



Livelihoods and survival strategies of Hwange Colliery Company Limited workers.



Venessa Emmah Siziba

R124868D

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the Master of Science in Sociology and Social Anthropology.

Supervisor: Dr S Bhatasara

Declaration

I declare that this dissertation is my own work. It is submitted for the Master of Science in Sociology and Social Anthropology at the University of Zimbabwe. It has not been submitted for any other degree or examination in any other university.

.....

Venessa Emmah Siziba

.....Day of.....2017

List of Figures

Figure 1.....	25
---------------	----

Abstract

This study documents the livelihoods and survival strategies of HCCL workers as well as the challenges they face in accessing these livelihoods. It is based on a qualitative inquiry and makes use of the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA) to analyse and guide the study. The study made use of life history interviews, non-participant observation and key informant interviews to source out the information. The study revealed to lengths on how the workers are surviving from day to day basis despite the fact that they have not been receiving salaries for 42 months to date. Apart from their salary which they are not getting, HCCL workers have devised ways of surviving in the waning economy. These strategies range from vending, practising urban agriculture, renting out rooms, cross border trading, barter trade, reliance on family, relatives and social ties, remittances, government support, piece jobs and part time jobs as well as other informal activities they are engaged in. The major challenges that the workers and their families have are that of money, access to credit and loans, poor housing services, poor medication and health services and lack of financial resources to start their own businesses and sustain their families. The study also revealed that through the SLA, it is seen that the five capital assets are important and play a big role in determining the livelihoods of the workers. These capitals work interchangeably and are not independent of each other. The study also revealed that the rural urban linkages that exist are also important in accessing livelihoods for the workers. It was also culminated that the HCCL workers cannot leave the company because of fear of being stranded, work benefits as well as an anticipation and hope for change. The study concluded that the workers have somehow managed to survive without non-payment of salaries for a long time because of the various survival strategies they have employed and it is imperative to note that these livelihood strategies are short term based and can only help deal with household poverty and secure food for a household but not in the long run. These livelihood and survival strategies mainly centre on food security at household level and do not address poverty problems in the long run.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank the Almighty God, Jehovah Ebenezar who has brought me this far. It is by His grace and mercy that I have made thus far. He is the source of all knowledge and wisdom. My sincere gratitude goes to my supervisor, Dr S Bhatasara, for her endearing support, constructive criticism and guidance throughout the course of the project.

To my family, dad, mum, Gugulethu, Victoria, Mzingaye and Benjamin, thank you for motivating me and supporting me. Above all, thank you for believing in me and standing with me all the way.

To my best friend Dialo, my gratitude may never seem to be enough. I am truly grateful for all you do for me and for being my pillar against all odds. To my friends, Rudo, Charity, Nobukhosi, Wiriranai and Mercy, thank you for your love and support and for making life bearable and worthwhile for me. I am grateful and indebted to you all, may God Almighty bless you.

Lastly, I owe my gratitude to my research participants, who made this study achievable by participating and cooperating.

Dedication

To my mother and father.

For standing by me and helping me throughout my studies.

Contents

Abstract.....	4
Acronyms	10
Chapter One	11
1.0 Introduction.....	11
1.1 Background of the study	11
1.3 Research Objectives.....	13
1.4 Research Questions.....	13
1.5 Justification of the study	14
1.6 Chapter Summary	14
1.7 Organisation of the Study	15
Chapter Two: Literature Review	16
2.0 Introduction.....	16
2.1 Defining livelihoods.....	16
2.12Definition of household.....	17
2.2 General livelihoods and survival strategies	17
2.2.1 The rural-urban linkages, contestations and access to livelihoods.....	17
2.2.2 Effects of non-payment of wages and survival strategies.....	18
2.2.3 Child labour, skills and other livelihoods	19
2.2.4 Migration as a livelihood strategy	20
2.2.5 The informal economy as a source of livelihood	20
2.3 The importance of social networks as livelihood insurance.....	22
2.4Gender dynamics and access to livelihoods and survival strategies.....	23
2.5 Urban agriculture emerging as an important source of livelihood	24
2.6 Alternative means for survival and vulnerability	25
2.7 Credit systems and financial capital	25
2.8 Chapter Summary	26

Chapter 3: Theoretical/ Conceptual Frameworks	28
3.0 Introduction.....	28
3.1 The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach	28
3.2 The vulnerability context in SLA	28
3.2.1 Determinants of livelihoods.....	30
3.3 The SLA Diagram	31
3.4 The Capitals.....	31
3.4.1 The Natural capital.....	31
3.4 .2 The Physical capital	31
3.4. 5 The Financial capital	32
3.4. 6 The Human capital	32
3.4 .7 The Social capital	32
3.5 The understanding and application of the SLA assets	33
3.7 Livelihood Outcomes	34
3.8 Coping Strategies in SLA	34
3.9 The Critique of SLA	34
Chapter Summary	35
Chapter 4: Research Methodology	36
4.1 Introduction.....	36
4.2 Research Design	36
4.3 Study Site	37
4.4 Study Participants.....	37
4.5.1Key Informant Interviews.....	39
4.5.2 Life History Interviews.....	39
4.5.3 Non participant observation	39
4.6Data Analysis Techniques	40
4.7 Ethical Considerations	40

4.8	Limitations of the Study	40
4.9	Chapter Summary	41
Chapter 5: Presentation of Findings		42
5.0	Introduction.....	42
Case Study 1: Mr X (Key Informant)		42
Case 2: Mrs D (Key Informant 2).....		44
Case Study 3: Mr S		47
Case Study 4: Mr N.....		50
Case Study 5: Mrs P		52
Case Study 6: Miss T		55
Case Study 7: Mrs K.....		57
Case Study 8: Mr B.....		59
Chapter Summary		62
Chapter Six: Discussion of Findings and Conclusions		63
6.0	Introduction.....	63
6.1	General livelihoods and survival strategies incorporated	63
6.1.1	The informal economy as a source of livelihood	63
6.1.2	Subsistence and urban agriculture as a source of livelihood	64
6.2.3	Social Networks and Social groups	66
6.2.4	Human capital: skills and knowledge systems	67
6.3	Financial aspect: remittances and access to credit	68
6.4	Vulnerability and challenges faced by HCCL workers.....	70
6.5	Conclusions.....	72
References		72

Acronyms

DFID - Department for International Development

HCCL - Hwange Colliery Company Limited

SLA - Sustainable Livelihoods Approach

ESAP -Economic Structural Adjustment Program

Chapter One

1.0 Introduction

The study sought to understand the livelihood and survival strategies of Hwange Colliery Company Limited (HCCL) miners and their families against the backdrop of an economic down turn where their due wages have not been forthcoming for more than 42 months to date. It also sought to understand how they have been coping and surviving and how they overcome the challenges they meet on a day to day basis. Much of literature on unpaid work and livelihoods mostly dwells on informal work, domestic work and the unfair practices and conditions of work (see Anderson, 2000 and Glazer, 1984). The target area of the research was Hwange town where these miners and their families reside. The research adopted the qualitative design so as to capture the complex, and in depth experiences of the workers and their families. The data collection methods were key informant interviews, life history interviews and non-participant observations. In selecting the participants, purposive sampling was used. The study was informed by the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach.

1.1 Background of the study

Much research on livelihoods has centred on women (Amanor –Wilks, 1996), youths (Kamete, 2010), child headed households (Dube, 1997; Chingwenya et al, (2008), and the disabled and unemployed youths (Rakodi, 1995). However, efforts have been made to focus on livelihoods of unpaid workers in farms and mines but mainly in rural areas, and little research has been done in urban areas (Shoniwa et al, (2015), Mhau et al (2015), Sibanda et al, (2014), and Muchichwa (2016). Important to note is that the study by Mhau et al (2015), mainly centred on organisational effectiveness and effects of non-payment of wages not on livelihoods. Therefore, existing literature has focused on livelihoods of mine workers in a rural setup, and little research has been done in a different milieu such as urban mines like that of Hwange Colliery Company Limited (HCCL). Thus findings from this study will contribute to the body of knowledge on urban livelihoods focusing on mine workers in HCCL.

Mhau et al (2015), notes that the non-payment of salaries and wages has brought economic hardships upon HCCL employees and their families. The HCCL Malasha Post of 23rd of June, 1990 reported that HCCL is listed as a company in the Zimbabwe International Stock Exchange, making it one of the professionally established and run organisations nationally

and internationally. Thus, under normal circumstances, the company is expected to pay its employees' wages accordingly but it has failed to oblige.

Rakodi (1994) asserts that in Zimbabwe the Economic Structural Adjustment Program (ESAP) that was introduced soon after independence saw to it that expenditure in public health, education and other services were subsidised by the state and this aimed at reducing state deficit thus enabling the government's debt at the World Bank. This was followed by rapid inflation and it worsened the conditions of work for most the formally employed citizens. Urban poverty climaxed by low wages, retrenchments and layoffs was the result thus leading to them adopting various strategies to survive. Rakodi (1994), reports that the majority of the citizens turned to the informal economy for survival. The general economic meltdown in Zimbabwe since the mid 2000 has affected the HCCL's financial status and has led to the failure of the company to pay its creditors and employees. Many organizations lost trust in the company and they started to demand for cash transactions which worsened the situation of the company and production levels consequently started to decline drastically. The company was then forced to stagger employees' salaries and wages, and as time went on, it failed to pay completely. Mhau et al (2015) also notes that due to the change of trade partners by the government from Western countries to adopting the "Look East Policy", the company lost most of its valuable customers and investors from the western block. The economic downturn has resulted in the closure of most industries in Zimbabwe. HCCL has been affected by this as it lost its local customer, Zisco Steel which used to buy coal for its coke production (Chronicle Newspaper, April 16, 2014).

In addition, the livelihoods of workers have been affected greatly by the economic crisis that Zimbabwe has been undergoing, as most companies are closing up and it has resulted in job losses for other workers in different parastatals. This has also been triggered by the unprecedented labour laws which as of July 17 2015 at the Supreme Court gave employers the right to cancel or terminate a contract of a worker. A large number of workers in most manufacturing and industrial companies lost their jobs. Newsday (2015) reveals that approximately 25 000 people lost their jobs due to the law of termination of contracts and employer took advantage of the ruling to streamline their workforce.

1.2 Problem Statement

Formidable research in Zimbabwe on livelihoods and unpaid work by Mhau et al (2015), Sibanda et al (2014), Shoniwa et al (2013) and Muchichwa (2016) has highlighted that due to

the economic crisis that the nation is undergoing, most workers have to resort to other means of survival, apart from their usual salary. Despite the existing scenario of unpaid work and livelihoods, the survival strategies and livelihoods of Hwange locals has not been adequately dealt with in scholarship. As documented by the *Chronicle* of 23 May 2016, the company still owes the workers and it is now over 36 months without payment of salaries and it is still ongoing.

The issue of unpaid work or unpaid employment is a crucial phenomenon and affected the livelihoods of many people in Zimbabwe. Gwisai (2015) argues that the right to a fair and reasonable wage is enshrined under section 65(1) of the Constitution and it states that everyone has a right to fair and safe labour practices and standards and to be paid a fair and reasonable wage. This then brings the researcher to the issue at hand of HCCL which is violating that law and has gone for years without paying their workers, thus jeopardising the livelihoods of the workers and their families. Wallerstein and Smith (1992) also assert that in a capitalist system wages can never be the sole or even the principle mode of survival. When wages are clearly insufficient to cover the needs of a household in that they are too low and too sporadic, it is needful to combine with other forms of income.

This study seeks to acquire understanding on how the workers have been surviving and sustaining their families for such a long time without payment of salaries. This study also seeks to close the gap that exists on the discourse of livelihoods and it juggles on why the workers still go to work, how they manage to go to work and also how they have been and are surviving through these harsh conditions.

1.3 Research Objectives

- To understand the livelihoods of the mine workers and their families
- To unearth the challenges that the families meet due to non-payment of work
- To explain why the workers remain in the company regardless of the unfair labour practices

1.4 Research Questions

- What are the livelihood and survival strategies employed by the mine workers and their families?
- What are the challenges faced by the mine workers in their attempt to provide for their daily needs?

- What are the major reasons for the mine workers to continue going to work for a long time without payments?

1.5 Justification of the study

The problem of unpaid work and non- payment of salaries in most companies in Zimbabwe is undocumented and this is because of the changing labour laws of the country as well as the failing economy which is jeopardising the livelihoods of the citizens. The phenomenon of non- payment of salaries of the Hwange Colliery Company Limited has also been on the media for a long time now. As documented by *Daily News* of 28 August 2013, HCCL workers were reported to have gone on strike because of non-payment of salaries and this has been ongoing till the recent update of 12 September 2016, where the finance minister Patrick Chinamasa argues that the only way to solve the problem of at HCCL is to retrench over 1000 employees and remain with only 800 workers. In the 2016 Mid-term Fiscal Policy Review, it is stated that the government is exploring the scope for shedding off some of the Hwange Colliery's none core operations and from the 3200 remove about 1000 workers so that it becomes proportionate with production. Having more workers with less production is problematic as they cannot pay all the workers hence cutting down on labour force is the option.

In-spite of long periods of non-payment stretching to over three years, HCCL employees have continued going about their normal day to day work business. It is against this background that the current study seeks unearth the various strategies for survival that the workers in HCCL have been employing for the past 3 years to date. It will also give explanations as to why the workers continuously go to work even if they are not receiving their salaries. As it stands there is no hope for the future, instead the situation continues to worsen. Given the dearth of information that exists on livelihoods amongst the mine workers in urban areas, this study seeks to close the literature gap that exists on the discourse of livelihoods among mine workers in mining communities.

1.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter has highlighted the backbone of the study. It has illuminated the research questions, objectives of the study, the problem statement, the background of the study as well as the justification of the study.

1.7 Organisation of the Study

This study is comprised of six chapters. The first chapter gives an introduction of the study, the research questions, problem statement and the background of the study. The second chapter reviews literature of selected cases on livelihoods. Chapter three presents the theoretical or conceptual framework that has informed this study. The fourth chapter details the methodology that is utilized in the study. Chapter five highlights the findings of the study and chapter six comprises of discussion of findings and conclusions of the study.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

2.0 Introduction

Literature will be reviewed on how workers and their families survive and cope with the problem of unpaid work in Zimbabwe, Africa and in other countries where this scenario has occurred. Important to note is the fact that in most contexts livelihoods of unpaid workers in terms of formal employment are not well documented but the type of work that is often referred to as unpaid work is domestic work, voluntary work and care giving by women. Literature from Zimbabwe and across the globe will be reviewed and case studies will be presented to show how studies on livelihoods are carried out. In terms of livelihoods most scholarly articles have dealt with rural areas not on urban livelihoods. Conceptualization of various important terms like livelihoods, survival strategies, and household will be addressed in this chapter.

2.1 Defining livelihoods

Mishra (2009) defines a livelihood as a means of gaining a living and comprises the capabilities, assets and activities required for a means of survival. Chambers and Conway (1992), argue that a livelihood is sustainable if it can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, and also maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihoods for the next generation to come. Ellis (2000) defines livelihood as that which comprises "...the assets (natural, physical, human, social and financial capital), the activities, and the access to these that together determine the living gained by the individual or household.

Gaillard et al (2009) as cited by De Haan (2012), reveals that livelihoods do not refer to one single activity but it is complex in nature, contextual, dynamic and diverse strategies that are developed by households to meet their daily needs. Kimengsi (2016) notes that the notion of livelihood survival strategy refers to a mix of individual and household strategies that have been developed over a given time that seeks to mobilize available resources and opportunities. Livelihood strategies comprise of a range and combination of activities plus choices that influence people to achieve their livelihood goals. Beall and Kanji (1999) assert that livelihood are understood not only in terms of income earning but rather, there are wider range of activities that are important, such as gaining and retaining access to resources and opportunities, dealing with risk, negotiating social relationships within the household and beyond, managing social networks and other institutions in the community and in the city.

Carney et al (1999) describes a strategy as not merely a pattern of behaviour but as a set of guiding principles by which people try to organise themselves to achieve their goals.

