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Gender and Access to Food

**A Case Study on Gender Differences in Access to Food
through Rural to Urban Food Transfers, and its Impact on
Food Security in Moses //Garoëb, Windhoek, Namibia**

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Abstract

Previous studies have shown that female-centred households in Windhoek, Namibia, receive half as much of the most essential staple crop through rural to urban food transfers as male-centred households, and that female-centred households are the most food insecure. The purpose of this qualitative study was to investigate if and how gender norms influence access to food made available through rural to urban food transfers, and what implications this might have on the food security of Owambo households in Moses //Garoëb Constituency in Windhoek. To answer these questions, data was gathered through a series of semi-structured interviews with urban household members and their relatives in the rural north. In addition, a focus group discussion with urban heads of female-centred households was arranged. The main results of the study were that gender norms concerning migration, land acquisition, and job opportunities combined can explain the structural gender difference in the amount of food received through transfers. The study also found that it is important to take marital status into account, as the results show that married heads of urban male-centred households can receive food from two rural sources while heads of female-centred households and single heads of male-centred households only have one source.

Key words: Multi-spatial livelihoods, rural to urban food transfers, gender, food security, Namibia.

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List of abbreviations

AFSUN	African Food Security Urban Network
CBS	Central Bureau of Statistics
EFSA	Emergency Food Security Assessment
EH	Extended Household
DRRP	Drought Relief Response Plan
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FCH	Female-Centred Household
FHS	Family Hope Services (local NGO in Moses //Garoëb)
FIES	Food Insecurity Experience Scale
GRN	Government (of Namibia)
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NH	Nuclear Household
NPC	National Planning Commission
NSA	Namibia Statistics Agency
MCH	Male-Centred Household
OPM	Office of the Prime Minister
RUFT	Rural to Urban Food Transfers
WFP	World Food Programme
UN	United Nations

Definitions of central concepts

Rural to urban food transfers (RUFT): The food transfers that we discuss in this study are informal in the sense that they are being sent between relatives (or friends) and they are not connected to companies or the authorities.

Food security: In this study we will use the definition of food security as stated by the World Summit on Food Security, which reads “[f]ood security exists when all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life. The four pillars of food security are availability, access, utilization and stability. The nutritional dimension is integral to the concept of food security” (WSFS, 2009).

Household types: In our research we distinguish between four types of households using AFSUN’s definition, which is the following: “[f]emale-centred or headed households (usually single women, widows and separated/divorced/abandoned) without a spouse or partner; male-centred or headed without a spouse or partner; nuclear households of immediate blood relatives (usually male-headed but spouse or partner present) and extended households of immediate and distant relatives and non-relatives (again usually male-headed with a spouse or partner also present)” (Frayne et al., 2010b).

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1. Introduction

Within livelihood studies there has been a bias towards rural livelihoods, although the interest in urban livelihoods is increasing (Bryceson et al., 2003: 178). Crush and Frayne have shown that the rural bias is also reflected in policy documents on food security of international agencies such as FAO and the World Bank (Crush & Frayne, 2010; Crush & Frayne, 2011). Contrary to this development, recently, studies have highlighted the interconnectedness and interdependence of rural and urban livelihoods, framing them as multi-spatial, translocal, or multi-local (de Haan, 2005; Greiner, 2011, Tacoli 2008; Owuor, 2006; Andersson Djurfeldt, 2014). Even though the concept of multi-spatial livelihoods was developed in order to shed light on the interconnectedness of rural and urban areas, studies on remittances still focus primarily on urban to rural remittances while little attention is paid to the remittances going the other direction (Drimie, 2008; Owuor, 2006: 35). Potts (1997) has shown that urban to rural remittances are decreasing and rural to urban transfers (RUFT) are increasing, which is also confirmed by Frayne (2004) in the case of Windhoek, Namibia. In a comparison of 11 cities in the Southern Africa region, the African Food Security Urban Network (AFSUN) revealed that Windhoek is the city with the highest percentage of urban poor population receiving food transfers from rural areas (Pendleton et al., 2012: 26).

Frayne's study demonstrated that female-centred households (FCHs) in poor parts of Windhoek are disadvantaged in the informal food transfer system between rural and urban areas in the sense that they receive half as much of the most important food item being transferred, mahangu (pearl millet), as heads of male-centred households (MCHs) (Frayne, 2005: 63). Regarding the urban households' food security status, the AFSUN study found that FCHs in the poor areas of Windhoek are the most food insecure (Pendleton et al., 2012: 20). Neither Frayne nor AFSUN have specifically investigated why FCHs receive less food transfers or why they are the most food insecure and if these two different findings are interrelated. According to de Haan & Zoomers (2005), livelihood studies in general lack an emphasis on the role of gender and power dynamics and how these aspects affect access to livelihood assets and opportunities to use livelihood strategies. Van Dijk claims that access to assets and the ability to use livelihood strategies depend on presently active structures that are

embedded in social relations between individuals and groups (van Dijk, 2011: 114). How can the finding that FCHs receive half as much of the most important staple crop and the result that they are the most food insecure group in Windhoek be explained from a multi-spatial livelihoods perspective that puts emphasis on the concepts of gender and structure?

1.1 Statement of purpose

The purpose of this study is to contribute to the field of multi-spatial livelihood studies by investigating the phenomenon of gender differences in access to food through rural to urban transfers between Owamboland¹ and Moses //Garoëb² Constituency in Windhoek, Namibia. While multiple scholars have researched rural-urban linkages and multi-spatial livelihoods in Namibia (Greiner, 2011; Tvedten, 2004; Frayne, 2004) and in other countries in sub-Saharan Africa (see e.g. Tacoli & Mabala, 2010; Lesetedi, 2003; Foeken & Owuor, 2008), we have not encountered any study that specifically investigates if and how gender influences access to food received through RUFT, and what implications that might have on urban food security. As we ascribe to the ontological and epistemological stance of critical realism, which entails that in order to understand the social world we need to explain the structures that create events and discourses, we aspire to fill this knowledge gap by identifying gender structures and norms related to RUFT and examine how they affect this livelihood strategy. In addition, the intention is to explore what implications the gender structures and norms related to rural to urban food transfers might have on the food security status of the Owambo population in Moses //Garoëb. The choice of focusing on the Owambo ethnic group was based on Frayne's finding that there is a difference in how much mahangu MCHs and FCHs receive, and that mahangu is a specifically important staple crop among Owambos. Moses //Garoëb Constituency was chosen due to the fact that it is the area with the highest percentage of Oshiwambo speaking inhabitants.

¹ Owamboland refers to the northern Namibian regions of Oshana, Oshikoto, Ohangwena, and Omusati.

² The “//” symbolises a click sound used in the Damara/Nama language.

In order to study the case of gender differences in access to food through RUFT we chose to conduct a series of semi-structured interviews, firstly with Owambos in Moses //Garoëb, and secondly with some of their relatives Owamboland. We also arranged a focus group discussion (FDG) with women from FCHs in Moses //Garoëb. The respondents were chosen using purposive sampling and local gatekeepers.

1.2 Research question

How can gender influence access to food received through rural to urban food transfers?

1.3 Operationalizing research questions

The following questions, which are derived from the discussion in the theory chapter about livelihood analysis and the necessity to include perspectives on structures, institutions, and gender, will serve as an analytical framework for the analysis of our data. Four sections in the analysis chapter will be devoted to examining each of these questions:

- 1. How can the livelihood strategy of rural to urban food transfers between Owamboland and Moses //Garoëb be understood from a multi-spatial livelihoods perspective?*
- 2. What gender structures related to rural to urban food transfers between Owamboland and Moses //Garoëb exist and what gender institutions sustain these structures?*
- 3. How do gender institutions influence access to food received through transfers for people in Moses //Garoëb?*
- 4. In what ways do gender structures and gender institutions related to rural to urban food transfers affect the livelihood outcomes in terms of food security of the people in Moses //Garoëb?*

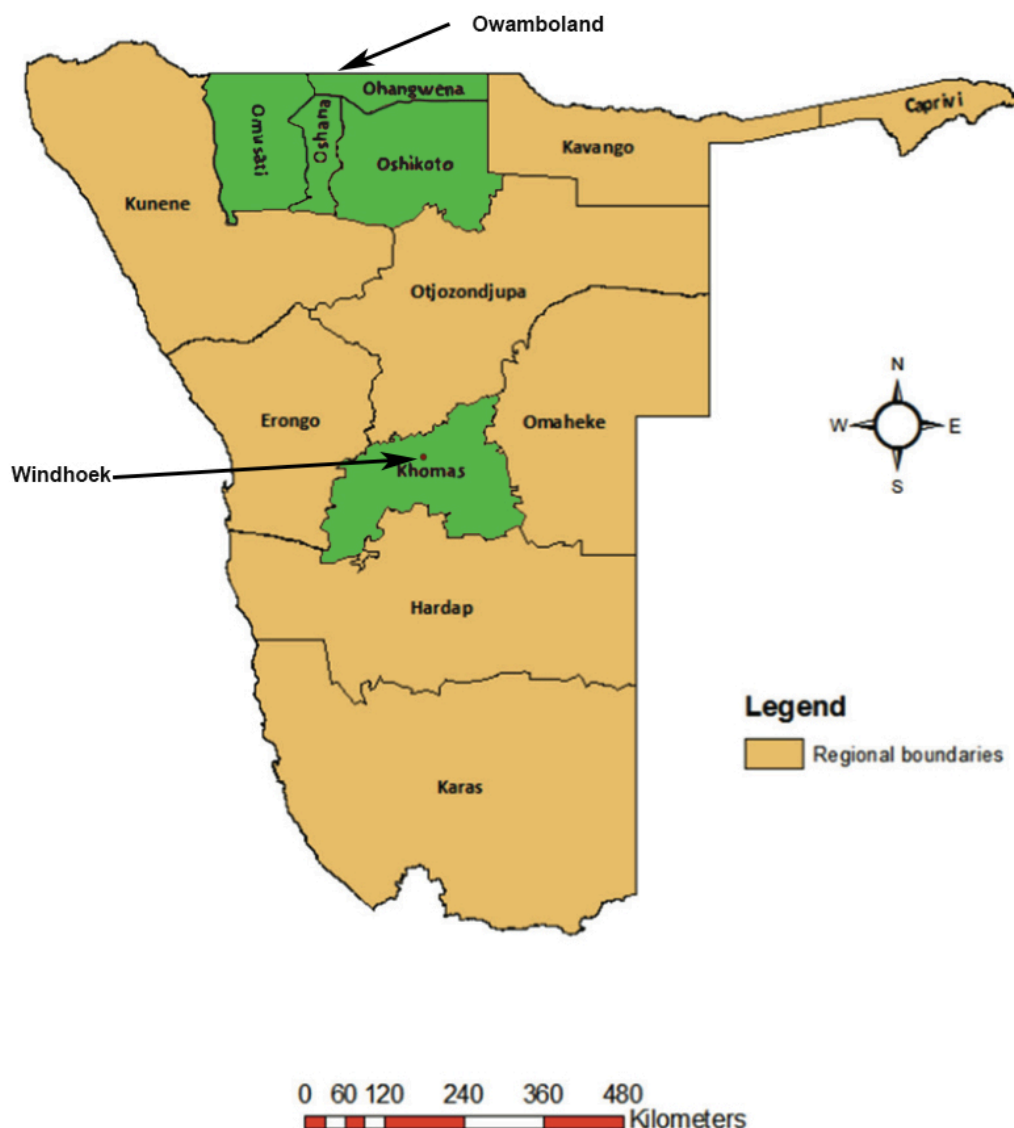
1.4 Outline of thesis

Chapter 2 in this study will present some contextual insights on Namibia and cover issues such as migration, urbanization, RUFT, and the governmental response to the current drought. The next chapter, Chapter 3, goes through the methodology of the research before moving on to Chapter 4 that deals with the theoretical framework. In Chapter 5 the results will be presented and analysed. Chapter 6 summarizes the results and presents our conclusions and recommendations for future studies.

