

Urban Household Survival and Resilience to Food Insecurity in Crisis Conditions: The Case of Epworth in Harare, Zimbabwe

GODFREY TAWODZERA

African Centre for Cities (ACC), University of Cape Town, Rondebosch, South Africa

Much of the contemporary literature on food security in Sub-Saharan Africa has focused on the rural sector, with limited attention to urban areas whose inhabitants are equally vulnerable. Thus, little is known about how poor households deal with food insecurity under conditions of economic adversity and material deprivation in the urban environment. This article examines the strategies that poor urban households adopt to enhance their resilience in the face of food insecurity. Study results indicate that the resilience of poor urban households to food insecurity during a crisis situation such as that besetting Harare depends largely on 3 main factors: first, the resourcefulness of households in eking out a living through multiple income-generating activities; second, the existence of strong social links to rural households, which increases access to rural resources for urban survival; and third, the use of international remittances to increase household food security. In conclusion, the article argues that in a crisis situation such as that in Zimbabwe, survival largely depends on the ability of households to engage in multiple as well as multispatial activities that not only increase income sources but also reduce household expenses.

KEYWORDS *urban food security, coping strategies, resilience*

The author is grateful to the Programme in Urban Food Security (PUFS) at the University of Cape Town for funding this research.

Address correspondence to Godfrey Tawodzera, African Centre for Cities (ACC), Shell Environmental & Geographical Science Building, Upper Campus, University of Cape Town, P.O. Box X3, Rondebosch, 7700, South Africa. E-mail: Godfrey.Tawodzera@uct.ac.za

INTRODUCTION

After 12 years of working for the same company in Harare, George Mushipe^a was retrenched in 1995. Since then, he has been unemployed and “life has been a struggle.” He lives with his wife, son, and 2 daughters in a crowded 2-room backyard cottage in Epworth. They survive by trading any product that may be selling well at any particular time. Returns are low and highly variable, so the income is insufficient to pay for rent, food, medical bills, clothes, school fees, and other expenses. Occasionally, George engages in odd jobs to supplement their income. The informal market has become their major source of food. Here, on the streets, they buy food in little packets (*tsaona*)—enough to last until the next day, when they expect to have raised a little more money to go back to the streets for another *tsaona*. It is a difficult life, but they are surviving. Things usually improve when relatives bring mealie-flour (*bupfu*), meat, and other foods from the rural areas. Lately, they have been saving some money for George’s elder son to go to South Africa to search for a job as some of their neighbors’ children have done. But saving is proving difficult in this hyperinflationary environment. If they fail to save enough money, George plans to temporarily send his wife and daughters to live in the village until the situation in the city improves.

Although this narrative is just a snapshot in the life of one household in Epworth, Harare, it is nevertheless an apt portrayal of the general way in which the majority of the poor live in Zimbabwe’s towns and cities. In these tough urban environments, they face severe hardships^{1,2} and have to contend with the persistent threat of hunger and several other deprivations that are prevalent under the country’s crisis situation. The poor continuously struggle to find enough resources to pay for a variety of expenses,³ including the purchase of food. Household food security can therefore not always be guaranteed. The challenges confronting most urban households in Zimbabwe—like George Mushipe’s household—are compounded by an unfavorable economic environment characterized by, among other things: a negative gross domestic product (GDP) growth rate,⁴ rising unemployment,⁵ falling real wages,⁶ increasing poverty,⁵ hyperinflation,⁷ a rising cost of living and recurrent national food shortages^{8,9}—all of which have served to decimate livelihoods.

Though this deleterious economic environment has affected the whole country,^{10–12} the urban poor have been particularly badly affected by the economic meltdown due to their dependence on purchased food and the need to pay for most goods and services. Though the survival strategies employed by rural households under conditions of distress are now well

^a Case Study No. 11, March 25, 2009, Ward IV, Epworth, Harare. Pseudonyms have been used to protect the identity of informants.

documented,^{13–16} little is known about how poor households cope with food insecurity under conditions of extreme economic adversity in the urban environment. The central question, then, is how do poor urban households survive and what strategies do they adopt to meet their food needs and cope with food insecurity under conditions of extreme material deprivation? It is therefore the objective of this article to document the strategies that poor households adopt to survive and enhance their resilience in the face of food insecurity under challenging conditions in the city. The low-income residential area of Epworth, in Harare, is the study site. It was chosen because of its acute poverty levels, which provide an appropriate context for interrogating the poor's survival strategies under crisis conditions.

The remainder of the article is divided into 5 sections. The following section describes the crisis context in which the research was carried out. The next section reviews the available literature on urban coping. The next elaborates on the procedures used for data collection and the rationale for such methods. Then the results are presented and the following issues are discussed: the multiple income-generating activities that the poor were adopting and the role of these activities in enabling households to survive; social relationships and networks between the urban and rural areas and the significance of the networks in facilitating the movement of food and money, which were central to maintaining food security in urban households; and the contribution of remittances (goods, money, and food) to the survival and resilience of poor urban households. The last section forms the conclusion of the study.

ZIMBABWE: A CRISIS CONTEXT

Although Zimbabwe inherited a debt of US\$697 million from the Rhodesian government at Independence in 1980,¹⁷ the country had a relatively stable and sophisticated economy, which was one of the most diversified in the region.¹⁸ This situation largely persisted in the first decade of Independence. By 2009, when this research was undertaken, the situation had changed because the economic climate had deteriorated considerably. The GDP had contracted by over 40% between 2000 and 2006.⁴ Annual inflation increased from a 2-digit figure in 2000 and peaked at 231 million percent in July 2008.¹⁹ Formal sector employment had shrunk to 480 000 from about 3.6 million in 2003.⁵ Poverty increased considerably: the country's Human Poverty Index more than doubled from 17% in 1990 to 40% by 2006.⁵ As a result of this tumultuous economic environment, general livelihoods were negatively impacted on, with the purchasing power of the average Zimbabwean in 2005 falling to the same level as in 1953⁶—virtually wiping out any gains that the country had made over the previous 50 years. Consequently, life expectancy, which had peaked at 61 years in 1990, fell

to around 36 years in 2008.²⁰ The general living conditions of the people at the time of the research were thus dire. This deleterious situation could largely be attributed to the impact of 3 major events: the economic structural adjustment program (ESAP), the fast-track land redistribution program, and Operation *Murambatsvina*—throw out rubbish.

Though ESAP was essentially implemented to try and boost the country's economy through promoting investment and growth,²¹ the liberalization of trade as well as the deregulation of markets that ensued precipitated a serious downward trajectory in the country's economy.²² On the back of these economic problems, the government launched the fast-track land redistribution program in 2000, compulsorily acquiring farms from largely white farmers, for redistribution to indigenous blacks. These farm disturbances interfered with farming operations and drastically lowered food production.²³ With maize deficits averaging over 500 000 tons per year since 2000, the country became a net importer of food, thus increasing general food insecurity. Such deficits had devastating impacts on food security, given that maize is the staple grain in Zimbabwe and therefore makes up a significant proportion of households' daily food requirements. The impact in urban areas was severe because very little food filtered from the rural areas to feed a population already reeling under the general macro-economic meltdown. Adding to these problems, the government launched Operation *Murambatsvina*, destroying backyard houses, vending stalls, flea markets, and informal businesses in the country's urban areas in what critics argue to have been a preemptive strategy to disperse a restive urban population adversely affected by economic decline, which could have provided a breeding ground for a revolution against the government.²⁴ The operation caused massive destruction of livelihoods and housing in urban areas, affecting more than 700000 people who lost their homes, livelihoods, or both,²⁵ thus worsening the plight of the urbanite. Household resilience to food insecurity in urban Zimbabwe generally and in Harare in particular can thus be sufficiently understood in the context of this crisis that had decimated the livelihoods of the poor and impacted heavily on the options available to them for their survival. With 37.8% of the country's population living in the urban areas of the country,²⁶ this discourse on the problems that are faced by the urban poor, as well as the activities that they adopt to reduce food insecurity, is critical to understanding urban survival in the country.