2.12 Definition of household

It is imperative to define what a household is as the study dwells on livelihoods of HCCL workers and their families. Wallerstein and Smith (1992) define a household as an “entity responsible for the basic and continuing reproduction needs such as food, shelter and clothing” by putting together different kinds of income (wages, market profit, rental income, transfers and subsistence income). It is expected that on an annual basis, or at least in a lifetime, all members of a household will contribute some kind or a combination of different kinds of income to the household (Wallerstein and Smith, 1992).

According to Agarwal (1997) households comprise of multiple actors who have varying interests, preferences as well as different abilities to pursue and realize those interests through consumption, production and investments. However evidence from other regions reveals that there are gender inequalities in the distribution of household tasks, duties and resources. Spedding (1988) stipulates that households are components of food systems and that these are groups of interacting components which are operating together for a common purpose. Households are said to be affected directly by their own outputs and have specified boundaries based on the inclusion of significant feedbacks. Households are also decision making units, where most decisions are made and management of uncertain events that occur is done including the ones that affect food security, the type of income generating activities to engage in and the strategies to implement in order to manage and cope with risks and shocks.

2.2 General livelihoods and survival strategies

2.2.1 The rural-urban linkages, contestations and access to livelihoods

It is important to note that in most instances urban livelihoods also depend on the rural areas for access to livelihoods and survival strategies. The two boundaries are often blurred when it comes to livelihood studies, they work together and both depend on each other for survival. This is dovetailed by Beall and Kanji (1999) who argue that much of the studies on urban households and livelihoods systems have borrowed enormously from rural poverty studies that is methodologically and conceptually. Mutangi (2013) also acknowledges the link between the two zones and refutes the assertion by most scholars that livelihoods have often been linked to rural areas only. The urban poor have been greatly affected by both internal that is politics of the nation, corruption and external factors which include globalisation,

international policies and sanctions which have pushed them to the fringe of the development process and in that same manner some are left out as a result of the economic based life in urban areas (Mutangi, 2013).

Wratthen (1995) as cited by Mutangi (2013) reveal that urban economies are characterised by a greater degree of commercialisation and basic goods are expensive and must be rented through the market. In most cases the poor urban men and women require higher cash incomes to survive on a day to day basis than their rural counterparts who rely heavily on farming activities or payment in kind. Satterthwaite (1997) also suggests that urbanisation as a process can have profound effects on people's lives. The distinction between urban and rural is not only blurred by ties between the two types of areas but the blurring of the two, exists because of the spatial relationships between cities and rural areas is not static.

Mutangi (2013) ascertains that life in the urban areas has become expensive and employment in the formal sector has decreased and the essence of real wages has declined in absolute terms. People in urban areas have responded in various ways by diversifying their income sources. Kutiwa et al (2010) as cited by Mutangi (2013), reveals that most people have resorted to cross border trading, street vending, and some into informal wood cutting as a panacea to the urban problems they are facing. Therefore the implication is that people are engaged in both farm and non-farm activities.

2.2.2 Effects of non-payment of wages and survival strategies

A study done by Shoniwa et al (2013) in Shabanie mine on why workers stay in unpaid employment and what motivates them to go to work even without a salary, revealed that most of them stayed because other than the salary they expected to get at the end of the month, there were other benefits too. These included free access to accommodation and medication. The workers are said to have last received their salaries in October 2009. Expectation that things will change is what made the workers to soldier on and continue working without payment. These non-monetary rewards were a motivating factor to the workers as it somehow helped them maintain their families and it gave them security as they feared to be homeless if they left the mine. A larger percentage of their survival mechanism was that of assistance from relatives, working spouses, parents and perhaps their grown up children. Some would do piece jobs like gardening and mechanics. Women would go into vending and sell vegetables, fruits and also selling stolen property. Some would go as far as subletting mine

houses, as well as illegal gold mining. Some simply acknowledged that the situation was difficult and surviving was only by Gods' grace.

Mhau et al (2015), carried out a survey of the effects of non-payments of mining employees in Hwange Colliery Company as well as their survival strategies asserts that the major effect was that of fear of victimisation and uncertainties of the future. It is revealed that the workers from time to time receive food hampers and this strategy seems not to work at all as the quantity of the foodstuff provided is not enough and also that the groceries do not cover all needed basic foodstuff to sustain them for a month. Muchichwa (2016) argues that what is actually happening in Zimbabwe is called "wage theft". The major argument lies in that it is impoverishing the workers and even forces the families to partake in coping strategies that tear the family apart and thus mortgage their future. The major argument by Muchichwa (2016) is that being employed should be a remedy for poverty but when workers go unpaid it always has a reverse effect as it leads to workers selling their assets and also seeking for support from relatives and engaging in informal work

National Railways of Zimbabwe (NRZ, is one of the companies in Zimbabwe that has been suffering in performance and as result has failed to pay its workers. Sibanda et al (2014), illuminates that shop-floor respondents indicated that they faced various challenges due to the failure of NRZ to pay them. The challenges they face range from inability to pay rentals, school fees, bills as well as medical bills. Some have actually been evacuated from their lodgings thus forcing the majority to join the company's premises in retaliation as the company has failed to pay them. Sibanda et al (2014) revealed that most employees resorted to walking to and fro work as they cannot afford the transport fare.

2.2.3 Child labour, skills and other livelihoods

In Afghanistan, Schuette (2005) reveals that even children are involved as they work with their parents to source out an income for the family. They are usually involved in petty trade of newspapers, foodstuffs, washing cars, begging and shoe polishing. However, sending children to the streets is seen as a sign of despair. These people mainly use their skills to acquire an income and feed their families. Some of the strategies involve adjusting food intake expenses and reliance on cheap staple food that is not costly. In some households selling of physical and productive assets is done, as well as antiques which can be easily pawned for cash. People in Afghanistan have gone to the extent of marrying their daughters

at an early age so as to get income through bride-price and also on the hope that their children will take care of them from their matrimonial homes.

The importance of skills is well articulated by Rakodi (1994) who asserts that in the discourse of urban poverty the urban poor often lack the essential skills to elevate them from poverty. She also reveals that in South Africa, most of the urban poor are the African race and this can be attributed to the Apartheid system which deprived and sidelined Africans to venture into business opportunities. She argues that this trend and pattern is not only confined to South Africa but other countries as well which were once colonies of USA, Britain and other countries. This is also corroborated by Beall and Kanji (1999) who assert that human capabilities, skills and agency are essential in accessing livelihoods.

2.2.4 Migration as a livelihood strategy

De Haan and Zoomers (2006) assert that migration is a form of livelihood strategy that aims to spread income risk through diversifying the household's income source. Large numbers of people are no longer rooted in one place and in plot to secure livelihoods they move within cities, across bridges and beyond. People often remain attached to their areas of origin and they maintain relations with their home community and kin. De Haan and Zoomers (2006) depict that individuals are no longer organised as core resident groups which are concentrated in space but they are connected to each other through social networks, along which flows remittances, food and information, hence the interconnection of people across time and space. Migration should therefore be seen as a general process of income generation and diversification of livelihoods. Mukwendeya (2009) writing on how residents in Glen Norah, Zimbabwe have survived through the infamous 2008 economic crisis concludes that remittances have been helpful in sustaining the livelihoods of most citizens who have relatives who migrated to South Africa, UK, Australia and Botswana.

2.2.5 The informal economy as a source of livelihood

Chibiya and Sigauke (2008), state that in the post 2000, the informal sector in Zimbabwe has become the lifeblood of the nation. Clemens and Moss (2002) as cited in Melcaf (2008) also note that Zimbabwe has been experiencing some economic shocks which have generated risks and shocks such as droughts, floods, economic and political crisis which has shoved people into the informal sector to search for livelihood strategies. Beall and Kanji (1999) allude that women are the mostly active in the informal economy. As the world faces change in the economy through globalisation and increased international competition, structural

adjustment and other economic reforms, women and men also have been forced into multiple and resourceful strategies for survival and the informal economy is one of the major one. The argument is that there are precarious conditions of work and employment opportunities are increasingly scarce hence men and women resort to other means of survival in the informal sector.

In a study done by Ndiweni et al (2014), it is revealed that in Bulawayo, the informal economy is regarded as a means of livelihood for the citizens. The de-industrialisation of the economy has seen most of the citizens of Bulawayo becoming jobless and thus resorting to informality. Mugisha (2000) also agrees that the informal economy is a livelihood strategy as it enables people to earn living too. Most of these people who are involved in the informal sector are women, who are street vendors, arts and craftsmen, airtime vendors as well as money changers. Rakodi (1994) also reports that most workers in Zimbabwe turned to the informal sector and engaged in various activities due to the effects of the ESAP, as the majority lost their formal jobs and for some unfair work conditions led them to the informal economy. For instance in Gweru, the urban working poor were engaged in commercial agriculture, crocheting and sewing to sell in the local market or sell in neighbouring countries so as to earn a living. Small salons emerged and hair plaiting became common as well as subletting of rooms so as to earn an income.

Furthermore, Kimengsi et al (2016), also notes that the informal sector has been a platform for most people to display their means of survival. In Cameroon, in a small town called Nkongsamba most citizens generate their income from the informal economy as there are no jobs for the educated youths and the economy is in bad shape. Due to urban decline in the city, the citizens resort to various life supporting activities within and outside of the city like street food vending, urban agriculture, sales at kiosks and commercial motor bike riding.

In Afghanistan, Schuette (2005), notes that people are engaged in various informal activities that help them sustain their families and thus ensure food security. These informal activities range from involvement in petty trade of goods, foodstuffs, running wheelbarrows known as a *karachi*, carpet weaving, processing dried fruits, tailoring and many other backyard businesses. Casual labour also helps generate income and it is predicted to bring higher returns than self employment.

2.3 The importance of social networks as livelihood insurance

Cohen (1969) as cited by Beall and Kanji (1999) reveal that rural patterns of engagement have been translated from rural to an urban context. Breman (1985) also asserts that vulnerable groups usually increase their security within the urban systems by entering into dependent relations with social superiors. Cohen (1996) as cited by Beall and Kanji (1999) acknowledges the importance of creating neighbourhood and social groups, paralleling that of rural areas. Gonzalez la Rocha (1994) emphasises the importance of social cooperation as a resource especially to the poor people and without connections poor people are the most impoverished of them all.

Schuette (2005) propounds that social networks play an essential role in managing risk, gaining access to opportunities, buffering shocks and crises in urban spaces. In the Afghan context, social networks serve as an insurance against risk and crisis. They also facilitate access to shelter and job opportunities. However important to note is that usually these social ties and networks which enable them to access livelihoods and food security, do not help them rise above their poverty level but only addresses the problem at household level. Schuette (2005) asserts that the family unit is an important aspect in livelihood studies, whether extended or household family as it acts as a safety net. It often acts as a short term absorber long before external assistance is sought for. These family networks are often sought for in times of need and difficulty and these usually provide with immediate help especially in food security. Schuette (2005) also notes that distant networks usually come in handy through remittances from those living outside the country. In Afghanistan many people maintain good relations with their neighbours as it is a valuable source of support in cases of emergency.

Social ties have proven to be beneficial for most poor urban households and the existing ties between the poor and the wealthier and influential people have been an advantage to the poor. For instance, women in Herrat, Afghanistan work as house cleaners for richer households and apart from earning an income they also approach new credit sources as well as look for jobs for their sons (Schuette, 2005). Social relations also help build organised credit cycle systems and they facilitate access to credit as a financial asset that assumes great importance for sustaining livelihood security.

Mukorombindo and Coetzee (2013) reveal that in South Africa, informal social security organisations and saving clubs known as stokvels, burial societies and religious organisations

are part of the social networks that help people to survive. These stokvels are basically money saving schemes which usually consist of a number of people in a group and each member is required to contribute a fixed amount of money on a monthly basis and the money collected on that period is given to one member of the group and the cycle continues until everyone has a chance of getting the money also. In the study it was revealed that people are mostly comfortable with this structure than accessing credit from a bank. The social ties and networks that exist among these people make it easier for them to help each other and even form a stokvel.

2.4 Gender dynamics and access to livelihoods and survival strategies

It is imperative to note that in accessing livelihoods there are gender dynamics that are involved. Most studies reveal that women and children often have the higher burden of accessing livelihoods compared to men. Akiwumi (2011), illustrates that in Sierra Leone, women are the usually involved in improving household livelihoods as they resort to various coping strategies. Scoones (1998) as alluded in Akiwumi (2011) argues that in sustainable livelihoods research, there are three common based household economies are agricultural intensification, livelihood diversification and migration. This case study on Sierra Leone reveals that women are the most vulnerable and this vulnerability is compounded by insufficient wages in the mine workers' household. These household therefore rely on supplementary income from a variety of livelihoods. Akiwumi (2011) also reveals that in most empirical studies on rural African households, it has been demonstrated that women have very limited access to resources compared to men, and that they usually experience external shocks in a much greater way and thus employ a variety of strategies to cope with the issue of unreliable salaries or source of income, thus they strive towards a positive source of income.

Taru (2013) asserts that livelihoods strategies such as commercial sex or prostitution in Masvingo town in Zimbabwe are often practiced. He argues that women often expose themselves to risk and danger in their plot to look for money. In the same manner Mate (2010) raises a concern on livelihoods conceptualisation and argues that the use of 'coping', survival 'strategies' is an overstatement that often depicts the depth of despair to which people are pushed. The use of the terms often paints an optimistic picture yet individuals are facing dire problems and situations. Mate (2010) brings out the fact that in as much as prostitution can be attributed to human agency in women who are engaged in it and is

considered a source of livelihood, people often ignore issues of morality and legitimacy of some livelihood activities, as this does not add to any form of human dignity and morality.

Wilson (2010) also argues that due to the unstable and unreliable incomes of the diamond mine workers in Kono District in Sierra Leone, mining households had to resort to other ways of sustaining their livelihoods and particularly these were employed by women who turn to agriculture as an alternative source of livelihood. The women are involved in *gari* production, vegetable and fruit cultivation, *mbembe* fishing, growing of cassava in plantations as well as gathering firewood.

Ndiweni (2014) also reveals that women in Bulawayo are mostly involved in the informal sector, through vending and petty trade of foodstuffs, tailoring as well as running small food outlets. He asserts that women tend to take up their culturally defined jobs and are more active in this part of the economy as they are uneducated and use their skills to earn an income. Also men tend to engage in high income paying jobs like welding, making furniture, fabricating and trading.

2.5 Urban agriculture emerging as an important source of livelihood

In Bamenda, Cameroon, urban agriculture is the major source of livelihood. Ojong (2011) reveals that the majority of the residents rely on agriculture as a source of livelihood. Most respondents argue that urban agriculture ensures food security at the household level and thus serves as a source of income through selling of the crops. The middle class residents of Bamenda rely on the shipping container business. Ojong (2011) argues that the phenomenon of rapid urbanisation has led to the shortage of business premises to be used for business purposes thus, the middle class have taken the opportunity and provide with container spaces for business activity and thus rely on that kind of business for a living. Most civil servants and private sector workers are usually the owner of these containers. The middle class have become involved in this line of business as it gives them an opportunity to diversify their source of income as well as accumulate more capital.

Taru (2013) also notes that urban agriculture in Zimbabwe plays a significant role in national development as it contributes to household food security, income generation and employment creation. In Masvingo, Nongovernmental organisations (NGO's) have promoted urban agriculture and this has helped many people's livelihoods. He argues that the poorer households usually depend more on urban agriculture to supplement their food requirement

and those who are rich, practice urban agriculture to for profit making and sell their produce in the market.

