho drawing was made easier through pre-printed family tree charts.]	4 groups, divided by age and gender	Mapped social networks and how knowledge is transferred through them as well as through other means. Asked how they access knowledge. Assessed how networks and learning is affected by AIDS.
7	Assets and problem trees	Identified livelihood activities that group members were engaged in or would like to engage in. Discussed the assets needed for these activities. Discussed how each participant could secure access to these assets. Discussed problems that could arise and how these could be overcome. Identified constraints and possibilities.	4 groups, divided by age and gender	Identified livelihood possibilities for young people and the constraints that hinder them from engaging in these. Assessed decision-making processes, how choices are made, problems and constraints. Built confidence through discussing how problems can be overcome.
8	Emotional storyboards	Drew 6 drawings connected to emotions in the past and visions for the future. The happiest and saddest time in life, biggest success and biggest disappointment, hopes and fears for the future. Discussed. [In Lesotho, this was a group discussion on happy and sad times in each young person's life, on future plans and on how one's life is compared to other young people's and why.]	4 groups, divided by age and gender	Assessed emotions that people would otherwise avoid talking about. Identified important emotional issues to the young people and helped understand important events in their lives. Successes and disappointments gave clues to their ambitions, and hopes, fears and future plans assessed visions, goals and potential constraints.
9	Drama and Video	Assignment to make a short dramatisation about a central problem in young people's lives. Video recorded the performance and discussed.	2 groups divided by gender	Assessed aspirations, decision-making and perceived constraints. Something fun and creative where they took the lead and decided the topic to focus on. Discussion was very important.

Appendix 6: Principal livelihood activities of young people

Lesotho

		total	*school*	*herding*	*housework/ farming*	*other*	*married*
Participants							
Boys 10-17	affected	5	4	1			
Boys 10-17	unaffected	5	4	1			
Girls 10-17	affected	8	8				
Girls 10-17	unaffected	5	4		1		2
Men 18-24	affected	6	1	4		1 (teacher)	1
Men 18-24	unaffected	5		5			1
Women 18-24	affected	5			4	1 (child minder)	4
Women 18-24	unaffected	3			2	1 (housekeeper)	2
Non-participants[7]							
Boys 10-17	affected	9	5	4			
Boys 10-17	unaffected	9	7	2			
Girls 10-17	affected	5	5				
Girls 10-17	unaffected	6	2		3	1 (shop assistant)	
Men 18-24	affected	4	3		1		
Men 18-24	unaffected	3		3			
Women 18-24	affected	1	1				
Women 18-24	unaffected	2			2		2
Total							
Boys 10-17	affected	14	9	5			
Boys 10-17	unaffected	14	11	3			
Girls 10-17	affected	13	13				
Girls 10-17	unaffected	11	6		4	1	2
Men 18-24	affected	10	4	4	1	1	1
Men 18-24	unaffected	8		8			1
Women 18-24	affected	4	1		4	1	4
Women 18-24	unaffected	5			4	1	4
All male	affected	24	13	9	1	1	1
All male	unaffected	22	12	11			1

[7] 'Non-participants' include those who participated in only a small number of activities and about whom little is known. Data on non-participants is uncertain, particularly regarding whether the young person is affected by AIDS. Knowledge of married men in Malawi and married women in Lesotho is particularly vague where the project has not worked with these youth directly. The majority of the analysis in the report does not draw on evidence relating to these young people, but they are included in this table in part to indicate whether young people with particular characteristics were systematically excluded from the study.

All female	affected	17	14		4	1	4
All female	unaffected	16	6		8	2	6
Younger	affected	27	22	5			
Younger	unaffected	25	17	3	4	1	2
Older	affected	14	5	4	5	2	5
Older	unaffected	13		8	4	1	5
All affected		41	27	9	5	2	5
All unaffected		38	18	11	8	2	7

Malawi

		total[8]	***school***	***Small business***	***dimba cultivation***	***ganyu***	***housework/ farming***	***married***
Participants								
Boys 10-17	affected	4	4					
Boys 10-17	unaffected	6	6					
Girls 10-17	affected	5	3				2	1
Girls 10-17	unaffected	5	4				1	1
Men 18-24	affected	3	1	1 (building)	2	2		2
Men 18-24	unaffected	8		4 (3 building, 1 selling on minibuses)	1	5		3
Women 18-24	affected	11		2 (baking for sale)	5	2		10
Women 18-24	unaffected	8			5	1	1	7
Non-participants								
Boys 10-17	affected	0						
Boys 10-17	unaffected	5	5					
Girls 10-17	affected	3	3					
Girls 10-17	unaffected	6	4		2			1
Men 18-24	affected	1			1	1		
Men 18-24	unaffected	7	1	3 (building, butchering, selling fish)	3	2		6
Women 18-24	affected	1					1	1
Women 18-24	unaffected	1			1	1		1
Total								
Boys 10-17	affected	4	4					
Boys 10-17	unaffected	11	11					
Girls 10-17	affected	8	6				2	1

[8] Numbers do not add to row totals because many young people were engaged in more than one principal livelihood activity.