URBAN POVERTY AND SURVIVAL

Although poverty is a worldwide phenomenon, some of the world's highest poverty levels are found in Sub-Saharan Africa.²⁷ At the end of 2006, for example, over 50% of the region's population was estimated to be living

below the poverty datum line of US\$1 per day.²⁸ It is the only region in the world where the absolute numbers of those living in poverty have increased in the last decade.²⁹ Although much has been written about poverty in the rural areas, the discourse on urban poverty is relatively recent,³⁰ largely due to the longstanding conceptualization of cities as more developed, homogeneous areas with no economic differentiation among citizens. More often than not, people migrating to the cities were generally “often defined as the fortunate, the progressive and the upwardly mobile, no matter how difficult their lives might have been when they arrived there.”^{30(p3)}

Such romantic conceptualizations of the city marginalized debates on urban poverty, until Iliffe's³¹ ground-breaking work on poverty in African cities, which amply demonstrated that a significant proportion of the urban population lives with multiple and cumulative deprivations. Most of these urban poor are vulnerable to the fluctuating prices of basic goods and services due to their reliance on the cash economy.³² Rising costs of rent, rates, and transport usually force households to cut back on food expenses, thereby rendering them more food insecure. In the absence of social protection measures, as is common in most of southern Africa, urban households are therefore left to face the vagaries of the urban environment on their own, hence increasing their food insecurity. Despite the fact that the problems facing the urban poor are now becoming all too apparent, the global and national response to food insecurity still largely demonstrates a rural bias.³³ For example, though a high-level Food and Agriculture Organization world food security conference held in Rome in 2008 acknowledged that urban populations are more exposed to rising food prices, it did not suggest any actions to prevent hunger and malnutrition in urban areas. Rather, it focused on “designing policies to re-launch and revitalize rural economies over the medium term.”^{34(p3)} No mention was made of how the food insecurity problems of the urban poor would be tackled. As Crush and Frayne³⁵ pointed out, the assumption seems to be that developing agriculture, particularly rural agriculture, will solve the food problems of the urban poor by reducing the cost of food. This approach, however, is problematic, given that urban food security involves not only food supply issues but also issues of access and pricing. In addition, there are other urban vulnerabilities related to the lack of community and inter-household mechanisms for social security, environmental hazards and exposure to multiple pollutants, and contaminated food and water.^{32,36}

With all of these challenges, how, then, do urban households survive and how do they meet their food needs? Though the literature on how urban households cope with food insecurity is modest, much work that has been done on general urban livelihoods provides insight into ways in which some households cope with challenges in the city. These means include, but are not limited to, migrating to the rural areas;³⁷ farming in the

city^{38,39}; getting resources from rural areas⁴⁰; taking children out of school; and renting out rooms to lodgers to raise income.^{41,42} But, how relevant are these activities for households threatened by food insecurity in the city, particularly under the country's crisis situation? How, for example, are the resource flows between rural and urban areas important for the survival of urban households? Although the remittance flows from urban to rural households as well as their role in the survival of rural households is well documented, little is known about the transfer of commodities from rural to urban areas,⁴³ and the social and economic context within which the transfers occur remains poorly understood. Particularly in southern Africa, where rural–urban linkages continue to be important,³⁷ an understanding of the social and economic interdependence between urban and rural areas is important to understanding how poor urban households have survived during the current economic crisis. Preliminary studies by Potts⁴⁴ suggested that households with access to rural production may be remitting increasing amounts of food to urban areas and that these rural links may thus be serving as safety valves and welfare options for urban people vulnerable to economic fluctuations. There is therefore a need to thoroughly examine these linkages to see how far they may be contributing to the survival of urban households.

In trying to understand the survival of urban households and their resilience in the face of food insecurity, a livelihoods approach is valuable. This approach seeks to improve understanding of how people use the resources at their disposal to construct a livelihood.⁴⁵ The assumption is that households construct their livelihoods by drawing on a range of assets (human, physical, financial, social, and natural) that are available to them within the broader socioeconomic and political context.⁴⁶ It is the ability of the poor to access assets and other resources that is central to the success of their coping strategies. Coping strategies are defined as the activities that households resort to in order to obtain food, income, and/or services when their normal means of livelihood have been disrupted.⁴⁷ The ultimate aim of coping is for the household to maintain its food and livelihood security as well as its overall well-being. Underlying the idea of coping is the notion of resilience, which denotes the capacity of a household to maintain functionality in the presence of disturbances by drawing upon its resources and abilities to manage change.⁴⁸

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

This section elaborates on the methodological approach used to examine household survival and resilience to food insecurity in Epworth, Harare. It also describes the study site and details the research design, which combined qualitative and quantitative survey methods.

The Study Site

Epworth lies approximately 15 km to the southeast of the city center in Harare, Zimbabwe's largest urban area. The land on which the suburb is situated was donated by Cecil John Rhodes to the Wesleyan Methodist Mission Trust in 1900.⁴⁹ Originally inhabited by subsistence farmers, the area turned into a residential area to accommodate people fleeing the war in the rural areas during Zimbabwe's liberation struggle. At independence, when restrictive urban legislation was repealed, huge numbers of people moved into the city, and many settled in Epworth. The population of the area expanded rapidly, from approximately 20 000 people⁵⁰ in 1980 to 120 000 by mid-2009.⁵¹ In 1986, faced with a ballooning population and increasing challenges, the Methodist Church passed ownership of Epworth to the government and the settlement was legalized.⁴⁹ The government appointed a local board to oversee the area's development and spearhead its integration with the rest of Harare. Due to its low rents, Epworth continues to attract a multitude of people from other residential areas where accommodation costs are relatively high. For administrative purposes, Epworth is divided into 7 wards, namely, wards 1 to 7. Epworth was chosen for this study because of the high incidence of poverty in the area and the expectation that a study there would yield a great deal of information on how the urban poor construct their livelihoods and strategize to meet their food needs in the context of the country's crisis situation.

A Mixed Methods Approach

This study combined qualitative and quantitative methods to examine household survival and resilience to food insecurity under Zimbabwe's crisis conditions.

THE QUALITATIVE APPROACH

A total of 30 in-depth semistructured interviews were carried out in the study. The purpose of the interviews was to capture household food security experiences as well as the ways in which these households dealt with food insecurity. To capture the diversity of household survival techniques, the interviews included male-headed, female-headed, and child-headed households, as well as households with different socioeconomic statuses and varying lengths of residence in the city. Within the selected households (except in child-headed households), a household member above the age of 18 years was randomly chosen as the informant, in order to capture data from a wide cross section of household members, including household heads, spouses, and children. In child-headed households, the eldest child was envisaged to be one with more knowledge on household income

and expenditure as well as on the acquisition of food and survival mechanisms and was therefore selected for the interview. Each in-depth interview took approximately one and a half hours. The semistructured nature of the interview schedule enabled the researcher to probe for additional information by pursuing interesting issues through follow-up questions. Key informants were also interviewed, including 4 councilors and 5 informants from nongovernmental organizations operating in the area.