2.6 Alternative means for survival and vulnerability

In a research done by Banks (2015) in Dhaka, Bangladesh, most household heads have resorted to different forms of employment to support household improvement as their wages are not enough to cater for the needs of the families. Despite the fact that these household heads are integrated into the labour market, most of them especially those in low-income households have challenges in balancing their incomes and expenditures thus the need to diversify and seek for other means of survival. Household heads often try to improve the terms of their own existing employment through owning rather than renting their rickshaw, expanding the scale or profitability of their small businesses. Owning a house is a profitable asset to most household heads as they get their alternative source of income from rentals by tenants. Gaillard et al (2009), postulates that people usually resort to a range of adjustments on their daily life which is rooted in the strength and diversity of livelihoods. In Borogan, Phillipines, a survey on livelihoods and people's vulnerability in the face of coastal hazards revealed that diversity and dynamics are crucial factors that ensure livelihood sustainability. This is also substantiated by Scoones (2009) who asserts that livelihoods rarely refer to a single activity but they include complex, contextual, diverse and dynamic strategies developed by households to meet their needs. The local fisherman of Borogan, are often compelled to go fishing despite the coastal hazards that occur in that region so as to sustain their families on a daily basis. Their major coping strategies include praying more, loaning money, reducing the number of meals, selling belongings, cancellation of special occasions, evacuating temporary and also engaging children in livelihood activities. In times of crisis, the people in Borogan resort to various strategies to survive. Their social capital which is mainly their kinship ties and social networks help them in providing alternative support in their homes. In a time of bad weather they normally use their human capital which comprises of their skills and knowledge which will enable them to diversify and thus lessen households' dependence on fishing.

2.7 Credit systems and financial capital

Access to credit can also be useful and it ensures urban livelihood security. Schuette (2005) notes that in the face of unreliable work opportunities access to credit is a crucial asset and it ensures livelihood security. In a study by Schuette (2005) in Afghanistan, it is revealed that most households maintain a level of debt, both in smaller and large amounts to enable

sufficient consumption and also for other expenses within the household. All self employment activities involve trade work on a credit basis and being indebted to many creditors is a common phenomenon in Afghanistan. In the study most respondents reported that they were unable to pay the credit and faced problems hence straining the relations. Most forms of credit are closely linked to family ties, social groups and networks in the society, thus the existence of social networks is crucial in accessing credit in order to survive. Without access to a source of financial income individuals often go beyond desperation and thus resort to other probable means of survival.

In South Africa, Mosoesta (2011) concurs that obtaining loans from “*mashonisa*” (loan sharks) was one of the major strategies that people employed and it aided them in accessing financial support and a financial base in times of extreme need. Bond (2013) asserts that people in South Africa heavily depend on microfinance *mashonisas* and notes that the extent of reliance is quite alarming. These *mashonisas* and microfinance institutions have become very popular and usually offer the low paid workers in South Africa what Bond calls “unsecured credit”. *Mashonisas* and other microfinance institutions have become popular amongst low paid workers in South Africa as they offer this group ‘unsecured credit’. In a study by Bond (2013), in the town of Marikana near Rustenburg it is revealed that post signs of ‘cash loans’ are visible and stretch for about two kilometers and most lowly paid workers have faith in these microfinance institutions as their savior in times of need. The effects of these institutions can sometimes be negative as the interest charged can sometimes be too much for the workers to pay off and this has led to the increase of debts for the workers. Bond also reveals that in most instances these workers are not even citizens of South Africa hence they struggle to balance up the existence of two households to feed at the same time. Most of them come from neighboring countries like Zimbabwe thus the working class in South Africa is always drowning in debts.

2.8 Chapter Summary

This chapter highlighted the various livelihood strategies that people employ in the face of economic crises and failure. The chapter also defined what is meant by livelihoods and survival strategies. The chapter also brought out the link between urban and rural areas and how there is an interplay and exchange in terms of livelihood accessibility. The informal economy, urban agriculture, petty trade, access to credit among others are the ways in which people secure their livelihoods. Challenges faced by people in accessing their livelihoods

were also illuminated in the chapter. In addition definition of terms like livelihoods and survival strategies was done in this chapter.

Chapter 3: Theoretical/ Conceptual Frameworks

3.0 Introduction

The utilization of theoretical frameworks is essential in defining an examining a research problem at hand (Johnson et al, 2000). This study utilized the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA) to analyze the livelihoods and survival strategies of the mine workers who are facing a challenge of unpaid employment. The SLA better explains how the workers and their families are vulnerable particularly when they do not receive their monthly salaries which are their major source of livelihood. Their monthly salary in this instance is the financial capital which they solely depend upon for many household costs, school fees, clothing, food and other day to day needs in the household. The SLA was useful in that it helped identify how the workers sustain themselves and survive from a day to day basis despite the fact that they are not receiving their salaries regularly.

3.1 The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach

The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA) has been adopted in this study as a tool to analyze the livelihood of an individual or household. Mishra (2009) asserts that the discourse of livelihoods is traced back to the works of Robert Chambers in the mid 1980's. Chambers developed the idea of Sustainable livelihoods in an attempt to enhance the competence of development. He realised that conventional development was not yielding any results and there was pressure in as much as population was concerned. The DFID advanced the concept of SLA by Chambers and his concepts constitute the basic tenets of the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA). The core principles of SLA are that it helps in the understanding of the complexities of their problems and struggles in sustaining their livelihoods amongst the workers. Therefore adopting the approach helps in unpacking the livelihoods of the unpaid mine workers of HCCL in a time of various economic problems.

3.2 The vulnerability context in SLA

Meikle (2001) describes vulnerability as the insecurity of the well being of individuals or communities in the face of changing environments, which include ecological, social, political and economic, in the form of sudden shock, long term trends, or seasonal cycles. To Scoones (2008), what constitutes of the vulnerability context is that it describes structural processes that can materially disrupt different aspects of the livelihoods. An example is given by Kelly and Adger (2000) who note that climate change can affect the long term characteristics of the resource base with other consequences, also a cyclone will have massive and immediate

impacts which can structural change to the characteristics of a household's livelihood process. DFID (2000) illuminates that vulnerability can also be due to many factors which are related to the policies and institutions, and to lack of assets, rather than that of aspects of seasonality, particular trends and shocks. Thus changes in the political, social, economic, climatic and social environment can have either a positive or negative impact on household or individual's livelihood income

To Moser (1998), the analysis of vulnerability involves not only identification of the possible threats to the household's welfare but requires an assessment of the resilience of households in exploring opportunities. Carney (1998) alludes that the main resilience are assets which act as a buffer against vulnerability, thus vulnerability is closely linked to access to and control over assets. Scoones (2009) ascertains that the concept of vulnerability often situates the worker in a context that has more limitations than opportunities. Various factors often lead to vulnerability and these are lack of social networks, social stigma, experience of traumatizing events and lack of voice and empowerment (Muruvirwa, 2013). Vulnerability in urban areas can emanate from issue of bad governance and their reliance on money for food, water and daily expenditures which puts the urban people at more risks of stresses and shocks (Satterwaite, 2000)

For Bohle (1993), there are three co-ordinates of vulnerability which include inadequacy to cope with shocks and trends, the risk of severe consequences of, and attendant risks of creeping or limited poverty due to crisis, shock and risk and the risk of exposure to shocks and trends. Kelly and Adger (2000) advocate for a different vulnerability which involves the aptitude of individuals and social groups to respond to, cope with and recover or adapt to any external stress which may be placed on their livelihoods and well-being. Thus, in terms of vulnerability an identification of the resilience, the ability to mobilize assets, recover or repel from negative environments as well as exploit new opportunities is important other than focusing on the threat to individuals, households and their assets. According to Muviriwa et al (2013), the more the affluent and asset-rich household a household is, the more options it possess in the face of shocks, which then means it is more resilient to shocks, stresses and risks and the livelihood base is not disrupted.

Meikle (2001) reveals that in urban settings poor men and women are likely to be vulnerable to certain elements which appear common to urban poor residents. An important factor which has increased vulnerability in urban setups is that of structural adjustment policies. These

have increased vulnerability of the urban poor through the loss of secure public sector employment, removal of state subsidies in basic goods and services as well as the aspect of free market policies on prices and employment.

3.2.1 Determinants of livelihoods

Chambers and Conway (1991) assert that many livelihoods are less singular or predetermined as some improve livelihoods with degrees of desperation and what they do is largely determined by social and economic environments in which they normally find themselves in. For Chambers and Conway (1991), the anatomy of household livelihoods is categorised and it starts with capabilities, activities, assets and gains or outputs. These are stores and resources that are tangible and are commanded by a household. They range from cash savings in banks and credit schemes as well as food stocks. Claims and access are the intangible assets of a household and these are demands which can be made for material, moral or other practical support or access. These claims can be made on individuals or agencies on relatives, neighbours and chiefs and any other social group.

De Haan and Zoomers (2006) postulate that livelihood studies often involve multi-tasking and income diversification. Ellis (2000) describes this as a process where households contract on a diverse portfolio of activities and assets in order to survive as well as improve their standard of living. Diversification in livelihood studies is a crucial phenomenon and should not be overlooked. Ellis (2000) notes that diversification is pervasive and enduring in the sense that as a phenomenon it occurs everywhere and does not seem to be transient. To De Haan and Zoomers (2006) diversification does not mean having occasional earning besides a main activity but it means having multiple income sources to sustain a household. Multiple motives often prompt people to diversify their assets, incomes and activities.

3.3 The SLA Diagram

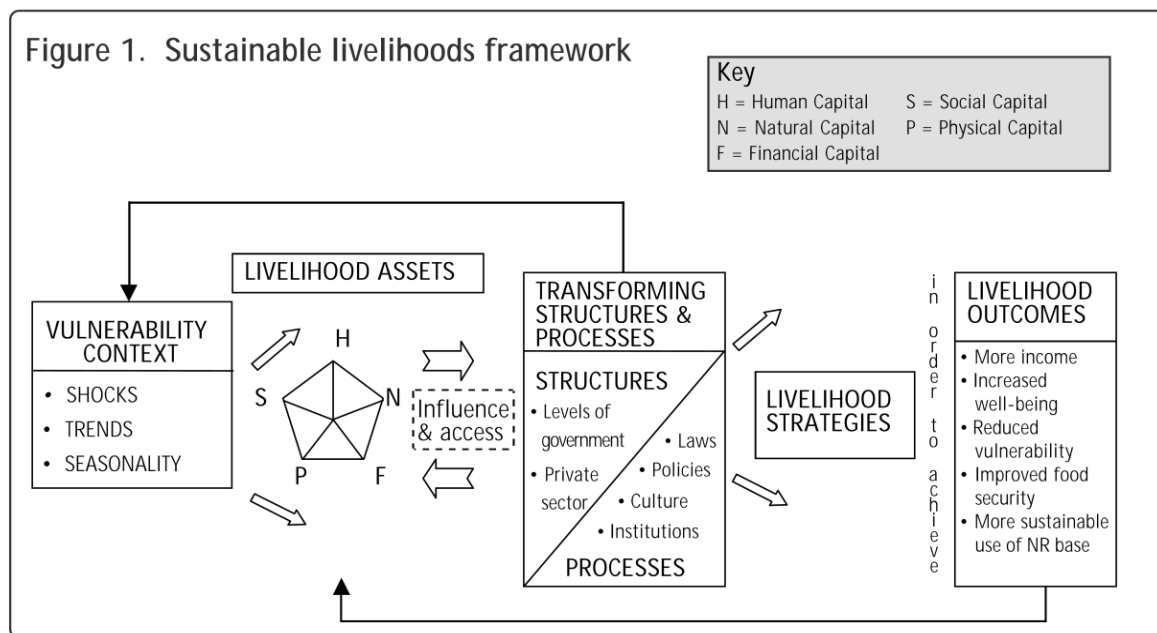


Figure 1 Source: DFID 2001

3.4 The Capitals

3.4.1 The Natural capital

Goldman (2000) asserts that natural capital is the term used for natural resource stocks from which resources flow and services. It is characterised by a wide variation in resources from intangible public goods such as the atmosphere and biodiversity to divisible asserts. DFID (2001) notes that the natural resource base found in nature are not only essential for livelihood creation but to sustain life itself. Natural capital is important to those who derive all or part of their livelihoods from resource- based activities such as farming, mineral extraction, fishing and gathering in forests. The overall argument by Naidoo et al (2009) is that human kind cannot survive without the help of key environmental services and food produced from natural capital. Natural capital is said to have a direct input on the other forms of capital.

3.4 .2 The Physical capital

Ellis and Mdoe (2003), assert that a lack of particular types of infrastructure is considered to be a core dimension of poverty in that without adequate access to services such as water and energy, human health it is difficult to sustain and access livelihoods. According to Jonathan (2000), physical capital comprises the basic infrastructure and producer goods which are required to support livelihoods. The infrastructure consists of changes to the physical

environment that helps people meet their basic needs and become more productive. These may include roads and water supplies.

3.4. 5 The Financial capital

The financial capital entails the financial resources that people use to achieve livelihood objectivities (Lasse, 2001). It includes flows as well as stocks, and it can contribute to consumption as well as production. Krantz (2001) stipulates that financial capital also refers to the availability of cash or equivalent that enables people to adapt different livelihood strategies. It also includes savings and access to credit and the availability and accessibility of affordable credit is important in reducing the likelihood of severe indebtedness of the urban poor. According to DFID (2001) the financial capital is probably the most versatile of the 5 capitals as it can be converted into other types of capitals with varying ease depending on transformation structures and processes. Rakodi (2002) ascertains that one major constraint that the urban poor and vulnerable urban households have is the lack of financial services and this cripples them and thus hinders them from moving out of poverty at household level.

3.4. 6 The Human capital

Roberts and Yang (2003) as cited by Fang Su et al (2012) states that human capital represents the skills, knowledge and the ability to work as well as good health that will enable individuals to pursue the different livelihood strategies. Krantz (2001) views that human capital as one of the most important assets possessed by the poor and it is a direct asset as its attributes are used by the individual to whom they apply. DFID (2001) stresses that human capital can also be bolstered directly, for instance through resource transfers for building schools and hospitals, and indirectly it promotes jobs creation. Serrat (2010) further stipulates that the ownership of labour is very essential in the context of the city economy in which income is derived from. A lack of human capital can affect the ability of an individual or household to access and secure livelihoods more directly in urban markets.

3.4 .7 The Social capital

Cohen and Prusak (2001) as cited by DFID (2001) notes that social capital refers to the trust, mutual understanding and shared values and behaviours that bind the members of human networks and groups that make co-operative action possible. Moser (1998) alludes that social capital entails the social resources in which people will draw from pursuit of livelihood objectives. It also comprises of social networks, groups and political organisations that help in access to livelihood strategies. May et al (2000) as cited by DFID (2001) alludes that

unlike other assets, social capital is envisaged as a mechanism to correct market failures especially those associated with access to information, a way in which checks and balances are placed into government action and a means through which policy can be influenced.

3.5 The understanding and application of the SLA assets

Dercan (2001) as cited by Fang Su et al (2012) notes that the livelihoods approach is concerned with people. The SLA seeks to gain a realistic understanding of people's strengths that is their assets and capital endowments and how they endeavour to convert strengths into positive outcomes. Sen (1992) asserts that the SLA recognises that the circumstances of the poor changes constantly and thus they sustain themselves despite the precarious conditions by employing a variety of assets. Soussan et al (2003) asserts that the pentagon was developed to visually represent data concerning the assets of the people and thereby revealing the various interrelationships between various assets. According Scoones (1998) these capitals or assets are referred to as livelihood resources and suggestively calls them the 'capital base' from which different productive streams are derived and from which livelihoods are constructed. Njagi (2005) asserts that to clearly understand SLA it is essential to describe each asset and also assets are in-fact the central element of the framework. Njagi (2005) also alludes that assets refer to tangible and intangible resources over which people are able to exercise command and with regards to urban contexts can be briefly described. DFID (2001), notes that assets are resources that each household and individual can use usually in combination to create livelihoods to fashion a livelihood strategy.

Musevenzi (2012) propounds that livelihood assets are considered to be building blocks of development, thus in this study the workers build on the assets and develop their capacity to cope with the challenges they encounter and meet their needs on a day to day basis. For Mc Clean (2015) these capitals are those resources that individuals have and use to sustain themselves including the natural, human, physical, social and financial capital. These assets are essential and prevent individuals from falling into poverty traps. For Ellis (2000) the conceptualisation of assets begins with resources available including skills which produce an expected outcome and SLA starts with assets owned, controlled, claimed and accessed by the household. Scoones (2009) and Rakodi and Jones (2002) suggest that it is imperative for livelihood approaches to incorporate assets as they are an antidote to the view of the poor people as passive or deprived In this regard, livelihood assets are important as they determine the successful pursuit of various livelihood strategies employed by the workers.

