

**THE CONSTRUCTION OF HOUSEHOLD LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES IN URBAN  
AREAS:  
THE CASE OF BUDIRO, HARARE, ZIMBABWE**

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## **ABSTRACT**

The main objective of this thesis is to understand and explain the ongoing construction of livelihood activities by urban households in the low-income high-density area of Budiro, Harare, Zimbabwe in a context characterised by systemic crisis and a general decline of the national economy. The study utilised a mixed methods research approach, which combined both qualitative and quantitative research, including a survey, life histories and focus group discussions. The thesis discusses a diverse range of livelihood activities of Budiro households, such as formal employment, informal trading and agricultural activities, and the ways in which households seek to diversify their livelihood portfolio. It does this by way of also examining the contemporary and historical factors influencing the livelihood activities pursued by these households, along with the shocks and disturbances encountered and experienced by households in trying to construct viable livelihoods. The thesis makes useful contributions to the existing literature on livelihoods studies. Firstly, the thesis disaggregates the households by showing the existence of three wealth categories in Budiro and the varying livelihood strategies of households in different wealth categories. Secondly, the study highlights the significance of intra-household dynamics in Budiro for livelihoods as well as of inter-household kinship networks, which transcend the urban space and entail multi-spatial livelihoods. Thirdly, the thesis examines livelihoods over time, such that it goes beyond a strictly synchronic examination, therefore providing a diachronic analysis of diverse and complicated livelihood pathways. Finally, the Livelihoods Framework is located within broader macro-sociological theorising including the work of Pierre Bourdieu. In this respect, important insights arise about livelihood choices and practices in the light of ongoing debates within sociology about human agency.

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## **ACRONYMS**

ADB	-	African Development Bank
AFC	-	African Finance Corporation
AIDS	-	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
BSAC	-	British South Africa Company
CBD	-	Central Business District
CFU	-	Commercial Farmers Union
CSO	-	Central Statistical Office
CRS	-	Catholic Relief Services
DFID	-	Department of International Development
DVD	-	Digital Video Device
EIU	-	Economic Intelligence Unit
ESAP	-	Economic Structural Adjustment Programme
FGD	-	Focus Group Discussion
GDP	-	Gross Domestic Product
GMB	-	Grain Marketing Board
GNU	-	Government of National Unity
GoZ	-	Government of Zimbabwe
GPA	-	Global Political Agreement
HBE	-	Home-Based Enterprises
HDI	-	Human Development Index
HIV	-	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
ID	-	Identity Card
IES	-	Institute of Environmental Studies
MDC	-	Movement for Democratic Change
NOCZIM	-	National Oil Company of Zimbabwe
NSSA	-	National Social Security Authority
NRZ	-	National Railways of Zimbabwe
PhD	-	Doctor of Philosophy
POSA	-	Public Order and Security Act
PoZ	-	Parliament of Zimbabwe

RBZ	-	Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe
ROSCA	-	Rotating Saving Scheme
RTGS	-	Real Time Gross Settlement
SADC	-	Southern Africa Development Community
SEDCO	-	Small Enterprise Development Corporation
SLF	-	Sustainable Livelihoods Framework
SPSS	-	Statistical Package for Social Scientists
UN	-	United Nations
UN Habitat	-	United Nations Habitat
UNAIDS	-	United Nations Programme on HIV and AIDS
UNICEF	-	United Nations Children's Fund
UK	-	United Kingdom
US	-	United States
USA	-	United States of America
USAID	-	United States International Development Agency
WB	-	World Bank
ZANU-PF	-	Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front
ZCTU	-	Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions
ZESA	-	Zimbabwe Electricity Supply Company
ZIMPREST	-	Zimbabwe Programme for Economic and Social Transformation
ZIMRA	-	Zimbabwe Revenue Authority
ZIMSTAT	-	Zimbabwe Statistical Agency
ZIMVAC	-	Zimbabwe Vulnerability Assessment Committee

## **CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 Introduction**

Sub-Saharan Africa is experiencing high rate of urbanisation. UN-Habitat predicts that by 2025 most of the African continent's population will be residing more in urban areas than in rural areas (UN-Habitat, 2010). The rate of urbanisation is higher in Southern Africa than in any other region on the continent with urban growth rates ranging between three to five per cent per annum (UN-Habitat, 2010). Most of the urbanisation is taking place informally and is concentrated in high-density low-income urban areas (UN-Habitat, 2016). This rapid urbanisation is accompanied not only by changes in the spatial location of households within countries but also by a deterioration in urban spaces of basic infrastructure and services (notably around housing) (Lourenco-Lindell, 2002). As well, in large part, urbanisation is de-linked from industrialisation in urban spaces or, more specifically, urban economies are not able to absorb the increasing urban populations such that high rates of unemployment exist. In response, urban citizens have improvised and devised multiple ways of generating income, and of accessing land and basic services such as water, electricity and housing (Lourenco-Lindell, 2002; Chen and Sinha, 2016; Rusca, 2017; Chen, 2016). This makes it imperative to generate sociological understandings and analyses of how residents (particularly in low-income areas) pursue household-based livelihoods. Consequently, the main objective of this thesis is to understand and explain the construction of household-based livelihood strategies in the high-density area of Budiriro in the city of Harare, the capital of Zimbabwe.

Budiriro is a low-income, high-density urban area located in the south-western part of Harare and, by the late 2000s, it had a population of 129,280 with 32,929 households (Dodge 2011; PoZ, 2010). Although there are a number of studies focusing on the livelihood strategies of urban households in different areas of Harare (Tevera and Chikanda, 2000; Mukwedeya, 2012; Chirau, 2012; Manjengwa et al., 2016), no studies have examined in any depth the livelihood activities of households of Budiriro, an area established after 1980 in post-colonial Zimbabwe. This is despite the fact that Budiriro is generally known to be characterised by extreme poverty, poor infrastructure and deficient service delivery mechanisms, much like other high-density, low-income urban areas within Harare specifically, Zimbabwe generally and sub-Saharan Africa even

more broadly (Boakye-Ansah et al., 2016). Indeed, the depth of poverty and poor service delivery led to a cholera outbreak in the year 2008 in Zimbabwe; over four thousand people died from the disease, with Budiriro being seen as the epicentre of this epidemic (Musemwa, 2010; Kone-Coulibaly et al., 2010). At the same time, there is a strong possibility that households in Budiriro engage in a plethora of livelihood strategies similar to other low-income urban areas in Harare (Jones, 2010).

## **1.2 Background to the Research Problem**

Literature on household livelihood strategies has discussed the various ways in which households respond to and manage the social, economic and political environments in which they are situated. Evidence from so-called developing countries such as Zimbabwe illustrate that the mobilisation of household resources which generate cash and sustenance tends to occur within a context where national and local governments lack the capacity or will, in part because of mismanagement and inefficiencies, to formulate and implement economic and social policies which can reduce unemployment and poverty rates, to ensure wages and salaries which keep pace with inflation, and to facilitate the availability of basic goods and services (and a functioning public infrastructure more broadly) (Hope, 2008). Allowing the market mechanism more leeway in trying to promote growth and development, as witnessed by structural adjustment programmes globally, has also not been particularly useful and positive for urban livelihoods. Because of both state and market failures, then, urban households in ‘developing’ countries are exposed to a number of ongoing crucial challenges marked by limited formal employment, shortfalls in housing, inadequate sanitary facilities, defective water supplies and drainage, and inadequate waste and sewage disposal (Smith, 1998). Furthermore, urban households have to deal at times with obstructive state authorities, such as oppressive and bureaucratic government departments, exploitative police and a multiplicity of rules and regulations, which are often combined with impediments in accessing employment, land and basic services (Mitlin and Satterthwaite, 2013).

Urban households also exist in culturally diverse and socially fragmented spaces where, owing to the heterogeneous character of the population and often loose community ties, it is difficult to build and maintain social networks (Smith, 1998; Rakodi, 2002). Under such circumstances, and

particularly when confronted with shocks such as illness, natural disasters and economic insecurity, inter-household co-operation may be problematic, with households at times ending up engaging in unsustainable means of managing risks such as begging, selling off assets and even scavenging (Beall and Fox, 2007). As well, the urban social context of low-income household livelihoods is characterised by high levels of crime and violence. For example, a study carried out in Nairobi, Kenya reported that 37 per cent of Nairobi's residents had been victims of robbery, 22 per cent victims of theft and 18 per cent had been assaulted (UN-Habitat, 2002). The study also revealed that 29 per cent of homes and 30 per cent of business properties had been burglarised (UN-Habitat, 2002).

Within this challenging urban context, households utilise cash as their main currency to gain access to basic necessities such as food, shelter, water, transportation and electricity (Gebregziabher, 2010), in large part because the urban environment is embedded in a monetised economy. Thus, when compared to rural households, urban households require higher levels of income and/or cash and this regularly entails pursuing quite diverse ways of gaining access to cash. Certainly, in urban areas it is usually not possible to maintain a household by relying only on so-called common property resources or subsistence agriculture. Even land and water – as ultimately natural resources – are subject to the forces of commodification in urban spaces (Rakodi, 2002). Food is generally expensive for urban households particularly because they usually do not grow their own food crops or keep livestock. In terms of housing, particularly amongst the large tenant population in urban spaces, households may spend more than a third of their overall household income on rent (Satterwaite and Tacoli, 2002). This is also the case when it comes to the cost of water, which at times forms 10 to 20 per cent of the expenditure of household income (Satterwaite and Tacoli, 2002). Overall, this places urban households in a situation of precarious livelihoods given the significant absence of formal and permanent employment, and with a heavy reliance on erratic labour markets and unpredictable informal economic activities.

Studies addressing how urban (and rural) households make a living have often tended to adopt some version of a Livelihoods Framework. As highlighted in the theoretical chapter (chapter two), livelihood strategies are central to the framework and are defined as capabilities, assets and

activities required to make a living (Chambers and Conway, 1992). Often the Livelihoods Framework takes the form of the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework. A household-based livelihood is said to be sustainable when it can cope and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, both in the present and in the future (Schutte, 2005). At the centre of the livelihood approach's analysis is human agency, including people's efforts, interests and priorities, as these shape the livelihood strategies pursued by households. At the same time, the framework goes beyond human agency by examining the different social, economic, spatial and cultural contexts in which households are situated, in order to gain a comprehensive understanding of how people cope with (and respond to) structural constraints as well as structural enablers (de Haan and Zoomers, 2003). Because the livelihood framework is people-centred, ensuing livelihood studies tend to focus on the ways in which households in urban areas obtain cash by engaging in various income-earning activities within both the formal and informal sectors of the economy (Moser, 2008; Hope, 2014; Owuor, 2006; Owuor and Foeken, 2006; Rakodi, 2002).

Because of high rates of formal unemployment in urban centres across Africa and elsewhere, the informal economic sector becomes extremely significant for livelihoods. Within the informal sector, which is defined by Hope (2014) as consisting of economic activities, units, enterprises and workers involved in subsistence and commercial activities outside of the realm of the formally established economy, households and individuals engage in activities which include but are not limited to the following: exchanging goods and/or services for other goods and/or services; importing scarce consumer goods, selling hard currency for local currency at black market rates and vice versa; selling and exchanging certain controlled goods such as gold, diamonds, and even arms; and becoming involved in unregistered or unincorporated small-scale productive and service activities (Hope, 2008). In the case of urban Zimbabwe, informal trading is quite central to the livelihood strategies of low-income households.

Poor households in particular engage in a number of livelihood activities to counter and address the socio-economic and political challenges of living within urban environments (Owuor, 2006). Broadly speaking, low-income households adopt three livelihood strategies, that is, income diversification, urban agriculture and strengthening of urban-rural linkages (Potts, 1997). Rakodi

(1995) notes for example that urban households seek to diversify their livelihood foundation by ensuring, if at all possible, that all adult members of the household enter into the workforce even if on a casual basis, thereby increasing sources of income. Engaging in urban agriculture as well as informal economic activities also enhances diversification, so that a broad livelihoods portfolio potentially arises. Simultaneously, poor households seek to minimise expenditure to the most basic of goods and services, with growing crops for own consumption being of some significance in this regard. But this might also include controlling household food consumption by eliminating the purchase of items such as meat, buying cheaper food and reducing the number of meals per day. In addition, households minimise expenditure for example by purchasing second-hand clothes, moving household members (such as children) to notably rural areas, and out-migration of adult members with reference to seeking and finding employment elsewhere.

Clearly, then, the diversification of livelihoods is very common in urban contexts. Households seek to diversify their livelihood base to ensure a multiplicity of income streams for household expenditures. This often involves one household member, particularly someone employed in the formal economy, entering into other livelihood activities simultaneously, even perhaps during normal work hours. In a study by Mukwedeyo (2012) of Zimbabwe during the height of the economic crisis from the early 2000s, it was noted that receiving salaries and wages in the local Zimbabwean currency was deeply troubling because of the hyper-inflationary environment which always outpaced any wage/salary increments. In addition, the attendant cash shortages caused delays in receiving the salary/wage and, with prices rising almost daily, the cash eventually obtained was at a fraction of its original worth. As a result of this situation, most workers resorted to finding ways which enabled them to supplement their meagre earnings, especially in the informal economy or in parts of the formal sector where wages were paid in United States currency. The many challenges faced by urban households in Zimbabwe from the 1990s in particular is discussed in chapter three.

For poor households, income generation and livelihood activities within urban spaces often take place within a disabling rather than an enabling policy environment. National and local authorities in 'developing' countries often have an ambivalent relationship for instance with the informal economy because of normative vision of the 21st century (world class) city which



results in policies which ultimately seek to ban households and individuals from utilising urban public spaces as legitimate spaces to gain a livelihood. Such policies are often pursued without a detailed analysis of the size and complexity of the informal economy, and without fully understanding the logic of informal actors working in a market economy and the poverty implications of misguided policies including urban squatter clearances (Cross and Karides, 2007). A good example, discussed more fully in chapter three, is that of Operation Restore Order in Zimbabwe carried out in 2005, which resulted in flea markets and all forms of street trading being halted, leading to losses of livelihoods for households in urban spaces (Chirau, 2012). Some flea markets totally collapsed while the resilient ones re-appeared after the operation. These challenges did not only arise during Operation Restore Order but at times both before and after this nation-wide state operation. Often, street traders for instance are not licensed by local government agencies and hence they exist illegally, unregulated by trading legislation and by-laws (Hlohla, 2008). In order to meet these challenges and counter these constraints, street vendors alter and refine their trading activities by: starting operations early in the morning before municipal police officers commence duties and remaining on the streets when they knock off (‘an early rise and late departure’ strategy); using signals and cues to alert one another (the ‘antagonist communicative’ strategy); and displaying books in stock while hiding the stock nearby or in pockets to minimise confiscation (the ‘deceptive commodity and merchant hiding’ strategy) (Chirisa, 2009:274). This particular example highlights both structural context and human agency, both of which are crucial to any sociological understanding of urban livelihoods.

### **1.3 Thesis Objective and Significance**

The main objective of the thesis is to *understand and explain the ongoing construction of livelihood activities by urban households in Budiro, Harare, Zimbabwe*. The secondary objectives include:

1. Identify and describe the livelihood activities of Budiro households;
2. Describe and examine socio-economic differentiation and corresponding livelihood activities amongst Budiro households;
3. Examine contemporary and historical factors influencing the livelihood activities pursued by Budiro households;

4. Identify and analyse temporal changes and livelihood trajectories of Budiro households;
5. Understand the ways in which Budiro households respond to shocks and disturbances; and
6. Examine the relevance of intra-household relations in Budiro and their impact on household livelihood activities.

The purpose of this study is to understand how livelihood activities and strategies emerge in circumstances and contexts usually not chosen but encountered, given and transmitted by the past. This is achieved by interrogating the way in which wider social, cultural, economic and political forces and structures, combined with household-based factors such as household histories and assets, shape the choices and adoption of particular livelihood strategies in Budiro. This thesis, in the context of a systemic national crisis in Zimbabwe, focuses on the agency of Budiro households and the multiple and fluid character of their livelihood strategies, as well as the complexity of their responses to shocks and stresses. Though Budiro households exist and live in conditions not of their own making, they nevertheless are actively engaged in processes of constructing and re-constructing livelihoods in negotiating their way through disabling circumstances marked by significant hardship. This thesis thus adds to the growing literature on urban livelihoods in Zimbabwe and Africa broadly. But it does so in a manner which is sensitive at the same time to structure, agency, contingency, space and time. On this basis, it is hoped that the thesis also makes an analytical contribution, no matter how limited, to understanding and explaining household-based livelihoods.

#### **1.4 Background to the Study Area**

This study was conducted in Zimbabwe which is a country bordered by South Africa to the south, Mozambique to its east, Zambia to the north, and Botswana to the west. The country covers an area of approximately 390,000 km<sup>2</sup> with a population of 13,061,239 million (ZimStat, 2012), as well as an additional estimated three million people believed to have migrated to various countries that include South Africa, Botswana, Malawi, Namibia, United Kingdom, Canada, United States of America, Australia and New Zealand. This migration has been

principally necessitated by the complex and various turbulences experienced by Zimbabweans within the spheres of the polity, society and economy in recent years (Mupedziswa, 2011).

The city of Harare is the capital city of Zimbabwe, in which the low-income, high-density community of Budiriro is located. The city is situated on a watershed plateau between two major rivers, the Limpopo and the Zambezi in the northeast of the country. According to Tawodzera et al. (2016), the population of the city experienced growth soon after independence in 1980 from 565,000 to 1,189,103 in 1992, largely as a result of rural-urban migration. The total population of the city was estimated to be standing at 2,123,132 a few years ago (ZimStat, 2012). Females are said to constitute 52 per cent of the population while males amount to 48 per cent (ZimStat, 2012). With regard to ethnicity, 98 per cent of the population is of African origin while two per cent are persons of European, Asiatic and mixed origin (ZimStat, 2012). The average annual rate of natural population increase is reported to be at 3 per cent, and the proportion of the population above 65 years is higher for persons who are of non-African origin than it is for those of African origin (ZimStat, 2012). Generally, residents within the city of Harare have experienced – primarily since the year 2000 – a massive decline in the performance of the national economy, high unemployment, an increase in poverty and extraordinary levels of inflation (Tawodzera and Zanamwe, 2016). The city is made up of 46 administrative wards and three of these wards are located in Budiriro; namely Wards 32, 33 and 43.

Harare is a product of a settler colonial political economy (Rakodi, 1995) that emphasised differentiation, domination and accumulation (Raftopoulos and Yoshikuni, 1999). It was founded in September 1890 when the Pioneer Column of White settlers organised by the British South Africa Company (BSAC) terminated its march at the site of the present city (Zinyama, 1993). The central business district (CBD) is laid out in grid street pattern and most residential areas are to the north, east and west of the CBD. From its founding, Harare was a racially-divided city with white residential areas to the north of the CBD and far away from the industrial areas (Zinyama, 1993). Black or African residential areas, where most of the black working class people who provided cheap labour lived, tended to be located closer to the industrial areas: “As in formal apartheid towns, black people were forced by law to reside in underdeveloped conditions to the south and the west of the city consistent with the direction of winds blowing

through the industrial sites which lay between the black townships and the CBD” (Bond, 1999: 187). The earliest development of a black residential area in Harare dates back to 1907 when Mbare, the oldest township, was first occupied. Mbare was developed for blacks particularly black men not living within their employers’ premises, about 2.5 kilometres southwest of the city centre, far from white residential areas (Zinyama, 1993).

At independence in 1980, the new, majority government de-racialised the administration of the city. Former white areas became known as ‘low density’ areas and became home to high-income (white and black) residents, while former black or African areas came to be called ‘high-density’ areas, and were inhabited by black low-income earners. Medium-density suburbs were also created, mostly on landfills of open areas converted for residential settlements (Zinyama, 1993). Thus the distribution of households in Harare was mainly demarcated by wealth and poverty lines. The high-income earners and those of high socio-economic status live in the low-density areas of 1,000 people per square kilometre while the low-income earners live in the high density areas of over 2,000 people per square kilometre (IES, 2012). The low-density areas usually involve land parcel sizes of about 1 acre each, while high-density areas are situated on land parcels of about 300 square metres each (Mbiba, 1998).

A study by the Institute of Environmental Studies (IES) at the University of Zimbabwe reported that high-income earners in the city of Harare earn an average income of US\$3,000 per month (IES, 2012). At the same time, low-income earners in areas such as Budiro earn slightly above US\$500 per month (IES, 2012). The mean household sizes are also positively skewed towards low-income earners (IES, 2012), with lower-income households having larger household sizes. The cost of living for an average household of five people in Harare was recently estimated to be at \$485 a month (ZimStat, 2013). As can be observed from the income differences in Harare, significant socio-economic inequalities exist. In Zimbabwe as a whole, 38 per cent of urban households live below the poverty datum line and inequality among households in urban areas is high at 0.40 on the Gini index which ranges from 0 to 1, with zero being perfect inequality while one is perfect equality (ZimStat, 2013; Manjengwa, 2016).

In accordance with the cross-subsidisation policy that was put in place after the de-racialisation of the city of Harare, to achieve equity in service provision residents of high-income areas pay proportionally higher rates and taxes than those in low-income areas (Manzungu, 2013). Those living within low-income urban spaces such as Budiro, however, tend to live in overcrowded and unhygienic conditions, without sanitary facilities, clean water, solid waste collection or proper drainage because of rapid urbanisation (Tannerfeldt and Ljung, 2006). The high-density areas are also prone to disease outbreaks and experience environmental hazards arising from density and exposure to multiple pollutants. For example, typhoid and cholera outbreaks have become predictable each rainy season in many of Harare's high-density areas in recent years (Manjengwa et al., 2016).

#### **1.4.1 Low-Income Neighbourhoods in Harare**

The establishment of Budiro lies within the history of low-income housing in Zimbabwe. When the European colonisers established urban settlements during the 1890s, their labour requirements had to be met by the indigenous Africans who at the time were numbered to be about 250,000 (Brown, 2001; Musekiwa, 1995). Measures were taken to control the movement of Africans and their influx into urban areas and towns through for example the Accommodation and Registration Act (No. 6 of 1946). This act required that local authorities set up urban locations for Natives (or Africans) and provide adequate housing for Africans. The act also required that employers provide free accommodation on their own premises or to hire accommodation in locations (or townships) for their Native/African employees (Musekiwa, 1995). The act, which sought to control the influx of Africans into urban areas, confined Africans to specific places in urban areas in terms of residency (Musemwa, 2010).

As the population of Africans in urban areas grew to support industry's labour requirements in the country, the Rhodesian government constructed several thousand houses and also amended the Land Apportionment Act (originally passed in 1930) in 1961. The amendment introduced home ownership schemes within African townships but its implementation was constrained by the lack of finance for the programme, given that few Africans at the time could afford the full cost of building a house and also of purchasing land (Brown, 2001; Musemwa, 2010). Between 1907 and 1979, there was the development (either through the direct aegis of the Rhodesian

government or by parastatals) of ten strictly black urban residential areas. The residential areas were located in parts of Harare where land for future expansion was limited and this land was located as far away as possible from the city. These black (or African) residential areas were Highfield (established 1935), Mabvuku (1952), Mufakose (1959), Rugare (mid-1950s), Dzivarasekwa (1961), Marimba Park (1961), Kambuzuma (1964), Tafara (1967), Glen Norah (1971), and Glen View (1979) (Zinyama, 1993). The development in the 1970s of urban complexes like Chitungwiza, 25 kilometres south of Harare, was a result of the colonial government's decision to forcefully pursue policies similar to those of Apartheid South Africa (Zinyama, 1993:26). In line with these restrictive policies, land for expansion of black residential areas was unavailable in the more established black areas. As a result, the black population was located in areas even at a greater distance from the CBD, with these areas having inadequate road networks.

To balance the need for financing low-income housing for Africans while avoiding the idea that European settlers were subsidising housing for poorer Africans, the settler government decided to fund services such as health, recreation and welfare for African townships, particularly through rentals from council houses and profits from council beer halls and other sources (Musekiwa, 1995). This policy for low-income housing however yielded insufficient housing and services due to the nature of the financing and the rapid in-migration caused by the escalating war of liberation during the 1970s (Rakodi and Mutizwa-Mangiza, 1990). According to Potts and Mutambirwa (1981), the housing backlog that stood at 30,000 in 1974 grew massively to 61,000 by 1977, mainly amongst low-income black households.

When the new (Zimbabwean) government was launched in 1980, legislation based on racial discrimination was repealed resulting in greater freedom of movement from rural to urban areas. This resulted in the further increase of populations in urban areas of Zimbabwe and a need for government to address the demand for shelter and provide services within cities and urban settlements. Potts and Mutambirwa (1981) estimated that in 1981 the national housing backlog was at 56,000 units, which increased to 64,000 units the following year. They also note that the national housing backlog was increasing at a rate of 15 per cent per year, and the First Five Year

National Development Plan of 1986-1990 indicated that the housing backlog was at 240,000 units.

To address the challenge of providing additional infrastructure for the growing urban population, the government in 1982 adopted the Transitional National Development Plan (1982-1985) (Musekiwa, 1995). Within this plan, government allocated 22 per cent of the national budget to the Public Sector Investment Programme on housing and infrastructure. The government together with private financial institutions and donor organisations (such as the World Bank, the Commonwealth Development Cooperation and USAID) designed a site-and-service scheme which concentrated on servicing plots with or without a core housing unit, strengthening governmental administration of the urban sector and the-development of private finance for low-income housing (World Bank, 1994; Musekiwa, 1995). These schemes proliferated and led to the establishment of locations such as Warren Park, Dzivarasekwa, Hatcliffe and Kuwadzana (Musekiwa, 1995). Beneficiaries were granted loans at a fixed interest rate of 9.75 per cent, to purchase land and build a house. Selected occupants were expected to repay the loan over 30 years. This strategy fell short of meeting the nature and extent of the housing demand due to the growing recession of the economy from the late 1980s after the initial post-independence boom. Low levels of foreign direct investment, escalating building costs and also shortfalls in the budget allocation to the Ministry of Construction and Housing were all characteristic of the time.

#### **1.4.2 Establishment of Budiriro**

Through the site-and-service national housing policy, the low-density area of Budiriro was established in Harare in 1985. The World Bank initiated the housing scheme in 1987. The overall objective of the project was to promote Zimbabwe's financial and institutional capacity to supply affordable housing by concentrating the activities of local authorities on the supply of serviced land and by introducing private sector financing through existing financial intermediaries. The project also sought to strengthen local government institutions' capacity to supply urban infrastructure. The project's components included providing residential plots in Budiriro (and three other towns outside the capital city), provision of loans by three building societies to selected occupants for the construction of low-income housing, and institutional development targeted towards strengthening the capacity for urban management of all local governments in

Zimbabwe (World Bank, 1994). The Commonwealth Development Corporation contributed Z\$10 million to the building societies as seed capital for their entry into low-income mortgage arrangements (World Bank, 1994). In this way, a new system for the production of low-income housing was developed which linked the owner/builder with mortgage finance through thrift institutions (World Bank, 1994). However, the sustainability of the site-and-service scheme faced challenges from the start, emanating from the lack of domestic capital to finance the scheme, the inability of building societies to attract savings, and the overall scarcity of capital (World Bank, 1994). It was also not profitable necessarily to lend to the low-income residential markets, and this made it unattractive for the private sector taking into consideration that there was an option of lending to more remunerative and less risky middle and high income individuals (World Bank, 1994).

Regardless of these challenges pertaining to the site-and-service scheme, Budiro was established. Located in the southwestern area of Harare sharing borders with similar low-income high-density neighbourhoods such as Glen View and Mufakose (PoZ, 2009), Budiro has grown in size and scale from 12,000 initial households (World Bank, 1987) to a population of more than 129,280 with 32,929 households (PoZ, 2009). This growth led Budiro to be divided into three wards, that is, wards 33, 32 and 43. Budiro has a total of seven primary schools, two secondary schools, six health facilities and five business centres that house a variety of business ventures ranging from retail supermarkets to small vending operations.

## **1.5 Researching Budiro**

This section discusses the research process and procedures underpinning the thesis. In doing so, it refers to such issues as research methodology, sampling, data collection methods and analysis, and research challenges.

### **1.5.1 Research Methodology**

To achieve the thesis objectives, this study utilised a mixed methods approach which combined qualitative and quantitative methods in the collection of data. The mixed methods approach allows for the integration of diverse data as well as the concurrent or sequential collection and analysis of both qualitative and quantitative data within a single study (Creswell et al., 2003).



There are two major perspectives to combining qualitative and quantitative research methods. The perspective of paradigm purism discourages using both quantitative and qualitative methods within a single study because these methods are linked to two different philosophies (including epistemological and ontological claims), that of positivism and constructivism respectively. The proponents of this perspective believe that the philosophical stances are so divergent that they should be kept separated and that any attempt to combine them entails methodological incompatibility and confusion (Knox, 2004). The other perspective, namely the compatibility paradigm, argues that it is possible and indeed desirable at times to address a research problem by drawing upon the philosophies of both positivism and constructivism by choosing selectively appropriate quantitative and qualitative methods (Tolossa, 2005). Because the thesis is not solely rooted in positivism, there is no attempt to establish causal relationships. Rather, household activities are conditioned by (not caused by) the broader social-structural context. Further, what that context entails (as constructionists would claim) is subjected to understandings and interpretations by households and they enact agency and construct their livelihoods in and through these understandings.

This thesis adopted the compatibility perspective in recognition that – as an ontological claim – social reality is multi-dimensional and stratified, with quantitative and qualitative methods combined allowing for an examination of the different dimensions of social reality. The thesis argues that livelihoods (such as in Budiriro) are constructed through intentional social action, and thereby it acknowledges the importance of constructionism. But, along the lines of positivism, the thesis also appreciates that there is a structured reality within which livelihoods are pursued and constructed, and which exists in a manner which is simply not reducible to multiple social constructions of this reality. Because of this, and using quantitative and qualitative methods, the thesis is able to offer an examination which both understands and explains the lives and livelihoods of low-income households in Budiriro. Additionally, while quantitative methods such as surveys provide for the breadth (or extensiveness) of evidence and in a manner which allows for possible generalisations to a wider population, qualitative methods ensure more in-depth and intensive scrutiny of social phenomenon including the ways in which research subjects understand and give meaning to their world (Hulme, 2007). In the end, the use of diverse

research methods allows for an analysis of Budiro livelihoods from multi-faceted angles and contributes to enhancing the reliability and validity of the thesis findings.

### **1.5.2 Gaining Entry and Sequencing**

The study began with a review of some relevant primary documents (such as state policy and programmatic documents) and secondary literature, a process that over time led to the development of a survey questionnaire, life history guide and focus group discussion guide used to collect data for this study. During the review of primary documents, I gained sensitivity to the need to approach specific key government offices for purposes of gaining entry into the research site of Budiro. These necessary administration offices included: the office of the city mayor and the police in Budiro. The first step was to seek permission from the mayor's office or relevant officials in the mayor's office located at Town House in the Central Business District of Harare city. When I arrived at the mayor's office, the secretary to the mayor referred me to the Public Relations department of the city, where I was then referred to the Town Clerk from where I was referred to the Department of Human Resources and Capacity Building of the city. At the Department of Human Resources and Capacity Building, I was instructed to write an application for permission letter addressed to the Director's office attached with proof that I was enrolled at Rhodes University for a PhD Degree within the Department of Sociology. Also to be attached were the research proposal and the research instruments I intended to use to gather data. Within a week of submitting the application for permission, I received a letter from the Director of Human Resources and Capacity Building approving my study and granting me permission to conduct research in the aforementioned wards, with a request to submit the complete thesis to the city of Harare once the study was completed.

In compliance with the Public Order and Security Act of Zimbabwe of 2002 (POSA), which states that any gathering of more than three people constitutes a crowd and legally requires a permit, I decided to notify the police in Budiro of my study in order to get the necessary permit to be able to conduct focus group discussions. At Budiro Police station I was asked to fill out application forms as well as to attach proof of being a PhD candidate at Rhodes University along with the research proposal and the research instruments. After providing all the documentation, the police in Budiro requested that I take the documents to the Police Intelligence Unit at its

regional headquarters in the Southerton suburb of Harare. Accordingly, I submitted the documents and I was asked to return after a week to check on the progress of my application. Unfortunately, the officer within the Police Intelligence Unit informed me verbally that my application to conduct focus group discussions in Budiriro had been denied. The officer mentioned that researching livelihoods was considered as political. When I tried to explain that the research was purely for academic purposes, the officer reiterated that the application had been declined.

However, based on the clearance I had from the City of Harare officials, I decided to proceed to conduct a small-scale survey with 300 selected households in Budiriro. In this quantitative survey, information was collected on economic activities in which households are engaged, household assets, incomes and expenditure patterns, economic well-being of households and outcomes of livelihood strategies. The household survey was followed by qualitative research involving in the first instance the collection of life history interviews. After I completed life histories I then conducted focus group discussions with household heads from Budiriro. I photocopied the letter from the city council which I would share with potential study participants who wanted to know if I had the necessary permission to conduct the study. Because I had not received clearance from the police in Budiriro to conduct focus group discussions and I did not want to endanger focus group participants as well as myself, I organised a safe place at the University of Zimbabwe where I am employed, and where we could freely sit and discuss without fearing the implications of POSA. In this way the law was not broken and data collection through focus group discussions was not compromised. I provided study participants with bus fare to come to and leave the venue. All the participants I had selected for the focus group discussions showed up as they were eager to share their experiences and talk about their livelihood situation in Budiriro. The fieldwork was carried out from 1<sup>st</sup> of May 2015 to 31<sup>st</sup> October 2015.

### **1.5.3 Sampling**

This study utilised a multiple sampling strategy. For the quantitative dimension, I employed a random sampling strategy, which minimised bias in ward and household selections. For the qualitative sample, I sought to ensure maximum variation. The first level of sampling (for the

quantitative dimension) was at ward level. The study demarcated Budiriro neighbourhoods on a map, identified their names and gave each neighbourhood a unique number. After this, I proceeded to generate random numbers to select two neighbourhoods from each ward. For example, if ward 43 (one of the wards in Budiriro) had ten neighbourhoods, these neighbourhoods were named and numbered one up to ten. A website (<http://www.random.org/integers/>) was used to generate two random numbers between one and the maximum number of neighbourhoods in the ward (in this case, ten). The random number that was generated by the website determined the two neighbourhoods to be studied in each ward. After determining the two neighbourhoods to be studied in each ward, I selected the houses or properties which would participate in the study in each neighbourhood, up to a maximum of 50 households per neighbourhood. In total, the quantitative survey had a sample of three hundred households, selected through the generation of random numbers.

In Budiriro, as in many high-density areas in Harare, properties are clearly numbered in a consecutive fashion. Therefore, the study used the pre-existing numbers to generate random numbers for the selection of households. For example, if households in one of the selected neighbourhoods in ward 43 started from numbers 1300, 1301 ... to 1400, the researcher would enter the lowest household number and the highest household number into the relevant website (<http://www.random.org/integers/>) to generate 50 random numbers. The random numbers generated by the website determined the 50 households to be targeted in each neighbourhood. This process was repeated for each neighbourhood until a total of 300 households was reached. In addition, I developed a protocol for replacement of households where a particular household refused to participate or was not available at the time of the study. In instances where there was multiple household occupancy on one property, one household would be chosen randomly for inclusion in the study. Because of the use of random sampling, it can be argued that the survey results are broadly representative of Budiriro as a whole.

For the qualitative data, involving life history interviews and focus group discussions, the study utilised maximum variation sampling. This strategy was advantageous because it allowed the researcher to select different kinds of households with different characteristics for the qualitative study, particularly covering different forms of livelihood strategies and outcomes. With the

survey completed and results subjected to preliminary analysis, the sequencing of the fieldwork enabled me to select participants for life histories and focus group discussions based on the preliminary survey results. In selecting these participants for maximum variation, I sought to focus on variation in the socio-economic status of Budiriro survey respondents, ensuring the inclusion of better-off, average and poor households. I also tried to ensure that both men and women were included as participants in the qualitative research methods. However, a majority of those who had been involved in the quantitative study refused to be involved in any further fieldwork, stating various reasons including fatigue as well as lack of direct benefits to them. Either way, this process of selection for the qualitative research entailed non-random purposeful sampling which sought to ensure diversity in terms of socio-economic status and gender.

Because of this, all of the people involved in the life histories had not participated in the initial survey. In total, 27 life history interviews were conducted. I used convenience purposive sampling to select participants. I initially identified people through convenience sampling by identifying people who were visibly engaging in income generating activities such as welding, tombstone manufacturing, vending and others. After talking to these people and interviewing them, I asked them to link me to other respondents that I could talk to, whether they were engaged in income generation or not. Of the five people that I initially approached, 2 were women. Through snowball sampling, I was able to reach a further 2 people per node (i.e. per each of the initial 5) resulting in 15 life history interviews. On several occasions, I also walked through the neighborhood and approached people sitting on their doorsteps and asked them to participate. I selected 10 people this way (2 from each neighborhood). I did this to ensure that even those who were not engaged in both formal and informal employment could be captured in the life histories. I concluded the life history interviews when I felt that a theoretical saturation point had been reached. A theoretical saturation point is the point at which data collection ceases to generate any interesting or new insights and themes regarding the subject being investigated (Corbin and Strauss, 1990).

I conducted 5 focus group discussions with an average of 6 participants per focus group. In each of the 5 neighbourhoods in Budiriro, I held one group discussion. Due to limited resources, I was not able to have separate focus groups for men and women. However, to ensure that I captured

men and women's voices, each focus group was mixed gender with 3 women and 3 men. The six participants (all household heads) were selected from each of the five neighborhoods through a snowballing approach. I ensured that women participated actively in the group discussions by engaging with them directly through questions such as: 'what do you as women think?'. I did not use socio-economic differentiation as a basis for the selection of group participants because of the small numbers of participants. At the start of each discussion, I would explain the purpose of the focus group to gain verbal informed consent. After each participant agreed to participate, the researcher took their telephone numbers and then coordinated with him or her on the best way to come to the place where the focus group discussion would take place.

#### **1.5.4 Data Collection Methods**

As indicated earlier, this study utilised both qualitative and quantitative research methods. I first discuss quantitative methods which took the form of the survey.

To undertake the household survey, research assistants with undergraduate degrees in the social sciences were selected from Budiriro through an interview process. After recruitments, I had a training session for 4 days where I trained the research assistants on the purpose of the study and how to implement the survey. The training also focused on how to administer the survey questionnaire. While I also implemented some survey questionnaires, the research assistants implemented the majority of questionnaires. However, I coordinated the entire process and, at the end of each field day, I would meet with the research assistants for debriefing sessions. The debriefing session included discussing any bottlenecks experienced, whether research assistants were able to meet their target for the day, and any difficulties in implementing the questionnaire research tool. With regard to the survey, I collected all the questionnaires at the end of each day and went through them for quality checks before entering the data in the study's data base.

Quantitative research involves the numerical representation of observations for the purpose of describing and explaining the phenomena which those observations reflect (Casebeer and Verhoef, 1997). Quantitative data gathering for the thesis involved a household survey questionnaire used to identify – amongst other things – basic household demographics, household income and expenditure, and livelihood strategies of households. The primary target

groups for the household survey were male and female household heads. The purpose of the survey was to understand the economic activities of the household heads first and foremost, but also how any other household members (whether present or not at the time of survey) contribute to household income if at all. This facilitated a well-rounded and comprehensive portrait of each household's economic well-being and livelihood activities. In doing so, it allowed for the identification of common livelihood patterns across Budiro households. Perhaps more importantly, diversity in livelihood patterns (and overall economic well-being) within Budiro as a low-income area in Harare could be shown, with explanations offered for both commonality and diversity (see Appendix One).

The life history interviews were done in Shona and were recorded with permission from the participant and later transcribed and translated into English. A life history relates to a person's account of his or her life, such that it is a technique which produces in-depth experiential evidence textured by the respondent's own interpretations of his or her experiences and the social economic and political circumstances within which the life experiences unfolded and the ways in which the person continues to be an active agent (Atkinson, 1998; Gluck and Patai, 1991). For this thesis, life histories (see Appendix Two) enabled the researcher to gain data on the individual life courses of household heads and how their livelihood strategies changed over time. It thus complemented the survey method in that, unlike the survey which offers in the main a snapshot of current Budiro livelihoods, the life histories capture temporal changes in livelihoods and the ebbs and flows in household-based livelihood dynamics. In doing so, the life histories demonstrate how the past informs the present realities of households in Budiro and their livelihood activities, and the ways in which these change over time. While set livelihood patterns over time are discernable, these patterns are not static and are subject to change, with the reasons for these changes requiring an understanding of how household heads make sense of the wider turbulent social context (in Zimbabwe) and its impact on their households. In general, then, from the perspective of the interviewees, the life history method allowed the researcher to examine what led a specific household head to engage in a particular activity, what challenges arose, what opportunities were available, how the household head responded and the reasons behind such responses.

Focus group discussions with household heads in Budiriro further enabled the researcher to discover and understand the meanings and interpretations of household heads with reference to livelihood strategies in Budiriro. The focus group discussions (see Appendix Three) not only delved into the stories, experiences, opinions, beliefs, needs and concerns of the selected household heads but also allowed for the clarification of individual points of view within the group, a phenomenon referred to as the ‘group effect’ (Liamputtong, 2010). Rabiee (2004: 657) thus suggests that “the uniqueness of a focus group is its ability to generate data based on the synergy of the group interaction”. From this perspective, the participants in the focus groups were at times challenged to think beyond their own everyday understandings as they were confronted with the thoughts and ideas of others. Overall, the focus groups provided thick descriptions about issues which relate to the construction of livelihoods in Budiriro. The discussions were facilitated by the researcher following a set focus group guide, and in Shona, and they were recorded and later on transcribed.

Finally, relevant primary documentation was collected. This included local and national government reports and policy texts as well as non-governmental records and statistics which provided evidence either directly or indirectly related to Budiriro. Such material also includes census reports and enumeration maps from the Zimbabwe Statistics Agency. Of course, in addition to primary documentation, a significant body of relevant academic literature was studied to contextualise the Budiriro research.

### **1.5.5 Data Analysis**

Quantitative data collected through the household survey questionnaire was analysed using the computer-based Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS). This software was suitable for analysing the data collected from the three hundred households interviewed through the household survey questionnaire. The data was first recorded into Microsoft Excel, checked for inconsistencies and then imported into SPSS for processing and analysis. Presentation of the quantitative data through SPSS includes frequencies, percentages, averages cross tabulations and logistic regression models. As indicated earlier, I sought to analyse the data soon after the end of the survey to enable identification of participants for the qualitative research.



For qualitative data analysis, this study followed three analytical procedures, as advocated for example by Strauss and Cobin (1990), as these seemed to best serve the purpose of the research. The procedures are: familiarisation with data, coding of data and enfolding literature into the analysis. The search for meaning from the data meant that interrogation of qualitative data began in the early stages of data collection and ended at the last stages of thesis writing. Thus it is important to note that the analysis of data began with the data collection and that it was an iterative and continuous process to ensure that the data speaks to the thesis topic and objectives.

Familiarisation with data entailed listening and re-listening to the focus group discussion and life history recordings, and reading and studying the transcripts and notes so as to gain a grasp of the complex content of the evidence collected. By transcribing all interviews, the researcher was also able to keep in contact (so to speak) with data and thereby become wholly conversant with issues that were central to livelihood activities and strategies in Budiriro as well as the factors that influence them.

This enabled the researcher to identify common as well as peculiar themes emerging from the data. Thus, following familiarisation with the qualitative data, the researcher engaged in coding involving the extrapolation of key themes from the data through categorisation and conceptualisation. All data was coded and analysed thematically. Thematic analysis generally focuses on identifiable themes and patterns of living and practices (Aronson, 1994) and these themes and patterns are often based on conversation topics, vocabulary, meanings and feelings (Taylor and Bogdan, 1984) arising in and through qualitative research.

The enfolding of academic literature into the analysis was also done. This involves finding out the similarities, differences and contradictions of the emerging data with existing literature. In addition to the preliminary review of academic literature carried out prior to the design and implementation of the research, this body of academic literature was constantly consulted as themes, concepts and relationships emerged from the data.

#### **1.5.6 Research Ethics and Challenges**

Data collection was guided by an acute awareness of research ethics. The right of participants to

privacy, safety and confidentiality was observed throughout the whole research process. Data sheets and individual interviews were anonymised during analysis and archiving to avoid identification of the respondents. Informed consent was used in the case of all of the research participants. Appropriate details of the study, what it intends to achieve and the purposes for which the findings will primarily be used (for the researcher's PhD study), including the fact that they may as well be used in the publication of journal articles and other related academic material, were explained to the participants. As well, participants were informed of their right to seek clarification on any questions or issues raised during the course of interaction as well as the right to refuse to respond to some or all of the questions asked and/or withdraw from the research at any point, and for any reason. Consent was undertaken verbally rather than through a written consent form, as it became clear from the start of the research that Budiriro residents (in the context of heightened political conflict in the country) did not want their names attached to any document related to the gathering of their views.

Throughout the research process, no photographs were taken. Prosser et al. (1998) and Flick (1998) note that the taking and use of photographs can be advantageous, and they allow for the stimulation of memories and conversations that move beyond what is contained within the picture. During the proposal writing phase of the thesis, I had planned to take photographs during the data collection phase to enhance the meaning of the findings and text in the thesis. However, after accessing the field, I realised that the use of cameras was associated with tabloid newspapers particularly *H-Metro*. I quickly realised the apprehensiveness that the taking of photographs would generate from my respondents and, in considering the need to create as much rapport as possible to elicit valid and reliable data, I decided not to take any photographs (even though I am an avid recreational photographer and the temptation was always there).

A key challenge in the collection of data for this study emanated from the laws that are contained in the Public Order and Security Act of Zimbabwe introduced in 2002. This piece of legislation made it difficult, as indicated, for the researcher to carry out data collection in Budiriro with regards to focus group discussions. Another key challenge, and limitation of the study, is that political leaders and officials refused to be interviewed although the researcher attempted to make appointments with them on several occasions. Those who refused to participate included

district officials, councilors and Member of Parliament representing the people of Budiro. The District Officer at the city council offices in Budiro indicated that she did not want to be quoted and thus declined to be interviewed. After communicating with the councilors and Member of Parliament by telephone and setting up appointments to meet in Budiro for interviews, the individuals simply did not answer their mobile phones on the agreed day of the interviews. Therefore, any policy discussions in this thesis are based on policy implementation as experienced by Budiro respondents as well as secondary literature and primary documentation. Again, this challenge raises the existence of political tension and turbulence within contemporary Zimbabwe, and the problems researchers continue to encounter.

## **1.6 Thesis Outline**

Chapter Two provide the theoretical framing for the thesis by in large part adopting Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF) but in a manner which is strengthened by macro-sociological theorising, most notably the work of Pierre Bourdieu. and the Bourdieu's logic of practice theory. Chapter Three locates contemporary urban livelihoods in Budiro in broader social processes by providing a structuralist analysis of the political economy of Zimbabwe, with a particular focus on the multiple crises confronted by urban households over time. The next three chapters detail the case study for the thesis, namely, urban livelihoods in Budiro. Chapter Four discusses the overall characteristics of the studied households in Budiro, including socio-economic differentiation within Budiro, the contemporary livelihood strategies of households in Budiro and their responses to various shocks. Chapter Five examines the historical and contemporary influences under which Budiro households seek to construct and re-construct their household-based livelihoods. While the emphasis is on economic and political factors, attention is also given to cultural issues around gender and kinship relationships. Chapter Six presents and analyses life histories of selected respondents from the Budiro study in order to consider distinctive livelihood patterns and pathways over decades, as well as the sheer turbulent and dynamic character of Budiro livelihoods as households continuously manoeuvre their way through troubling urban circumstances and contingencies. Finally, in Chapter Seven, concluding thoughts are put forward in reflecting upon the objectives and findings of thesis, and how these relate back to analytical understandings of urban livelihood

## **CHAPTER TWO: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **2.1 Introduction**

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a theoretical framework for the study of household-based livelihood construction in Budiriro. This framework facilitates a systematic and comprehensive identification and examination of the complexities of livelihood construction amongst Budiriro households. A number of studies focusing on livelihoods (both rural and urban) have utilised the Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF) in seeking to analyse the character of household-based livelihood activities and the factors that shape, enable and constrain them. These studies have been quite prevalent for studies of low-income households in Africa, Asia and Latin America. The thesis adopts the SLF as the basis for the examination of the livelihoods of Budiriro households but it does so by drawing upon macro-level sociological theorising in order to strengthen the analytical insights of the framework. Even though the SLF has proven to be a useful and legitimate middle-level theory for livelihoods studies, it has a number of weaknesses related to questions around structure and agency which can be counteracted by Bourdieu's theory of the logic of social practices. The following sections discuss and analyse the key dimensions of the SLF as well as its strengths and weaknesses, and then critically discusses Bourdieu's work in relation to enhancing the analytical power of the livelihoods framework.

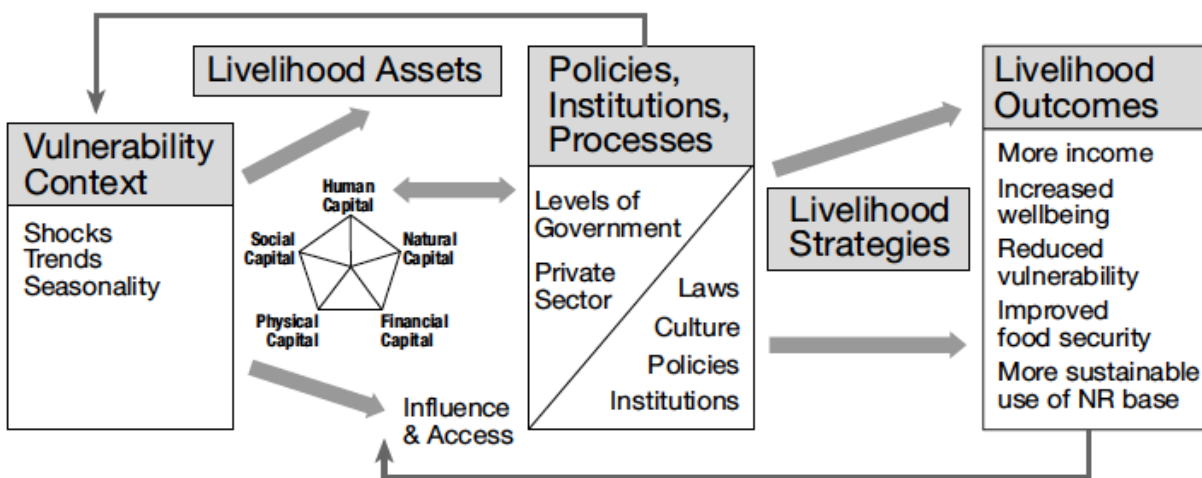
### **2.2 The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework**

The goal of the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF) is to provide an intellectual understanding of the lives and livelihoods of people, particularly at household level, located principally in the Global South and, often more specifically, poor households in the Global South that exist under conditions of heightened vulnerability (de Haan, 2012). The framework was initially applied to studying rural households but, due to its apparent ability to describe and examine key elements of livelihoods, it has also been widely applied to urban contexts (de Haan, 2012; Chirau, 2012; Rouse and Ali, 2000; Moser, 1996; Rakodi and Lloyd-Jones, 2002; Pryer 2003; Verrest, 2007). The framework also has a strong programmatic dimension to it and is linked historically to international donor organisations which seek to enhance livelihood conditions and activities across the globe. In this context, it is said to be more people-centred in

emphasising bottom-up and participatory development methodologies instead of centralised top-down development approaches and practices.