THE QUANTITATIVE APPROACH

The quantitative approach involved the collection of information through a standardized household questionnaire. Data collected in this survey were used to probe the validity and strength of relationships that were established through the qualitative approach. Statistical procedures were employed to select a statistically acceptable sample size of 200 households from all 7 wards in Epworth. The sampling frame consisted of all of the households in the area, arranged by wards. First, modified random sampling was used to select households from the ward lists, which were arranged in alphabetical order. In each ward, a sampling starting point was determined by throwing a die and thereafter selecting households at a predetermined interval until the desired sample size was achieved. Second, a household member above 18 years was randomly selected as the respondent. In the case of child-headed households, the eldest child was selected for questionnaire administration. The questionnaire was designed to capture data on household food insecurity experiences, as well as information on coping strategies. Four enumerators with previous data collection experience were trained as fieldworkers over a 2-day period. Communication during the survey was in the local *Shona* language so that respondents could fully understand the purpose of the interviews as well as the information being sought. A limitation of the research is that the sampling frame excluded households located in institutions such as police stations, schools, and orphanages, as well as the homeless. Their experiences and strategies were therefore not captured. The currency used in this study is the rand (R). This is because, although Zimbabwe had adopted a multi-currency regime in its 2009 budget and foreign currency became legal tender, the South African currency was the one that was being used widely in the country.

HOUSEHOLD SURVIVAL AND RESILIENCE TO FOOD INSECURITY

This section explores the various strategies adopted by urban households to cope with food insecurity and related shocks in Epworth, Harare. It discusses how households resort to multiple as well as multispatial coping strategies in order to survive in the city. These activities—which underpin the livelihoods

of most of the urban poor—are adopted not sequentially but in parallel as part of the household's larger portfolio of coping strategies. The ability of the household to partake in and organize these activities is thus key to its survival and resilience.

Diversifying to Survive in the City

Lazarus and Maidei's^b narrative below provides a useful starting point for understanding household diversification and survival during the crisis period. With their 4 children, Lazarus and Maidei live in a 2-room backyard servants' quarters in Epworth. Lazarus, a clerk in the city center, earns a monthly wage of R300. This income is far lower than the R850 needed to cover their monthly expenses of food, rent, school fees, and bus fares. How, then, do they survive? Lazarus explains as follows:

We live like vultures, doing anything that brings in money and food: from piece jobs, vending, and dealing in foreign currency on the black market. At work, I sell *maputi* [popcorn] to colleagues during lunch time. My wife sells a variety of vegetables to raise income. We have a small piece of land where we grow maize, potatoes, sweet-potatoes and beans to supplement our food. The plot is not big, but it helps. During the rainy season, Maidei goes to the village to grow crops and comes back after harvesting. She brings back *hupfu* [maize-meal] and *mufushwa* [dried vegetables], which reduces our food expenses considerably. Sometimes, when we raise enough money, I cross the border into Mozambique or South Africa to buy food and other goods for resale. If we fail to raise enough money on our own, we pool our resources with friends and neighbors to buy food in bulk and then we share. It is a struggle, but we survive.

The livelihood activities that Lazarus's household engages in are numerous, ranging from formal employment, cross-border trading and vending, to selling fuel and dealing in foreign currency on the black market (Figure 1).

It is such activities that have helped them to survive during the country's protracted economic crisis, which rendered single income sources inadequate for survival. Lazarus's household—like most poor households in urban areas—has been forced to diversify to raise adequate resources for food and other obligatory expenses: rent, transport, water, and electricity. Such diversification, as Kantor⁵² argued, aims to reduce exposure by engaging in activities with different prospects for earning income at any one time.

Survey results demonstrate that Lazarus's household is no exception, because all of the surveyed households reported having at least one additional activity to supplement their main livelihood activity (Table 1),

^b Case Study No. 4, March 23, 2009, Ward I, Epworth, Harare.

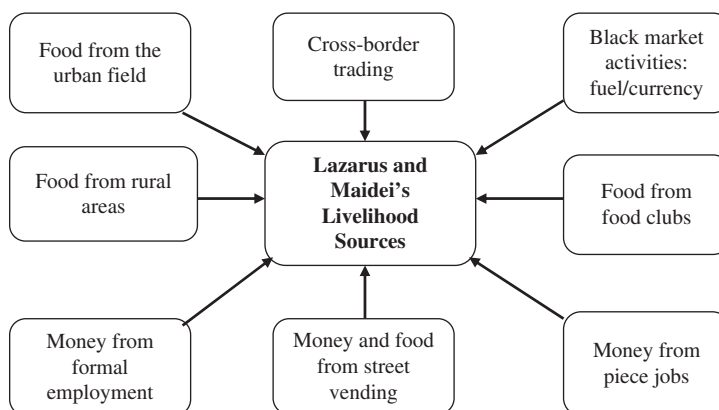


FIGURE 1 Lazarus and Maidei's livelihood sources.

TABLE 1 Number of Additional Activities Being Utilized by Urban Households (Other Than Main One)

Number of activities	Number of households	%
None	0	0.0
One	90	45.0
Two	52	26.0
Three	43	21.5
Four	8	4.0
Five	6	3.0
Six or more	1	0.5
Total	200	100

and 26% and 21.5% reported utilizing 2 and 3 other strategies, respectively. For poor households, multiple livelihood activities have thus become the norm for survival in the urban environment, with some households having as many as 4 or 5 additional activities. The activities are discussed in detail in the following sections within individual case studies from the in-depth interviews as illustrations and quantitative data are used to demonstrate how widespread an activity was in the survey area.

EARNINGS FROM THE STREET: TAPERA'S LIFE AS A VENDOR

Tapera's^c survival in the urban area is akin to that of many households in Epworth. He has been unemployed since he was retrenched almost 9 years prior to the survey. After a year of trying hard and failing to secure other employment, he resolved to be a vendor:

^c Case Study No. 16, March 24, 2009, Ward V, Epworth, Harare.

It was the only thing that I could do. I sold my bed and wardrobe to raise the startup capital and joined others who had long been on the streets. As a man, I was at first ashamed to be seen selling things like sweets, but I had no choice. Now I also sell tomatoes, dried and salted fish [*bakayawo*] and maize flour.

The major challenge for Tapera is that street vending is illegal, and he has to contend with daily clashes with the municipal police and occasional confiscation of his trading wares. His business is conducted on street corners, along major roads and sanitary lanes, in front of shops and at major bus stops, both in Epworth and in Central Harare. But why does he not pay for a vending permit to enable him to operate legally? His answer is that the permits are expensive, and the process of acquiring them is cumbersome and riddled with corruption:

It is difficult to raise money for the permit. You also need to have a health certificate, which is too costly to obtain. Even if you have a permit you still trade on the streets as there are few vending stalls. I think it is better to continue on the streets as I have been doing for years.

Despite numerous challenges, Tapera has managed to feed his family through vending on the streets of Harare. In addition to the cash that the business generates, he also takes home food from the business, particularly food that is in danger of going bad before it is sold.

Tapera is not alone in this endeavor. Sixty-four percent of the surveyed households indicated that they were involved in vending as a livelihood activity—trading goods such as bread, cooking oil, sugar, salt, and tomatoes, as well as meat. For most households in Epworth, the street corner has become the workplace. As Tapera aptly pointed out, “the street has become the industry”—a key source of livelihood for poor urban households in the face of declining wage employment opportunities.