2. Contextual insights

The first section of this chapter provides the reader with a historical background about migration and urbanization in Namibia. The second section presents examples of rural-urban linkages and livelihood strategies used in the rural north and among migrants in Windhoek. The last section gives an overview of the food security situation in Namibia, its connection to RUFT, and the governmental response to the recent drought.

Map 1: Namibia



Source: NSA, 2011 (adapted by the authors).

2.1 Migration and urbanization in pre-colonial and colonial Namibia

Unlike some of the other countries in the Southern Africa region, pre-colonial Namibia had not developed any larger population centres. This was due to its small population and isolation from trade routes along with environmental conditions that did not favour creation of towns (Tvedten, 2004: 399). The establishment of urban settlements in Namibia was largely a colonial phenomenon spurred by the German colonization of Namibia between 1842-1915, and further developed during the South African colonial period between 1915-1990. The urbanization among the black population that took place during this era was slow and controlled. Black people in could not migrate freely as they were only allowed to live in urban areas for short period of times. Their movement was controlled by “pass-laws” and they were prohibited from owning property. Furthermore, the black population was only allowed to stay in designated areas, so called townships, with standards of living inferior to those of the white population (Tvedten, 2004: 400).

The freedom of movement of the people in the northern region of Owamboland was specifically circumscribed by the veterinary cordon fence called the “Red Line”, which prevented cattle and people from the communal areas in Owamboland to cross into the central and southern areas of Namibia where the colonial cities and privately owned farms of the white population were located (Bauer, 1998: 23). The isolation of Owamboland served the purpose of making sure that the region stayed impoverished and underdeveloped so that the colonial economy, which was reliant on a steady flow of controlled black male migrant labour, could be sustained (Frayne, 2004: 491). The colonial system also limited the amount of usable land for peasants to grow their crops on and prevented them from accessing markets. This system deepened the dependence of the growing rural population in northern Namibia on male migrant wage labour. It also had consequences for gender roles as women were stuck in the rural reserves and therefore forced to take care of food production and the households alone (Moorsom, 1997: 57).

2.2 Livelihoods and rural-urban linkages in modern day Namibia

Rural household members in Namibia are highly dependent on urban incomes, especially in periods of crisis (Frayne, 2007: 101f), as most of the rural households are engaged in subsistence farming of cereals and small amounts of vegetables (Mendelsohn, 2006: 34; CBS & NPC, 2003: 8). According to Mendelsohn (2006), in the regions Oshikoto, Ohangwena and Oshana, which are part of Owamboland, production of mahangu constitutes the largest proportion of the cereal production; almost two thirds of the cereals produced are mahangu. Small-scale agricultural production in Namibia is challenging for a number of reasons. In the northern and eastern regions the soils are generally of poor quality and farming is also severely hampered by the unpredictable and variable rainfalls (Mendelsohn, 2006: 24; 27), leading to floods and droughts that affect food production.

The composition of the rural households is skewed both in terms of sex ratio – a majority of household heads are women – and with regards to dependency ratio – a high proportion of the household members are children or elderly (Mendelsohn, 2006: 34). The elderly above the age of 60 are covered by the social welfare system and are entitled to a pension of N\$600 per month (Namibian Sun, February 19, 2014). In 2013 the Office of the Prime Minister of Namibia estimated that 28% of the rural population in 13 regions had pensions as their main source of income (OPM, 2013: 6, 16f).

Independence in 1990 brought with it the absolute right to freedom of movement, which has enabled a rapid rise in migration within Namibia and a significant increase in rural to urban migration, specifically to the capital, Windhoek. This has happened in spite of urban employment not growing as fast as the influx of labour migrants, leading to higher unemployment and decreasing chances for the poorer households to maintain livelihoods (Frayne, 2004: 491). In rural areas levels of cash income are generally low and poverty is widespread (Frayne, 2007: 97). Thus, sending a family member to town to work and receiving cash remittances from that person serves as a diversification strategy for the rural households (Greiner, 2011: 608). Urban inhabitants remitting cash to relatives in rural areas is a phenomenon with a long

tradition in Namibia and the number of people sending money has increased with the rapid urbanization rate, which suggests that urban to rural remittances are becoming increasingly important for the rural households (Frayne, 2007: 102).

The rapidly rising urban population in Windhoek during last 20 years has been accompanied by a growing urban food security crisis (Pendleton et al., 2014: 194). According to Pendleton and Frayne, large-scale rural-urban migration, especially from Owamboland, is the major driving force behind urbanization in Namibia (Pendleton & Frayne, 1998). A large part (60%) of Windhoek's inhabitants are internal migrants and nearly half of them are Owambos from the northern Owamboland regions (Pendleton et al., 2014: 194). The highest concentration of Owambos is found in Moses //Garoëb Constituency where 83% of the inhabitants speak Oshiwambo (NSA, 2011). Most of the newly arrived migrants settle in the underserved informal parts of northern Windhoek, such as Moses //Garoëb, where a majority of the inhabitants experience chronic food insecurity (Pendleton et al., 2014: 197, 204).

2.3 Food security, drought relief, and rural to urban food transfers

In 2013 the Namibian Government alerted the international community of an on-going food security crisis as a result of the unusually poor rainfalls during 2012 and 2013 (Reliefweb, 2013). To evaluate the magnitude of the crisis an Emergency Food Security Assessment (EFSA) was conducted in the rural parts of 13 regions with the aim to “[...] evaluate the current drought conditions on various sectors including crop and livestock production; water quality and access; health and nutrition status; markets and trade conditions; and the general food security status at household level.” (OPM, 2013: 9). The assessment found that 330,925 people were food insecure and 447,577 moderately food insecure (OPM, 2013). However, neither in the EFSA nor in the Drought Relief Response Plan (DRRP) is there a definition or a description of the distinction between “food insecure” and “moderately food insecure”. The government adjusted these numbers and presented a revised figure of 463,581 food insecure people and 314,923 moderately food insecure people in the DRRP (GRN, 2013).

Since the EFSA was conducted only in the rural parts of the selected regions, there is no data on the number of food insecure or moderately food insecure people in Windhoek or other cities. Nevertheless, the 2008 data from AFSUN shows that 82% of the total population in four of the poorer areas of Windhoek³ are food insecure (63% are severely food insecure, 14% moderately, and 5 % mildly). The proportion of food insecure people in informal settlements is higher than in formal areas (93% versus 71%). Furthermore, the data also shows that both in formal and informal settlements FCHs are more food insecure than MCHs, EHs, and NHs (Pendleton et al., 2012: 3-20).

A common coping strategy for households in the poorer areas of Windhoek is receiving food transfers from relatives and friends in rural areas. AFSUN data from 2008 show that 72% of households receive food from their friends and families. Receiving food transfers is more common in informal areas than in formal (63% versus 39%) and food insecure households receive food transfers to a greater extent than the food secure (84% versus 16%). This indicates that the food received does not make households food secure; rather it is a response to food insecurity (Pendleton et al., 2012: 26).

³ Tobias Hainyeko has a total population of 45,800, Moses //Garoëb 45,500, Samora Machel 49,700, and Khomasdal North 43,400.

3. Methodology

The first part of this chapter is devoted to a discussion about the philosophical foundations of our research. Thereafter, in the three following sections we give an account of the design of our study, the choice of method, and the process of data sampling. In the last three sections we discuss our positions as researchers and issues concerning reflexivity, the process of data analysis, and lastly the limitations of this study.

3.1 Philosophical foundations

In this study we adhere to the ontology and epistemology related to critical realism and the work of Bhaskar (1989). Our ontological standpoint is, to use the words of Bryman, that “social phenomena are produced by mechanisms that are real, but are not directly accessible to observation and are discernible only through their effects” (2012: 616). In this sense, it is only possible to understand – and also change – the social world if we identify the structures that create events and discourses (Bhaskar, 1989: 2). The role of science from the critical realist perspective is therefore to systematically express in thought the working of structures and ways of acting of things that act and exist independently of our thoughts (Bhaskar, 1975: 250).

For a critical realist the appreciation of context is crucial for explanations as the context sheds light on the conditions that produce or prevent the function of the causal mechanism. The identification of causal mechanisms in the social world allows the status quo to be changed, which is what makes up the *critical* part of critical realism (Bryman, 2012: 29). The critical realist stance of this study allows us to make inferences about the structural mechanisms that lie behind the findings in our research.

3.2 Research design

This thesis has been designed as a qualitative case study. According to Miles and Huberman (1994: 25), a case is “a phenomenon of some sort occurring in a bounded

context”, which in this study is the differentiated access to food received through RUFT among urban households in Moses //Garoëb.

The relation between theory and research in our study is deductive as we depart from specific theories regarding gender structures, gender institutions and the livelihoods framework, which together serve as an analytical framework that is used to review the data.

3.3 Method

The main method to collect data for this study was semi-structured interviews with 33 household members covering a wide range of issues, including RUFT, individual and household income and expenditure, experienced food insecurity, experience of poverty, and questions regarding people’s attitudes towards, and experiences of, gender norms and intra-household power dynamics. During the first two days of interviewing we conducted 16 interviews in Moses //Garoëb using an interview guide containing many questions that required shorter answers (see Appendix 2). Although this allowed us to broaden our understanding of the multiple issues people in our sample were facing, we realised that the interview guide had to be adjusted for the remaining 11 interviews in Moses //Garoëb. Fewer and more open-ended questions covering the same subjects but with a few amendments were developed (see Appendix 3). The adaptation of the interview guide gave more room for follow-up questions and allowed the interviewees greater opportunities to expand on certain issues.

To further understand RUFT as a multi-spatial livelihood strategy, relatives of three migrant families in Windhoek were traced and interviewed in Owamboland. One man and one woman were interviewed in all three households that we visited. These interviews covered the same subjects as the urban interviews but with a few modifications (see Appendix 4 for details).

The interviews took place in the homes of the people we interviewed, or in a place of choice of the interviewees if they could not speak privately in their homes. For the

interviews we recruited two Oshiwambo speaking translators, one social worker and one social work student, as most participants did not speak English fluently. Before each interview we made sure that the participants verbally expressed their consent to being interviewed and recorded, but first we informed them about who we are, what the purpose of the study is, and that the data gathered from each interview is confidential.

To assess the food security status of the interviewees we used the Food Insecurity Experience Scale (FIES) questionnaire that consists of eight to ten questions⁴. According to FAO, the FIES is the tool with best potential to become a global standard for comparison of food insecurity experiences across countries and population groups and for tracking the progress in fighting food insecurity and hunger (FAO, 2013: 10f). The FIES does however require linguistic adaptation to avoid misinterpretation of the questions in the survey. Therefore, the questionnaire was translated to Oshiwambo by a translator and then revised by the two translators employed during fieldwork. Due to lack of time and resources we did not follow the FAO procedures for linguistic adaptation that include several focus group sessions dealing with how to translate the questions (FAO, 2013). Nevertheless, we were provided with fieldwork supervision by Dr Ndeyapo Nickanor, who checked the accuracy of the translation done by our two translators in the field. Dr Nickanor was a valuable source of expertise as her dissertation was on the topic of food security among FCHs in informal settlements in Windhoek, and since her mother tongue is Oshiwambo. We argue that this strengthens the validity of the data collected.

The FIES allows the researcher to determine the food security status of the respondents by grading their answers according to the scale presented in the following table (see Table 1). According to the FIES guidelines (FAO, 2013), if the respondents answer the questions in an inconsistent manner, for instance if they answer “no” on question 4 and “yes” on question 8, it is likely due to misunderstanding of the questions. Two of the respondents gave inconsistent answers and were therefore excluded from the analysis of food insecurity status.

⁴ The last two questions were only asked if there were children under the age of 5 in the household. We did not include the results from these two questions in the analysis due to the fact that there were only a few households with children that age.