Within the SLF, a livelihood is defined as a combination of capabilities, assets (including material, economic and social resources) and activities required for a means of living (Chambers and Conway, 1992). The SLF looks at how within a given context (characterised by policy settings, politics, history, agro-ecology, and socio-economic conditions), livelihood resources or assets are combined to result in the ability of a household (or an individual or community) to pursue a combination of livelihood strategies or merely a single livelihood strategy while also paying attention to the outcomes of these strategies (Scoones, 1998). In doing so, the framework also analyses the institutional processes which mediate the ability to carry out such strategies and achieve the set objectives (Scoones, 1998). The SLF encompasses five key elements. These elements are: livelihood assets; the vulnerability context; policies, institutions, and processes; livelihood strategies and livelihood outcomes. The relationship between these key elements is diagrammatically illustrated in Figure 1 below.

**Figure 1: Sustainable Livelihoods Framework**



**Source:** Bohle (2009).

### 2.2.1 Assets

Assets, also called resources or capitals in the SLF, are the building blocks used by households to construct a means of living, to pursue their wellbeing, and to ensure some form of future

household security (Koster, 2009). For Bebbington (1999), assets become the basis of a household's capability or power to act out their livelihoods, or to enact agency. This might entail simply reproducing, possibly challenging or even changing the broader social-institutional setup which governs the control and use of resources at household level.

Assets are categorised in different ways by different livelihood scholars. Corbett (1988) for example argues that assets can be categorised into investment and productive assets. Investment assets include savings, insurance and items such as jewelry from which value is usually extracted during times of systemic crisis. Productive assets include objects such as land and/or houses, whose primary function is to be productive by generating income while storing up value (Corbett 1988). Grown and Sebstad (1989) highlight physical assets such as property, human assets such as time and skills, social assets, and collective assets (including common property or public sector entitlements). They also speak more specifically of 'opportunities' for livelihood options, consisting of kinship and friendship networks, institutional mechanisms, organisational and group membership as well as partnership relations. Chambers and Conway (1992) divide assets into tangible and intangible assets. Tangible assets include resources and stores, while intangible assets consist of claims and access. Similarly, Moser (1998) notes the differences between tangible and intangible assets but identifies labour, human capital and other productive assets, such as housing, under tangible assets and household relations and social capital under intangible assets. Scoones (1998) identifies four types of assets or capitals: natural capital (the natural resource stocks and environmental services), economic or financial capital, human capital (including skills, knowledge, labour, health, and physical ability) and social capital. Bebbington (1999) differentiates between productive, human, natural, social and cultural capital, in which the latter refers to the significance of well-entrenched cultural practices. Finally, Ellis (2000) differentiates between material and social assets, while political capital is also identified at times as a specific kind of asset or capital.

Clearly, then, there are diverse categorisations and terminologies used in unpacking and identifying the complexities internal to the notion of asset/capital/resource. These differences however are not inconsistent with each other and indeed facilitate an understanding of the diversity of available assets. All scholars are also in agreement that assets form the foundation

for livelihood activities and strategies and that, in order to achieve livelihood outcomes, households have to access, expand, combine and transform as well as exchange different assets. Assets are a necessity in achieving specific livelihood outcomes and hence any focus on the agency of households requires an examination of the asset base of households. In detailing assets, I adopt a reasonably standard categorisation found in the livelihoods literature, namely, natural, physical, human, financial and social capitals or assets (Scoones, 1998).

*Natural capital* refers to the natural resource base composed of soil, land, water and biological resources such as trees. It also refers to agro-biodiversity from which resource flows and services useful for livelihoods are derived (Scoones, 1998). Natural resources are particularly important for livelihoods in rural spaces but, in urban areas, these resources are also of some significance and they can have direct and indirect relationships with other assets such as human capital (Meikle, 2002). Within an urban context, households may utilise their surrounding agro-biodiversity to generate a means of survival as can be witnessed in the practice of urban agriculture where residents utilise urban land for farming purposes (usually to enhance food production and security within the urban monetised setting) (Koster, 2008; Kollmair and Juli, 2002). Use of land, however, depends on rights of access and policy restrictions around this.

According to Koster (2008), *physical assets* refer to those fixed assets that are brought into existence by economic production processes. These assets include tools, machines, houses, irrigation canals, electricity supply and roads. Furthermore, these assets can be individually produced or owned, or they can qualify as public works. This distinction of the origin and ownership of physical capital has an impact on the livelihood opportunities open to individuals and households. In urban areas, physical capital or assets can be used for productive uses such as renting out rooms or operating home-based – normally informal – economic activities, which are important for economic productive and social reproductive purposes (Moser, 1998; Amis, 1999; Beall and Kanji, 1999). Households with home-based economic activities are generally less vulnerable particularly if these activities complement other livelihood activities in existence, such as formal employment (Verrest, 2007). The availability of physical capital is significant in diverse ways. For instance, a regular and affordable supply of electricity makes it possible for manufacturing industries to develop. Similarly, proper roads make travelling and trade possible,

either locally or beyond, and the availability of clean drinking water reduces the occurrence of certain diseases. Such physical capital though, which is publically owned and maintained, is not under the direct control of households and hence a relationship of dependence on the state emerges. However, physical capital (or the lack thereof) impacts on the diversity and viability of potential household-based livelihoods.

*Human capital*, especially in the area of labour activities, is a fundamental livelihood asset for urban residents (Rakodi, 1999; Meikle, 2002; Hendricks, 2010). Scoones (1998) refers to human capital as the skills, knowledge, ability to labour and good health and physical capability that is necessary for the successful pursuit of different livelihood strategies. Similarly, Hendricks (2010) views human capital as the quantitative and qualitative aspects of labour resources such as health status, skills and education, labour and available working hours. This type of capital can be enhanced or inhibited by the state's macro policies and policies, such as with reference to public education and health services, and is pivotal in the construction of urban household livelihoods.

*Financial capital* refers to the monetary base or resources that people have access to (savings, access to credit facilities, wages, pensions and remittances) and that are essential for the pursuit of any livelihood strategy (Koster, 2009). This is particularly the case in urban centres with limited access to a natural resource base and in which the economy and access to goods is rooted in ongoing marketisation and commoditisation. In countries with a high inflation rate, where money becomes devalued on a significant scale, physical goods such as livestock or household appliances often play a critical role in that they become a store of wealth in financial terms. Given that the urban context is highly monetised, access to monetary income and availability of financial services is crucial for the survival of urban households as well as for longer-term investments. There are two fundamental characteristics of this capital which are its liquidity – how readily these resources can be turned into cash – and its fungibility (Ellis 2000), which means that financial capital (more than any other category of capital) can be switched or converted into other capitals more easily.

Moser (1998) refers to *social capital* as the reciprocity which exists between households or



within communities based on the trust deriving from social ties. Scoones (1998) describes it as the social resources upon which people draw when pursuing different livelihood strategies. This capital can be obtained in two ways: first through inheritance, that is, through one's position in society rooted in kinship relationships; and second, through deliberate efforts of building trust and reciprocal relationships. Either way, social capital is regularly seen as a productive resource which cements bonds and builds bridges between households and that deepens through its use. It is generated and maintained by individual actors acting together through a myriad of everyday interactions (Ali and Niehof, 2007).

The livelihoods literature has at times been criticised for romanticising social capital in the sense of focusing exclusively on its benefits. It is generally recognised though that it also has costs, with benefits for some taking place at the expense of costs for others. This is because social relationships and networks simultaneously involve processes of inclusion and exclusion. Overall, social capital can result in the exclusion of outsiders, in excessive claims even on group members and restrictions on individual freedoms (Coleman, 1988; Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993). What is also problematic is that, while social networks need to be nurtured and investments in networks made to ensure regular support, there is no guarantee that investments made in the past will bear fruit in the future (Nombo, 2007).

### **2.2.2 Vulnerability Context**

Another important element within the SLF is what is referred to as the vulnerability context. The vulnerability context is a set of conditions and events such as shocks, trends and seasonal variations as well as structures and processes, which enhance or inhibit sustainable livelihoods (Moser, 1998). The vulnerability contexts of urban households usually consist of elements that relate to their legal or formal statuses within the urban environment, the deprived living environment (including the built environment), and the near absolute dependency of urban households on cash income for access to basic goods and services (Meikle, 2002). Within an urban context, the well-being and security of households is usually jeopardised if households experience shocks.

Feeny (2014) defines shocks as sudden events which impact on the well-being of households,

usually in a negative way. The shocks vary in intensity and can be put into two categories, that is, covariate shocks and idiosyncratic shocks (Kalinda and Langyintuo, 2014; Feeny, 2014). Covariate shocks entail events which have impacts on entire communities or countries. Such shocks include natural disasters as well as economic shocks such as major price hikes and economic recession. Idiosyncratic shocks have affects at household level only and include events such as the death or illness of a family member or the loss of employment by the main income-earner (Feeny, 2014). Covariate shocks may lead to idiosyncratic shocks, and households vary in their sensitivity to the disabling consequences of particular shocks and stresses.

In the context of vulnerabilities, which may entail short-term or long-term circumstances, households vary in their capacity to bounce back from, or display resilience, when confronted with adverse situations (Moser, 1998). Resilience here is defined as the capacities of households and communities to respond to, and recover and learn from, disturbances and thereby to reinstate and reinvigorate their livelihood patterns despite these disturbances in the social and natural environments (Nyamwanza, 2012). Their level of resilience, which conditions the extent to which households are able to cope with shocks and stresses, is rooted in the availability of (and access to) different assets, household composition and livelihood activities, with these factors strengthening or weakening their capacity to respond to vulnerability. As a result, existing assets and livelihood activities not only provide households with the means to fulfill their daily demands and needs, but also shields and protects them against outside threats (Rakodi, 2002; Farrington et al., 2002). The vulnerability context has, in turn, a return effect on assets and livelihood activities. For instance, the death of the main household income-earner leads to an immediate drop in the human capital base of the household and cuts off a key income stream; or, because of ill-health, household assets may need to be sold off to cover medical costs, thereby weakening the household's overall asset portfolio. The broader political context in which households are located, including institutional arrangements and policies, affects both the form and extent of vulnerabilities and household capacity to cope with various vulnerabilities.

### **2.2.3 Livelihood Strategies**

Within the context of the SLF, a livelihood strategy is defined as a strategic or deliberate choice of a combination of activities enacted by households and their individual members to maintain,

secure and improve their livelihoods (de Haan, 2007). Again, based on assets available, the concept draws attention to the actions and activities that people pursue to build livelihoods and achieve various outcomes. Scoones (1998) identifies three kinds of livelihood strategies. These are agricultural intensification (or extensification), which is in the main a rural strategy, and livelihood diversification and migration. For Scoones (1998), agricultural intensification involves an increase in capital and technological investments in agriculture. These processes can be capital-led, often supported by external inputs and policies or labour-led, that is, dependent upon a household's own labour and social resources. Extensification means expansion of agriculture into new areas or ventures. Using the term livelihood diversification, Scoones (1998) notes that households often seek to develop a wide range of livelihood activities (often income-generating activities) which will enable the household to potentially handle, or recover from, all types of shocks or stresses. Lastly, households can also take up migration as a livelihood strategy. In such situations, certain members of the households relocate elsewhere to seek livelihoods on either a temporary or permanent basis, or to lessen pressure on the household of origin. The particular set of livelihood strategies pursued by a household is often referred to as its livelihood portfolio.

With a specific focus on urban households, Rakodi (1999) highlights a number of typical livelihood strategies taken by households. First of all, livelihood strategies can be characterised by an intensified use of different forms of capital available including diversification of economic activities, such as entering more household members into the workforce even if on an erratic basis, starting informal businesses, renting out additional rooms, and producing crops for own consumption. Secondly, there is a strategy focusing on readjusting the quantity of human capital present, including reducing the household size by sending children to live elsewhere or specific adults taking up migration depending upon the work opportunities available elsewhere. The strategy might also include increasing the household size, by retaining or incorporating relatives, especially older women (who can assist with child care) and children of working age, including married children, who may contribute to household income. This implies that households and household livelihoods are multi-spatial and are not necessarily restricted to one locale. Thirdly, household livelihood strategies may involve drawing upon further stocks of social capital through borrowing and seeking charity or begging. Fourthly, there may be the reduction or

elimination of consumption of certain items such as new clothes or ‘luxury’ food and drink, thereby limiting the number of cooked meals per day, purchasing poorer quality or less food, and buying cheaper and second-hand clothes. This may also involve withdrawing children from school, the sale of household assets, postponing medical treatment, not repairing or replacing household/production equipment, reducing house repairs or improvements, limiting social life (including visits to rural homes by urban households), collecting natural resources for food or fuel, and scavenging for waste.

#### **2.2.4 Policies, Institutions and Processes**

The SLF also examines policies, institutional arrangements and political and economic processes as these frame the context within which households exist and pursue livelihoods, as well as shaping the capitals which are accessible to households (Ashley et al., 2003). In this sense, focusing on policies, institutions and processes is closely linked to any examination of the vulnerability context, as the former (for example, policies) not only shape the forms and levels of vulnerability but may also enable or disable the capacity of households to cope with shocks and stresses. The policies, institutions and processes spoken about by the livelihoods framework are often left quite vague, but an understanding of them is meant to ensure that the framework is sensitive to the structural context within which households live and act. From a more radical analytical perspective, this would likely entail a focus on political economy.

Nevertheless, citing the sociologist Anthony Giddens (Giddens, 1979), Scoones (1989) defines institutions as “practices or patterns of behaviour structured by rules and norms of society which have persistent and widespread use” (Scoones 1998:12). These institutional arrangements, which are both formal and informal, are embodied in organisational setups (or simply organisations), such as the state and its various national and local apparatuses. As an institution, the economy is crucially important under capitalism as is the particular form it takes when it comes to sustainable livelihoods. For instance, the values underpinning recent neo-liberal restructuring have prioritised particular corporate and state practices which in large part are disadvantageous to working people and their pursuit of stable and viable household-based livelihoods. In this respect, as Morse and McNamara (2013) highlight, such institutional factors influence asset availability and access along with peoples’ opportunities and choices. Challies and Murray

(2011), for example, demonstrate the importance of institutional support for small-scale raspberry growers in Chile by improving their capacity to comply with safety and quality standards and thereby gain and retain market access via the global value chain. Such access to global markets underpinned the sustainable livelihood of these growers. To further illustrate the role and importance of more specific policies on livelihoods, in this case with regard to Ethiopia, Tefera (2009) refers to the policy of ‘criminalising’ *khat*. This crop is used to produce an amphetamine-like stimulant which is addictive, and it became illegal to either possess or sell in Ethiopia. In fact, in a number of countries it is either banned or controlled in some way. In Ethiopia, the criminalisation of *khat* resulted in a negative impact on the livelihoods of growers, as the crop was yielding a high income.

A broad example of a policy that shaped the livelihoods of urban households in Sub-Saharan Africa, which relates specifically to neo-liberal restructuring, is that of the structural adjustment programmes implemented in the 1980s and 1990s. Macro-economic policies founded on structural adjustment principles posed constant threats to urban livelihoods, especially with regard to access to formal employment because of industrial downsizing. While the stated purpose of implementing structural adjustment policies was redistribution and poverty reduction through economic growth, in the short-term the stresses and shocks caused by adjustment policies pushed individuals and households into deeper poverty. This was through, for instance, retrenchments, loss of basic subsidies, and imposition of user fees, all of which further exacerbated the vulnerability context for urban households.

The IDLO (2014) also notes the multifarious dimensions of policies and institutions. It highlights that there are often situations where legislation and policies discriminate against, and institutions exclude, poor people and other marginalised groups. This might include legal and formal, or informal, discrimination against women and minorities. Or it might involve state failure to recognise the legitimacy of an urban informal settlement such that the poor people who live there are denied access to water, sanitation and other basic services by municipal authorities.

### **2.2.5 Livelihood Outcomes**

Ultimately, the SLF examines the outcomes of livelihood strategies. Livelihood outcomes are,

therefore, the consequence of access to assets by households or individuals as structured by a particular context of policies, institutions and processes, within a specific vulnerability context and achieved through specific livelihood strategies. These outcomes are meant to ensure the meeting and securing of actual and future basic household needs. In general terms, positive livelihood outcomes include more income, increased well-being, a stronger asset base, reduced vulnerability, greater resilience and improved food security (Ellis, 2000). Other outcomes could be included as well, or some of those mentioned here could be replaced, depending upon the goals that households themselves are trying to achieve through their livelihood pursuits.

The SLF does emphasise the notion of sustainability as in sustainable livelihoods, which may be measured on an economic, social or environmental level. However, the notion of sustainability at whatever level is difficult to quantify, and this thesis makes no effort to empirically capture whether or not household livelihoods are or are not sustainable in terms of the outcomes of livelihood strategies. In this light, it is important to recognise that livelihoods need to be understood and analysed over time, or temporally (Bebbington, 1999; Niehof and Price, 2001). While it is possible to identify livelihood outcomes at a moment in time, such a synchronic examination needs to be complemented by diachronic analysis which traces household livelihoods historically. Hence, an outcome, which might appear sustainable, as determined synchronically, may simply be an aberration of an overall downward slide in livelihood outcomes over a number of years. A recognition and appreciation of livelihood fluidity therefore needs to be brought to the fore. Whether or not this implies the existence of distinct livelihood pathways or trajectories should be evaluated through focused empirical investigation.

### **2.3 Assessing and Strengthening the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework**

The SLF has now been used for many years in understanding both rural and urban livelihoods and, undoubtedly, it is seen as having key advantages. According to Bohle (2009), there are two major strengths of the livelihoods approach. The first is that the approach views the poor and vulnerable not as passive victims, but as active and proactive agents in securing their living in contexts of uncertainty, risk, stress and shocks. In this regard, it ensures that agency is foregrounded in livelihoods analysis. The livelihoods framework thus shifts the focus from structural perspectives (such as mainstream political economy) to actor-oriented perspectives that

bring attention to the agency of the poor by considering the everyday life experiences of the poor, and the micro-worlds of their families, community and social networks. In doing so, and to varying degrees, it brings to light issues pertaining to marginalisation and exclusion, and vulnerability and poverty, as key determinants of precarious livelihoods (de Haan and Zoomers 2005). However, it would be overly generous to claim that the SLF pays sufficient attention to inequality and powerlessness, such that the structural context of capitalism and patriarchy is inadequately addressed.

A second major strength, again according to Bohle (2009), is that the livelihoods framework identifies what people have (i.e. assets and capabilities) instead of focusing on what they do not have (Cahn 2002). Of course, concentrating on what is absent or does not exist, or defining the existence of households in negative terms, does have some explanatory value. But this would tend to explain why households are unable to pursue particular life courses rather than their actually-existing lives and livelihoods. This relates back to the importance of household-based agency in pursuing livelihoods under difficult and stressful conditions (de Haan-Zoomers 2003). The SLF thus highlights how people mobilise resources and actively participate in creating livelihoods and making a living by taking advantage of the opportunities available to them. In the end, households construct livelihoods though not under conditions constructed by themselves, to alter the famous adage of Karl Marx.

Like any other analytical framework, the livelihoods perspective is not without its weaknesses. In a recent literature review, which draws upon the work of other critics, Sakdapolrak (2013) provides a comprehensive analysis of three major problems. For Sakdapolrak though this does not imply a rejection of the SLF, but a need to rectify these weaknesses without discarding the framework.

One major weakness of the livelihoods framework as articulated by Sakdapolrak (2013) emanates from its focus on the 'actor' and its people-centredness principle. He argues that the framework consequently places a heavy emphasis on actors' agency and the objective of understanding how these actors make a living in the context of stress (Carney, 1998; DFID, 1999). This emphasis, he suggests, leads to methodological individualism and a notion of

rational, strategic actors who use their assets in order to reach clearly-formulated pre-conceived livelihood ends or outcomes (Dijk, 2011). Such a view does not take into account the fact that not all of action is strategic or based on conscious or intentional decisions (de Haan and Zoomers, 2005). Looked at this way, the ability of individuals and households to choose and select livelihood activities is overemphasised, while the structural constraints which limit such choices are downplayed or even neglected (Prowse, 2010). One of the key points here is that the notion of agency as deployed in the SLF (i.e. the rational actor) is deeply problematic sociologically, a point I pursue later.

Embodied in this first criticism is also the question of structure and the inadequate attention (as noted earlier) to structure as a major constraint on lives and livelihoods. And this is the focus of the second criticism put forward by Sakdapolrak (2013). Rooted in methodological individualism, the household becomes the primary unit of analysis. While this is not inherently dubious, it is done in a manner which implicitly disembeds the households from social relations. As Scoones (2009) highlights, even though the framework addresses structural aspects, the structural level of power and politics has been given comparatively little attention compared to household-based agency. Policies, institutions and processes are not integrated into a holistic analysis of the character of the political economy. Households appear at times as existing outside structures so that, from Sakdapolrak's viewpoint, agency trumps structure while, additionally, the very formulation of agency in the SLF needs to be revisited and reformulated.

As a third criticism, Sakdapolrak (2013) contends that the core concept of the SLF, that of assets, is not sufficiently embedded relationally. Within the framework, assets are seen as stock with which households are endowed to pursue their livelihood ends, and their existence is taken as given as objective facts (Wood, 2003). This diverts attention away from the relational, socially embedded and contested character of assets as well as their very genesis and trajectory at household level (Bohle, 2006; Bebbington, 1999; Dijk, 2011). This taken-for-granted and non-relational perspective of assets arises in large part because of the failure to focus significantly on structures and relations of power and how these distribute resources and assets unequally within society.



These three criticisms of the SLF, I would argue, are quite valid and I remain sensitive to them throughout the thesis. Another critique of the livelihoods framework, which I also consider in my Budiriro case study, is the inability to adequately address issues to do with temporal dynamics. It is crucial to take temporal dynamics into account given that Scoones and Wolmer (2002) point out that all households have histories and livelihoods invariably emerge out of past actions and decisions within specific historical conditions. The SLF tends to focus on how people make their living mainly within their current situation and, because of this, stability, durability, resilience and robustness tend to be the centre of attention (Bohle, 2009; Scoones, 2009: 189). This makes the approach static and a-historic (Dörfler et al., 2003; du Toit, 2007) yet, as indicated earlier, it is crucial to offer some kind of diachronic analysis which brings to the fore the processual and fluid character of household-based livelihoods.

In further assessing the SLF, and in strengthening it for purposes of this thesis, I seek to locate it in broader macro-sociological thinking by consider in particular the work of Margaret Archer and Pierre Bourdieu, but particularly the latter. In this respect, the main emphasis is on structure and agency and the ways in which Bourdieu's arguments address the criticisms raised of the SLF.

### **2.3.1 Bourdieu's Logic of Practice Theory**

The SLF has been rightfully criticised for adopting a problematic conception of agency and simultaneously failing to focus sufficiently on structure. I would suggest that Pierre Bourdieu's logic of practice theory, as a grand sociological theory applicable to different substantive fields of inquiry (Reckwitz, 2003), is a necessary counterweight to these problems within the SLF. Bourdieu seeks to understand the logic of everyday social practices and tries to transcend any dichotomy between the concepts of structure and agency in understanding these practices (Bourdieu, 1972).

Structures within his theory are conceptualised as those durable patterns of social life that are not reducible to individuals and, in a certain sense, exist independently of the whims of individuals as they (i.e. structures) set social rules and patterns which determine or at least condition thoughts and actions (Hays, 1994). This is admittedly a pronounced structuralist position that at

times seems to border on structuralism by disallowing agency. But Bourdieu offers a version of agency (based on the notion of ‘habitus’) which goes beyond the ‘rational man’ perspective which reduces social practices or actions to the conscious aims of actors.

Using Bourdieu’s theory of practice is significant in that it is grounded in history and indeed Bourdieu makes history the basis for understanding the contemporary social world. He thus indicates that “the social world is accumulated history” (Bourdieu, 1986: 241), pointing out that “the separation of sociology and history is a disastrous division and one totally devoid of epistemological justification: all sociology should be historical and all history is sociological” (Wacquant, 1989: 37). Accumulated history (including past practices) is alive in today’s society and also becomes embodied in individuals and expressed through their present-day practices. In this way, habitus is “the product of history that produces individual and collective practices” (Bourdieu, 1977: 82). Because of the weight of history, every person is predisposed to think, talk, perform and practice in particular ways.

From the perspective of Bourdieu’s theory of practice, social practices are a result of habitus which is understood as historically-patterned ways of saying and doing (Schatzki, 2002). The concept of habitus is Bourdieu’s effort to stress the ways in which the social (with all its history) is incorporated into and exists within the individual body such that the latter becomes a product or manifestation of the social body (Bourdieu, 1990). The habitus is thus an embodied history which generates expressions and actions under contemporary social conditions of existence, and hence the human body is a structured socially-induced body (Bourdieu, 1998). The internalisation of a habitus involves ongoing socialisation from an early age and leads a person to also subsequently understand his or her place within the prevailing social structure in particular ways (Tundai, 2012), and to act out that placement through practices. In internalising a habitus as a set of predispositions, the individual subject is hence internalising the immanent structures of the external world by incorporating and embodying social, historical and cultural influences (Webb et al., 2002). This shapes and structures the modes of perception, thoughts and actions that an individual has and undertakes, along with the kinds of ambitions and goals relevant to the subject’s placement within society (Crossley, 2001).

Because the habitus predisposes social actors to act out, through practices, their placement in the social structure, reproduction of existing structures tends to take place (Reay, 2011), rather than the transformation of structures. This is not a denial by Bourdieu of the existence and relevance of agency but a specific positing of the main form of agency in the social world based on 'habitus'. Social subjects are not calculating and rationalising agents as the SLF tends to claim. Rather, they are borne along by their disposition-based habitus in a (comparatively speaking) unconscious and non-rationalising manner. Nevertheless, what they think and do as per their habitus is wholly reasonable and rational given their placement in the world and their likely life-course and future.

This seems to imply no room to manoeuvre as if life-courses are pre-destined, and given that the habitus simply becomes the objective basis for the regularity of modes of practice. Bourdieu does tend to imply this at times because, though some leeway and choice is inherent within habitus, the choices inscribed are limited. But lives are never static and the social world is subject to change, and thus possibilities beyond predispositions are bound to arise (Bourdieu, 1990) with changes in the framework of opportunities and constraints in the social contexts of subjects. As well, new experiences are constantly incorporated within the habitus, leading to possible changes in visions of a possible future and practices in the future (Webb et al., 2002).

In addition, Bourdieu (1984:170) argues that different conditions of existence, as historically shaped, produce different habitus. Though all individual subjects internalise a habitus, these are therefore subject to significant differences; they vary across time and space but also in relation to systems of inequality and stratification, including class stratification. Subjects placed in homogenous conditions of existence (or structures), in a given time and space, embody a similar habitus (in terms of its properties) and display similar practices as generated and configured from the common habitus. This is illustrated by Tundai (2012) with reference to social class systems. He notes that people who grow up in upper classes are more likely for instance to develop high aspirations and thoughts of success, are able to see the connection between effort and reward because of their often-inherited privileges, and believe that they are capable of achieving ambitious goals. The absence of resources, and of friends and relatives with experiences of upward mobility, become a source of discouragement and a barrier for people from less

privileged classes. In this way, subjects from different classes engage in thoughts and practices consistent with their conditions of existence. The habitus of poor people, incorporating a recognition of a prevailing class system devoid of meritocracy, leads to orientations and practices which seek to ensure only a minimalist condition of existence in the future and even across generations, despite any hopes to the contrary.

Situating particular groups of people's livelihoods within the context of habitus is useful in that it unpacks the inherent rationalities within practices – or livelihood activities and strategies in terms of the SLF. For example, Nathan (2008) explains that the urban poor living in an informal settlement under conditions of hazardous exposure to the risk of landslides do so with a certain level of awareness of the risks associated with disaster. However, these households find the risks acceptable when compared with the social and economic hazards they face on an everyday basis which include unemployment, misery, isolation, violence and the overall struggle to support their households. This explains their resignation or acceptance of risk based on adaptive realism and the lack of alternatives. The structural constraints facing people exposed to risk, which has been a constant over time, lead them to accept very dangerous and extreme living conditions in order to obtain certain advantages that this situation nevertheless can offer (including proximity to employment and access to certain commodities). This is an illustration of the importance of recognising the logic of everyday practices in understanding people's choices. It thus sheds light on how livelihoods are rooted in and shaped by actors' embodied dispositions or habitus, and why some livelihood opportunities are not even considered by certain groups. In this light, Staples (2007) speaks about a group of leper beggars from south India who regularly migrate to Indian metropolitan cities to undertake livelihoods. He highlights how leprosy-affected beggars engage in a performance by utilising their bodies to expose and at times exaggerate their deformities and thus put across the message that they deserve help within a status quo which stigmatises them. On this basis, the beggars are able to secure not just a livelihood but also a level of self-respect which is otherwise denied them (Staples, 2007).

Following on from this, de Haan and Zoomers (2005) utilise the concept of habitus in seeking to identify the existence and prevalence of livelihood trajectories, with livelihood strategies over time embedded in both a historical repertoire and in social differentiation. This brings to the fore

the importance of temporal analyses and indeed life history methodologies in penetrating into deep layers of beliefs, needs and aspirations embodied in habitus. Based on a focus on habitus, the authors also introduce the notion of livelihood style. This reveals the specific and unique character (or style) of particular livelihoods as distinctive features of groups sharing similar social positions, cultural repertoires, knowledge, interests and prospects. This is of importance in that it implies that livelihood decisions and activities cannot necessarily be read from the external environment, as the different habitus of different groups existing within the same conditions of existence ‘speak’ to the broader environment differently. As an example, de Haan and Zoomers (2005) demonstrate how four families in the Sahel regardless of their close proximity live strikingly different lives (i.e. livelihood styles) under roughly the same climatic conditions coupled with the same contextual climatic changes. The differences between the livelihoods of the four households are a consequence of differences in collective history and group membership such as ethnicity, and not just of differences in asset endowments. Ethnicity provides a socio-cultural and ideological framework (as embedded in habitus) which people almost unconsciously draw upon when making decisions around livelihood options. Undoubtedly, gender-based habitus are important, with men and women being complex combinations of the past and present (Reay, 1997). The gendered character of habitus is in part a consequence of the different life-possibilities that women and men perceive as being available to them. In particular, in internalising their place in the patriarchal social structure, women come to recognise which adult statuses and aspirations are possible to reach and which ones are impossible (Mickelson, 2003). In this way, practices can be often interpreted as path-dependent founded upon the outworking of historically-constructed habitus under contemporary conditions (Adams, 2006).

For this reason, I would argue that Bourdieu’s overall claims about habitus are not inconsistent with an interpretive sociology, as the so-called external world is seen through the ‘eyes of habitus’. This is line with the claim by Webb et al. (2002) that every-day understandings of the world are constructed in and through habitus. In this regard, habitus may operate at the level of the unconscious but it is revealed openly in moments of practice. It may also be the case that the properties (or content) of a habitus are most vividly on display during times of extreme stress and shock, when individual subjects enter into what Bourdieu refers to the ‘practice of logic’ – when they become more like ‘rational man’ in reasoning consciously on the dilemma they face. This

though may lead to deviating from pre-set dispositions and moving beyond the habitus to find new ways of acting in and on the world.

So far, I have focused on Bourdieu's notion of habitus, but two other notions are central to his theory of the logic of practice: that is, field and capital. Fields are realms or spaces of social life as defined and understood analytically. In positing the existence of fields, Bourdieu asserts that "we cannot grasp this structure (i.e. the field) without a historical, or genetic, analysis of its constitution, and of the tensions that exist between positions, as well as between this field and other fields" (Wacquant, 1989: 37). Livelihood activities or strategies, as sets of practices, are thus embedded in fields which are marked by differentially-placed groups (with different habitus) involving inequalities, power relationships and contestations. According to Bourdieu and Wacquant (2006), fields are constituted by power-laden relationships between dominant and subordinated actors, who are unequally endowed with various forms of capital. In emphasising the relational dimension to assets (or capitals/resources), actors compete over access to goods, resources, positions and power. Each field has its own logic and rules, which are generally accepted and contested by actors at the same time (Bourdieu, 1998). These rules determine the value of specific forms of capital in the field and enable and constrain particular practices. This means that households in urban spaces such as Budiriro are not discrete and isolated units or subjects. Rather, they are embedded in a field consisting first and foremost of the urban political economy of present-day Zimbabwe in which they are marginalised subjects. They are expected to act out their lives and livelihoods according to the 'rules of the game', and to show practical competency in this regard (Bourdieu, 1977), within their high-density, low-income urban space (van Dijk, 2011).

Bourdieu's concept of capital is not synonymous with how the term is typically used within the SLF, as it departs from the SLF's static conception of assets and moves to a more processual and relational understanding of capital/assets appropriated by actors within field-based structures of domination and inequality (Hage, 1994). For Bourdieu and Wacquant (2006), capital is that which actors struggle to gain so that they can exercise power and influence within a particular social context or field. This capital can be categorised into four types, notably economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986, 1998). The social position of the subject

(for example, household) is conditioned by the ability of the actor to appropriate different forms of capital combined with the perceived value of the capital in the specific field. Accordingly, Sakdapolrak (2010) notes that the utilisation of the concept of capital from Bourdieu's perspective shifts the conceptualisation of capital away from seeing it as stocks of assets to its more dynamic, relational and temporal dimension. Dijk (2011) likewise stresses this, seeing appropriated capital as the consequence of power struggles in uneven social fields, and thus emphasising questions around how capital is generated, distributed and destroyed. Sakdapolrak (2010) illustrates this by showing how slum-dwellers access housing capital by utilising subversive practices of appropriation of "no rent land", which is contested and reclaimed by the city council in an attempt to develop the city. This demonstrates how, for example, housing capital should be understood as a result of power-laden social relations where slum dweller's agency to enhance and accumulate capital is constrained by dominant social actors within the field.

Utilising the concept of capital from Bourdieu's perspective therefore increases the depth of livelihoods analysis in that it enables an understanding of how different forms of capital are exchanged and converted to maintain various social positions within the field. For example, Wilshusen (2008) examined how capital was exchanged in his study on timber marketing funds and community forestry in south-eastern Mexico. This study showed how, through social capital in everyday interactions and negotiations, a dynamic web of power relationships was created. Elites within the community were able to syphon money from the timber-marketing funds in a way that exacerbated and increased inequalities while at the same time strengthened their dominant position within the community. Bourdieu points out though that the value of capital is linked to the logic of the field in which it is situated (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2006). If there are changes in the rules of the field, changes will also occur in the value of capital within that field. For instance, in the case of the waste collectors of Cairo, the privatisation and incorporation of large-scale formal companies into the waste collection industry in Cairo led to changes in the rules that relate to waste collection, resulting in the invalidation of licenses that were acquired by the Zabaleen (subaltern groups of waste collectors in Cairo, Egypt). This meant that the livelihoods of the Zabaleen were also devalued within the new social context of the privatisation field. This reconfiguration is further exemplified by the work of Bauder (2003, 2005) who

studied how international migrant workers from relatively upper social classes endowed with various forms of capital in their sending countries experience a loss of status in the receiving country. Devaluation takes place, which is characterised by the loss of value of institutionalised cultural capital that comes in the form of education certificates within the social field of the receiving country.

Overall, for Bourdieu, it is the interaction of habitus, capital and field that generates the logic of practice (Bourdieu, 1990; Wacquant, 1989; Grenfell, 2003). In his book, 'Distinction', Bourdieu maps out a formula that elaborates the interconnection between his three theoretical tools, as: '(Habitus X Capital) + Field=Practice' (Bourdieu, 1984). Regularly, the habitus encounters a social world of which it is a product. In this way, the habitus becomes like a 'fish in water' that does not feel the weight of the water as if it takes the world around it for granted (Reay, 2011) such that ongoing conscious, rational thought becomes unnecessary. When the habitus encounters a field with which it is not familiar, the disjuncture generates change and transformation.

### **2.3.2 Critics of Bourdieu**

The SLF is a middle-level theory for the substantive area of livelihood studies. It has significant problems, including in relation to structure and agency, which Bourdieu's macro-theory (based on habitus, field and capital) is able to address. All four criticisms of the SLF, as outlined earlier, are in some way handled by incorporating the SLF within Bourdieu's macro-theory. This does not imply that Bourdieu's theory is beyond criticism as his work forms part of ongoing debates within sociology around structure and agency (Brettell, 2002) which dates back to the work of classical sociological theory and both structuralist- and agency-based theoretical framings. This includes interpretive, constructionist and actor-oriented perspectives in the case of the latter (Riggs, 2007) and Marxist-type explanations focusing on macro-structures such as capitalism in the case of the former (Touraine et al., 1979). The SLF tends to be an agency-based framing and Bourdieu's work is designed to combine structure and agency in a balanced manner such that subjects are not mere cogs in structural wheels or free-floating subjects existing outside structures.



Other sociological theorists have sought to pursue similar aims in their theoretical reasoning. This is seen for instance in the work of Anthony Giddens and his structuration theory (Giddens, 1984), which seeks to illuminate the dialectical interplay of agency and structure and the inextricable link between agency and structure in ongoing human practices (Ritzer, 2000). Giddens shows how structures produce subjects while subjects simultaneously produce or reproduce structures, a general argument about which Bourdieu would agree. Unlike Bourdieu, though, Giddens tends to depict subjects as mainly rationalising actors, consciously articulating their goals and self-consciously monitoring their ongoing flow of activities and their conditions of existence, while also often redefining, challenging and resisting existing structures. In this regard, it is often claimed by critics that Bourdieu's theory of practice is not able to avoid structural determinism as it gives habitus the status of causal power in determining human practices (Alexander, 1995; Jenkins, 1982). Instead of transcending the structure-agency dualism, Bourdieu conflates structure and agency with subjects internalising habitus to the extent that they become habitus-carriers or structural vessels (Archer, 2006). This means that any role for human reflexivity or reflexive competency is minimised (Elder-Vass, 2007).

Critical or social realists, particularly Margaret Archer (Archer 2003, 2012), are most forceful in making these claims. Reflexivity for them is an intrinsic property of the subject which emerges from the relationship between the make-up of human beings and the world. Its purpose is to establish a 'modus vivendi', or a way of living which reflects the person's ultimate concerns arrived at through private internal conversations (Fugaria, 2010). Through internal conversations, subjects arrive at their ultimate concerns and plan ways of realising these concerns through projects. For Archer, life projects are outcomes of human reflexivity and, if there is no reflexivity, then there is no society (Archer, 2007: 25). At the same time, Archer speaks of deep structures and mechanisms of society with causal powers which produce the world as subjects see and experience it. It is within this realm of human experience and practices (as shaped by underlying structures not known or understood by subjects) that subjects consciously articulate and pursue projects. These structural properties may enable or constrain life projects of individuals, but reflexive subjectivities are irreducible to structures (Skeggs, 2004; Beck, 1994; Adams, 2004).

Archer's perspective is not simply a macro-level legitimization of the SLF as it stands. Though highlighting it seems the existence of the rationalising subject, she has a realist conception of a relational structure (including political economy), which generates – in often mediated ways – events, reflexivity and practices in the world-as-experienced and as-lived. No attempt to understand household-based livelihoods, whether pursued through reflexivity or habitus, is possible without understanding what Bourdieu calls the 'structuring structures'. From my viewpoint, Archer's perspective on agency is an important corrective to Bourdieu's notion of habitus. At the same time, I am in agreement with Sayer (2010) and Elder-Vass (2007) who argue that Archer's concept of agentic, cognitive reflexivity should be complemented by Bourdieu's concept of habitus. In this respect, Reay et al. (2005) argue that the embodied dispositions of the habitus and the internal conversations of reflexive subjects work in tandem. As well, Elder-Vass (2007) notes that Bourdieu's habitus and Archer's reflexivity can influence one another and that conscious reflexivity can be a means by which internalised dispositions are created or altered. In the end, the significance of reflexivity and habitus, and their fluid combination, needs to be examined empirically and it is open to spatial and temporal variation and local contingencies.

## **2.4 Conclusion**

The foregoing discussion has analysed the sustainable livelihoods framework as well as its key elements. Doing so, it has not only highlighted the utility of the framework in coming to grips with how people making a living in often difficult and challenging contexts, as it also details a number of the framework's major conceptual weaknesses. The conceptual weaknesses include the framework's non-relational, apolitical and taken-for-granted perspective on the acquisition and genesis of livelihood assets as well as an over-emphasis on people's agency (with the latter also understood in a problematic way). This leads to an inadequate attention to structure and temporal dynamics in the construction of livelihoods. In light of these weaknesses, the chapter then outlined Bourdieu's logic of practice theory as an analytically-sound basis for counteracting these weaknesses and for building a firmer sociologically-informed framework for understanding household-based livelihoods in Budiriro. Bourdieu's emphasis on historical and structural embeddedness and the applicability of this to understanding livelihoods is particularly useful in this respect.

## **CHAPTER THREE: POLITICAL ECONOMY OF URBAN HOUSEHOLD LIVELIHOODS IN ZIMBABWE – HISTORY AND THEMES**

### **3.1 Introduction**

The purpose of this chapter is to explore and examine the social, economic and political context of Zimbabwe in which the livelihoods of Budiro households exist. It adopts a historical and thematic perspective to examine livelihoods from Zimbabwean independence in 1980 to now, tracing key economic and political developments pertinent to urban livelihoods and some of the key themes existing in Zimbabwean studies on urban livelihoods. Though the agency of Budiro households is crucial to understanding their livelihoods (as the empirical chapters show), the previous chapter highlighted the significance of accumulated history (and of structures reproduced over time) in understanding contemporary social phenomena, including in the field of urban livelihoods. After the historical-structural overview (in section 3.2), the chapter offers (in section 3.3) a thematic presentation of urban livelihoods literature on Zimbabwe, as these inform the empirical chapters as well as provide a basis for more fully understanding the significance of this thesis for urban livelihoods studies in Zimbabwe. In doing, the section also draws upon limited pertinent literature beyond Zimbabwe.

### **3.2 Temporal Analysis of Urban Livelihoods in Zimbabwe**

In this section I provide a temporal analysis of the context in which urban livelihoods have been constructed in Zimbabwe. In this regard, analysis focuses on the factors and influences shaping the political economy of urban livelihoods and households in Zimbabwe from 1980 to 2015 (the year field work was carried out for this study). The aim is to demonstrate the relationships between the context and the livelihood strategies/activities adopted by households in urban settings in Zimbabwe from 1980 to 2015.

#### **3.2.1 Urban Context in Zimbabwe from 1980 to 1990**

Formerly known as Southern Rhodesia and Rhodesia, Zimbabwe was colonised by the British South Africa Company in 1890 (Palmer, 1990). In 1980, when Zimbabwe obtained its independence from Great Britain, the post-colonial government inherited massive historical inequalities and a class-stratified society based mainly on race (Chimanikire and Masunungure,

2007). To address the inequalities, which had resulted from the policies of the previous colonial governments, a series of interventions were adopted based on the imperative of creating a favourable climate for developing the national economy while also prioritising socio-economic redistribution (Stoneman, 1981). In implementing these interventions, the government took caution in pursuing its official rhetoric of revolutionary socialist transformation. This was due in part to the agreement that had been signed between the colonial power and the nationalist movements during the peace negotiations at Lancaster House in London in 1979. The agreement had a bearing on post-colonial change in that it highlighted the significance of racial reconciliation as a strategic goal, especially with regard to ensuring undisrupted short- and medium-term economic growth (Rogerson, 1990).

Consequently, to achieve redistributive objectives within these constraints, the Zimbabwean government introduced the 'Growth with Equity Policy' in February 1981 (Mazingi and Kamidza, 2011). This policy laid the foundation for the envisaged post-conflict reconstruction and development of the country, placing emphasis on improving access to public services and employment creation combined with rural development (Mazingi and Kamidza, 2011). The programmatic interventions guided by this policy took the form of small doses of nationalisation, land resettlement and a careful safeguarding of existing (often, white) economic interests (Jenkins, 1997). Labour market changes in favour of employing black Zimbabweans and protecting the interests of workers, increased spending on public services, extension of agricultural services to peasant farming areas (in what became known as communal areas), establishment of cooperatives and granting equal status to men and women (if only under the law) were also part of the battery of interventions.

In implementing the 'Growth with Equity Policy', there was an increasing assumption that the economy would grow at a rate fast enough to generate sufficient government revenue for socio-economic redistributive projects. The basis of this assumption was also the general peace and stability in the country, positive weather conditions, the lifting of international sanctions (placed against the Rhodesian government), decreases in defence spending and an influx of foreign aid. Additionally, the fact that the post-1980 government inherited a broad-based economy, with the potential of exporting a wide range of products within the agricultural, mineral and

manufacturing sectors (Potts, 2011), tended to raise hopes in the 1980s. True to this assumption, the national economy experienced an annual growth rate of 10 per cent from 1980 to 1982; in the years that followed after 1982, the growth rate decreased to 5.5 per cent (Mlambo, 2017), but this was still higher than sub-Saharan Africa as a whole during the 1980s. This growth rate of 5.5 per cent also outpaced the annual population growth rate of 3.3 per cent (Stoneman, 1996).

State policies implemented were redistributive in character and driven by public enterprises and agencies such as the Small Enterprises Development Corporation (SEDCO) and the National Oil Company of Zimbabwe (NOCZIM). The role of such public organisations was to provide the state with the means and agency to intervene in the economic and social sectors. Within the industrial sector, the state made use as well of the Industrial Development Corporation to expand its ownership and control within the private sector. It also controlled the prices of services and goods provided by parastatals. As a result, within a decade, the parastatal sector had expanded from 20 parastatals in 1980 to 40 in 1990 (Chimanikire and Masunungure, 2007). A majority of these parastatals were monopoly enterprises in which government had 100 per cent or a majority of the equity shares.

The parastatals pursued various developmental objectives through subsidies and other mechanisms in order to provide affordable services to the public. For example, the Agricultural Finance Corporation (AFC) provided loans to small-scale farmers in the communal areas, while the Grain Marketing Board (GMB) ensured national food security from its strategic grain reserves. Due to their institutional placing within the state, the government was the main financier of their operations. In other instances, state enterprises would source funds domestically or internationally and usually government would guarantee any forthcoming loans. However, most parastatals made losses in their operations partly because of mismanagement and poor governance but also because of the non-economic and social dimension of their mandates and their sub-optimal pricing structures.

The result of the redistributive policies by the government was that urban households became located within an economic context that was conducive to pursuing livelihoods, including through formal employment. For example, the National Minimum Wage Act of 1980 and the

Employment Act of 1980, adopted soon after independence in July 1980 and typical of post-colonial governments in Africa after gaining independence, provided some sort of minimum wage level which covered basic expenditure for urban households (Jamal and Weeks, 1993; Amis, 1989). These acts were also seen as a preventative mechanism inhibiting wildcat strikes, which would stifle economic growth and productivity (Sachikonye, 1986). Nevertheless, though it was difficult to accumulate savings, urban household incomes made rent, utilities, basic foodstuffs, transport and clothing reasonably affordable (Potts, 2011). Households were also equipped with a reliable supply of water, sanitation services and electricity. There were exceptions to this, including households living in Epworth, a semi-informal settlement just outside the city of Harare. This, however, changed towards the end of the 1980s when water for example was made available to Epworth.

The urban-based manufacturing sector showed strong gains including a rise in non-traditional manufacturing exports towards the end of the 1980s (Riddell, 1990), with most adult male work seekers being absorbed into formal wage employment. Urban-based employment grew from 1980 to 1990: in manufacturing, the annual growth rate was 3.5 per cent, with electricity and water registering a 2.6 per cent rate of growth, finance and distribution (at 3.5 per cent) and hotel and catering at 3.6 per cent (Chitiga, 2004). A number of researchers at the time also reported positive performances in the agricultural sector including peasant agriculture within the communal areas (Rukuni and Eicher, 1994; Zinyama, 1986, 1998). Expenditure on social sectors nationally (such as health, education and transport), which benefited urban households, increased from 25.7 per cent in 1980 to 34 per cent by 1990 of the national budget (Ersado, 2003), with this increased expenditure becoming a crucial way of rectifying racial injustices of the past. Significant gains were recorded in areas such as primary education where the enrolment rate was 82 per cent by 1991 (Malaba, 2006) and there was a decline of 50 per cent in the infant mortality rate of the country by the mid-1990s (Potts, 1998).

Urban households in Zimbabwe were less poor as well as economically and socially more secure compared to the colonial period, and when compared to other urban populations in sub-Saharan Africa at the time. According to Rakodi (1994), the number of urban households living below the poverty datum line was reduced from 60 per cent in the 1980s to 20 per cent by the early 1990s.

In addition, the number of households in Harare's high density areas (where poorest urban households continue to live) with incomes below the minimum wage fell from 35 per cent to a range between 10 and 15 per cent (Hoek-Smit, 1992) over the same period.

Clearly, throughout the 1980s, there was pronounced state intervention in seeking to undo the racialised inequalities of the past. But this does not mean the absence of serious challenges for households in Harare and other cities and towns in Zimbabwe. For instance, sources of discomfort to urban life emanated from the failure of low-income housing policies to meet urban housing demand, with many households living in backyard accommodation in high-density areas. The minimum wage, while of significance in addressing levels of poverty, is said to have contributed to the shedding of jobs in agriculture, mining and domestic services. Hence, between 1979 and 1985, 65,000 jobs were lost in commercial agriculture at an annual rate of 3.5 per cent (Ersado, 2003). The massive state expenditure in the 1980s was also to cause problems for the national fiscus. There was by 1984 already a debt crisis such that the government instituted various austerity measures that succeeded in reducing the debt service ratio from 40 per cent to 20 per cent from 1985 to 1989 (Stoneman, 1996). Austerity measures were to become central to the political economy of Zimbabwe during the 1990s.

### **3.2.2 Structural Adjustment and Urban Life in Zimbabwe (1990 to 1999)**

Notwithstanding previous failures of structural adjustment programmes elsewhere on the continent, in 1991 the government of Zimbabwe decided to move away from the 'Growth with Equity Policy' and thereby adopted the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP). This change was necessitated by a number of factors (Potts, 2011), inter alia, reduction in the national economic growth rate (Raftopoulos, 2003), the decade-long expansive social expenditure that took place ultimately at the expense of productive investment and sustained economic growth (Brown, 2001), and the size of the budget deficit (in which the expenditure of government exceeded the Gross Domestic Product by 50 per cent in 1990) (Tawodzera, 2011). As well, there were reduced food stocks and foreign currency earnings from agricultural exports due to recurring droughts (Stevens and Mugova, 2006). Apart from these factors, pressure from the domestic bourgeoisie and the neo-liberal tendencies of the then Finance Minister combined to ensure a structural adjustment programme. Adopting the structural adjustment programme

entailed easier borrowing of money from international financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank (Potts, 2011).