CROSS-BORDER TRADING AND HOUSEHOLD SURVIVAL: MIRIAM

Miriam,^d a single mother of 2, was widowed 6 years prior to the survey. The death of her husband left the family with no income at all. She tried many income-generating ventures, “but nothing seemed to work,” she said. This included working as a cleaner in a clothes factory, a job she quit after only one month because the pay was barely sufficient to meet her monthly transport costs. A friend persuaded her to start cross-border trading:

With some money that I had received from my husband’s terminal benefits, I joined my friend on my first trip to South Africa. I brought some

^d Case Study No. 3, March 23, 2009, Ward I, Epworth, Harare.

few goods [back] and within a week of coming back, my goods were sold out. I went back and from then on, I have never stopped. Now I can afford to bring back food and clothes for my children. I am even renting two rooms instead of the one we used to live in. I usually go to Zambia for clothes; to South Africa for food and electrical gadgets; and to Mozambique for rice and *bakayawo* [dried fish]. This is how I am managing. Although things are tough, at least I can pay some of my bills and send my children to school.

In addition to the monetary income that Miriam derives from cross-border trading, she is also able to bring food for her family. At the time of the study, she also reported that she smuggles cigarettes to sell in South Africa and Botswana. Although it is dangerous, she is able to smuggle her stocks with the help of long distance truck drivers for a small fee. She sells her goods directly to the public on the street in order to have a higher profit margin than selling wholesale to middlemen. Thus, she has become both a cross-border trader and a street trader at the same time. Through cross-border trading, many poor urban households—like Miriam’s—have managed to survive the economic crisis. Quantitative survey results indicate that 30% of the interviewed households were taking part in cross-border trading, with most sourcing their goods from neighboring Botswana, South Africa, Zambia, and Mozambique. To earn a living and support their households, most of these cross-border traders are constantly on the move. “We rarely sleep at home,” says Miriam. “If we do that, then our families will definitely starve.”

SURVIVING FROM AN URBAN FIELD: *SEKURU* MATANDA

Sekuru Matanda,^e a 69-year-old pensioner, lives with his wife and 4 orphaned grandchildren in Ward 7 of Epworth. His monthly pension of R60 is not enough to feed his family. Providing food for such a large family is quite a challenge, but *Sekuru* Matanda has mastered the art of surviving tough economic times:

When I came to Harare in 1965, I did not forget the way I was brought up: that a man should be innovative and use his hands. I raised my children by supplementing my income through growing maize, potatoes and vegetables. Now I am raising my grandchildren by the same means. Every year I cultivate a small patch of land near the stream. In my backyard garden I also grow vegetables. This year I harvested 250 kg of maize, three buckets of sweet potatoes and many pumpkins. We may experience food problems like everybody else, but we do not starve. Sometimes, when I have excess, I sell food to my neighbors, some of whom are much stronger and fitter than I am. That’s how we survive.

^e Case Study No. 29, March 28, 2009, Ward VII, Epworth, Harare.

Because of this small plot of land, *Sekuru* Matanda rarely buys mealie-meal or vegetables. During the rainy season, he dries vegetables to use as relish in the dry season. Sometimes he sells dried vegetables (*mufushwa*) to his neighbors for 50 cents a cup, earning him up to R200 a month. This money helps him to pay school fees for his grandchildren.

Sekuru Matanda is not alone in this coping strategy; the quantitative survey indicated that 66% of the households were growing field crops and 44% were growing garden crops. This practice of farming by urban dwellers confirms Foeken and Uwuor's⁵³ argument that urban agriculture in Sub-Saharan Africa is an integral part of the urban household's diversification processes. In the context of Zimbabwe's economic crisis, urban agriculture has not only provided poor urban households with food but has also helped raise household income through selling some of the produce, as *Sekuru* Matanda does. The findings of this study were consistent with those of the African Food Security Urban Network's survey of 2008⁵⁴ which found that 60% of surveyed households in Harare were undertaking urban agriculture as a way of supplementing their household food needs. During Zimbabwe's crisis period, therefore, urban farming was essential for the survival of most poor households in the city.

RENTING OUT ROOMS: GOGO MUTSAGO'S SALVATION

Gogo Mutsago^f is a 70-year-old grandmother who lives with her 3 grandchildren in her 7-room house in Epworth. Although she has been widowed for 15 years and does not get a pension, she has been able to look after her family by letting out rooms to tenants. The rental income has enabled them to survive. In her words:

This house is everything: it pays for food, school fees, electricity, water and clothes. What would I do without it? Every day I thank my late husband for having the vision to build this house. Now I have something to rely on.

Until 2005, *Gogo* Mutsago and her family occupied all 7 rooms in the house. However, when the economic situation in the country continued to deteriorate, she began to let out rooms. At first she let out a single room for R50, but the income was inadequate, so she let out another room. Every time things got worse, she let out another room, until she was letting out 4 of her 7 rooms. By 2007, even the R200 that she was generating monthly was not enough, so she constructed a 3-room cottage to let in her backyard: a bold decision, especially in the aftermath of Operation *Murambatsvina*,

^f Case Study No. 7, March 24, 2009, Ward II, Epworth, Harare.

during which such illegally built backyard structures had been destroyed. However, she indicated that she had had no choice, because she desperately needed the extra income to adequately feed her family. If things get tougher, she plans to increase the monthly rent charged from R50 to R75 per room. *Gogo Mutsago* is just one of the many poor urbanites who have resorted to renting out part of their properties. Quantitative survey results indicate that 32% of interviewed households were also renting out part of their houses, with average earnings of R225 per month per household. Thus, houses were also being used as productive assets to generate income, a worthwhile income source for property owners in the city. Such a coping activity, which Grant¹⁷ reported as an emerging survival strategy in her study in Gweru a few years earlier, thus seemed to have taken root as one of the many strategies that propertied households in Harare were resorting to as a way of generating income.

ILLEGAL, BUT LUCRATIVE: JOSEPH'S CURRENCY TRADING ON THE BLACK MARKET

Joseph,⁸ 26, a former supermarket till operator, is single and unemployed. He resigned from his work because it was not paying well and now survives on trading foreign currency on the black market. The black market foreign currency trade in the country resulted from the inability of local banks to meet increased customers' demands for foreign currency. However, influential members of the society, mostly politicians, could still access this currency at low bank exchange rates and then sell on the black market at inflated rates, thus making a profit. These influential members of the society did not patronize the streets themselves but employed people like Joseph to trade for them on a commission basis. Joseph narrates how the trade had enabled him to survive the brutal economic environment:

I am here because of the black market, without which I may have long died or gone back to the rural areas. My job was not paying much and I was always short of money and food, so I quit. By trading on foreign currency I can now buy myself enough food and pay my rent. Sometimes, when things are [going] well, I even buy groceries for my mother and siblings.

Access to foreign currency has enabled Joseph to access even scarce food commodities that are sold for foreign currency, food that most urbanites cannot afford to buy because foreign currency is expensive to purchase on the parallel market and cannot be obtained from banks. However, despite

⁸ Case Study No. 15, March 25, 2009, Ward V, Epworth, Harare.

being a viable coping strategy, the black market trade is fraught with danger. Because it is illegal, police periodically arrest the dealers and imprison and/or fine them. Dealers also fall prey to criminals who lure them to secluded places in the guise of wanting to purchase foreign currency but then rob them. Some criminals even impersonate police officers and effect pseudo-arrests from which dealers have to pay to be released. Joseph once lost not only cash but also nearly lost his life:

This business is very dangerous. Last year I nearly died. Someone phoned me wanting to buy US\$3000. We arranged to meet in the Avenues area to transact. It's a relatively safe place, but that day things did not work out well. As soon I arrived there, three police officers "arrested" me, handcuffed me before bundling me into an unmarked car. I was dumped close to Domboshava, some 17 kilometers out of town, after being blindfolded, beaten, robbed and left for dead. I realized then that these were not police, but robbers. I did not even report the case for fear of being arrested.