Table 1. Food insecurity experience scale questions and grading

Interview questions	Domains of the food insecurity construct	Assumed severity of food insecurity
<i>Q1. During the last 12 months, was there a time when you were worried you would run out of food because of a lack of money or other resources?</i>	Uncertainty and worry about food	Mild
<i>Q2. During the last 12 months, was there a time when you were unable to eat healthy and nutritious food because of a lack of money or</i>	Inadequate food quality	Mild
<i>Q3. During the last 12 months, was there a time when you ate only a few kinds of foods because of a lack of money or other resources?</i>	Inadequate food quality	Mild
<i>Q4. During the last 12 months, was there a time when you had to skip a meal because there was not enough money or other resources to get food?</i>	Insufficient food quantity	Moderate
<i>Q5. During the last 12 months, was there a time when you ate less than you thought you should because of a lack of money or other resources?</i>	Insufficient food quantity	Moderate
<i>Q6. During the last 12 months, was there a time when your household ran out of food because of a lack of money or other resources?</i>	Insufficient food quantity	Moderate
<i>Q7. During the last 12 months, was there a time when you were hungry but did not eat because there was not enough money or other resources</i>	Insufficient food quantity	Severe (hunger)
<i>Q8. During the last 12 months, was there a time when you went without eating for a whole day because of a lack of money or other resources?</i>	Insufficient food quantity	Severe (hunger)

Source: FAO, 2013, with authors' adaptations.

As a complement to the interviews, we arranged one focus group discussion (FGD) with women from FCHs (see Appendix 5). The discussion was held at a local NGO, Family Hope Services Centre (FHS) in Moses //Garoëb, where many families come to, among other things, make sure their children get enough food (Foibe Silvanus Ndapanda, informal talk, March 7, 2014). With the purpose of making sure that the women would feel comfortable to talk about gender inequality, no men were present during the FGD. Due to technical difficulties the discussion was not recorded, but notes were taken. The FGD participants were all under the age of 40, which has to be taken into consideration, as it is a young group and this leaves out the perspectives of older women. No older women were willing or able to participate. Due to time restrictions and difficulties finding participants we were not able to arrange a FGD with men.

With the purpose of gaining knowledge about the drought emergency situation declared in May 2013 by the Namibian government (Reliefweb, 2013), and the

subsequent DRRP (GRN, 2013), we interviewed an anonymous emergency expert at the UN in Namibia (the interview questions are found in Appendix 6). We also had informal talks with social workers representing different NGOs that are working with food security in the informal settlements.

3.4 Data sampling

The choice to study the Owambo ethnic group was based on Frayne's finding that MCHs receive twice as much mahangu as FCHs (Frayne, 2005: 63). Through discussions with colleagues at the UN and people we met it became clear that mahangu is an important staple crop for the Owambo population. Mendelsohn (2006: 37) highlights that the majority of the mahangu is produced in Owamboland, and in the Owamboland regions almost all farmers grow mahangu. With the aim of locating the area in Windhoek with the highest percentage of Owambos we used data from the National Population and Housing Census 2011 and identified Moses //Garoëb Constituency as the area with the highest percentage of the Oshiwambo speaking population (83%).

Based on our preconception that it might be discrimination on behalf of the sender that result in FCHs receiving half as much mahangu as men, we chose to investigate if women, regardless of the household type they live in, receive less food than men. Therefore, we collected data from four types of households: female-centred households (FCHs), male-centred households (MCHs), nuclear households (NHs) and extended households (EHs).

Chant (2007: 40f), and Tacoli and Mabala (2010: 390), highlight the importance of disaggregating household data, as viewing the household as a homogenous unit may conceal experiences of individual household members, especially differences between men and women. Hence, in order to unmask potential intra-household power dynamics related to gender, we set out with the ambition to interview male and female household heads and any other individual of the opposite gender to the household head who is over the age of 18 and important to the household, i.e. who has responsibility for the household or who contributes economically. But due to that only a few household members were at home when we did the fieldwork, and due to time

constraints, we were not able to interview all potential interviewees in all households. Another contributing factor was that many of the households were male-centred and female-centred and consisted of only one adult and the rest were children. Overall, in the urban sample we managed to interview both a male and a female in four of the 23 urban households, while in the rural sample a male and a female household member were interviewed in all three households. The relatives that we interviewed in the north were selected on the basis of proximity to each other, availability, and willingness to participate. These were located in the regions Oshana, Oshikoto, and Ohangwena, all part of the area known as Owamboland.

In the data collection process we used purposive sampling (see Mack et al., 2005: 5) based on the following criteria: Owambo households with relatives in the north. One specific advantage of purposive sampling is that it can be used to achieve comparability (Teddlie & Yu, 2007: 80). The aim was to have equal numbers of household types represented in the sample. But since the households were selected randomly with the help of local Community Leaders while walking through different areas of Moses //Garoëb it was difficult to achieve this goal.

Our sample consists of 27 interviews (14 males, 13 females) with household members in Moses //Garoëb, one FGD in Moses //Garoëb (4 females), and six interviews with selected relatives to the urban household members in the north (3 males, 3 females). Further details about the interviews conducted in households is presented in the table below:

Table 2. Interviews in households

Type of Household →	Female-centred	Male-centred	Nuclear	Extended
Areas				
Moses //Garoëb, Windhoek	5 (5 females, 1 male)	10 (9 males, 1 female)	2 (1 male, 1 female)	6 (3 males, 3 females)
Owamboland	-	1 (1 male, 1 female)	-	2 (2 males, 2 females)
Total	5 (5 females, 1 male)	11 (10 males, 1 female)	2 (1 male, 1 female)	8 (5 males, 3 females)

3.5 Reflexivity and positionality

An essential part of doing fieldwork, according to England (1994: 249), is for a researcher to think about her or his position. A researcher's position, based on class, gender, ethnicity, sexual identity etc., should be accounted for in her or his research, as fieldwork is inevitably personal. How we are perceived, how we construct knowledge, and how we act therefore need to be reflected upon and scrutinized in the research process (England, 1994: 244). Sultana (2007: 375) argues that when conducting development fieldwork one needs to be aware of histories of colonialism, development, and local realities in order to avoid engaging in exploitative research or repeating relational patterns of domination and control. England emphasises the importance of inter-subjectivity and reflexivity, and to analyse and scrutinize your role as a researcher (England, 1994: 244), which made us consider how we would be perceived and how we should treat the interviewees before we started the fieldwork. Consequently, we made sure that the respondents were aware that we are not German or South African, due to the history of colonialism, and that we are not affiliated with any political party but students who finance our own research.

Another aspect of our positions that we gave a lot of thought was our respective gender. Based on Scheyvens' discussion (2000: 124) surrounding the question if it is appropriate for men to interview "Third World" women we agreed that it is important to be aware of that men and women may not be able to perceive the same social worlds. But, as Scheyvens contends, this does not necessarily mean that men are not able to do effective fieldwork or that women automatically would be able to collect more meaningful data from female respondents (*ibid.*). Nonetheless, in our case we agreed that since we were going to discuss quite sensitive issues, such as how the food from the family members in the north is distributed between sisters/daughters and brothers/sons, we decided that Nadia would interview the women and Anders the men. At least Nadia experienced that some things that she was told by the interviewees could be seen as a result of the rapport that was built between them as women. Some women expressed that Nadia would be able to understand how the situation is for women in Namibia based on that she was perceived as an African woman, since she told them that she is an Algerian living in Sweden.

3.6 Data analysis

As the interviews and the FGD were held in Oshiwambo using simultaneous translation, we asked the translators to transcribe the recorded material from the last 11 interviews in Moses //Garoëb and the six interviews in Owamboland. The first 16 interviews that we conducted were not recorded or transcribed since the questions were more structured and we had time to write down the responses. The transcriptions were then compared with our field notes to check their accuracy. When reviewing the data we used thematic analysis (see Bryman, 2012: 578-581); a data sheet was developed to summarize the findings and to compare emergent themes between different household types and between men and women.

3.7 Limitations

A limitation related to our choice of research design is that the findings cannot be considered representative for the entire Owambo population in Moses //Garoëb nor for other ethnic groups in Namibia or other countries. But, as Bryman (2012: 406) contends, qualitative research enables the researcher to generalize to theory rather than to populations, which we aim to do in this thesis.

Another limitation is that we used two different types of questionnaires during the data gathering process and that the first 16 interviews and the FGD were not recorded. This shortcoming reduces the possibility of comparing the respondents' answers on certain questions. We have taken this issue into consideration in the presentation of results.

4. Theoretical framework

In this chapter we will first discuss the concept of multi-spatial livelihoods and then the livelihoods framework and its central concepts. Secondly, we will examine how livelihoods analysis can be amended to better include perspectives on structure, institutions, and gender.

4.1 Livelihoods studies and multi-spatial livelihoods

In an effort to portray inequalities in the African context, researchers and development practitioners are increasingly directing their attention to livelihood studies when analysing poverty and prosperity, according to de Haan (2005: 1). The livelihood approach tries to analyse and describe the complexity and diversity of how people make a living (Scoones, 2009: 172). Ever since Chambers and Conway (1992) put the term “sustainable livelihoods” at centre stage of the development agenda there have been different takes on how frameworks for livelihoods analysis should be constructed, but, in the words of Oberhauser, Mandel and Hapke, “[...] the basic elements [in the livelihoods frameworks] consider resources (what people have), strategies (what people do), and outcomes (the goals people pursue)” (Oberhauser et al., 2004: 205).

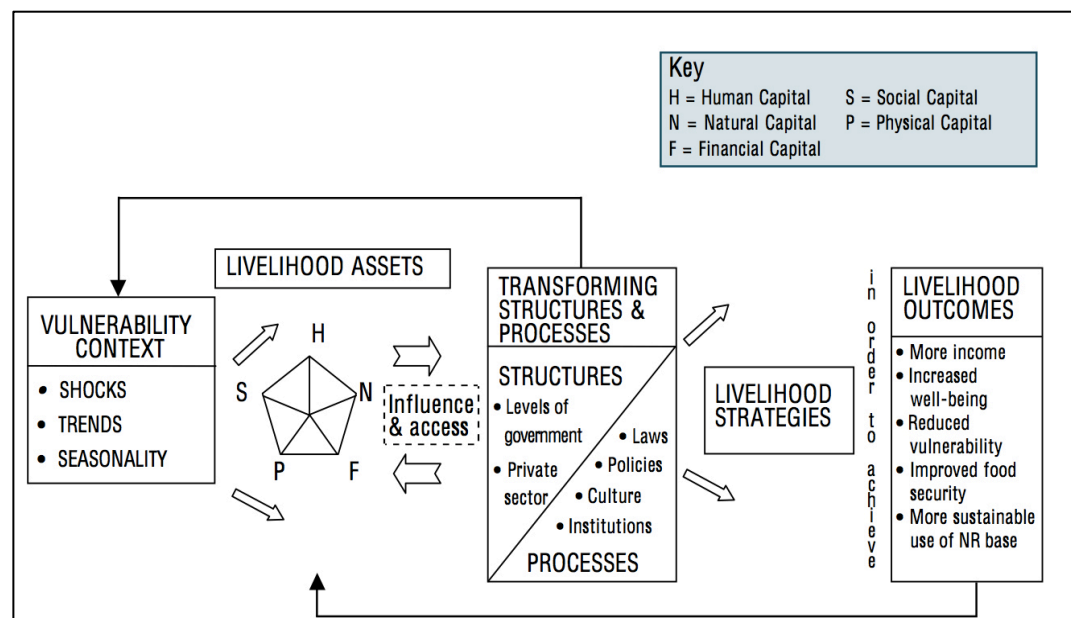
Although the livelihoods approach was primarily focusing on rural development and poverty, researchers have come to acknowledge that the approach is equally applicable in urban areas (Ellis, 1999: 2). Historically, the links between rural and urban areas have been overlooked and development scholars have portrayed the two areas as entities with different problems, different population, and different activities (Owuor, 2006: 223). The notion that rural and urban areas are isolated entities draws a misleading picture that does not take into account the linkages and interactions between urban and rural livelihoods (Tacoli, 2003: 3). The division between rural and urban has been challenged by the emerging multi-spatial livelihoods approach. According to Owuor, “[m]ulti-spatial livelihoods refer to households with a livelihood foothold in both urban and rural areas without necessarily implying a residential split of the household” (Owuor, 2006: 152). Owuor further argues that poverty and food insecurity in urban areas cannot solely be understood or tackled by just searching for

answers in the urban areas. Overlooking the multi-spatiality of livelihoods can lead to misguided policies or development interventions that can even worsen the situation for the vulnerable people (Owuor, 2006: 223).