3.7 Livelihood Outcomes

Livelihood outcomes are defined by Scoones (2009) as achievements of livelihood strategies such as more income (cash), increased well-being (non-material goods, like self-esteem, health status, access to services, sense of inclusion), reduced vulnerability (better resilience through increase in asset status), improved food security (increase in financial capital in order to buy food) and a more sustainable use of natural resources (appropriate property rights). These outcomes help us to understand the output of the configuration of factors within the framework.

3.8 Coping Strategies in SLA

Coping strategies are defined by Kollmair and Juli (20002) as the range and combination of activities and choices that people undertake in order to achieve their livelihood goals. They are understood as a dynamic process in which people combine activities to meet their various needs at different times and o different geographical spaces and levels, and they may even differ within a household. Coping strategies depend on asset status and transforming structures and processes become clear though the position they occupy within the framework. A changing asset status may further or hinder other strategies depending on the policies and institutions at work. Coping strategies are a response to the vulnerability context and other external stimuli they may affect a livelihood strategy.

3.9 The Critique of SLA

According to Ellis (2000), DFID (1999), the framework helps one to understand the options open to a household, the livelihood strategies they adopt, and how vulnerable they are to shocks and adverse trends. This framework will help the researcher to understand the workers livelihoods and survival strategies, what shocks and stresses they have been exposed to, their vulnerability and challenges, and how they have managed to cope till now without getting their wages.

Despite the framework being recognized as useful in organizing ideas into manageable categories, identify entry points, critical processes, and assist with prioritizing catalyst for change that can improve older people's livelihood chances, there are limitations. One of the limitations according to Scoones (1998) is that, to gather all aspects of the framework may be too overwhelming, and that even major research effort may prove insufficient. However, Scoones (1998) is of the view that "optimal ignorance" must be applied in order to only seeking out the information to make relevant informed action to proceed. The Sustainable

Livelihoods Approach has been criticized by scholars such as De Haan (2012) and Scoones (2009) for not taking into consideration the importance of power relations. However, the SLA's strength outweighs its limitations, and in this study the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach sees people as actors who have assets and capabilities which they use to pursue their own livelihood goals, rather than as victims or simply beneficiaries. One of the strengths of the SLA is noted by Hulme and Shepherd (2003), who assert that SLA recognises human agency and examines the way in which household's strategies are built. An individual makes a choice on the type of capital or asset they should use to achieve better livelihood outcomes.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has presented the theoretical or conceptual framework that has informed this study. The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach has been broadly explained, the vulnerability context, its assets and diagram of capitals, the applicability as well as the critiques of the approach.

Chapter 4: Research Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the research methodology and pays specific attention to the research method, research design, sampling procedures, data-collection method, ethical considerations and data analysis. An exploratory and qualitative research approach was used to be able to analyze the livelihoods of the workers. Neuman (1997) argues that research methodology is what makes social science scientific. On the other hand, Feldman (1980) defines a method as a way of going about a problem, a way of asking questions, conducting a discussion, observing a phenomenon and is an instrument for testing hypothesis.

4.2 Research Design

A research design is a plan or a blue print that guides and informs how the study will be conducted (Babbie and Mouton, 2008). This implies the procedures by which one approach problems and arrives at answers. It also provides control over those factors that could influence the outcome of the study. In this study, the researcher used qualitative, explorative and contextual design to explore the livelihood strategies employed by the unpaid workers of HCCL.

This study embraced a qualitative method of inquiry. The rationale for using a qualitative approach in this study is the nature of the phenomenon under investigation which is the livelihoods and survival strategies of the workers. The intention of this study was to gain rich data which facilitated a deep understanding of specific livelihoods of the workers. Denzin and Lincoln (1994) define qualitative research as a multi-method that involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This implies that qualitative researchers study phenomena in their natural settings, attempting to interpret them in terms of the meanings people make out of them. Qualitative research also involves the use of a variety of materials, case studies, personal experience, introspective, life story interviews, observational, historical, interactional and visual texts that describe experiences and meaning in individuals' lives. The researcher gains access to and becomes part of the research participant's sub-world through qualitative research.

The rationale for using qualitative research in this study is that this helped the researcher to understand people's actions in relation to the livelihood strategies they employ in addressing their day- to -day challenges. This approach was suitable because it provided an opportunity for the workers who are in this predicament of unpaid work to voice out their concerns and struggles in accessing basic needs for their families. It also gave the researcher a chance to go into greater depth and centre on the metaphors, subjective meanings, definitions, symbols and descriptions presented by the respondents.

4.3 Study Site

Shumbayawonda (2000) asserts that HCCL is the largest producer of coal in Zimbabwe and it also has other related products. The indigenization policy by the government has led to the company losing most of its concession areas and has found itself surrounded by numerous small mining companies like Makomo Resources, Coal Brick and Wand K Minerals, which have become a threat to the giant company like HCCL which used to enjoy a business monopoly. Consequently, the company has lost most of its traditional customers both locally and internationally

The study was conducted in Hwange town centre and also in the high and low density locations. The study area chosen has mine workers houses which are located near the mine in the town. The majority of the residents in Hwange are under HCCL, as it owns houses in the high density suburbs of Madumabisa, Lwedulu, Makwika and Sindrella. The low density suburbs are in close proximity to the town centre. The focus of the study was on the mine workers and their families and these were from both the high and low density suburbs.

4.4 Study Participants

According to Day (2008), the study population should be defined in advance stating unambiguous inclusion criteria and the impact that these criteria will have on study design, ability to generalize, and participant recruitment must be considered. Population refers to all the organisms of the same group that are located in the same area. Population study can be defined as a study of a group of individuals taken from the general population who share a common characteristic such as in the same type of business or operate in the same area of research. Thus, in this study, the target population of the research was the mine workers of HCCL, and these were taken from the high and low suburbs of Hwange town. Those who live in the high density suburbs are usually the low income workers and those located in the low density suburbs of the town are the middle to high income workers like the managers and

supervisors. This culminated the differences between these two classes of people according to their income grade. The interviews brought out the diverse challenges and experiences as well as survival strategies in a situation of unpaid work.

The study had a maximum of 8 participants, 3 from the high density suburbs and 3 from the low density suburbs and 2 key informants. A sample of 8 participants was enough to provide adequate and sufficient data for the study. The respondents were identified through willingness and their availability to participate. The reason behind choosing 3 from the two different zones of the town was done so as to ensure that no biases were created in terms of income grade or place of residence. The researcher chose to work with 8 participants as the population size of Hwange was too large to work with, regarding the time frame and as well as the costs of doing the research on large populations. Also, life history interviews are time consuming and rich in depth, and ensure that all questions are exhausted and dealt with. The study had two key informants namely the Human Resource Manager and the Housing Officer who had more knowledge of the area, as well as on HCCL and its operations on a day to day basis.

Williamson et al (1997), notes that purposive sampling is a form of judgmental sampling which involves the researcher choosing and selecting certain groups because of their relevance concerning an issue under study. Therefore, in purposive sampling, a researcher samples with a purpose in mind. De Vos et.al (2002) argues that through purposive sampling, the researcher is likely to verify that the respondent does in fact meet the criteria for being in the sample.

Purposive sampling was used in the study to determine the 6 participants for the study. Gibson and Brown (2009) highlights that in purposive sampling, selection of participants is criterion based. The selection of participants was based on their location in terms of residence, that is whether they are from the high or low density suburbs, their gender, the rank, grade or position that they hold in the company , and as well as heads of households. This criterion enabled the researcher to ensure that both the high and lowly paid worker is represented in the study, and to also find out about their circumstances in relation to livelihoods.

4.5 Data Collection Method

4.5.1 Key Informant Interviews

Key informant interviews were conducted with the human resource manager and the housing officer. The researcher made use of an interview guide with open ended questions. The human resource manager gave more detail on the operations of HCCL as well as on the livelihood strategies employed by the workers. The housing officer was found at Lwendulu Village and she gave more detail on the community at large. The key informant interviews were conducted using the face to face interview technique. This ensured that the researcher has the first hand information about the company, and the community at large.

4.5.2 Life History Interviews

Blanche et al (2006), point out that interviewing is probably the most commonly used form of data gathering in qualitative research. Six life history interviews were used to elicit an in-depth understanding of livelihood strategies of the mine workers. Life history interviews helped in soliciting the right information considering the nature of the objectives which require the participants to relate their day to day lifestyles and how they survive. The interviews were carried out using an interview guide which had a set of open-ended questions. The researcher guided the discussion though allowing the respondents to tell and share their experiences, challenges and strategies they use to counter these problems, as well as their livelihoods

4.5.3 Non participant observation

Non-participant observation is a relatively unobtrusive qualitative research strategy for gathering primary data about aspects of the social world without interacting with its participants. The use of non-participant observation was utilized in this study because the researcher was interested less in the subjectively experienced dimensions of social action and more in reified patterns that emerge from such action.

The researcher observed the same people that were being interviewed and their surrounding and activities they were engaged in. These observations were done during the interview sessions and notes were taken down. Non-participant observation was carried out to argument the data that was collected through the life history interviews. This helped in bridging the gap between what the interviewees were saying and how they behaved, that is taking note of their non-verbal cues as well as the natural setting. The researcher also observed their livelihood activities such as vending, petty trade and their living arrangements.

4.6 Data Analysis Techniques

Qualitative research involves the search for general statements concerning relationships and underlying themes. Qualitative research also involves the use of generalized themes to look at the relationships between components of data. The study utilized thematic analysis and according to Gibson and Brown (2009), thematic analysis refers to analyzing data according to commonalities, relationships and differences across a data set. This study derived its themes from the study objectives. One of the key features of thematic analysis is the consideration of commonalities in data (Gibson and Brown, 2009). Through coding and labelling, the data was organized in order to detect data that fell under various themes identified from study objectives

4.7 Ethical Considerations

Ethics are an integral part of any research study. To begin with, in-order to gain entry and establish rapport, as well as authorisation to carry out the study, the researcher sought for approval and assistance from the town councillor and the human resource manager to interview the workers and their families. The researcher ensured that the respondents were not exposed to harm as he ensured that the participants were well informed on the nature and the sole purpose of the study. By doing this the researcher aimed to avoid creating false hope for the research participants which could lead to emotional harm.

The researcher also ensured that the respondents participated at their own free will and withdrawal from the study was allowed if any respondent felt they should drop out. The interviews were carried out during the weekend when the workers were easily accessible and available. The life history interviews were carried out at the worker's place of residence and this gave the researcher an opportunity to observe and record details as the interviews progressed. Since the nature of the research involved an intrusion into the lives of the workers and the researcher ensured privacy and confidentiality was kept through the use of pseudonyms, thus protecting the respondents from harm.

4.8 Limitations of the Study

When conducting the research, the researcher had trouble in accessing some of the participants targeted as they were on holiday and some were uninterested in participating. Secondly, most of the respondents could not speak in English hence the researcher had to interpret the questions into their local language. Translating the tool on the ground proved to

be difficult, because of the different languages spoken in the town. Also some interviews would be cut short as because of the rainy season.

4.9 Chapter Summary

This chapter has highlighted the methodology that has been used for the study. It gives detail on the research design, the study area, target population, sample size, recruitment of study participants, data collection methods, data analysis techniques, ethical consideration as well as the limitations of the study.

Chapter 5: Presentation of Findings

5.0 Introduction

This section presents the findings of the research in cases. The data for the six cases was gathered using non-participant observation and life history interviews. To ensure confidentiality and anonymity, pseudonyms were used to identify the participants.

Case Study 1: Mr X (Key Informant)

Mr X is a Human Resource Manager at the HCCL. He was born in 1972 in Mashala area, a few kilometres from Hwange town. He attended his primary school education at Lwendulu Primary School and proceeded to do his secondary education at Regina Mundi in Gwayi. He then joined the HCCL apprenticeship program as an artisan in 1990. In 2007 he attended Zimbabwe Open University (ZOU) to do his degree in industrial psychology. He started working for the company about 4 years ago as a senior manager in the human resource department but had been in the company for about 15 years. He is a family man, with 5 children and has one wife. He mentioned that he deals with welfare issues, disciplinary, public relations and industrial matters of the company.

Mr X says that HCCL has not been paying its workers for about 4 years, from 2013 to date. He says there are inconsistencies in payment, but the company provides rations maybe thrice a year offering a sum of \$200 once in a while. Mr X says that the major problem faced by workers is lack of money, lack of accommodation, and without money it is difficult for the workers and their families to sustain themselves.

The major challenge he mentioned was that of money, as he notes that without money “*akula okuhambayo*”, which is to say that things are at a standstill because of lack of money. People need money to pay school fees for their children, buy food, for transport expenses and even for any other day to day uses in the household. Another challenge faced by workers is that they are in debts and they are even unable to open bank accounts or purchase anything using accounts because their purses are empty.

On survival strategies and livelihoods Mr X mentioned that workers are stealing company equipment like tools, machinery, diesel and resources and selling it in the black market in order to survive. He mentioned that they have caught many of the workers and disciplined them and some were even fired. Secondly, people survive through second hand jobs private

contract work in other nearby companies. The workers normally do the second hand jobs during their 2 weeks in- 2 weeks out leave. With private jobs only those with skills related occupations can do them like mechanics, plumbers, artisans and electrical and computer engineers.

Another source of livelihoods for most of the workers is said to be vending and cross border trading. Most of the families survive on selling vegetables they grow in their backyard gardens. Some practice subsistence farming in their nearby farms and then sell the produce in town to earn a living. Some go to Kasane, Zambia and Musina to buy clothes, and other accessories to sell so as to raise money for their families. But still they face challenges as most residents do not have money to buy thus the goods are not sold most of the times. Mr X also says that some women are involved in commercial sex work, as there is a place called the Truck Stop, where haulage trucks come in and park for weeks or days waiting for coal exports. The Truck-stop is the breeding place for commercial sex work. Some young women go there and thus get an income from commercial sex work. Mr X said that:

“The sad thing is that they only get about \$2 a night from sleeping with these truck drivers”.

This crisis is said to cause problems for most families as they are now disjointed, with some married women and men having to migrate to neighbouring countries to seek for opportunities, leaving their spouses behind. Also, some workers of HCCL especially those that reside near the mine at Opencast, engage in illegal mining of coal. He called that “*ukukorokoza*”, as the workers dig up the coal illegally then sell it to non- company workers or civilians. In this regard Mr X noted that:

“This has been going on for a while and there is nothing we can do as we know we are also responsible for everything that is happening”.

Ukukorokoza has become a livelihood survival strategy for most of the workers ever since 2013. In addition people are burning trees for charcoal and then sell it to earn an income. In order to get relish, some men are seen fishing in sewages and ponds and this is a health hazard. But for survival most people do anything to put food on their tables.

On challenges that the workers and their families face, Mr X noted that it has become difficult for HCCL workers to open bank accounts, shop accounts as their do not have the money to do so. Actually most of the workers have heavy debts with companies such as

Edgars, Topics and other furniture shops. Some banks like Trust bank and Royal bank have even closed down, and people still owe the banks large sums of money, as they took loans thinking that the company will pay them.

When asked what HCCL was doing to try and solve the problems of its workers, Mr X stated that they have been giving the workers an amount of 200 USD dollars maybe once in three months. The company also gave them food baskets that included 20kg mealie meal, 2kg of flour, 2 litres of cooking oil, 1 bar of washing soap, 500g of beans and tea leaves. He also mentioned that in December 2016, the workers were given 50kg of maize which was donated by the government. This maize was received by all the workers of HCCL even those who are on pension. He also added that there are some grades in the company that were given half of their monthly salary, that is Grade 1LA, 1MD and 1HA to Executive 2.

Mr X also mentioned that welfare benefits that the HCCL offers makes the workers want to stay as they have nowhere else to go. For instance the majority of the workers do not have their own personal houses, as the company provides accommodation for its workers. Hospital bills and needs are also catered for when they fall ill or a close relative gets ill. In addition to that the company even lets them stay freely, as they do not pay any rentals, water or electricity. Some stay in the company for personal benefits, for instance some go to school on the company's expense and upgrade themselves, at times it also pays for their children's school fees. The company also offers cash advances in times of crisis like funerals, health and travel emergencies.