The ESAP, as a standard neo-liberal restructuring programme, ushered in the elimination of subsidies on food (including the staple, mealie-meal) and other basic products (and services) within the ('un-productive') social policy sectors; this meant the deregulation of prices for basic commodities and services. It thus essentially deemphasised social service expenditure and placed more importance on investment in production sectors such as agriculture, mining and manufacturing (GoZ 1990; Stoneman, 2004). Labour laws were deregulated with minimum wages for industrial workers being abolished; while import controls were removed, thereby exposing local industries to external competition. The currency was devalued and social services such as the provision of low-income housing became increasingly privatised (Potts, 2006). The government forecast that by 1995 the structural adjustment programme would be complete and there would be benefits such as a 5 per cent annual economic growth rate, an overall budget deficit decline to 5 per cent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), and the overtaking of government investment by private sector investment (and doubling compared to levels of the late 1980s). Government also estimated that there would be a decrease in inflation from 20 per cent to 10 per cent, growth in exports at an estimated annual rate of 35 per cent, and new direct foreign investment at US\$30 million per year from 1992 to 1995 (Bond and Manyanya, 2002).

However, the results of structural adjustment were dismal and described as a 'harvest of thorns' in some quarters (Chimanikire and Masunungure, 2007). The GDP only grew by 5 per cent in 1994 and the rest of the 1990s saw an average of 1,2 per cent. Inflation averaged more than 30 per cent and never reduced to below 10 per cent. The budget deficit was more than 10 per cent with no prospect of decreasing to the targeted 5 per cent (Bond and Manyanya, 2002). According to the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU), the national trade union federation, the average worker was 38 per cent poorer in real terms in the mid-1990s compared to 1980 and 40 per cent poorer than in 1990 (ZCTU, 1996). Average national income per employee declined by 26.5 per cent in real terms between the years 1991 and 1995 (ZCTU, 1996). There was a decline in real wages from an index of 122 in 1982 to 88 in 1997 (Raftopoulos, 2003). Further,



employment growth slowed down from 2.4 per cent in 1985 to 1.55 per cent between 1991 and 1997 (Raftopoulos, 2003).

### **3.2.2.1 Urban Households and Structural Adjustment**

As a result, urban households living in poverty increased from 61 per cent to 75 per cent by the year 2000. Informal sector activity also increased (Peters and Berriers, 1993), with 7.7 per cent of the formally employed working in the informal sector as well to make household ends meet (Rakodi, 1995). By 1996, the number of non-agricultural formal workers had declined from 939,000 in 1991 to 915,800 (EIU, 1997). The textile and clothing industries in particular lost 11,000 and 6,000 jobs respectively (Stoneman, 1996; Carmody, 1998). Rakodi (1994) notes as well that, from 1991 to 1992, 21,000 manufacturing jobs and 11,000 jobs in health and education were lost. Additionally, the privatisation of parastatals under neo-liberal restructuring led to the retrenchment of employees in the public sector. For example, Bond and Manyanya (1997) report that the Cotton Company of Zimbabwe reduced its permanent workforce from 3,000 to 500 between the years 1994 and 1998, and the GMB reduced its staff of 2,500 by 50 per cent, with most of these workers being forced into the informal sector. Essentially, the country was deindustrialising (Stoneman 1996; Mlambo et al., 2000). The decline in the performance of the urban economy was reflected in the share in the contribution of the manufacturing industry to GDP: in 1980, it contributed about 26 per cent of the GDP but by 1998 this had fallen to 17 per cent (Stoneman, 2004). Stoneman (2004) also highlights that the index for manufacturing output in fact declined from 143 in 1991 to 109 by 1996, which was almost equal to the level it was in in 1980 at 100. Under such notable economic contraction, the Zimbabwean state – even if it wanted to – was simply unable to maintain the high levels of social expenditure typical of the 1980s (Raftopoulos, 2003), leading to a downward spiral in urban infrastructure and services.

By 1995, a nationwide poverty survey reported that 39 per cent of the urban population were living in conditions of poverty, with 21 per cent being very poor and not able to afford to buy even the minimum monthly basic food basket (GoZ, 1996). These increased levels of urban poverty during the 1990s produced criticisms of the ruling party, and led to urban discontent and unrest. In the light of this discontent, the labour movement in the country (the ZCTU) became increasingly militant and grew in its capacity to mobilise and organise. This was evident in

industrial and strike action by workers in numerous sectors of the urban economy (particularly in 1997 and 1998) (Zimbabwe-Human Rights NGO Forum, 1998). Workers and their households, through strikes and mass stay-aways in the second half of the 1990s, expressed dissatisfaction and dismay over the fall in value of their incomes and the deterioration of social services (Raftopoulos and Sachikonye, 2001). Strikes were undertaken by railway workers, bank workers (1993 and 1994), and public sector workers such as nurses and teachers. In addition to the strikes, there was also the direct confrontation with the state President and his government by war veterans (ex-guerrillas from the liberation war in the 1970s) over the post-independence neglect of their status and welfare.

For Sachikonye (1997), the major effect of ESAP was the erosion of living standards due to a squeeze on incomes, with incomes not able to keep pace with the deregulated prices of goods and services. The price increases of basic commodities such as maize, bread, beef and milk were substantial causing a wave of bread demonstrations and protests by the consumers (labelled as food 'riots'). Making an imprint on Zimbabwean society, the structural adjustment programme (ESAP) became known colloquially as the 'Extremely Suffering African People' or 'Even Sadza A Problem' (Potts, 2006), with *sadza* as the staple food for poor urban black households. The outsourcing and commercialisation of infrastructural services at urban local authority level, as consistent with neo-liberalisation, led to the reduced delivery of services while, simultaneously, the prices of services sky-rocketed beyond the reach of most ordinary urban households (Chimanikire and Masunungure, 2007). The outsourcing of refuse collection, for example within the city of Harare, resulted in the non-collection of refuse for days even though the contractors had received their payments. At the same time, the commercialisation of the Zimbabwe Electricity Supply Authority (ZESA) resulted in a massive increase in electricity tariff rates to market rates as a way of cost recovery. This again put electricity beyond the reach of many households. Urban household livelihoods were also affected by the high HIV rates which increased adult mortality (including breadwinners), resulting in the increasing prevalence of female-headed households and large numbers of orphans, a development which burdened households with medical and funeral expenses (Feeney, 2001; Grant, 2007).

### **3.2.2.2 Responses by the Government to ESAP**

The government tried to salvage the economic situation by first declaring the death of ESAP in 1995 (Bratton and Masunungure, 2011; Kanyeze, 2004), and by re-introducing some price controls; and, at the same time, announcing the re-establishment of the Agricultural Marketing Authority as a branch of the state (Chimanikire and Masunungure, 2007). These and other moves seemed to signal a shift away from the liberalisation era (with reference to the economy) which had been adopted in the 1990s. As well, the government introduced a new economic blueprint titled Zimbabwe Programme for Economic and Social Transformation (ZIMPREST) in March 1998, which was to cover the period of 1996-2000. Given its starting date (1996), it was a belated announcement. The policy document was targeted at reducing the budget deficit to 6.5 per cent of the GDP by 2001, to limit inflation by 5 per cent by the end of 2000, and to achieve 6 per cent economic growth per annum between the years 1996 and 2000 (Kanyeze et al., 2011). From the perspective of Bond and Manyanya (2002), ZIMPREST was a policy which in effect maintained most of the fundamental principles of ESAP but recognised the need for some policy reversals. These included the introduction of selective price controls (as indicated), increased import tariffs, import licensing, procrastination in meeting regional liberalisation targets, pegging of exchange rates, introduction of new export incentives and the application of new levies on tobacco and consumer goods. However, the document was never implemented and remained largely on paper only (Kanyeze et al., 2011).

Meanwhile, a significant event took place within this period, namely, the crash of the Zimbabwean dollar on the 14th of November 1997. This currency crash was precipitated by the unbudgeted payment of gratuities to (at least 60,000) war veterans of 50,000 Zimbabwe dollar lump sums worth \$US4,167 in 1997 with monthly pensions of US\$140 (Potts, 1998; Chitiyo, 2005). These funds amounted to 3 per cent of the GDP resulting in an unplanned budget deficit. To cover these new expenses, the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe (RBZ) had to borrow and print money (Bond, 1998). For Tibaijuka (2005), these payouts represent one of the major factors which led to an unprecedented economic crisis in later years in Zimbabwe. In addition, in August 1998, the government sent the army of Zimbabwe to the Democratic Republic of Congo to support the government of that country militarily against rebels. The cost of this involvement is said to have reached an estimated US\$31 million a month. Further, perhaps to maintain loyalty

of public servants, the government increased civil servant salaries by 69 per cent in January 1999 and by 90 per cent at the beginning of the year 2000 (Kanyeze et al., 2011). This concoction of decisions led to further deterioration of the country's economy as well as of the Zimbabwean government's relations with its development partners which included global donors. The country subsequently earned itself a high-risk profile economically (in terms of investment) and was labeled by critics of government policy as a pariah state (Kanyeze et al., 2011).

In addition to this complexity, UNAIDS (1998) reported for 1997 that between 20 and 50 per cent of pregnant women in Zimbabwe were HIV positive (base on 23 surveillance sites) whilst the WHO (1998) indicated that HIV prevalence within the population was at 25.84 per cent in the same year. Adult mortality peaked in the years 1996 to 2005 (Feeney, 2001). The effects of the pandemic resulted in multi-dimensional impacts on household structures, labour and gender relations. Being infected or affected for urban and rural households meant that breadwinners died, scarce resources were spent on medicine and funerals, and grandparents and other extended family members then had to take responsibility for the AIDS orphans (Grant, 2007).

### **3.2.3 Policies in a High Risk Pariah State from 2000 to 2008**

After the year 2000, Zimbabwe became a metaphorical dumpsite for a number of policy documents. There has been Vision 2020, Millennium Economic Recovery Programme, National Economic Recovery Programmes, the Ten Point Plan emphasising Agriculture, Macro Economic Policy Framework of 2005-2006 and the National Economic Development Priority Programme of 2007 (Chimanikire and Masunungure, 2007; Kanyeze et al, 2011). A common characteristic of all these policies is not only their constant reshuffling, and inadequate and uncoordinated implementation, but also it seems their positioning discursively in seeking to legitimise the ruling party's shift (post-ESAP) to a more heterodox macro-economic policy framework (Kanyeze et al., 2011). Further, a number of these policies simply failed, or never got off the ground, because they lacked the support of international financial institutions (like the World Bank) which usually provide the financial, technical and other necessary resources to ensure the successful implementation of such macro-economic programmes (Malaba, 2006). They were thus to have no meaningful and positive effect on poverty levels and livelihood options amongst urban households in Zimbabwe (Moyo and Yeros, 2005).

The further imploding of living standards of the urban poor in Zimbabwe led to a significant decline in support for the ruling party, which was linked to the formation of the opposition party Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) in late 1999, which arose in part out of the urban trade union movement. As shown by the results of the national parliamentary elections in mid-2000, the MDC represented the most important political party alternative and challenge to the ruling party since 1980. In the year 2000, most urban constituencies (including all 19 wards in Harare) voted against the ruling ZANU-PF party (Potts, 2011). As well, the ruling party had dominated urban local elections in the past but, in 2002, it lost many mayoral and council elections in urban spaces, leading to claims that ZANU-PF was increasingly becoming a rural-based political party, especially within Shona-speaking areas (Kamete, 2006). To regain control of urban areas after these losses, the government utilised the Urban Councils Act of 1996 and the statutory powers of the Minister of Local Government to undermine urban councils controlled by the MDC, including suspending the Mayor of Harare. The ZANU-PF government, through the Minister, also created a new position of Provincial Governor for Harare which intensified central control over the urban council. The Minister at times prevented the approval of the city budget of Harare and, in the process, stifled the city's operations and services to Harare residents. At the end of 2004, the government dismissed the elected council and appointed a commission to manage the affairs of the city of Harare (Potts, 2007). Additionally, in seeking to 'curry favour' with the urban poor, the ruling party sought to address the various economic challenges they faced. This entailed for example relaxing the enforcement of building standards at urban housing schemes, casting a blind eye on the increase in backyard shacks and informal sector enterprises on legal housing stands, and allowing for the establishment of people's flea markets. The government even halted the actions of a commission it had appointed when it began demolitions of informal housing and shops in 2001 (Potts, 2007).

#### **3.2.3.1 Urban Livelihoods and the Fast Track Land Reform Programme**

While urban livelihoods were declining, and political opposition to the ruling party was increasing, war veterans (normally aligned to the ruling party) took it upon themselves to lead land occupations of commercial farms throughout the country from February 2000. These occupations were in response to the constitutional referendum which took place in February. Amendments to the constitution included the possibility on the part of the state to expropriate

land without compensation, but the constitutional changes were rejected (with the MDC leading the rejection vote). The ruling party did not request that the occupiers be evicted by the police, as it had done in the past with occupations, and it ended up legitimising the occupations by formulating and enacting what has become known as the fast track land reform programme (Moyo and Yeros, 2005; Sadomba, 2009; Sachikonye, 2003). Before the fast track programme started, there were nearly 4,500 large-scale commercial white farmers. By the end of 2002, when the reform programme was said to be officially over, only 600 white farmers had remained on their farms (Sachikonye, 2003). The land reform programme, because it involved the swift and massive disruption of agricultural activities on commercial farms, contributed immediately to a decline in agricultural production and diverse negative implications to the national economy as a whole, including industries both immediately downstream and upstream to the agrarian economy.

While some commercial farms were taken over as whole units or only subdivided to a minimal extent (known as A2 farms), most farms were heavily subdivided on what are called A1 farms where small-scale farming takes place. The factors that contributed to the decline in agricultural performance emanated from insufficient productivity on the land due to the lack of financial resources, equipment, technical expertise and capacity to manage the farms; combined with the fact that some A2 farmers were holding land speculatively (Gandure and Marongwe, 2006). Maize production, for example, declined with production deficits averaging over 500,000 tonnes per annum during the first five years of fast track (Commercial Farmers Union, 2005). For the 2005-2006 agricultural season, the situation was worse with an estimated deficit of 1.2 million tonnes of maize (Tibaijuka, 2005). Commercial agriculture in the past had contributed significantly to maize production, using in the main mechanical irrigation; whereas, A1 farmers relied almost exclusively upon rain-fed watering of their maize crop. Regardless of the reliable rainfall which fell in the 2006-2007 season, there was only a marginal increase in maize output and the total national output was just a third of the country's total requirements (Richardson, 2007). By 2006, overall agricultural production had decreased by 60 per cent since the year 2000, and its contribution to export earnings decreased accordingly (Richardson, 2007).

The knock-on effects were massive. By the year 2004, the GDP had fallen from US\$8.4 billion (in 1997) to US\$4.8 billion. In the immediate period preceding 2006, Zimbabwe's economy was contracting at a rate of 40 per cent per year (Tawodzera, 2010). Manufacturing industry had declined and accounted for only 15 per cent of the GDP (Potts 2011), with an output of 45.6 per cent lower than it had been in 1998 (Business Report, 2005). The mining sector also suffered due to lack of inputs and investment but strong global commodity prices sustained mining earnings as one of the government's most crucial foreign currency earnings (Potts, 2011). There was though a substantial decrease in export production as well as an increase in the country's external debt to around US\$4.8 billion by 2007 and a domestic debt of 80 per cent of the GDP in 2006 (Tawodzera, 2010). Overall, then, the agricultural decline had severe implications for urban economies, with further deindustrialisation and job losses taking place in Harare and elsewhere. The informal economic sector, which blossomed during the 1990s under structural adjustment, became even more critically important for urban households from the year 2000. Urban economies and urban livelihoods became deeply informalised in Zimbabwe, and to an extent which replicated other informalised cities on the African continent (Potts, 2011).

With declining national revenue, the central government owed local authorities (including Harare) in Zimbabwe 50 billion Zimbabwean dollars while ratepayers, government departments and other local authorities around Harare (Norton, Epworth Local Board, Ruwa and Chitungwiza) owed the Harare City Council 52 billion Zimbabwean dollars (McGarry, 2005). Because of this, service delivery collapsed even further in urban centres. Water and electricity supplies in urban centres became sporadic, and health, education and other services became more expensive and even non-existent in certain areas (Potts, 2006). Combined with crumbling urban infrastructure was the inability of urban households to make a reasonable living. By 2004, according to an urban vulnerability assessment survey, 72 per cent of urban households in Zimbabwe (including within wealthier low-density areas) were defined as poor, with 51 per cent being very poor and unable to afford adequate food and other basic necessities (ZimVac, 2004). For the same year, in low-income high-density areas such as Budiro, 77 per cent of households were characterised as poor and 57 per cent as very poor (ZimVac, 2004). In 2005, one urban resident went so far as to characterise the food situation as entailing the 0-0-1 lifestyle which meant surviving on one meal only (supper) and without any breakfast (0) or lunch (0) (Bracking

and Sachikonye, 2006). At least two-thirds of the urban population were food insecure, with urban households increasingly relying – besides informal economic activities – on remittances, natural resources (for example, urban agriculture) and rural-based incomes particularly gold panning and farming (Kamete, 2007). Unemployment by 2009 was sitting at a staggering 80 per cent (Chimhowu, 2009). At the same time, inflation increased from two-digit figures in 2000 to 7,982 per cent by 2007, and household-based earnings were simply not able to keep up with almost daily increases in the prices of basic commodities. As a result, the purchasing power of the average Zimbabwean in 2005 dropped to levels similar to those in 1953 (Clemens and Moss, 2005).

As a result of the disturbances to the agricultural sector, the country became a net importer instead of net exporter of food, with a huge population surviving continuously (for protracted periods of time) on humanitarian food assistance and donations from various organisations such as the United Nations (UN), Care International, Oxfam Great Britain, World Vision International and Christian Care (Tawodzera, 2011). The government had no choice but to rely on humanitarian assistance because of its lack of capacity to import food given high global food prices and the relative absence and availability of foreign currency. According to ZimVac (2009), 2.8 million people were said to be in need of food assistance in 2008 and 600,000 of these people were in urban areas. It was estimated that Zimbabwe had about 7 million people in need of food aid at the beginning of 2009 (IFRC, 2009). The country had become the world's third largest food aid recipient, after Afghanistan (8.82 million) and Ethiopia (8.67 million). In this context, it is not surprising that life expectancy in Zimbabwe dropped from 61 years in 1990 (World Bank, 2000) to 36 years in 2008 (United Nations, 2008). The overall Human Development Index of post-independent Zimbabwe declined from its peak of 0.621 in 1985 to 0.468 in 2003 (Malaba, 2006; UNICEF, 2004).

### **3.2.3.2 Post-2005 Elections and Operation Murambatsvina**

In 2005, the ZANU-PF party lost the national elections to the MDC in the urban areas. The ruling party tried to use identity politics in a process of 'othering' urban residents, insinuating that urban residents were not patriotic Zimbabweans. Two months after the loss of the election in urban areas, in May 2005, Operation Murambatsvina (Operation Restore Order) was launched



with limited warning or notice to residents. The operation targeted low-income areas, leading to the demolition of swathes of informal enterprises in the form of small shops, house extensions, residential outbuildings and micro-scale manufacturing, as well as the destruction of low-income housing which had not been approved by municipal authorities. The Operation also targeted activities such as vending, unlicensed trading and the entry of commuter omnibuses into the central business district (CBD). The diverse range of informal economic activities had become, by this time, central to the livelihoods of poor urban households, given ongoing deindustrialisation and the contraction of the formal job market (Tawodzera, 2011). In Harare itself, only 15 per cent of urban households relied primarily on formal employment as the main source of household income (Potts, 2010). The Operation was devastating for particularly poor urban households in high-density areas, as they were targeted by the state, and thus it affected these households disproportionately (Gandure and Marongwe, 2006).

The state sought to justify the Operation by invoking the Regional, Town and Country Planning Act (Part 4) which regulates and controls urban development (Toriro, 2007). The act defines what constitutes urban development and states that development programmes can only take place when a development order has been issued, and prior to a development plan being in place. If the development has taken place without prior permission or approval, the local urban planning authority may serve an enforcement order upon the owner or occupier of the property in question. In addition, the government used the Statutory Instrument SI 109/79 which states that, if someone illegally occupies or develops a structure on council land, that person is only entitled to 48-hour notice to vacate the property, including removing any built structures (Toriro, 2007). Thus justification for the Operation presents the state as involved in some kind of modernist development project based on urban rationality and spatial ordering.

The reasoning behind the Operation though has been subjected to diverse interpretations which go beyond the state's own explicit and public rationale. This includes the claim that the Operation involved retribution against urban residents for voting for the MDC opposition party. Hence, the ruling party sought to crush the urban strongholds of the MDC while, at the same time, dispersing the population away from urban centres and back into rural spaces where the ruling party could more easily maintain control over local populations (Masakure, 2006).

According to this position, the real objective of the Operation was to forestall the possibility of an urban revolt against the government by entrenching order and discipline in urban areas. (International Crisis Group, 2005). This thus entailed exercising overt and violent forms of disciplinary power in the high-density areas while, it is claimed by critics, exercising pastoral power and subtler forms of disciplinary power in the more affluent low-density areas (Potts, 2011; Kamete, 2012).

The overall effects of the Operation included the direct loss of housing, work and/or livelihoods for 700,000 of the urban poor population as well as a further 2.4 million people being indirectly affected by the Operation (to varying degrees) due to homelessness combined with problems with access to food, water, sanitation and health care (Tibaijuka, 2005). The Operation consequently increased the need for housing in an already-dire situation in which the urban housing backlog in Zimbabwe amounted to over one million by 2004 (Tibaijuka, 2005). Landlords and homeowners lost income as the properties they used to rent out were demolished. Some employees in the formal economic sector ended up losing their jobs because they no longer had a place of residence. Others who had taken out loans to fund their informal business activities were forced into liquidation and bankruptcy because the livelihood means to repay the loan installments had been undermined. The urban population nicknamed the Operation a ‘tsunami’ due to its violent speed and ferocity which seemed to destroy everything in its path. The destruction also included NGO initiatives which were meant to improve the lives of the urban poor. Thus the Catholic Relief Services (CRS) reported that the mushroom production projects it had initiated with urban households in Hatcliffe, Mabvuku and Epworth (in Harare) were halted when production premises and structures were demolished during the Operation (Catholic Relief Services, 2005 cited in Tawodzera, 2010). The Solidarity Peace Trust (2005) reported that Harare possibly had been the worst affected urban area in terms of the sheer scale of the Operation. Even the sculpture and curio parks along Harare’s main roads, which for a long time had been tourist attractions, were not spared.

Those who had been affected by the Operation were told by the government to go back – or return – to their rural homes, even though a significant number of them did not have rural homes to which to return (as they were born and raised in the cities and urban areas). Indeed, the 2002

national census reported that over 50 per cent of the people in Zimbabwe's largest urban areas of Harare, Bulawayo and Chitungwiza had been born in the towns (CSO Zimbabwe, 2004). It is estimated though that, eventually, 144,000 people returned to the rural areas (Potts, 2008; Human Rights Watch, 2005). For the households which remained in the urban areas, life was initially characterised by dilapidated and squalid conditions in transit camps such as the Caledonia transit camps. In contradiction to the official objective, Operation Restore Order effectively increased disorder and vulnerability amongst urban households (Gandure and Marongwe, 2006). In general, because of the Operation, the urban poor were driven deeper into poverty, deprivation, destitution and food insecurity (Tibaijuka, 2005).

### **3.2.4 The Crisis beyond the Year 2008**

By the year 2008, Zimbabwe was in a state of collapse based on a decade or longer economic decline with for instance unimaginably high levels of inflation. Public services such as health and education had disintegrated in addition to massive shortages of basic commodities and political turmoil and violence. The economic and political crisis in Zimbabwe is often said to have reached its fullest expression in 2008 (Raftopoulos, 2009; Pietrzyk, 2011).

The deterioration of the human development index in the country, mentioned earlier, was highlighted by the outbreak of cholera in Budiriro during August in the year 2008. The epidemic lasted until 2009 (Musemwa, 2010; Tawodzera, 2010). Within a context of poverty and dwindling social and infrastructural services, as manifested by the unavailability of clean water and proper sanitation as well as a crumbling health services system, Budiriro (as the study area for this thesis) became the epicentre of the cholera epidemic killing more than 4,274 people in 2008 and infecting over 98,114 people by May 2009 (Musemwa, 2010; Kone-Coulibaly et al., 2010). The ongoing water cuts and limited water supply had compelled Budiriro households to consume water from unprotected wells, thus making them susceptible to cholera and indeed other diseases. Added to this dire situation was uncollected refuse, burst sewage pipes and the absence of a local stock of medicine for treating cholera and other water-borne diseases. This exemplifies the absolute levels of socio-economic deprivation experienced by poor urban households in Budiriro and elsewhere.

The deepening of the political crisis in Zimbabwe also became abundantly clear in the light of the highly-contested and controversial national parliamentary and presidential elections in 2008, with the main opposition party refusing to participate in the presidential run-off election because of concerns over ruling party intimidation and violence. In seeking to resolve this political impasse, and hopefully the economic turmoil in the country as well, the main political parties (with prodding from other countries in the region, notably South Africa) signed an inter-political party agreement commonly referred to as the Global Political Agreement (GPA) (Raftopoulos, 2012). This led to the formation of the Government of National Unity (GNU) in 2009, but the ZANU-PF president (Mugabe) remained as state President. There was some hope amongst Zimbabweans that a better future was on the horizon.

Though ZANU-PF and the two opposition parties from the fractured MDC were officially equal partners in the GNU, ZANU-PF was able to use its political experience and skills, as well as its unbridled access to the security sector, to dominate and manipulate decision-making processes within the unity government. Because of this, expected reforms from the GNU (around the constitution, media and security) did not fully materialise, as ZANU-PF was often able to undermine and subvert processes of democratisation. In terms of the agreement, the parties had also committed themselves to work together on a full and comprehensive economic programme to resuscitate Zimbabwe's economy, by addressing issues to do with for example production, food security, poverty, and unemployment. The parties also agreed to address challenges of high inflation, interest rates and exchange rates. With the end of the GNU in 2013, the political situation has reverted back to the pre-GNU period, with ZANU-PF once again being elected as the governing party and ruling as the dominant party.

The GNU, through its Ministry of Finance, introduced various economic reforms which included a new monetary policy which adopted full dollarisation, therefore abandoning the local Zimbabwean currency. Full dollarisation is a situation where authorities (in this case, the Ministry of Finance and the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe) of a country outside of the United States of America adopt the United States Dollar as legal tender and its official currency (Mangudya, 2015; Mupedziswa, 2011; Nkomazana and Niyimbanira, 2014). This introduction involved the formalisation of a process which was already operational within the Zimbabwean

economy given that, towards the end of the year 2008, trading in currency other than the Zimbabwe dollar had become the norm in both the informal and formal economy (Noko, 2011). Another reform adopted was a cash budget system, which is a system that determines within-year budget releases based on revenue collected. This was meant to restore fiscal discipline and macro-economic stability and to cope with revenue uncertainty or unpredictability over time (Oxford Policy Management, 2012; Mlambo, 2017).

A key outcome from this was the stabilisation of inflation. The annual inflation rate became astronomical post-track, reaching 231 million per cent. Under the stabilisation programme, the inflation rate became, quite soon, the exact opposite: a monthly inflation rate of -2.3 per cent in January, -3.1 per cent in February, -1.1 percent in April, and -1.0 per cent in May 2009 (Mangudya, 2015; Tawodzera, 2014). By December 2009, year-on-year inflation was estimated to be -7.7 per cent. GDP, which had shrunk by -14.4 per cent in 2008, grew by 5.7 per cent in 2009 and by 8.1 percent in 2010 (Mlambo, 2017). A shift towards economic stability was also evidenced by some businesses and factories re-opening. Thus industrial capacity improved from 10 per cent in January 2009 to between 35 to 60 per cent by December 2009, resulting in exports increasing from US\$659 million to US\$1.97 billion by 2015 (Mangudya, 2015; Mutengezanwa et al., 2012). The export recovery was based on activity within the mining and agricultural sectors as these accounted for 93.5 per cent of export revenues between 2009 and 2013 (African Development Bank, 2015). In this context, government revenue increased from US\$809 million in 2009 to US\$3.99 billion in 2015 (Mangudya, 2015). However, due to the uncompetitive investor environment and negative perception of economic and political prospects within Zimbabwe, limited access to capital and foreign direct investment continued (Mangudya, 2015).

While these figures tend to imply upward trends in economic indicators beyond 2013, it is noticeable that there has been in fact a downward trend since the end of the GNU with regard to some key issues. For instance, GDP growth has decelerated from 10.6 per cent in 2012 to 4.5 per cent in 2013 and then to 3.1 per cent in 2014 (ADB, 2015). Industrial capacity has also shown signs of decline and stood at 36.3 per cent in the year 2014 (CZI, 2014). This decline is due to low local product demand, lack of working capital, machine breakdowns, underproduction, high cost of production, and absence of competitiveness (Mlambo, 2017). This has been accompanied

by a continually increasing demand for imports, but a simultaneous decline in exports and in foreign currency reserves. Significantly, 4,610 companies shut down, leading to the loss of approximately 55,443 jobs between the year 2011 and 2015 (GoZ Budget Statement, 2015). By this time, 80 per cent of the urban workforce was located in the informal economic sector, such that Zimbabwe has become a nation of vendors (Mlambo, 2017) – or, more broadly, urban livelihoods are rooted in the informal economy.

As far as livelihoods were concerned, *kukiya kiya* became the order of the day. This is a point which Jones (2010) raised in relation to the deep crisis around 2008 but it is likely even more relevant in the post-2013 period. According to Jones (2010), *kukiya kiya* is a term which suggests or refers to a logic characterised by cleverness, dodging and exploiting whatever means are at hand to pursue a livelihood, and a livelihood more than likely in survivalist mode. The practices of *kukiya kiya* include vegetable vending, illegal foreign currency dealing, bribe-taking and pilfering at work. It might be seen at first sight as simply a metaphor for the informal economy which, in the case of contemporary Zimbabwe, is the predominant mode of survival for urban residents. But the term is also meant to capture the very character of even the formal economy: that is, the entire economy has been transformed into a *kukiya kiya* economy in which there is the kind of wheeling and dealing which was formerly relegated to the margins of the urban economy. In this sense, Jones categorises the many livelihood activities in urban Zimbabwe as falling within a generalised culture of evasion, that is, evasion of institutions such as the state bureaucracy, evasion of the law and evasion of cultural norms and hierarchies. This involves the pursuit of livelihood activities which do not follow social rules but instead are creative and non-compliant, focusing then on immediate demands, opportunities and benefits with limited concern for respectability or social correctness. Irrespective of possible problems with the notion of *kukiya kiya* in understanding the Zimbabwean urban economy per se, it does bring to the fore the many ways in which urban households strategise, negotiate and manoeuvre their way through the troubling times in present-day Zimbabwe.

### **3.3 Urban Livelihood Strategies**

While the chapter so far has examined urban livelihoods in Zimbabwe historically, this section provides a more thematic presentation in terms of the diversity of post-2000 livelihood activities

in urban areas of the country. This allows for a broad overview of the literature on urban livelihoods in Zimbabwe. In doing this, reference is made to corresponding livelihoods beyond Zimbabwe, indicating that the overall trajectory in urban livelihoods in Zimbabwe has parallels with other countries in Africa and beyond. Clearly, based on the preceding discussions, urban households in Zimbabwe face a multiplicity of challenges because of both state and market failures, with these challenges changing over time. In such challenging contexts, households need to constantly adapt and cope, as well as negotiate their way through a fluid urban environment to enhance or maintain household well-being. They do not simply react to circumstances, but respond to them in such a manner that it is possible to speak about the construction and re-construction of urban livelihoods.

There are limited accurate statistics and information on the share of the formal sector in employment in most sub-Saharan Africa countries. Overall, the private sector has not been able to create significant and long-term employment in the formal economic sector (Fox et al., 2013). In this regard, *The Economist* (2014) estimates that nine out of ten workers are employed in the informal sector. Indeed, a large portion of households in developing countries live and survive within the informal economy (Blades et al., 2011). Just like in other countries in sub-Saharan Africa, the formal sector in Zimbabwe is underperforming in terms of employment creation. It is estimated for example that in 2008 in Zimbabwe only 480,000 workers were employed in the formal sector, which was down from 3.6 million in 2003 (Ulandssekretariatet, 2014). The shrinking formal sector coincided with the hyper-inflationary period which peaked in 2008. Due to the poor performance of the shrinking formal sector and the predominance of the informal sector economy in Zimbabwe, the following sub-sections largely focus on the informal sector economy, since that is where the majority of urban residents are earning a living.

### **3.3.1 Street Trading and Home-Based Enterprises**

Street trading is one form of livelihood strategy employed by many urban households. This is a global livelihood strategy, common in many parts of the developed and developing world. Street traders are people who source incomes or gain livelihoods within the urban economy by selling a range of items on the street and in other public spaces of the city (Witt, 2000). According to Hlohla (2008), in Harare in the mid-2000s, there were well over 1,014 vendors (male and

female) of different ages all over the central business district (CBD). In a similar manner, street traders in Kathmandu (Nepal) were spread over 50 trading locations within the city with an estimated 6,700 traders in total (Shrestha, 2006). In a survey of 125 street traders by Iyenda (2005) in Kinshasa (Democratic Republic of the Congo), 33 per cent were household heads and over 50 per cent were women. In addition, 43 per cent had never worked in the formal economy and only 6 per cent had an additional source of income. In the case of Zimbabwe, as Manyanhaire et al. (2007) highlight, both men and women engage in vending as a livelihood activity although women tend to predominate. Women find street vending flexible because they can combine street vending with domestic chores such as looking after children.

Various commodities are sold on the street such that, certainly with regard to Zimbabwe, street trading acts as a key mechanism in the distribution of products (Manganga, 2007) and at a price generally affordable to a range of households in urban spaces. Besides the fact that women tend to be the majority of street traders, there is in addition a gender dimension (or segmentation) to street trading in terms of product lines. Women street traders in Zimbabwe's urban centres thus sell for instance second-hand clothes, sim-cards for mobile phones, perfumes for men and women, and pesticides for rats and cockroaches. Men engage in foreign currency dealings, and in selling leather belts, sunglasses, mobile phones and wrist watches (Manganga, 2007).

Indeed, in recent years in Zimbabwe (particularly before dollarisation), foreign currency dealings on the streets became quite pronounced. This type of trade became an important source of income for a considerable number of households and individuals due to the scarcity of foreign currency within the formal financial sector (such as banks and bureaux de change) and the increased demand for foreign currency to aid transactions for other livelihood strategies. Trading foreign currency on the streets of mainly urban Zimbabwe morphed into what has been called money burning. As Gukurume (2015) argues, money burning refers to the trade of foreign currency with huge sums of Zimbabwe dollars through the real-time gross-processing system generally known in Zimbabwe as the RTGS. This was a payment system that was managed by the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe (RBZ) which connected all the banks in Zimbabwe through the internet. The system became attractive to foreign currency traders because it could easily transfer huge sums of Zimbabwe dollars into people's bank accounts almost instantly in exchange for



currencies such as the United States dollar. The exchange rate was also higher when compared to cash-to-cash transactions. The RBZ was actively involved in this black market through its agents who were mainly 'connected' individuals, as the central bank endeavoured to boost its foreign currency reserves that were dwindling rapidly. Prior to the adoption of the multiple currency system (or dollarisation) by the government of Zimbabwe in 2008, it is believed that foreign exchange dealers trading on various street corners in the city of Harare had in their possession (at any one time) millions of South African Rands and United States dollars that were coming from a variety of sources such as remittances, the formal private sector and paradoxically the government (Tamukamoyo, 2009).

Mobile-phone credit, or airtime as it is called in Zimbabwe, is another major commodity traded on the urban streets of Harare (Magure, 2014). In Zimbabwe, mobile phone penetration is high thus selling airtime can be quite profitable and lucrative. It is usually sold at bus terminuses, road junctions, at traffic lights (robots), outside major supermarket chains and entertainment spots. In some instances, airtime vendors also sell illicit and highly potent alcoholic drinks illegally imported from Mozambique and Zambia. Apart from airtime or mobile phone credit, in the eastern town of Mutare (like elsewhere) street traders sell vegetables and fruits such as tomatoes, mangoes, bananas, apples, plums, potatoes, spinach, cabbages, butternuts and maize (Manyanhai et al., 2007). Most of these products are supplied by nearby farms, rather than grown by the vendors themselves. A variety of other goods are sold on the streets of urban Zimbabwe, such as tobacco, pots and tins made from scrap metal, building material, plumbing material, woven goods as well as groceries such as sugar, cooking oil and flour which at times have been scarce on the formal market. Additionally, hawkers sell cooked and uncooked mealies and freezits (flavored ice sticks). At times goods sold are produced by the vendors themselves (Kamete, 2004). In the case of Masvingo, Zimbabwe, food vending has been cited as a major livelihood strategy among female headed-households in particular (Muzvidziwa, 2000).

Even though street trade is common, the earnings are varied and depend on a range of factors such as location of market, transport, rentals and the local government's position on street trading. In Kathmandu, Nepal, traders (many of whom are elderly) reported that they earned annual incomes of US\$230, a figure close to the national average income of US\$240 (Shrestha,

2006). Proximity to the site of sales is crucial in achieving sales with most of the traders simply walking around to sell their wares (and are thus not hindered by transportation issues). In Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, 39 per cent of studied traders earned around US\$5 a day. This is more than the amount earned within the formal sector in which government workers are paid about US\$25 a month and those in the private sector earn between US\$50 and US\$100 a month (Nnkaya, 2006). Nevertheless, living costs were estimated to be at US\$385 a month for a family of six, such that US\$5 per day meant earnings less than the minimum household budget requirements.

The earnings of street trading are however beneficial, as street trading households in Zimbabwe indicate that they are able to continue sending their children to school, and to secure basic shelter, food, clothes and health care (Muzvidziwa, 2000). At times, street-trading earnings allow households and individuals to accumulate and save money (Matondi, 2011). At the same time, households often undertake street trading as a survivalist strategy because of the absence of available income-earning opportunities such as formal employment (Brown, 2006; Brown, 2014). Undoubtedly, though, street trading is a precarious and insecure form of livelihood.

Apart from street trading, home-based enterprises (HBE) – as part of the informal economic sector – are a key income earner and livelihood strategy for urban households. Home-based business enterprises are enterprises that occur within or close to home, rather than in commercial or industrial areas or buildings (Strassmann, 1987). Home-based enterprises are characterised by ease of entry into the business, family ownership, labour intensiveness, the use of adapted technologies, reliance on skills acquired outside the school system, unregulated and competitive markets, and a lack of legal or government recognition (Mpembamoto et al., 2016). According to Gough and Kellet (2001), the activities of HBEs can be categorised into five types: those related to a plot of land (or urban agriculture); activities related to manufacturing and repair (of for example shoes, vehicles and bicycles); food preparation and processing (of fast food items and local staple food); selling (such as fruits and vegetables); and activities related to services (for instance, hairdressing and traditional healing). Urban agriculture in particular is discussed more fully later.

Home-based enterprises are not only an important source of income in contexts of limited opportunities for salaried employment, but can also generate surplus resources beyond what is required for subsistence. Those households engaging in these enterprises also save time and money by eliminating travel to a workstation since all the activities are done within the house or within proximity of the house (Mpembamoto et al., 2017). Although home-based enterprises provide advantages to those engaging in them, there is some debate regarding their benefits to the environment. For example, on the one hand, Mpembamoto et al. (2017) suggest that, because business is done close to the house (thereby reducing the need for travelling), it reduces traffic congestion and pollution in cities. On the other hand, Abolade (2012) intimates that HBEs may be a source of pollution as many manufacturing enterprises use machinery that generate noise within an area zoned for residential purposes. Regardless of whether the HBEs are viewed negatively or positively, as with other informal sector based livelihood strategies, these house-based enterprises face challenges related to finance, competition, theft, availability, legality, uncertainty, lack of infrastructure and sub-standard structures making their life-span generally short (Gough et al., 2003).

### **3.3.2 Cross-Border Trading, Smuggling and Flea Markets**

Cross-border trading is another livelihood strategy in which households participate to maintain and improve their standard of living as well as to invest and accrue surplus (Muzvidziwa, 2012). In a year-long ethnographic study of cross-border Zimbabwean traders (Muzvidziwa, 2015), it became clear that cross-border trade makes a difference to both rural and urban households in an environment characterised by a declining and collapsing economy. This livelihood activity in the past was dominated by women, even dating back to the 1990s when households in Zimbabwe began to experience challenges to their well-being as a result of the austerity measures adopted under ESAP (Muzvidziwa, 2012; Kurebwa, 2015). Cross-border traders in Zimbabwe are described as footloose cultural and economic entrepreneurs in search of markets not just for survival but also to enable investment. In the case of Zimbabwe, this informal economic activity continues to be particularly prevalent amongst a highly mobile class of women specialising in long distance business activities (Muzvidziwa, 2012).

Consequently, broadly speaking, cross-border trade involves the frequent movement of people with processed and non-processed merchandise, goods and services across national boundaries (Ndlela, 2006; Kalinda, 2015). It normally takes place on a small-scale and informal basis, such that it is not characterised by officially-recorded transactions or simply entails massive under-invoicing and under-declaration of invoices. Since the year 2000, under an imploding national economy in Zimbabwe, cross-border trading has increased dramatically. In particular, increasing poverty, a shrinking formal sector, declining living conditions and strict import controls imposed on formal businesses have led the trade to become a viable and vibrant activity for households and individuals in Zimbabwe (Kurebwa, 2015). In fact, it has expanded not only to nearby countries such as South Africa, Malawi, Botswana, Mozambique, Namibia, Zambia and Tanzania, but also to international destinations such as Dubai and China (Mukwedeya, 2012; Mushipe, 2007). The trade has also evolved from being restricted to the importing and exporting of handmade crafts, tablecloths, curios, second-hand clothes, groceries and other basic consumables to a vast array of products such as building material, motor vehicles and household furnishings such as refrigerators, dining-room suites and televisions. This has been facilitated by the scarcity of almost all commodities within Zimbabwe in most of the period which followed the year 2000. Mukwedeya (2012) notes for instance that, in 2008, South Africa supplied half of Zimbabwe's imports to the tune of US\$2 billion with a major part of this trade conducted through cross-border trade. In terms of household-based livelihoods, over 30 per cent of households in the low-income high-density area of Glen Norah in Harare had a family member involved in cross-border trading in that year (Mukwedeya, 2012)

The possibility of smuggling by under-invoicing and under-declaring imported goods, as happens in Zimbabwe (Makina, 2010), makes it lucrative for those engaged in cross-border trading. Smuggling enables the movement of undeclared goods and helps to avoid the financial and other obligations pertaining to travel documents, visa fees, border taxes, work permits as well as import and trade licenses (Duri, 2012). The practice of smuggling displays the agency, creativeness and innovativeness of low-income households in negotiating institutions such as tax and immigration authorities, at the same time dissolving the meaning of national borders when it comes to securing livelihoods in contexts of serious socio-economic crisis (Duri, 2012).

Makina (2010) notes that smuggling in the case of Zimbabwe resulted in part from the protectionist policies implemented by the government of Zimbabwe. For example, in the textile industry, the Zimbabwe Revenue Authority (ZIMRA) imposed duty charges on bales of second-hand clothes which effectively reduced the profitability of the trade. Given the high cost of locally-made clothes, cross-border traders turned to smuggling second-clothes into the country. Smuggling also facilitates the movement of products such as cerelac (infant cereal), cerevita (adult cereal), sugar, sterilised milk, eggs, tobacco and cigarettes out of Zimbabwe into Mozambique (Duri, 2012). The Zimbabwean smugglers, when in Mozambique, then buy clothes, petrol, paraffin, diesel and other products to sell in Zimbabwe. According to Duri (2012), in 2005 approximately 30 tonnes of sugar and maize worth US\$200 million were smuggled into Mozambique, with a similar value of cash and goods brought into Zimbabwe. In 2008, the financial gains available to smugglers were further enhanced by price controls that were instituted by the Zimbabwean government, which led to a 50 per cent reduction in prices making it unprofitable to sell goods within the country. Despite ZIMRA issuing warnings to smugglers on numerous occasions to desist their activities, otherwise they would be liable for imprisonment, smuggling continues to be a key livelihood activity in a number of Zimbabwean border areas – not only for low-income households but also for middle- and higher-income groups. A key challenge which of course emanates from smuggling and other tax evasion or avoidance activities is that it reduces national revenues and has the possibility of limiting government expenditures on national programmes around for example service delivery (Hope, 2014).

When goods are imported, especially by informal traders, they in most cases end up being sold at flea markets (Tamukamoyo, 2008). Operating at a flea market is a key source of income and livelihood for urban households and individuals in Zimbabwe. Magure (2014) notes for example that Chegutu, which is a former mining and farming town, has now turned into a town of flea markets. Similar to other urban centres in the country, the flea markets are generally stocked with electronic goods, hair products, foot wear, second-hand clothing (*mazitye*) as well as illegal skin lightening creams which have been banned for sale and use in Zimbabwe. It is also possible to purchase toiletries for men and women, bathroom mats, arts and crafts, and DVDs and video games together with illegal substances and pornography (which is illegal in Zimbabwe)

(Tamukamoyo, 2009). From the perspective of Mupedziswa and Gumbo (1998), flea markets traditionally served as shops for three types of clientele in Zimbabwe, not all of these linked to cross-border trading: places such as Sam Levy Flea Market located in the Borrowdale residential area of Harare for high-income groups; flea markets such as in Avondale (Harare) for middle-income households; and markets in the high-density areas for low-income groups often located on the periphery of Zimbabwean cities and towns. At the peak of the Zimbabwean economic crisis around the year 2008, flea markets became the most important mechanism for the efficient distribution of almost all types of products especially those that were scarce (Chimedza, 2008).

### **3.3.3 Urban Agriculture**

Urban agriculture is a vital livelihood strategy taken up by households particularly within contexts characterised by cuts in food subsidies, rises in the cost of living and a decline in family purchasing power (Owuor and Foeken, 2006; Nugent, 2000; Kanji, 1996; Simatele et al., 2012). Mougeot (2006:103) defines urban agriculture as the production of food or non-food plant and tree crops as well as animal husbandry within an urban setting and its fringes, for the purposes of consumption by households and for sale to the urban population. In the 1990s, 40 per cent of the urban population in Africa was said to be involved in urban agriculture (Mougeot, 1994, 1998). This is likely one response by urban households to the implementation of structural adjustment programmes that led to an increase in food prices and other basic commodities while also leading to a decline in formal employment (Foeken, 1998; Tacoli, 1998; Drakakis-Smith, 1992; Gefu, 1992). Urban agriculture has since become a major source of income for at least 100 million people in Africa, and a source of food for an estimated 500 million people (Lynch et al., 2001; Frayne, 2005; Horvorka, 2005; Premat, 2005). The returns on urban agriculture are reported to be better in some cases than many unskilled formal occupations and informal casual labour in cities such as Bamako (Mali), Dar-es-Salaam (Tanzania), Lusaka (Zambia), Kano (Nigeria) and Nairobi (Kenya) as well as in Harare (Mbiba 1995, 2001; Smith, 2001; Binns et al., 2003, Rogerson, 2003, Simatele and Binns, 2008). In certain cases, urban agriculture even yields greater remuneration than employment as a senior civil servant (Simatele et al., 2012). Urban agriculture also enhances food security and enables households to reduce expenditures on certain basic food items such as green vegetables and chickens (Chirau, 2012).

In Zimbabwe, Masiya and Mazuruse (2007) note that urban agriculture is widely practiced among the poor and the lower-income groups in Harare. In their study, up to 73 per cent of households in Glen Norah highlighted that they maintain small gardens and fields. Maize is often grown to replace expenditure on mealie-meal or crushed maize from the supermarket, while crops such as sweet potatoes are grown as alternatives to bread bought in the stores. Urban agriculture is also common in middle-income areas of Harare, such as Avondale and Mabelreign. Kutiwa et al. (2010) contend that, for urban Zimbabweans, urban agriculture primarily addresses food insecurity within the household. Growing maize for example is done primarily for own-consumption purposes but, when possible, crops grown are sold on local informal markets. They thus note that over 60 per cent of the maize and leafy vegetables produced are consumed within the household, while the remaining 40 per cent is sold from home and at nearby market stalls. This shows that urban agriculture is a significant component of urban livelihoods that provides income whilst addressing food insecurity, especially within contexts where there is social, political and economic decline such as Harare and Zimbabwe in general.

### **3.3.4 Making a Living through Transport and Waste**

In the absence of efficient and effective provision of transport within a context of economic collapse (such as in Zimbabwe), providing transport becomes a source of income and livelihood for households in urban areas. Generally, the formal economy has failed to provide, maintain and monitor a proper transportation network especially in developing countries. Where a public transport system is available in developing countries like Zimbabwe, the system is often inefficient, unreliable and does not meet the demands and needs of the urban population (Howe and Bryceson, 2000). Consequently, the public transport system has been replaced by a less formal, and mainly privatised, transport service that runs required routes at required times as dictated by market demand, linking up low-income urban areas with the central business district and other urban spaces (Hope, 2009). These normally take the form of minibuses, though in Zimbabwe historically there were emergency taxis, particularly old Renault station wagons.

In Zimbabwe, the minibuses are called makombi, while they have other names elsewhere, including in Kenya (matatu), Senegal (car rapides) and Tanzania (dala dalas) (Norval and Namoya, 1992). In Windhoek, Namibia, this transport arrangement forms 28 per cent of the

entire transport sector (Norval and Namoya, 1992). In South Africa, the informal taxi industry was estimated to have created 300,000 jobs in just four years after its introduction in the 1980s with a fleet value of these taxis being equivalent to approximately US\$1.2 billion (Norval and Namoya, 1992). In Kenya, 700,000 passengers per day in 2000 were being transported by matatus (Howe and Bryceson, 2000). In Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, there were as many as 7,500 vehicles operating in the informal transport economy (Howe and Bryceson, 2000).

Additionally, Magure (2014) notes that a number of men in Chegutu (Zimbabwe) are self-employed porters using two-wheel human-propelled carts (popularly known as zvingoro) to transport people. These porters offer their services to people who have disembarked from the local bus rank with heavy luggage, especially those coming from the rural areas or from shopping trips in the case of cross-border traders. Businesspeople also enlist the services of porters to transport their merchandise from stockists and wholesale chains to various departure points in the town. Men and women in high-density areas involved in buying and selling of fresh farm produce hire these porters to transport their stock to various selling spaces dotted around the town. Similarly, in Dhaka (Bangladesh), as noted by Bengum and Sen (2005), rickshaw pulling is a major livelihood activity and is work available particularly for rural migrants. On average, their daily income in 2003 was equivalent to US\$2.38 and this accounted for 83 per cent of the total household income supporting five people.