4.1.1 Central components of the livelihoods framework

There are various versions of the livelihoods framework but we have opted for DFID's framework as it incorporates the concepts of structure and access (see Figure 1). The framework consists of several elements. The pentagon, which is the heart of the livelihoods framework, comprises five different assets (or capitals): human, social, physical, natural, and financial assets (DFID, 1999: 2.3). There are different ways of categorizing household assets, but the most frequently used categorization is the one developed by Carney (1998) (see Box 1). What is important to highlight is that the relation between the different assets is dynamic, i.e. access to one asset can influence the access to another asset, either positively or negatively. Moreover, the "pot" of existing capitals is not absolute; it rather changes over time (Rakodi, 2002: 10).

Figure 1. DFID's Livelihoods Framework



Source: DFID, 1999.

Box 1. Capitals/assets in the livelihoods framework

Human capital The labour resources available to households, which have both quantitative and qualitative dimensions. The former refer to the number of household members and time available to engage in income-earning activities. Qualitative aspects refer to the levels of education and skills and the health status of household members.
Social and political capital The social resources (networks, membership of groups, relationships of trust and reciprocity, access to wider institutions of society) on which people draw in pursuit of livelihoods.
Physical capital Physical or produced capital is the basic infrastructure (transport, shelter, water, energy, communications) and the production equipment and means, which enable people to pursue their livelihoods.
Financial capital The financial resources available to people (including savings, credit, remittances and pensions) which provide them with different livelihood options.
Natural capital The natural resource stocks from which resource flows useful to livelihoods are derived, including land, water and other environmental resources, especially common pool resources.

Source: Carney, 1998: 7.

The middle point of the pentagon (see Figure 1) represents zero access to a specific asset, and when the line is drawn all the way out it means that a person has maximum access to an asset. This part of the model helps visualize the pot of capitals available for an individual or a household that potentially can be used to develop livelihood strategies (DFID, 1999). However, before the pentagon can be finalized, an analysis of what enables and disables access to different assets has to be carried out.

The factors that influence the access to assets, according to the livelihoods framework, are institutions, policies, and processes (DFID, 2001). The vulnerability context provides a basis for analysis of to which extent the livelihoods strategies are affected by and resilient to shocks and hazards; events that the people have no control over, such as drought, floods etc. (DFID, 1999). Processes are what contribute to change in institutions and policies. All these elements combined, together with available assets, determine what livelihoods strategies (the activities) that are available for the individuals and households and what livelihood outcomes they result

in (the results of the strategies used) (DFID, 2001). How these elements will be defined and employed in this research will be discussed in the following section.

4.2 Livelihoods, structure and gender

4.2.1 Livelihoods analysis and structure

Livelihoods analysis has been criticised for being theoretically thin and for viewing poverty as a condition – a result of lack of capitals – rather than in relational terms – as an effect of absence of entitlements (van Dijk, 2011: 101). Van Dijk contends that the vulnerability context within livelihoods analysis entails a narrow focus on the sensitivity and resilience of livelihoods in the face of shocks or hazards (van Dijk, 2011: 102). This way of analysing context downplays how the structural relations that predicate livelihoods can create poverty and vulnerability (Hickey & du Toit, 2007: 8, see also de Haan and Zoomers, 2005: 33). Instead, the attention needs to be directed towards social context, defined by van Dijk as “[...] the socially constructed rules and norms of human interaction that give a degree of continuity and predictability to relations”, in order to identify the structures that determine our behaviour and the livelihood outcomes (van Dijk, 2011: 103).

According to Connell (2002: 9), within social theory *structures* refer to “enduring or extensive patterns among social relations”. Structures may be identified at different levels: at societal level as large social systems, at the interpersonal level as social institutions, and at the personal level as conceptual systems (De Souza, 2014: 142). Van Dijk (2011) argues that livelihoods analysis would benefit from an inclusion of the concept *habitus*, which Bordieu refers to as “a system of cognitive and motivating structures” that are internalised within the actors (Bordieu, 1990: 53). The notion *habitus* can be seen as a type of social norm (Marcus & Harper, 2014: 4). *Habitus* is a product of history that creates individual and collective practices based on dispositions that tend to perpetuate themselves (Bordieu, 1990: 54). Van Dijk similarly contends that through a process of social stratification people’s level of agency becomes dependent on their social position. Structures that normalize difference, based on attributes such as gender, caste, or class, affect how individuals interact and how they rationalize power asymmetries. Further, as structures are

contingent on action, they can be changed (van Dijk, 2011: 103). Nevertheless, as structures “privilege some actors, some identities, some strategies, some spatial and temporal horizons, [and] some actions over others” (Jessop, 2000: 7), those actors that are privileged are not likely to abandon their advantages while those who are in a subordinate position are not likely to demand change (van Dijk, 2011: 104).

4.2.2 Gender as structure and institution

Gender should be understood as social structure as it is a pattern in our social arrangements that govern the everyday activities or practices that we engage in (Connell, 2002: 9). Similarly to van Dijk’s line of argument in sub-section 4.2.1 regarding structures, Connell holds that gender arrangements are not static as they are reproduced by human action that is continuously creating new situations and practices. Therefore, gender arrangements vary from one cultural context to another (Connell, 2002: 10) and gender is also experienced and lived differently depending on the individual’s ethnicity, class, caste, nationality, and sexuality (Jackson & Scott, 2002: 20).

Institutions regulate how agents interact in relation to the social arrangements, i.e. the structures. North explains (1991: 97) that institutions can be categorized into formal institutions, such as laws, constitutions, or property rights, or informal, such as social norms. Gender as an institution include the rules, laws and social norms that regulate how agents interact according to their gender, and can be viewed as “a complex, multi-dimensional institution shaped unequally for men and women, with men generally benefiting more than women in terms of access to and control over resources, the household division of labour, the distribution of rewards, and decision-making power” (van Staveren & Odebode, 2007: 908).

Informal gender institutions (gender norms) are socially constructed ideas that regulate how males and females should be and act, and define their roles in society (UNICEF, n.d.: 4). Gender norms also shape the routines in men and women’s everyday life (UNICEF, 2011: 10), or, in the words of Keleher and Franklin, they are “powerful, pervasive attitudes about gender-based social roles and behaviours that are

deeply embedded in social structures. Gender norms operate within families, communities, neighbourhoods and wider society [...]” (Keleher & Franklin 2007: 5). Van Staveren & Odebode contend that institutions can be either symmetric or asymmetric. Symmetric institutions are those that affect different groups equally. One example is the traffic regulations predicating that every citizen has to drive on either the right or left side. Asymmetric institutions however, affect different social groups differently. They constrain behaviour for one group and facilitate it for another (van Staveren & Odebode, 2007: 906). Van Staveren & Odebode (2007) emphasize that one important feature that characterizes asymmetric institutions is power, and that asymmetric institutions are “[...] organized in accord with and permeated by power” (van Staveren & Odebode, 2007: 906). Since gendered institutions, such as gender norms regulate men and women's behaviour and actions differently, in accordance with van Staveren and Odebode (2007) we argue that gender norms can be categorized as asymmetric institutions.

4.2.3 Gender and power

Chant contends that in order to understand the scope of agency within livelihoods analysis it is crucial to take gender into account (Chant, 2007: 42). As de Haan (2005) and de Haan and Zoomers (2005) demonstrate, the livelihoods approach can be further developed by improving its theoretical depth concerning the issues of power and gender. Gender studies have contributed to important insights into power relations and how they affect women in the development process (de Haan & Zoomers, 2005: 36). According to Connell, the form of power where one group oppresses another is a central aspect of gender structures (Connell, 2002: 59). Moreover, as Gramsci highlighted, power can be exercised openly, through sheer domination, and more discretely and non-coercively through hegemony (McDowell, 1999: 18). A related concept, the notion of *disciplinary power* – the kind of power that is unquestionably accepted – is a vital contribution of gender studies. This type of power is what can make females accept a subordinate role, and it constitutes the power component of gendered institutions (de Haan & Zoomers, 2005: 37).

As Connell emphasizes, power is channelled through institutions (Connell, 2002: 59), which help sustain enduring social inequalities based on gender. These inequalities

also affect how gender institutions influence the access to livelihood assets and the strategies that are available to men and women. De Haan argues that the concept of *access* should be seen as a key conceptualization of the livelihoods of the poor (2005: 32).

As discussed earlier, gender norms can be asymmetric institutions through which power is operating. Therefore, we argue that it is important to analyse gender as a structure and how power operates through gendered institutions, such as gender norms, and how these aspects affect individuals' access to assets and possibilities to use a livelihood strategy.

5 Analysis

The most prominent findings were related to MCHs and FCHs and no clear evidence on differences in how much food women and men in NHs and EHs receive could be derived from our data. Therefore, the analysis will primarily focus on FCHs and MCHs.

In the first section of this chapter we will discuss how RUFT can be understood from a multi-spatial livelihoods perspective in the context of Moses //Garoëb. The analysis will thereafter focus on describing the different gender structures and norms related to RUFT that we have identified in this study. In the last two sections we will firstly describe how gender norms influence RUFT and then move on to presenting how the structural constraints associated with food transfers affect food security in Moses //Garoëb. The analysis in each subsection is guided by the four operationalized research questions.

5.1 Rural to urban food transfers from a multi-spatial perspective

1. How can the livelihood strategy of rural to urban food transfers between Owamboland and Moses //Garoëb be understood from a multi-spatial livelihoods perspective?

Tacoli states that the division between rural and urban areas has become a misleading metaphor, as the linkages and interactions between these areas are increasingly intensified and important for livelihoods. With this development much of the landscape has become neither “rural” nor “urban”, especially in areas surrounding urban centres and along roads leading away from those centres (Tacoli, 2003: 3). As will be discussed further in this chapter, the results of this study clearly demonstrate that RUFT and cash remittances to urban areas reflect the interconnectedness of urban and rural livelihoods. Frayne argues that these transfers highlight the importance of migration and rural-urban links for urban livelihoods and urban food security (Frayne, 2007: 98). Hence, in the following two subsections we will discuss how the concept of multi-spatiality is reflected in migration patterns, rural-urban links, and food

transfers. The last subsection describes how policies that do not take the multi-spatiality of livelihoods into consideration can contribute to increased vulnerability in terms of food insecurity.

5.1.1 Migration and rural-urban links

As mentioned in the contextual insights chapter, since independence Windhoek has experienced a rapidly increasing urbanization and the largest flow has been from Owamboland in northern Namibia (Pendleton et al., 2014: 194). Our data suggests that the main reason people from Owamboland migrate to Windhoek is to find jobs due to the scarcity of job opportunities in the north. Other reasons mentioned were that parents passed away and that people moved to Windhoek to study.

“My parents passed away and that’s why I moved to Windhoek to look for a job” (Head of FCH in Windhoek, 39 years old).

“I moved here to study at Poly Tech [a University]. But I could not continue because my brother who paid for my school died” (Head of FCH in Windhoek, 44 years old).

“My purpose to come to the city was to look for employment opportunities and for survival” (Man in EH in Windhoek, 40 years old).