Lastly Mr X said that HCCL has hope in the future to do right by its workers as they are expecting assistance from the government as there is a scheme of arrangement between HCCL and the government. Money from offshore markets is also expected to bring equipment into the company thus generate more income. Mr X says that the problem is that there is corruption and thus it cripples the company's progress and the workers are affected in the process. The only thing that can make things better is to give the workers their money so that they are able to sustain themselves and their families.

Case 2: Mrs D (Key Informant 2)

Mrs D works for HCCL as a housing officer at Lwendulu Village. She was born in 1980, in Gwayi River mine, in a family 5. Their family moved to Hwange soon after independence as his father was now working for HCCL as a chef in Cokeworks. She attended her primary

education in Lwendulu Primary School and then proceeded to Binga High School where she completed her “O” levels. She went on to Foundation College in Bulawayo where she did a course in secretarial studies. She then got her job as a clerk in HCCL in 2000 and was later promoted to housing officer in 2011. She is married and has two children, one aged 11 and the other is 5.

Mrs D has been working for HCCL for over 16 years to date and claims that things have changed enormously. When she began working for HCCL things were stable and they would receive their payments on time and even bonuses. Things in HCCL have deteriorated and even the conditions of work are now tougher. Many times they are short staffed and the work is too much to handle. In terms of living arrangements and housing services, Mrs D mentioned that HCCL has done little to improve the conditions of living for its workers. Complaints are usually brought to her attention, of leaking taps, sewage bursts, leaking roofs as well as broken doors and furniture. There are also problems of refuse and litter collection, the service delivery is now poor and this is a health hazard to the workers. To make matters worse, HCCL has run short of accommodation for its workers as it still has the retired workers living in HCCL houses. These retired people cannot move out because the company still has not given them their send off packages and pension fund. The retired pensioners cannot move out of the houses to give way to the workers as they also have nowhere to go.

To earn a living, most workers in HCCL are renting out their houses and even turning garages into a house. Those who live in three roomed houses, that is the high to middle density house owners, often rent out a room in their houses. They charge about \$50 per room and gain income from that. This is illegal but people do it anyhow as they have no other means of earning an income for their families. Those who live in bigger houses which are situated in the low density suburbs benefit the most. They usually rent out half of the house but share toilet and bathroom. They usually rent out their houses to non HCCL workers like those who work for Motor Engil, Makomo and South Mining workers. These generate more income because of the location as well as the spacious rooms that the houses have. The rentals range from \$50 to \$60 per room and another advantage is that water and electricity is free for HCCL workers hence they do not suffer loss but gain from the rentals. Out of desperation some turn their outside garages into rooms so as to cater for their hired help, be it the garden boy or the house maid, because at times their cottages are used for tenants to earn an income. Mrs D mentioned that before the economic crisis most bosses in the company had access to 2 houses. They would request another house for their workers in the high density

suburbs like Lwendulu, Makwika, Lusumbami and Madumabisa whilst they stayed in the low density suburbs. Due to the increasing population and economic problems, houses became scarce and it became difficult to cater accommodation for their domestic workers.

Mrs D also mentioned that the major problem that people face is that of money hence people have resorted to credit and loan systems in order to start a business. Before 2011, majority of the workers in HCCL took loans in banks like Royal bank and Trust bank but unfortunately they could not pay back the loans as the company failed to pay their salaries. This resulted in liquidation of most banks in the town. Royal bank and Trust bank had to move out of Hwange town and many workers were affected, some lost their investments in the process. This situation is likened to that of the year 2008 under the economic recession. Most credit systems and companies that exist are now individually owned and have since desisted from loaning any HCCL worker or beneficiary. This has disadvantaged HCCL workers as they are now sidelined in terms of credit accessibility. People are now resorting to usury and private credit groups which loan them money and add an interest rate of 25%. Out of desperation, most workers even use their non HCCL relatives or spouses to be their guarantee. Failure to pay the loans and debts has often resulted in sour relations and people continuously have to live in fear of victimisation and they dodge their creditors. Mrs B says:

“inengi labantu liyagalula ezikweledini njalo akulanto esinagayenza yiyo impilo yakhona eWankie” (Most of the people are drowning in debts and there is nothing they can do about it, that is the lifestyle in Hwange)

The situation in Hwange has even affected those in the surroundings who are beneficiaries of HCCL workers.. The presence of the Truck-stop has brought alot of problems in the community. The Hwange Truck-stop is a hub of all illegal business dealings and wheeling. The truck drivers sell diesel and petrol at black market price and all illegal deals occur there. Coal is also sold at a cheap price and other equipment. These truck driver export and import coal to neighbouring countries like Zambia, Botswana, South Africa and Mozambique. On their travels they bring in various goods which they sell at a cheap price in the black market. Commercial sex work is now common and rife in Hwange town and has increasingly gained momentum in this site. Teenagers, single mothers and even married women are engaged in this line of business. Out of desperation most women turn to the Truck-stop to earn an income overnight. They usually do not earn much, and they are exploited for a meagre salary, as little as \$2. Family disintegration and divorces have resulted from this site. Promiscuity

and small houses have become common place in Hwange and people do not seem to care. Some women have abandoned their husbands and children at home and cross borders with these truck drivers to look for jobs. These survival strategies have negatively impacted on the family unit in Hwange.

Mrs D also mentioned that in Hwange, everyone has become a business person. Everyone is always busy looking for an alternative means for survival. People are selling whatever they can to earn a living. Some are involved in the chicken rearing business but the problem is that people do not pay in time and some do not pay at all. There is competition in this line of business as everyone is doing it. Some sell second hand clothes but the business is low as people have a tendency of getting clothes on credit and then fail to pay the money.

For food security some have resorted to urban agriculture and they grow vegetables, small grains and other climate resilient crops. People in the high density suburbs have allocated themselves land to grow crops, especially near the sewages and outside the community. Some have cleared land in bushes, for instance most fields are located away from their homes as their yards are smaller. Many families grow vegetables and small grains in-order to get food on a day to day basis.

Case Study 3: Mr S

Mr S was born in 1977 in Hwange and in 1984 he attended his primary education in Nechibondo Primary School, and then proceeded to Marist Brothers Secondary School in Dete in 1991. In 1995 he proceeded to Gifford Boys High School in Bulawayo for his “A” level education. Mr S is an auto mechanic and electrician in the HCCL. He attended Bulawayo Polytechnic to pursue his career path in engineering in 1999 and then joined HCCL in 2007. He has been working in the HCCL for 10 years now. He lives in a low density suburb in Hwange with his wife, a son and brother in law.

On survival strategies, Mr S mentioned that it has been difficult and hard for the past years and they have survived by God’s grace. He says:

“iminyaka leyi edlulileyo ibinzima sibili, siswela lokuthi senze njani, siphile ngomusa kaNkulunkulu”.(These past years have been really difficult , we do not know what to do, we survived by the grace of God)

He is a fitter, fabricator and designer, thus he uses his self sustaining skills to bring food on the table for his family. He says ever since HCCL has not been paying them, he tries by all means to make more money outside his workplace. He also fixes cars though people do not pay in time and some pay as little as \$5 which is not adequate for the family. He also mentioned that at times he uses the company's resources to fix people's cars as he has no other option. As he says "*idla lapho ebotshelwe khona*" which means that he benefits from his workplace.

The family also largely depends on Mr S's wife, who is a teacher at Nechishala Secondary School some kilometres out of Hwange town. She has been the pillar of the family ever since the crisis started. Also the family depends on family and close friends, who are non HCCL workers who sometimes give them food and other necessities. Mr S also mentioned that because his brother in law stays with them, his in-laws always rescue them in difficult situations and have stood with them all along. At times they are shy to ask from their families as they feel like they are burdening them. Relations between them and family members have been reported to be sour. There are many problems that come with non-payment of salaries. He notes that his son needs school fees and new uniforms to start this year and has since appealed to the HCCL payments office but has not received any help. His main worry is that his wife's salary is not adequate for everything.

Mr S's wife felt that this crisis was even threatening her own marriage, as they are frustrations in the home because of money. She mentioned that they have debts everywhere and do not have a solution. She said the following:

"When the crisis started, I and my husband had just gotten married and so we had taken sofas, a fridge and a flat screen television from TV Sales and Hire on credit, hoping that we would pay it bit by bit but this became a burden to us as the HCCL failed to pay us".

The situation has worsened for the family, now that their son has grown up and has to go to school. Mrs S goes to work on a daily basis thus she has a hired help who takes care of their son and works in the household. The hired help also needs to be paid monthly and thus it puts a strain on the couple. She notes that the bigger challenge is that the workers need money, the house itself needs refurbishing from time to time and her in-laws also expect her to support them too.

Another survival strategy that was mentioned is that of selling snacks and sweets at her workplace so as to get money for transport. She said the following:

“I give my little brother a carton of chips to sell to the other students so that we get money to go back home daily”

Failure to do that at times she misses work if she does not have transport money to commute to and from school. The truth of the matter is that their lifestyle has changed and it seems hard for them to cope. HCCL gives them food baskets here and there and it is not enough. Mr S also mentioned that the challenge is that HCCL is on the verge of being run by a council and this means that everything will become commercialised hence making things worse for them as they will now have to pay rent, water and electricity bill.

The reason behind Mr S staying in the company as despite the fact that he does not get paid is that, he has nowhere to go, no house and thus he thinks staying is better for now till the company pays them off. He mentioned that HCCL downsized and retrenched other workers hence they are short staffed and so he rarely has the chance to rest or look for other alternatives. He also stated that the HCCL offers medical and health support for him and his family, though the services are poor now. He says:

“The housing and health benefits offered by the company helped the family to pull through though the bigger issue is that *sifuna imali* (we want money)”

The health facilities and services are said to be now poor as there are hardly any doctors to attend to patients and qualified health personnel, as well as medication which is in short supply, in most instances they have to travel to Victoria Falls to get better help. Mr S shows disappointment in the health care system delivery of HCCL, as he also mentioned that at one time his own father took ill and HCCL hospital did not have medication for his diabetic father. He had to ask for assistance from his sisters and wife who then transferred him to Victoria Falls.

Another coping mechanism that the family has adopted is seeking spiritual help. Mrs S mentioned that she had to go to Prophet Willie who prays for people and has divine powers. She says praying and going to church has helped them manage and survive as a family. Also at times she joins money circulating schemes which involve her giving a percentage of her money to a friend who in turn gives her the next month which she calls “*ukutshaya iround*”, but this has also resulted in sour relations as one of her friends duped her and disappeared,

leaving her stranded after investing a lot of money in the scheme. Hope for the future is bleak to the family but they believe that they have a lifetime engagement with HCCL, as they will wait until things change. She says: “we want our money, not need it per se”.

Mr S and family argue that adaptation to the situation is difficult and has affected them negatively. He is not motivated by anything and says sometimes he even drinks beer to try and forget his worries as they outweigh him at times. Also he thinks that the major problem is that those in top management posts live a completely different life from them as they receive salaries and are always seen shopping in OK and TM supermarkets. He mentioned that:

“Sihlala sibabona bethenga ukudla, begcwalisa ama trolley thina sisifa ngendlala, impilo zabo zona ziyahubekela phambili kodwa ezethu zimile” (we always see them buying food, filling up their trolley whilst we suffer and their lives are moving smoothly yet ours are at a standstill)

Mr S and wife were very emotional and they even showed me around their house, where a part of the ceiling has fallen and a door has broken down, leaking water taps and pipes thus claiming that the company has abandoned them.

Case Study 4: Mr N

Mr N was born in 1970 and is 47 years old. He is married and has two children, a 10 year old girl and a 15 year old boy. His wife is a civil servant, who works at the District Administration office as a clerk. He was born and bred in Hwange and he has been working in HCCL from 1999 as a fitter and turner. He started off at the Hwange Opencast mine as a turner and now he got promoted and works in the HCCL department of works as a fitter and has been there for over 9 years.

To sustain his family's needs Mr N does small jobs here and there, he is an indigenous business man who does tenders for any company that needs his services as a fitter and turner. He fits joba tanks, installs boreholes in rural areas like Kasibo, Mashala and Zambezi and has also has installed irrigations for the Roman Catholic. He is often contracted by many companies and thus it helps him and his family to pull through. Also as a livelihood strategy, Mr N rents out his cottage and part of his house to another family. He says:

“Indluyami inkulu kakhulu, ukuze ngithole okuyimalana ngafaka eyinye imuli kwamanye amakamelo. Legaraji ngalivala ngalenza indlu, ukwenzela ukuthi

izisebenzi zami zihlale khona.” (My house is very big, so I put another family in other bedrooms and also turned my garage into a house so that my workers stay there)

Renting out houses and turning garages into homes has become the norm in most HCCL owned houses, as the workers are making the tenants pay an amount of \$50 a room, thus generate an income from it. Another livelihood strategy for Mr N is subsistence farming. He owns a farm where he grows small grains like millet and sorghum which he sells to the market if things get unbearable. He sells the sorghum and millet at \$8 a bucket, which estimated at \$24 a sack. At times he does not sell but does barter trade with those who wants the small grains and gets white maize for mealie meal. He also owns cows which are his reserve especially when he wants to do something bigger like paying fees and also capital for his business equipment. His older son who is a boarder at Marist Brothers Secondary needs about \$700 every term for school fees and groceries.

The wife of Mr N also helps them get by as she gets her salary every month and works for the government. However Mr N expressed that it is not enough for the whole family, as she has other commitments too. HCCL has only given them maize in December 2016, which he says was donated under the Government Mitigation Program. He says:

“basinika umumbu ngo December besithi mhlawumbe singathola okokudla, kodwa kunzima ngoba umumbu kawubhadali izikweredi zethu, sifuna imali, impilo isinzima kodwa kungcono kulokuswela okokudla labantwana”. (They gave us maize in December, thinking it would help us, but things are hard as maize cannot pay our debts which we have, we need money but nonetheless it is better than nothing, our children will not starve)

Mr N also sells mangoes during the season were there are ripe as he has numerous trees in his yard. He often sells them in boxes and sends them to buyers even outside Hwange and in that way he gets more money. There are various challenges and problems that Mr N is facing because of lack of payment of salaries. He has workers in his farm and also has workers in his home, a maid and garden boy who all need payment. He showed disappointment at the situation and said they even had to lay off the garden boy for a while and then he resumed but only comes thrice a week, as they cannot afford to pay him a full salary. Mr N believes that the company can still improve and pay up the workers. He says:

“I was born and bred in Hwange, and we are trying our best to survive and we believe that there will be a turnaround. The future of our children lies here”

He mentioned that the company has provided them with other benefits like houses, electricity and water, and as well as medical facilities for them. He also believes that there is a scheme of arrangement by the government in place to pay the workers. In addition the company has secured more concessions to last up to 100 years. This has given hope to some workers that things will get better. The major challenge according to him is corruption. He says:

“Outsiders have penetrated into the company and often steal resources and there is too much wheeling and dealing going on, especially those in the managerial posts. Corruption has climaxed and we are at the receiving end”.

Mr N believes things will get better but in the meantime wants his salary as he mentioned that the company owed them a lot and was in arrears of 42 months, and the figure is accumulative. To him the food baskets and irregular payments are better though he feels they must improve as their livelihoods are at stake.

Case Study 5: Mrs P

Mrs P was born in Shurugwi in 1966. She moved to Hwange in 1992 when her husband got a job in the HCCL. She started working as a general hand cleaner at the HCCL hospital in 2007. She lives in a high density suburb called Lwendulu in B section with her husband and three children. The husband also works at HCCL Opencast as a fitter and turner at the Opencast belt in Madumabisa. Their children were born in Hwange and their first born completed her “A” level in 2016, the second born completed her “O” level in 2016 and their last born son is a form one student at Hwange High School.

For this family, Mrs P was very confident that they survived through God’s grace and she believes that things would have been worse if they were not prayerful enough. She says:

“Thina siphile ngomusa kaNkulunkulu, ukuba likholwa kuyabhadala, impilo inzima kodwa kuphileka ngcono uma uthandaza”. (We have survived by God’s grace, being a believer pays off, life is hard but it becomes worthwhile if you take everything to God in prayer).