Girls 10-17	unaffected	11	8		2		1	2
Men 18-24	affected	4	1	1	3	3		3
Men 18-24	unaffected	15	1	4	4	7		9
Women 18-24	affected	12		2	5	2	1	11
Women 18-24	unaffected	9			6	6	1	8
All male	affected	8	5	1	3	3		3
All male	unaffected	26	12	4	4	7		9
All female	affected	20	6	2	5	2	3	14
All female	unaffected	20	8		8	6	2	10
Younger	affected	12	10				2	1
Younger	unaffected	22	19		2		1	2
Older	affected	16	1	3	8	5	1	14
Older	unaffected	24	1	4	10	13	1	17
All affected		28	11	3	8	5	2	15
All unaffected		46	20	4	12	13	2	19

Appendix 7: Dissemination

- Feedback and dissemination process
    - A reverse-cascade series of dissemination workshops were conducted in Malawi and Lesotho three months after the fieldwork concluded. These involved participatory feedback and dissemination with the young research participants and their communities, developing policy recommendations that fed into workshops with representatives of government, NGOs, UN agencies and donors in Blantyre, Lilongwe and Maseru. The policy workshops worked with the preliminary findings to consider potential scenarios and develop policy recommendations.
- Presentations in Malawi
    - Faculty of Social Science Conference, Chancellor College
    - University of Malawi College of Medicine Dissemination Conference
    - Seminars at Chancellor College (two)
    - Chancellor College Research Dissemination Conference
    - National AIDS Commission Research Dissemination Conference
    - Society of Malawi
- Presentations in Lesotho
    - Institute of Southern African Studies, National University of Lesotho
- Presentations at international conferences
    - International Childhood and Youth Research Network conference, Nicosia, Cyprus
    - XVII International AIDS Conference, Mexico City
    - Exploring Time-Space Data, Time-Space and Life-Course ESRC Seminar, Lancaster University
    - Royal Geographical Society / Institute of British Geographers annual conference, Manchester (2 papers)
- Publications submitted / in press / in print
    - Hajdu F, Ansell N, Robson E, van Blerk L and Chipeta L 'Sustainable rural livelihoods for AIDS-affected young people in Southern Africa – what potential do income generating activities (IGAs) have?' submitted to *Geographical Journal*
    - Hajdu F, Ansell N, Robson E, van Blerk L and Chipeta L in press 2009 'Socio-economic causes of food insecurity in Malawi' *Society of Malawi Journal* 62(2)
    - Ansell N, Robson E, Hajdu F, van Blerk L and Chipeta L 2009 'The new variant famine hypothesis: moving beyond the household in exploring links between AIDS and food insecurity in southern Africa' *Progress in Development Studies* 9 (3) 187-207
    - Robson, E, Chipeta L, Ansell N, Hajdu F, van Blerk L 2008 'Averting 'New variant famine' in Malawi: Building Food-Secure Livelihoods with AIDS-affected young people' in *Proceedings of Chancellor College Research Dissemination Conference,* 8-10th April 2008, Chancellor College, Zomba, Malawi.
    - van Blerk L, Ansell N, Robson E, Hajdu F and Chipeta L 2008 'Youth, livelihoods and AIDS in southern Africa' *Geography Compass* 2(3) 709-727
    - Robson E, Ansell N, van Blerk L, Chipeta L and Hadju F 2007 'AIDS and food insecurity: 'new variant famine' in Malawi?' *Malawi Medical Journal* 19(4) 136-137
- Website

    - project website http://www.brunel.ac.uk/about/acad/sse/chg/projects/nvf, hosting a series of fourteen briefing notes and other information about the project

- Datasets
    - The dataset will be deposited at the ESRC Data Archive UKDA-store (http://store.data-archive.ac.uk/
- Distribution of extended project report and policy briefing:
    - All 78 policy makers and practitioners who were interviewed for the project
    - National Steering Group members
    - Dissemination workshop attendees
    - Named individuals in key ministries, donor and UN agencies, as advised by key informants in the policy field
    - National AIDS Commissions in both Malawi and Lesotho
    - The academic institutions to which we were affiliated (Chancellor College, University of Malawi and Institute of Southern African Studies, National University of Lesotho)
- Online networks
    - Research findings will be disseminated through online research dissemination networks including id21, ELDIS, the Southern African Regional Poverty Network (SARPN) and the Southern Africa HIV and AIDS Information and Dissemination Service (SAfAIDS).

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