Another livelihood that low-income urban households are engaged in is waste picking and recycling. This is a livelihood that involves waste management of households or businesses with the intention of picking out items that can be sold, reused or recycled. In Zimbabwe, the disposal of solid wastes has resulted in a vibrant informal waste economy that supplies raw materials to recycling industries (Masocha, 2006). A study conducted in 2006 estimated that there were over 1,200 and about 2,000 dumpsite waste harvesters in Harare and Bulawayo respectively directly earning a living from the waste industry (Masocha, 2006). In Zimbabwe, waste harvesting includes activities such as the retrieval of waste from public spaces, and unsanctioned retrieval of recyclables or other items of personal value from refuse trucks by waste collectors. But it also entails exchanges of waste between households, middlemen, waste collectors, traders and wholesalers (Masocha, 2006). In Brazil, such activity is particularly prevalent, as more than



500,000 people survive on collecting and selling solid waste, and the recycling market has a turnover of more than US\$1 billion (Fergutz, Dias and Mitlin, 2011). Even more pronounced is the case of India, where there are an estimated 1.5 million waste pickers (Chaturvedi, 2010). In Bangalore more specifically, in the mid-1990s, the municipal authorities only had to dispose of 335 tonnes of solid waste a day because around 2,700 tonnes were being recovered daily by waste pickers, households and the municipal collectors (Furedy, 1994; Huysman, 1994). In Karachi (Pakistan), the recycling industry provides a livelihood for some 55,000 families, and it recovers, recycles and reclaims a large volume of resources (Hasan, 2002). In Cairo (Egypt), the Zabaleen (traditional waste collectors) have created efficient resource recovery and waste recycling systems (Fahmi, 2005), including not only waste collection and sorting but also many small and medium-size informal businesses processing the wastes (Iskandar, 2013).

According to Mitlin and Satterwaite (2013), most waste pickers work in official and unofficial solid waste dumps and on the streets, with little or no organisation and very low returns. Their earnings are low because in most cases they receive low prices from the intermediaries who buy the recyclable materials. For example, Fergutz, Dias and Mitlin (2011) indicate that in Bahia (Brazil), containers of waste are sold by waste pickers for 0.15 Reals per kilogramme to intermediaries and are passed on (or sold) by the intermediaries for six times that amount, or .90 Reals per kilogramme. In addition to this, most waste pickers do not have access to protective equipment or training, and they do not observe basic principles of hygiene, occupational health or correct waste handling (Mitlin and Satterwaite, 2013). This is regardless of the fact that it is common for toxic and hazardous wastes such as those generated by industries and hospitals to end up in solid waste dumps, which increases health risks for waste pickers.

### **3.3.5 Migration a Key Livelihood Strategy**

Migration is also a key response employed by households in addressing the social, political and economic challenges that confront urban households in developing countries such as Zimbabwe. Through migration, households effectively change the context in which they pursue their livelihood strategies and thereby cope with a difficult environment (Tevera and Zinyama, 2002). Thus, in times of economic, social and political problems and challenges, people adopt migration as an important livelihood strategy with the aim of improving and maintaining their well-being.

The case of Zimbabwe is a good example of long-term challenges generating multiple forms of migration, to the extent that there are believed to be now more than three million Zimbabwean citizens and former citizens located in more than a hundred countries across the world (Chan and Primorac 2007; Crush and Tevera, 2010; Chiumbu and Musemwa, 2012; Derman and Kaarhuis, 2013). Migration is so widespread that there is at least one emigrant per Zimbabwean household on average, while the migrants cover almost all social categories such as skilled and unskilled, men and women, married and unmarried, families and individuals, young and old (Maphosa, 2007; Tevera and Crush, 2007; Crush et al., 2015).

For those Zimbabweans that have migrated to countries such as the United States, Canada, Europe and Australia, the majority of these migrants are in most cases highly skilled and well educated (McGregor and Primorac, 2010; Chikanda, 2011; Forrest, Johnston and Poulsen, 2013; McGregor and Pasura, 2014; Pasura, 2014; Chaumba, 2015). According to Bloch (2006), for example, the Zimbabwean migrant population in the United Kingdom is well educated and possesses a strong skills base and employment experience. The Home Office in the United Kingdom reported that Zimbabwean migrants had the highest level of education amongst all immigrants primarily because of the investments in the 1980s made by the ZANU-PF government (Bloch, 2003; Robinson, 1993). Regardless of this skill base, among the Zimbabwean population, Bloch (2006) reports that care-work constitutes the largest single occupational category of work amongst Zimbabweans in the United Kingdom. Mbiba (2012) also notes that Zimbabweans work in warehouses as sorting and packing workers as well as bakery workers, and are engaged in businesses and entrepreneurial activities such as selling Zimbabwean food, dry meat, dried fish, cereals, and drinks (including Mazowe Orange Crush produced in Zimbabwe), as well as Zimbabwean music in the form of cassettes and compact disks. Other Zimbabweans are involved in brokering money transfers or offering financial services including companies such as Mukuru.com, Fanob Exchange, Alliance Link, Global Exchange and Anob Transfer. Additionally, some Zimbabwean businesses in the United Kingdom provide funeral assistance, property buying and mortgage services while others entail travel agencies and employment agencies. These companies assist United Kingdom-based Zimbabweans to open bank accounts in Zimbabwe and process mortgages for house purchases in Zimbabwe, as they facilitate the purchase of property and engage in tenant management.

Zimbabweans tend to temporarily move to South Africa in search of employment or other economic opportunities and send remittances back home while away (Crush and Tevera 2010; Rutherford, 2011; Makina, 2013). The Zimbabwean migrant population in South Africa is not necessarily highly skilled but rather tends to entail white- and blue-collar labourers. In a study conducted in Johannesburg, Pophiwa (2010) reported that 62 per cent of the migrants had completed secondary school, 15 per cent had professional qualifications (including teaching and nursing diplomas) and 10 per cent had post-secondary diplomas. Only 4 per cent had university or post-graduate degrees. Slightly over 15 per cent of respondents reported that they had acquired additional qualifications and training in various technical and non-technical fields within South Africa. In showing the importance of migration as a livelihood strategy, Pophiwa (2010) states that a third of the Zimbabwean migrants were unemployed when they left Zimbabwe. In Johannesburg, however, about 90 per cent have jobs (such as in the security and hospitality sectors) and the remaining 10 per cent work in the informal sector. Despite this impressive rate of employment, Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg do not earn significantly high incomes. Over 86 per cent of Pophiwa's sample earned less than R4,000 (US\$300) a month, 59 per cent earned less than R2,000 (US\$150) a month and 21 per cent earned less than R1,000 (US\$70) a month (Pophiwa, 2010). Often, Zimbabweans are working illegally in South Africa and hence they are subject to exploitation by employers who pay them below the minimum wage for the sector. On average, 90 per cent of the respondents in Pophiwa's study reported that they remit R290 a month and/or groceries every month back home to support their families, while only 7 per cent had no dependents in Zimbabwe.

### **3.3.6 Rotating Savings Schemes**

Another source of livelihood for urban households is that of rotating savings and credit associations (ROSCA) in which all members are both savers and borrowers (Hope, 2008). These ROSCAs are labelled differently in different countries. For example, in Zimbabwe, such saving schemes are normally called a Round or *Mikando* (Mbizi and Gwangwava, 2013), whereas in South Africa they are popularly known as a *stokvel*. In these schemes, each member pools money into a central fund on a regular basis and an informally selected group leader is generally responsible for ensuring that each fund contributor receives in turn a lump-sum payment at some moment in time. Each ROSCA member only draws out of the pool or fund as much as he or she

has put into it (de Aghion and Moeduch, 2005). Though these schemes do not generate income, they allow households and individuals to receive lump-sums of money enabling for example the financing of investment activities, the purchase of household durables and the payment of school fees, as well as taking care of other financial obligations such as health expenses (including funerals) which arise unexpectedly (de Aghion and Moeduch, 2005). Individual household savings would often not allow for such large expenditures. In a sense, then, saving schemes represent a solution to problems of access to credit especially amongst the urban poor (Hope, 2014). ROSCAs also have little or no administration costs, and the repayment rate is high given that members tend to pay into the scheme due to cultural norms and social pressures; though members do sometimes default on their payments. These schemes also protect savings from immediate consumption and claims from members since ROSCAs have rules and regulations governing when a member can withdraw money or borrow money.

Aryeetey and Steel (1995) reported that at least 78 per cent of women traders in Ghana's three principal cities were involved in similar schemes. In Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, more than half of all households in a survey are members of ROSCAs (Aredo, 1993). In a survey of seven regions in Tanzania, 45 per cent of the households were found to rely heavily on such informal credit arrangements to finance their basic needs, small business ventures and other sources of livelihood (Hyuha et al., 1993). In the Cameroon, it was estimated that almost 80 per cent of adults participate in ROSCAs and that these ROSCAs handle about one-quarter of the total volume of money lent in the country; as well, they manage about one-half of total financial savings nationwide (Schrieder and Cuevas, 1992). In Zambia, it was determined that 80 to 90 per cent of the urban population participates in ROSCAs (Mrak, 1989). In Togo, Liberia, Côte d'Ivoire and Nigeria, at least half the rural residents engage in ROSCAs (Bouman, 1995). This evidence displays the dynamics and utility around ROSCAs.

In the case of Zimbabwe, Mbizi and Gwangwava (2013) note that thriving informal businesses operators in Chinhoyi (in Mashonaland West Province) were members of rotating saving schemes. In a different study, Breakfast (2016) also found significant participation in ROSCAs in Zvishavane (in Zimbabwe) and that this participation positively transformed livelihoods even within a context of economic decline and recurrent droughts. In the Zvishavane study, ROSCA

members were able to provide for instance for educational needs and the building of houses in enhancing household wellbeing. In many instances in Zimbabwe, it is women who predominate in ROSCAs. In this light, it has been noted in East Africa that married income-earning women could deposit their money in ROSCAs as a strategy to protect their savings against claims by husbands for immediate consumption since, once deposited, women could not easily withdraw their savings even under pressure from their husbands (Anderson and Baland, 2002).

### **3.3.7 Controlling Consumption**

Beyond generating income, enhancing food security through agriculture and engaging in savings schemes, households by necessity limit and reduce consumption to ensure that expenses do not exceed the household income while maintaining multiple income sources. Owuor (2006) notes that households for example may purchase second-hand goods instead of new ones, live in cheap housing despite problems with size and quality of the homestead, walk to work instead of using public transport, utilise alternatives to electricity (such as kerosene, paraffin, gas or charcoal for cooking), at times keep children out of school to avoid educational expenses, and make use of medical treatment only when absolutely necessary, that is, only when the health situation is critical. This is exemplified by Kanji's (1995) study of Harare in which urban households living in a low-income area over a period of one year reduced expenditure on food by 14 per cent. More specifically, households made changes to their diet by substituting preferred foods with cheaper ones, including constant intake of mealie-meal in the form of *sadza*. In some cases, households reduce or at least limit stringently the consumption of high-protein items such as meat, milk, or fish in their diet; or they sometimes forgo or cut out certain meals each day (perhaps eating only meal) or cut down on the portions per person during meals (Potts, 1997; Maxwell et al., 1999: 414). Households may also change the structure of the household by decreasing the number of people within the household through out-migration. All these measures are designed to ration and manage insufficiencies in access to resources amongst urban households.

### **3.3.8 Urban and Rural Linkages**

Finally, maintaining and maximising linkages with rural areas are very important for urban households, certainly in sub-Saharan Africa. Because of this, and the migration strategies

discussed earlier, urban household livelihoods are spatially diverse and multi-local. With reference to Zimbabwe, Potts (2008) therefore highlights that it is common for people living in urban areas to have a strong affiliation with a particular rural area that they refer to as 'home'. This link with rural areas is not only important culturally but it is also an important active economic link for households and individuals in urban areas. Households and individuals, in Zimbabwe and beyond, maintain plots of land and/or other productive assets (for example, cattle), in a rural area or have expectations of obtaining these in the future for purposes of long-term security. Urban households likewise invest in the housing, education and health of their rural-based relatives, and combine this with sending various items such as groceries to these relatives as they are usually scarce or expensive in rural areas (Beauchemin and Bocquier, 2004). According to Gugler (1991), such investments by urban households express continued commitment to extended family members and almost reinforces the idea that many urban dwellers are temporary sojourners in urban spaces (albeit over an extended period) who still need to maintain their links with the rural household. But maintaining and reinforcing this link also enhances urban peoples' economic security especially when they get old, and if they become unemployed or ill (Potts and Mutambirwa, 1991).

In a study by Potts (2006), only 13 per cent of respondents who recently arrived in Harare planned to stay in the city for good, particularly because of the weakening urban economy and lack of formal sector jobs. Mukwedeya (2012) likewise notes that the links between urban and rural communities are maintained and strengthened as a practical response to the scarcity of resources, quoting a respondent within the study who says that "we do not buy things like maize and peanut butter, we get them from my mother because she's a farmer... [W]e send groceries, money and things like fertiliser, because they do not have any other source of income in the rural areas" (Mukwedeya, 2012: 57). This quite clearly highlights the importance of the rural-urban linkages in Zimbabwe when it comes to household livelihoods. Similarly, in Nigeria, urban households send various goods such as money, clothes, sugar and milk to relatives in the rural areas while rural households in return send locally produced foodstuffs such as *garri*, condiments and leafy vegetables (Okali et al., 2001). As well, this is the case in various places in sub-Saharan Africa including Namibia (Frayne, 2004), Senegal (Fall, 1998), the low-income areas of South Africa (Smit, 1998), and Tanzania (Diyamett et al., 2001; Lerise et al., 2001; Tripp, 1996).

### **3.4 Conclusion**

This chapter has provided an overview of the social, economic and political context within which livelihoods in contemporary Budiro and other urban areas in Zimbabwe are located and conditioned. The chapter has shown the various factors built-in to the political economy of urban livelihoods in Zimbabwe since 1980 to the time this study was carried out. It has noted significant changes in the political economy of Zimbabwe while also noting continuities in the troubling circumstances in which urban livelihoods seek to construct and pursue livelihoods. Urban livelihoods in Budiro cannot simply be read from the national and urban political economy of Zimbabwean society, but these broader historical and structural conditions set the broad stage for livelihoods in Budiro. The chapter has also, thematically, identified key livelihood activities and shocks in urban Zimbabwe, and these also have relevance for Budiro households more specifically. The next chapter is the first empirical chapter, and it examines and analyses the characteristics of the households sampled for this study and the specific livelihood strategies and activities of studied households in Budiro.

## **CHAPTER FOUR: HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS AND LIVELIHOODS IN BUDIRO**

### **4.1 Introduction**

The main objective of this chapter is to describe the sampled households in Budiro and to examine and analyse the livelihoods, which they pursue in the context of livelihood shocks. Households in Budiro, as with rural and other low-income urban households elsewhere in Zimbabwe, are situated in a challenging social, economic and political environment. This environment has been described by some scholars as being synonymous with social chaos and massive economic decline (Jones, 2010; Potts, 2011). The difficulties for households partly emanate from a failure by central and local governments to formulate and implement pro-poor social, economic and political policies. Good examples of problematic policies – particularly for the urban poor – include the structural adjustment programme, the fast track land reform programme and the so-called urban renewal programme known as Operation Murambatsvina as well as the current indigenisation policy (Mlambo, 2017). In most cases, these policies have resulted in the destruction of livelihoods (and attempts by households to reconstruct some semblance of livelihoods), in fewer opportunities for employment (especially in the formal sector), inadequate and insufficient provision of basic services, decreases in real wages, retrenchments and deprivations in areas such as education, housing, health and food security. The detrimental impact of these policies is intensified by the lack of social insurance and credit facilities particularly for low-income households who often depend on insecure informal sector opportunities for their livelihoods (Ersado, 2006).

In the face of various challenges emanating from the Zimbabwean social, economic and political context, households in urban settings such as Budiro bear the responsibility of having to negotiate their way through troubled times in seeking (even for survival purposes) to obtain basic necessities such as food, shelter, water and electricity (Beall and Fox, 2009). To address the main objectives of this chapter, the following sections ensue. First of all, from sections 4.2 to 4.6, the characteristics of the Budiro households (based on the survey) are outlined, including identifying the socio-economic differentiation which exists between these households. Secondly, in section 4.7, the covariate and idiosyncratic shocks experienced by the Budiro households are



detailed, along with any responses to these shocks. Thirdly, in the remaining sections (4.8 to 4.14), I provide an overview of the livelihood activities of the Budiriro households and conclude the chapter.

## **4.2 Wealth Characteristics of Households in Budiriro**

The households in Budiriro are not a homogeneous entity and can be described therefore as heterogeneous. In this sense, and more broadly within the entire city of Harare, it is reported that there exists inequality between households, similar to cities in other African countries such as Lesotho, Zambia, Swaziland, Nigeria, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and South Africa (Fox, 2015; Manjengwa, 2016). This wealth gap and income inequality in Harare is evidenced by the expensive mansions located in the low-density, high-income suburbs and the ‘matchbox’ style housing in the low-income high-density areas of Harare (such as Budiriro) and other cities in the country (Mlambo, 2014). In the case of Budiriro specifically, respondents in focus group discussions highlighted that households in Budiriro are not all the same and are different with regard to wealth and status:

*“In Budiriro there are those who are rich, those who are average and those who are poor. You can tell by the amount of groceries they buy, the cars they drive. Even the schools their children attend. There is no physical segregation whereby the rich [live separately] but we are different”* (Focus Group Discussion, 4, 22/09/2015).

To cater for this heterogeneity and thereby separate the households into categories, this study first computed the expenditure of households and, in doing so, sought to measure the wealth of the sampled households. Expenditure was considered to be a suitable measure in categorising the households in Budiriro because the measure is less vulnerable to under-reporting; further, it captures permanent income and accommodates income from illegal activities as well as private and government transfers (Meyer and Sullivan, 2003). This resulted in the identification of three types of households. These households are labelled quite simply as the ‘better-off’, the ‘average’ and the ‘poor.’ With regard to expenditure, the better-off households have an average expenditure of above US\$700 per month. The average households in this study spend between US\$300-US\$700 per month while the poor households have an expenditure below US\$300 per month. Table 1 further elaborates on the three different types of households by showing the

percentages of households according to expenditure. The table shows that 74.9 per cent of the households have a monthly expenditure which does not exceed US\$700 per month. It is worth pointing out that 51.2 per cent of the households were living below the monthly poverty datum line in Zimbabwe of US\$485 for 2015 (ZIMSTAT, 2015).

**Table 1: Household Expenditure**

Wealth categories	Expenditure ranges	Number of households
Poor	Below US\$300	40.1 per cent
Average	US\$300-US\$700	34.8 percent
Better-off	Above US\$700	25.1 per cent

In order to validate the existence of these three categories, the study measured the assets that households own or possess to come up with a wealth index measurement. A wealth index measurement is considered to be an effective indicator of long-term socio-economic position, living standard and material well-being of households (Filmer and Pritchett, 1999, 2001; Sahn and Stifel, 2000, 2003; McKenzie, 2005; Howe et al., 2008). For this study, the assets which were measured were agricultural equipment, general assets, house furnishings and livestock. General assets in this case included items like motor vehicles, cycles/scooters and bicycles as well as communication and information equipment. House furnishings included kitchen consumer durables such as stoves and refrigerators, sewing machines, solar panels and electricity generators. These particular type of assets were selected because they are the main assets own or possessed by households in Budiriro as per the survey results. Table 2 shows the wealth indices constructed.

**Table 2: Wealth Index of Households**

	Overall	Poor	Average	Better off	p-value <sup>1</sup>
Agricultural equipment	0.34	0.08	0.23	0.88	0.000
General assets	2.78	2.00	2.68	4.18	0.000
Household furnishings	0.47	0.38	0.44	0.65	0.000
Livestock index	0.09	0.03	0.07	0.22	0.000
Total index	3.68	2.49	3.44	5.93	0.000

P value  $\leq 0.05$  shows significant difference.

These indices correspond to a large extent with the expenditure of the households. In other words, the wealth index validates the existence of the three expenditure-based categories of households, given that the levels of asset ownership and possession follow the pattern of poor, average and better-off as derived from household expenditure patterns. For example, overall, households in Budiro have an asset score for agricultural equipment of 0.34 with the poor scoring 0.08, and the average and better-off households having scores of 0.23 and 0.88 respectively. This is the same pattern with general assets, household furnishings and livestock. Table 2 thus shows that there are significant differences with regard to the levels of asset

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<sup>1</sup> In testing differences between the different households, this study used the Oneway Anova test (Sidak test). In this test, p-values help in telling whether differences between variables are significantly different or not across the household wealth index. If the p-value is below 10 per cent i.e. 0.1, then the difference between the households is significant at 10%. If it is below 5 per cent but greater than 1 per cent (for example figures like 0.043 0.0332; 0.012 etc.), the difference between the households is significant at 5%. If it is below 1 per cent (for example figures like 0.001 0.0023; 0.0009 etc.), the difference between the households is significant at 1%. Differences are greater at 1% than at 5% than at 10% in that order respectively. Beyond 10% (for example 0.775, 0.528 etc.), there is no significant difference between the households, even if it is possible to note differences in the figures; the differences will be there but not significant.

ownership and possession according to the expenditure categorisation, with a p-value of 0.000. Combined, what the wealth index categories and expenditure level categories show is that households which have monthly expenditure above US\$700 and more assets are better-off, while poor households have the least as per the two indicators (wealth and expenditure) as highlighted above.

#### **4.3 Food Security in Budiriro**

Food security in Budiriro was also examined, where food security is defined as a state in which all people at all times have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food which meets the dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life (Food Agriculture Organisation, 1996)<sup>2</sup>. The study established that sampled households have an average of 2.7 meals per day, with the poor and average households consuming 2.5 and 2.7 meals a day respectively. The better-off households consumed 2.9 meals a day. Thirty-three per cent of the households reported that they have less than 3 meals (2 meals or 1 meal only) per day. Of these households, 63 per cent noted that they simply could not afford 3 meals per day, 14 per cent indicated that there were insufficient food stocks and 22.1 per cent noted other factors that include drought and lack of capacity to produce enough food. To understand the factors associated with this type of food security or insecurity, a probit model was chosen. In this case, the probit model measured the probability of a household being a food insecure or secure household. A binary variable was created, with 0 (zero) meaning the consumption of two or less meals per day and 1 (one) equating to consuming more than two meals per day. The binary character of the food security measure enabled the use of a binary choice model. The marginal effects were later generated, to analyse both the magnitude and direction of the exogenous variables with reference to the food security status of the households.

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<sup>2</sup> Due to the limitations of this study in being able to scientifically measure safety and nutrition of food consumed by households, the focus was on only one aspect of food security, that is, the aspect of sufficiency (relating to the amount of meals a household has per day).

**Table 3: Determinants of Food Security**

Variables	dy/dx	Z	p-values
Health status	0.133	1.26	0.207
Livestock index	1.834	2.42	0.009
Agriculture equipment index	-0.044	-0.28	0.776
General assets index	0.257	3.02	0.002
House furnishing index	0.485	1.60	0.106
Having a business	0.543	2.89	0.003
Gender	-0.067	-0.25	0.799
Marital status	0.348	1.47	0.148
Household expenditure	0.199	2.68	0.007
Education of household head	0.186	2.58	0.009
Age of Household Head	-0.015	-2.05	0.041
Household size	-0.041	-0.86	0.391

N =270; prob>chi2 =0.0000; Pseudo R2 = 0.3049.

Z=Z-score

Dy/dx= marginal change on food security.

In considering Table 3, it would appear that households with high livestock numbers, those who had businesses, the better-off (as per household expenditure) and those with higher education amongst household heads, were more food secure. The change in probability of a household being food insecure as a result of a drop in livestock numbers is 183 percentage points. The change in probability of a household being food secure as a result of having more general assets is 25.7 percentage points. The percentage changes for household expenditure and household head education are 20 per cent and 19 per cent respectively. The percentage change for other variables, such as exposure to shocks and household size, is considerably less. To cope with food shortages, 60 per cent of the households indicated that they skipped meals at times, 24 per cent ate less preferred foodstuffs, and 13 per cent sought support in cash or in-kind from friends and relatives. The rest (3 per cent) indicated that they would sell some of their household assets to cope with food shortages.

Generally, the Budiriro findings on food security confirm the study results of Tawodzera (2011) who conducted a study in Epworth, a semi-formal low-income peri-urban area near Harare which shows that education, employment and income sources from crops allow households to guard against food insecurity. Similarly, they resonate with the conclusions of Murdoch and Dearcon

(2002), namely that, when faced with food insecurity, households conduct income smoothening by borrowing from relatives and friends, as well as consumption smoothening by reducing the number of meals consumed per day.

#### **4.4 Housing, Household Size and Headship**

With regard to accommodation, most of the households sampled rely on renting rooms and therefore can be described as lodgers or tenants. From the data, 61.4 per cent of the households rent rooms for accommodation purposes from house owners commonly referred to as landlords. Respondents from one focus group discussion explained why there were so many tenants within Budiriro, in terms of the size and cost of rented accommodation:

*“The rooms in Budiriro are so big. You can even stay with your in-laws from both sides. The rent per room is also cheap if you compare it for example with a room in [the neighboring high-density area of] Mufakose. In Budiriro a room goes for US\$40 per month and in Mufakose it can be about US\$60 and yet the rooms are smaller. The reason why the rooms are so cheap is that in Budiriro there are constant water cuts and electricity outages. Water comes for two hours at around midnight. It is like you are living in Domboshava or Epworth [peri-urban semi-formal areas near the city of Harare]. The roads are not maintained well. Look at Binya [Robbers/Rapists] Road [Marimba Road] for example; it takes you a good 30 minutes to get past the road when travelling to work or returning home because of the potholes. In some areas there is sewage all over. You cannot take someone to Budiriro and bring them back with a smile”* (Focus Group Discussion, 1, 01/09/2015).

Only 38.6 per cent indicated that they had a tenure status of owner of a house. This highlights the fact that housing as a purchased commodity is simply beyond the reach of most households within Budiriro, particularly if one considers the average wealth measurements and expenditure of households in Budiriro as well as the cost of both land and building materials within the city (Tawodzera, 2010). This also partly explains the significant participation of households in housing co-operatives.

The tenure status of Budiriro households is also tied to their wealth status. Thus, 54 per cent from the better-off category were owners, while 34.2 and 31.6 per cent respectively from the

average and poor categories were house owners. Wealth status is further reflected in the number of rooms occupied. The average number of rooms occupied for the sampled Budiriro households was 2.9 rooms, but households that were better-off occupied 4 rooms on average while the poor and the average occupied the same number of rooms, that is, 2.5 rooms per household. Further, when this was tested for statistical significance, the difference in being a tenant or owner in terms of wealth and expenditure was very significant at 0.004.

The average household size is 4.3 members per household, with the majority of households having between 3 and 5 members. However, close to 23 per cent of the households were composed of between 6 and 13 members. The average household size in Budiriro is almost similar to the country's average household size of 4.2 (ZIMSTAT, 2012) but higher than Harare's overall average of 3.9 (ZIMSTAT, 2012). Table 4 shows the household sizes in the study area.

**Table 4: Household Sizes**

Number of household members	Frequency	Percentage
1	24	8.0
2	31	10.0
3	62	21.0
4	59	20.0
5	53	18.0
6	25	8.0
7	14	5.0
8	18	6.0
9	3	1.0
10	7	2.0
11	1	0.5
13	1	0.5

The evidence from the survey demonstrates that household heads in Budiro are mainly men. Men headed 80 per cent of households while women headed 20 per cent of the households. These results are typical of urban household headship data from other Zimbabwean studies such as by Rakodi (1995) and Chirau (2012). For example, the data from the study by Rakodi (1995) in Gweru shows that 80 per cent of the household heads were males in 1991. This reflects the patriarchal character of household headship throughout the entire country both today and in the past (Rakodi, 1995; ZIMSTAT, 2012). There were no significant differences between the poor, average and the better-off with regard to household headship and gender. Table 5 illustrates this.

**Table 5: Gender and Household Headship**

		Overall	Poor	Average	Wealthy	p-value
<b>Gender</b>	Male	80.0	76.1	83.7	80.3	0.775
	Female	20.2	24.0	16.3	19.7	

The average age of the household heads is 42.9 years with the majority of households (mode age) headed by 35 year olds. In addition, the heads of poor households are on average 41.8 years old, while the average ages for the average and better-off household heads are 40.9 and 47.6 respectively. What is apparent is that heads from better-off households are older than heads from poor and average households, with a p-value of 0.006.

Seventy-two per cent of the household heads are married, 9.3 per cent are divorced or separated, 10 per cent are widows or widowers, and 0.4 per cent are cohabiting. Only 7.1 per cent of the heads have never married. Proportionally more female household heads from the study's household survey were divorced, separated or widowed, while more male household heads (proportionally) reported to be married or never married. Of those who reported to be married, 92.7 per cent were male household heads while 7.3 per cent were female household heads; the respective percentages for those who had never married was 84.2 and 15.8. Among those household heads that were widowed, 20.7 per cent were male household heads with the remainder (73.3 per cent) being female household heads. The marriage statistics for the Budiro households differ quite considerably from the averages reported by ZIMSTAT (2012) for Harare,



in which only 58 per cent of the adult population (which though would also include non-heads of households) was currently married and nearly one-third (or 31 per cent) of the population had never been married. In the case of Budiro, there were no significant differences between the different wealth statuses with a p-value of 0.528. This means that marital status is not related to household wealth status.

In terms of education levels of household heads in Budiro, 95.2 per cent had attended school while 4.8 per cent had no schooling at all. More than half of the heads had completed at least secondary level education, with 13.4 per cent indicating that they had acquired a university or a vocational qualification. For the others, 6.7 per cent had not completed primary school, 4.1 per cent had completed primary school and 11.9 per cent had not completed secondary schooling. The very high level of schooling in Budiro, though skewed towards the lower levels of education, is primarily a result of the education policies adopted by the Zimbabwean government after 1980 which made basic education accessible through programmes of free education, along with compulsory education initiatives and upholding children's right to education – all of this resulted in the expansion of school admission rates in the 1980s (Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture, 2001).

It is however important to note that there were important differences with regard to wealth and education levels among household heads in Budiro given that the p-value was significant at 0.085. Table 6 shows the education status of household heads according to wealth status (with HH referring to household heads).

**Table 6: Education Status of Household Heads**

	Overall %	Poor HHs	Average HHs	Better-Off HHs
No schooling	4.8	5.6	4.3	4.4
Primary, incomplete	6.7	11.1	3.2	4.4
Primary, complete	4.1	4.6	3.2	4.4
Secondary, incomplete	11.9	6.5	16.0	14.7
Secondary, complete	59.3	64.8	60.6	48.5
Vocational/technical	6.0	2.8	8.5	7.4
University	7.4	4.6	4.3	16.2

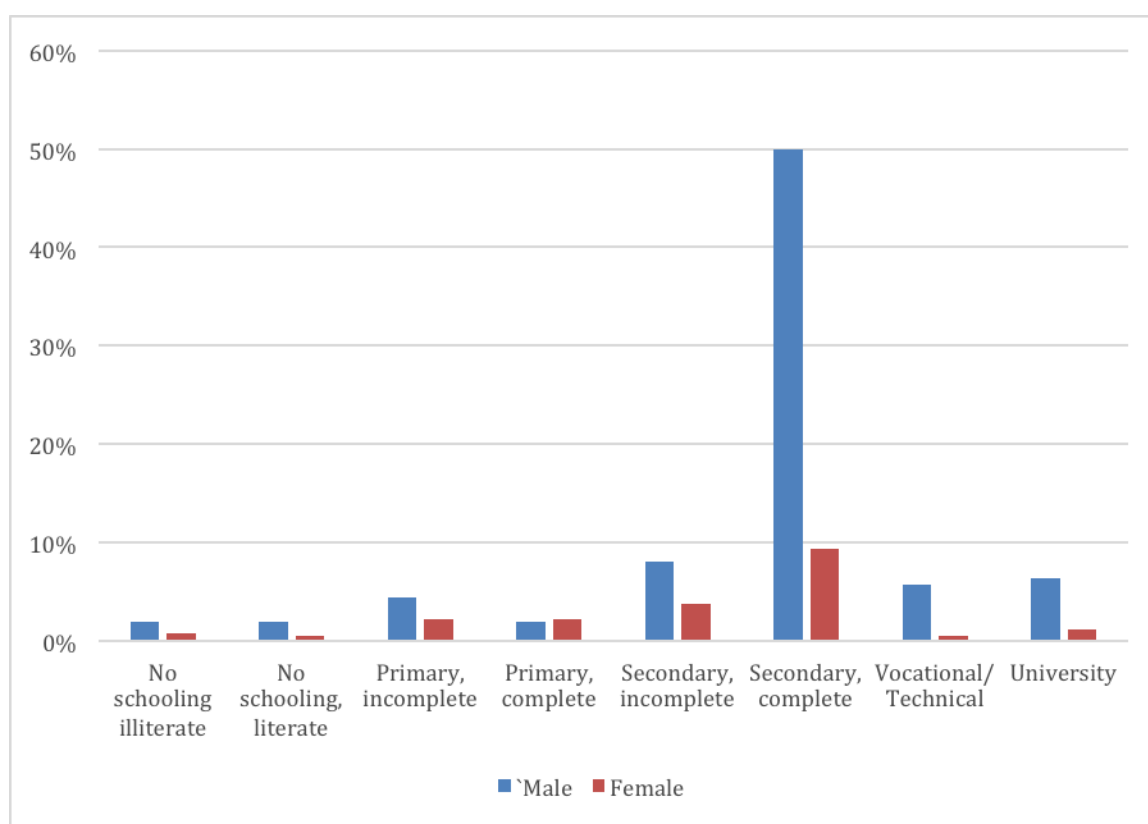
The better-off household heads had proportionally more university level graduates than the other two wealth categories, but there does not seem to be any significance across wealth categories in terms of completing secondary education and beyond. Despite the heightened access to education broadly, only a small minority (13.4 per cent) of household heads in Budiriro have managed to proceed to higher levels of education at universities and vocational institutions such as polytechnics. Progression is mediated by factors such as class, gender and intra-household dynamics. The following quote illustrates this:

*“My father was a drunkard and during that time my mother was responsible for our welfare. My father could get his money and squander it through buying beer for his friends ....I did not have proper clothes during my teenage years, I was stigmatised and laughed at and was just stressed and that led to poor grades at school. ...The inability of my father to seriously look after us was the causal factor of the inability of my brilliant brother to pursue school further; he could have made our family better. He tried to go back to school after securing a job but he was already married and could not go back to school”*  
(Interview, 19, 22/07/2015).

These findings are consistent with the study by Manjengwa et al. (2016) who conducted a study in two other low income areas in Harare (Highfield and Epworth) and found that the lack of formal education by household heads increases the likelihood of a household falling into poverty while the attainment of a diploma or degree by the household head increases the level of per capita expenditure of the household. Findings from this study also confirm conclusions emanating from studies by Pendelton (1996) and Bertrand et al. (2013) that education improves numeracy, literacy and problem-solving as well as facilitating the development of a set of core behaviours such as perseverance, motivation, risk aversion, self-esteem and self-control. At the same time, this increases the likelihood of securing quality employment with better remuneration. This is so because skills attained from a post-secondary education such as mechanics, carpentry, bricklaying and computer technology allow individuals to be innovative in identifying and exploiting informal sector livelihoods especially in a context of scarce formal sector employment.

The gendered character of education is evident from the fact that male heads of households are more educated than female heads of households. Thus, 63 per cent of male heads had finished secondary education compared to 46 per cent among the female heads. Women heads in particular dominated among those with incomplete primary, complete primary and incomplete secondary education yet when it comes to completing secondary school, vocational studies and university, female heads' percentages decline significantly. This confirms the view by Egbo (2000) that, despite the massive educational expansion in post-colonial sub-Saharan Africa (including Zimbabwe) over the last several decades, women's access to education is still at its best ideational particularly in completing secondary and post-secondary education. Figure 2 shows the education levels of the household heads in Budiriro by gender. This disparity between the education levels of males versus females is partly explained by the unequal access to education between men and women in Zimbabwe, which is itself informed by the patriarchal character of Zimbabwean society which tends to privilege education of boys over girls.

**Figure 2: Education Levels of Male and Female Household Heads**



#### **4.5 Household Education and Health**

The educational institutions attended by children within the households sampled are varied. For household members still in primary or secondary school, the vast majority attend government schools with only a minority at private schools or missionary schools (69.2 per cent against only 13.7 per cent and 4.6 per cent respectively). Other household members were at post-secondary school educational institutions (see Table 7).

**Table 7: Educational Institutions attended by School Children within Households**

	Overall	Poor	Average	Better off	p-value
Government School	69.2	65.2	64.7	68.9	0.279
Private school	13.7	13.0	16.2	11.5	1.00
University	7.4	6.5	0.0	16.4	0.014
Mission school	4.6	0.0	2.9	9.8	0.272
Technical school	4.0	6.5	1.5	4.9	0.973
Satellite school	1.1	0.0	0.0	3.3	0.730

While there was no major differentiation by wealth in terms of the educational institutions (private versus government schools) that children of school going age attended, there was a significant difference between the better-off and poorer households in terms of attending university institutions. Children from better-off families were certainly more likely to attend university than children from poor or average status households. Regardless of wealth status, respondents indicated several problems that were faced by children in school and decried the fact that these problems negatively affected their educational outcomes. Major among the problems were the lack of books as well as the shortage of classrooms, non-payment of fees, poor teaching and lack of uniforms. Confirming the hardships faced in raising school fees for children (and other expenses), one focus group respondent had the following to say:

*“Though people’s lives tend to differ, as it stands right now, life is difficult here; but from 2005 to date I think my life has deteriorated. Back then, I was able to save enough to buy even things like sofas and stoves. Within two months, we could manage to pay school fees for our children for the whole year and we could be able to buy enough food but, as it stands, I am failing to raise money for my child’s school fees”* (Focus Group Discussion, 4, 22/09/2015).

In many focus group discussions and individual interviews, the inability to pay for children’s school fees was mentioned as one of the key implications of the national economic decline in Zimbabwe, even though parents in Budiriro regard education highly.

Earlier it was mentioned that the average household size in Budiriro is 4.3. In terms of the health status of members of Budiriro households, 74.8 per cent of household heads interviewed indicated that none of the members of their households had experienced illness or injury in the past year, while 25.2 per cent reported that members within their households had experienced an illness or injury. The major illnesses reported were diarrhea at 25.8 per cent, ear/nose/throat conditions (16.9 per cent) and malaria at 9 per cent. Overall, water-borne diseases seemed to dominate. This is an indictment of in particular the inadequate status of the water supply infrastructure in Budiriro. Of those household heads interviewed who said that members of their households fell ill in the past year, 21 per cent indicated that they could not engage in their usual activities including income generation during the time the household member was ill.

In terms of seeking treatment after falling ill, 78.7 per cent of those that fell ill accessed some kind of health treatment – 80 per cent indicated that they had accessed treatment in a public clinic or hospital while 13.9 percent accessed healthcare from a private institution. Only 4.6 per cent sought health care from a traditional or faith healer. This shows that the Budiriro community relies heavily on the public healthcare system rather than utilising private health care. Private care is beyond the financial reach of the majority of Budiriro households, and hence they turn to a public health system which has deteriorated over a number of years. This crumbling of public health care indeed contributed to the cholera outbreak in 2008, as did the inadequate water supply and sanitation system in Budiriro (as discussed below). Those that did not seek treatment at all for their illnesses gave reasons such as receiving treatment at home, lacking any funds to pay for treatment, judging that the illness/injury was not serious, or the health facility was simply too far away.

#### **4.6 Water and Energy Access**

Budiriro households have significant problems with respect to access to water and energy. From the study, 58 per cent of households indicated that they rely on municipal (city council) piped water which flows into the house while 27.4 indicated that they rely on outside house taps for municipal water. In addition, 11.9 per cent of the households said that they source their water for drinking and cooking from unprotected wells while 4.4 per cent of the households noted that they source their water from rivers, streams and dams. Only 1.5 per cent of the household heads

indicated that they rely on a communal tap for water. The study shows that only 20 per cent of the households had a constant water supply, with 22.7 per cent and 17.1 per cent of the poor and better-off respectively stating that they received constant supplies of water, indicating that there is no difference with regard to wealth status when it comes to accessing water from municipal authorities. Some households highlighted that they had received sufficient water from the city council for as few as 3.8 months within the last year (prior to the study) and therefore they rely on alternative sources of water (mainly shallow wells and public boreholes installed by United Nations Children's Fund, or UNICEF). A respondent validated this during a focus group: *“Water is a problem in this area, even for bathing. The pattern for water is such that the water comes through the tap for 2 hours around midnight. Apart from that we have to rely on the boreholes that were sunk by UNICEF during the cholera outbreak in 2007-8”* (Focus Group Discussion 5, 29/09/2015). This situation is consistent with the study by Manzungu (2012) which indicates that, within greater Harare, the average per capita water consumption has been declining. In 1996 per capita water consumption among high-income (low-density area) residents was 625 litres per day compared to 80 litres per day in low-income (high-density) areas. By 2005, household water consumption had declined to 167 litres for high-income (low-density) households and 29 litres for low-income (high-density) households (Manzungu and Machiridza, 2005). Erratic water supply is one of the key contributors to this decrease in water usage.

In addition, the Budiro data show that households spend an average of 46.5 minutes per day sourcing water; the poor households spend the most time (49.3 minutes) while the better-off and average households spend 38 and 35 minutes sourcing water respectively (per day). This entails searching for alternative sources of water, such as the public boreholes and wells (within the household yard or neighbours' yards) mentioned above. This was echoed by one respondent during a focus group who gave an account of what transpired for the cholera outbreak to be discovered:

*“What happened was that there was no water for several days and weeks. People had to walk for at least four kilometres to places and neighbourhoods such as Marimba, Mufakose, Aspindale Fertiliser Company and at a church called Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints to get water. Those who had relatives with cars were better off because they could ferry more water much faster. It was tough. Some who wanted to avoid walking who could*

*dig wells dug their own wells. The problem with the wells was that they dug their wells close to sewer pipes that were broken. Without knowledge that the water had been contaminated by fecal matter from broken sewer pipes, people drank this contaminated water. The first case was of a child who died. The father thought he was bewitched by other people because he did not want to share water from his well with other people. After a day or so there was another death which was also related to drinking contaminated water. This is when the clinic announced that there was a cholera outbreak'' (Focus Group Discussion, 2, 9/09/2015).*

In addition, 68.5 per cent of the respondents contended that the lack of constant and convenient access to domestic water is a major shock with a severity of 2.8 (on a scale of 1-5 with five being the most severe). The fact that the better-off households in Budiriro spend less time sourcing water means that they have more resources and assets which enable them to cope with the lack of a constant clean water supply from the municipality. This also indicates that access to water, particularly in times of crisis, has a class- (or wealth-) basis to it. Table 8 shows the assets among households in Budiriro (according to wealth categories) which can potentially enable households to cope better in terms of fetching and storing water.

**Table 8: Assets for Coping with Insufficient Water Supply**

Asset	Overall	Poor	Average	Better Off
Motor Vehicle	18.1	9.7	19.4	29.6
Water cart	4.3	3.5	0	11.3
Water pump	3.2	0	3.1	8.5

For better-off households, their greater ownership of certain assets (notably motor vehicles, water carts and water pumps) facilitates access to a more regular supply of water as well as the ensuring a greater capacity to ferry a large number of water containers from where there is water, even when at a distance from the place of residence.



It also seems that water supply from the municipality, upon which there is a high dependence amongst Budiro households, is unreliable at the best of times. According to Dube (2009), this is not only because Budiro is located at an altitude that makes it difficult for water to reach all parts of the high-density area, but also because the water pipes that were installed were not of the right size. As a result, there are frequent bursts of pipes which result in water leakages. Sewage pipes are also continually bursting which means that there is a permanent stench in the area. These technical and infrastructural problems with the water supply system also contributed to the outbreak of the cholera epidemic (Musemwa, 2010; Kone-Coulibaly, 2010).

With regard to water quality, most households interviewed indicated that the quality of water is sub-standard: 17.8 per cent noted that the quality of water is poor, 18 per cent said it is bad and 43.5 per cent indicated that it is very bad. Only a minority of households indicated that the water was of good quality. However, more than half (54.1 per cent) of the households noted that they never treated their water for purposes of purification, while only 9 per cent of the households always treated their water. Thus, even though households conceive the water quality as sub-standard, few households take steps on a regular basis to treat the water with rudimentary practices such as boiling water. In this respect, the data show that the costs and lack of availability of reliable and constant electricity within Budiro are hindrances to treating water. There was no significant difference between poor, average and better-off households in terms of assessment of water quality, with all household wealth categories raising serious concerns about it. Clearly, households in Budiro lack an adequate supply of safe water and consequently are at risk of infectious diseases such as cholera, typhoid, hepatitis, polio, cryptosporidiosis, ascariasis, and schistosomiasis (Kimani-Murage and Ngindu, 2007).

Access to energy for cooking and lighting is also a major challenge in Budiro similar to most urban settings in Zimbabwe. This is because of the continuous electricity outages that are experienced in most parts of the country including in the city of Harare. An electricity outage is defined as a complete loss of power to an area that is caused by planned or unplanned load shedding or faults. There are various reasons for the power outages in Zimbabwe broadly, and these include: economic decline and national fiscus shortfalls, lack of investment in infrastructure to ensure expanded generation capacity, skills flight, government energy sector

mis-regulation, and vandalism of equipment (Kaseke, 2009). One of the key causes of the electricity outages in Budiro, as expressed by household heads, was vandalism: *“Theft and vandalism has actually caused a lot of problems in the area again”* (Focus Group Discussion, 3, 16/09/2015). Another head expanded on this: *“Even the tower lights are being vandalised. Some of the parts are stolen. Power supply cables were also stolen, especially in the railway line. All the power cables were stolen. Transformer oil can also be stolen leading to major fires in electricity stations”* (Focus Group Discussion 3, 16/09/2015). Given that theft is the most visible manifestation of the energy crisis in terms of people’s everyday experiences, it is not surprising that this is constantly reiterated locally.

Regardless of the electricity outages, the majority of households rely on electricity for cooking and for lighting. Only 20 per cent of the households rely on wood or paraffin and other sources for both cooking and lighting (see Table 9). There is no difference in energy sources between poor, average and better-off households.

**Table 9: Sources of Energy for Cooking and Lighting**

	Household main source of energy for cooking	Household main source of light
Electricity (legal connection)	79.3	81.0
Wood	5.0	2.9
Paraffin	8.2	6.1
Other sources)	7.5	10

Due to the constant electricity outages, households typically experience inconveniences in lighting, heating, cooking and driving of mechanical equipment (Kaseke, 2009). As one resident said bluntly: *“Erratic electricity supply has actually caused life to be very hard in Budiro; people are resorting to alternative sources of energy but it is just difficult”* (Focus Group Discussion, 3, 16/09/2015). The immediate costs and effects of outages are losses of foodstuffs and time, damage to household appliances and emergency costs of alternative power (Kaseke, 2009). As far as income-generating activities and livelihoods in Budiro are concerned,

household heads explained that electricity power outages negatively impact these activities: *“The costs of operating business in Budiro are so high; for instance, I tried to keep broilers [chickens] but due to erratic water and electricity supply, you will not make it [be able to sustain it]”* (Focus Group Discussion, 3, 16/09/2015). Likewise, another focus group participant stressed how his attempt to venture into a computer software design venture had been foiled by the power outages: *“I want to design a certain computer programme but it is now three months and I have not done anything because of constant power cuts”* (Focus Group Discussion 2, 9/09/2015).

#### **4.7 Idiosyncratic and Covariate Shocks and Responses to Shocks in Budiro**

Apart from presenting findings related to household characteristics, it is important to provide an understanding of the shocks which form an important part of the structural context for the households under study in Budiro. This also provides a platform for identifying – at least initially – some of the livelihood strategies in which households engage. This section therefore addresses the shocks experienced by households in Budiro and how these households respond to and manage shocks through various coping strategies. As indicated earlier in Chapter Two, Feeny (2014) defines shocks as sudden events which impact on the well-being of households, usually in a negative way. The shocks vary in intensity and can be put into two categories, that is, covariate shocks and idiosyncratic shocks (Kalinda and Langyintuo, 2014; Feeny, 2014). Covariate shocks entail events which have impacts on entire communities or countries. Such shocks include natural disasters as well as economic shocks such as major price hikes and economic recession. Idiosyncratic shocks have affects at household level only and include events such as the death or illness of a family member or the loss of employment by the main income-earner (Feeny, 2014). Clearly, covariate shocks have impacts on households in terms of the presence of idiosyncratic shocks (for example, a decline in the national economy will lead to loss of employment within households). To manage or perhaps even to avoid risks, a range of coping strategies are employed by households, with these depending on the characteristics of the shock and the formal and informal mechanisms, and market-based and public resources, to which households have access (Holzmann and Jørgensen, 2001). It is important to note that sometimes coping strategies morph into livelihood strategies (Msoka, 2011).

#### **4.7.1 Covariate and Idiosyncratic Shocks**

Based on the study, 92 per cent of the Budiriro households indicate that they had experienced in the year preceding the study (2014) covariate shocks. Poor infrastructure and lack of domestic water ranked the highest in terms of frequency, but also important were decreasing development and government assistance, drought, floods, increase in prices and deteriorating land quality. A minority of the households highlighted that they experienced idiosyncratic shocks in 2014 which includes illness and death within the family, loss of employment and food shortages (see Table 10). It is clear however that certain idiosyncratic shocks (such as loss of employment) can only be understood in relation to the more systemic covariate shocks; certainly, Budiriro residents understood many of their personal shocks in such a structural context. The severity of both the covariate and idiosyncratic shocks was high given that, on a scale of 1 to 3 (with 3 being the most severe), households in most cases said the severity was above 2 – with the exception of inflation, which has since drastically declined from its hyperinflationary mode since the introduction of the multi-currency monetary policy system under the previous Government of National Unity (though deflation levels have led to liquidity problems which have become an unintended consequence with implications for livelihood activities).

Table 10 outlines the character of shocks experienced by households, as well as the percentages of households that experienced a particular shock and the severity of the shock. The covariate shocks arising from the deterioration of the urban built environment in Budiriro (referring to basic infrastructure) relates back to the previous points about problems with water access in the high-density area and water-borne diseases as a major cause of illnesses within households (which is experienced as an idiosyncratic shock). Again, this shows the often intimate connections between covariate and idiosyncratic shocks and the ways in which they are intertwined. Of interest is that 13.6 per cent of respondents mentioned deteriorating land quality as a major shock that they suffered. This may indicate the significance of agriculture-based livelihood strategies in Budiriro, to such an extent that any limitations around access to land becomes a potential shock to the household.