Despite his ordeal, Joseph did not stop trading, because it has become his lifeline. Although the introduction of the multiple-currency regime was threatening the profitability of this activity at the time of the study, currency traders still transact by changing US dollars into South African rand or British pounds and vice versa. Like Joseph, 8% of the surveyed households indicated that they were involved in illegal foreign currency trading as a survival strategy. Road Port, an international bus terminus in central Harare, was a hive of currency trading activity at the time that this survey was conducted, bearing testimony to this illegal but thriving activity that has become a part of their livelihoods for some households.

FOOD CLUBS: HOUSEHOLDS SURVIVING ON WOMEN'S INITIATIVES

One in-depth survey respondent^h argued that most households in Harare would have disintegrated were it not for women pooling their resources to form food clubs, which helped them to access and maintain a steady supply of food during difficult times:

We persevere through innovation. We come together as groupings of households to buy groceries in bulk, both within the country and outside as well. Every two months we send one person across the border [South Africa, Mozambique, and Botswana] to buy groceries. Now we bring in flour and even make our own bread and share recipes for our food to

^h Case Study No. 10, March 24, 2009, Ward III, Epworth, Harare.

last longer and make it more nutritious. Men know nothing about some of these things . . . they usually just want food on the table.

In addition to pooling resources to purchase food, the food clubs serve as a platform on which women share a variety of recipes for different kinds of foods for their own consumption. They reported that they have, for example, come up with a new recipe for making bread out of pumpkins, as well as making nutritious dishes out of raw paw-paws and bananas and using fresh lemon tree leaves to preserve food, a good strategy for households without refrigerators. The quantitative survey results indicate that 38% of the surveyed households were part of a food club. Of these households, over a third (36%) reported that their membership in the club was critical to their survival, over half (52.6%) thought that it was very important, and 11.9% viewed it as important. These food clubs, organized mostly by women, were playing a crucial role in the food security and survival of many urban households.

The case studies presented so far demonstrate that poor urban people, though seriously challenged by the prevailing economic conditions, have not taken the situation lying down. Rather, they have displayed a remarkable degree of innovativeness by engaging in multiple livelihood activities that straddle both the formal and the informal sector to ensure survival.

Urban Survival on Rural Resources

This section presents findings on the extent to which the movements of people between the village and the city, as well as the social and economic relations of reciprocity that exist between them, contribute to the resilience and survival of poor urban households. It begins by assessing the social relations that exist between the city and the village.

SOCIAL RECIPROCITY BETWEEN THE RURAL AND URBAN AREAS

The degree to which urban households have recourse to resources in the rural areas for their survival in the city depends on the extent to which they interact with rural households both physically and socially. Thus, strong urban–rural interactions may prove to be a viable tool in militating against food insecurity among urban households.⁴³ Ninety-five percent of the households interviewed in this survey reported having a home in the village, despite the fact that 57% of the sample population had been born in the city. The strength of social linkages was exhibited by the two thirds (64.5%) of the surveyed households who reported at least one member visiting the rural home once every year, and 28% visited every 6 months (Table 2). Although the increasing costs of travel, as well as declining urban incomes, were curtailing the frequency of visits, most respondents indicated that they

TABLE 2 Frequency of Visits by Urban Household Members to Rural Areas

Frequency of visits	Number of households	% of households
Every week	0	0.0
Every month	12	6.0
Every 6 months	56	28.0
Every year	129	64.5
Never	3	1.5
Total	200	100.0

make efforts to visit home periodically, especially on special holidays like Christmas and Easter or for the often obligatory funerals.

Such visits are a way of life, a tradition through which urbanites keep in contact with their kith and kin as well as remain anchored to their rural homes. As one respondent succinctly put it:

It's part of tradition not to detach oneself from the village, regardless of how well you may be doing in the city. The village is home: my mother, uncles and other relatives still live there and I have to visit them regularly as is expected of me.ⁱ

Quantitative survey findings bear testimony to the need by urban household members to stay in touch with relatives and friends in the countryside: 80% of the surveyed households reported members visiting the village to check on friends and relatives (Table 3).

In addition to social visits to the village, the survey results indicated that visits have economic purposes as well, with 64% of the households reporting visiting their rural homes to collect food and/or money. Thus, the social and cultural linkages that exist between urban and rural family members act as conduits for the movement of food and money between the 2 areas.

TABLE 3 Reasons Why Household Members Visit Their Rural Home

Reason for visiting ^a	Number of households	% of households
To see relatives and friends	160	80.0
Social events (eg, marriages, funerals, tombstone unveiling)	132	66.0
To get food and/or money	128	64.0
For farming and other economic purposes (eg, to sell livestock)	70	35.0
To send money and/or food	68	34.0
To send children to school	65	33.0
Others	11	6.5

^aThis was a multiple response question, so percentages do not add up to 100.

ⁱ Case Study No. 28, March 28, 2009, Ward VII, Epworth, Harare.

In addition, a third of households (33.5%) indicated visiting the rural areas to take children to attend school there. These linkages, elaborated in detail in the next 2 sections, form part of the urban household's portfolio of strategies that enable it to survive in the challenging environment of the city.

TRANSFERS OF FOOD FROM RURAL TO URBAN AREAS

The exchange of resources between rural and urban areas is not new to Zimbabwe⁵⁵ or other countries in the region. A number of studies^{56,57} have shown that most urban dwellers in Africa live in a dual system of multispatial households, one in the city and another in the rural area. The practice has also been observed in Namibia⁴³ and South Africa.⁵⁸ These links are important, both culturally and economically, because most urbanites consider the rural areas to be their home.⁵⁶ Some urban dwellers own pieces of land in the rural areas. In Botswana, for example, Lesetedi⁵⁹ found that 64% of the interviewed urban households owned land in the rural areas and made investments such as building modern houses and buying property and livestock. Thus, in addition to social linkages, there are resource flows between the urban and rural areas. Though resource flows from urban to rural areas were much stronger in the 1960s and 1970s when urban households typically earned enough to suffice for their urban needs as well as send some money to their rural homesteads,⁶⁰ declining urban conditions and opportunities in today's African cities seem to have reduced such flows. The favored status of the urban resident in most of the region has been eroded considerably, particularly during the period of structural adjustment.⁶⁰ The introduction of the International Monetary Fund-backed ESAP in Zimbabwe, for example, worsened urban conditions and strengthened the role of the rural home as a safety net for the urban household.³⁷ In addition, a decade-long economic crisis precipitated by political instability seems to have made the situation even more grave. Given such evidence of increasing acute urban poverty, the possibility of reduced flows from urban areas and/or even reverse flows from the rural areas is thus not altogether far-fetched.

Results from the in-depth interviews indicate that most households in Epworth still have claims to small plots of land in the village where they grow crops and keep animals. Visiting the village to take part in agricultural activities is therefore a yearly ritual, as reported by one respondent:

Every year my husband buys seeds and fertilizer and I go to the village for about 2 months during the rainy season to farm on our small 2 acre plot. During the school holidays I also take my children to the rural areas so that they can help me to work in the fields.^j

^j Case Study No. 27, March 28, 2009, Ward VII, Epworth, Harare.