During the focus group discussion several other push factors behind rural to urban female migration were mentioned. Some participants stated that women sometimes follow their male partners in order to live together in Windhoek, while some just want to escape from working in the field as they consider it dirty work. Another reason that drives migration in general, according to the focus group participants, is the perception of life in Windhoek as “the good life”. Peer pressure was a recurring theme when discussing migration. Witnessing friends and relatives move to the city sometimes results in jealousy and increases the urge to move.

Tvedten (2004: 396) argues that social links are becoming increasingly important as a motivation for people to move from rural to urban areas. Migration creates a

cumulative pattern of urbanization as social connections and kinship play a pivotal role for people's decision to move to Windhoek (Pendleton et al., 2012:9). Consequently, in areas that are dominated by a certain ethnic group more people from the same group tend to establish (ibid.), as is the case in Moses //Garoëb where 83% of the population are of Owambo origin (NSA, 2011).

The results of our study confirm that the flow of migrants to Windhoek often follows a pattern of kinship, suggesting that having a social network in Windhoek is an important asset that can facilitate the use of migration as a livelihood strategy. A common scenario was that the interviewees, both males and females, knew someone in Windhoek with whom they stayed for a while when they moved to town. Others mentioned that they settled in areas where people from their own village were living.

An example of the reciprocity and complexity of migration in Namibia that Frayne discusses (Frayne, 2007: 102f) is that many urban respondents in our study stated that they had decided to send their children to the north so that their family members could take care of them. The interviewees expressed various reasons for using this strategy, such as the desire to give the children a more traditional upbringing by sending them to the north and that life in Windhoek is dangerous. Another possible explanation is that people let their children stay in Owamboland because life there is less costly as you eat what you grown in the field. This is an emergent strategy that aims to cut down the expenses for urban households in sub-Saharan Africa, according to Foeken and Owuor (2008: 1979).

“Life in Windhoek is tough but in the village it's cheap. You can just cultivate your field and get products from it, but in Windhoek even if you want a fresh tomato you have to fork out money in order to buy it” (Head of MCH in Windhoek, 51 years old).

“There was a friend of mine who got married and I slaughtered a cow for him. He was so grateful and he decided that he would take care of my 8-year-old son. He went there when he was two years. He even speaks their dialect.” (Woman in EH in Windhoek, 48 years old).

A study among urban households in Harare by Tawodzera (2012) documented the same phenomenon, as it showed that household members were sent to relatives in rural areas during times of crises in order to minimize expenses on food and other household expenditures. Earlier studies on Southern Africa have also described the use of this strategy (Bozzoli, 1991; Jones, 1994). These studies and our findings underline the reciprocal migration pattern that Frayne highlights in his study (2007) since they show that urban households both depend on rural family or friends and that the migration process is not only rural-urban but also urban-rural. It further emphasizes that livelihoods are multi-spatial in the sense that both urban and rural households use migration as a livelihood strategy.

In our study the rural household members all stated that it is critical to have a family member with a job in the city. As all the rural respondents were subsistence farmers and job opportunities in sectors other than agriculture are scarce in the north, they rely on receiving cash remittances from family members in town.

“[...] their reason to leave was to go look for job and once they get one we expect them to look after us to take care of us so to say. What they then get we share, they send us, and it would affect us negatively if they would not send us anything” (Man in EH in Owamboland, 74 years old).

It is important to emphasise that when a family member moves to town it involves a trade-off between different assets; when someone leaves the rural household the pot of human capital available for agricultural work decreases while the financial capital potentially increases. Nearly all the urban respondents claimed that they visit their families at least once a year. The same pattern was identified already in 2000 when Frayne found that 86% of the migrants in Katutura⁵ visited their rural homestead several times, or at least once a year (Frayne, 2007: 101). One of the most common reasons among the respondents in our study for visiting the rural areas, besides attending funerals and weddings, was to help out during harvest. It can be argued that this custom ameliorates the decrease in human capital available for the rural household when a household member has migrated to town. Another way of solving

⁵ Katutura is a former township located in north-western Windhoek and during the time of Frayne's study (in 2000) a primary destination for migrants, many of them Owambos (Frayne, 2007).

the loss of human capital that was mentioned was to send money to pay for workers who help out at the farm in times of need.

In the urban sample all except one interviewee in the city claimed they send money or items such as soap or washing powder to their families in the north, even those who were not employed at the time of the interview and those who had a relatively low monthly income. The amounts reported in our sample varied from N\$50 per year to N\$1000 a month. Frayne also found that the amount of money sent to rural relatives varied considerably in his sample from the year 2000, but the median category of amount remitted was between N\$101-150 per month (Frayne, 2004: 502).

When discussing remittances it is crucial to revisit the concept of multi-spatiality, which is a central feature of the households visited in this study. Apart from families having their children in the north, our data revealed that eight out of ten heads of MCHs were married and had their spouses and often some of their children in Owamboland. It is therefore important to underline that some of the remittances are sent to children and spouses and not exclusively to parents or siblings. Moreover, the remittances to rural family members were regarded as an essential part of the rural livelihoods by both the urban and the rural respondents.

5.1.2 Food transfers

As discussed above, migration together with the maintenance of social capital can generate livelihood outcomes in terms of cash received through remittances to rural households, but the maintenance of social links can also engender livelihood outcomes for urban migrant households in terms of food received through RUFT. Frayne has shown that RUFT have a crucial role in mitigating urban food insecurity in Windhoek (Frayne, 2005: 52). The city stands out in a comparison with 11 other cities in Southern Africa done by AFSUN due to its low prevalence of urban agriculture. While 22% of the households in the 11 cities practice urban agriculture, only 1.4% of the sampled households in Windhoek were engaged in urban agriculture (Pendleton et al., 2012: 19). The reasons for this are probably the extended dry period in Windhoek and the limited access to water (Pendleton et al., 2012: 25f). During our fieldwork in Moses //Garoëb we saw few signs of urban agriculture being practised in

the area. What is striking is that despite the low prevalence of urban agriculture, AFSUN's comparison of 11 Southern African cities shows that Windhoek is the city where households spend the least percentage of their income on food (Pendleton et al., 2012: 19). This implies that the households are able to procure food from other sources than urban agriculture. Instead of sourcing food through urban agriculture, Windhoek has the highest percentage of households that receive RUFT among the 11 cities in the AFSUN comparison (ibid.).

Several respondents mentioned that those who do not maintain a good relationship with their families in the north are more vulnerable, which entails that they need a stable and good income to be able to purchase food in supermarkets instead. Our data shows that all except one of the urban respondents stated that they receive food transfers and have good connections with their relatives in Owamboland. The one respondent who did not receive any food from the family claimed that he did not have any contact with them due to a family conflict. This points towards that the urban households interviewed in Moses //Garoëb are highly dependent on a good socio-economic relationship with the rural north and that the relation *per se* constitutes a social asset/capital that enables access to food received through transfers. Frayne's study supports this finding as his data shows that those with poor rural connections are the most vulnerable (Frayne, 2004: 497).

The value of the food received was not estimated in our study. Nonetheless, what remains clear in our study is that the food received does not only serve as a way to save money by avoiding buying groceries. The food also has an emotional and cultural value to the recipients. Many interviewees pointed out that receiving food made them feel appreciated by their families and that it was important for them to be able to eat traditional food, especially the food that had been produced on their family land.

"The food I receive means a lot to me. It makes me feel wanted and loved"
(Head of MCH in Windhoek, 46 years old).

"It [the food] means survival" (Woman in NH, 32 years old).

“The food will help me in the tough month of January” (Head of FCH, 39 years old).

According to the urban respondents, the amount of money they send is not depending on the amount of food received, rather the amount is determined based on what they can afford to send to their families in the north. None of the respondents identified the system of sending and receiving money or goods as reciprocal in the sense that you send according to how much you receive from your family in the north. Instead, the functioning of the system should rather be described as a form of informal social safety net depending on your social ties to your family and not on your ability to provide for them.

“It’s culture. If there are problems and events come, we contribute. If my child dies, who is going to help me if I don’t help when others have problems?” (Head of FCH in Windhoek, 37 years old).

According to Frayne, the rural-urban linkages, which include food and cash remittances have become more common and important and are facilitated by today’s improved transportation and communication systems in Namibia (Frayne, 2007: 103).

5.1.3 Policies, vulnerability, and food insecurity

In the previous section we described that RUFT function as an informal social safety net. This entails that the food, goods, and cash sent to urban and rural households are specifically important for these people in times of crisis. In our study the respondents in the rural areas expressed that they rely on and expect receiving cash or goods from their relatives in Windhoek in order to cope with the consequences of the recent drought, which can be categorized as a shock in the livelihoods framework. As the drought affected the yield negatively, the food transfers to the migrants in Windhoek decreased or were withheld. The urban interviewees expressed the pressure they had to deal with since they were expected to remit cash while they at the same time had to

spend more money buying food as they were no longer receiving food transfers, or at least not as much as before.

In accordance with the livelihoods framework, policies implemented by the government or other authorities can affect how people deal with shocks such as droughts. As a response to the drought the Namibian government developed the DRRP based on an assessment carried out in 13 regions in Namibia, including Khomas region where Windhoek is situated. Still, it is important to notice that the areas assessed were all *rural* areas, leaving out the urban areas from the assessment and the following interventions that were part of the DRRP (OPM, 2013: 9). This is a clear example of the *rural bias* that, according to Battersby (2013), and Crush and Frayne (2010), dominates the food security discourse.

According to the UN emergency expert, the different Regional Administrations refused to accept the numbers presented in the EFSA and claimed that more people were affected by the drought. Hence, the Regions sent new estimates (463,581 food insecure people and 314,923 moderately food insecure people) to the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM) but they did not declare how they had re-estimated the numbers. Still, the Regions' estimates were the ones that the final DRRP was based on. Another problem with the DRRP is the use of the undefined term "people affected by the drought". As the UN emergency expert stated, this term can be interpreted as including all people who are affected by the drought, even those who are relatively well off economically, although the aim is to help the people who are worst off and food insecure (UN Emergency Specialist interview, April 3, 2014).

One element in the plan that the government developed as a response to the effects of the drought is food distribution to the affected population. According to Caritas Namibia, a NGO, the government was delayed in their food distribution at an early stage as the suppliers had a hard time meeting the demand and the large quantity of maize required for the response. Caritas further claims that the government had to limit the distribution of food to a maximum of 6 bags á 12,5 kg of maize meal per household. However, a monitoring visit to the north by Caritas showed that in some areas households only received 2-4 bags (Caritas, 2013: 10).

During our visit to the north the people we interviewed had only received 1-2 bags of maize meal and some claimed that neighbouring communities sometimes get more. When asked about who distributes the maize meal and what criteria determine how much each household should get the respondents could only answer the first part of the question. All respondents said that the councillor has the responsibility to determine which households that will receive food aid and how much each household will get. But none of the households in Owamboland or their relatives in Windhoek knew what criteria a household had to fulfil to get the maize meal and how the councillor determines how much they get. In addition, no one knew how much he or she was entitled to. This is not a striking finding as the information about how much each household is supposed to get, and what it should be based on, is nowhere to be found, not even in the DRRP. Some respondents claimed that if the families would run out of the food received they sometimes went to the councillor and asked for more, but that there were no guarantees for getting more. It should be underlined that none of the respondents sent food received in emergency hand-outs to their relatives in Windhoek. Some interviewees claimed that they did not send any food because it was not even enough for themselves, whereas other interviewees expressed that they only send food that they themselves grow on the farm.

The lack of structure in the assessment and the relief interventions, together with the fact that rural-urban linkages and urban food insecurity were not taken into account in the process, entailed that poor urban migrants were forced to cope with the shock on their own. The drought in combination with the inadequate and arbitrary relief provided by the government to the rural areas increased the pressure on urban migrants to support their family members in the north.

5.2 Gender structures, institutions and rural to urban food transfers

2. What gender structures related to rural to urban food transfers between Owamboland and Moses //Garoëb exist and what gender institutions sustain these structures?