The family goes to Victory Fellowship Church and they have been having prayer sessions and prayer groups with other church members on thrice a week every evening. Sometimes they go for fasting which lasts for 21 days, in order to get a breakthrough. Her major concern was for her children as they are all at school and need money for various things. The two girls who sat for examinations need money to pay school fees which has been in arrears for years now. The HCCL which is supposedly to have been paying for their school fees has done nothing in these 42 months. For her it was quite disturbing and troubling where she would source the money.

During her off days from work, she mentioned that she goes to Kasibo and Madumabisa farms which are closer to Hwange, where she looks for piece jobs so as to earn a living. She sometimes goes with her husband as they both try to source out money by farming and tilling their farms. When it is harvest time they also help in harvesting the produce and they get as little as \$5 per day, depending on the amount they agree to with their contractors. As she spoke, her husband had gone for a piece job in one of the farms to raise money for food and school fees, as their children were not going to school.

Mrs P also uses her general hand skills to clean houses during weekends. She goes for part time jobs in Baobab and Chibondo, where most Zesa employees stay and looks for piece jobs. She normally washes and irons their clothes and does spring cleaning for them. She normally charges \$10 per day but she gets disappointed at times as she often gets \$5 because some people cannot afford her price. At times she gets food like flour, tea leaves, a bar of soap, sugar and even relish for the job she does. For her it is better than nothing at all. She said the following:

“Kwezinye izikhathi kangiphiwa imali, siyavumelana lalowo ongiqhatshileyo, abesenginika engikudingayo, njenge sepa, isitshebo lokunye okudliwayo. Imali ngingayiphiwa kubangcono sibili ngoba yiyo engekho” (Sometimes I am not given payment in form of money but we agree with my employer, who in turn gives me what I need most like soap, relish and other foodstuffs. When I get money things become better because I barely have it).

Mrs P wishes they could resign and go back to their rural home in Shurugwi as she says they have a house there. All her relatives and husband's relatives stay in Shurugwi and she thinks it would make things easier and better for them to stay closer to family. She mentioned that relations with neighbours have turned to be sour, as she at first would borrow money, food

and the like, till she reached a point where they are no longer in good books as she owes them a lot. They have grown tired of waiting for HCCL to own up and pay them.

When things get tough for them, her 14 year old son goes fishing in nearby ponds with his friend in-order for them to get relish. These ponds are not safe and clean but they do not have an option. Most of these ponds are situated near HCCL dumpsites which makes them unsafe.

Her son also goes for bird trapping and often comes home with small birds called “*tundonga*”. *Tundoga* has become a norm relish to most people in her suburb and when they catch many of them, they dress the birds, add a lot of salt and deep fry them and sell them at the market for only a \$1 per packet. Her daughters also help in sourcing income for the family, during the season for mangoes they go to the bus terminus and sell mangoes, at \$1 a plate. As a family they all go to the fields and help each other to grow maize.

Behind their house is a big fruit tree called “*mnyi*”, which also has helped the family generate income. During the season of *mnyi*, the family picks up the fruit and dries it, then packs it into small packs which they sell at the bus rank at \$1 each. The family has survived by this throughout the years and they have devised mechanisms to cope with the situation. Mrs P showed disappointment and remorse when she mentioned that one time when things were difficult for them, they sent their first born daughter to go and help her aunty to take care of her children, but things did not turn out well, as she became a victim of physical and sexual abuse. While the aunt was away, her daughter was raped by her uncle. She mentioned that she does not forgive herself for what happened to her daughter, which is why they stick together as a family. She says:

“Zvirinani kugara nemhuri yangu panzvimbo imwe chete, kana iri nzara, tinofa tichiedza semhuri panekutambudza vana vangu. Hama inokurasisa kana zvinhu zvaoma” (It is better to stay with my family in one place, if it means dying of hunger we better die trying as a united family than making my children suffer. Relatives disappoint especially when things are hard).

Mrs P sees no hope for them in Hwange and tries her best for her children and family. They face various challenges from day to day sticking together as a family has made her stronger and to keep the fighting spirit in her.

Case Study 6: Miss T

Miss T was born in 1989 and grew up in Hwange. In 1995 she did her primary education at Thomas Coulter primary school, afterwards she went for her secondary education at Usher High School. After completing her “O” level in 2006, she went for school of nursing at the HCCL hospital for 3 years and there after got employed by HCCL hospital as a general nurse. She is a single mother, and has a son who is 3 years old. She has been working for HCCL from 2010, and now she has been promoted to nurse in charge.

She lives in a middle density suburb at N section in Lwendulu with her son and younger brother whom she takes care of. They are orphans and their parents passed away in a bus accident, after she had completed her “O” level. She wanted to proceed to “A” level but because the situation was difficult, she then went for nurse training so as to fend for her little brother who is at secondary school now. She gave birth to her son in 2013 and mentions that sadly the father of her son never wanted to take responsibility of their son, so she has two people that she has to take care of, feed, clothe and send to school.

She seemed very determined to work harder for her family. Ever since the crisis started she has been doing locums in Mater Dei Hospital in Bulawayo. She takes time off from her permanent job to work as a stand-in nurse in Bulawayo. At one time she joined Premier Medical Services as a locum nurse so as to get an extra income. She has survived over the years through locums, which pay her even three times her own salary which she does not get. The movement from one town to the other is never easy for her, as she needs money to do that, she has also hired a maid to take care of her son and little brother. She barely spends time with her family because she has to work hard to put food on the table. These locums also do not last very long, as they are usually are two weeks long, the longer she got was a one month locum, where she was standing in for a sick person who worked at Datlabs in Bulawayo.

She has acquired a stand at the flea market where she has hired a lady who mans the stand while she is on duty at the hospital. She goes to Musina during weekends to buy clothes, shoes, bags and all the accessories to sell at her stand. At times she goes to Zambia which is much closer and it usually takes her a day to travel to and fro. Things are cheaper in Zambia and she has since decided to change to second hand clothing called *amabhero* or *mabhero*. Which she thinks sell faster than brand new clothes. She claims that *mabhero* are better because they give her a 100 percent profit, compared to brand new clothes, which run a loss

because they are quite expensive and people take on credit and do not normally pay up. She says:

“amabhero angcono kakhulu, ngoba umuntu uyathenga okwe dola kumbe okwe mpondo, akufani lempahla ezintsha ezidulayo. Abantu bathanda ukuthenga okungaduliyo, ngoba bayesaba izikweledi njalo imali nje yona kayikho. Ayasiphilisisa amabhero, uyathola imali yesinkwa sabantwana besikolo leyesitshebo”. (Second hand clothing is better because a person can pick something for \$1 or \$2 which is cheaper than brand new clothes. People love cheap things, and some are scared of debts and besides money is scarce. Selling second hand clothing has helped us pull through and live, I get money to buy bread for school children as well as money for relish.

The HCCL offers benefits for them such as housing, electricity and water as well as health benefits. However, Miss T feels that this is not enough and adequate. She also complained about her hard working conditions. She says they are short staffed and she has to work extra time and barely has time to rest. The hospital has few professional and experienced staff. There are more student nurses than qualified nurses as most of the workers resigned and went away to look for other opportunities elsewhere. There are few doctors who also have days that they work and most of the times they are away doing locums and rounds in other hospitals. Medicine and tablets are also in short supply and the conditions have deteriorated. The hospital has even closed some wards, and only a few are functional.

She also thinks that things are not getting better, and wishes she could also leave and look for other opportunities but she has a son and a brother to take care of. She also mentioned that she has her own insecurities, as she has no house and considers that staying in HCCL for now is better as there are non monetary benefits that they are given. She says that at times the HCCL gives them food baskets and \$200 here and there as a salary. She believes that it is better than nothing at all.

She has also survived through selling airtime and at times she bakes scones and cakes which she sells to her workmates in the hospital. She has since done a professional baking course, where she learned to bake cake weddings, birthday cakes and scones. She now has a client base at her workplace and also her son's school and bakes cakes to earn a living. She says that she had to try everything and diversify so as to raise money for her son and brother who go to expensive schools. She needs about \$600 for her little brother every term. He learns at John Tallach Secondary school and her son who has since enrolled at a local kindergarten

called Popeye Mother Care Centre which is about \$250 a term. Her son needs bus fare to take him to kindergarten on a daily basis and many other necessities.

Apart from selling cakes, she has also joined the money circulation club where they pay monthly instalments of \$ 20 and when her turn comes around, she gets the money, which helps her pay her two workers, the maid and the flea market lady. She has found ways to cope with the situation and to survive over the past years. Her relatives have been also struggling and do not help her in taking care of her brother. She says that it has been difficult to carry the burden alone as no one has offered to help her over the years.

She has also tried filing for maintenance to the father of her son but it only worked for a short while. She went for a court hearing two years ago and she won the case but she only got maintenance for only 6 months. The money would come irregularly, at times a month or days late but it was better for her then as it helped her pull through. However the father also started facing challenges and stopped sending the money and groceries for his son. She understood him as he was also a beneficiary of HCCL. However the burden at times becomes too much for her. She wishes that things get better and all she wants is her money.

Apart from working at HCCL hospital she also has gone for a midwifery course at St Lukes Hospital in Lupane and she did that at the company's expense. She has benefited and added on her skills using her benefits that are entitled to her on the HCCL work benefits package. She believes that this course might work even better for her outside the HCCL, perhaps overseas in countries like the UK and Australia.

Case Study 7: Mrs K

Mrs K was born in 1983 in Hwange and she pursued her primary education at St Ignatius Primary School. She never made it to secondary school as she had her first baby at the age of 14. As a teenager she grew up living with her parents till she was 24. She then got married at 25 and has another child with her husband. She works at the HCCL Estates Department as a messenger. She started working at the Estates Department in 2014. She has no other qualification and depends on her handy skills to survive. She is a hardworking woman who uses her hands to earn a living

Mrs K lives in a high density suburb called Makwika, with her husband, 2 daughters and grandchild. Her husband works at the Motor Engil which is a contractor at HCCL, however

he has since been laid off due to the company's restructuring as well as low production and other technical problems within the company. Her first born daughter has a child and she also has to take care of them. She sadly mentioned that her salary is not enough, and to make matters worse they last received their salaries years ago. The \$200 which they receive once in three months cannot fend for her and the family, as she is in serious debts and has to also look after her sick mother in their rural home in Lupote.

To survive on a day to day basis, Mrs K does piece works during the weekend. She often cooks at the local guest house at Lwedulu village guest house. They usually cook sadza for Hwange Colliery soccer players and fans. They are often contracted by the HCCL to cook for the players and sell to the fans too. She got that piece job through her mother who once managed the guest house for years and she was also added into the new group of women that cooks for the players. She has been doing this for the past three or more years but she says the problem is that HCCL still does not pay them. She says:

“iColliery kayisibhadali, kade sazipeka izitshwala lezi kodwa kabakhiphi imali”.
(The Colliery does not pay us up, we have cooked sadza for years now but they do not pay us)

Apart from cooking, Mrs K says that they rent out one room in the house and they only use two rooms. The one room is occupied by their cousin and husband, who pay them \$50 a month. This money is helpful and keeps them going as a family. Even though the living arrangements are tough they do not have an option. She highlighted:

“Kunzima ukuhlala liminyene kodwa akulanto esingayenza iyasinceda i\$50 leyo, wonke umuntu uphila ngokurentisa indlu. Akuvunyelwa kodwa akulanto abangayiyenza abeColliery” (It is hard to live in a crowded home but we have no option, that \$50 is helpful, besides everyone is doing it and lives by renting out rooms in their houses. We are not allowed to do it, but the Colliery will not do anything to us.

Renting out rooms has now become the survival strategy norm in the society, as people compensate for the salaries that they are not getting from HCCL. It works to their own benefit as they do not have to pay any rentals, electricity or water. Apart from that, Mr K is a *makorokoza*, he illegally sells coal which he gets from the coal dumpsites at the Opencast mine. They dig up the coal and grade it and pack it in sacks, then sell it to non HCCL

workers. The coal usually costs \$5 a sack but at times people take on credit and do not pay in time. In times where they experience power cuts that coal become useful to many people as they use it as a source of fuel. This kind of job is dangerous because in most cases he does not wear protective clothing when doing the work but Mr K has no option but it helps the family pull through. They also sell tomatoes at the bus terminus. Their older daughter is usually in charge of selling tomatoes and other vegetables. They get the tomatoes from Dete and Bulawayo to sell at the market. They sometimes run out of capital as there are other things they have to attend to. At times the problem is that by the time the tomatoes reach their destination, they would have been damaged, and therefore they suffer a loss. In times were tomatoes are off season, her daughter sells vegetables which they grow in their small garden in front of the house. The money generated from the sales often helps them to get by during the week, as they buy bread, relish and other daily necessities.

Mrs K felt discouraged and sad, as she mentioned that they have even moved from one Pentecostal church to the other, in search for miracles. She and her family now go to Celebration Church and for them it is better than the previous churches which have taken money from them but have not helped them in any way. At Celebration Church, they are given food hampers from time to time and transport is provided for during service days. These food hampers have helped them and have been their support system during hard times.

Case Study 8: Mr B

Mr B was born in 1968, in Madumabisa area, 10 km away from Hwange town. He did his primary education in Madumabisa Primary School and then proceeded to Wankie Secondary School where he did his “O” level. Soon after that, he got his class 1 driver’s license and joined HCCL as a bus driver. He has been in the company for 31 years and works in the transport department as a senior driver. He has a wife and five children, two of the girls are married, and the other 3 boys are still at school.

To survive on a day to day basis, Mr B and his family are engaged in various survival strategies, apart from his salary which he has not been getting for over 40 months. Their major source of livelihood comes from subsistence agriculture. Mr B grows vegetables and small grains like sorghum in his farm in Madumabisa. He goes there every weekend to manage the farm. He has two workers who help in the fields and also take care of the farm. However he wishes to have more workers but faces challenges of money, thus resorting to

even take part himself. Sometimes he goes with his 3 sons and wife, especially during the planting season, weeding time and harvesting time. He also owns cattle, which he sells when he needs capital to buy agricultural inputs such as seeds, equipment, fertiliser and pesticides. At times the money generated from selling the agricultural produce is used to pay school fees for his 3 sons.

They also benefit from the rural food program which is run and funded by World Food Programme, which often gives people maize meal, cooking oil and sugar beans. This organisation normally gives food aid to people who live in farms and other rural areas in the region. Mr B takes the food basket back to his family in town and at times gives his 2 workers as a form of payment. The HCCL has also given them food rations from time to time, thus in terms of food security, they are better off. The bigger problem is that of money, which is needed to survive on a daily basis. His grievances are mainly centred on the children's school fees. He claims that HCCL has turned a blind eye to this issue as they have tried to go to the Generation Office a couple of times to request for school fees but little has been done. Two of his children are in high school and were once chased away from school due to non-payment of fees. To counter this problem, Mr B constantly sells his cattle and pays school fees for his children on his own.

Mr B also survives through remittances from the diaspora. Their first born daughter lives in the UK and works as a mid wife nurse. She sends remittances through Western Union or Money Gram for the family, and in some instances clothes and other necessities. She also makes sure that her siblings get a better education and buys groceries for the family. However, the challenge is that she also has her own children to cater for, thus these remittances are not very consistent, as she chips in when there is a need or in urgent matters. When she visits things also become better, as she buys groceries and has since built a house for the family in Empumalanga suburb. This house is also a source of income for the family as they rent it out to a company called Makomo. Makomo uses the house for its workers who live in the house with their families. Rentals from the house often go a long way in helping them survive from day to day.