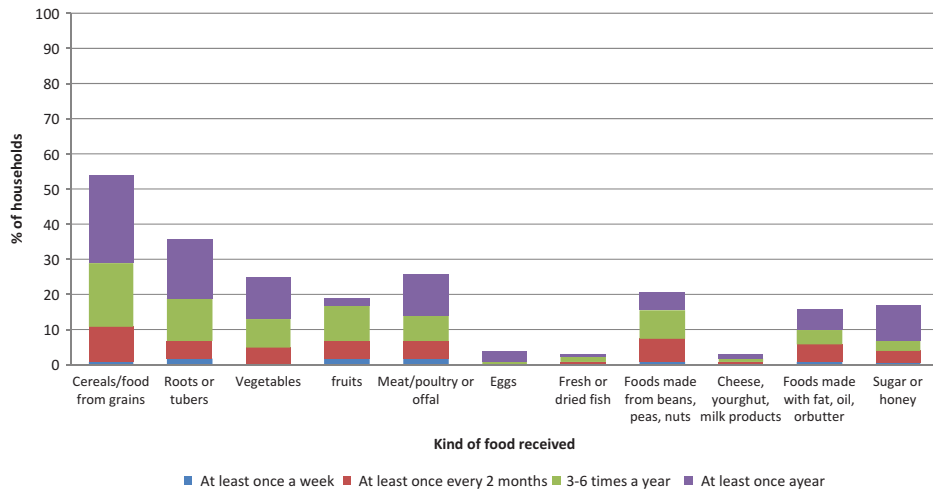


FIGURE 2 Type of foods and frequency of transfers from rural areas among households receiving transfers (color figure available online).

By engaging in rural farming, urban household members contribute to generating the food that they eat when they visit the countryside, as well as possibly selling the excess to get a supplementary income that is used in both the rural and urban areas. In addition, food is brought back to the urban area. Though the transfer of such resources was not one way, the proportion of urban households that indicated normally sending food and/or money to the rural areas was lower (34%), unarguably due to increasing economic hardships in the city.

Urban households were reported to be getting more resources from the village than they were sending, suggesting that the net flow of resources between the rural and urban areas may very well have reversed. It is this net urban-ward flow of resources, especially food, that was partly responsible for the resilience of poor households in Harare. Survey findings lend credence to this argument: more than three fifths of the surveyed households (62%) reported normally receiving food from the rural areas, and 34% reported receiving money. The money that the households were receiving was mostly from the sale of agricultural crops and the selling off of livestock. The most common foods being transferred from the rural areas were cereals, roots, and tubers, as well as meat and poultry (Figure 2).

The predominance of cereal transfers can be explained by the fact that maize is the country's staple crop and therefore is used extensively by households. As one respondent said:

Whenever I go to the village I make sure that I bring [back] some maize or maize meal. If I am able to provide *sadza* for my family, then all other

things do not really matter. When I get a chance to go home, I bring [back] as much as I can, even to last me for six months.^k

The transfer of cereals from rural to urban areas is therefore central to the economic linkages that exist between the city and the countryside. The importance of food from the rural areas for the survival of households in Epworth was validated by survey responses, with 58% of the households reporting that the food they were getting from the rural area was very important and 18% who regarded it as being critical to their survival in the city (Table 4).

These findings validate the prediction of O'Connor⁶¹ that rural–urban linkages in southern Africa were likely to assume new importance with rising urban poverty. Rural–urban food transfers thus represent vital safety valves and welfare options for households vulnerable to economic fluctuations in the city. Through these flows of food and money, food price increases in Zimbabwe lost some of their bite and households were able to survive despite the sky-rocketing cost of living. One respondent aptly summed up their importance by saying:

Without the food that we get from the village we would not be surviving in the city. It is because of that field in the village that we do not buy maize meal, beans and sweet potatoes. Occasionally we also get meat when a goat or a cow is slaughtered. That's what makes us survive^l

The importance of food transfers is also seen in the fact that all households receiving food from the rural areas were using it for household consumption, with relatively few selling the food (26%) or giving it away to friends (18%). It is clear from the data that have so far been presented that rural–urban food transfers are an important component of the survival strategies of poor households in Epworth. These households are thus not only making use of the resources that they have in the urban area but also rely on food and

TABLE 4 Importance of Rural Food Transfers to Urban Households Receiving Transfers

Importance of food from rural areas	Number of households	% of households
Not important at all	0	0
Somewhat important	12	9
Important	18	15
Very important	71	58
Critical to survival	22	18
Total	123	100

^k Case Study No. 12, March 25, 2009, Ward IV, Epworth, Harare.

^l Case Study No. 26, March 28, 2009, Ward VII, Epworth, Harare.

monetary resources from the rural areas to enhance and protect their urban livelihoods. This straddling of the rural-urban divide is a way of life for most poor households that strive to harness sufficient resources for their survival in the deteriorating urban environment.⁵⁵

SENDING HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS TO RURAL AREAS

One of the major findings of this research is the realization that a significant proportion of urban households were reducing the size of their households in response to increasing hardship, by sending some of their household members to live in the rural areas either permanently or temporarily. Forty-six percent of the surveyed households reported that they had household members who were normally domiciled in the city but were at the time of the research living in the rural areas.

By sending some of their members to the rural areas, households aimed to cut costs for food, rent, transport, and any of the numerous urban expenses that households incur. As Table 5 shows, 44% of the surveyed households reported that they had sent one or more of their members to reside in the countryside to save on food costs. For most households, this strategy had a double benefit, in that it not only reduced the number of people to be fed in the city but also provided labor for farming in the rural area. Other households had sent household members to the village as a way of saving on the cost of schooling, including fees and transport costs (31%). When questioned on whether the low costs of education in the rural areas could compensate for the lower quality of rural schools, the majority of the respondents argued that it was better for their children to get lower quality education in the countryside than for them to continue living in the city where they could no longer afford the fees.

Other households had sent some of their members to the village to save on rent, by reducing the number of rooms needed.

TABLE 5 Reason for Sending Household Members to the Rural Area

Reason for sending ^a	Number of households	% of households with a member living in the rural area
To save on food	88	44.0
To save on school fees	62	31.0
To save on rent	47	23.5
For children to be cared for by grandparents	29	14.5
For member to look after the rural home	8	4.0

^aThis was a multiple response question, so percentages do not add up to 100.

I used to rent three rooms for my family of six, but things got tough and I had to move into a single room. So we sent our elder children to live with their grandmother in the village in Mutoko. Now we only live with our youngest child aged 2 years. It is better that the children stay in the village: there they have a place to live, the school is just 2 kilometers away and the food is plenty.^m

As the quote clearly illustrates, sending some members to the village and to relatives elsewhere has become a viable coping strategy for poor households facing challenges in the city. It has brought relief to those who cannot afford the high costs of rent and education in the urban area. The money saved is generally used to purchase food for the remaining household members, enabling the remaining city dwellers to cope. Though for many the relocation of some household members is not intended to be permanent, the rural areas have become a refuge for distressed urban households, giving them enough space and time to reorganize and re-strategize.

Surviving on International Remittances

Though the majority of households in Epworth reported using food and monetary transfers from the rural areas for their upkeep in the city, a smaller proportion reported receiving international remittances of food and money. Twelve percent of surveyed households had at least one household member working outside Zimbabwe.

Although the proportion of households with international migrants was low, it was nevertheless a viable coping strategy for the households concerned, because most migrants were sending back money and food to their families. One respondent whose children had migrated to South Africa had this to say:

Were it not for my children who are working in South Africa, we could have starved a long time ago. Those children have made us survive . . . rarely do two months pass without one of them sending money or groceries. That is how we are managing.ⁿ

Such findings are consistent with those of other studies⁶² in developing countries, which reveal that remittances are a significant component of household income and enable recipient families to smooth their consumption and improve their well-being. In a Zimbabwe national migration survey

^m Case Study No. 20, March 26, 2009, Ward V, Epworth, Harare.

ⁿ Case Study No. 26, March 28, 2009, Ward VII, Epworth, Harare.