**Table 10: Covariate and Idiosyncratic Shocks in Budiriro**

Shocks	Shock took place (%)	Severity of shock (1=low, 2=medium, 3=high)	Possibility of occurring in the next 12 months (Scale 1=very likely; 2= likely; 3=unlikely; 4=very unlikely)
<b>Covariate Shocks</b>			
Poor infrastructure	79.7	2.8	2.4
Lack of domestic water	68.5	2.7	2.3
Decreasing development assistance from Government	38.4	2.4	2.6
Decreasing development assistance from donors	27.8	2.5	2.0
Drought	12.7	2.3	1.9
Increase in consumer prices of food and goods	16.5	1	3
Deteriorating land quality	13.6	2.4	2.5
<b>Idiosyncratic Shocks</b>			
Loss of employment	45.2	2.7	2.8
Food shortage	18.7	2	2.8
Family sickness	19.5	2	1.9
Increase in number of people chronically ill or dying	11.3	2	1.8

Respondents were asked to rate whether the shocks experienced were severe or not, where 1 referred to low severity, 2 to moderate severity and 3 to high severity. Severity was defined as the extent to which their livelihoods had been negatively affected by the shock. Most shocks were rated from medium to high. This means that, even for shocks which are mentioned by a few households only, they still had significant implications at household level. The study also

examined the possibility of shocks occurring over the 12 months subsequent to the fieldwork based on the perspective of household heads (see Table 10). When asked about this, research participants contended that most of the shocks were likely to happen again in the next 12 months. This is significant because it means that households are likely to construct livelihood strategies (or at least try to do so) in a manner which address long-term trends within Budiriro. In this regard, coping mechanisms may in fact be ongoing livelihood strategies.

Shocks were also considered in terms of the three wealth categories identified in Budiriro. Thus Table 11 provides a comparison of (key covariate and idiosyncratic) shocks between poor, average and better-off households, as rated by household heads in terms of significance.

**Table 11: Most Important Shocks by Wealth Categories**

<b>Most Important shocks</b>	<b>Overall (%)</b>	<b>Poor (%)</b>	<b>Average (%)</b>	<b>Better-off (%)</b>	<b>Chi2/p</b>
Poor infrastructure	79.7	79.2	83.9	74.6	0.356
Lack of domestic water	68.50	68.8	64.1	74.2	0.404
Loss of employment	45.2	57.3	44.0	28.6	0.002
Decreased development assistance from donors	38.4	49.5	38.6	21.2	0.001

P value  $\leq 0.05$  shows significant difference.

Among the respondents, there were no significant differences between poor, average and better-off households when it came to being affected by poor infrastructure and the lack of domestic water. This indicates that these two shocks affected the Budiriro community as a whole, as the issues in question are mainly provided by public entities and affect all residents in this high-density area. As noted earlier, though, better-off households may be in a stronger position to adapt to such shocks, including (in the case of water access) through access to transport. With regard to decreased assistance from donors and loss of employment, there were significant

differences between households that are better-off and those that are poor. Double the percentage of poor households, when compared to better-off households, considered decreased development assistance and loss of employment as shocks. Poor households tend to rely more heavily on development assistance, and better-off households are in a stronger position to compensate for any development losses through access to their own resources. Loss of employment is more troubling for poor households, as any such loss could possibly completely undermine household livelihoods over an extended period.

**Table 12: Household Characteristics and Shocks**

	<b>Coefficient</b>	<b>Z</b>	<b>p&gt; z </b>
Household size	-0.016	-0.92	0.356
Household expenditure	0.092	3.24	0.001
Age of head	0.003	1.34	0.181
Marital status	0.105	1.46	0.145
Education of head	-0.044	-1.84	0.066
Possession of business	0.014	0.23	0.817
House-furnishing index	0.151	1.83	0.067
General asset index	-0.070	-2.87	0.004
Agriculture equipment index	0.041	0.99	0.325
Livestock index	0.334	2.32	0.020
Other incomes	0.000	0.86	0.390
Crop value	-0.000	-2.59	0.010
Constant	1.014	3.96	0.000

N =281; prob<chi2=0.000; pseudo R2 = 0.0360.

Z= Zscore.

P>|z| is the p value of the Z score.

Given that 92 per cent of the households within the sample expressed that they had experienced shocks, it is important to understand more clearly the characteristics of households which experienced shocks (including the number of shocks). A Poisson Regression Model was utilised to conduct further statistical analysis on the relationship between the number of shock experiences and exogenous variables. The results of the model are presented in Table 12.

The probability ( $\text{prob} < \chi^2 = 0.000$ ) in the model shows that all the estimated coefficients are equal to zero. This implies that the model is statistically significant. The model shows that households that had greater household expenditure, more furniture and more livestock experienced more shocks. Those households with less educated household heads, more income from crops, and more general assets in the households experienced less shocks. A unit increase in household expenditure increases the exposure to shock by 0.09 units. A unit increase in house furnishings increases the exposure to shock by 0.15 units. An increase in general assets decreased the exposure to shocks by 0.07 units. The statistical analysis also demonstrates that household size, age and education of head, marital status, agricultural equipment and the presence of complementary income streams did not significantly lead to exposure to shocks. What the statistical analysis shows is that households that have higher expenditure and rely to some degree on livestock income are more likely to experience shocks. This could be due to exposure to price increases and climate conditions such as drought which affect livestock. Household furniture such as stoves, refrigerators and kitchen consumables do little to insulate households from shocks. High-income households with general assets such as motor vehicles conversely experience less shocks possibly due to the mobility and information which come with these assets. It is possible to access various markets and various places within the city because of access to own transport while, with communication assets, it is possible to gain information, knowledge and ideas about various issues pertaining to pursuing livelihoods. Knowledge, information and ideas also facilitate learning and innovation, thus enabling a household to better deal with shocks and stresses (Beall and Fox, 2009; Manjengwa, 2016).

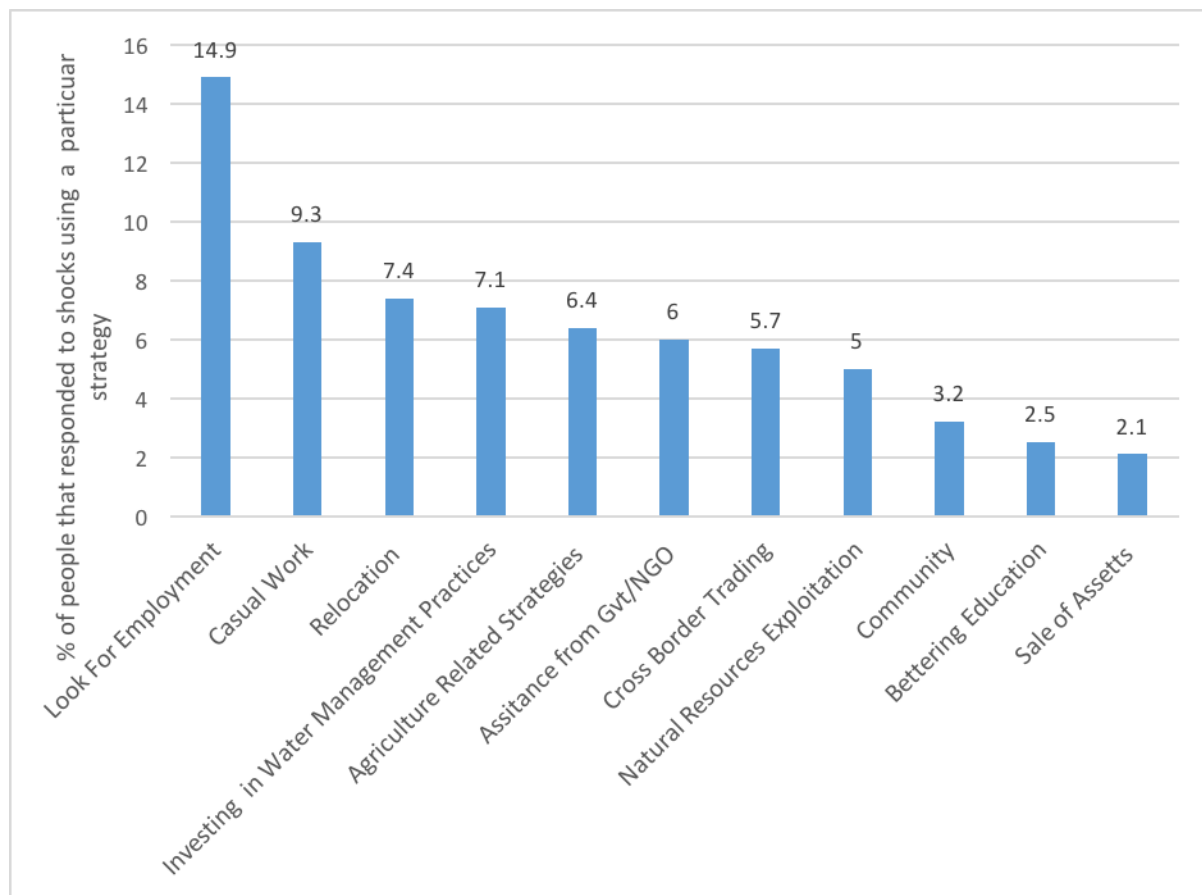
#### **4.7.2 Responses by Households to Shocks**

For the households that were exposed to shocks, only 32 per cent said that they responded to the shocks in any pronounced manner. Responses to shocks varied, ranging from the sale of assets to looking for employment. Figure 3 shows the types of responses by Budiro households and the percentages of households that adopted a particular response. Looking for employment was a key response to shocks. Apart from assistance from government and non-governmental organisations, households mostly adopted individual coping strategies to respond to these shocks. This is testimony in part to the enterprising character of urban households in Budiro and their household-based agency, as they try to survive in a troubling urban area in



contemporary Zimbabwe.

**Figure 3: Responses to Shocks**



It is important to try to understand any key differences between the Budiriro households which responded to shocks and those which did not. Table 13 thus shows the t-test comparison of the differences in the variables of the households which responded to shocks and those which did not respond to shocks.

**Table 13: Households Responding and Not Responding to Shocks**

Variable Household Shocks	Households that did not respond to shocks	Households that responded to shocks	t-value
Household size	4.18	4.68	0.076
Age of the household head	41.58	45.30	0.037
Education of the household head	5.68	5.42	0.153
Total household expenditure	471.86	616.72	0.014
Proportion that had a household business	40.63	68.89	0.000
Income from Other Sources	58.38	73.44	0.5876
Livestock index	0.045	0.181	0.000

The table demonstrates that those with more livestock (using the livestock index which included cattle, goats, sheep and donkeys) were better able to respond to shocks compared to those that had less livestock. Operating a household informal sector business was also a key determinant of households being able to respond to shocks. Thus, in the case of a shock, a household could possibly sell or rent out their livestock or borrow from their home-based enterprise to offset the impacts of the shock. Those households without livestock and a home-based enterprise were seemingly less likely to be able to respond to shocks.

#### **4.8 Employment Status of Household Heads in Budiriro**

The study found that, among the many livelihood activities engaged in by household heads in Budiriro, 58.1 per cent interviewed during the household survey indicated that they were employed within permanent employment or casual/contract/season employment. Slightly more than 45 per cent (45.6) of the household heads were in paid permanent employment, while 12.5 per cent were in casual or temporary employment at the time of the survey. The remainder of the household heads described themselves as unemployed, students, homemakers or retired. Table 5.2 provides details on the type of employment of household heads in relation to the different wealth quintiles.

**Table 14: Type of Employment for Household Heads**

	Overall (%)	Poor (%)	Average (%)	Better-Off (%)	Chi2/p
Type of Employment					0.003
Paid Permanent Employment	45.6	34.8	49.4	51.6	
Paid employee-casual/contract/seasonal	12.5	4.5	16.9	12.9	

P value  $\leq 0.05$  shows significant difference.

Table 14 shows that paid permanent employment is more widespread among the non-poor (average and better-off) when compared to poor households, with 51.6 per cent of the better-off heads engaged in this economic activity, followed by 49.4 per cent of ‘average’ heads and 34.8 for ‘poor’ heads. The data also indicates that only 12.5 per cent of the sample is engaged in paid casual employment, which means that casual or seasonal work is not readily available, popular or accessible to household heads in Budiro, at least at the time of the survey. With regard to casual or seasonal work, 16.9 per cent of heads from the average wealth quintile participate in this work, 12.9 per cent from the better-off category and only 4.5 per cent from the poor category. Clearly, then, the poor households experience comparatively less employment (both permanent and temporary) than the other two wealth categories. Educational level is strongly associated with employment especially when one considers that levels of education are higher among the better-off when compared to the levels of education of the poor and average households in Budiro. Regrettably, the survey was not able to capture with any accuracy the employment status amongst non-heads in Budiro households. Overall, though, there is a reasonably high level of employment among household heads in Budiro, and some who are not employed are not actively seeking work (and hence are not unemployed in the formal sense).

The evidence collected during the survey also incorporated average monthly take-home pay from employment, both permanent and temporary. Employed household heads take home an average income of \$337.70 per month, which is a figure below the poverty datum of \$485 of the same year (2015) (ZIMSTAT, 2015). The better-off take home an average salary of \$372, while the average and the poor take home \$334 and \$305 respectively.

Table 15 shows the types of employment establishments within which household heads in Budiriro work on a permanent or temporary basis. Most heads are employed in the private (or corporate) sector, but nearly one-third are employees (for example, a welder) within home-based enterprises. There was no significant difference between wealth categories in terms of type of employment establishment.

**Table 15: Types of Employment Establishments**

Type of establishment	Overall (%)	Poor (%)	Average (%)	Better-off (%)	Chi2/p 0.750
Private	46.2	48.0	45.6	45.1	
Home-Based Enterprise	31.4	34.0	25.0	23.5	
Central Government	9.7	10.0	8.8	9.8	
Local Government	4.9	2.0	4.4	7.8	
Parastatal	5.5	2.0	7.4	5.9	

Table 16 focuses specifically on household heads who are not employed, giving percentages for each non-employed category.

**Table 16: Non-Employed Categories**

Type of Non-employment	Overall %	Poor %	Average %	Better-Off %	Chi2/p 0.003
Unpaid family worker	1.7	1.1	0	0	
Unemployed (seeking work)	6.1	7.9	1.3	4.8	
Student	1.7	0	0	1.6	
Home maker	3.5	4.5	0	1.6	
Retired with pension	3.5	4.5	1.3	0	
Retired without pension	2.2	0	2.6	1.6	

P value  $\leq 0.05$  shows significant difference.

There are significant differences between the better-off, average and poor household heads when it comes to being an unpaid family worker, unemployed (in the sense of seeking work), student, home maker or retired.

#### **4.9 Home-Based Enterprises in Budiro**

In addition to employment, households in Budiro also engage in home-based enterprises (HBEs) to improve household livelihoods. From the household survey data, 50 per cent of the households operated such enterprises, which are normally considered as informal economic sector activities. In terms of wealth categories, 46.4 per cent of the poor and 42.9 per cent of the average households were involved in home-based enterprises, while the figure for the better-off households was 64.5 per cent. Amongst these households, there was variation in the length of time their operations have been in existence. At the time of the survey, poor households had run their business for 9.24 months on average, while the months for average and better-off households was longer, namely, 11.80 months and 11.14 months respectively. Eighty-six per cent of the HBEs were owned and run by the household head. Table 17 details the main informal economic activities for those Budiro households involved in such activities, including the

percentages of those involved in each activity. As discussed later, some households were involved in more than one activity.

**Table 17: Types of Home-based Enterprises**

Type of Home-based Enterprise	Percentages of households engaged in the type of business enterprise
Vending/Tuck shop/Cross Border trade	52.2
Artisanal work (Mechanic, Welding, Carpentry)	21.4
Food/vegetable vending	8.9
Sewing	8.1
Poultry and rabbit rearing	4.4
Hairdressing	3.7
Others	1.5

Petty trading tended to dominate, with this activity cutting across the categories listed in Table 17 (for instance, including both tuck shops and food/vegetable vending). The ‘others’ category includes businesses such as knitting, shebeens, watch and shoe repairs, spiritual healing, and cutting and selling firewood as well as smuggling goods across borders. Smuggling was seldom mentioned during the fieldwork and was likely unreported because of its illegality. Respondents may have felt that talking about smuggling in a tape-recorded interview session may have legal consequences. However, one respondent indicated that he had participated in smuggling goods along the border between Zimbabwe and Mozambique, north-east of Zimbabwe. He highlighted that the goods would be carried to and from both sides of the Zimbabwean border. His job was to carry and ensure delivery of the contraband. He explained the issue this way:

*“Indeed, I appreciate this is just for research purposes; I guess I cannot be arrested for things that happened a long time ago. Ok, we used to smuggle cigarettes. I don’t want to lie to you, there was lots of money there. But, as you know, where there is money there are major and drastic challenges; these could even include death. There were so many*

*challenges and for me the major one being the distance that we walked. We would literally walk carrying heavy sacks full of cigarettes weighing over 35kgs. It was mainly Kingdom and RG cigarettes. These cigarettes would be packed in boxes and then stuffed into big bags like sacks. We would leave around 7.00 pm and only get to our destination, i.e. the loading points, at about 4.00 am. After loading the cigarettes in sack-bags, we would have to walk back the same distance and, as if that was not enough, the area was very mountainous. It was the Nyamapanda border post. But I was not in that business for too long, it was so taxing on the body. I was only there maybe for 2 to 3 months''. (Interview, 2, 01/07/2015).*

In terms of financial capital, the home-based enterprises engaged in by Budiriro residents did not require huge start-up capital and were also not among the highest earning businesses. The average start-up capital for the businesses was US\$100. If not available within the household itself, this amount would be sourced from employers, friends, relatives and saving clubs. The former smuggler (above) thus indicated that he secured his start-up capital from his former employer whom he worked for as a gardener. After working for this employer for some time and gaining his trust, he began to ask for extra money to start his own business. He explained this to the researcher in this way:

*‘‘After I completed my Form Four in 2003, I moved to Harare and secured a job as a gardener in Belvedere [a low-density suburb in Harare]. I was working for this guy who treated me like his own brother. I think it was because he was the only boy in his family. So we really got along. At first he asked me to run a chicken project for him. We started off with 150 broilers. We both did not have experience in the rearing of chickens but somehow we managed to do very well. We did so well we sold 148 big chickens. After this project he also began to trust me and I told him that the cross-border business was lucrative. By then he had decided to move to live with his wife in Bulawayo. So he told me that he will support me and gave me money to get my passport and also to start the cross border business. I used to go to Zambia. I would buy clothes and shoes. Business was brisk. Those people who shop at Avondale Flea Market have a lot of money. After my former employer moved to Bulawayo [second largest city in Zimbabwe] I lost touch with him. I was later*

*forced to stop that business because it was not profitable plus by then people were getting trillions [hyperinflation]’’. (Interview, 2, 01/07/2015).*

The low start-up capital for businesses did allow for some reasonable profits for Budiriro households, though they were not considerably high. In the year 2014, households operating HBEs received an average monthly income (as profit) of \$129, \$159 and \$146 respectively for poor, average and better-off households. In spite of the relatively low incomes generated from household enterprises, 78 per cent of respondents involved in HBEs indicated that the income generated did greatly contribute to household well-being, while 20 per cent said that the income moderately contributed to household income and only 2 per cent said that the enterprise did not make any significant contribution. This generally demonstrates how home-based informal economic income is critical to the livelihoods and livelihood construction of the vast majority of Budiriro households. As well, it would seem that household businesses as a livelihood strategy have become increasingly important over the years in Budiriro. In one focus group discussion, for example, a respondent asserted that local vending had dramatically increased in the past 10 years: *“Vending has become too much, to the extent that municipal police cannot cope with enforcing the rules”* (Focus Group Discussion, 4, 22/09/2015).

The pervasiveness of informal economic activities, as an alternative or complementary to employment, was constantly highlighted by Budiriro heads, as indicated in the following quotation from a focus group:

*“Some people have vending stalls in front of their houses and others have tuck shops; some are into mobile vending whilst some are involved in selling groceries. For example, some can go door to door with say cooking oil and sell the bottle at \$4 on credit. The customer will pay back \$1 a day for that cooking oil. This is also done for other commodities such as Cremora and sugar. Those days when one could raise huge profits quickly are a thing of the past because, when you get the \$1 installments from your customers, you will also have to pay back to your own creditors who you owe (for example money for the chickens you borrowed) and you also need to buy a loaf of bread for the children. In most cases its either you remain afloat or you sink financially; there is no more growing. As long as you are just surviving. This is why the money you get from such*



*kind of business cannot be taken to the bank as savings because it is too little''* (Focus Group Discussion, 1, 01/09/2015).

Though prevalent and almost a way of life for many people in Budiro, HBEs do not provide a strong financial basis for stable livelihoods and are often quite survivalist in character.

Further statistical analysis of the enterprises, as seen in Table 18, indicates that both male and female heads of households are engaged in these economic activities, with no significant statistical difference in the level of participation between males and females. Those heads though with less education were more likely to have a home-based enterprise income compared to those heads with a higher level of education, but this difference was not significant. Further, the average age of heads operating home-based enterprises was 44 and the average household size was 4.5 members. Those households without HBEs had heads of a younger age (42) and also had a smaller household size (of 4.1). Importantly, the monthly expenditure of households with a business income (US\$523) was higher than those which did not have a business income (US\$397).

**Table 18 Recipients and Non-Recipients of Home-based Enterprise Income**

Category of livelihood	Home-based Enterprise Income	No Home-based Enterprise Income	p-values
Male (per cent)	49.3	50.7	0.836
Female (per cent)	50.9	49.1	
Age	43.64	41.91	0.298
Household size	4.54	4.15	0.137
Household expenditure	523.26	397.42	0.0036
Wealth index	3.85	3.52	0.322
Education	5.51	5.68	0.290

#### **4.10 Agriculture: A Livelihood Strategy in Budiro**

This study demonstrates that agriculture is a key livelihood strategy for many households in Budiro. While some land for agricultural activities existed in urban Harare, other land was accessed in rural areas. The survey, in terms of own-consumption and earnings from agriculture, did not however differentiate between rural and urban agriculture. The survey results therefore show that 19.6 per cent of all male household heads and 8.8 per cent of all female household heads interviewed had access to land for the purposes of practicing agriculture. What this means is that households headed by women are less likely to have access to land for agricultural activities than those headed by men. Access to land for agriculture was also 'class' based: with figures of 11.5 per cent, 18.4 per cent and 33.4 per cent for poor households, average households and better-off households respectively. Thus the data shows that households with access to land for practicing agriculture were more likely to be non-poor, as indicated by the relatively high scores for wealth index and household expenditure (pegged at 5.95 and \$558.55 per month respectively) amongst those with access to land for practicing agriculture (as appearing in Table 19). Certainly, the greater asset base for wealthier households facilitates the capacity to engage in agriculture, and on a more productive basis as well. The poor in Budiro are likely to engage in informal, illegal and less productive forms of agriculture.

**Table 19: Access to Land for Practicing Agriculture**

Household Characteristics	With Access To Land For Agriculture	Without Access To Land For Practicing Agriculture	p-values
Male (per cent)	19.6	80.4	0.055
Female (per cent)	8.8	91.2	
Age	50.82	41.08	0.000
Household size	5.55	4.09	0.000
Household expenditure	558.55	440.99	0.048
Wealth index	5.95	3.21	0.000
Education	5.55	5.61	0.805
Number of shocks experienced	3.84	4.85	0.009
Number of coping strategies	1.53	0.64	0.000

P value  $\leq 0.05$  shows significant difference.

Household head age and household sizes of those who had access to land for practicing agriculture and those that did not have that access were significantly different at 0.000. The mean age of those with access to land for practicing agriculture was 50 years of age while those without access to land for practicing agriculture were on average 41.08 years of age. The households with land for practicing agriculture had household sizes of 5.5 per household while household size of those that did not have that access stood at 4.09. Overall, this means that wealthier household heads, with an average age of 50 and heading a household of 5.5 members, are – comparatively speaking – most likely to be engaged in agriculture as a livelihood activity. Importantly, households with access to land for practicing agriculture experience less shocks while, at the same time, they have more strategies to cope with shocks than those that do not have land access for pursuing agriculture. There are, however, no significant differences between

those households that had access to land to practice agriculture and those that do not when it comes to levels of education and number of meals per day (as a measure of food security).

What is also crucial to highlight is that 80.4 per cent and 91.2 per cent male and female household heads respectively do not have any access to land for purposes of pursuing agricultural activities. This lack of access to land suggests that households primarily rely on purchasing food for daily consumption and that the demand for purchasable food is high; this has the potential to drive up the prices of food if supply is outstripped by demand in cases of drought and when other food security threats emerge. In extreme cases, some households at times have to scavenge for food: *“After those who had finished harvesting, we would go around the fields to look for leftover maize cobs and later went to the grinding mill”* (Interview, 27, 11/08/2015). This desperate quest for food is particularly problematic for poorer households in Budiriro, with wealthier households having easier access to food. This is illustrative of differential food security statuses found in urban areas more broadly (Frayne et al., 2014).

Access to land though should not be conflated with utilisation of the land for agricultural purposes. Of the households that reported access to land for agricultural purposes, only 49 per cent indicated that they in fact utilise all of the available land. A very small majority (about 51 per cent) did not make use of all their land due to the lack of fertiliser, seed, plough implements and draught power, as well as because of illnesses (and absence of labour) within the household. Insufficient rains also had an impact on their ability to utilise land to the maximum. Nearly all of the households with land access (86 per cent) did not receive any form of extension services such as crop and animal husbandry, with such services in Zimbabwe normally restricted to rural agriculture. Caution should thus be placed on assuming that access to land in urban areas will ultimately result in practicing agriculture as the Budiriro study shows.

In terms of crop production for the households that practice agriculture, maize (which is the staple food of Zimbabwe) was grown by 89.4 per cent. Groundnuts were grown by only 21.05 per cent of the households and sweet potatoes by 10.5 per cent. The table 20 below shows the ranges of the amounts received from the sales of crops sold by households in the last agricultural season prior to this study (the table is inclusive of only households which sold some crops).

Those who grew and sold maize earned an average of US\$524 (with some earning as much as \$US2,500) and those who grew and sold their groundnuts and sweet potatoes earned an average of US\$115 and US\$180 respectively. The total earned by all households through crop sales was less than US\$10,000. The table in fact shows that only small minorities of households growing maize, groundnuts and sweet potatoes actually engaged in any sales. Maize is sold to other people within or near Budiro or to the government agency which deals with national food security (the Grain Marketing Board). Clearly, though, most of the production of crops is primarily for household consumption.

**Table 20: Cash Received from Crop Sales**

	% of Sellers of Crops	Minimum	Maximum	Sum of Cash	Mean
Maize	25.53% of 47 HH	\$ 10.00	\$2,520.00	\$8,390.00	\$524.00
Groundnuts	25% of 12 HHs	\$115.00	\$ 115.00	\$ 345.00	\$115.00
Sweet potatoes	28% of 7 HH	\$160.00	\$ 200.00	\$ 360.00	\$180.00

HH=Household Heads

A total of 69.1 per cent of the household survey sample indicated that they possess livestock. The main type of livestock possessed by sampled households in Budiro is cattle, with 30 per cent of those with livestock having cattle. Important to note is that livestock is related to wealth categories of households given that there were significant differences with a p-value of 0.000 between the poor (0.03), average (0.07) and better-off households (0.22) in terms of access to and/or ownership of livestock within the livestock index computed in this study. Table 21 shows the types of livestock owned by the households.

**Table 21: Livestock Ownership**

Type of livestock	Owned livestock (percentage)
Cattle	30.0
Goats	16.0
Pig	2.4
Donkey	0.6
Poultry	18.9
Rabbits	1.2

Overall, 16.9 per cent of those with livestock sold some livestock in the last year (2014) and, together, they earned a total sum of income of US\$7,280 from selling their livestock. The main reasons for selling livestock was to use the money to pay for education (40 per cent), to procure food (28 per cent) and for starting a business (20 per cent). Livestock thus acts as a stock of wealth and also as a buffer against shocks. But the reasons for selling livestock in Budiriro are different from rural areas in which livestock is a source of draught power, milk and manure, and is essential in social processes such as paying bride-price, settling serious conflicts and payment of fines (Nyamwanza, 2012). What is also clear is that households in Budiriro have strong rural-urban linkages given that larger livestock such as cattle, goats and pigs can only be reared in communal and resettlement areas and not in urban areas like Budiriro. In fact, Harare by-laws prohibit such forms of agriculture with the exception of poultry and rabbit rearing.

#### **4.11 Cash Transfers and/or Remittances**

This study also demonstrates that 37.2 per cent of households in Budiriro received cash and in-kind items during the last twelve months prior to the survey. When disaggregated by gender, 31.1 per cent of male heads of households and 61.4 per cent of female heads received such cash transfers and remittances, indicating that about double the number of female-headed households receive remittances and cash transfers when compared to male-headed households. The household sizes of remittance-receiving households was also significantly smaller than those of households which do not receive remittances, implying that a household member such as a spouse is away from Budiriro and is sending remittances back home. Thus, households which receive remittances have an average household size of 3.95 while the non-receiving households

have a household size of 4.5 (with a p-value of 0.021 for this). There were no differences between receiving and non-receiving households with regard to the age of household head, household expenditure, asset-wealth index score, education of head, number of shocks experienced and coping strategies adopted. Table 22 provides full details of this.

**Table 22: Recipients and Non-Recipients of Remittances**

Category of livelihood	Remittance Income	No Remittance income	p-values
Male (per cent)	31.1	68.9	0.000
Female (percent)	61.4	38.6	
Age	42.97	42.65	0.852
Household size	3.95	4.57	0.021
Household expenditure	458.58	460.29	0.970
Wealth index	3.84	3.59	0.468
Education	5.61	5.59	0.899

The sources of cash transfers and remittances were mainly relatives who live elsewhere (54 per cent) as well as children (20.4 per cent) and spouses (9.7 per cent); but an additional 15.1 per cent of the households received cash transfers from non-governmental organisations and donor organisations. The senders of remittances have often migrated to other urban and rural areas within Zimbabwe as well as to neighbouring SADC countries and parts of Europe and Asia. As far as remittances are concerned, kinship relations including spouses and children are clearly an important determinant in receiving remittances. Of the households that received remittances, 42.5 per cent were from the poor category, 31.6 per cent from the average category and 36.6 per cent were from the better-off category. However, there are no major statistical differences between the wealth quintiles when it came to receiving remittances. Though households in the poor category were proportionally more likely to receive remittances than the other two categories, they received the least amount of cash remittances. For example, when asked during the household survey how much households had received in the most recent transfer of remittances before the household survey, households had received an average of US\$155.10,

US\$168.80 and US\$252.50 among the poor, average and better-off household respectively. The remittances are also transferred irregularly to 53 per cent of the households receiving remittances. Others received them on a more regular basis: 37.2 per cent said they receive cash on a monthly basis and 6.2 per cent indicated that they receive remittances on a quarterly basis, with 3.1 per cent saying remittances were received only annually. For the majority of households (62.8 per cent), no remittances though are received at all.

Even those receiving remittances raised various challenges experienced. In one of the life history interviews, the respondent indicated that remittances in the end represented an extra social and financial burden, especially when a shock occurs in the lives of members of her household. She receives money from her brother in the United Kingdom and, because of this, her family members place unwarranted demands on her at times of crisis. This is what she had to say with regard to remittances:

*‘‘My brother is the only person who has helped me in everything that I do. He is a very special person to me. He is the only relative who has helped me. I have friends but they only give me business ideas. Due to my special relationship with my brother I find that at times family members do not contribute money when a need arises, such as someone is ill or a person has died. I end up funding various family affairs because most of my relatives think that my brother who is in the United Kingdom always sends me money and therefore I am expected to have money at my disposal all the time. Even my sister thinks our only brother favours me and is one of those family relatives who thinks I can fund everything in times of family crisis. And so, these are some of my challenges. I am also facing hardships but everyone thinks otherwise’’* (Interview, 9, 10/07/2015).

While remittances from outside the country helped the respondent to start her own businesses and make a living, her success has not come without cost, namely, heightened expectations from close relatives that she has not only help but to foot the bill in the event of family crises.

#### **4.12 Rental Income Supporting Livelihoods**

Overall, 16.7 per cent of the household heads from the study sample also earn income from rentals. Within the context of this study, rental incomes are incomes that come from land, housing, other buildings, draught power and machinery. A major proportion of the rental income



though is from house rentals. The evidence indicates that, proportionally though not statistically significantly, more female heads had access to rental income than male heads. Age seemed to be a key determinant for earning this income (see Table 23). On average, those 49.04 years of age earned rental income while those that did not had an average age of 41.5 years. Hence, the older the head is in Budiro, the more likely he or she will have an income from rents. Given that rental income depends largely on the household's asset base, those households with an average score on the asset-wealth index of 4.53 depended upon (or were able to draw upon) rental income while those with a smaller asset base (3.52) did not earn rentals. In addition, household heads earning rentals depended on fewer coping strategies in the event of household shocks, though they did not necessarily experience fewer shocks. A rental basis presumably cushioned any shocks forthcoming and thus limited the search for alternative income sources by these households. There were no significant differences when the two categories of households (with and without rentals) were compared with regard to for example household size, household expenditure, education, and health within the household.

**Table 23: Recipients and Non-Recipients of Rental Income**

Category of livelihood	Rent income	No Rent income	p-values
Male (per cent)	16.0	84.0	0.552
Female (per cent)	19.3	80.7	
Age of head	49.04	41.51	0.001
Household size	4.79	4.25	0.125
Household expenditure	496.58	452.49	0.455
Wealth index	4.53	3.52	0.027
Education of head	5.40	5.63	0.303
Number of shocks experienced	3.72	4.08	0.361
Number of coping strategies	0.47	0.86	0.086
Number of meals per day	2.80	2.65	0.103
Proportion that had a sick member	27.7	24.7	0.568

#### 4.13 Livelihood Diversification

Literature from other studies indicates that livelihood diversification, among other things, enables the minimising of risk in the context of heightening vulnerability (including loss of employment and hyperinflation), with two or more income streams complementing each other in such a way as to maintain or even enhance the asset base of a household (Ersado, 2006; Matondi, 2011; Chirau, 2012; Mukwedeya, 2012; Hanazaki, 2013). Like other households in so-called developing countries, including in Zimbabwe more generally, most households in Budiriro rely on more than one source of income or livelihood activity to make a living. A good example of livelihood diversification from this study was expressed by one of the respondents who noted that he engages in three livelihood activities, that is, vending, construction and practicing agriculture:

*“After my contract expired at the construction company in 2013, I started selling different things; whatever I could get my hands on. When construction work was available I would also go and work there and leave my wife tending to the [vending] stall. I am now also into farming. I farm in Gokwe [a communal area located in the Midlands Province of Zimbabwe]. I harvested about fifteen 50 kilogramme bags of maize last year and a few kilogrammes of cowpeas for our own consumption at home. We do not buy any maize for mealie meal and from the sales of maize we are able to buy inputs for the next season. I go there when the rainy season comes. I go and plant and then come back to Budiriro after the rainy season. Through these activities we have managed to buy a residential plot of land in Kadoma”* [a small farming/mining town in Mashonaland West Province of Zimbabwe] (Interview, 26, 10/08/2015).

The Budiriro study categorised households into three groups, that is, those households that rely on one livelihood activity, those that rely on two livelihood activities and those that rely on three or more livelihood activities. The livelihood strategies and activities under analysis here were mainly participating in employment, home-based enterprises, receiving remittances, rentals and practicing agriculture in rural and/or urban areas. Table 24 shows the percentages of households within these three categories.

**Table 24: Character of Livelihood Diversification**

Number of livelihoods	Percentage
One livelihood source	35.5
Only two livelihood sources	39.4
3 or more livelihood sources	25.2

It is apparent that the number of households in each of the three categories is quite similar: 35.5 per cent of the households depend on one livelihood source, 39.4 per cent rely on two livelihood sources, with 25.2 per cent make a living through three or more livelihood sources. The latter groupings I refer as ‘diversifiers’ and the other grouping as ‘non-diversifiers’. To compare these three groupings of households, a *Sidak Anova* test was utilised in order to understand the differences which exist between them. Table 25 shows the results of the *Sidak Anova* test.

From the table, it is clear that age, wealth index score and household expenditure are all directly associated with livelihood diversification. The data show that, on average, older household heads are more likely to head households involved in diverse livelihood activities. The number of livelihood activities households engage in is also associated with the wealth index score: the fewer the number of livelihood activities engaged in, the less the score for the household on the wealth index, and the higher the number of livelihood activities then the higher the wealth index score of the household. The same situation exists also with reference to household expenditure. Consequently, the higher the number of livelihood activities a particular household was engaged in, the more likely the household was better-off than poor. The evidence also indicates that households which are engaged in more than one livelihood activity are less likely to be food insecure using the indicator of meals a household has per day. Livelihood diversification is a reoccurring theme in the following chapters as well.

**Table 25: Characteristics of Livelihood Diversifiers and Non-Diversifiers**

		One livelihood	Two livelihoods	3 or more livelihoods	p-values
Demographics					
Age		40.80	42.78	45.42	0.093
Education		5.58	5.53	5.72	0.673
Household size		4.20	4.27	4.65	0.382
Marital status					0.868
	Married	70.0	66.7	69.0	
	Other Marital Status	30.0	33.3	31.0	0.868
Gender	Males	38.6	38.6	22.8	0.548
	Females	34.7	39.6	25.8	
Wealth					
Asset-wealth index		3.29	3.33	4.79	0.001
Expenditures		449.67	512.78	622.78	0.052

#### 4.14 Community Organisation and Social Networks

Households in Budiriro are not discrete units but are located in broader social networks (and beyond the extended family and kinship relationships mentioned in relation to remittances). Budiriro households are thus engaged in various community organisations and initiatives in an effort to improve their well-being. The organisations in existence vary in type as well as in their purpose. Data from the survey and the qualitative data indicate that households are engaged in religious organisations, funeral associations, lending and savings clubs, school committees, health committees, political parties, and others. Table 26 below specifies the types of groups in which households are engaged and also the level of importance the organisation has to the households. Important to note is that respondents who belonged to the following community organisations or social networks had attended pertinent meetings within one month before the study.

**Table 26: Level of Participation in Community Groups**

Type of group	Proportion that are members (%)	Importance of Social Networks (1=Not important; 2=Important 3=Very important)
Religious	67.0	2.3
Housing co-operatives	61.0	2.0
Funeral association	21.3	2.0
Lending and savings club	7.4	1.6
School committee	13.5	1.8
Health committee	4.3	1.6
Political party	16.3	1.7
Trading or marketing club	2.5	1.3
Water committee	2.1	1.2
Ethnic associations	1.4	1.2

Belonging to groups may enable households in Budiriro to become involved in efforts to influence their political representatives, policy makers, private entrepreneurs and non-governmental organisations to improve their well-being and place them within a position which facilitates asset accumulation or at least reduces vulnerability. But sometimes group membership has more immediate benefits. Some of these groups are discussed below.

Thus, households in Budiriro are engaged in local collective actions that enable them to save and secure loans, essentially allowing them access to financial and economic capital. For example, as shown in Table 26, 7.4 per cent of the respondents from the survey indicated that they benefit from participating in money-lending and saving clubs. The money-saving clubs in Harare and Budiriro more specifically are popularly known as '*rounds*'. They operate in a circular motion, that is, after a period of time (for example a week or a month), a member of the club receives a certain amount of cash from all the members of the club (drawing from the funds accumulated through cash inputs by each member on a regular basis). The following quote shows how the money saving clubs work:

*‘‘We put in money into the club and after a while you are able to borrow money and you pay it back with interest. For example, you can borrow \$50 and pay \$10 extra as interest. At the end of the year we share the [entire accumulated] money, that is, what you put in plus interest. There are 20 of us in that group. At times, if we don’t want to share the money, we can buy groceries [as a group] and share them’’* (Interview, 4, 3/07/2015).

In a separate interview, one respondent explained the round or rotating saving scheme concept in the following manner:

*‘‘I save money by having financial discipline but apart from that my colleagues and me formed a mikando [group saving scheme]. This helps me to save money. What we do is we contribute money into this saving scheme and ensure that each and every member within the scheme borrows money even if they do not want to use it. When a person borrows money they should pay back the amount with interest. We then ultimately share that money when we feel there is enough money saved to share’’* (Interview, 9, 10/07/2015).

Hence savings club are an important livelihood strategy, allowing members at times to borrow for purposes of emergencies but also to buy household groceries in bulk or even purchase assets. The importance of savings clubs is illustrated by one female household head who, through the savings club, was able to save enough money for her to secure a passport. This document would later allow her to enter into the cross border livelihood activity:

*‘‘We would all give \$20 to one person and the following month we would give the next person, until all of us had received the money. I managed to save the \$20 every month from the money my husband gave me. When my turn came to receive the money from the other club members I decided to get a passport’’* (Interview, 4, 3/07/2015).

As a form of insurance mechanism for Budiriro households, funeral associations perform a similar function to savings clubs and, additionally, are more numerous and important (from the perspective of Budiriro household heads) compared to these clubs. These associations help households overcome the adversities and difficulties experienced when a household member dies; thus, like savings clubs, funeral associations are designed to confront the everyday challenges of life in Budiriro.

Religious organisations though are the dominant form of group membership, as 67 per cent of the respondents indicated that they were members of a church. Further, these religious organisations are clearly of great importance to households in Budiriro, as they were ranked with a score of 2.3 in terms of their importance (with 3 being the highest ranking possible). This ranking in fact was the highest for all the community organisations in which Budiriro households are involved. One member of a focus group highlighted:

*“The number of churches in the area has increased. Church is now a business adventure for most people and if you start a church you will surely have followers. Churches are now everywhere. These days you cannot even sleep properly because people will be praying and singing at night, and also early in the morning”* (Focus Group Discussion, 3, 16/09/2015).

Local churches play a role in reducing vulnerability and providing a limited level of insurance, and offer a platform for members to help each other in a collective manner in times of need. There were many reasons therefore why religious organisations were regarded as so important, as illustrated by participants of one focus group:

*“Churches are so helpful because it guides people in a number of ways; people are being taught how to live harmoniously both at household level and community level. Churches also teach people good conflict resolution strategies.*

*Churches in Budiriro are so helpful because they help send orphaned children to school and cater for their school needs. Even the widowed are helped through various church organisations in Budiriro. Churches can also help in cases of contingencies; for instance, a recent event happened whereby a certain house was torched by candle light fire and the church helped a lot”* (Focus Group Discussion, 1, 01/09/2015).

A life history interviewee made similar points:

*“I think going to church helped me a lot; I could go to church in order to ward off the shame of not being able to go to any recreational facilities because we could not afford it. I was going to the same church with my teacher; she encouraged me to participate in a host of activities at school, and that was a morale booster to me”* (Interview, 27, 11/08/2015).

Churches in Budiriro support people's livelihoods and have a social welfare function as well, such as: looking after orphaned children, widows, the poor and crisis-ridden households,

engaging in conflict resolution at household level or teaching congregants the ways of handling conflict; and even enhancing self-esteem. In this sense, the church has taken on certain roles (Ritzer, 2000) which both the state and kinship relationships were simply unable to perform. These community organisations and networks express a certain level of distress emanating from the structural context in which households in Budiriro are situated. Simultaneously, they support and shape urban-based livelihoods in Budiriro. This is particularly evident in the case of housing cooperatives.

#### **4.14.1 Housing Cooperatives: A Collective Action to Access Land for Housing**

Households in Budiriro also participate in housing co-operatives, which are a form of collective action by urban residents to secure land for low-income accommodation purposes. The housing cooperatives are important not only because 61 per cent of those sampled within this study were tenants, but also because the cooperatives allow households to pool resources, and address bureaucratic bottlenecks as well as state and market failures with regard to access to low-income accommodation (Chirisa, 2014). The housing cooperatives are able to secure land from the government and, when basic services such as water and sanitation are in place, households can move in; other services such as electricity and roads are delivered later (Chirisa, 2014). This is how respondents explained the process:

*“People form housing cooperatives after they have identified a piece of land they think is free and appropriate for housing purposes. In consultation with lawyers, the city council and the Ministry of Local Government, they then form the required [organisational] structures and apply for the registration of their housing cooperative. Once this is done, they start paying a subscription fee that goes towards the development and servicing of the land and administration of the housing cooperative”* (Focus Group Discussion, 2, 9/09/2015).

The process of acquiring land through housing cooperatives is clearly a fundamentally different approach from the traditional housing development model where there is full provision of services first and then the building of houses take place (Chirisa, 2014).

Respondents in Budiriro highlighted the various spin-off benefits that have come about as a result of accessing land through cooperatives in the following way:



*“The good thing with cooperatives is that rent has decreased. Those who were tenants have managed to secure land and have moved from being tenants to landlords themselves. In that respect, this has driven rentals down and has actually made landlords more responsive to their tenants’ needs; otherwise they can move any time. People are also benefitting by getting jobs such as loading and off-loading building materials at Karent shopping centres. Even companies such as Larfarge and Beta Bricks have opened shop”* [to supply building materials] (Focus Group Discussion, 2, 9/09/2015).

The downside of participating in cooperatives has been that, at times, some individuals in charge of the finances of the housing co-operatives take advantage of households seeking land to build their houses. They do this by extorting, misappropriating or abusing cooperative funds and thereby undermine the provision of services (such as constructing roads, sewers and water pipes). Focus group participants had the following things to say about this issue:

*“There are some bogus cooperatives that invade land using the name of ZANU-PF party without following the procedures of registering a cooperative. In one case an individual used the name of ZANU-PF and duped people into paying land development fees yet the cooperative was not registered. Upon finding out, the people went to his house and protested but nothing came out of it. In fact, he actually used the money to buy combis [minibuses] for his own business”* (Focus Group Discussion, 2, 9/09/2015).

In this respect political party affiliation, particularly claimed affiliation to the ruling ZANU-PF party, is a key survival strategy as being a member of the ruling party may help people to organise and gain favours (such as access to land from the political elites). This entails working within and using the prevailing political system in subtle ways to influence the distribution of resources and access to key resources, a matter which is discussed more fully later.

#### **4.15 Conclusion**

This chapter has provided details about the studied households in Budiriro, including socio-economic differentiation between households along with an examination of shocks experienced by households and the range of livelihood activities pursued. It is evident that households in Budiriro are engaged in various livelihood activities within the realms of formal employment, informal economic activities and agriculture. To make a living, households in Budiriro also rely on remittances and rental incomes while participating in various community-level initiatives to

access land, housing and credit. The chapter demonstrates that livelihood diversification is a key feature of livelihood strategies for households in Budiro with only one-third of households relying upon one livelihood activity. At the same time, though Budiro is a high-density, low-income area in Harare, there is heterogeneity with reference to the socio-economic status of households in Budiro as per the wealth and asset measures used in the study. Differences in socio-economic status in Budiro tend to be associated with differences in the kinds of livelihood portfolios characterising specific households, though this correlation should not be overstated as other factors are also significant in shaping livelihood activities. It is also important to consider if socio-economic status as measured at one time (analysed synchronically) is part of a longer historical livelihood trajectory (when considered diachronically) or is simply a temporary aberration in the history of particular household or reflects the current state in the development of a household. This is a matter addressed more fully in Chapter Six. Before this, the next chapter (Chapter Five) analyses the various historical and contemporary influences on the livelihoods of households in Budiro.

## **CHAPTER FIVE: INFLUENCES ON LIVELIHOOD ACTIVITIES IN BUDIRO**

### **5.1 Introduction**

This chapter examines the historical and contemporary influences that affect the construction and re-construction of livelihood activities. The aim is to bring out the structure of the field (as per Bourdieu's usage of the term) that guides and undergirds the livelihood strategies and activities of households in Budiro as they seek to at least safeguard their livelihood conditions of existence by drawing upon and making use of the different kinds of capital which they own, possess or access. To address this, the chapter discusses how household livelihood strategies and activities are a consequence of wider socio-economic and political structures. The chapter argues that wider structures and their interaction with lower level processes (such as intra-household dynamics and kinship relations) shape not only the overall livelihood strategies of households but also the choice of household livelihood activities. The first section (section 5.2) looks at the economic processes in Zimbabwe and how these shape people's livelihoods, while the following section (section 5.3) focuses on the influence of political processes including the significance of the state. Later sections consider cultural factors, such as gender and kinship, as well as intra-household relationships.

### **5.2 The Economy and Livelihoods in Budiro**

This section considers the implications of economic decline in Zimbabwe broadly, including hyperinflation, dollarisation and formal employment contraction, for the livelihoods of households in Budiro. In doing so, it focuses on formal employment but primarily informal economic activities, given the significance of the latter for Budiro households. Both quantitative and qualitative evidence is used in support of the arguments made.

#### **5.2.1 Economic Decline and Informal Sector Livelihoods**

Since the year 2000, Zimbabwe's economy has seen an almost continuous decline. By the year 2004, the GDP had fallen from US\$8.4 billion dollars in 1997 to US\$4.8 billion dollars (Potts, 2011). Agricultural production had decreased by 60 per cent in 2005 since the year 2000 and, by the year 2004, the manufacturing industry had also declined by 45.6 per cent from 1998 (Business Report, 2005). Although the mining sector suffered a decline due to the lack of inputs

and investment, strong global commodity prices sustained mining earnings and made them one of the government's most crucial sources of revenue (Potts, 2011). Thus the decline of the national economy of Zimbabwe was one of the major contemporary influences shaping people's livelihoods, including in Budiriro.

When asked how the prevailing economic decline had impacted on their livelihoods, most respondents observed that their livelihoods had been negatively impacted. In all five focus group discussions, for example, participants generally perceived and experienced a drop in their household livelihoods and well-being, which was understood in terms of the broader economic crisis. One FGD respondent had the following to say:

*“The main reason our businesses are not performing well is that everyone these days does not have money. There is no money; the person you are selling to has no money. What is needed is money. For example, I am into fish vending. Ten years ago after working for three months I was able to work and generate enough profit that allowed me to purchase a cow. I worked for another two months and bought another cow. If I am to work for three months with the way things are today I will not do the same. Back then a landlord would order fish worth \$30 per month, those formally employed would do the same. Those in South Africa with children here [Zimbabwe] would even place orders worth \$50. Nowadays the situation is different; those living in South Africa will say that their money is not enough, those formally employed will tell you that they have not yet been paid and others buy goods on credit but will not honour their debts; and those that used to order fish for \$30 now order fish for \$3. Those that are formally employed will say they will pay you when they get paid but their payday never arrives”* (Focus Group Discussion 1, 01/09/2015).

In another focus group discussion, respondents mentioned that before 2005 they were able to pay school fees for their children, and purchase enough food for household consumption. This is not possible because of either loss or lack of employment, or jobs simply not paying a living wage. Blaming the economy for her current hardships, a woman who was a street vendor stationed in Budiriro asserted that, before the economic decline, she was able to survive and look after her children using the profits that she made from her small business: *“I am one of those who was*

*able to sell goods worth over a \$100 in a week. We were able to buy food and pay school fees for our children; this is now in the past. Now we only come here just to get a dollar to buy relish for our families. The economy is to blame for our hardships”* (Interview 7, 8/07/2015). The economic troubles impacted on profit margins in the informal sector since the purchasing power of clientele also reduced. A related issue was the all-round inability to save money to meet future household needs. Budiriro residents hence stressed that they could not save enough money as capital to start new businesses or even to expand and grow existing businesses. As one person said: *“We are facing challenges in accessing capital to start new businesses;... the money that we are supposed to use to expand our businesses ends up being used for rent and other basic commodities hence leading us into bankruptcy”* (FGD 4, 22/09/2015). This was reiterated in another FGD: *“People are just able to survive. They cannot save their money and do anything tangible; they just work to meet basic food needs in most cases”* (FGD 2, 9/09/2015). All this implies that people involved in informal economic activities have entered into a survivalist mode of livelihood existence.