Social networks and social relations that Mr B has have often helped him secure livelihoods for his family. Mr B is also a church elder in Apostolic Faith Mission Zimbabwe. Church elders often benefit from the social relations they have with the community. At times people who visit him bring food and the little they get as a token of appreciation to him. These social

networks have also secured him a client base, as people often support his business of selling cattle, small grains and vegetables. Mr B also believes that this situation will end has hope for the future. He is optimistic about change and believes that God is in control of everything. Mr B's wife is a recently retired nurse aid in HCCL hospital. She also helps the family to cope during these difficult times. She often washes people's clothes during the weekends and thereby generates an income for the family. They normally give her \$5 per day, which she thinks is better than waiting for HCCL to give them their money. Since she retired, she has not received her money package and benefits and is not happy about the situation. She felt the need to retire as HCCL was not making efforts to pay them. She felt that it was better to retire and look for money elsewhere. She is also involved in cross border trade and usually crosses to Zambia where she buys second hand leather handbags bags, belts and shoes. However her major challenge is that people take the bags but do not pay her, and this also causes relations to be sour. Everyone has the same problem of money, so at times she sells her stuff to non-HCCL workers or beneficiaries like those of Zesa, and other private companies. These normally pay her in time and even order more stuff, thus promoting her business.

Mr B's wife also generates an income from clubs and money circulating schemes. She joined a group of women which saves money on a monthly basis and they pay a \$10 fee and then at the end of the year the money is shared among them and at times they buy groceries which are shared. This has been their support system for a long time and has helped them survive during the years. Problems often rise among the group as some do not pay their dues in time, hence disturbing the flow of things. The group also lends money to outsiders and puts an interest price upon returning the money. This helps the group to function and accumulate more income. However the challenge is that people do not pay in time and they run a loss. Access to credit systems and schemes has also helped the family of Mr B to pull through. When things get tough, they often get credit from private creditors known as "*umashonisa*" who loan money to people and charge an interest, this is called "*isimbazo*" or "*chimbazo*". When they return the money, they add 25% of the money they took on credit. This type of business is now prominent in Hwange town and people resort to credit and loans to deal with their financial problems.

Mr B has hope that things might change for the better especially after the 2018 presidential elections, as he believes that most of HCCL's problems emanate from the political economy. He thinks that politics has taken control of HCCL and thus led to its failure as there is corruption. In the meantime he has resolved to alternative means of survival and mentions

that he cannot quit his job, as he feels it is pointless to leave as there is no much difference because staying or leaving, the company still needs to pay them their money. Also he feels that there is no ob out there for him as an old driver, as the market needs young and able-bodied drivers who are fit for the job. There is competition out there and he feels though he is experienced, he cannot compete with the young drivers for a job.

Chapter Summary

This chapter highlighted the various livelihood and survival strategies that are employed by the HCCL workers and their families in a plot to survive during the harsh economic situation, where the company has not been paying their full salaries for 42 months now. Various challenges they face in accessing these livelihoods were also brought out as well as their reasons for staying in the company despite the problem of non-payment of salaries.

Chapter Six: Discussion of Findings and Conclusions

6.0 Introduction

This chapter analyses the findings of the study using the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach grounded with the literature review. The findings were generated through use of life history interviews and non-participant observation. The study brings out the divergence and convergence of the findings with the related literature review of other studies done. As the study developed various themes were captured and these are in line with the objectives of the study. This study reveals that the HCCL workers have not turned a blind eye to their problem, but have devised ways to survive and to cope on a day to day basis to sustain their household livelihoods. However it is noted that they face various challenges in acquiring their livelihoods and some are hopeless, while some stagger on and thrive from day to day.

6.1 General livelihoods and survival strategies incorporated

6.1.1 The informal economy as a source of livelihood

The study revealed that the majority of the respondents depend on vending as a livelihood strategy. This is illuminated by the findings where participants sell various goods in the market, like vegetables, tomatoes, mangoes, wild fruits and many other accessories. Some even cross borders to go and buy second hand clothing to resell in the market. For instance, Mrs K's daughter sells tomatoes at the market to earn a living. This is in line with Ndiweni et al (2014) who postulate that in Bulawayo the informal economy has been the bedrock of the city, as it has become their major livelihood strategy in a struggling economic situation. Many women, girls and men are engaged in informal activities such as money changing, vending of airtime, vegetables and craftwork. Mugisha (2000) also reveals the gender dynamics in the informal economy claiming that it is women who are usually engaged in this form of work. In the study, most women usually do the work of vending to earn a living but when push comes to shove, men also take part.

Schuette(2005) reveals that in the Afghan context, people are heavily relying on the informal economy for survival and there are various activities that people are engaged in which range from involvement in petty trade of goods, foodstuffs, carpet weaving, and other backyard operations. This is in sync with the findings of the study where most respondents have resorted to the informal sector as formal employment has failed to produce an income that can help sustain them. The vulnerability context of the study is brought out as that of

economic failure and non-payment of salaries and these has led to informalization of the economy.

Chibiya and Sigauke (2008) also note that the informal sector in Zimbabwe in the post 2000 has become the lifeblood of the nation and majority of the citizens depend on it for survival, be it as a major source of income or as an alternative means. In the study it was generated that some HCCL workers often steal the company's resources and they are involved in illegal activities, some are involved in wheeling and dealing. The Truck Stop is the hub of all illegal activities and this is where an exchange of illegal deals is done. This is in tandem with Muchichwa (2016) who argues that in Zimbabwe people venture into the informal economy due to the fact that formal employment has failed to rescue them from their poverty and when people work without payment they often resort to other means for survival. Shoniwa et al (2013) divulges that mine workers in Shabanie mine resorted to selling their assets as well as stolen company resources and illegal mining because of the company's failure to pay them. People are often pushed to the edge and thus venture into illegal and informal work so as to earn a living.

Some of the respondents have resorted to illegal mining of coal and these are called "*omakorokoza*". Mr X notes that people in Hwange town are illegally selling coal and generating an income from that practice. Wheeling and dealing is said to be common as people even steal company resources and resell to other private buyers. This is the same with Mrs K's husband who is a makorokoza and illegally sells coal which he gets from the Opencast mine dumpsites. He grades it and sells it for \$5 per sack. Thus it is seen that in order to sustain their livelihoods, they go an extra mile and resort to the informal sector which can ensure them a fast way of gaining an income for their household. The human capital and natural capital components are thus seen in this regard. People use the natural resources that are at their disposal and when combined with skills and knowledge that an individual has, a livelihood outcome results in the end.

6.1.2 Subsistence and urban agriculture as a source of livelihood

In the study it was revealed the majority of the people rely on subsistence agriculture and urban agriculture as a form of livelihood strategy. The natural capital which includes soil, land, water and natural resources comes into play in this case. Chambers and Cornway (1991) note that in the SLA the natural capital as an asset is used by individuals to secure their livelihoods. This also works in collaboration with the human capital which specialises on

skills, knowledge systems and labour. The respondents rely on this capital asset to survive. Some have small gardens in their households, while some have small farms and plots outside the city where they grow grains and vegetables. Mr N has a farm which is located outside Hwange where he grows small grains like millet and sorghum which he then sells to the market to earn an income. Some individuals in the study have small backyard gardens where they grow vegetable which they use for relish in the home. This is substantiated in a study done by Ojong (2011), who notes that urban agriculture has ensured food security at household level and as such brought income to the people in Cameroon. People are forced to diversify and venture into subsistence agriculture so as to sustain their families. Taru (2013) also contends that urban agriculture in Masvingo has boosted the livelihoods of the people. The urban rich often make profits from urban agriculture as they sell their produce to the market. Urban agriculture has significantly improved food security in Zimbabwe and also contributes to national development and employment creation. In the study it is revealed that most respondents especially women and children have resorted to vending of vegetables and agricultural produce to eke a living.

Kutiwa et al (2010) as cited in Mutangi (2013) also asserts that because of the various challenges that people face in the households, most people in Zimbabwe have resorted to urban agriculture as a panacea to urban problems. It is therefore seen in the study that despite the weather of Hwange, most respondents practiced urban agriculture and subsistence agriculture in order to ensure food security in their households. The interconnection of assets in the SLA is also brought out through the natural capital which includes land and water is used by people who are skilled and knowledgeable agents and thus generate a source of income from practicing urban agriculture.

The interplay between the rural and urban areas is also cultivated through the various activities that people engage in to survive, especially through agriculture. In the study, Mr N also uses his skills by practicing subsistence agriculture in his farm in Kasibo. The natural capital and the human capital in this scenario are also intertwined and work hand in hand. They grow small grains due to the weather and sell them in the market in Hwange town. Rural-urban linkages are existent and are critical to livelihood accessibility. Mutangi (2013) argues that urban men and women often need higher cash incomes and this works well when they have a rural base where they can practice subsistence farming and then sell the produce in the market. The interconnection between these two zones is essential in livelihood accessibility, when people do not have enough land to grow their crops they often resort to

rural areas which have more space. For instance in the study, Mr B's major source of livelihood comes from subsistence farming and he owns a farm in Madumabisa outside the town. He grows vegetables, small grains and owns cattle too. The importance of the natural capital combined with the human capital is illuminated in the study and it coincides with Naidoo (2009) who notes that human kind cannot survive without the help of key environmental services and food that is processed from the natural capital.

6.2.3 Social Networks and Social groups

The majority of the research participants mentioned that they depended on their family, relatives and kin for support. Some of them even got assistance from the church, for instance Mr S's wife has even gone to greater lengths and visited a prophet named Willie to get assistance in their problems at home. This is the same with Mrs P who is a member of Victory fellowship and often goes for prayers as well as fasting to ease the situation. These participants claimed that they depended on God's grace to pull through. Mrs K also benefits from an affiliate member of the Celebration Church which often gives them food hampers and also provides transport for them to attend church. These church organisations have been a pillar to most of the respondents and offer social support in cash and kind. Schuette (2005) notes that social networks play an essential role in managing risks, gaining access to opportunities and they also buffer shocks and crises. Most respondents in the study revealed they often resorted to assistance from their immediate family members in a time of crisis. It is the same for people in the Afghan context where the respondents revealed that they heavily rely on the social ties they have with their family members and these act as an insurance against risks and shocks. As evidenced by Schuette (2005), the family unit is the most important, whether immediate or extended and it acts as a safety net and a short term absorber in times of difficulty or crisis.

In the SLA, social capital as an asset, mainly involves the social networks, groups and political organisations that help in access to livelihood strategies (Moser, 1998). In the study, it was elucidated that the government donated maize for each HCCL worker and this was done under the Government Mitigation Program so as to ensure food security for the workers and their families. Government assistance in this crisis has helped them buffer poverty at household level, and it only helps in food security not in other aspects. The respondents were not satisfied with that provision, claiming it was not adequate and in the long run it was not sustainable. The HCCL also gave the workers food hampers which the majority of the respondents claimed it was not enough. For instance, Mr N said argues and says:

“They gave us maize in December, thinking it would help us, but things are hard as maize cannot pay our debts which we have, we need money but nonetheless it is better than nothing, our children will not starve”.

He argues that being given maize will not rescue them from financial debt although it will help in food security. In light of the food hampers, evidence from Mhau et al (2015) proves that the food hampers are not sufficient. The respondents under the study by Mhau et al (2015) revealed that the food hampers did not include majority of their necessities and this was problematic. Thus it is noted that the government can only do little to solve the problem, however supplying maize acts as a short term absorber of their problems but does not change the structural processes that lead to their situation at hand, henceforth it increases the vulnerability of the workers and their families.

The findings of the study converge with Breman (1985) who notes that vulnerable groups usually increase their security within urban systems by entering into dependant relations with social superiors. Most of the participants have social ties with other non- HCCL workers and this is their support base in the event of a crisis, but their major challenge is that at times social relations are strained due to prolonged debts and failure to return borrowed money and goods. For instance, Mr S’ wife noted that they feel they are burdening people by asking for help all the time and it is even straining her marriage. Most relations are often disturbed and turn sour as people continuously borrow things from each other and then fail to pay. This resonates with Schuette (2005), who asserts that people often fail to pay back their credits and thus strain the social ties they have.

6.2.4 Human capital: skills and knowledge systems

In the study it was revealed that most people rely on their skills and knowledge systems to earn a living in Hwange town. In this situation where they are not receiving salaries, the HCCL workers and their families have resorted to various strategies to sustain their livelihoods. For instance, Mr S who is a fitter and turner of HCCL relies on these skills outside his workplace to survive. He is also a mechanic and usually fixes people’s cars and buses during his spare time to get an income. This converges with Shoniwa et al (2013) who studied workers in Shabanie mine and discovered that people would do piece jobs like gardening and mechanics to counter the problem of non-payment of salaries. In the SLA, the human capital as an asset is said to represent the skills, knowledge and ability to work as well as good health. Thus it is note that in a bid to earn a living, the workers in the study use their

extra time or weekends to work other second jobs which mainly require their skills and knowledge. Mr N does small jobs here and there and he is an indigenous businessman, He usually gets contracts from the Roman Catholic Church to fit jojoba tanks and install boreholes and they come to agreement on the payment. Here the interconnection between the human capital and social capital is captured. Mr N maintains good social relations with the church which in return contracts him to install boreholes in rural areas. Rakodi (2002) shows how important the human capital is and notes that a lack of the human capital can cripple or affect one's ability to secure a livelihood. This can include one's health status and the labour power as well as the skills that an individual possesses.

In the study, it was also brought to light that commercial sex work is thriving in Hwange town. Mrs D noted that some women sell their bodies at the Hwange Truckstop so as to earn a living and this has resulted in family disintegration and broken marriages. They usually get as little as \$2 and this shows the levels of desperation that the people are in. This is similar to Taru (2013)'s findings in Masvingo, where commercial sex work is practiced as a livelihood and survival strategy. The argument he lays out is on how risky and dangerous it is for these women to engage in that line of work. This is also substantiated by Mate (2010) who denotes that in as much as commercial sex work is a result of human agency on the females' part, it is also important not to ignore issues of morality and human dignity. People often ignore these issues as they are faced with problems that lead to them engaging in such activities. Thus, it is noted that in the study, these women become vulnerable and are exposed to health hazards, threats and shocks as well as diseases in their plot to secure livelihoods for their families.

6.3 Financial aspect: remittances and access to credit

Majority of the respondents mentioned access to credit as their major concern and hindrance to sustaining their livelihoods. The study revealed that most of the banks no longer allow HCCL workers to get credit or loans because in the past they failed to pay off their debts and it also led to the closure of some banks like Trust Bank and Royal Bank. Most of the people have now resorted to private microfinance institutions, money rotating schemes and money lending clubs for financial support. There are various needs in a household that require money hence to counter the problem of non-payment of salaries the workers and their families have resorted to these means of securing money to survive. Schuette (2005) illuminates that in Afghanistan most households maintain a level of debt for both smaller and larger amounts to enable sufficient consumption and expenses in the household. Important to note is that in the study, most respondents resorted to credit and microfinance institutions as

they had no other option and these credit systems are linked to their social groups and networks. The interconnection of the social capital and financial capital is therefore seen, for one to access a financial base or capital, they have to have a social base and social networks. As brought out by Bond (2013), South African citizens resort to “*mashonisa*” to get money when they are desperate. Their salaries are often not enough to cater for all their needs thus they resort to loan sharks for financial help. In the study, Mr B resorts to *umashonisa* when things get tough. These loan sharks usually loan them money and when they are returning the money, an interest of 25% of the money they took is added on top. This phenomenon is called *isimbazo*, or usury and it is common in Hwange town. The loan sharks take advantage of the situation as they know that people depend on them to get money.

The HCCL has also made efforts to make sure that their workers have access to cash. In the study the respondents noted that HCCL gave them an amount of \$200 once in three months or so as part of payment. However, complaints that emerged from the respondents was that the money was far from enough as they had debts to pay and their household expenses were far more than that amount they were given, For instance Mr S argues that there is high levels of corruption and unfairness as their bosses are often seen in OK and TM Supermarket with trolleys full of groceries whilst they cannot even afford to fill a single basket of food in a shop. To some of the respondents this was seen as an insult, yet to some it is better than nothing at all. For instance, Miss T states that getting \$200 is better than nothing at all, as HCCL usually gives them non-monetary benefits like food baskets. For the HCCL workers to get more income they usually do piece jobs or part time job, Miss T usually does locums as a part time nurse at Mater Dei hospital in Bulawayo. It is therefore important to note that human capital is essential in accessing financial capital. The skills, knowledge, labour and health status of the respondents determines whether or not they can access financial capital. An alternative income in this regard is accumulated through the use of human capital, and thus livelihoods are sustained.