TABLE 6 Average Monthly Income by Urban Household International Migration Status

Urban household migration status	<i>N</i>	Mean	Median	Minimum	Maximum
Migrant household	24	1450	1200	400	5400
Nonmigrant household	176	442	300	40	1550

carried out in 2004 by Tevera and Chikanda,⁶³ three quarters of the migrant-sending households reported receiving remittances in the year prior to the study, indicating the importance of migration to the survival of households in the country. As the results from this study show, households with a migrant member reported significantly higher monthly average incomes than households without (Table 6).

Whereas migrant households had an average monthly income of R1450, the reported average for nonmigrant households was much lower, at R442. Although remittances were put to a variety of uses, all households receiving international remittances reported using a portion of the funds to meet their food needs (Table 7).

It is instructive to note that few households reported saving remittances for future use (12.5%), indicating that worsening economic conditions impelled the funds to be used mostly for consumption purposes. For migrant households, international remittances were vital for survival; 87.5% and 8.3% of the migrant-sending households in Epworth reported that remittances were crucial and very important to their survival, respectively. Thus, when asked about the effect of having a migrant member in the household, over nine tenths of the migrant households (91.6%) indicated that the move had had a positive effect on the household, and only 4.2% reported a negative effect (Table 8). Those reporting a negative effect were those that had migrant members who were yet to find employment at their destination and were thus not contributing to the welfare of the household back home. Where the migrant had been the sole breadwinner before migrating, the impact was particularly devastating because the remaining household members were left to fend for themselves.

TABLE 7 Use of Remittances by Households With an International Migrant (*n* = 24)

Use of remittances	<i>N</i>	%
Food	24	100.0
School fees	19	79.2
Paying rents and rates	17	70.1
Consumer goods	15	62.5
Medical expenses	12	50.0
Saving	3	12.5
Investing in business/goods for resale	2	8.3
Construction of a house	1	4.2

TABLE 8 Effect of Having a Migrant on the Welfare of the Urban Household

Effect of remittances on urban household	<i>N</i>	%
Very positive	22	91.6
Positive	1	4.2
Neither positive nor negative	0	0.0
Negative	1	4.2
Very negative	0	0.0
Total	24	100

CONCLUSION

This article has focused on the survival of poor households in Epworth, Harare. It has shown that distressed urban households engage in multiple livelihood activities to generate enough income and food to sustain themselves in the city. Such activities include, among other things, informal sector activities, cross-border trading, vending, black market activities, and urban agriculture. Most of these coping activities are adopted not sequentially but concurrently, depending on the household's ability to generate resources to partake in them. The article also assessed the extent to which the socio-cultural linkages that exist between the city and the village as well as the economic relations of reciprocity embedded within these relationships contribute to the resilience of poor households in the city. It argues that the interactions and linkages that persist between urban and rural households are central to the survival of poor urban households. Through these linkages, resources flow between the rural and urban areas. Although economic hardships brought about by a prolonged socio-political crisis were negatively affecting the flow of resources from the urban to rural areas, the reverse flows have become more important because urban households increasingly rely on their rural counterparts for food and money. The importance of rural areas and their resources as safety nets for urban survival can therefore not be underestimated, particularly during times of shock and distress. In addition to the reliance by urban households on rural resources, the study indicated that urban households were sending some of their members to live in the rural areas as a way of reducing expenses in the city. This enabled households to concentrate on feeding the remaining members, thereby increasing the overall resilience of the household in the face of food insecurity. International migration also played an important role in reducing food insecurity among migrant-sending households because migrants remitted money and food to help household members who had remained in the country. In conclusion, it can be argued that the survival and resilience of the poor facing increased food insecurity during a crisis situation, such as that in Harare, can mainly be attributed to 3 factors: first, their inventiveness in eking out a living within the urban informal sector; second, the continuing existence of strong social links

to rural families and their resources; and third, the viability of international migration for some, with remittances playing a crucial role in household food security and well-being.

REFERENCES

1. Potts D, Mutambirwa CC. “Basics are now a luxury”; perceptions of structural adjustment’s impact on rural and urban areas in Zimbabwe. *Environ Urban*. 1998;10:55–65.
2. Kanji N. Poverty and economic adjustment in Harare, Zimbabwe. *Environ Urban*. 1995;7:37–56.
3. Mitlin D, Chitekwe B. The urban poor under threat and in struggle: options for urban development in Zimbabwe, 1995–2000. *Environ Urban*. 2001;13: 85–102. Available at: http://www.ucl.ac.uk/dpu-projects/drivers_urb_change/urb_economy/pdf_innov_financ_mech/IIED_chitekwe_zimbabwe.pdf. Accessed April 20, 2010.
4. Government of Zimbabwe. *Poverty Assessment Study Survey, Main Report*. Harare, Zimbabwe: Ministry of Public Service, Labour & Social Welfare, Government Publications; 2006.
5. Chimhowu, A. *Moving Forward in Zimbabwe: Reducing Poverty and Promoting Productivity*. Manchester, England: Brooks Poverty Institute; 2009.
6. Clemens M, Moss T. *Costs and Causes of Zimbabwe’s Crisis*. Washington, DC: Centre for Global Development; 2005. Available at: <http://www.cgdev.org>. Accessed September 1, 2009.
7. Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe. *Statistical Tables*. Harare, Zimbabwe: Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe; 2009.
8. ZimVac. *Zimbabwe Vulnerability Assessment Committee Urban Food Security Assessment January 2009 National Report*. Harare, Zimbabwe: Zimbabwe National Vulnerability Committee; 2009.
9. FEWSNET. *Zimbabwe Food Security Update*. Available at: http://www.fews.net/docs/Publications/Zimbabwe_2009_03.pdf. Accessed March 3, 2009.
10. Bird K, Prowse M. *Vulnerability, Poverty and Coping in Zimbabwe*. Helsinki, Finland: United Nations University, World Institute for Development Economic Research; 2008. Research Paper No. 2008/41.
11. Alwang J, Mills BF, Taruvinga N. *Why Has Poverty Increased in Zimbabwe?* Washington, DC: World Bank; 2008.
12. Chisvo M. *Reaping The Whirlwind: Economic Liberalization and Food Security in Zimbabwe*. Harare, Zimbabwe: Catholic Institute for International Relations; 2000.
13. Bhandari BS, Grant M. Analysis of livelihood security: a case study in the Kali-Khola watershed of Nepal. *J Environ Manag*. 2006;85:17–26.
14. Maxwell D, Watkins B, Wheeler R, Collins G. *The Coping Strategies Index: A Tool for Rapidly Monitoring Food Security in Emergencies. Field Methods Manual*. Nairobi, Kenya: CARE and World Food Programme; 2003.
15. Barrett CB, Sherlund SM, Adesina AA. *Macroeconomic Shocks, Human Capital and Productive Efficiency: Evidence From West African Rice Farmers*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University; 2001.