In this section we will discuss the gender structures related to RUFT that we have identified in our fieldwork, and the gender institutions that we argue sustain these structures. The gender structures affecting RUFT that we have identified concern migration, land acquisition in Owamboland, and job opportunities in Windhoek. In the three following sections we will discuss these structures and the gender institutions adherent to them in the aforementioned order. In the final section we will present how these structures and norms combined influence the access to the food made available for women and men in Windhoek through the livelihood strategy of RUFT.

5.2.1 Gender structures and institutions related to migration

Chant (1992) contends that female migration differs from that of men in its composition, form, causes, and consequences. Based on the inferences we can make from our data, we argue that there are gender structures patterning migration between Owamboland and Moses //Garoëb. Female and male migration tends to be different both in terms of women's possibilities to use migration as a livelihood strategy and the consequences women face if they migrate to Windhoek. The data collected in this research manifests an obvious gender structure regarding men's greater possibility to move to town than women. Different gender institutions – in this case gender norms – uphold this structure.

When we discussed with respondents the possibility of moving to Windhoek it appeared that it is not only the gender of the respondent that matters but also the marital status of the person. In the interviews in which we used the less structured interview guide (11 urban interviews and six rural interviews), and in the FGD, we asked if it was considered socially acceptable for a married woman to move to town and leave her husband in the rural north, and all respondents said that it is not. The rationale for this norm is that while it is expected of married men to provide for their families by getting a job, married women are to a wider extent expected to take care of the family, and if in the north, also take care of the fields. One woman in the FGD stated that the house would fall apart if the man were left alone in the house [in the north]. The women in the FGD further clarified that the man would not be able to, or

would not want to, clean and do all household chores as it is considered the woman's duty. Furthermore, they emphasised that the woman would be perceived as a bad wife with no manners if she would leave her husband in the north and move to Windhoek to work.

Married men on the other hand are able to move to Windhoek and leave their wives in the north and this was justified by pointing out that it is primarily men's responsibility to provide for their families. At the same time, the duties of a woman are to cook, take care of the children and her husband, and take care of the house and the field. Consequently, the gender norms concerning the division of responsibilities and roles determine the prospects to use the livelihood strategy of rural-urban migration.

None of the interviewees really questioned the gender norms but instead emphasised that it is part of their culture and how it has always been. This is a clear example of disciplinary power, the kind of power that is unquestionably accepted (de Haan & Zoomers, 2005: 36f), which in this case makes women conform to these norms even though the norms limit the livelihood strategies available to women.

“[For a man] it is acceptable because it's a tradition. It is the man's duty to leave the wife at home and seek a job” (Head of FCH in Windhoek, 37 years old).

5.2.2 Gender structures and institutions related to land acquisition in Owamboland

Our pre-perception was that there is a structural constraint for women to inherit land and that this might influence the amount of food they receive through food transfers. This was confirmed to some extent by our data, but an interesting finding is that gender *per se* is not the determining factor; rather it is a combination of gender and marital status. Previously, mostly men could inherit land from their parents, whereas nowadays both daughters and sons can inherit, according to the respondents. One female respondent claimed that rather than the gender, it is the characteristics of the person that are important, especially the skill of uniting the family. An interesting

finding is that three female respondents argued that they have witnessed a reversed trend in their villages of more women than men inheriting land.

“The women can get it [inherit land] also. In the previous years, it used to go to the man. Nowadays people have realised that when men get married they do not get along with the other siblings. So now [...] women get it as they can accommodate others” (Woman in MCH in Owamboland, 50 years old).

“My father is old and he took my sister to the headman [to inherit the land] and he put the lease under her name. My father said they [the brothers] are the men and that they should go and look for their own places” (Woman in EH in Windhoek, 48 years old).

Several female respondents underlined that only women who are not married are able to inherit land. If a woman has a partner with whom she cohabitates she is still entitled to inherit, but as soon as a woman gets married she no longer has the right to keep or inherit her parents' land. The reason for this is that a married woman is perceived as “belonging” to the husband's family and hence she can inherit land from her husband instead. A couple of respondents mentioned that when a man gets married it has become more common that he has to find his own plot instead of sharing land with his parents. Still, if a man cannot afford to buy land himself then the parents sometimes give their son a piece of their land.

A few of the female interviewees stressed that women have the right to buy land, but that there are gender norms limiting women's access to this asset. Even though women have the legal right to acquire land it is often men who have the financial assets to do so because they have greater access to formal jobs. These testimonies indicate that access to one asset enables access to another, as outlined in the livelihoods framework. In addition to the economic factor, in a NH, or in a household where a woman has a partner but is not married, it is considered the man's duty to acquire land. One urban respondent who has a partner but is not married was refused to buy land because of the fact that she had a partner. The village headman in her

home community, who is the one responsible for distributing land, told the woman that since she has a partner she should not be the one asking for a plot. According to the respondent, the view of the headman is that it is the responsibility of men to acquire land. Furthermore, a couple of participants argued that the headmen prioritise nuclear families and single men when people inquire about purchasing a plot. The distribution rules are determined by the headman in each village, but also by the availability of land, together with the existing norms in that village, which means that the situation might vary from village to village.

5.2.3 Gender structures and institutions related to job opportunities in Windhoek

Previous studies have emphasized that gender is an important determinant when it comes to household members' access to assets and the adoption of different livelihood strategies (see Beall, 2002; Tacoli & Mabala, 2010; Frayne, 2004). An evident example of gender structures in Windhoek is the gendered labour market that gives men greater access to formal jobs (Frayne, 2005: 65). In our sample the majority of the men said that they work in the formal sector with jobs such as taxi drivers, police officers, in construction, or as truck drivers, while the women are mainly self-employed in the informal sector working as, among other things, bartenders, sewers, or hairdressers. According to several female respondents, the reason to why men have greater access to formal jobs is because the jobs available are "male jobs" such as construction work. In 2004, Frayne's study showed that female households earn on average 30% less than male households and Frayne argued that one explanatory factor might be that fewer women have formal employment (Frayne, 2004: 494).

5.3 Gender and rural to urban food transfers – tying the knot

3. How do gender institutions influence access to food received through transfers for people in Moses //Garoëb?

In order to explain why Frayne (2005) found a difference in how much food MCHs and FCHs receive, one has to start by outlining the profile of the two groups that are to be compared. A salient finding in our fieldwork was that all heads of FCHs that were interviewed were not married whereas all the heads of MCHs that were married had wives that were living in Owamboland. We argue that this finding is related to the gender structures and norms concerning migration, which is one of three structures described in the previous chapter that combined form a basis for understanding the difference in the amount of food received through RUFT.

Departing from the finding in Frayne's study showing that FCHs receive half as much mahangu as MCHs (Frayne, 2005), our preconception was that families in the north send more food to male family members than to female family members. This assumption proved to be wrong. The majority of the respondents stressed that parents and relatives send equal amounts of food to their sons and daughters. Consequently, we could not detect any gender-based discrimination from the senders in our data. Instead, our data shows that it is the number of sources that the migrants receive food from that is a key explanatory factor. Therefore, we chose to concentrate our efforts on comparing MCHs and FCHs, as we could not detect any signs of gender structures that may lead to differences in food received through transfers between men and women in NHs and EHs.

Married heads of MCHs have the possibility of using two sources from which they can receive food. Apart from the food sent by parents and relatives, the married heads of MCHs can also receive food from their wives in the north, as the gender norms related to migration enable men to leave their wives in the north. FCHs do not have the possibility to enjoy an additional source of food remittances since it is not socially accepted that a married woman migrates to Windhoek and leaves her husband in the north, and because she has limited opportunities to buy land. This means that FCHs only receive food from their relatives or parents and there are often many siblings between which this food is equally distributed. Even though norms concerning migration do not directly influence how much food a household receives, understanding these norms is essential since they affect the composition of the households and the ability to use human capital in the rural homestead (i.e. to have a

spouse taking care of the land). In addition, we argue that the gender norms related to migration, land acquisition, and employment opportunities combined construct the gender structure of married heads of MCHs having the possibility to get food from an additional source.

Frayne argues that his finding can be explained by single women's lack of access to land and urban FCHs' limited links to the north (Frayne, 2005: 65). How these factors affect the amount of food that is received is not thoroughly explained by Frayne. As described earlier, our data also indicated that women have less access to land than men. However, none of the female interviewees or the FGD participants mentioned that the lesser access to land made women move from the north or that it was directly linked to how much food they receive. Still, we believe that it does influence the amount of food FCHs receive, as having your own piece of land in the north would give the women a second source from which they can receive food. On the other hand, the solution is not that simple. What enables men to have two sources is their advantage of having human capital in Owamboland that can take care of their land, which heads of FCHs do not have.

Based on the results of the data we collected, we argue that the difference in the amount of food received needs to be put in relation to the changing gender norm regarding inheritance of land entailing that more single women are able to inherit land from their parents. Therefore, there is greater pressure on men to acquire their own piece of land when they get married. Having your own plot entails that it is more likely that, unlike the food the parents produce, the yield obtained is not shared among the siblings. The head of MCHs is also the owner of the land and can therefore demand food from his wife, contrary to heads of FCHs who cannot demand food to the same extent since they do not own the land from which they obtain food. Respondents in the FGD highlighted that because the wives' responsibility is to take care of their husbands, the wives make sure to remit to their husbands as soon as a crop is ripe.

Gender institutions that regulate who can acquire land limit women's access to this physical capital. As discussed previously, a further constraint on the access to land of

urban heads of FCHs is the gendered labour market that makes it harder for women to purchase land due to their restricted access to formal jobs.

“It’s easier for a man [to buy land] because men are the ones with jobs and they can get others to clear the field for them” (Woman in EH in Windhoek, 32 years old).

This is a clear example of how access to one asset can give access to another asset – as outlined in the livelihoods framework – which underlines that getting access to food through transfers is a complex matter that involves several domains permeated by gender norms.

Regarding Frayne’s latter explanation that FCHs have less well-established links to the north than MCHs, nothing in our data can strengthen this assertion. In fact, some of the female respondents claimed the opposite. They said that parents or relatives contact the women in the urban areas first, before they contact the men, if they need some kind of support. The reasons stated were the perception of women as more responsible and that women usually do not forget their relatives in the north. Among some of female respondents men are perceived as not being as reliable as women in terms of keeping in touch with their relatives, and due to the widespread problems of alcoholism and gambling relatives in the north prefer contacting the women in cases of emergency, as they know that it is more likely that the women will assist them.

“Especially my mom she calls me first. My mom sees that I can solve a problem fast. [...] Men nowadays do not really help a lot, women help out more and help is expected more from women. [Men do not help out as much] Because they drink a lot and they have a lot of women. You can find a man that works and contribute N\$100 and I contribute N\$500 at a funeral” (Head of FCH in Windhoek, 37 years old).

5.4 Rural to urban food transfers and food security in Moses //Garoëb

4. In what ways do gender structures and gender institutions related to rural to urban food transfers affect the livelihood outcomes in terms of food security of the people in Moses //Garoëb?

In the livelihoods framework the livelihood outcomes are the product of the vulnerability context, the assets, the structures and livelihood strategies. Some examples of livelihood outcomes, as stated in the framework (see Figure 1), are increased income, reduced vulnerability, improved food security, and more sustainable use of natural resources base (Ashley & Carney, 1999: 9). In our case we have chosen to focus exclusively on food security as a livelihoods outcome of people's use of the livelihood strategy RUFT, and how this in turn influences their pool of assets. We thus asked ourselves if FCHs are more food insecure than MCHs and other types of households as a result of their reduced access to food received through RUFT from the north?

To assess the impact of FCHs receiving food from only one source while MCHs receive food from two sources we need to assess the role of food transfers in achieving food security among the urban poor. Previous research conducted by AFSUN in 2008 has shown that RUFT do not make households in Windhoek food secure (Pendleton et al., 2012: 26). Even though Frayne's study (2005: 63) reveals that FCHs receive half as much food as MCHs, as the following table displays, the AFSUN study does not show that FCHs are twice as food insecure as one might suspect.