In terms of remittances, some respondents in the study rely on them for survival. This resonates with Mukwendeya (2009) who notes that residents in Glen Norah, Harare relied on remittances from their relatives in South Africa, Australia, UK and Botswana during the 2008 economic recession. In the study Mr B, often receives remittances from Western Union or Money Gram from her daughter who is in the UK. However these are not reliable at all times as she also has her own family to take care of. His daughter can only do what she can to help

them survive. Thus it is seen that there is a decrease in reliance of remittances as compared to earlier times like that of the 2008 era.

In order to get an income, respondents in the study rely heavily on renting out rooms or cottages. Renting out houses and rooms generates an income in the household and usually rooms go for about \$50-\$60. This is similar with Schuette (2005), who notes that people in Afghanistan, rent out their rooms to earn an income and it is one of their major livelihood income. For instance Mrs D, the key informant mentioned how illegal it is to rent out the company houses but people do it out of desperation as the HCCL is not paying its workers. She mentioned that those with bigger houses have a greater advantage as they can rent out half of the house and thus gain more than those who live in middle density suburbs. They usually rent out their houses to non HCCL workers like those from Makomo, Motor Engil and other companies. In this regard the link between physical capital and financial capital is seen. The workers use the infrastructure that is available to get an income through renting out rooms. The extreme measure of desperation is seen when some people turn their garages into rooms, so they can accommodate tenants, for instance Mr N who has since turned his garage into a room to cater for his workers as he uses his cottage for tenants who pay him \$50 a room. This also resonates with Shoniwa et al (2013)'s study on workers at Shabanie mine, who resorted to subletting of rooms so as to get an income as the company was failing to pay them.

6.4 Vulnerability and challenges faced by HCCL workers

In the study there were various challenges that emerged. These challenges are linked to vulnerability context in the SLA. They encompass seasonal hazards, famine, hunger, lack of money and other natural hazards. Scoones (2008) alludes that the vulnerability context is often due to structural processes that disrupt different aspects of people's livelihoods. In the study, one of the major challenges that were mentioned by the respondents is corruption and incompetency of the HCCL. Mr N argued that HCCL had the highest level of corruption and this was happening at the top management and the rest of the workers are at the receiving end. He says:

“Outsiders have penetrated into the company and often steal resources and there is too much wheeling and dealing going on, especially those in the managerial posts. Corruption has climaxed and we are at the receiving end”.

Mr N's argument is that HCCL has been penetrated by outsiders as well as politics, thus it hinders on production and in the end those in the managerial posts benefit and also siphon resources for their own use.

The major shocks that are occurring and affecting the HCCL workers are mainly centred on the financial component. They lack financial resources such as access to credit, capital and savings. Their inability to access credit from microfinance institutions is as a result of the failure by HCCL to pay the workers hence no formal institution allows them to borrow money. They basically need money for everything, such as school fees, for food and other basic necessities. For instance Mrs P was facing challenges as her children were not going to school because she had no money to pay for them. In the past HCCL used to pay school fees for their workers children, as this was part of the benefits and conditions of payment. But ever since the siege, the workers are struggling to pay for their children on their own. Thus in the end, they resort to other alternative sources of earning the money to pay for their children.

Other challenges that HCCL workers face are environmental and health related. Respondents made complaints on the health services and poor delivery systems in HCCL hospital. For instance Mr S complained how the HCCL hospital disappointed them when his father, a diabetic patient could not receive treatment at the local hospital and had to be transferred to Victoria Falls. Their lack of proper health services is also working against the workers will and it means more expenses for the workers who are already struggling to make ends meet. In this light, the workers become vulnerable and exposed to various economic shocks and stresses and this demoralises them. For instance, Mr S and family complained about the situation and revealed that it was difficult to adjust or adapt. Mr S even said that he was not motivated by anything and resorted to drinking beer to drown his worries as they get the best of him at times. Miss T who works at the HCCL hospital also complained that there was short supply of drugs as well as the working staff, as most of the qualified health personnel had resigned and left for greener pastures. The working conditions are not conducive and fair for her but she has no option but to soldier on. These challenges affect the workers emotionally, physically and mentally, and this hinders progress in their lives.

There are other challenges that the workers and their families face in a bid to access livelihoods include family disintegration, sexual abuse and divorces. For instance Mrs P notes that when her daughter became a victim of sexual and physical abuse at her relative's house, it ruined the relations they once had. Commercial sex work has also led to some families

disintegrating and divorces rate has increased. Mrs D notes that some women in the study cross borders with truck drivers and never come back home, leaving their children and husbands at home.

6.5 Conclusions

The study has brought out the various challenges, survival and livelihood studies that the HCCL workers are facing due to the company's inability to pay their salaries. Over the long period of this ongoing situation, the workers and their families have established ways to deal with their problems of money and have found alternative ways to cope and live with the stresses and shocks that they are exposed to. The use of the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach, particularly its five capitals has helped guide the study and bring out the various access points that help the workers access their livelihoods. The HCCL workers are seen to be active agents and work extra hard to be able to sustain their families' livelihoods. The study established that people have resorted to subsistence and urban agriculture, vending, trade, renting out rooms, engagement in the informal sector and other coping mechanisms to sustain their livelihoods. It is important to note that there are challenges that these workers also encounter in a bid to secure these livelihoods and most of all, the lack of financial resources is the chief problem among others. The study also found out that some of the respondents remained in the HCCL because they had nowhere to turn to, the health and housing benefits also contributed to them staying and because the company still owed them a lot of money thus hindering them to leave HCCL for greener pastures and other alternative jobs elsewhere.

References

- Agarwal, B 1997. Social security and the family in rural India; DEP 21; The Development Economics Research Programme; London School of Economics; London.
- Akiwumi, F A 2011. 'Transnational mining corporations and sustainable resource-based livelihoods in Sierra Leone'. *Singapore Journal of Geography*, University of South Florida, USA
- Babbie, E & Mouton, J 2008. The practice of social research. Capetown: Oxford University Press.
- Banks, N 2015. Livelihoods Limitations: The political economy of Urban Poverty in Dhaka, Bangladesh; *Development and Change* 47(2): 266-292.
- Batterbury, SPJ. 2008. Rescaling governance and the impacts of political and environmental decentralisation. *World Development Journal* 34(11), pp 546-549.
- Beall, J & Kanji, N 1999. Household, livelihoods and urban poverty: Background paper for the ESCOR Commissioned Research on urban Development, Urban governance, partnership and poverty. London.
- Blanche, T 2006. Research in practice: Applied method for the Social Sciences; (2nd Edition); Cape Town, UCT Press.
- Bohle, C 1994. 'Climatic change and social vulnerability: Toward a sociology and geography of food insecurity'. *Global Environmental Change*, 4(1) 37-48.
- Bond, P 2013. 'Debt, Uneven Development and Capitalist Crisis in South Africa: From Moody's Microeconomic Monitoring to Marikana Microfinance Mashonisas'. *Third World Quarterly*, Vol 34 (1), Pp 564-592.
- Breman, J 1985. 'Of Peasants, migrants and paupers: Rural labour circulation and capitalist production in West India', Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Carney D, Drinkwater M, Rusinow T, Neefjes K, Wanmali S, & Singh N C, 1999. Livelihood Approaches Compared, London, DFID.

Chambers, R & Conway, R 1992. 'Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: Practical Concepts for the 21st Century'. IDS Discussion Paper; 296, *Institute of Development Studies*; University of Sussex, pp 1-29.

Chibisa P, & Sigauke C, 2008. Impact of Operation Murambatsvina (Restore Order) on Flea markets in Mutare: Implications for achieving MDG 1 and Sustainable Urban Livelihoods' in *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, Vol. 10. No 1.

De Haan, L J 2012. 'The Livelihood Approach: A critical exploration'. *Erdkunde; Archive for Scientific Research*, Bd V.66; pp 345-357, Erdkunde.

De Haan, LJ & Zoomers, A 2006. 'How to Research the changing outlines of African Livelihoods'; *African Development*; Volume XXXI, No. 4.

Denzin, NK. & Lincoln, Y S 2004. *The landscape of Qualitative Research*, Thousand Oaks; Sage Publications.

Devos, A S. Stydom, H. Fouche, C B. and Delport, C S L 2002. *Research at grassroots: For social sciences and human service profession* (2nd Edition); Van Schaik publishers. Pretoria.

DFID, 2001. *Meeting the challenge of poverty in urban areas: Sustainable Livelihoods Guidance Sheets*, London, Department for International Development.

Ellis, F 2000. *A Framework for Livelihoods Analysis: Chapter 2 in Rural Livelihoods and Diversity in Developing Countries*, Oxford University Press.

Fang, S. & Hai Yang, S. 2012. Relationship analysis between livelihood assets and livelihood strategies: A Heifie River Basin example; Vol.4 (3), pp 265-274, *Sciences in Cold and Arid Regions*.

Farrington, J D, Carney, C, Ashley, C. and Turton, C 1999. *Sustainable Livelihoods in Practice, Early Applications of Concepts in Rural Areas, Natural Resource Perspectives*. 42: Overseas Development Institute, London.

Feldman, R 1980. Women's groups and women's subordination: An analysis of policies towards rural women in Kenya. *Review of African Political Economy*, 10(27/28); pp 67-85.

Gibson, J W & Brown, A 2009. *Working with Qualitative Data*; Sage Publications, London, UK.

Gillard, JC, Maseda, EA, Stasiak, E, Bare, IL, & Espaldon, MV 2009. Sustainable Livelihoods and People's Vulnerability in the East Coastal Hazards, in: *Journal of Coastal Conservation*. Volume 3, No 2/3: The Littoral: Facing Constraints; Initiating Dialogue; Taking Action, (June – September; 2009); pp 119-129, Springer.

Goldman, I 2000. Sustainable Livelihoods Approaches: Progress and Possibilities for Change, SLA Progress. London.

Goldman, I 1998. Decentralisation and Sustainable Rural Livelihoods in Carney D(ed) Sustainable Rural Livelihoods. DFID, London.

Gwisai, M 2015. Vol. 3, Issue 1, University of Zimbabwe, Student Journal.

Hwange Colliery Company Limited, *Quality Control Document* 1:04 of 15 March, 2012.
Jonathan, G 2000. Sustainable Livelihoods' *International Social Science Journal* 17(4): 77-86.

Kelly, P & Adger, W 2000. Theory and practice in assessing vulnerability to climate change and facilitating adaptation. *Climatic Change*, 47:325-352.

Kimengsi, JN, Ngala, NH, and Alan, E 2016. Livelihood Strategies in Declining Towns of Sub-Saharan Africa; Evidence from Nkongsamba, Cameroon; Volume 1, Issue 3, Cameroon.

Krantz, L 2001. The Sustainable Livelihood Approach to Poverty Reduction: An Introduction. Stockholm: Sweden International Development Cooperation Agency.

Lasse, K 2001. The Sustainable Livelihood Approach to Poverty Reduction; International Development Cooperation Agency, Sweden.

Mate, R 2010. 'Feminist responses to the neo-liberal global economic order', Buwa: 1(1) November.

Mc Clean, JE 2015. Beyond the Pentagon Prison of Sustainable Livelihoods Approaches and towards livelihood trajectories, approaches; *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*: Volume 56. No 3, pp 380-391. Issue Number 1360-7456.

Meikle, S, Ramasut, T. & Walker, J 2001. Sustainable Urban Livelihoods: Concepts and Implications for Policy, Working Paper 112. London.

Mishra, PP 2009. Coal Mining and Rural Livelihoods: Case of the Ib Valley Coalfield; Orissa; *Economic and Political Weekly*; Volume 44; No 44.

Moser, C N 1998. The asset vulnerability framework: reassessing urban poverty reduction strategies; *World Development*, 26(1), pp 1-19.

Mosoesta, S. 2011. 'Eating from one pot: The Dynamics of Survival in Poor South African Households'. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

Muchichwa, N. 2016. 'Working without Pay: Wage theft in Zimbabwe', Labour and Economic Development Research Institute of Zimbabwe (LEDRIZ).

Mugisha, J 2000. Determinants of Land Management Practices in Agricultural highlands of Uganda: A case of Kabale highlands in Western Uganda.

Mukorombindo, Y & Cotzee, J 2013. 'A Better Life Through Networks and Support? Vulnerability Living in a New Human Settlement in Grahamstown': *In Africanus*, Vol. 43(1) Pp 49-64.

Mukwedeya, T 2009. Exploring the Role of Remittances in Household Livelihood Strategies in Glen Norah, Harare, Unpublished Research Report. Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrand.

Museveni, J 2012. Rural Livelihoods diversification in Semi- Arid Zimbabwe: An analysis of Muzarabani, Gokwe and Mwenezi districts, Faculty of Business and Economic Sciences, Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, PhD thesis.

Muruvirwa, AT, Nekhwevha, F H, Ige, KD 2013. 'Critical challenges to livelihood options of the aged in rural Zimbabwe': Evidence from Mubaira, *Journal of Social Science*, 36(1); 87-97.

Ndlovu, M, Moyo, W, Gasva D, and Chisango, FT 2015. Effects of Non – Payment of Mining Employees and their Survival Strategies: The case of Hwange Colliery Company Limited in Zimbabwe; *The International Journal of Humanities and Social Studies*, (ISSN 2321-9203), Volume 3, Issue 2.

Neuman, WN, 2000. Social Research Methods, (4th Edition); Boston Allyn and Bacon Publications.

Neuman, WN 1997. *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*; Boston Allyn and Bacon Publications.

Njagi, NG, 2005. *The Sustainable Livelihood Approach: A Vulnerability Context Analysis of Ngwatle's Kung Group Basarwa, Botswana*, University Of Kwa Zulu- Natal; Durban, South Africa.

Rakodi, C 1994. The Household Strategies of the Urban Poor: Coping with Poverty and Recession in Gweru, Zimbabwe. *Habitat International*, Vol. 19(4). Pp 447-471.

Rakodi, C & Jones, TL 2002. *Urban Livelihoods: A people centred approach to reducing poverty*, Earth-scan Publications, London.

Satterwaite, D 1997. Sustainable cities or cities that contribute to sustainable; *Urban Studies*, Volume 34, No. 10.

Schuetz, S 2005. Livelihoods of the urban poor in Afghanistan: Conceptual Issues and Review of Literature, AREU.

Scoones, I 2009. Livelihoods; perspectives and rural development; *Journal of Peasant Studies* 36(1), pp 1-26.

Scoones, I 1998. Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: A framework for Analysis, IDS Working Paper; Brighton. IDS.

Sen, A 1992. *Inequality Re-examined*, Oxford University Press.

Shoniwa, G NK, Zirima, H, Nyanga, T. & Dhomo, T 2013. Voluntary Slavery or Motivation: an analysis of factors that motivates Shabanie Mine workers to stay in Unpaid Employment. *The International journal of Humanities and Social Science*. Volume 3. No 2.

Shumbayawanda, WT 2002. 'Geography Today' "O" Level, Geography, Harare, Longman.

Sibanda P, Mavenga E, Maunganidze L, & Ncube, F 2014. 'Employees' reactance and survival strategies in an underperforming Zimbabwean parastatal, *African journal of Business Management*; Volume 8(22), pp 1043-1052.

Spedding, CRW 1988. *An introduction to agricultural systems* (2nd ed). London: Elsevier Applied Science.

Taru, J 2013. 'NGO projects and urban livelihood activities: Lessons from institutionalised urban gardens in Masvingo'; *Basic Research Journal of Social and Political Sciences*. Volume 2(1); pp (04-11).

Wallerstein, I & Smith, J 1992. Households as an institution of the World Economy in Wallerstein, I. and Smith, J. (ed) *Creating and Transforming Households: The constraints of the World Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Williamson, DL, Choi, J, Charchuck, M, Rempel, GR, Pitre, N, Brietkrenz, R & Kushmen, KE 1997. Interpreter- facilitated cross language interviews: a research note. *Qualitative research*; Volume 11, No 4; pp 381-394.

Zimbabwe Sunday Mail of www.sundaymail.co.zw/new-order-threatens-hccl=stranglehold (Retrieved Oct 2016)