16. Kinsey B, Burger K, Gunning JW. Coping with drought in Zimbabwe: survey evidence on responses of rural households to risk. *World Dev.* 1998;26:89–110.
17. Grant M. Lodging as a migrant economic strategy in urban Zimbabwe. *Dev South Africa.* 2007;24:77–90.
18. Chitiga M. *Trade Policies and Poverty in Zimbabwe: A Computable General Equilibrium Micro Situation Analysis.* Pretoria, South Africa: University of Pretoria; 2004.
19. Hanke SH, Kwok AK. *On the Measurement of Zimbabwe's Hyperinflation.* Available at: <http://www.cato.org/pubs/journal/>. Accessed November 10, 2010.
20. United Nations. *State of World Population 2008: Reaching Common Ground: Culture, Gender and Human Rights.* New York, NY: United Nations Population Fund; 2008.
21. Mupedziswa R. *Empowerment or Repression? ESAP and Children in Zimbabwe.* Gweru, Zimbabwe: Mambo Press; 1997.
22. Tibaijuka A. *Report of the Fact-Finding Mission to Assess the Scope and Impact of Operation Murambatsvina in Zimbabwe.* UN-Habitat Special Envoy on Human Settlements; 2005. Available at: <http://ww2.unhabitat.org/documents/ZimbabweReport.pdf>
23. Sachikonye L. *The Situation of Commercial Farm Workers After Land Reform. A Report for Farm Community Trust of Zimbabwe.* London, England: Catholic Institute for International Relations; 2003.
24. International Crisis Group. *Zimbabwe's Operation Murambatsvina: The Tipping Point?* Brussels/Pretoria: International Crisis Group; 2005.
25. Mugara T. The impact of Operation Murambatsvina (Clean Up) on urban livelihoods of informal vendors in Harare, Zimbabwe. Paper presented at: Living on the Margins Conference; March 26–28, 2007; Stellenbosch, Cape Town, South Africa.
26. United Nations. *Human Development Report 2009. Overcoming Barriers: Human Mobility and Development.* Washington, DC: Palgrave MacMillan; 2009.
27. World Bank. *World Development Report 2009: Reshaping Economic Geography.* Washington, DC: World Bank, 2009.
28. World Bank. *World Development Report 2006: Equity and Development.* Washington, DC: World Bank and Oxford University Press; 2006.
29. Department of Economic and Social Affairs. *The Millennium Development Goals: A Snapshot.* New York, NY: United Nations Department of Economics and Social Affairs; 2009.
30. Nelson N. Urban poverty: some strategic considerations. In: Jones S, Nelson N, eds. *Urban Poverty in Africa: From Understanding to Alleviation.* London, England: Intermediate Technology Publications; 1999.
31. Iliffe J. *The African Poor.* Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press; 1987.
32. Moser C, Gatehouse M, Garcia H. *Urban Poverty Research Sourcebook Module II: Indicators of Urban Poverty.* Washington, DC: UNDP/UNCHS (Habitat)/World Bank; 1996. Urban Management Program Working Paper Series Number 5.
33. Crush J, Grant M, Frayne B. *Linking Migration, HIV/AIDS and Urban Food Security in Southern and Eastern Africa.* Cape Town, South Africa: Idasa Publishing House; 2007. African Migration and Development Series No. 3.
34. Food and Agriculture Organization. *Soaring Food Prices: Facts, Perspectives, Impacts and Actions Required.* Paper presented at: High Level Conference on

- World Food Security: The Challenge of Climate and Bioenergy; June 3–5, 2008; Rome.
35. Crush J, Frayne B. *The Invisible Crisis: Urban Food Security in Southern Africa*. Cape Town, South Africa: African Food Security Urban Network, Idasa; 2009. Urban Food Security Series Number 1.
 36. Wratten E. Conceptualizing urban poverty. *Environ Urban*. 1995;7:11–38.
 37. Potts D, Mutambirwa CC. Rural urban linkages in contemporary Harare; why migrants need their land. *J South Afr Stud*. 1990;6:676–698.
 38. Swift J, Hamilton K. Household food and livelihood security. In: Devereaux S, Maxwell S, eds. *Food Security in Sub-Saharan Africa*. London, England: Immediate Technology Development Group; 2001.
 39. Mbiba M. *Urban Agriculture in Zimbabwe: Implications for Urban Agricultural Policy*. Harare, Zimbabwe: Avebury; 1995.
 40. Bryceson DF, Mbara T. Petrol diseconomies and rural–urban linkages in Sub-Saharan Africa’s globalisation process. Paper presented at: Globalisation, Growth and (In)Equality Conference, Centre for the Study of Globalisation and Regionalisation; March 15–17, 2002; Warwick, England.
 41. Rakodi C. The household strategies of the urban poor: coping with poverty and recession in Gweru, Zimbabwe. *Habitat Int*. 1995;19:447–471.
 42. Grant M. Movement patterns in a medium-sized city: tenants on the move in Gweru, Zimbabwe. *Habitat Int*. 1995;19:357–369.
 43. Frayne B. *Survival of the Poorest: Food Security and Migration in Namibia* [unpublished PhD thesis]. Kingston, Canada: Queens University; 2001.
 44. Potts D. Urban lives: adopting new strategies and adapting rural links. In: Rakodi C, ed. *Urban Challenge in Africa, Growth and Management of its Large Cities*. New York, NY: United Nations University Press; 1997:447–494.
 45. Chambers R, Conway G. *Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: Practical Concepts for the 21st Century*. Brighton, England: University of Sussex, Institute for Development Studies; 1992.
 46. Rakodi C. A livelihoods approach—conceptual issues and definitions. In: Rakodi C, Lloyd-Jones T, eds. *Urban Livelihoods: A People-Centered Approach to Reducing Poverty*. London, England: Earthscan Publications; 2002. pp. 3–22.
 47. Davies S. Are coping strategies a cope-out? *IDS Bull*. 1993;24:60–72.
 48. Alinovi L, Mane E, Romano D. Measuring household resilience to food insecurity: an application to Palestinian households. Paper presented at: International Conference on Food Security and Environmental Change—Linking Science Development and Policy for Adaptation; April 2–4, 2008; Oxford, United Kingdom.
 49. Butcher C. *Epworth: A Review of the Densification Policy*. Harare, Zimbabwe: University of Zimbabwe; 1988.
 50. Central Statistical Office. *Census National Report*. Harare, Zimbabwe: Government Publications, 1982.
 51. Central Statistical Office. *Population Estimates 2009*. Harare, Zimbabwe: Government Publications, 2009.
 52. Kantor P. Diversification and security? Labour mobilization among urban poor households in Kabul. *Habitat Int*. 2008;32(2):248–260.
 53. Foeken DWF, Uwuor SO. Farming as a livelihood source for the urban poor of Nakuru. *Geoforum*. 2008;39:1978–1990.

54. Frayne B, Pendleton W. *The State of Urban Food Insecurity in Southern Africa*. Cape Town, South Africa: African Food Security Urban Network, Idasa; 2009. Urban Food Security Series Number 2,
55. Potts D. Displacement and livelihoods: the longer term impacts of operation Murambatsvina. In: Vambe M, ed. *Zimbabwe: The Hidden Dimensions of Operation Murambatsvina*. Harare, Zimbabwe: Weaver Press; 2008. pp. 53–64.
56. Tacoli C. Editor's introduction. In: Tacoli C, ed. *The Earthscan Reader in Rural–Urban Linkages*. London, England: Earthscan; 2006. pp. 1–9.
57. Owuor SO. Coping with urban poverty: a case study of rural farming by urban households in Nakuru, Kenya. *Hekima - Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*. 2005;3:84–101.
58. Smit W. The rural linkages of urban households in Durban, South Africa. *Environ Urban*. 1998;10:77–87.
59. Lesetedi GN. Urban–rural linkages as an urban survival strategy among urban dwellers in Botswana: the case of Broadhurst residents. *J Polit Ecol*. 2003;10:37–46.
60. Moseley WG. Monitoring urban food security in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Afr Geogr Rev*. 2001;21:81–90.
61. O'Connor A. *Poverty in Africa: A Geographical Approach*. London: Belhaven Press; 1991.
62. Mendola P. Migration and technological change in rural households: complements or substitutes? *J Dev Econ*. 2008;85:150–175.
63. Tevera D, Chikanda A. *Migrant Remittances and Household Survival in Zimbabwe*. Cape Town, South Africa: Idasa; 2009. Southern African Migration Project (SAMP), Migration Policy Series Number 51.