Table 3. Food security by household type

		Household structure				Total %
		Female-centred %	Male-centred %	Nuclear %	Extended %	
All	Food secure	18	22	37	23	23
	Food insecure	82	78	63	77	77
Total		100	100	100	100	100
Informal	Food secure	7	12	18	10	11
	Food insecure	93	88	82	90	89
Total		100	100	100	100	100
Formal	Food secure	27	35	56	36	36
	Food insecure	73	65	44	64	64
Total		100	100	100	100	100

Source: Pendleton et al., 2012: 20.

Still, FCHs are slightly more food insecure (82% in formal areas and 93% in informal areas) than MCHs (78% in formal areas and 88% in informal areas) (Pendleton et al., 2012: 20). Taking into account women's difficulties acquiring land and their general exclusion from the formal labour market, the results from the AFSUN survey lead us towards the assumption that urban heads of FCHs are able to mediate their food insecurity through other means since they receive food from only one source, or that they are using the resources available to them more efficiently than MCHs. It is important to be well aware of that Frayne's data was collected in 2000, AFSUN's data in 2008 and ours in 2014, which gives the comparison a certain degree of uncertainty. However, our assumption is in line with Dodson, Chiweza and Riley's conclusion that despite FCHs in the AFSUN comparison of 11 cities in Southern Africa being disadvantaged in terms of education, wage labour and income, their deficit in terms of food security is not as high as expected (Dodson et al., 2012: 31).

If we take a look at our data we can conclude that all five heads of FCHs and five out of nine heads of MCHs⁶ in Moses //Garoëb were severely food insecure, according to the FIES. We cannot make generalization based on our data regarding this finding but we argue that it is important to give an overview of the food security status of the respondents.

Based on our data we cannot draw any definitive conclusions about how FCHs manage to cope with their disadvantage in the RUFT system. Some female respondents pointed out that men often spend money on alcohol and gambling instead of on food. This would entail that heads of FCHs, who do not have to share their income with a spouse, can spend more of their disposable income on food than men that abuse alcohol. However, how gambling and alcohol abuse affect the RUFT, and in turn the food security status, remains an area that needs to be studied further in the urban Namibian context.

Three respondents in our data claimed that women get more food than men when they visit the north, as men do not want to carry food with them to Windhoek. These statements could not be further investigated within the scope of this study but left us questioning whether the disadvantage of having only one source is ameliorated as a result of women receiving more food when they visit their relatives? Can this be a possible explanation to how FCHs mitigate their food insecurity?

“[When a] woman goes to the north, she will carry more items, a man will not carry a lot of things like a woman, but when it comes to receiving, we both receive the same amounts. Women normally demand, I need this and I need that. Men do not bring many things because most of men are working and men do not demand like women. Women tend to bring more things because they are not working, but those that work also do not carry many things because they can sustain themselves” (Head of MCH in Windhoek, 40 years old).

⁶ In total there were 10 MCHs but only nine are included in this comparison, as one respondent's answers were inconsistent and hence his food insecurity status could not be determined.

In our data the perceived dependence among the different households on the food remittances differed and no conclusions regarding this matter can be drawn. Many households, both those who stated that they were dependent on the food transfers and those who were not as dependent, claimed that they would be able to cope even if they would not receive food from relatives. Our data showed that food transfers are important for the families because it means that they would not have to buy expensive food from the supermarkets. If the households cannot find additional sources of income or alternative livelihood strategies, they probably try to re-prioritize their expenditures. We argue that when re-prioritizing the household expenditures by spending less on e.g. school fees, electricity bills, water bills, or clothes, FCHs may be able to purchase the food needed and alleviate their food insecurity. Nevertheless, as FCHs are forced to spend more on food and less on other necessities they become more vulnerable in other respects, which decreases their chances of increasing their well being and finding ways out of poverty.

6. Summary and conclusions

The benefit of using a multi-spatial perspective on livelihoods is that the inter-linkages and inter-dependence of rural and urban households are put in focus. This study has tried to understand the livelihoods strategy of RUFT from this perspective and the results point towards that RUFT is a strategy not only for the urban, but also for the rural households. The RUFT enable the urban households to spend less of their financial assets on purchasing food. In addition, the food received through transfers has a cultural and emotional value for the urban migrants. For the rural areas, sending food is a way of keeping the ties with the urban households. These ties can be seen as social capital in the livelihoods framework, which can be developed to a livelihood strategy of getting support remittances from relatives living in urban/rural areas. The social capital becomes specifically important in times of crisis as the system of sending food and goods functions as a social safety net. Hence, these findings show that urban livelihoods are closely connected to rural livelihoods and cannot be analysed in isolation from each other. As Crush and Frayne (2010) have shown, there is a clear rural bias within the food security discourse. Without a multi-spatial perspective on livelihoods, policies easily become subjects of rural bias, which was the case with the EFSA that was only carried out in rural areas, leaving out the urban food insecure population completely from governmental drought relief interventions.

In our research we have shown that there are certain gender structures related to migration, land acquisition, and job opportunities in Windhoek that combined can explain the differences in the amount of food received by MCHs and FCHs detected by Frayne (2005). These structures are regulated and upheld by different gender norms that affect women and men's access to assets, what livelihoods strategies they can use and to what extent. The gender structure concerning migration shows that men, both married and unmarried, to a greater extent than women have the opportunity to move to Windhoek. The gender norm that upholds this structure restrains married women from moving to Windhoek and leaving their husbands in the rural north. According to our results, this norm does not apply to men at all. This finding led us to look into the marital status of the heads of FCHs and MCHs in Moses //Garoëb, and it was revealed that eight out of ten heads of MCHs were married and all of them had their wives in the north. The data also showed that

married men can receive food transfers from two different sources, from their wives in the north and from other relatives, whereas heads of FCHs receive food from one source. This entails that married heads of MCHs can use the livelihood strategy of RUFT to a wider extent than heads of FCHs, which we argue explains the finding in Frayne's article from 2005. Based on the inferences we can make concerning structure, we argue that structures should be seen as interrelated in the livelihoods framework, meaning that the institutions that uphold structures combined can result in a new structure. For instance, in this study gender norms related to migration, land acquisition, and employment opportunities creates the gender structure of married men having access to more sources from which food can be received than single women.

Acknowledging that some gender norms are tied to the marital status of household heads played a key role in explaining the difference in food received through transfers that Frayne found in his study (2005), but it also uncovered weaknesses in how households are categorized. Marital status is not taken into consideration when categorizing households solely as male-centred and female-centred. Committing this methodological fallacy leads to single and married heads of MCHs being put in the same category, which can make the results misleading and conceal the real causes of the gender differences.

Receiving food from relatives in rural areas allows households to spend less money buying food and enables households to mitigate their food insecurity. If households do not receive food from the north they re-prioritize their expenditures and spend less money on other necessities in order to survive. We could not show that the difference between FCHs and MCHs in food received through remittances detected by Frayne (2005) leads to increased food security directly, but we argue that getting less food can increase the vulnerability of the urban households in other respects.

The results of this study also touch upon the issue of alcohol and gambling abuse among men in Moses //Garoëb. These issues could not be investigated further within the scope of this research, but we argue that this is an area that needs to be further studied in relation to rural to urban ties and when comparing the food security status of men and women. Is alcohol abuse a reason to why women in our interviews claim

that the relatives in the north often contact a female family member in Windhoek when they are in need of help? Can the abuse have an effect on the ties with the north and hence influence the amount of food the person receives? The previous finding entails that it is only married men that can have two sources of food transfers while single men can only receive food from one source. Is there a possibility that single men in Windhoek are as food insecure, or even more food insecure than single women when adding the abuse factor into the context?

Future studies should also look into potential gender differences in food received when visiting the rural homestead. Is there a gender structure concerning the amount of food that men and women bring with them after having visited the north? If yes, are the gender norms that regulate such a structure also related to the marital status, or are they related to other things such as the financial assets of the receiver? Finally, can such a structure possibly mitigate the consequences of the difference in the number of sources from which MCHs and FCHs receive food?

Although we cannot make generalizations about the total population of Moses //Garoëb we argue that we can make generalizations to theory based on the results of our study. We therefore argue that when studying urban livelihoods it is essential to use a multi-spatial approach, as urban and rural livelihoods are closely interlinked and interdependent. It is also vital to put emphasis on the concepts of structure, institutions, gender and power in livelihoods analysis since these are factors that influence access to livelihood assets and to which extent livelihood strategies can be used.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 Sample details

Gender	Age	Household ID	Household type	Number of people in the household	Marrital status/location of spouse	Food Insecurity Experience status
Semi structured interviews in Moses //Garoëb						
M	32	1	FCH	8 to 10	No partner	Not food insecure
F	44	1	FCH	8 to 10	No partner	Severely
M	51	2	MCH	3	Wife in the North	Severely
M	38	3	NH	6	Partner in town	Not food insecure
M	32	4	MCH	5	Wife in the North	Moderately
M	46	5	MCH	5	Wife in the North	Moderately
F	32	6	NH	3	Husband in town	Severely
F	23	7	FCH	4	No partner	Severely
F	39	8	FCH	6	No partner	Severely
F	24	9	MCH	6	No partner	Severely
M	46	10	EH	4	Wife in town	Severely
F	46	10	EH	4	Husband in town	Not food insecure
M	31	11	MCH	2	Single	Severely
M	59	12	MCH	3	Wife in the North	Severely
F	31	13	EH	3	Husband in town	Severely
F	38	14	EH	6	Partner in town	Severely
More open ended semi-structured interviews in Moses //Garoëb						
M	40	15	EH	6	Partner in town	Moderately
F	32	15	EH	7	Partner in town	Severely
M	59	16	MCH	2	Wife in the North	Moderately
M	51	17	MCH	5	Wife in the North	Severely
F	38	18	FCH	3	No partner	Severely
M	40	19	MCH	12	Wife in the North	Mildly
M	40	20	EH	9	Partner in town	Moderately
F	48	20	EH	9	Partner in town	Moderately
M	58	21	MCH	1	Wife in the North	Severely
F	37	22	FCH	3	No partner	Severely
F	42	23	EH	8	Lives in the North	Not food insecure
Rural interviews with selected relatives of urban interviewees						
M	81	24	MCH	15	Widower	Severely
F	50	24	MCH	15	Single	Severely
M	18	25	EH	16	Single	Severely
F	77	25	EH	16	Married	Severely
M	74	26	EH	4	Married	Severely
F	64	26	EH	4	Married	Severely

Appendix 2 Interview guide 1: Moses //Garoëb

Semi-structured interviews

Household type:

Marital status:

Age of the interviewee:

Household info	
1	How many members does your household have?
2	How old are the household members and what sex/gender are they?
3	Are all the household members your family members (part of the nuclear family)? If not, what relationship do you have to them?
4	Are parts of your family living elsewhere? Where do they live (region and village)?
5	How old are those family members (that are living elsewhere) and what sex/gender are they?
Migration	
6	Which region and which city/village are you from originally? (The place where you grew up).
7	When did you move to Windhoek?
8	How old were you when you moved here?
9	a) Why did you decide to move to Windhoek? b) Would it have been possible for you to stay in the rural area if you wanted to?
10	Did you move to Windhoek alone or with your family?
11	Did you live in Moses //Garoëb when you first came to Windhoek? If no, where were you staying first?
12	Did you have relatives to come to here in Windhoek?
13	Do you have any contact with your relatives in the rural areas?
14	How many times, during the past 12 months, have you visited your relatives in the rural areas?
15	a) What is the difference between living in the rural area and here in Windhoek? b) What is the main difference when it comes to quality of life and your different strategies on how to generate income/food?
Occupation	
16	What is your occupation status now? a) Employed in the formal sector? b) Employed in or informal sector c) Unemployed?
17	What is your main occupation?
18	Do you have any other jobs than your main occupation? Yes/No
19	How many and what kind of jobs do you have?
20	How many times have you worked in the rural areas (including helping out at family farms) during the past 12 months?
21	What kind of jobs have you carried out in the rural areas during the past 12 months? Were they paid or unpaid jobs?