### **5.2.2 Unviability of Formal Sector Livelihoods**

With regard to formal sector livelihoods (or work within the formal economy), a majority of respondents stated that they once had access to a formal sector salaried or wage-earning job, mostly in private companies. Formal employment was seen in the past as the conventional pathway out of poverty. With the collapse of the national economy, however, this is no longer the case such that the normal became the exceptional.

During data collection, five people spoke of being promoted in their place of employment in days gone by, including from a general hand to middle and even senior level positions. One respondent named Daniel (Interview 1) is currently a trader of second-hand household products (such as refrigerators and electric stoves). When he originally moved to Harare, he was a general hand at the Dairy Board (the largest milk company in the country) and rose to the position of boiler operator after the company sent him for training and attained the necessary certificate. Another respondent (Interview 17) had joined a construction company as a general hand and rose through the ranks to become site clerk after working for 17 years with the company. A general thread within these (and other) stories was that, although they had been promoted, they felt

compelled eventually to leave formal employment because the purchasing power of their income was declining. One person said that: *“There were pay increments if you got promoted, but that did not make any significance because there was massive inflation. The money became worthless and I could not afford to even have some money to pay rent and commute to work; and I decided to leave for Nyanga”* (Interview 16, 15/07/2015), which is some distance from Harare.

For many workers, transport costs consumed an increasing portion of the monthly wage, leading to voluntary resignations from employment. A resident who had moved from the rural areas and worked as a shopkeeper in an Indian-owned shop had the following to say about why he left his job and moved into the informal sector after only eight months of employment:

*“I left the job in 2008 when the economic situation had declined. Economic hardships led me into this desperation [vending]. I was working for an Indian owned electrical shop and during those days the Indians were not paying sustainable and viable salaries. I could not even afford to come to work with the salary they were giving me”* (Interview 25, 06/08/2015).

In another case, and in explaining why he left his job in a private sector retail company to join the informal sector, a respondent mentioned that he was not paid sufficiently to afford his bus fare so he joined the informal sector in a small company close to his house where he did not have to pay for transport:

*“I started off in ticketing and ended up in purchasing. I left Edgars Department Store because I couldn’t afford the transport costs of going to and from work. So I left and joined Maxibooth. It is situated near my uncle’s house in Glen view, and it was more convenient for me. Besides the Edgars salary was low”* (Interview 5, 3/07/2015).

Thus the economic hardships even led those in formal employment to quit work and find alternative livelihood sources.

Several people also highlighted company closures and imposed loss of employment, some of which were linked to hyperinflation between 2006 and 2009 and later to dollarisation from late 2009 onwards. A respondent who worked for a formal business selling telephone airtime as well as operating phone services in the area indicated that the business collapsed after dollarisation:

*“The company started operating in 2004 and then in 2010 business was not good.... If you recall those days, the economy was not steady, the Zimbabwean dollar rate was constantly fluctuating. It was not good for business. And then in 2009 when the country started using the multi-currency system, the company could not cope and it went broke and was shutdown. The company did well from 2009 until 2011 after which it just folded. The company could not replenish its supplies”* (Interview 5, 3/07/2015).

Thus the deteriorating economic trajectory, characterised by hyperinflation and employment contraction, shaped people’s livelihoods by driving them from the formal economic sector into informal sector livelihoods. In fact, it seemed that participation in the informal sector (through for example buying and selling goods) became the only sensible and rational activity to undertake, if only to eke out a living by selling any commodity they could literally get their hands on. One respondent had this to say:

*“It is not that buying and selling is much more lucrative than formal sector jobs, it’s just that there is not much to do and vending has become the last resort. You cannot just sit, one has to do something. Vending these days is not even that rewarding. You will be lucky if you get 10 per cent profit. In the past for instance you would buy a suit or dress at \$20 and sell it at \$100. These days even one South African Rand profit is possible and you have to be content with that type of profit. In fact, it’s actually better to get One Rand profit than to incur a loss”* (Focus Group Discussion 3, 16/09/2015).

The decline in formal employment as a useful livelihood activity challenged prevailing norms and assumptions about livelihoods. This in a sense entailed a crisis in habitus, insofar as habitus is the product of ingrained history which produces collective practices in accordance with schemes engendered by history. One FGD participant articulated this in the following way:

*“We were taught when we were young that the only way to get money is through going to school getting a qualification and finding a job in a formal company. Basically working in an office. This mentality is still in us but we are failing to come to grips with the new system of having to employ ourselves”* (Focus Group Discussion 3, 16/09/2015).

Deeply-embedded expectations around livelihood practices therefore were disrupted by the context of economic turmoil, and this led to a re-evaluation of what are suitable livelihood

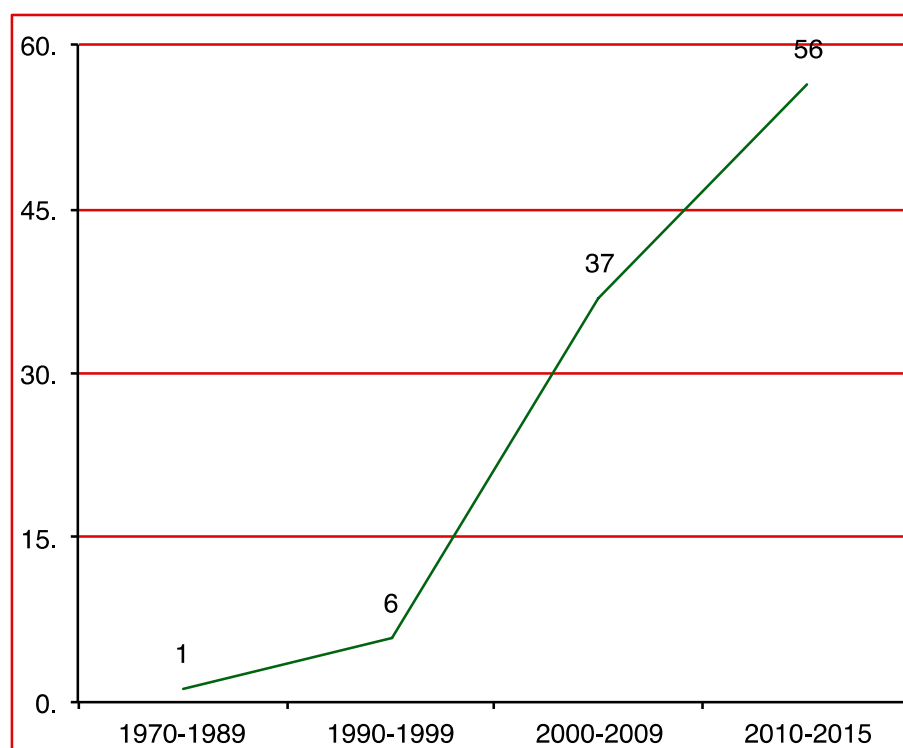
strategies under changed circumstances. It seems clear that, to some extent, Budiriro residents still prefer formal employment which (ideally) would pay a living wage or at least provide a regular source of income. With formal employment being scarce, insecure and irregular in the face of a decrease in real wages, the status of employment became regarded, however, as a drain on household resources which could be better used elsewhere.

### **5.2.3 Dollarisation and Livelihoods**

Dollarisation is credited with stabilising the economy (including lessening price fluctuations), eliminating hyper-inflation and improving incomes for working Zimbabweans when compared to the days of the Zimbabwean dollar (Nkomazana and Niyambanira, 2014; African Development, Bank 2015). But the Budiriro study shows that, under dollarisation, some companies were unable to recapitalise, leading to a loss of formal employment. As well, dollarisation sometimes limited the ability of people to save and invest. One Budiriro woman in the informal sector mentioned that, during the prior hyper-inflation era, she was able to save money from her business (in foreign currencies) and this enabled her to purchase a residential stand (plot of land). However, after dollarisation, she has not been able to save or invest as earnings have declined. Quantitative evidence from the study shows that Budiriro working people lost employment as the Zimbabwean economy worsened and that this was particularly prevalent after the economy was dollarised. The graph in Figure 4 shows the trend of Budiriro people leaving employment (either voluntarily or through compulsion) as the economic situation declined. In total, 87 people reported leaving employment and the proportion of those who left by year is shown below:



**Figure 4: Numbers Leaving Employment between 1970 and 2015**



The number of household heads leaving paid formal employment increased significantly between 2000 and 2015, and this was particularly dramatic from the year 2010 onward. Respondents gave different reasons for loss of employment, with Table 27 for instance showing the reasons for the 56 people who left in 2010 and beyond.

It is clear that most of those who left formal paid employment did not leave voluntarily. Rather, they left because either they had been retrenched, the company had become bankrupt or their contracts expired and were not renewed. This is evidence of the shrinkage in the formal sector of the urban economy in Zimbabwe consistent with other studies by for example the African Development Bank and the Government of Zimbabwe (ADB, 2015; GoZ Budget Statement, 2015). Of interest also is that 18 per cent of those who left did so because the salaries or wages in the formal sector simply were not sustainable anymore in terms of meeting household consumption demands. This of course puts into question the viability of formal sector employment in-and-of-itself being able to sustain urban household livelihoods in contemporary Zimbabwe. Decisions on which livelihood strategies to pursue are thus shaped by broad macro-

economic processes and trajectories.

**Table 27: Reasons for Leaving Paid Formal Employment**

Reasons for leaving formal paid employment (total 56 people)	Percentage
Retrenched/dismissed	44.6
Establishment folded up	12.5
Salaries or wages too low/worthless/to become informal trader	12.5
Contract expired	14.3
Illness/ sickness	1.8
Other reasons	14.3

#### **5.2.4 Declining Informal Sector Demands and Livelihoods**

Those involved in informal sector businesses also mentioned the declining performance of the economy as a major impediment to their economic projects. In particular, respondents mentioned the lack of spending power within their potential market, with the customer base for various income-generating activities tended to dwindle. During focus group discussions, the low purchasing power of individuals and households in Budiro was clearly attributed to national economic troubles. The majority of customers for informal economic enterprises could no longer afford products and the few remaining customers would normally purchase goods and services in cash instalments over time. Though allowing customers to pay through instalments may be normal business practice for large companies in the formal economy, it was not suitable for the informal activities conducted by Budiro households:

*“People are no longer able to afford for example to buy clothes regularly or for repairing non-functional items. I have been in this business for about three years and, when I started off, things were blossoming but right now things are just down. I think it is because of the current lack of money in the economy. Even though people are building houses they cannot*

*pay in full for all the goods they might have taken [from mainstream retailers]. As a result, people end up paying in installments [to informal traders] and that is inimical to business growth'' (Focus Group Discussion 1, 01/09/2015).*

In an individual interview, a female trader highlighted:

*''If I compare the way we used to sell our merchandise then and now, there is a huge difference. When we started, business was low I would maybe get \$15 in a day. But nowadays it's the opposite; on a good day I can only make \$10. It's just the money that I would have realised that day. It does not include profit. At times I just make \$3 or \$4. People have no disposable income. They have no money. Most people are not employed. There are also too many people in the selling business. Everyone is selling and at the end of the day no one is buying because everyone is selling'' (Interview 5, 3/07/2015).*

These quotations illustrate that, particularly with increasing competition, opportunities in the informal sector are shrinking and no longer profitable because of lack of liquidity and purchasing power. Simply put, if there is no money in circulation, informal businesses are bound to suffer. The typical Budiriro household finds it difficult to purchase goods from the informal sector, with payment paid in full upfront. The lack of a robust formal sector economy and declining formal employment thus impacts negatively on the clientele base for informal sector businesses. But it also means that informal traders for instance are unable to draw upon formal wages generated within the household to complement trading activities by way of purchasing supplies for the informal business.

The dire straits of traders is articulated clearly in the following quotation:

*''When we started, there was never a day where you would pack your stuff at the end of the day without having sold anything. But nowadays, you can spend two or three days without selling a single item. We have resorted to mixing our merchandise in the hope that something is bought. When I started selling the skin-lightening creams, I would get 100 per cent profit. If I injected \$300, I was assured of getting a profit of \$300. Today since I started selling, I have only sold a set of cups for \$6 and I only made \$1 profit. Business has really gone down at the moment and because we are so used to coming here, it has become a habit. If we could find something else to do, we would have left a long time ago. It's*

*tough. Those days [when business was good] I was a member of a round [rotating saving scheme] and was able to purchase household appliances such as televisions and kitchenware. But I cannot afford to buy those things right now. I have even withdrawn from those type of savings scheme because I am not able to raise money for that''.* (Interview 9, 10/07/2015).

The problem though not only exists for Budiriro households involved in informal goods trading but also for those providing various kinds of services in the informal economy. Budiriro informants explained that clients were no longer able to pay for services leading to a collapse of their businesses and also to their decline into further poverty:

*‘‘When we started the metal work business for instance we could make a TV stand at a cost of \$30 and sell it for \$100. For bed frames, we would make it at a cost of \$70 and sell it for \$200. I then found someone whom I trained to repair tires while I concentrated on the welding business and operated from different premises. Unfortunately, the economy became bad and it became difficult to sell the TV stands and bed frames and so I decided to go back and join the tyre repair business. I relocated the metal work business here. However, the metalwork business is slow and I spend most of the time now repairing tyres. I make just enough to survive; I make \$2 or \$3 a day from the tyre business. There is not much money circulating in the market. If the economy could improve, I would go back into the metalwork business’’* (Interview 5, 3/07/2015).

It is clear that the economic turmoil nationally has impacted directly and indirectly on the lives of Budiriro households engaged in the informal economy. Earnings and profits have, for many informal businesses, declined by up to 90 per cent, with some businesses folding completely. The most precarious and erratic forms of informal economic activity are now prevalent in Budiriro. This is taken place despite the fact that informal sector entrepreneurs have pursued a range of strategies, such as product/service diversification, to boost their businesses or to forestall a deepening decline in business activity. As indicated earlier, while dollarisation is normally associated with stabilising the national economy in Zimbabwe, its implications are not wholly positive as it has led to for instance a liquidity crisis affecting informal sector businesses.

The relative absence of money in circulation, even for low-end businesses in the informal economy, has changed consumers' spending habits as they seek for the lowest prices available on the market. With heightened competition, informal entrepreneurs in Budiriro have tended to reduce their retail prices which therefore cuts into profit margins. This also inhibits the possibility of expanding informal businesses as profits are not ploughed back into businesses. According to one respondent, in times past, she started her clothing trade business with capital to the value of US\$70. With the clothing worth US\$70 she generated a profit of US\$150 through sales, and this level of profit allowed her to start a small clothing market stall. She sold new clothes but now second-hand clothes have flooded the market in Harare. This has severely impacted on her trade: *"There are too many clothes in the market. People now prefer buying second hand clothes from bales. You can spend three months without anyone buying your new clothes. Anyone thinking of running a business, they are getting into buying and selling clothes"* (Interview 4, 3/07/2015).

Businesses in the informal sector in Budiriro tend to be increasingly demand-driven and not supply-driven, because of the over-abundance of (for example) informal traders, market-saturation (or informal economy over-crowding) and low disposable income amongst clientele; and therefore the capacity of consumers to play a role in setting the prices of goods and services (though not of course directly or intentionally) in the informal sector. Unless an informal entrepreneur is able to identify and pursue a niche market, it is simply not currently a seller's market in Harare generally and Budiriro specifically. The implosion of the formal economy (including loss of employment and a drop in real wages) has contributed to this, as it has led to an increase in informal economy participants while also leading to a decrease in purchasing power amongst informal economy clientele. High competition and low profit margins in the informal economy mean that it is not necessarily a viable alternative to formal employment.

### **5.2.5 Informalisation of the Formal Sector**

Another important way in which the economy has altered people's livelihoods relates to the informalisation of employment in the formal economy. Normally, formal sector employment is governed by recognised laws, regulations and their supporting apparatuses (North, 1990). While the informal sector consists of economic activities while occur outside the institutional

boundaries of the formal economy, informalisation is a process by which employment contracts and practices are communicated and regulated through informal often unwritten agreements and arrangements, and thus outside officially sanctioned channels (Webb et al, 2013; Helmke and Levitsky, 2004). Informalisation often relates to illegal practices and, in the case of Budiriro, informalisation did go contrary to expected standards of employment.

One example of the informalisation process was made clear by a respondent who recalled that, when the economy was hit by hyperinflation, employees would leave work for days at a time to look for additional income elsewhere. The respondent explained it in the following manner: *“Everyone was doing it; ....everyone was free to go somewhere and get some extra income and come back to work and the supervisors did not mind people going off work as long as the production line was not negatively affected”* (Interview 1, 01/07/2015). In doing so, workers would make informal arrangements with their colleagues at work so that they could cover for them in return for similar favours in future. This informalised shaping of formalised work allowed companies to avoid possibly large-scale labour revolts as workers could keep a semblance of formal employment while making (or supplementing) their living elsewhere, particularly since most companies could not afford to pay a living wage. Thus, workers sought to have one foot in both the formal sector and one foot in the informal sector as a basis for livelihood diversification.

#### **5.2.6 Economic Institutions and Livelihoods**

In addition to the factors discussed thus far, the study also revealed that economic institutional arrangements play a key role in the shaping of livelihood activities in Budiriro. According to Autio and Fu (2014), economic institutional arrangements set out and regulate the conditions for conducting business transactions within a given national economy. Where there are solid and high quality economic institutions, then operating a business becomes more straightforward and streamlined (Acs, Autio and Squerb, 2014). At the same time, strict regulations might be seen and experienced as troublesome and cumbersome, particularly for those trying to start up a business.

In this respect, respondents in the Budiriro study involved in informal economic activities described their experiences with economic institutional arrangements as bureaucratic and laced

with red-tape such that some even abandoned or avoided any efforts to formalise their income-generating activities. In this sense, they preferred to operate under the radar of the state. The following points from one focus group discussion are illustrative:

*“TT: There are a lot of legal procedures to be followed when opening up a company that make it difficult, cumbersome and costly for most people here in Budiriro to open up a company. There is what they call tax clearance; you ought to have a tax clearance form if you are to supply huge organisations.*

*KC: There is also what is called the vendor number which large supermarkets want when you are about to sell products to them. You should pay again in order to have it.*

*WD: If you happen to get all things done, operating licenses are too exorbitant again.*

*EM: You need at least \$500 to open up a new business if you are to follow the rules”*  
(Focus Group Discussion 2, 9/09/2015).

All this is further complicated by what was also said in this FGD, namely, the need for up-front funds for such charges (in addition to start-up capital for the business itself) when – simultaneously – small business owners are refused loans from mainstream financial institutions because of the lack of collateral as security.

In a separate FGD, respondents spoke not only about the costs incurred for licensing purposes, but also the bribes that are usually demanded by officials issuing the licenses as well as other forms of extraction and extortion (for example, by the police).

*“The licensing of small grocery shops should be made easier rather and much more transparent. Huge sums of money are being demanded making it very difficult to open a new legal business. In addition to the bribing that we have to do, the municipal police make expansion and formalising of our businesses impossible”* (Focus Group Discussion 1, 1/09/2015).

This corruption is complicated by other aspects of their interaction with regulatory authorities (including customs officials for cross-border traders) in combination with the overall declining economic environment:

*“The opportunities are plenty; people can cross the border to go and get wares from Zambia or South Africa for resale here in Zimbabwe but the customs officials at the border are very corrupt. They take money from you and when you come here [Budiriro] people*

*take things and promise to pay up in instalments; but it is increasingly becoming difficult for them to pay in time''* (Focus Group Discussion 2, 16/09/2015).

The economic institutional arrangements put in place by the state within Zimbabwe do not provide for a conducive business environment for lower-income households and even for official entry into business activities. The extraction of various forms of rent by state officials certainly adds to the potential burden for Budiriro residents. It is not surprising then that Budiriro households seek to operate outside the grip of state regulations by side-stepping them, thereby avoiding the time and effort (and money) involved in fulfilling and abiding by various state requirements as embodied in economic institutions. Operating beyond the regulations at least frees up money which is then directly used in the informal economic activity, including the purchase of supplies in the case of traders.

### **5.2.7 Additional Livelihood Constraints**

Lack of financial capital, which arises in part because of ongoing employment and wage challenges amongst Budiriro households, has clear implications for income-generation activities within the informal economy. Household heads thus highlighted that low levels of financial capital inhibit any capacity to expand their informal economic activities. This absence of sufficient capital relates to the survivalist character of the Budiriro informal economy, as it is marked by low-end, low-capital, low-profit businesses. This is further complicated by the problems faced in accessing loans from formal financial institutions, and the expensive and arduous task of registering a business. In the quantitative survey, close to 90 per cent of the households running an informal enterprise indicated that they faced various constraints in their operations. These constraints included lack of access to credit, lack of capital, inputs and technology, issues related to transport, access to markets, the irregular supply of inputs, strict state regulations, dwindling clientele base and bad debts amongst customers purchasing on credit. The three most important constraints were lack of credit, lack of capital and insufficient clientele base, as shown in Table 28



**Table 28: Constraints for Informal Sector Livelihoods**

Constraint	Per cent
Credit/capital	37.3
Not enough buyers	15.2
Bad debts	12.1
Regulations	12.1
Access to market facilities	10.1
Transport	5.8
Technology	3.7
Irregular supply of inputs	3.7

During the life history interviews and focus group discussions, these constraints were also highlighted. Lack of capital and lack of credit were intimately connected, as credit could not be used as source of capital for kick-starting or expanding informal businesses. To emphasise, the absence of collateral for loan security was a determining factor in this regard. Budiriro heads indicated that, unlike civil servants or those who are employed in the corporate economy and receive a salary on a regular basis, financial firms constantly stress the lack of collateral security as the basis for denying them any line of credit. Lack of access to loans is reflected in the survey data, with more than 90 per cent of those running informal businesses having no access to loans of any kind. The following comments from a FGD bring this to the fore:

*‘We cannot borrow any money because some of us are indigenous business people; money lenders do not lend us money because we do not have any collateral security and that is different from civil servants.*

*Banks cannot lend us money even under the numerous government schemes for small businesses because we just cannot fulfil the required prerequisites. In most cases they require a pay slip and other papers that we do not have. There are small money lenders in Budiriro but the way they do business and the kind of interest rates they charge are too*

*much; money should be paid back on a daily basis which is not easy for some of us. The way they do business makes us entangled to them because you will not be able to divorce yourself away from them because the interest rates are too high''* (Focus Group Discussion 1, 01/09/2015).

Hence, though informal lenders based in Budiriro are an alternative to formal financial institutions, the former charge interest rates far above the market-rate and hence are not a suitable option for low-income Budiriro households.

Because of low levels of capitalisation (and of profit) within the Budiriro informal economy, the chances of embarking on expansion of businesses is almost nil, particularly given the dire state of the national economy. Even ensuring that operational costs are met on a daily basis becomes a serious challenge. Any profit generated, which ideally should be in part ploughed back into the business, is used for consumption purposes in paying housing rent and purchasing basic household commodities. Any loan funds which may be available for the informal economy is, according to Budiriro heads, inaccessible unless the head has connections or contacts within the disbursing agency. While extremely difficult, then, there are some local Harare-based micro-finance institutions which are amenable to providing loans on a group basis to informal sector entrepreneurs including those in Budiriro. Providing loans to groups provides a form of collateral security to the micro-finance institution while ensuring a higher degree of accountability from the group members. The following points from a FGD explains the process of getting loans as a group and the key advantages for both the lender and the borrower:

*‘‘People go to a loan agent as a group and sign up to pay back the money for each other in cases of any defaulting. Money paid back to the loan agent should be paid back in full and every member of that group should make sure that the money is paid back in full by helping each other. If that money does not come, you will make sure you pay back the money with interest added. The advantage is that people push each other in order for that money to be returned back through giving each other ideas so that the money gets paid. What I have personally noticed is that you help each other through sharing business ideas.*

*What I have also noticed is that you are taught various business courses before they give you money; they cannot just give you money without giving business ideas’’* (Focus Group Discussion 1, 01/09/2015).

The micro-money lenders seek to maximise the possibilities of timeous loan repayments by the Budiro heads, and therefore their own viability, including by way of training on operating small businesses. While the impact of this on profitability of the informal sector is not clear from the study, this approach has been used with much success in smallholder agribusiness enterprises where farmers are targeted with training on business management to improve profitability of their smallholder farms (Tibbo et al., 2016). What is clearer though is that this arrangement generates to some extent social capital amongst informal economic entrepreneurs that may provide the basis for longer-term initiatives and cooperation.

Human capital in the form of low levels of educational attainment amongst household heads in Budiro also negatively affects the contemporary livelihoods of households. As noted in chapter four, only 13.4 per cent of the heads interviewed had any post-secondary education and the balance had anywhere up to and including completion of secondary school. This low level of education correlates with (and causes to some extent) the low levels of household income in Budiro and, as with elsewhere, there is a strong across generation dimension to education (in terms of both the education of parents of the heads and the education of the children of heads) (Manjengwa, 2016; World Bank, 2006). Certainly, the heads' capacity to invest in their children's human capital is minimised by the poverty experienced within the Budiro households. For example, in reflecting on his past, one head noted that:

*‘‘I would tell my father [a polygamist with more than 30 children] that I needed school fees and school shoes but, because my mother was dead, my father’s attention was dominated by his remaining wives. So what would happen is that my other siblings who had mothers would get priority from my father. My biological sisters were the ones who would make sure they provided for me; unfortunately, my father could not always be there for me. We also had a shortage of food; things would only get better when some of my biological siblings came to Harare and brought back some groceries’’* (Interview 1, 01/07/2015).

In the case of another head, childhood schooling and parents' lack of investment in education was brought to the fore vividly:

*‘‘My father was a drunkard and during that time my mother was responsible for our welfare. My father could get his money and squander it through buying beer for his friends at the local beer hall. I did not have proper clothes during my teenage years, I was*

*stigmatised and laughed at. This led to my poor grades at school. The inability of my father to seriously look after us was the causal factor of the inability of my brilliant brother to pursue school further; he could have made our family better. He tried to go back to school after securing a job but he was already married and could not go back to school''* (Interview 19, 22/07/2015).

Attending school under such dire circumstances is widely known to disable the capacity of youth in developing cognitive and non-cognitive abilities suitable for coping later in life with livelihood challenges (Dynarski, 2003; Murray, 1994; Burks et al., 2009).

### **5.2.8 Economic Decline, Social Protection and Livelihoods**

Another major influence on the livelihoods of households in Budiriro is the absence of, decline in, or even the complete disappearance of social protection for those involved in the formal economic sector. Within the formal sector, workers are entitled to social protection schemes such as pensions, severance packages, unemployment insurance and cash transfers. These schemes have the function of protecting levels of household consumption and shielding households when they experience various covariate and idiosyncratic shocks such as unemployment, illness or death within the household. As a result of the economic decline and hyperinflation between the years 2000 and 2008, respondents indicated that these entitlements often simply fell away.

For example, one Budiriro household head (Interview, 21, 28/07/2015) mentioned that upon retirement, and after working for 42 years, he did not receive his retirement benefits. When asked why he did not obtain any retirement benefits after working for such a long time, he indicated that something unknown to him happened at the company, which led to him and a number of his colleagues not getting their benefits. He said that they sought legal assistance on this matter, but to no avail. He, however, receives a monthly pension (of only \$16) from the National Social Security Authority (NSSA) which he supplements by working as a tailor and a security guard. He earns \$70 a month as a security guard, but could not gauge how much he earns as a tailor as that fluctuated according to customer demand. Illustrating the falling away of social protection, another respondent had the following experience of loss of employment and his ongoing efforts at countering the effects of this:

*“I joined a construction company as a general hand but later got promoted to a site clerk and then to a technician from 1993 and served there for about 17 years. We were into road and dam construction. The company also specialised in constructing sewer and water reticulation systems. When the company closed in 2007 we were given nothing as benefits. I started buying and selling in 2007. I started selling shoes and sandals with my friend. I then learned how to sew the shoes and sandals alone and I started selling these at the OK [shopping] complex here in Budiriro. We later started having problems with the municipal police and I relocated to Mbare but the shoe business was not that lucrative in Mbare. I started venturing into kapenta fish and I could pack kapenta and started selling kapenta. We started having problems with the municipal police and our goods could be confiscated. I jettisoned the kapenta business and started venturing into mobile vending and started selling dinner plates and coffee mugs but the wholesale price was increased and I had to leave the business and started selling belts, hats and balls” (Interview 13, 13/07/2015).*

Though in the past the option of suing a company for benefits lost may have been a viable alternative, in the hyperinflationary environment it seemed to formal sector workers that the labour laws governing the formal sector effectively had been suspended or abandoned. Even if a retirement package was forthcoming, the value of the package under hyperinflationary conditions was miniscule and did not provide any long-term post-employment household security. Either way, there were desperate attempts via the informal economy or casual employment to make ends meet under harsh circumstances. Hence, the collapse of Zimbabwe’s economy not only had a major influence on household-based livelihoods but also shaped the kinds of livelihood strategies they could pursue as alternative livelihood options.

### **5.3 Political Environment and Livelihoods in Budiriro**

Besides economic turmoil, political factors and institutions exerted a profound influence on the construction of contemporary livelihoods in Budiriro. The political dynamics have ultimately affected the choice, type and nature of livelihood activities and strategies households engage in, in order to make a living. According to Autio and Fu (2014), political institutions relate to government and state arrangements which set and regulate access to livelihood opportunities as well as the rule of law which should, while protecting property, facilitate protection also for the

marginalised and poorer sections of society. Such institutional factors should lead to societal and economic life which is not monopolised by dominant groups, whether political, economic or military elites. In the case of the Budiriro study, it was found that household livelihoods were often affected negatively by the weakening of political institutions (including the rule of law) over the years and the flagrant disregard for constitutional protections even by the ruling party and state.

### **5.3.1 Fast Track Land Reform**

Even the unconstitutional taking over of white commercial farms, which the state articulated as a pro-poor and pro-redistribution measure, had direct and indirect implications for Budiriro livelihoods. In a smaller number of cases, the effect was very direct. For example, one respondent directly linked the loss of his employment as a research assistant to the land reform programme:

*“I worked from 1989 to 1995 on a research project which was led by a Zimbabwean but involved volunteers from America including American doctors and lawyers. The research project stopped because of the land reform programme. It was affected by the political situation that was attaining at the time. Some white farmers were being murdered, and so the sponsors of that research decided to withdraw. We had to stop because we were working in the rural areas. They [project leaders] feared their volunteers and staff would be caught up in what was happening in the country at that time. ... [T]here was a lot of tension and so the research team I was working decided to leave due to concerns about their security”* (Interview 6, 8/07/2015)

Indirectly, land reform contributed to a downsizing ‘of the national (including urban) economy and the loss of employment for urban households in Harare and elsewhere. Those employed in the agro-industrial sector, either up-stream or down-stream, experienced more directly the undercutting of agricultural production on commercial farms. In this regard, one head had been employed at a company selling irrigation pipes but then lost his employment because of land reform: *“We were paid on a weekly basis and I think we were getting 80-100 dollars per week... My life changed because the money I was now getting was far much better than what I could get*

*whilst I was in Domboshava. The company closed soon after the land reform programme, in 2003” (Interview 23, 03/08/2015).*

Interviewee 23 said that, because of his employment in the agro-industry and the estimated equivalent of US\$100 he was earning, his life had improved significantly. He was able to buy cattle and some household goods (such as a kitchen unit and bed) as well as to pay part of his bride price. However, as indicated, after the fast track land reform programme was implemented in the early 2000s, the company closed down. This was a turning point in his life as his life worsened and never improved after he lost this job. Subsequently, he moved and started working at a nearby farm as a general hand and later decided to leave his job when the inflation rate had reached 217 million percent. It had simply become senseless to continue working earning an income that could not sustain him and his family. Finally, he found himself on the streets of Harare in the informal economy as a pushcart driver. The devastating ripple effects from the massive drop in agricultural production in the immediate years after fast track, and particularly given the significance of irrigation equipment to commercial farmers, were clearly evident in the life and livelihood of this Budiriro resident.

In fact, according to Chimhowu (2010), before the year 2000 the agricultural sector in Zimbabwe was the largest employer and earner of foreign currency, generating 30 per cent of formal employment inclusive of the agro-industry. Significantly, the sector accounted for between 13 and 19 per cent of the Gross Domestic Product of the country, provided 60 per cent of the raw materials for the manufacturing industry and generated between 40 to 50 per cent of the total export revenues (of which 50 percent of this came from tobacco sales). The fast track programme had mainly political and social objectives, with its implications for the agrarian and national economies not pronounced in its formulation and implementation. In an unmediated or mediated fashion, fast track was to have repercussions for the livelihood trajectories and pathways of Budiriro households, and they had to scramble to cushion these repercussions through seeking alternative livelihood options. Given though its redistributive thrust, the land reform programme did benefit those who were able to gain access to land through the programme. Thus, one respondent had mixed experiences with the land reform process. During fast track, he was able to

acquire land in Headlands (a farming area located in the Manicaland Province of Zimbabwe) where he rears livestock (cattle, sheep and goats):

*“I got an A1 farm during the government land redistribution programme in 2000. I have 33 cows. Ranching is the only activity I do.... [However], the current distortions in beef pricing is not good for business...The other thing is cattle are being sold at very low prices at government controlled Auction Markets. You can fetch as little as \$150 for a beast. This money is not enough to the family’s needs”* (Interview 10, 10/07/2015).

While this respondent was pleased that he had managed to secure land as a result of the political environment, the market dynamics at play (which, as indicated, were regulated by government) meant that he was struggling to make a living from agriculture in particular livestock rearing.

### **5.3.2 Pernicious Urban Planning and Household Livelihoods in Budiriro**

Other government policies and actions also influence people’s livelihoods in Budiriro. Where policies are pro-poor and less prohibitive, urban people are able to make a living more easily; however, when policies are not conducive to easing livelihood burdens, any ability to make a living in urban spaces becomes curtailed. In various focus group discussions and life history interviews, respondents indicated that central government and local municipal officials in Harare make their livelihood activities difficult. One head had the following to say: *“For me starting a business was not that difficult. It was after I started being a vendor that I began to have problems with the police. My goods are confiscated all the time. But I have to keep on doing this business. I have no other means for survival. I have financial problems that persist”* (Interview, 13, 13/07/2015).

Another case from the study clearly illustrates how government through policy pronouncements illegalises certain activities which were once legal; it closes down a deeply-rooted livelihood strategy which urban poor have depended upon historically. Thus one household head had been engaged in the informal public transport sector (using Peugeot 404s) and highlighted that the decision by the government to ban these cars in 1995 from the road dramatically affected his livelihood:

*“I will not mince my words on this one, but I wish the government had given us alternative projects to do when they gave that directive to ban all Peugeot 404s on the roads. I am*



*sure my life would be much better today if that had not happened. Owning and driving those cars was the direction I had taken in terms of sustaining my livelihood. But it all ended when the government gave that directive to ban the cars of the road. Today my brothers are destitute. I actually paid for their education until they went on to get their driver's licenses. Now one is selling petrol somewhere in Harare and the other is growing sugarcane for resale in Nyanga. I can tell you, if that directive had not been given, I would have been able to elevate my immediate family's livelihoods. Had the government offered us loans to purchase the approved sixteen-sitter mini buses, then I am sure things would be different for my family and me. It was just a sudden directive by the government and suddenly we had no income.... I just had to come up with another plan. I started to think about my future, how was I to survive when the time came for me to retire. It was very apparent that no one was going to look after me'' (Interview 3, 01/07/2015).*

The case of course demonstrates the importance of the informal sector in its capacity to provide employment and a livelihood to people.

However, a central state policy cascading down to urban spaces closed down a long-term viable informal economic activity (transport) in a period of heightening economic decline. The government shut down a major dimension of the public transport system in Harare, despite the fact that it was widely recognised as a key source of employment and part of the solution to the urban transport shortage (Mutizwa-Mangiza, 1995). The government had claimed that the Peugeot 404s (known colloquially as emergency taxis) were not well-maintained and were the cause of the high vehicular accident rate in urban areas. A study undertaken by Maunder and Pearce (1999) noted that the total number of reported accidents increased in Zimbabwe from 21,150 in 1992 to 38,777 in 1996, with 1,066 and 1,205 fatalities respectively. But they concluded that only 7 per cent of the accidents were due to vehicle defects, with over 80 per cent arising from driver misjudgments. A supposed attempt to decrease vehicular accidents by phasing out emergency taxis led, to the contrary, to a phasing out a crucial livelihood activity.

The ramifications for the Budiro head (quoted above) and his household were utterly devastating and he was unable to recover from this shock. His experience illuminates the findings of Baulch and Davis (2008) who established that upward and downward movements in

livelihood trajectories regularly take on different forms. In particular, upward movements are gradual and incremental, while downward movements tend to be more abrupt and jagged. In the case of this Budiriro head, his upward movement had entailed a lengthy process of exploring the transport gap through working for an employer, years of saving, a supportive employer, and supportive rural-urban linkages, all in combination with a enabling government public transport policy. The outcome was a viable and apparently secure livelihood activity. He had thus moved from being a public transit driver at a company to become an owner in his own right, able to even train his brothers and employ them. He was in the process of building a house where his family could live and also generate rental income through this. With the government's shift of policy on public transport, his processes of accumulation and his condition of security came to an abrupt and immediate end.

### **5.3.3 Operation Murambatsvina and Its Impact on Livelihood Strategies**

While policies that prohibit people from conducting business in unauthorised places, or constructing houses without seeking urban council's permission, are meant to protect the urban environment, such policies can also be detrimental to the livelihoods of poor people if these are indiscriminately applied.

For example, a respondent named Patrick (Interview 18, 20/08/2015) who owned a barber shop in Harare before Operation *Murambatsvina* (Restore Order) had expanded his barbershop into a saloon and was able to pay his house rent, purchase a bed and a wardrobe, and pay school fees for his sibling. He invested his savings from this effort into equipment and other necessities for his saloon. His business expanded and he was able to maintain his client base. After five years of business growth, in 2005 his building was demolished by Operation *Murambatsvina* because it had been constructed without the necessary permission and approval from the city council. After the demolition, he sold his equipment and downgraded his operation from a salon which employed other people to an individually-run barber shop; from working in a saloon with brick walls and a roof to operating from a shack made of cardboard boxes adjacent to a busy minibus terminal in Budiriro. The shop near the terminal was meant to enable him to obtain as many walk-by customers as possible. The makeshift cardboard shelter was also meant to protect him against losses similar to those he incurred if an operation such as Operation Restore Order was

launched again. Ten years after the operation, Patrick was simply unable to recover from the effects of the operation. Policies such as Operation *Murambatsvina*, which are supposedly designed to maintain orderliness and cleanliness, may have unintended longer-term consequences. In the case of Patrick, he was not prepared to reinvest in fixed structures and expand his business because of fears concerning losses arising from future state ‘urban renewal’ programmes.

Operation *Murambatsvina* also resulted in the demolition of houses which were not only places of accommodation for many renting households but also a major source of income for some urban households as illustrated in the case below:

*“The residential stand that I owned was quite big. So I built an eight-roomed house. I was now staying in the rural areas and I would ask my children to collect rentals from my lodgers every month-end. After collecting the rentals, I would ask my children to buy me groceries and the remainder of the money went towards my children’s school fees. I then built an additional eight rooms, and unfortunately those extra rooms were not on the original plan. I guess they were illegal. Then came “Murambatsvina”. The rooms were demolished and this all happened when I was now stationed at my rural home. When the news got to me, I came to Harare to see the damage for myself. I could not just believe my eyes when I saw the eight-roomed house now turned into rubble. The only thing that was salvaged was the roofing material. This really hurt me. I was so hurt, I went back to my rural home and never set foot in Harare for almost two and half years. I eventually came back to Harare after that long absence. I told myself I just had to move on. So I started thinking of a way forward. Once again, I got a job as a combi [sixteen-sitter minibus] driver and I worked for about one and half years. When I had accumulated over \$2,500, I bought bricks and extended the main house and used the roofing material which I had salvaged from the demolished house. Right now, the extended house has 16 rooms. But I can tell you, when they demolished that extra house, it was such a huge setback for me”.*

(Interview 3, 1/07/2015)

In this particular case, and unlike Patrick in the case of his informal business, the house-owner was prepared to reinvest in his rental accommodation. But, in many different ways, Budiriro

households lost fixed structures from the operation such that savings-based investments were lost in the process.

In the qualitative dimension of the Budiro study, it became evident that Operation *Murambatsvina* had affected all respondents: either directly by losing their houses or businesses to demolition or, less directly, by having their rent increased (because of rental shortages) or living in overcrowded conditions caused by the demolitions that took place. The declining economy also made it more difficult for Budiro heads to cope with – or recover from – the devastation brought about through Operation Restore Order. When the operation was implemented, employment opportunities within the formal sector were scarce and accommodation available in officially recognised low-income housing was not sufficient to satisfy the demand. Furthermore, as noted, past traumatic events inhibit at times the willingness to re-invest in certain livelihood activities, or they at least structure the specific character of the livelihood activity pursued (such as in the case of Patrick) because of uncertainties regarding the immediate or long-term future.

Operation Restore Order is a broader example of a contact point between state policy implementation and household-based livelihood trajectories under conditions of urban poverty. Under the guise of order and orderliness, the Zimbabwean state committed an act of urbicide (Beall and Fox, 2009). Urbicide is a term used to refer to deliberate efforts such as pernicious urban planning, forced evictions, involuntary resettlement and deliberate destruction of urban infrastructures for political purposes and, in the process, depriving people of even the basic benefits of urban life (Beall and Fox, 2009). Certain, the ramifications for Budiro households were immense.

#### **5.3.4 Role of Crony Entrepreneurship in Livelihood Activities**

A key influence in the construction of livelihoods that emerged from FGDs and life history interviews is that of crony entrepreneurship. Crony entrepreneurship is whereby individuals and household heads leverage their political connections to monopolise opportunities as opposed to market entrepreneurship (Holcombe, 2002). In Budiro, being affiliated to a political party (including to key influential political figures within national and local party structures) and to

state officials, or ‘strong men’ (Banks, 2015) who have the power to allocate spaces, services and other resources for a person to operate a business or livelihood activity, seems to be of some significance. These kinds of clientelistic relationship are advantageous to those who possess political connections, while also disadvantaging those that do not have them. Thus, this type of social (or specifically, political) capital is in many cases either an enabler or a constraint with reference to livelihood construction in Budiriro. Budiriro heads claimed that, if their business was to grow, connections to local political party circles within Budiriro were a key necessity. Additionally, if one is not affiliated to the ruling political party (ZANU-PF), then livelihood chances are diminished. Respondents in a FGD had the following to say about making a living in Budiriro and being politically connected:

*“Political parties are other organisations that are inimical to business growth. If you are not politically connected you cannot have access to space to operate from; you can be evicted anytime from where you will be doing business. There were mosquito nets that were issued; those who were politically affiliated had access to them only”* (Focus Group Discussion 1, 9/09/2015).

Even the most basic of necessities for remaining healthy can be used as a political bargaining tool, as in the case of the mosquito nets, such that political affiliation becomes intertwined with bodily health.

People in Budiriro declare publically their affiliation to certain political parties as a way to gain leverage and access to resources. In this case, the act of belonging to a political party becomes a livelihood strategy. One respondent highlighted the overall relationship which seems to exist between livelihood activities and political party affiliation in this way:

*“The national youth service for instance was so partisan and people who went there were taught to be ZANU-PF members. I think it was not supposed to be like that. People who were chosen to go there were chosen on partisan lines. People who were given loans were given on partisan lines and there were no follow-ups. Some could buy cars using that money instead of doing national projects benefitting the nation. I applied for a loan and it all failed maybe because I did not have a proper political connection. Bribes are the slogan of today and I think that needs to change”* (Interview 27, 11/08/2015).

As well, in as much as insufficient housing can be a negative livelihood factor, for those individuals who are well placed (with the 'right' amount of social and political capital), such a shortage can result in opportunities. In the following quote from the same focus group discussion, respondents highlighted this in a multiplicity of ways with regard to the establishment of housing cooperatives and businesses:

*“There is just chaos because cooperatives are just allocating land wherever they deem necessary; some of the ground which has been initially set aside for schools and churches can be allocated to various people and it is very confusing. Trees are being cut down to get firewood which is sold to people and it is very chaotic. There are no recreational facilities, all the space has been swallowed up and it is just confusing. Some houses are being built in wetlands and you tend to wonder what the long-term effects of this are. Housing cooperatives are polarising the area because most cooperatives are politically affiliated. If you are politically connected you have a very good chance of getting space for business operations than those who are not politically connected. I was sad to see a huge refuse bin removed from where it used to be and dumped near homes and the space where the bin was supposed to be was taken for car park purposes”* (Focus Group Discussion 1, 01/09/2015).

Through the quotations, Budiriro heads are expressing the view that town planning principles and laws in Harare are being openly flouted (hence, their confusion) and that it is apparent that individuals who have political capital tend to gain in situations of low supply of housing stands and business sites. Another respondent neatly summarised the role of these relationships in shaping livelihoods by saying: *“Others are getting into politics as well and you can actually earn a living through politics as well; you can get into politics and start a community-based project with a political backing. Most home industries are politically affiliated* (Focus Group Discussion 3, 16/09/2015). This of course implies that those supporting in particular the ruling party are not necessarily doing so out of deep loyalty but are using the party tactically for personal gain. Harare city is controlled officially by the MDC at all levels but, when it comes to access to resources for livelihoods (such as business space protection from police harassment), a strong affiliation to the ruling ZANU-PF party is of some significance. In this sense, being known as a member of the MDC inhibits the use of political capital.

#### 5.4 Intersection of Economic and Political Institutions in the Production of Livelihoods

As stated earlier, Budiriro came about through a partnership of the World Bank, central government and local government of Zimbabwe, and with the aid of local financial institutions. The purpose of this partnership was to provide affordable accommodation to low-income households. Through the site-and-service scheme, low-income earners were provided with an affordable mortgage which would enable them to purchase land and (through the local authority) build a house which would be in line with the various rules and regulations which govern physical structures such as houses. In this regard, a respondent in a FGD reflected on the formation of Budiriro but also the problems which ensued:

*“Budiriro was founded in 1987 with about 1,000 households. The people who started living in Budiriro were lodgers in other places like Highfields, Kambuzuma and Glenview [nearby low-income areas]. The people were given stands because they worked for companies. Unfortunately, most of the companies retrenched them. ... [T]he programme did not reach its intended heights; for instance, as the population in this area grew, water became scarce. At first the council would provide water but they eventually stopped and this led to the outbreak of cholera in 2008”* (Focus Group Discussion 3, 16/09/2015).

In the qualitative study, some respondents stated that they did manage to secure finance which then enabled them to purchase land as well build a house, as noted in the following quote: *“We managed to get the house, through my husband’s company. He had registered for it through the company he was working for. We were so lucky, we were among eight who were selected for the residential plots in Budiriro out of 400 who had applied* (Interview 11, 11/07/2015). Another respondent (Interview 21, 28/07/2015) who managed to secure a house in Budiriro in 1995 through the private-public partnership indicated that he was able to pay back the mortgage so as to become a full owner of his house.

This partnership, based on a coming together of political and economic institutions, seemingly had the capacity to bring about positive benefits for low-income residents in Harare, including addressing structural barriers to housing and facilitating house ownership and all the advantages which comes with it. High-quality and well-managed institutional arrangements are crucial in this respect. In practice, though, problems arise and the inadequacies of such schemes (by-themselves) become visible as expressed in livelihood incapacities. This is demonstrated in the

case of Interviewee 21. In spite of owning a house and having reached retirement age, he still had to work (as a security guard and day-time tailor) to make a living if only because upon retirement (after 42 years of service) he had lost his pension. When employed in the formal economy, he was unable to be promoted due to his lack of appropriate educational qualifications. He did attend ‘night school’ during this period but eventually dropped out because he could not afford the costs involved with participating in the government’s adult education programme. ‘Night school’ (as it was nicknamed) was a government adult education and literacy programme which aimed to provide education to every adult who had minimal educational opportunities before the country’s independence in 1980 (Midzi, 2001).

While owning a house was a positive development (including allowing for house rentals), it was not able to lift this particular household head (and many other Budiro heads in this study) out of poverty. This demonstrates the importance of designing multi-sectorial economic and social policies which also focus on employment creation and enabling informal sector activities, and strengthen local state capacity to ensure that infrastructure is developed and maintained.

### **5.5 Gender and Livelihoods**

Gender is an important factor shaping the construction of livelihood strategies in Budiro, as it is elsewhere (Ellis, 2000). Gender refers to the socially-defined roles of men and women, and it is rooted in systems and practices of patriarchy. Patriarchy might entail for example the partial or total prohibition of women working outside the home (such that they are tied to the domestic sphere), women’s entry into the labour market within primarily disadvantaged (or secondary) segments of the market; the dominance of men in household decision-making; and prioritising boys over girls when it comes to accessing education. In the case of Zimbabwe, women are excluded regularly from accessing key resources necessary for the expansion of their capabilities and enhancing their lives and livelihoods. These patriarchal arrangements, leading to various forms of gender-based inequality, are deeply embedded in Zimbabwean cultures (Mbanje and Chikanya, 2009). These inequalities are also rooted in the history of colonialism in Zimbabwe, during which white settlers required men to work in the newly-created mines, farms and towns while women remained in the Native Reserves.



In line with expected gender norms and ideals related to being a wife in Zimbabwe, some women in Budiriro noted that they had to stop working or change their employment when they got married. One woman mentioned that she left her job sometime after they got married to each other in another town as her husband had decided to move to Harare in 2007 and, since then, she has not managed to find work (in Harare). Another woman who had worked as a storekeeper and earned enough to take care of herself, spoke about ending her employment when she got married. Now she sells snacks at a roadside market in Budiriro. A particularly interesting case however is that of Respondent 8. Initially, she had succumbed to pressure from her new husband to stop working; but she eventually went contrary to the expectations of her husband's family and managed subsequently to engage at least in the informal sector:

*‘‘I got married in 2000 and in 2001 I stopped working. We lived with my mother-in-law in Kuwadzana. His family discouraged him from allowing me to go to work. I was expected to go and live in the rural areas. At first I tried to resist, but after getting advice from others, I decided to quit. I however did not want to go to the rural areas. I then used my terminal benefits to get a passport. I wanted to join my sisters as a cross-border [trader]. They knew if I worked, this would mean staying in Harare and not going to the rural areas. They believe a wife should live in the rural areas and the husband only visits you during month-ends after getting a salary. To them a wife should be stationed in the rural areas and is tasked with ploughing the fields and be in charge of the family livestock. My husband is the second born in his family; his brother's wife leads that rural home lifestyle. So this is what was expected of me. Due to pressure from my husband's family we decided to move from Kuwadzana to Budiriro. My husband was not in support of me moving to the rural areas, but he could not openly defy his parents. His family was not happy when we announced that we were relocating. After a while my husband told me he was no longer able to pay for rentals. In my mind I knew it was because he probably wanted to go back to his mother's house. I decided to go to Zambia to buy and sell goods’’ (Interview 8, 8/08/2015).*

In this particular case, the woman seemed to have the reluctant support of her husband in going against patriarchal norms, with the older in-laws being the prime patriarchal backers. As well, it became apparent in the Budiriro study that gender ideals and practices are increasingly being challenged by the younger generation of women as they express their agency in seeking to earn

their own living even independent of their husbands. The relational dimension of livelihood construction, with specific reference to men-women relationships, is abundantly clear in this regard (Dijk, 2011). Gendered relations, though constrained by patriarchy, are often negotiated at household level as both husband and wife ‘negotiate’ their way through the marital relationship.

Most Budiriro women who left formal jobs due to pressure from their husbands or husband’s relatives ended up working in the informal sector. In many cases, married women who were working often declared that they were merely supplementing their husband’s income, even when they were earning more money than their husband and providing more financial support to their household. As one women put it: *“This is just to supplement. My husband is going to work but he is not getting a sufficient salary for our needs; plus, he works for the Harare city council and they have gone seven months without being paid”* (Interview 20, 24/07/2015). In another case, a woman who owned and operated a hair salon in Budiriro stated that she had started the business because she felt that she should be helping her husband to earn money and look after the family: *“My husband gave it to me. I would go to Mozambique to buy a bale of clothes and come to resell here”* (Interview 24, 5/08/2015).

It is important to note that the state of the national economy in Zimbabwe not only shaped livelihoods per se but also seemed to influence the specific character of gender roles and expectations. In other words, there was a temporal dimension to patriarchal relations contingent upon economic changes. For example, women from focus group discussions indicated that, when the economy was performing well, husbands (and men in general) expected their wives to be at home taking care of household domestic duties. However, with the economic turmoil nationally, demanding women to dominate the private sphere while men continue to dominate the public sphere (including the economy) has become less viable when considering the well-being of Budiriro households. This alternation in expectations and practices for men and women when it comes to livelihoods was explained in a FGD in the following manner:

*“During those days, people were employed and if my husband would see me setting up shelves to sell goods [musika] in front of the gate he would be infuriated, because it was shameful to him. We had everything we needed, we used to go shopping, and we never had problems”* (Focus Group Discussion 1, 01/09/2015).

The public display of women's capacity to engage meaningfully in livelihoods is normally understood by men as a challenge to their masculinity and masculine roles as provider. For husbands, it was simply unacceptable that their wives should be working. But the economic decline appeared to trump patriarchal pride, at least as a temporary aberration from long-held patriarchal norms.

It is thus increasingly accepted by men, though perhaps not normatively, for women to be involved in income-generating activities and work to support the household. Men may simply be complying with the new arrangement because of the dire economic circumstances. One female respondent mentioned that her husband is working in the construction industry. But she has to use the money she receives from her small informal business to support the household because of the irregularity with which her husband is paid:

*“My husband works for a construction company; he hardly gets paid on time and we end up using the profit that I secure from my selling. This has been a setback for me. We are using the money that I realise from selling for our upkeep. This is the major challenge that has affected my business”* (Interview 4, 3/07/2015).

Involvement of women in income-generation to supplement household income in effect means that their informal economic activities are unable to expand because any profit generated is used for household consumption needs rather than for reinvestment in the business.

Finally, traditionally, it was considered as an embarrassment for a man to be directly involved in certain informal sector businesses such as petty trading. With the economic downturn, however, these activities are generally becoming more common and even acceptable among men. This was illustrated by respondent 25:

*“So I had to quit and venture into vending. I sold my wardrobe and used the money to start the vending business. I used to hate selling in public. I was so shy. So what I used to do was to horde goods from wholesalers and let my wife sell the goods. But now I have since joined in because it's not every day that you go and horde goods plus it's now normal”* (Interview 25, 06/08/2015).

Thus, because of increased economic hardships, men are also venturing into activities that were the preserve of women, and they have to find a way to cope and eke out a living in formally women's domains and to deal with any embarrassment this may cause.

It is not clear, however, from the results of the study whether women's involvement in income-generation and providing economically for the household has increased their decision-making power within the household. Hence, it remains unclear whether the financial capital generated by women translates into enhanced decision-making powers within the household for women, or whether men continue to make key decisions pertaining to (for example) consumption expenditure.

### **5.6 Kinship Relations and Livelihood Construction**

Kinship relations exert an important influence on the development of contemporary livelihood patterns. The evidence from the Budiriro study demonstrates that kinship relations though are Janus-faced. In some cases, kinship relations are able to play a facilitator role in improving and maintaining the well-being of individuals and households while, in other cases, the networks play a disabling role in the shaping and construction of sustainable livelihoods.

The networks can assist people in finding jobs and are often also conduits of information regarding where livelihood opportunities exist, as illustrated by the case of Respondent 6:

*“When I wrote my ‘O’ Level examinations in 1988, it was on 27 June 1989, a nephew of mine told me there was an opening at the Ministry of Health. There was a group of Americans who were in the country carrying out some research and they wanted interpreters. I went for the interview; there were 21 of us. The interview was all about one's life history. Just like what we are discussing right now. I got the job because I just told them exactly what I am telling you right now, my life history as it is. But others chose to talk about their father's business, etc., and this is not what the Americans were interested in and so they did not pass the interview”* (Interview 6, 08/07/2015).

This case (of a man named Newton) adds weight to Filmer and Fox's (2014) argument that, in sub-Saharan Africa, kinship relations (and as well church members, friends and ethnic networks, they claim) play a major role in finding employment in the private and public sectors. This also

demonstrates the potential of social capital being converting into other forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1985).

The following case of Malcom, Respondent 19, further shows the role that kinship networks can play in mitigating covariate shocks such as drought:

*“After finishing Form Four, I started farming and a poultry project. I had always been interested in agriculture because I was good at the subject during my secondary school years. I was however diverted by drought of 1991 and 1992. In fact, my crops did not reach maturity. I then decided to move to Gweru. This is where I first of all started looking for a job. Before moving to Gweru I wanted to go to Masvingo where my uncle owned a house but his son also has a house in Gweru. When I met him at my other uncle’s funeral, he advised me against going to Masvingo because he said that there were not many industries there and suggested that I go to Gweru instead. I followed his advice and managed to get jobs in Gweru. When I was in Gweru I saved money from the various temporary jobs I was doing. I was working at Lions Maid [ice cream company], and also used to offload glasses brought from Zimglass and my uncle used to work there. There was always loading and offloading; at Zimcast, we loaded and offloaded cast iron to be transported to Zisco for further processing”* (Interview 19, 22/07/2015).

Though agriculture was the preferred livelihood option for this Budiriro resident, it is clear that pursuing an alternative livelihood activity (notably formal employment) was almost totally dependent upon information and even advice travelling through informal kinship networks across localities and the connections which kin had established already in the formal economy.

Further validating the facilitating role of kinship networks, the following case indicates that kinship relations can support the construction of livelihoods in times of idiosyncratic events as well, such as death. The following quote highlights this:

*“My mother passed away when I was just a baby so my maternal relatives took me with them. So I grew up with them. I was never close to my father. He is also now dead but to be honest with you, my mother’s death did not affect me. My maternal relatives went out of their way and in the process spoiled me. I have heard people talk about hardships after*

*their mothers or one of their parents dying, in my case it was different, and I was actually spoiled. My maternal grandparents were so protective of me; no one was allowed to even lay a finger on me''* (Interview 9, 10/07/2015).

Though this respondent (Mrs. Lacresha) was young at the age of the death of her mother, the stable and secure environment enhanced her livelihood possibilities in the future. Mrs. Lacresha's case also illustrates how kin had been critical in supporting a woman after her husband's death. Respondent 9 thus emphasised:

*''When my husband passed away, I was not working at the time. I then moved to my husband's rural home in Mt Darwin. I stayed there for a while before moving in with my mother's last surviving sister in Chegutu. I lived with her for some time. I then decided to move on and look for something to do. My brother gave me money to get a passport and start a business. After which I started to go outside the country to buy and sell goods''* (Interview 9, 10/07/2015).

The cited cases of Newton, Malcom and Mrs. Lacresha show that kinship relations are an important component in building livelihoods and supporting individuals at times of shocks which are both covariate and idiosyncratic in character. Kin act not just as a safety-net for many people in Budiriro in case of crisis events or shocks that have the potential of disrupting people's livelihoods negatively, but also as supporting pillars in the development of youth into responsible adults. Importantly, these kinship networks transcend the locality of Budiriro and are in effect country-wide. This brings to the fore the across-space or multi-spatial scale of livelihood construction, besides of course the temporal depth to livelihood patterns and trajectories. It is also possible that livelihood stability for Budiriro households is structured at least in part by the density and intensity of the kinship networks in which they are embedded, though the study is not able to address this issue.

In this respect, it is important to note that kinship networks also play a negative or disabling role in building and shaping livelihoods, even to the extent that they can place a household or individual within a position which does not allow for the accumulation of necessary capital and

resources (Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993). The following case of Respondent 4, who at one time stayed with an aunt and uncle, is illustrative:

*“There was a time when I was in Form Two, my uncle almost raped me. After that I was no longer in good books with him, my aunt and all the other relatives who knew about the issue. My living conditions changed; staying there was no longer comfortable for me since I had disclosed to my aunt that my uncle had attempted to rape me. He and his wife no longer wanted me to stay with them. They started ill-treating me and my stay there was no longer bearable as it was evident my presence was no longer wanted. What really happened was that my uncle came home around 11pm. I used to sleep late because I was studying. So he came into my bedroom stark naked. My heart skipped; I had never been in that situation before. He just stood by my bedside. I then asked him what he was doing in my room with no clothes on. I told him in no uncertain terms, that if he raped me, my aunt would come back from her trip and find him in jail. He then ran away. The following day, he went to work and came back with all sorts of presents to buy my silence. However, I could not keep what had happened to myself. When my aunt come back from her trip to South Africa I told her everything that had happened which led to them arguing over the matter. A few days’ later, relatives were brought in to discuss the matter but after that meeting, no one liked me. I could tell they no longer wanted me in their home. My aunt could not chase me away, but you could tell her husband no longer wanted me there”*  
(Interview 4, 03/07/2015).

In the case of Respondent 4, the death of her father and the subsequent move to her father’s sister’s homestead exposed her to potential child sexual abuse. At times, kinship networks can become highly protective of some members at the expense of others, almost in the form of a laager to prevent any unwelcome intrusions which may disrupt the overall well-being and good-standing of the network. Respondent 4’s education suffered terribly because of this attempted rape incident and subsequent trauma, which impacted on her livelihood possibilities in future. She never received any kinship support in seeking employment in later years.

A similar case is that of Respondent 24 and her brother, who were both treated badly by being over-worked as children without being permitted – by an uncle – to go to school. This took place

to such an extent that, after investigations by the Ministry of Child and Social Welfare, they were transferred to the custody to an orphanage:

*“After my mother passed away we started living with my father’s relatives. Life at my uncle’s homestead [father’s brother] was difficult. We were mistreated and could do jobs which were not supposed to be done by us as children. We were just not free at that homestead, we were literally abused. When then got in contact with Childline, an organisation that helps children in need. After we called Childline, the police came and took us to the Children’s Home in Masvingo”* (Interview 24, 05/08/2015).

After Mary (Respondent 24) moved to the children’s home, her life improved and she was able to attend school. Kin networks hence can be deeply detrimental and, in Mary’s case, state intervention was necessary to address the problems emanating from within the kinship network.

Thus kinship relations can play a negative or positive role in the building of livelihoods. Normally, however, these relations are guided by certain well-known and strongly-held cultural norms and beliefs which, if not conformed to, may exhibit hysteresis on the livelihood trajectories of individuals and households. That is, when an event may resonate through time and sometimes across generations even when the event itself has long passed (Riggs, 2017). Going contrary to cultural arrangements embedded in kinship networks raises massive challenges for the person bucking the cultural system, and affects his or her life-course permanently. For example, in the case of Respondent 4, when her father died she explained that her mother was supposed to be remarried to her father’s brother in line with (patriarchal) ‘African culture’. Her mother was not pleased with this arrangement and subsequently refused to get remarried to her brother-in-law. For respondent 4, the unfortunate event of her father’s passing away was when all her problems began. In the following quote, she explains the death and the consequences of her father’s death:

*“I would say from 1991, when my father passed away in 1991, me and my siblings were all still young. My mother was young and there were squabbles between my mother and my late father’s brothers. You know in the African culture when your husband dies and you are still young, one of your husband’s brothers takes over; you become his wife. My mother was not comfortable with this arrangement and so she was asked to leave the*



*family. She also asked to leave all of us behind. So, my siblings and I were distributed among my father's relatives. This was a very difficult time for me because being looked after by someone who is not your biological mother has its challenges''* (Interview 4, 3/07/2015).

Respondent 4's custody was given to her father's sister (or aunt) who owned a house in one of the high-income areas of Harare known as Borrowdale Brooke, and she lived there for the rest of her primary and secondary school years. Living with her aunt was difficult because she was regularly expelled from class by the school administration due to arrears in her tuition fees. In other instances, she would be sent back home for not wearing the correct school uniform or appropriate school shoes. When she told her aunt the reason why she had been sent home from school, her aunt's response was: *"Shoes do not attend school, but the person is the one who attends school"*. Her difficulties were further exacerbated by the fact that she was not allowed to see her mother by her aunt, whom Respondent 4 thinks would have taken better care of her. She expressed:

*"You know being brought up by your biological parent is different from being brought up by relatives. I believe you get more attention from your parents whereas when relatives bring you up, you are not even free to express your thoughts or feelings. You live in constant fear. There are challenges that one faces in life and you cannot freely discuss these with guardian relatives''* (Interview 4, 3/07/2015).

She explained that the reason why she was not allowed to communicate or interact with her mother was that the mother would poison her (respondent 4) and her siblings. As a result, she never communicated with or visited her mother until she had completed secondary school, even though her mother was alive. Catherine eventually did live with her mother as an adult. This was however for a short period before she got married. The implications of all this for the life of Catherine (Respondent 4) are quite vivid and depressing. Because kinship relations in Zimbabwe tend to be intertwined with deep cultural norms and practices, culture is regularly the overriding factor in shaping and setting the terms and conditions of any kin relationships. Not abiding to cultural history might mean exclusion in part or all together from the kinship space, leading to the turmoil experienced by Catherine and no doubt her mother as well.

Kinship relationships, though involving ties through blood, are necessarily also framed by trust. Unless trust has been developed and sustained over years, kinship relations can entail high degrees of selfishness and personal enmity which might compromise livelihoods. For instance, one of the Budiriro heads alleged that the uncle with whom he was residing had given him accommodation, food and other necessities when he migrated from the rural areas, but then stole money from him as a result of debt. This led to an altercation that resulted in the respondent quitting his job and moving back to the rural areas. He explained it this way:

*“My aim was to change my life for the better when I left for Gweru. I used to save some money from the temporary work I was doing but my money was stolen [by my uncle] and we had arguments and I felt I should leave. I later understood that my uncle was into serious debt. I am sure he used to borrow money from people and could not pay back; he then took my money from where I used to keep it. We had an argument over this and ultimately I was forced to leave Gweru for my rural home. We reconciled later”* (Interview 19, 22/07/2015).

In this particular example, the loss of trust was temporary. As a general tendency, there are ebbs and flows in kinship relationships. The positive or negative character of a particular set of relationships may be subject to change and thus vary across time, such that (for instance) what was positive at one moment may make a turn for the worse later. Either way, kin relationships do bear directly or indirectly on the lives of Budiriro residents and they structure the potential for, and kinds of, livelihood activities pursued.

### **5.7 Household Characteristics and Internal Household Dynamics**

Household characteristics, such as household size, household structure and life cycle of the household, are important variables pertinent to the construction of livelihoods in Budiriro. These characteristics have an effect on the types of assets accessed and possessed by households as well as on the livelihood activities household heads adopt.

For example, within this study, the case of Respondent 1 (Daniel) illustrates how household sizes contribute to the shaping of livelihood strategies adopted by households. Respondent 1 grew up with an estimated 30 siblings under a polygamous arrangement in the rural areas of Ziyambe in Hwedza (within the Mashonaland East Province). He highlighted that he had to leave school

earlier than he would have wanted. When Daniel was four years old, his mother died and he was left in the care of his older sister (who, herself, was quite young). At the stage that he became of school-going age, his father was still able to provide for him and his siblings with regard to school fees. School fees would be paid annually after the household's crops were harvested and sold. But access to sufficient food became a serious problem, with food shortages often existing. A major advantage of rural schools at the time (as Respondent 1 explained) was that schools would not turn away children for not paying school fees and send them back home. Thus, even when there was a shortfall in the payment of school fees, Respondent 1 and his siblings were still able to attend school. As his father got older, though, the household's farming activities that used to support the family started to decline. At the age of 14, Daniel had to drop out of school because he did not have the school fees and could not raise the examination fees for his Zimbabwe Junior Certificate (ZJC). Consequently, he did not write the National Junior Certificate Examinations.

Upon realising that Respondent 1 had dropped out of school, one of his half-sisters within the polygamous family decided to assist him in attending school. The half-sister was running a bar in the township in Ziyambe in Hwedza and decided to employ him as a bartender instead of hiring an outsider. This would enable Daniel to complete secondary school. The arrangement was that Daniel would go to school during the day and then work during the night at the bar. He explained to the researcher how he got to work as a bartender at the age of 14 in Ziyambe rural area in Hwedza:

*‘‘My half-sister was the owner of the shop. She is the one who felt sorry for my plight and organised for me to work towards my school fees since our father was no longer able to pay for my fees. Instead of paying for someone to work at the shop and bar, she offered me the opportunity to work there while attending school during the day. We had a discussion, where she told me that she felt that it was better for me to attain some level of education rather than be a school drop-out. She asked me if I was interested in the arrangement whereby she would pay for my fees and general upkeep and without hesitation, I agreed. So, she is the one who was paying for my school fees [from Form Two to Four] in exchange of the work I was doing at the shop’’ (Interview 1, 01/07/2015).*

While this arrangement was meant to assist Daniel to return to school, in practice it did not change his situation as far as school was concerned. The schedule was such that he would attend school during the day and at four o'clock in the afternoon go home and change his uniform to work at the bar. The bar would close between ten and eleven at night. He then had to rise early, take a bath and go to school in the morning. He did this double shift (school and work) until he wrote his final examinations to complete secondary school. I asked him if he passed these examinations, and he said he did not manage to pass any of the eight subjects for which he sat. Daniel explained that due to tiredness he would not undertake any school-related studying until he was in class the next morning. During school-time, he would find himself dozing off in class, to the extent that one of his teachers noticed this and asked him why he was always sleeping in class. He indicated that in some cases the moment he sat down in class he went to sleep. He never told his teachers why he was sleeping until one day a teacher came to the bar and found Daniel working there. Daniel's half-sister thought that employing his step-brother would allow him to reintegrate into school. However, a heavy school schedule combined with working in a bar and eventually took its toll and contributed to the shaping of his livelihood trajectory. Daniel is now a trader of second-hand household furniture stationed close to the Budiro OK Shopping Complex.

Another case which highlights the influence of household characteristics on the construction of livelihoods in Budiro is that of Respondent 7 (Lisa). When interviewed, Lisa was 38 years old and a vendor selling various goods which included clothing, kitchen ware and children's toys. She decided to leave school after failing two O level subjects, rather than rewrite these subjects. This was despite the fact that completing these two subjects would give her 5 O level subjects, which is the prescribed minimum usually recommended and if the person is to proceed into other areas of study or become employed. She explained her decision in the following manner:

*"I didn't do well, I only passed three subjects in 1994 but I couldn't rewrite the other two subjects because I had to give my younger siblings a chance to also go to school. I started working in the hope of raising money so I could supplement my failed courses. Unfortunately, this did not happen. So I then decided to do a cutting and designing course"* (Interview 7, 08/07/2015).

In Lisa's case, the most logical and 'moral' thing to do after she failed to pass 5 O Level subjects in one sitting was to leave school because she felt she had had her chance to sit, write and pass the required 5 O Level subjects. For her, deciding to repeat – with no guarantee that she would do well in the re-sit – meant draining resources which could be directed to the welfare of her younger siblings who may have had greater potential than her.

Another key influence observed within this study is related to what Bertrand et al. (2013) refer to as youth myopia. Youth myopia is a term used to describe situations of near-sightedness where youth discount the future in making decisions in the present, decisions which in hindsight they see as deeply problematic and would not make in the future. For example, one of the respondents (Respondent 17) – who was a street-side shoe cobbler stationed in Budiriro – indicated that in his adolescence he decided to drop out of school and focus on serving 'God'. At that time his father had begun to face financial challenges, and his own needs for education and clothes became less prioritised without the household given that younger siblings required significant attention and resources. The financial challenges were further compounded by his father's alcoholic behaviour. Thus, when he was in his second year (Form Two) of secondary school, he decided to drop out of school. In committing more of the household resources to caring for the younger siblings, his father (and mother) were indifferent about him dropping out of school or even favourably disposed because it meant less school fees to be paid. This is how he explained it:

*“When I was in form two, my friend quit school because he was deep into church. I felt I needed to join him so that I could also serve God. My parents were actually happy to see me quit school; at that time, they were pressed with school fees and they actually said that it was one burden off their shoulders. I regret that decision though. I should not have quit school, I should have carried on maybe I would have been somewhere and I could have had a good job in the offices in town. And because I left school early I also married early. That's why I have six children”* (Interview 17, 17/07/2015).

This case (of Munemo) illustrates how the lack of parental guidance under dire economic circumstances leads at times to decisions by young people which have unintended negative consequences beyond their initial comprehension (World Bank, 2006). The implications of such decisions simply cannot be reversed.

## **5.8 Conclusion**

The purpose of this chapter was to highlight the contemporary and historical factors that have shaped, directed and aided the construction of the livelihood strategies of households in Budiro. It is clear that a diverse array of processes and factors (economic, political and cultural) structure and activate the 'field' in which urban livelihoods of Budiro exist. This is a field characterised by deprivation and marginalisation in the context of multiple and shifting political and economic crises. It is also a field which, despite changes over time, remains remarkably stable in its crucial political and economic factors and to which households in Budiro have become accustomed. Households exist within this urban livelihood field and drawn upon available assets in a manner which does not seek to challenge or dismantle this field; rather, they work within it and, if possible, 'work it' to their best advantage. The ways in which households have sought to do this over time is examined more fully in the next chapter (Chapter Six) as the focus now becomes strongly diachronic in seeking to identify possible livelihood pathways and, more broadly, the ups and downs of turbulent Budiro livelihoods over a number of decades.

## **CHAPTER SIX: HOUSEHOLD LIVELIHOOD TRAJECTORIES IN BUDIRO**

### **6.1 Introduction**

The previous empirical chapters focused on the description, examination and analysis of the various livelihood strategies in which households in Budiro engage in order to make a living, including the many challenges faced by Budiro households. In doing so, they sought to show diversity between the sampled households including in terms of wealth categories. Even though Budiro is a low-income, high-density area in Harare, and thus it accommodates many of the poorer residents of the city, this does not imply uniformity in socio-economic status of Budiro residents.

The survey used in the Budiro case study in large part provided a snapshot or still picture of the livelihoods of Budiro households, as detailed in the previous chapters and as complemented by other fieldwork research methods. Thus, this captured Budiro households at the time of the survey in offering a synchronic analysis of their lives and livelihoods: that is, where and what they are, not how they came to be where and what they are. Each household of course has its own history and these histories regularly take us far beyond Budiro. In this sense, temporal analysis often brings to the fore the significance of spatial dimensions to household livelihoods. It is to these histories that this chapter takes us. More specifically, in offering a diachronic analysis, the chapter traces the evolution and development of Budiro households and their livelihoods. It details eleven life-histories with the aim of gaining in-depth insights into household livelihood trajectories, rather than present-day livelihood patterns (as unpacked through the synchronic examination).

This diachronic analysis adds considerable complexity to the examination of household livelihoods. It certainly highlights more fully the structural factors that inhibit and enable livelihood construction, as well as the active and intentional agency of households over time. It also demonstrates the sheer significance of intra-household relations in shaping household livelihoods and even in the disruption or eventual dissolution of a household. But, further, in tracing life histories of households (including in Budiro), it becomes difficult to discern distinct trajectories. Each and every household, when focused on temporally, seems to be moving to and

fro in terms of their livelihoods, as well as being subjected to twists and turns, and ups and downs in the face of both idiosyncratic and covariate shocks. Identifying distinct trajectories is a murky venture and slotting particular households into a particular kind of trajectory is even murkier. But this is all necessary to allow for an understanding of how, where, when and why livelihoods are reproduced or perhaps transformed.

For definitional purposes, livelihood trajectories refer to the pathways through time and the consequences of the changing ways households construct a livelihood over time (Bagchi et al., 1998; Murray, 2002; Hebinck, 2008). Base on the life history interviews undertaken, I identified three broad trajectories: 1) those study participants who perceived that their life had improved ('rising and remaining above the water'); 2) those who felt they had remained stagnant ('barely staying afloat'; and 3) those that felt that they had become worse-off ('sinking deeper'). In large part, the slotting in of particular households into a particular trajectory was based on the interviewee's own subjective understanding of their past and present, and this did tend to correlate with a more 'objective' assessment of a household's trajectory.

One final point is crucial. In this chapter, the life histories are not presented in terms of the wealth categories of poor, average and better-off as in the synchronic analysis. More specifically, as explained in chapter one, this is because households which participated in the survey often refused to participate in the life history interviews. As a result of the realities of the fieldwork in Budiriro, the sampling strategy utilised for collecting data during the life history phase of the research changed from maximum variation sampling to convenience sampling. Nevertheless, it would be improbable to expect a simple one-to-one mapping between the static livelihood patterns (in terms of the three wealth categories) and the three temporal livelihood trajectories. For instance, a household rising and remaining above the water might fall into any one of three wealth categories in that the rise may not be particularly significant over time in terms of the socio-economic status of the household.

In what follows, I examine each of the three livelihood trajectories with each being illustrated by particular cases. I also detail some of the key themes which arise from each trajectory, with these themes in fact being pertinent in some way to each trajectory.



## **6.2 Agency and Upward Trajectory: ‘Rising and Remaining above the Water’**

In this section, I provide narratives of four people in Budiriro who perceived themselves as having improved their livelihoods when considering their life history trajectories over time. However, their livelihood trajectories do not entail a slow and steady linear upward mobility as they constantly encountered shocks, which led to many twists and turns in their life histories. Somehow, in all four cases, these Budiriro households found ways to remove obstacles and handle shocks such that they gained some level of capacity to realise potential in their lives, thereby rising above the water.

### **6.2.1 Case 1: Albert<sup>3</sup>, the War Veteran and Rancher**

Albert is a rancher based in Headlands located within Manicaland Province in the eastern part of Zimbabwe. He owns a house in Budiriro and, at the time of the interview, Albert was in Budiriro buying some vaccines for his cattle. He also mentioned that he had come to Harare to collect rentals from the tenants staying in his house. He has one room in the house which is vacant, and he stays there when he comes to do business and run various errands in the city. The room also contains some of his remaining household furnishings that he did not carry to his farm in Headlands.

Albert was born in Chipinge in Manicaland Province in 1953. At the time of the interview he was 61 years old turning 62 at the end of the year in December. He is the fourth among eleven siblings. Only one of Albert’s siblings was able to complete secondary school while they were still children (below the age of 18 years). This is because, according to Albert, his parents did not regard education as important. This is despite the fact that his father was a teacher with a regular income and owning many cattle. As a result, Albert was only able to complete his ‘O’ level education following adult literacy classes which he attended when he was working and able to fund his educational ambitions. Albert described himself as a ‘very bright and intelligent person’

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<sup>3</sup> Respondent 10, interviewed on 10/07/2015.

but was not able to realise his full academic potential due to a number of factors. These include the lack of supportive parents and a colonial policy which did not sufficiently provide educational access to Africans. Through his own efforts living in Chipinge rural areas in Manicaland, in 1966, Albert was able to secure a place at a boarding school within the capital city of Manicaland Province at Mutare Boys High. His father however claimed that he could not afford to pay the fees required for him. He eventually managed to secure a place for secondary school at a rural school in their Chipinge area, though he had to stay with relatives so that the walk to and from school would be shorter. The school was about ten kilometres from the relatives' place. Albert described these days in the following way:

*‘My parents are both late. My father was a teacher. My mother got educational lessons from my father. She however did not believe in or had no comprehension of education to the extent she did not want us to go to school. At some point, my father had more than 60 cattle and there was no excuse for me not to go to school. During the [colonial] regime, we had a bottleneck education system. One had to pass before proceeding to the next level. For one to proceed to Standard 6 [now Grade 7], you should have had the No. 1 or 2 positions out of 41 pupils. I was No. 1 out of 41 and then proceeded to Old Mutare High School and had to undergo an entrance test. I passed the entrance test. After getting accepted, there was a list of requirements including buying pajamas and other things before I could take up the place. I was not able to take up the place because of my mother; she was against it. And so I did not take up that opportunity. I moved in with relatives and I attended school there and did well’.*

The relatives that Albert moved in with were ideally supposed to treat Albert as their own child by providing him meals and sending him to school in exchange for his labour in the field (as well as for activities such as herding cattle and goats). However, this did not work as expected since the relatives often did not reciprocate in the way Albert and his parents had anticipated. Consequently, Albert decided to drop out of school in 1968 and migrated to the capital city (then Salisbury) in 1969 to look for a job:

*‘I walked for over 10 kilometres to school. The relatives that I was staying with were not very accommodating. Because I was now attending a higher grade [Standard 4], I had to stay behind at school. They did not leave any food for me. The environment in which I was*

*living was not conducive; I could not cope and thus I dropped out of school. I came to the city in July 1969. I obtained a juvenile ID and started working.’’*

Albert started working at the age of 16 while residing at the men’s hostels in Mbare (one of the areas in Salisbury established to house African labour for the colonial government). He joined a clothing factory that was part of a larger company called Fecro Group of Companies. The clothing factory was responsible for sewing buttons onto clothes. Through his earnings, Albert was able to support himself and also in the process financed and acquired a Driving License. By the time he decided to leave the company he had been raised to the position of driver within the company. He said he decided to leave his job because he wanted to join the war of liberation in 1975. This is how he described the time he spent at the clothing factory until he left for war:

*‘‘I moved from one department to the other within the company. Having attained Standard Four had its advantages. I ended up taking a driver’s license and started driving at the company. In 1975, when the war escalated, I relocated and moved back to my rural home and joined the war of liberation. It was more of a conviction when we left to join the war. The way blacks [Africans] were living in the Mbare hostels close to Rufaro Stadium was not good. It was a discriminatory system. Imagine if someone did not have a company ID and was caught by the colonial police he would be arrested and jailed for 30 days. So leaving my job was only natural, as it felt like a national duty. I also believe the company [friends] that I kept around me then, i.e. Witness Mangwende<sup>4</sup>, Simba Makoni<sup>5</sup> and Kempton Makamure<sup>6</sup> got me jerked up and made me see how bad these conditions were. You see I used to visit a friend of mine and I interacted with these comrades when they were studying at the university then.’’*

During the war he was trained in Chimoi (in Mozambique) and was posted to the battlefield in Chipinge in the Eastern Highlands of Zimbabwe for 23 months. He was then recalled from the

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<sup>4</sup> Late former Cabinet Minister (1981-2005) and Zimbabwean politician.

<sup>5</sup> Former Cabinet Minister (1980-2002) and Zimbabwean politician.

<sup>6</sup> Late University of Zimbabwe Law Professor and Politician.

front and promoted to the position of commissariat because of his ability to read and write in English and Shona as well as his capacity to articulate the goals of the liberation struggle. He was posted to East Germany in 1977 for further training in a course that focused on the Principles of Communication, a course that lasted for nine months. While in East Germany he decided to visit friends based in the United States of America, including Bernard Chidzero who became the first Minister of Finance in the post-independence government in Zimbabwe. Albert was convinced that, after the war, those who were educated would be able to take positions within the government. He moved to Swaziland to take advantage of a scholarship that was available for people displaced by wars of liberation in African countries, and this allowed him to complete his secondary education. He passed with seven 'O' levels but did not pass Mathematics.

After the war in 1980, he moved back to Zimbabwe to Chipinge his rural home area where he taught at a primary school for 9 months and then at a secondary school for one year, before resigning to take on a scholarship to study law at a university in Canada. However, he failed to secure the scholarship because he did not have an Advanced level certificate. Consequently, he ended up studying for professional courses in Zimbabwe in areas such Business Studies and Commercial Law but could not complete them because of financial limitations. He tried to join the National Railways of Zimbabwe (NRZ) as an apprentice Train Engine Driver but was rejected because of his age and the fact that he did not pass mathematics at 'O' level. In 1985, he was offered, and accepted, a position as a security guard with NRZ. As a security guard, he used part his salary to finance further studies at the Harare Polytechnic in the hope of securing a better position in the organisation. However, after completing the courses, he was not able to secure a job because he still did not have 'O' level mathematics. He eventually passed Mathematics but did not have sufficient experience to move from the position of security guard, so he said he resigned out of frustration in 1991.

Albert felt discriminated against because of his age and status as a war veteran, with his lack of formal qualifications being used as a mere excuse for not hiring him. The following is how he explained his eventual resignation:

*‘I went to NRZ to train as an Engine Driver apprentice. While we were still doing an induction course, we were then disqualified because of age. They said we were too old for an apprenticeship. It takes 10 years to be trained to be an Engine Driver. I also lost a number of opportunities in the system because I did not have Mathematics at ‘O’ level. This motivated me to supplement Mathematics and I did that at a private college in town and passed. Once I passed the Mathematics subject, I applied for a position in a different department and was told they wanted someone with Accounts. Once again I enrolled at a college to do Accounts and I passed the subject. I then applied for that same position and this is when I was told I needed to have two years’ experience for that position. This is when I got frustrated and resigned. I also felt that it was because I was a war veteran and there was a tendency to look down upon war veterans’.*

When Albert resigned he received a monetary package from the National Railways of Zimbabwe. He utilised this to start a driving school which he set up in the resort town of Victoria Falls in the northwest of the country. He operated the driving school for 16 years. He said that the business operated well but in 2007 the hyperinflation eroded all his savings and earnings, which made it difficult to buy new vehicles and maintain the ones being used. He also highlighted that the government changed the requirements and regulations for operating a driving school, and these changes required that he purchase and use new vehicles only. He was not in a position to afford this capital outlay, especially given the erosion of his savings. He consequently moved out (or was pushed out by government regulations) of the business and started ranching in Mashonaland East Province on land that he was allocated by the government through the fast track land resettlement programme in the year 2003. When asked at the end of the interview who was the most influential figure in his life and livelihood trajectory, Albert gave praise to the late leader of the war veterans association for championing their cause in this way:

*‘I give recognition to the late Comrade Hunzvi despite the fact that some comrades did not want to recognise him. They claimed he had not fought in the war of liberation. If it was not for him, a lot of comrades would have died in poverty. He is the one who negotiated for the War Veterans Demobilisation Grant and put pressure on government to get the land.’*

Albert, at the time of the interview, said he now owns 33 cattle and feels that (if he had been afforded all the opportunities he deserved) he would have achieved more than he has done. He

also derives rental income from the house he owns in Budiro, and strongly believes that his life trajectory has been on the upward swing despite constant challenges.

### **6.2.2 Case 2: Mary<sup>7</sup>, the Hairdresser**

Mary, a 30-year old at the time of the interview, was born in 1990 in the rural areas of Masvingo. She is a hairdresser who owns a makeshift cardboard saloon in Budiro. She is an orphan, as her father died in 1995 followed six years later by her mother in 2001. Until this the year (2001), Mary was living in Masvingo. She explained that, when her father was alive, all was well within their household but, when her father died, the in-laws of her mother took away all the property her father had acquired (including the cows that enabled them to farm). After the passing of her father, life became very difficult for her mother and taking care of the family took a toll on her and she eventually died in 2001.

Upon the death of both her parents in 2001, Mary and her brother started living with her father's brother in Masvingo rural area. During their stay with their uncle, Mary indicated that life became even more difficult. They were mistreated and abused, and made to do chores which were not suitable for children. In addition, the uncle took them out of school. She eventually called a non-governmental organisation called 'Child Line' whose aim is broadly to look after the interests of children. After the call, the police came to the homestead and neighbours were able to tell the police about the mistreatment that Mary and her brother were enduring. Consequently, the police decided to move Mary and her brother to a children's home in the nearby city of Masvingo after which they were transferred to another children's home in Harare. Life at this orphanage was a positive experience as they were provided with all the basic necessities which she lacked under the care of her mother and at her uncle's house. Explaining the move to the children's home in Masvingo, Mary indicated: *"I was 11, but we could not be admitted [at school] in Masvingo because the number of children there was no longer*

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<sup>7</sup> Respondent 15, interviewed on 15/07/2015.

*sustainable for them to take us, and we were transferred to Harare. We were provided with everything until I finished secondary school in Highfields, Harare”.*

Upon completion of her secondary education, a family living in the now auxiliary town of Harare called Norton adopted her. The family also funded her studies in hairdressing. When she completed the hairdressing course she started working at a hair salon, during which time she met the man she would later marry. After getting married in 2010, she moved in with her husband in Budiro who had been staying with his parents there. She stopped working at the hair salon in 2011 so that she could look after her newborn child. She then started selling second-hand clothing from her husband's parents' house. Selling second-hand clothes close to home enabled her to earn an income while also taking care of the children and the domestic duties at home. She explained that selling from home was flexible in the sense that she could make her own rules and even be able to choose the time she wants to start work. She also needed the informal business because, at that time in 2010, her husband (who is a trained boilermaker) was working at a paper-making company (Hunyani Papers) which had challenges of paying salaries on a regular monthly basis. Therefore, her income from selling second-hand clothes supplemented her husband's income especially when the company failed to pay salaries on time. It is important to note that, at the time of data collection, companies and institutions within the formal sector were failing to pay workers' salaries on a consistent and regular basis.

One of the challenges she faced in the second-hand clothing business was that, at times, the merchandise would be confiscated by Zimbabwe Revenue Authority (ZIMRA) officials as it was against the law to buy and sell imported second-hand clothes. However, as time went on, she learned how to avoid confiscation, by mainly utilising the services of informal courier agents at the border who know how to by-pass regulations and the regulatory border officials. These agents are colloquially called *Malaichas*, who are also known to smuggle goods without passing through official border posts. All she had to do, Mary explained, was to transport her clothing bales from Beira (in Mozambique) to the border town of Chimoi in Mozambique. From there she would link up with a *Malaicha* at the Forbes border post who would smuggle her clothing bales into Zimbabwe for a fee. She would meet up with the *Malaicha* in Mutare (a city in the east of Zimbabwe) where she would transport the clothing bales by bus to Harare. She also learned that,

when purchasing clothes for sell, it was important to ensure that the goods were in-season since the clothing business is seasonal in terms of product lines. It was necessary to know where to buy good quality second-hand clothes because the possibility existed of investing in (or purchasing) a bale of clothes which would end up not being profitable due to the nature and quality of the clothes in the bale. Due to the increasing competition within the clothing sector and also because of the fact that her husband secured a job in a platinum mining company (which was paying well and on a regular and systematic monthly basis), she decided to move out of this informal trading activity in 2013 and invest any profit she had made into hairdressing. Because of this, she now earns a better and steady income for herself and her family in her makeshift cardboard hair salon in Budiro.

### **6.2.3 Case 3: Austin<sup>8</sup>, the Fence Company Owner**

Austin was born in 1987 in Murehwa. He is the first born son in his family and has two siblings, a younger sister and brother. At the time of data collection, Austin was running a business that specialises in erecting fences on various types of premises. Austin had provided fences for various types of organisations that included mines, schools and even individuals who wanted to fence their houses. With regard to Austin's education, he holds a Diploma in Human Resource Management and Payroll Management as well as Secondary and High School Certificates (that is, Ordinary Level Certificate and an Advance Level Certificate).

When Austin was young, he, his mother and siblings lived in the rural area of Murehwa where he attended school. His father, then living in Harare renting rooms in Budiro, had them move to Budiro in the year 1995. The move from a rural to an urban environment was difficult for Austin and the rest of the family because of the adjustments they had to make to the urban way of life to which they were unaccustomed. This was compounded by the fact that his father (who worked as a carpenter) earned an insufficient income for household expenses. Explaining why

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<sup>8</sup> Respondent 27, interviewed on 11/08/2015.



they moved to Harare and the poverty they experienced when they moved to the urban area, Austin said the following:

*‘‘My father was working in Bulawayo as a carpenter after 1980. In working as a carpenter in Bulawayo he had an accident and lost two fingers. He was transferred from Bulawayo to Harare to seek treatment. When he recovered, he decided to look for a position in Harare and subsequently he was transferred to Harare. Because of this, in 1995 he decided to move us from our rural area in Murehwa to Harare so that we could live with him. For him Harare was much closer to Murehwa than Bulawayo so he wanted to live with us. When we moved things were really tough for us as a family. For example, when we were going to school in Murehwa, we did not need to have shoes when going to school; so during my first days at school in Harare, I still remember that I did not have any shoes. I did not find it abnormal but the teachers at the school were appalled by it. The children would also view me as strange. It was really tough and I used to get help from church members in terms of getting school uniforms’’.*

Austin also mentioned that even food was a problem. He highlighted that he could not remember a day when he went to school with a lunch box:

*‘‘My years as a student were really difficult; I remember going to school without properly eating. My classmates would bring packed lunch to school and I do not recall any day I went to school with food. Some parents could afford to pay some money for their children to have milk at school but I do not recall any moment where my parents paid any money for my milk. It was really painful to me; I could go to school in tattered uniforms. During the festive season, some children and their parents could visit various places but I do not remember going anywhere with my parents because my parents could not afford that.’’*

As a result of these difficulties and hardships within the city of Harare, Austin’s father in 1999 decided to move his family back to the rural areas (when Austin was in his sixth grade of primary school). This move though did not enhance the life of Austin. When he completed primary school in the year 2000, his father failed to pay for his Form One fees and he might have dropped out, had it not been for his uncle who paid for his tuition in his first year of secondary school. He though did not have a school uniform. His sister also ended up dropping out of school so that Austin would have sufficient money for fees and other school supplies, although he was

often chased out of school for non-payment of fees. At the time, the economic performance of the country had started to decline, inflation was on the rise and a drought had set in. Eventually, Austin ended up spending more time out of school instead of in school, mainly because of financial problems that resulted in the lack of tuition fees. He almost missed the deadline to register for his 'O' level examination until a teacher at his school loaned him money to pay for the examination fees. This is how he explained the situation:

*“From Form Three onwards, no money came from my father and the drought of 2002/3 set in. Whatever we were getting through our mother, who would go to Harare to do menial jobs, was for us to get food. My school work was severely affected during those days, I could not catch up and I was constantly chased away from school due to non-payment of fees. When I was doing form four, I started a gardening project farming sweet potatoes for sale. When I was about to write my Form Four examinations. I failed to get the examination fees. On the last day of registration, a certain teacher gave me some money for six subjects and he said I should return back the money.”*

As a result of the obstacles and barriers he faced relating to drought and economic performance, Austin was not able to pass any subject and asked his aunt to pay for him to repeat his 'O' Levels in return for his labour, working on her farm. In repeating his 'O' level studies, he was able to pass 5 'O' level subjects in 2004 and in 2005 he then migrated to Harare to join his father as he looked for work. His father was a tenant in Budiriro. He was interested in furthering his education and going to university after his 'A' Levels. Hence, when he obtained a job as a general hand for a borehole company, he enrolled at a private college to study for his 'A' levels. However, when he was about to write his examinations, he lost his job and could no longer finance his studies leading him to eventually drop out.

Through his father, Austin managed to get a job as a carpenter at his father's friend's company. He worked there for five months. He left the job because the owner of the enterprise was not able to pay him in cash but only by way of second-hand clothes. After that, he secured a position as a till operator in a supermarket located within the Central Business District (CBD). Working in the supermarket was tough. He said he would work from 6 am to 9 pm and the salary was not even enough to pay for a full month's transport to and from work. He worked at this supermarket for 3

months and then secured another position in a borehole drilling company. He said that the water shortages within the city made borehole drilling a big business and hence, under this employer, he was able to get paid regularly and satisfy some of his basic needs and necessities. Not only was Austin able to buy food, but he was able to buy himself second-hand clothes at the popular market known as *Mupedzanhamo* (Problems-Finished Market). However, the borehole drilling company folded citing the hyper-inflationary environment.

Austin was again unemployed and had to look for work again. This time he worked as a security guard at a security company. He indicated that he did not work for long there because one of his cousins had organised an opportunity for him to work as a general hand at a fencing company which was a subsidiary for a big fuel supply company called Redan. The pay was satisfactory as he was paid an equivalent of US\$300 per month along with a food hamper. When he secured this job, his father decided to retire and move back to Murehwa. In this way, Austin inherited the rooms his father was renting and, until the time of the interview, Austin was residing in the rooms his father was renting. He highlighted that he had a good relationship with the landlord. In his steady and well-paying job, Austin was able to invest in his educational qualifications and managed to get a driver's license. He completed his Diploma in Human Resources and was promoted to a supervisory role at the fencing company. By this time, the government had switched from utilising the Zimbabwe Dollar to the United States Dollar (under dollarisation) and Austin was now earning US\$800 per month. In 2013, he decided to leave this job because one of his colleagues was able to secure a mining claim, which had gold deposits. The mine however did not work out as planned because the gold deposits were not as much as anticipated and required capital investments (beyond their capabilities) to mine. He thus dropped out of the mining project and set up his own fencing company. He recognises that leaving his supervisory position cost him a regular monthly salary, but certainly believes that his life is better-off compared to when he was younger.

#### 6.2.4 Case 4: Lillian<sup>9</sup>, the Cross Border Trader

Lillian (born in 1981) is the second born in a family of 2 girls and 4 boys. She was born and raised in Bindura located in Mashonaland Central Province. She completed Form Four, two of her brothers went up to Form Six and one has a university education. Explaining why unlike her brothers she did not go to 'A' level (form 6), Lillian explains: *"After my 'O' levels, I got a job and got carried away. I then got married and my husband did not want me to go to work. I got a passport and decided to be a cross border trader."* In stating that in her childhood she never faced any major difficulties, Lillian highlighted that her father was working at the time and also had a farm which made life easier: *"I do not recall facing any challenges when I was growing up. Yes, I heard people talking about drought but I was not affected. My father owned a farm and got a salary as a teacher... I guess just the fact that my father was working and he owned a farm was an advantage"*.

Her father was able pay for her to attend boarding school at Bradley High School located outside Bindura for her secondary education. He was also able to buy a house in Harare (in the high-density Mufakose area), which also meant that, when Lillian finished school and likely moved to Harare, she would have a place to stay as she looked for work. When she finished secondary school, she did not pass the Mathematics and Science subjects and this limited her options in terms of looking for a job. She moved from Bindura to Harare (living in Mufakose) after she finished school and a friend helped her to get a job at a shoe company in Masasa light industrial area where she worked from 1998 to 2001. When she was working, she managed to buy herself clothes and other personal items. She stopped working though after getting married and moved with her in-laws in Kuwadzana before eventually moving to Budiriro with her husband.

Lillian's experiences with her working life both pre- and post-marriage mirrors other women in the Budiriro study who mentioned that they had to stop working upon marriage due to the lack of

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<sup>9</sup> Respondent 8, interviewed on 8/08/2015.

support from their husband or husband's families. Josefine and her husband moved from her in-law's house in Kuwadzana to Budiro as a way of resisting this well-established practice and pressure. However, such a move also puts strain on intra-household relations and to some extent on husbands, with Lillian's husband unable to cope, as Lillian further elaborates:

*“We moved due to pressure from my husband's family. My husband was not in support of me moving to the rural areas, but he could not openly defy his parents. His family was not happy when we announced that we were relocating. After a while, my husband told me he was no longer able to pay for rentals in Budiro. In my mind, I knew it was because he probably wanted to go back to his mother's house. I decided to go to Zambia to buy and sell goods. I would go to Zambia to buy goods and used to sell them from my lodgings. I saved my terminal benefits that I received from the shoe making company after I resigned; this is the money I used to start off [the cross border business]”.*

Lillian's life-course shows that, when women have access to their own resources, they may be able to resist long-standing gender norms. Lillian had money from her terminal benefits and had additional support from her sisters who were also engaged in cross border trading and provided her with an entry point into this informal activity. Although not supporting her initially, her husband in time accepted her involvement in cross border trading. When she started this trading activity, she was importing and selling adult clothing, baby clothes and sneakers. In the beginning, the business was booming because at that time there were few women selling clothing. Business though declined: *“There are a number of people selling the kind of merchandise I sell. There is a lot of competition and this affects my pricing. [The business] started slowly; it shot up at some point and now it's back to being slow.”* Lillian stressed the significance of the national economy in influencing trading activity and profitability, indicating that business growth *“really depended on the economy prevailing at the time. When the economy was stable, business was good for us and when it slumped, so did our business.”* Despite these challenges, she sees her life-course as on an upward course.

When asked what relationships had been negative or positive in her life, Lillian mentioned that her mother-in-law and father-in-law had been both a (direct) negative and (indirect) positive influence in her life. They did not want her to work or do anything else to improve her life.

However, as a result of the barriers they put up, she decided to work hard and put considerable energy in her business in order to succeed. Additionally, she stated that going to the rural areas to visit her in-laws negatively impacted on her business as they always had issues that would need money. She and her husband no longer frequently visited the rural areas. This reflects that while kinship networks can work as a support net sometimes, these networks and the demands they exert on individuals and households can deepen poverty if they are not well managed.

#### **6.2.5 Key Themes from ‘Rising and Remaining above the Water’**

It is only by providing some level of historical depth that the status of current livelihoods of specific households in Budiriro can be properly contextualised. Certain key themes and lessons emerge from these four (and similar) cases about households which portray a livelihood trajectory involving some form of socio-economic improvement, or rising and remaining above the water. These trajectories though are uncertain and fragile, with the possibility of shocks emerging which might disrupt any upward trajectory. Despite many twists and turns in the four cases, the historical depth allows for the identification and understanding of a particular livelihood pathway and trajectory of an upward kind. A brief downturn may therefore in fact be part of an overall upward swing. Four themes are briefly discussed below.

First of all, though the thesis analyses general trends and diversity amongst the livelihoods of Budiriro households, it is important not to ignore entirely the idiosyncratic characteristics of individuals and the agency which often comes with these; idiosyncratic personalities matter. These personal characteristics might involve, with all cards stacked against a person in terms of structural conditions, a never give-up attitude (hope) and the simple desire to strive and achieve something in life. Such perseverance leads to all sorts of possible decisions and actions which potentially move an individual or household away from poverty. This of course does not imply that differences in levels of poverty are explainable in terms of personality-types or different forms or levels of agency; as structure also matters.