Income and expenditure	
22	How much do you earn per month?
23	How much does the household earn in total per month (counting the total income of all household members)?
24	Who in the household has the main decision making power when it comes to what the money should be spent on?
25	Do you or any of your household members have any other sources of income/support (welfare support, grants, remittances etc.) than jobs? Please name sources and the amount of money you make from them.
26	Which source of income is the most important for your household?
27.a	How many weeks during the last 12 months has your household been lacking money to pay for the following needs: I) Housing? II) Schooling? II) Clothing? IV) Healthcare?
27.b	If yes, what are the main reasons to why money has been lacking? (For example low salary, unemployment, money spent on other things).
28	If you look back at how the household money has been spent in the last months, do you think that it should have been spent in a different way?
29.a	If you were able to decide on your own, would you spend the money differently than how it is spent today?
29.b	If yes, how would you like to spend them differently?
Food Insecurity Experience Scale	
30	During the last 12 months, was there a time when you were worried you would run out of food because of a lack of money or other resources?
31	During the last 12 months, was there a time when you were unable to eat healthy and nutritious food because of a lack of money or other resources?
32	During the last 12 months, was there a time when you ate only a few kinds of foods because of a lack of money or other resources?
33	During the last 12 months, was there a time when you had to skip a meal because there was not enough money or other resources to get food?
34	During the last 12 months, was there a time when you ate less than you thought you should because of a lack of money or other resources?
35	During the last 12 months, was there a time when your household ran out of food because of a lack of money or other resources?
36	During the last 12 months, was there a time when you were hungry but did not eat because there was not enough money or other resources for food?
37	During the last 12 months, was there a time when you went without eating for a whole day because of a lack of money or other resources?
X1	During the last 12 months, was there a time when any of the children younger than 5 years old did not eat healthy or nutritious food because of lack of money or other resources?
X2	During the last 12 months, was there a time when any of the children younger than 5 years old was not given enough food because of lack of money or other resources?
Remittances (Sending)	
38	Do you send or bring anything to your relatives or friends in the rural areas when you visit them?

39	Who do you send or bring things or money to?
40	What do you send or bring? (Name the most common item or amount of money)
41	How often have you sent or brought your family something during the past 12 months?
42	How much things/food/money did you send or bring each time? (Approximate figure)
43	Why do you send or bring things/food/money to them?
44	What and who determines the quantity that you send or bring when you visit your relatives in the North?
45	What will happen if you do not send or bring as much or anything at all to your relatives?
46	How dependent are your relatives (or friends) on the things/food/money you send or bring?
47	Is there anyone else who sends or brings your relatives more things/food/money than you do? Does this person receive more in exchange for what he or she sends than you do?
48	Does anyone else in the household send anything? Do they send more or less than you do? (When it comes to nuclear households does the husband send more than the wife?)
Remittances (receiving)	
49	Do you receive anything from your relatives or friends in the rural areas in exchange for what you give them?
50	Who gives you the things you receive? (Mother or father? Sister or brother? Uncle or aunt?)
51	What do you receive? (The most common item or amount of money)
52	How often have you received things/food/money from the rural areas during the past 12 months?
53	How much (approximately) do you receive each time you get something?
54	Why do you receive things/food/money from the rural areas?
55	What and who determines the quantity you receive?
56	What will happen if you do not receive as much or anything at all?
57	How dependent are you on the things/food/money you receive?
58	What do the things you receive mean to you?
59	Who decides what to do with the things you receive?
60	What do you use it for? (Consume it, sell it, share it with other households, trade it etc.)
61	Is there anyone else who receives more things/food/money from your relatives than you do?
62	Does anyone else in the household receive more than you do from their/your relatives?
Discussion Question	
63	There is a study of households in Windhoek showing that male-households receive twice as much food from their relatives in rural areas than female-headed households. Have you experienced this or do you recognize this finding? Why do think that is the case?

Appendix 3 Interview guide 2: Moses //Garoëb

Open-ended version of the interview questions

Household details and personal information

1. Tell me a bit about yourself and the people living in your house.
 - a. Are parts of your family living elsewhere? If yes, why is that?

Migration and origin

2. Can you tell me about where you are from and how you ended up in Windhoek?
3. Is it socially accepted that married women move to Windhoek without their husbands?
4. How would you describe the place you are from and life there?
 - a. What is the occupation of your family?
 - b. Do you own any land? Who owns the family land?
5. How would you describe your connection/ties to the area where you are from and the people you know there?
6. How would describe the living conditions of your relatives in the north?
 - a. Do they grow food for their own consumption or do they sell the produce to someone else?

Occupation, income expenditure

7. What is your current occupation?
8. How much, approximately, do you earn per month, including income from other activities (businesses)?
9. How many weeks during the past 12 months has your household been lacking money to pay for the following needs:
 - a) Housing? b) Schooling? c) Clothing? d) Healthcare?
10. Who in the household decides how to spend the total household income?
 - a. Who is responsible for making sure that there is food in the house?

Food Insecurity Experience Scale

11. During the last 12 months, was there a time when you were worried you would run out of food because of a lack of money or other resources?
12. During the last 12 months, was there a time when you were unable to eat healthy and nutritious food because of a lack of money or other resources?
13. During the last 12 months, was there a time when you ate only a few kinds of foods because of a lack of money or other resources?
14. During the last 12 months, was there a time when you had to skip a meal because there was not enough money or other resources to get food?
15. During the last 12 months, was there a time when you ate less than you thought you should because of a lack of money or other resources?
16. During the last 12 months, was there a time when your household ran out of food because of a lack of money or other resources?
17. During the last 12 months, was there a time when you were hungry but did not eat because there was not enough money or other resources for food?
18. During the last 12 months, was there a time when you went without eating for a whole day because of a lack of money or other resources?

19. (If there is a child under the age of 5) During the last 12 months, was there a time when any of the children younger than 5 years old did not eat healthy or nutritious food because of lack of money or other resources?
20. (If there is a child under the age of 5) During the last 12 months, was there a time when any of the children younger than 5 years old was not given enough food because of lack of money or other resources?

Family in the North and remittances

21. What responsibility do family members and relatives have for each other when they are living in different places, such as Windhoek and Owamboland?
22. Are there different expectations on men and women in terms of how much they should help their relatives in the North and how much they can expect to receive from the North (food remittances)?
23. Who sends you things/money/food?
24. What purpose do you think sending money to relatives in the North and receiving food has for those who are involved?
 - a. Is it to keep the relatives alive?
 - b. Is it just because of tradition?
 - c. To sell the food here in Windhoek?
25. Who in the household receives the most from their relatives? Why?
26. Is there a difference in the quantity of food different members of your family receive? (e.g. how much you get compared to your siblings).
27. Would you say that life would be easier if you were a man/women here in Windhoek/in the North?
28. Do you think that whether you are a man/women impacts how much food you get from the North? If yes, why?
29. Can we interview your family members in the North? (Phone numbers)

Appendix 4 Interview guide: Owamboland

Questions for rural households

1. Tell me a bit about yourself and the people living in your house (number of people, age, relationships).
2. How would describe life here?
 - a. What is the difference between living here and in Windhoek?
3. How many relatives do you have in Windhoek (or other cities)?
4. Why do people move to Windhoek?
 - a. Do women and men have different reasons for moving there?
 - b. How do you feel about men and women moving to Windhoek? How does it affect your household?
 - c. Is it socially acceptable for married women to move to town and leave their husbands here?
 - d. Do men who move to town get more sent to them than the women who move there?
5. Who gets to inherit the land (men and/or women)?
 - a. Do the people in Windhoek have the same chance to inherit the land as the once who are still living here?
 - b. Do the men in Windhoek have a better chance of inheriting the land than the women in Windhoek?
6. What is expected of women and what is expected of men (traditionally)?
 - a. What are their roles and responsibilities?
 - b. Do such expectations change when men and women move to town?
7. If you have a daughter and a son, who is expected to provide the family with money when they grow up, the man or the woman (son or daughter)?
8. Do women and men who move to town need to be sent equal amounts of food or does one need more than the other?
 - a. Do you think they get more food if they are married?
9. Do you send food to your relatives (in the city)?
 - a. Does this ever lead to yourselves not having enough food for your household?

Food security experience

10. During the last 12 months, was there a time when you were worried you would run out of food because of a lack of money or other resources?
11. During the last 12 months, was there a time when you were unable to eat healthy and nutritious food because of a lack of money or other resources?
12. During the last 12 months, was there a time when you ate only a few kinds of foods because of a lack of money or other resources?
13. During the last 12 months, was there a time when you had to skip a meal because there was not enough money or other resources to get food?
14. During the last 12 months, was there a time when you ate less than you thought you should because of a lack of money or other resources?
15. During the last 12 months, was there a time when your household ran out of food because of a lack of money or other resources?
16. During the last 12 months, was there a time when you were hungry but did not eat because there was not enough money or other resources for food?

17. During the last 12 months, was there a time when you went without eating for a whole day because of a lack of money or other resources?
18. (If there is a child under the age of 5) During the last 12 months, was there a time when any of the children younger than 5 years old did not eat healthy or nutritious food because of lack of money or other resources?
19. (If there is a child under the age of 5) During the last 12 months, was there a time when any of the children younger than 5 years old was not given enough food because of lack of money or other resources?

Appendix 5 Focus group discussion

Focus group discussion questions

1. How is life in Moses //Garoëb?
 - a. Is life easier for men or women here in town?
 - b. Is there a difference if men or women are married or not?
 - c. How about in the North? Is life easier for women in the North?
2. Why do women move to Windhoek?
 - a. Who are these women that move here? Single? Married? Educated? Have children? Etc.
 - b. Why do single women move to town as we have heard that it is the men's role to provide for the family? (Does it have something to do with access to land? If women got access to land, would more stay in the north?)
 - c. Do more women or men move to Windhoek? Why is that?
3. What responsibilities/roles do women and men have respectively?
 - a. Do the roles and responsibilities change when you get married? (as a man and as a woman)
4. Is it socially accepted that married women move to Windhoek without their husbands?
 - a. What about men? Why is it ok that they move to Windhoek and leave their wives in the North?
 - b. Why is there this difference?
5. In general, who in the household decides how to spend the total household income? Do women and men have an equal say about how to spend the money that the people in the household earn?
 - a. Does this change if women earn more than men?
6. Do you think that whether you are a man or a woman affects how much food you get from relatives in the North? If yes, why?
 - a. If you are a married or single man and a married woman, is there a difference?
 - b. Do you think that married men that have their wives in the north get more food than others?
7. Are there different expectations on men and women in Windhoek when it comes to helping relatives in the North?
 - a. Who has the main responsibility to help relatives in the North, men or women?
 - b. Do the expectations change when you are married, compared to when you are single (for men and women respectively)?

Appendix 6 UN Emergency Expert interview

Interview questions for the UN Emergency Expert

1. Is monitoring of food security in Namibia also being done in cities (especially among informal settlements like those in Windhoek)? Is it covered by WFP, FAO or any other UN agency?
2. Does the Drought Relief Response Program also cover urban areas?
3. How is food security/insecurity assessed in the Primary Sampling Units? Is it done on an individual level or on household level? Are gender intra-household dynamics aspects that are taken into consideration when assessing food security?
4. What is your impression of the functioning of the Government Drought Relief Program? Is it transparent in the sense that the food reaches those that are most in need and that it is distributed in a fair and transparent manner? Do you think it should be improved? How?
5. Do you in your work (WFP) on food security and the policies in Namibia take into account the multi-locality of livelihoods and the rural to urban linkages that exist?