For example, in the case of Albert, although the odds were totally against him, through sheer force of will he was able to eventually complete his secondary and tertiary level education and secure a job. Although getting an education ultimately is not the factor that led to improving his

life, education and his personal drive and determination shaped his livelihood trajectory out of poverty. In the cases of Mary and Lillian, it is also clear that both these respondents were determined to live a better life. For example, Mary was prompted to call the authorities to remove her from a situation of abuse while Lillian, regardless of the significance of bowing to pressure to leave work and become a satisfied and devoted domestic housewife, managed to find an alternative that helped her to continue earning an income. Austin was likewise determined to succeed in spite of the great odds against him, from childhood to adulthood. What is clear from these four cases is that though the poor are in some way trapped in poverty, they are not ensnared in a culture of poverty marked by defeat and impotency. They embody agency in seeking to escape poverty with varying degrees of success.

Secondly, the cases highlight the importance of institutional and organisational support in allowing a person to gain various levels of resources and capitals which, in turn, has the potential to facilitate a reduced level of poverty. For example, it is institutional support including acquiring a scholarship to study in Swaziland which enabled Albert to finish his secondary school and obtain work as a teacher upon his return to Zimbabwe. Having been disadvantaged by the lack of supportive parents, the war and his own resources in pursuing an education, the support that he received to further his studies created opportunities for Albert. The institutional support that Mary received from the non-governmental organisation helped her and her brother to overcome a dire situation of abuse and neglect, and enabled them to attend school. For women, institutional factors also include the role of gender norms and expectations that can be an obstacle for them in pursuing and living a better life. For instance, although business was not booming as before, Lillian regarded her life has improved because she could engage in livelihood activities without interference from her in-laws based on principles of patriarchy. Thus women's ability to negotiate oppressive institutions and in some cases negotiate and bargain with their husbands may actually lead to an improvement in livelihood trajectory in terms of the quality of life led, even if it does not necessarily easily convert into monetary terms.

Thirdly, social capital and networks may be crucial, wither negatively or positively. Albert's life for example was marked by negative social capital such as lack of support from parents and abuse from relatives (who were supposed to look after him) and, combined, these detrimentally

affected his life-course. However, surrounded by friends such as Bernard Chidzero, he was able to re-define what he wanted in life and tried to position himself for future opportunities after the war. Although he was not fully successful in achieving what he wanted, positive social networks helped Albert to away from poverty. Social support from community members also helped Mary after she finished school and had to leave the children's home, as it provided a soft landing for her to learn a trade and find a job. For Austin, social support from teachers and extended family members in terms of access to education resources, jobs and encouragement were key to his success story.

Finally, the multiplicity of livelihood strategies, certainly over time, come out clearly in these cases. Furthermore, they show the diversification of livelihood activities and the co-existence of two or more such activities within one household. The story of Lillian for example demonstrates multiple livelihood systems, with her father being a teacher and a farmer at the same time (in this respect, farming helped to cushion his family against the severe droughts which affected others in this study). Both temporal changes in livelihood strategies, and pursuing complementary ones simultaneously, show the ways in which Budiro households seek to negotiate their way through troubling structural contexts. Thus, such tendencies may be more out of necessity than choice. In the four cases discussed in this section, this manoeuvring of lives led to an enhancement in livelihood status.

### **6.3 Involuntarily Immobile: 'Barely Staying Afloat'**

In spite of working hard to improve their lives, there are some households which remained immobile in a socio-economic sense. They perceived themselves as just able to keep their heads above water or simply staying afloat (for example, being able to buy food or send children to school). This section examines three cases of individuals who state that their efforts had not bought them the success that they needed or had envisaged, but were nevertheless 'thankful' for being able to buy food, pay rent and send children to school.



### **6.3.1 Case 5: Mr. Malcom <sup>10</sup>, the Street Vendor**

Mr. Malcom is a 46-year-old married man. He has three children and was born and raised in Gutu rural area. His main livelihood activity at the time of the interview was in the petty trading of crisps, chips and sweets by the roadside to primary school children and also other people (but generally children and their parents close to where he lives in Budiriro). He sells his wares from a wooden plank placed on bricks on the roadside in Budiriro, near OK supermarket. His stalls show very little investment, which is also a way of guarding against loss in the case of a raid from various authorities such as the local government or police.

In discussing his life history, Mr. Malcom explained that he came from a very poor rural family. His father worked very hard in the fields but was also an alcoholic who spent family income (mostly from agricultural activities) on alcohol. As a result, he and his siblings' welfare as children was inadequately addressed. At school, Mr. Malcom and his brothers were always poorly dressed, and bullied and ridiculed by other students. This affected his confidence and self-esteem but he managed to overcome the stigma and complete secondary school.

Mr. Malcom then took up agriculture (while still living at his father's homestead), particularly keeping chickens and maize farming using skills he had learnt and acquired in 'O' Level Agriculture. However, the 1991/92 drought affected him negatively, leading him to lose his planted crops and the chickens he was rearing. Due to this, Mr. Malcom decided to migrate to Masvingo, the closest town (in the south-east of Zimbabwe) to his village. However, he met one of his uncles at a funeral and told him about the plan to migrate to Masvingo. His uncle advised him against this and instead asked him to consider moving to the city of Gweru, which was a bigger town and also had more industries and employment opportunities when compared to Masvingo. In addition, there was another relative who could accommodate him while he was looking for a job. Mr. Malcom followed his uncle's advice and went to Gweru in 1992.

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<sup>10</sup> Respondent 19, interviewed on 22/07/2015.

In Gweru he had several temporary jobs before securing a permanent job at a steel company. At this job, he said he was earning enough to send remittances to his wife and children in the rural area, contribute towards food where he was staying (at an uncle's house) and also save money. In 1998, he had a misunderstanding with his uncle's wife that made him decide to move back to his rural area to stay with his wife. He spent a year in his rural home before being forced by another drought (in 1999) to move back to the city (this time, Harare) to look for a job. When he moved to Harare, he started off with casual employment until he found a permanent job as an assistant welder in the Msasa light industrial area. He eventually left the job because of the high-inflationary environment that made it impossible to make a living from his salary. He first decided to take 21 leave days so that he could look for work in neighbouring Botswana. For the three weeks he was in Botswana, Mr. Malcom was able to find a job and work, coming back with a 'lot' of money especially after exchanging the Botswana Pula for Zimbabwe Dollars. Having considered the costs and benefits of resigning from his job and migrating, he resigned from his job and moved to Botswana.

After resigning, Mr. Malcom's first job in Botswana was to work for an Indian family-run business. With this job, he was able to send remittances home, save and even build a house at his parents' rural homestead in Gutu. After two years, he stopped working for the Indian business and formed a welding company in partnership with a Botswana national as required by law. When his work permit expired, he traveled to Zimbabwe to apply for a new work permit. His business partner refused to furnish him with requisite papers and pretended not to know Mr. Malcom. The partner started responding to telephone calls from Mr. Malcom in the language of Tswana, which Mr. Malcom did not speak. The partner pretended not to know or understand what Mr. Malcom wanted from him. He explained the scenario this way:

*"I decided to come back from Botswana because I had formed a company with a certain Tswana national. My passport and work permit had expired and I tried to renew the documents at the Zimbabwean Embassy in Botswana but the process was slow and I decided to come back here and process it from this side. The arrangement was to have a ten year permit for me and my wife, but the Registrar General's office changed the rules and the company I had formed with my Tswana national had to lead the process of*

*renewing my passport by faxing additional documents to the ones I had that proved that I was indeed a shareholder''.*

After indicating the problems, he had with his now former partner, Mr. Malcom exclaimed:

*‘‘I just ended up saying to myself that, this is how life is, and I just stopped the reapplication process. The company was not yet in full swing anyway and one cannot force matters. The God the almighty has the way forward, plus some things are just not yours. One has to accept that you can be a well learned person with diplomas but if something is not yours, it will just be not yours, and you can end up being a vendor. I felt everything was just God’s programming’’.*

Mr. Malcom resorted to religion to moralise why he had not succeeded in the way he had envisaged for himself within the predominantly failed market economy.

After the episode with the Botswana national in 2004, Mr. Malcom subsequently decided to settle in his rural home in Gutu, Masvingo. With the money he had from Botswana, he re-initiated a chicken rearing project. He indicated that he reared 100 broilers and sold them to a supermarket in Gutu. But due to the recurring droughts and instability within the economy, he made losses that led him to leave not only the chicken rearing business but also the rural area. In the year 2006, Mr. Malcom moved back to Harare and found a room to rent in Budiro and began to engage in vending. He said that he would sell *maputi* (maize-popcorn) and mints to workers in the industrial area near Budiro while engaging in temporary jobs in the industrial area as and when they were available. As the economy further deteriorated, Mr. Malcom indicated that he stopped looking for temporary jobs and became a full-time vendor. He made this decision because the temporary jobs were simply not offering sustainable salaries. As a result of an increase in rent from his landlord at the time, Mr. Malcom looked for cheaper accommodation and moved to another house in Budiro in 2009. The new house where he was renting a room was located near a busy street, so he talked to the landlord to allow him to sell his wares just outside the gate. In essence this is how he had been surviving until the time of the interview, making very limited profit on his vending activities.

### 6.3.2 Case 6: Newton<sup>11</sup> The Window Seals Manufacturer

Newton, a window seal manufacturer, was born in August in 1968. He is from Chikombedzi in Chiredzi, in the southwestern area of Zimbabwe. His parents were separated at an early age and, due to this separation, he grew up being taken care of by his paternal grandmother. When asked about his childhood, Newton indicated that he grew up in difficult circumstances because his grandmother was old and could not provide for him sufficiently. Apart from going to school, Newton had to work various menial jobs such as cutting roof grass for resale so that he could raise money for school fees and other expenditures such as food. He also helped his grandmother by carrying out domestic duties at home. When he was twelve, he started to cut wood for sale. He engaged in *maricho*, a long-established practice in rural areas which involves working in other villagers' fields for payment in cash or kind. This practice of *maricho*, which was hewn out of necessity, combined with domestic chores cut into Newton's time for studying affecting his academic performance. Newton further indicated that, before going to school on weekdays, he would plough the fields and during the weekends he would be herding cattle and goats. Because of lack of resources and support, he was not able to go to secondary school. In explaining his childhood, this is what Newton had to say:

*'Life was very tough; my grandmother was a widow. ... When I was now in Grade Six/Seven, I was old enough to cut wood for sale. When I was in secondary school, I was a bit grown up and cleverer. I paid for my education through the menial jobs that I was engaged in. I did not know my paternal relatives, as I grew up. I only got to know them in 1988 when I had completed my 'O' levels.'*

Newton also indicated that growing up during the liberation struggle did not make life any easier. For instance, when he was in Grade Four in primary school, a group of gunmen entered the school, burnt all the books and shot the headmaster dead, which led the school to be closed down and affected his ability to finish school on time. The school later on re-opened when the new

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<sup>11</sup> Respondent 6, interviewed on 8/07/2015.

government of Zimbabwe-Rhodesia led by Bishop Abel Muzorewa took power. In 1980, Newton and his grandmother (living in the District of Silobela in Matabeleland) decided to move to Mashonaland. The decision to move from Silobela was precipitated by the armed clashes between former ZANLA and ZIPRA combatants within Matabeleland and parts of Midlands, where Newton and his grandmother were living. For Newton and his grandmother, moving or running away from the chaos and crisis was a key option. Newton's grandmother was in fact an activist and treasurer of the local pro-government ZANU-PF party cell. Thus remaining in Silobela, which was anti-ZANU-PF area, was dangerous. They ended up settling in Mvuma which is located within the Midlands, and it was there that he was able to complete his secondary school in 1988.

His stepbrother who was working at the Ministry of Health in Masvingo tipped him off about a job opportunity within a research project which was a collaboration between a university from the United States of America and Zimbabwe's Ministry of Health. Newton was able to secure work as a translator. He lost this job in 1995 when the project was shut down due to security fears related to farm invasions and killing of white commercial farmers. Newton then decided to get in touch with his paternal relatives and moved to his stepbrothers' home in Chadcombe, a low-density suburb situated in the southeast of Harare. His brother organised a job for him in the bailing section at a company which made packaging material and polythene bags. After receiving his first salary he moved from his brother's house in Chadcombe to live with his nephew in Glen Norah (a high-density suburb) before eventually moving to Budiro when he felt sufficiently established to be able to afford rent by himself. In Budiro he now rents a full house from a couple that has migrated to Botswana. To manage the monthly rental payments, he also sublets some of the rooms. He worked for this company for ten years from 1997 to 2007. During this period, he rose through the ranks from Bailer, to a Twister Operator and then a Cutter where he cut the bags into different sizes.

He decided to leave the company because he had been tipped off by his stepbrother that the company was on a slippery slope profit-wise and eventually it did cut jobs. The main reason for the closure related to the major shareholder of the company (who was also the finance minister of the country) who was being probed and investigated by the Attorney General for a corruption

case. He was accused of contravening the Exchange Control Act of Zimbabwe and holding a foreign passport that was in contravention of the Citizen Act of Zimbabwe. The Supreme Court of Zimbabwe later dismissed the case against the minister. However, there were rumours at the bailing company that most of the revenue the company earned was being channeled towards funding the minister's court case, such that salaries for workers at the packing company became irregular. Hence, Newton decided to resign and secure his terminal benefits. The company was later liquidated and, when this took place, remaining employees did not receive terminal benefits. In 2007, he decided to move into the window-seal and air-vent making business and used his terminal benefits for this purpose. However, like other enterprises, his business was not making profit due to the contracting economy and skyrocketing inflation. Apart from the inflation, Newton indicated that there were also a number of new entrants into the window-seal making business that had resulted in increased competition. Some of the new entrants were people he had trained. In addition, in 2011, he had experienced a series of thefts of windows and other material which set him back. He was however able to catch one of the thieves and reported him to the police. Dollarisation by the Zimbabwean government did not improve his situation since it was difficult for people to access money for making purchases.

### **6.3.3 Case 7: Robert<sup>12</sup>, the Tyre Mender and Welder**

Robert born in 1980, into a family of five girls and two boys. He is married with two children in primary school. After finishing secondary school, his maternal uncle invited him to Harare where he stayed with him in high-density Mabvuku. He later moved to Budiro after he got a job first at CompAir, then Edgars clothes retail company and later Maxibooth which provided phone services. He left Edgars because he was not earning enough money and could not afford bus fare to and from work. He worked at Maxibooth as a cashier from 2004 until 2010 when the company collapsed due to the unfavourable business environment. After he left Maxibooth, he started to scavenge for plastics which he would resell to recycling companies. He used money that he had

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<sup>12</sup> Respondent 5, interviewed on 3/07/2015.

saved from working at Maxibooth to start his plastic-selling business but soon stopped the business because it was not profitable. As Robert emphasised:

*‘‘There are people who go around collecting plastic containers in bins and rubbish dumps; we bought the plastics from these people. We would then wash these containers in nearby streams after which we sold the plastics in the industrial areas. But it was not a good paying business. I decided to stop. ...The weight of the plastic was much lower when it was sold to the industries. ...We thought we had brought a tonne of plastics. But after washing it [the weight was less] and, in selling it, there was no profit....We bought the plastic for about \$300 and we had hoped to at least realise \$500, but it was not to be.’’*

Robert noted that once transport and associated costs are factored in, collecting, washing, delivering and selling the plastics to the industrial area companies was simply not worth the effort in terms of levels of profit.

In 2011, after stopping the plastic business, a friend trained him how to weld and he joined the friend in welding sliding gates. Business though was also very slow in the venture and Robert soon pulled out of this. His detailed description of this venture, and his attempt to diversify as well (into the tyre business), shows the complexities of trying to seek a living through informal activities under increasingly difficult economic circumstances nationally:

*‘‘When we left the plastic business, I sat down with my colleague and wondered what else was there for us to make a living. My colleague suggested that we go into welding. I told him I had no clue about welding. He said he knew how it was done and volunteered to teach me. However, he didn’t know how to do measurements, etc. We then approached another colleague who was more experienced in the welding business; he did TV stands, metal bed frames, etc. We sought his help and he advised us on how to go about the welding business. He told us where to buy the metal and where to sell the metal items. He referred us to Gazaland to buy the metal and he went on to refer us to his friends who were able to help us construct these metal items. ...We also made the TV stands and metal bed frames. We would cut the metal and take these to our colleague’s friends in Mbare, after which we would transport the items here for finishing touches....you could make a TV stand at a cost of \$30 and sell it for \$100. For bed frames, we would make it at a cost of \$70 and sell it for \$200. We sold these items for cash or on lay-bye. As time went on, my*

*colleague decided to join the police force. He could foresee a situation where business would grind to a halt. Before he left he made arrangements for me to continue in the business and also allowed me to use his compressor. My colleague also taught me how to mend tyres. So off he went for police training and I continued with the welding and tyre repairing business. As time went on, I decided to start buying my own equipment. So I bought a compressor and some small equipment that we use in both businesses....I then found someone whom I trained to repair tyres while I concentrated on the welding business and operated from different premises. Unfortunately, the economy took a nose dive and it became difficult to sell the TV stands and bed frames and so I decided to go back and join the tyre repair business. I relocated the metal work business here; some of the items are in that car park. Once in a while I do display the items for sale, it's not like I have completely left that business. However, the metal work business is slow and I spend most of the time now repairing tyres. I make just enough to survive.'''*

Robert's story clearly indicates a troubling, 'simply staying afloat' trajectory amongst many livelihoods in Budiriro, to the extent that (at the time of the study) he could claim a mere daily profit of around 2 or 3 United States dollars. He also had accumulated a debt load, as people had used his services or purchased his goods on credit but struggled to repay him. He still does some welding but not much as there are no buyers. In summing up his current livelihood condition, he noted that *"I am just thankful that I am still able to pay for my children's fees"*.

#### **6.3.4 Key Points from the 'Barely Staying Afloat'**

These cases speak to instances in which households are seemingly involuntarily immobile in the sense that they have been unable to maintain an upward livelihood trajectory over time, and remain fixed in a dire situation within which they see apparent way out. As with those households discussed in the previous section (which showed signs of remaining afloat), these cases also display certain key themes.

First of all, quite often structural factors beyond the control of households are so overbearing that any attempts to enhance livelihoods are ultimately unsuccessful. This was the situation with the three cases discussed in this section. Thus, the super-inflationary situation in Zimbabwe,



particularly from 2008, meant that both Newton and Mr. Malcom simply were not able to eke out a living from the livelihood strategies they pursued. Drought and lack of support for farmers also pushed Mr. Malcom to migrate out of a rural space, only to find that the urban monetary-based economy offered no reprieve. Some of these structural obstacles seemed in effect insurmountable, which led the individuals concerned to adopt a fatalistic attitude or to utilise the concept of God (or the supernatural more broadly) to explain socio-economic deprivation in the here-and-now of contemporary Zimbabwe.

Secondly, and related to the first point, the stories of involuntarily immobility challenge the culture of poverty thesis which characterises people who are poor (or low-income) as lazy (eschewing the importance of hard work and effort), lacking motivation, possessing a value system that embraces instant gratification, and avoiding formal education (Banfield, 1974). For example, Robert's story of how he tried many businesses such as selling plastic, welding, and tyre repair and mending is typical of many respondents in the Budiro study who tried many different entrepreneurial ideas in an effort to make a living. In a declining formal economy, admittedly even the informal sector does not offer an adequate social safety net since, from Robert's own admission, life is not improving and he is just making enough to get by. But he thought constantly about (and looked to) the future and hence strategised to enhance his well-being. What makes people in many cases stagnant or immobile is not the absence of hard work and forward-planning, but structural conditions which constrain and close off any options for improvement. To think otherwise is to articulate a 'blame the victim' discourse.

Thirdly, lives and livelihoods are relational. While these three individuals struggled to maintain some semblance of a livelihood, it is well-known that others benefited significantly from the inflationary environment and dollarisation in the country, including the political elite through foreign currency dealings (buying for example United States dollars at the official rate and then re-selling them on the black market for massive profits). In other words, some people benefited at the expense of others. This type of situation is even apparent amongst and between poor households which compete amongst themselves at times (rather than cooperate) in order to edge their way out of poverty. For example, Mr. Malcom lost a stake in a company he had helped to form, with his former partner no doubt gaining in the process.

## **6.4 Life as Constant Struggle: ‘Sinking Deeper’**

Those classified as on a downward slide (or sinking deeper) are those who perceive themselves as worse off than they were before. In this section, certain cases illustrating this downward trajectory are provided, with a number of factors identified, which appear to contribute to disempowering these Budiriro households in trying, to cope with the various shocks and stresses they encounter. Included amongst these factors are widowhood and divorce, patriarchal practices, and deficient schooling outcomes.

### **6.4.1 Case 8: Mrs. Lacresha<sup>13</sup>, the Widow Trader**

At the time of the interview, Mrs. Lacresha was a 39-year-old widow, with a 20-year old daughter, who sells kitchenware in Budiriro. She was born in 1976 and raised in Mhondoro a rural area located within the Mashonaland West Province (but lies close to the city of Harare). She was raised by her maternal grandparents because her mother died in 1978 when she was only two years old. Her relatives took the decision for her to be raised by her maternal grandparents. As a child, Mrs. Lacresha generally was well provided for by her grandparents. She said she did not experience any major shocks and disturbances that negatively affected her, since her grandparents (as well as her late mother’s brothers and sisters) were very supportive.

After completing secondary school in 1993, Mrs. Lacresha moved to Harare from Mhondoro to live with her uncle in Highfield, a high-density area near Budiriro. During this time in Highfield, she met her boyfriend who subsequently became her husband. For Mrs. Lacresha, marriage represented upward social mobility since her husband was a mechanic who had a good income. Besides having a full-time formal job in Harare, her husband worked in the informal sector during weekends to earn extra income. With this combined income, Mrs. Lacresha and her husband were able to move from a high-density area to rent a house in a low-density suburb called Waterfalls, and also to send their child to a boarding school (in addition to affording all

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<sup>13</sup> Respondent 9, interviewed on 10/09/2015.

the basics such as food and clothes). Unfortunately, in 2009, Mrs. Lacresha's husband passed away. This, for her, represented a major shock in her adult life. She could not maintain her urban lifestyle because she was not working and given that her husband had been the breadwinner. As a result of the pressures that came with the death of her husband, she moved to her husband's rural home in Mount Darwin for two years and then later to live with her sister in Chegutu (a mining and farming town in Mashonaland West Province). She withdrew her daughter from boarding school.

During her stay with her sister in Chegutu, she then asked her brother (who resides in the United Kingdom) to send her money so that she could start a cross border business. In 2012, she received money and this enabled her to apply for a passport and also some money to start a cross border business. Her first line of trade was selling illegal skin lightening creams which she smuggled in from Zambia. At the same time, she found a place to live in Budiriro and, because business was going well, she was able to support herself and her daughter. Her main clients for the skin lightening creams were commercial sex workers. The selling of these creams for Mrs. Lacresha was profitable for some time but a challenge arose due to the illegality of the trade in Zimbabwe. For example, she noted that she was once arrested for selling the creams: *"Business was not that bad, but I was once arrested at the border in Chirundu. I appeared in court in Karoi. But I professed ignorance. I told the court I was not aware that the skin lightening creams were prohibited. I however still had to pay a fine."*

Her regular clients also started to default on payments for the skin lightening creams, as they would take the creams on credit. Mrs. Lacresha believed that her clients were taking advantage of the fact that she could not report them for non-payment because the creams were illegal. Hence she decided to leave that line of trade and venture into a legal business of selling shoes. She secured a stall/table at a flea market in Harare city centre selling brand new shoes imported from South Africa. This venture ended up not being very profitable because, when she started, she sold at least two pairs of shoes a day but, when it was school-fees season, people would not buy shoes as they would have school-related expenses. She was selling what was only enough to rent the table for the month, hence she decided to move her business to Budiriro because the area is a high-density area with cheaper business rentals and a huge market at least potentially for her

products. She also indicated that she now sells a variety of products so that she is not affected by seasons. For example, at her stalls she had a variety of products that included shoes, clothing, sportswear as well as kitchenware.

At the time of the interview, she indicated that her business continued to be affected by fluctuations in the economy and that not many people were buying her products. She explained that buying and selling had become a habitual process rather than a profit-making endeavour. If she had another option, she would embark on it. The situation was so dire that Mrs. Lacresha had to pull out of the *round* (a rotating money-saving scheme) in which she was involved because she was not able to save anything from her trade. Mrs. Lacresha indicated as well that her business was being affected by the influx of Chinese-owned shops which were selling the same products she was selling but at a lower price. She explained the issue of Chinese shops in this way:

*‘‘I guess with time things can change; perhaps at the moment people have no disposable income. But I get worried at times with the emerging of these China shops. I personally feel they have killed our business. As you can see, I am selling this jersey for \$10, but if you go into the CBD, you will find the same jersey going for \$7 or \$8 in the China shops. One wonders where they get these goods.’’*

She explained that she bought for instance a jersey for \$5 and sold it for \$10, with the difference between the cost and selling prices having to factor in a range of costs, including travelling to Zambia to purchase goods for resale. Hence, for her, the business environment was becoming increasingly competitive and less profitable and she was deeply concerned about the future.

#### **6.4.2 Case 9: Mr. Quinton<sup>14</sup>, the Intermittent Vendor**

Mr. Quinton was born and raised in Mufakose, a high-density area next to Budiro established by the colonial government; it was meant to house low- and middle-income black Africans. He

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<sup>14</sup> Respondent 13, interviewed on 13/07/2015.

was born in 1971 with a family of eight children and was the first-born. His father had two wives and his mother and stepmother had four children each. Mr. Quinton now has five children, three boys and two girls. The eldest is 23 years while the youngest is 5 years. During the interview, Mr. Quinton indicated that he married at 19 years of age and, as a result, started working when he was young in order to support his family. His first job was as a petrol attendant and he was earning the equivalent of \$700. The company owner however retrenched Mr. Quinton and he was given a retrenchment package.

After the stint at the petrol station, Mr. Quinton secured a job at a construction company. At this construction company, he was first employed as a general hand and then promoted to the position of site clerk, and then to the position of technician. In this position he worked for 17 years. The company's major business was in road and dam construction and also building sewer and reticulation systems. In 2007 the company shut down, citing the decline in the economy and the hyper-inflationary environment. The retrenchment package he was given was quickly eroded by the inflation rate at the time and did not help him much. He then moved into the informal sector and started selling shoes and sandals. At first he would buy and sell the shoes but later on he decided to manufacture the shoes and sandals by himself. He said that the business operated smoothly for a while but it then got affected by the continuous raids by the municipal police to the extent that it became unprofitable to continue.

Subsequently, he left the shoe making trade and decided to sell *kapenta* fish at the market in Mbare. As time went on, this business was again affected by continual run-ins with city authorities until he was forced to stop this business, even though the food business had promised to be profitable. He then moved to selling mobile phone credit as well as selling dinner plates and coffee mugs. He recently stopped selling the coffee mugs because the shop from where he was buying the mugs had increased its price and he was not able to make any profit. He also highlighted that there was severe competition from other people who had also entered the business and ongoing problems with the city authorities who did not support vending activities. When asked how he handles all these problems, Mr. Quinton indicated that he normally takes alcohol before he starts work. This also enables him to be less shy and confront possible customers as they walk around.

#### 6.4.3 Case 10: Elena<sup>15</sup>, the Divorced Vendor

Elena was born in Harare in 1980 in a family of five girls and three boys. Currently she sells *frezits* (frozen sweet juices) and snacks by the roadside. She was educated up to ‘O’ level. When she was growing up, she faced no problems but her siblings did after their father fell ill and died in 1999. By 1999 she had already married; however, she divorced in 2005 and currently has a child aged 15 years. She stated that she divorced her husband because he had become abusive and promiscuous.

Before she got married, she worked in 1997 and 1998 in a factory in Msasa (in Harare) after a relative who was working there gave her a tip that people were being recruited. When she started working, her life improved because she was able to buy herself clothes and other consumables she wanted. When she got married, her husband prohibited her from working. After her divorce in 2005, she started selling *frezits* and snacks. She secured the start-up capital from her brother. When asked about whether her life had improved over the past ten years, she said: “*My life is actually worsening. I used to pay small amounts of school fees for my child; now it is increasingly becoming difficult for me to pay the fees. My sister’s child became very sick and I had to take care of her, so I had to stop operating [her business] for five months.*” Thus she perceived a decline in the quality of her life in recent years. It is worth noting that the 10 years also coincide with her divorce in 2005. Furthermore, her vending business had not led to any dramatic improvements in her life due to a number of problems as illustrated below:

*“There is poor circulation of money; people are not just buying. Erratic electricity supplies are also a challenge, as freezits [as frozen drinks] need electricity. I need an ample room and conducive place to operate from. I need a tuck shop and if I happen to have a tuck shop I am sure of growth. Plus, the money I get is usually tax free and I think that is an advantage”.*

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<sup>15</sup> Respondent 12, interviewed on 11/07/2015.

Most of the difficulties she faced in expanding her business were related to a decline in the economy as well as public infrastructure.

She still had hopes of one day owning her own shop and appreciates the skill of financial discipline that she has learned from her business. When asked about the most important relationships in her life, she mentioned her relatives. They help her when she is in need, but she also has to help them in return and this impacts on her livelihood. In trying to cushion the blow of her poverty, she continues to belong to a savings club called *Mikando*.

#### **6.4.4 Case 11: Mrs Claudine<sup>16</sup>, the Cross-Border Trader**

Born in 1977 in a family of 11, 7 boys and 4 girls, Mrs. Claudine is a 38-year old woman married to a caretaker at a local Church in Budiro. She went to school up to “O” level (Form 4) just like all her siblings. She recounts: *“I don’t recall facing any challenges during that time, both my parents were there. I left for school having had my breakfast and they bought me my school uniforms. The only thing that bothered me is the distance that I had to walk to get to school...I was brought up well.”* She did not face any major challenges when she was a child because both her parents were alive and her older siblings were working and supported her parents through remittances, including sending money and groceries by bus from town to the rural area. Though Mrs. Claudine’s parents were peasant farmers, additional resources particularly through their remitting children meant that life was relatively better than for others in the village who did not have such additional resources.

Mrs. Claudine blamed her current but not so satisfactory livelihood on her inability to take school seriously as she imagines that if she had done better academically at school her life would have been different:

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<sup>16</sup> Respondent 7, interviewed on 8/07/2015.

*“Just going to school was a positive thing in my life. At times I blame myself for not putting enough effort in my education. If I had done well at school, I am sure I would be in a different place than where I am at the moment. ...I wish I had not been too playful at school. I never put any effort in studying... I often tell myself, I messed up my life. My older siblings would tell me that they had to do some household chores before they went to school. But I didn’t.”*

Although her father was a smallholder farmer, the family never suffered from any bad effects of drought because her father only sold grains when he knew there was enough cultivated crops for the family. She said:

*“The 1992 drought didn’t affect us that much. ...My father only sold maize when he was totally satisfied that he had enough to feed the family. He farmed maize, rapoko, millet and he also kept sheep. So we were never short of food. Yes, I can imagine the challenges that people face when there is a drought but I must say we were covered; we never slept on empty stomachs. We even had a situation where there are some relatives that would come and live with us as a result of the drought. They had nothing to eat at their respective homes”.*

What is clear is that Mrs. Claudine’s father cultivated drought-resistant crops like rapoko and millet and also kept sheep (which do not have a high water requirement per day compared to other animals like cattle, and thus are viable to keep even during droughts). Of course, remittances from children working in urban centres in Zimbabwe also helped cushion the effects of drought.

After undertaking her ‘O’ level studies in 1994 and passing with only three subjects, Mrs. Claudine decided to leave school to ensure that her younger siblings also had a chance to pursue schooling. She thus went to Harare where she lived with her brother in Kuwadzana. While there, she started to work in the informal sector to raise money to retake some of her failed ‘O’ level subjects; however, she took a cutting and design course instead. She also went for driving lessons to get a driver’s license but failed the test. She stayed with her brother, who treated her well, until she married in 2002 and moved to Budiriro with her husband without engaging in any kind of work until 2005. Despite doing the cutting and design course, Mrs. Claudine never



became formally employed in this line of work. As an alternative, from 2005 and for a few years, she started selling wares in the informal sector. She recollects these experiences as follows:

*‘Between 2000 and 2005 I was just seated at home. But I used to have a friend who was in the selling business. I would spend time with her at her stall. This is when I developed an interest in what she was doing. So I asked my husband for money so I could join my friend in selling wares. My husband agreed and this is what I have been doing ever since. We started off selling our wares in Guruve and other rural areas. I only had one child then, so it was not difficult for me to move around with her’.*

Mrs. Claudine was able to engage in informal trade due to the support of her husband who gave her startup capital and allowed her to travel to rural areas to sell her wares.

Mrs. Claudine was selling her wares through barter trade. Business was brisk, as she exchanged things like socks, drinking glasses and scarves (which she purchased in Harare) for maize in Guruve rural areas. She then sold the maize in Harare. She stopped doing this two years prior to the Budiro study as it became too physically demanding walking long distances doing barter deals and carrying maize. Though she was making a reasonable profit, she indicated that *“my health is more important. I was exerting myself too much. Besides my friend relocated to Norton because her husband found a job there.”* She then turned to employing her cutting and design skills by making clothes for sale within Harare. While the clothing business was initially profitable it then went into a tailspin, as she describes:

*‘I started doing business from this place in 2007 but, these days, business is very slow. I can spend the whole week without selling anything. Once in a while you can get a dollar or \$2 and I end up using this money at home. As you can see, I don’t have much to sell anymore because I am not able to replace my merchandise because the little money I get I use at home. There are times I just feel like quitting.’*

She highlighted the very dim prospects even in the informal sector in urban Zimbabwe, because the downsizing of the economy led to massive job losses and fewer employees in the formal sector who had disposable income, and due to the increased competition in the informal sector as former formal sector employees scramble to make a living through trading.

Mrs. Claudine thus gave the following detailed reasons why people were not buying:

*‘‘People don’t have money to buy. ...There are too many people now selling. This includes those that have been made redundant in the formal sector; they are also now into the business of selling. People might have the money to buy but they are now spoilt for choice. There is so much competition amongst the sellers to the extent some are selling goods at lower prices....The other reason is that potential customers are now buying from the vendors in the CBD. By the time they come to Budiriro after work, they find it’s no longer necessary to buy from us.... There are some who are not serious about selling; they just joined in when vendors invaded the CBD. They are our competitors for now but we know once they are evicted from the CBD our business might improve. Even when the business is low, we still come and sell whatever few goods can be bought. We simply can’t just sit at home and do nothing. This is comparable to those people who have not been paid for months on end; they still go to work even if they are not paid. I can count a number of people who [in the past] bought stands and built houses and I am one of them. We were able to sell goods worth over a \$100 in a week. We were able to buy food and pay school fees for our children, this is now in the past. Now we only come here just to get a dollar to buy relish for our families. The economy is to blame for our hardships.’’*

While her parents as small-holder farmers had no difficulties in sending her to school, she was experiencing extreme hardships even in sending her two children to primary school (Grade Seven and Grade Two).

Mrs. Claudine’s depressing story shows the ways in which national economic decline led to the decline in livelihood options for households, in Budiriro and other high-density areas in Harare. In this respect, she drew an insightful parallel between: on the one hand, people in the formal jobs who may not be paid for months but keep going to work in the hope that one day they will be paid and, on the other hand, people in the informal sector who hang on to their livelihood activities on the premise that perhaps soon there will be an economic turnaround.

#### **6.4.5 Key Lessons from ‘Sinking Deeper’**

There are some key points or lessons which arise from the stories of these four cases of a downward trajectory, which I detail briefly. First of all, education (as a form of human capital) is still perceived as a key to livelihood success. The households blamed poor schooling outcomes

as critical to explaining their current marginal livelihood status. This shows that for many, even during an extended period of economic turmoil, education is still regarded as a key pathway to better livelihood outcomes (though it does not guarantee this in practice).

Secondly, for women, marriage and the breakup of marriage (through divorce or widowhood) often have dramatic effects on their livelihoods. The difference in livelihoods between men and women is that, for women, marriage in many cases is associated with a decline in livelihood prospects because women are expected to stop work upon marriage (even when the women themselves wanted to work). As a result, the livelihood trajectories of women are regularly beyond their control and become shaped by the patriarchal values and beliefs (and power) of men and the in-laws of wives. Divorce and widowhood also detrimentally impact upon the livelihood patterns of women. Most women in the Budiriro study who perceived their lives as having improved were married or in double-income households where the husband had formal employment (or another income-generating work) and women saw their income as supporting the income of the husband. Women who were suddenly widowed or divorced their husband often experienced declining livelihoods because they usually did not have a regular and sufficient income stream.

Thirdly, when comparing the trajectory of those households which were sinking deeper and those which were not, it is clear that the type of business or income-generating activities in which the second group was involved was often marked by greater security and resilience. For example, the sinking deeper households were engaged in petty trading such as selling *freesits* and mobile phone credit while those who were on an upward life course were engaged in more substantial businesses such as cattle ranching and fencing. However, the study is not able to determine the direction of association; that is, whether people were involved in petty trading because they were already poor or whether they became poor because of their choice of trade. However, similar to other groups, the households discussed in this section also mentioned obstacles to their livelihoods such as unsupportive government policies and harassment by police.

## **6.6 Conclusion**

From the life histories presented above, it is clear that a variety of factors, which include structural factors such as the economy, politics, norms values and beliefs, institutions as well as agency regardless of the trajectory, play a role in the shaping and construction of livelihoods of individuals and households in Budiriro. It is also the case that all households in Budiriro, given the turbulent political economy of contemporary Zimbabwe, are subject to the possibility of unexpected shocks and heightened vulnerability, with some households though being in a stronger position to cope with such shocks and vulnerability. Hence, over time, the status of a particular household may be subject to a change in livelihood trajectory such as a shift from being stagnant to being in decline. Importantly, the chapter has added a complementary temporal and diachronic analysis to the conceptualization of livelihoods in Budiriro. This was done by tracing the history and rationalities behind the development of livelihoods in Budiriro. Doing so shed more light on the processes and factors involved in livelihood construction and understanding how and why people move in and out of not only poverty but also livelihood activities and strategies that allow them to make a living in urban settings.

## **CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION**

### **7.1 Introduction**

The main objective of this thesis is to understand and explain the construction of livelihoods in low-income urban households in Zimbabwe with a particular focus on Budiriro high-density area in Harare. From the findings presented in the three preceding empirical chapters, it is clear that households in Budiriro engage in a number of livelihood activities to make and maintain a living. The findings highlighted the complex and turbulent social, economic and political contexts which condition the construction of livelihoods, rather than strictly cause particular livelihood portfolios as per an argument based on structuralism. The ways in which the shifting context influenced livelihood trajectories of households over an extended period of time was also brought to the fore. This concluding chapter synthesises these findings and shows how they relate to the main and secondary objectives of the thesis, as well as indicating how the theoretical framework for the thesis facilitates a deep and nuanced understanding of the study's conclusions about household livelihoods in Budiriro. I conclude by referring to possible areas of further research.

### **7.2 Reflections on Study Objectives**

The main objective of this thesis is to understand and explain the ongoing construction of livelihood activities by urban households in Budiriro, Harare in Zimbabwe. In pursuing this main objective, the following secondary objectives were formulated and pursued:

1. Identify and describe the livelihood activities of Budiriro households;
2. Describe and examine socio-economic differentiation and corresponding livelihood activities amongst Budiriro households;
3. Examine contemporary and historical factors influencing the livelihood activities pursued by Budiriro households;
4. Identify and analyse temporal changes and livelihood trajectories of Budiriro households;
5. Understand the ways in which Budiriro households respond to shocks and disturbances; and
6. Examine the relevance of intra-household relations in Budiriro and their

impact on household livelihood activities.

In this section, I offer a comprehensive overview of the findings, and highlight the ways in which the findings relate to the secondary objectives of the thesis.

The thesis demonstrates that Budiriro is not a homogeneous and undifferentiated community despite the fact that all households live in high-density, low-income area of Harare (*objective 2*). Thus, this study first examined and analysed the evidence from Budiriro which specifically relates to household expenditure and household assets (in terms of ownership and access) in order to develop a household-based wealth index. The purpose of developing this wealth index for each Budiriro household studied was to distinguish and categorise the different types of households that exist and reside in Budiriro in relation to socio-economic status. The study established that socio-economic differentiation based on household expenditure and household assets are, broadly speaking, consistent with each other such that the overall wealth index seems reliable. When the expenditure and assets of Budiriro households are considered, three distinct wealth quintiles emerge, namely, better-off, average and poor. The wealth category of a household tends to inform the livelihood activities and strategies in which households engage and embark on. It is important to emphasise that this objective is meant to offer a synchronic analysis of the contemporary socio-economic status of Budiriro households, with a more diachronic analysis also pursued (as per objective 4).

All households in Budiriro indicated that they experienced various shocks of different intensities, both covariate and idiosyncratic shocks (*objective 5*). These shocks include limited access to adequate and affordable accommodation, defective and irregular water supplies, mismanaged waste and sewage disposal, food shortages, illness and death, and loss of employment from time to time. Responding to shocks in Budiriro takes a variety of forms, such as participating in employment activities (permanent and casual employment) in both public and private institutions as well as in the informal sector. Strategies in the informal sector include activities such as vending, cross-border trade, hairdressing, sewing, food vending, tailoring and agriculture. The study also established that, in dealing with shocks, a number of households rely on remittances from friends and relatives who have migrated from Zimbabwe to other countries. In many ways, these shock-related livelihood activities are the very same livelihood activities engaged in on a

more regular basis, given that daily existence and life in Budiro is fundamentally marked by permanent (and systemic) shock and crises for households. It was also shown that a household's socio-economic (or wealth) status in Budiro shapes the type and depth of shocks and disturbances encountered in the first place, in addition to the capacity to respond (and form of response) to such stresses. For instance, households with assets such as significant livestock-holdings are better able to respond to shocks compared to those with limited or no livestock.

Pursuing *objective 1* involved identifying and analysing the diverse livelihood activities, strategies and portfolios of households in Budiro. Emerging from this analysis is the fact that a majority of Budiro households does not rely on only one source of livelihood (or one livelihood activity) but pursue multiple sources of livelihoods and income simultaneously. But this is done for different reasons. It may be that this is a sign of desperation, as a household is simply unable to rely exclusively on one activity and tries therefore to maximise on the number of available often-erratic and unreliable activities. This is often the case with average and poor households. However, for better-off households in Budiro, multiple sources of livelihoods may demonstrate the capacity to invest in different activities in enhancing their wealth status, such as when formal employment facilitates start-up capital for informal trading activities.

The trans-local or multi-spatial character of Budiro households also comes out clearly. Rural-urban synergies and linkages are key to making a living in Budiro and also for responding to shocks, disturbances and stresses. This was evident amongst respondents who indicated how rural (typically, communal) areas act as absorbers or cushions for shocks suffered by urban households. This is especially so when Budiro households suffer from major shocks such as the death of their main income-earner, with their rural relatives providing material (and indeed emotional) support to the bereaved urban household. For example, when Mrs. Lacresha's husband died, she moved to the rural area to find time to grieve and also to avoid the costs associated with the urban commodified economy (notably rent), as she sought to come to terms with – and adjust to – her new widowhood status. There is also at times a flow of income between rural and urban areas, as illustrated by cases where urban households invest urban-generated income in their rural homes, whether this entails building homestead structures or purchasing moveable assets such as cattle, as in the case of Albert discussed in chapter six.

In considering objectives 1 and 5, it is possible to conclude that Budiriro households and household heads in particular are reflexive, entrepreneurial and, in general, work hard to earn a living and sustain viable livelihoods, as well as to address sporadic or ongoing shocks and stresses. Those who are skilled, for example, utilise their skills by pursuing work within both the formal and informal sectors; and those who are not skilled seek to acquire skills both formally and informally so as to enhance their livelihoods. Further, those who have lost their employment in the formal sector, often because of downsizing of the Zimbabwean economy broadly, actively engage in the informal sector, including vending, transport, repair services, agriculture, construction and personal services such as haircutting. This general conclusion about households in Budiriro, as emanating from this study, is consistent with other urban-based studies in Zimbabwe and elsewhere (Hope 2014, Rakodi 1995, Potts 1997, Moser 2009, Owour 2006, Foeken and Owour 2009, Owusu 2010). Again, though, this conclusion is in large part based on a synchronic analysis or snap-shot of contemporary livelihoods.

The current livelihood activities and strategies of Budiriro households must be understood with reference to significant historical and contemporary forces in Zimbabwe (*objective 3*), which involve a shifting combination of social, economic and political factors. They in effect constitute the vulnerability context (including covariate shocks and how these play themselves out at household level) within which Budiriro households seek to construct and pursue livelihood strategies. Thus, these forces set the broad conditions of existence for Budiriro households and structure and delimit the range of possibilities in terms of livelihood activities.

The economic factors in the main relate to the contracting national economy of Zimbabwe subsequent to fast track land reform from the year 2000 but they also refer back to the structural adjustment programme in the 1990s. The dollarising of the economy in 2009 might have stabilised the economic decline but it did not lead to any economic upturn. This meant (as indicated earlier) an absolute drop in urban employment (particularly of stable, permanent employment), a burgeoning of the informal economy, a reliance on urban agriculture and the pursuit of a diversified livelihood portfolio – often consisting of erratic, precarious and short-term activities – as a way of managing risk for many households. Other economic constraints highlighted included insufficient access to financial credit and commodity markets, which



undermined the possibility that informal economic activities would be able to move beyond being low capital and low profit, survivalist businesses. In almost all cases, Budiriro households indicated that the declining performance of the formal economy resulted in an increase in competition within the informal sector, a decline in the purchasing power of customers and a decrease in the number of sales per day. Given the growing significance of the informal economy for Budiriro households, this thwarted their effort in maintaining a living while also trying simultaneously to guard against shocks.

Additionally, the politics of Zimbabwe affected urban livelihoods in Budiriro in a prohibitive and restricting manner, including political mismanagement of the economy, disruptive land reform under fast track and so-called urban renewal programmes (notably Operation Restore Order), all of which indicates the intricate relationship between political and economic restructuring. Also of some significance, even for urban households in Budiriro, has been long-term climate change in terms of trends in rainfall variability. For example, the narrative of Mr. Malcom (in chapter six) shows how droughts have played a fundamental role in shaping his livelihood trajectory.

Beyond the political, economic and climatic contexts were social factors, and these were discussed more specifically with reference to intra-household dynamics and how these effect livelihood activities (*objective 6*). The key social factors were cultural arrangements around patriarchy and kinship relations within households (or between family-related households). In eleven of the life histories (presented in chapter six), it is clear that cultural-social arrangements influenced the events and episodes experienced by individual Budiriro households. For example, household dynamics led to the decision not to send Albert to a boarding school. This decision resulted in Albert attending a rural day school that was far away from home, eventually leading him to decide to drop out of school prematurely. Further, the separation or divorce of Newton's parents led Newton to work as a child in an effort to take care of himself and his grandmother. Intra-household relations based on patriarchy and the domestication of women also forged and shaped livelihood strategies. Josefine thus moved from the formal sector to the informal sector as the latter best suited the demands of both the collapsing economy and household patriarch. It seems then that household dynamics often mediate the relationship between broader structural context and household livelihood activities. As well, it is necessary to consider ownership of

(and access to) household assets from a gendered perspective, as the possibilities of livelihood trajectories cannot be read from examining such assets as physical stock – how they are embedded in gendered relations is crucial.

Examining the historical forces pertinent to Budiriro household livelihoods was pursued more fully when focusing on *objective 4*, that is, when offering a diachronic analysis of livelihood strategies over time, or livelihood trajectories. The synchronic analysis showed the wealth category and livelihood activities when the fieldwork was done. But it does not identify the historical construction of livelihoods of each household. It also does imply that any particular household is on a particular trajectory or even if such trajectories exist. A ‘trajectory’ conjures up the notion of a linear process, so perhaps the term ‘pathway’ is more suitable as a metaphor for the history of Budiriro households. A pathway is not necessarily straight or linear, as it can meander to such an extent that it is possible to arrive back at the place one started. Admittedly, in the diachronic analysis, households were identified as falling within one of three trajectories, but these trajectories were seen as quite fragile, uncertain and insecure.

Overall, the temporal analysis was able to leave the particular (contemporary) juncture behind so to speak and to delve into historical changes in livelihood activities as well as how these changes (or continuities) were conditioned. This historical examination is crucial because it allows for a deeper understanding of the form and extent of agency enacted in practice by households. It is tempting when undertaking a static analysis of household livelihoods to claim that, given the structural context and constraints within which a household exists at a specific juncture, conscious and rational choices are made within the limited range of possibilities. In other words, as consistent with the livelihoods framework, the notion of the ‘rationalising household’ emerges. Deep historical understandings may however prove this assumption to be problematic. I examine this more fully in the next section, in highlighting how the main objective of the thesis was addressed.

Temporal analysis is also of significance when considering the ‘life histories’ of particular households in Budiriro in relation to questions around household structure and composition. It might be argued that the wealth category of a specific household at a particular juncture is in

large part a result of the stage of development of that household, such that households exist along a continuum from newly-established (a young couple) to fully mature (an older couple with grown children) households. If this were the case, then the wealth index simply captures the stage in household development in Budiriro, with household development entailing an inevitable process of asset accumulation. Clearly, though, any model which speaks about a linear evolutionary development of households is deeply problematic. Household structures, compositions and histories are exceedingly diverse, and they can change dramatically and suddenly through death and divorce for instance. The histories of livelihood construction by households in Budiriro exemplify this very clearly, with constant ups and downs in lives and livelihoods as households supposedly develop.

### **7.3 Theoretical Reflections**

Addressing the six subsidiary objectives of the thesis, as discussed in the previous section, contributed to pursuing the main objective, which is focused on a critical analysis of livelihood construction in urban areas such as Budiriro. This also showed the relevance of the Livelihoods Framework for the investigation of livelihoods in Budiriro. In this section, deeper theoretical reflections are put forward with reference to the first objective pertaining to providing a critical analysis of Budiriro livelihoods, moving into higher-level sociological theory around the work of Pierre Bourdieu and questions around specifically agency in sociological thinking.

It was mentioned earlier that a synchronic analysis may lead to an understanding of agency as a highly rationalising activity based on the notion of the ‘rational man’. The sociological reasoning of Margaret Archer at first sight might imply a mere justification for this position as she considers human agency as reflexive, with individuals consciously recognising their concerns and pursuing projects. However, Archer argues against the methodological individualism of the Livelihoods Framework and is also sensitive to the deep structures and mechanisms which generate the world of human experience and events. Earlier, I also suggested that the notion of a trajectory is dubious when considering the livelihood histories of Budiriro households as it implies a linear model of development; and that the notion of a pathway, as times twisting and turning, would be a more appropriate metaphor. If livelihood histories are pathways, then a crucial question becomes: who (or what) sets and determines the path? Are Budiriro households

establishing their own path, or are they following the path which has been set for them by the social history within which they are embedded? The latter position would tend to be more consistent with arguments made by Bourdieu about habitus-based agency.

One of the challenges in assessing the extent to which households consciously reflect upon their life circumstances and constantly engage in activities based on rational thinking relates to research methodology and methods. In speaking to research subjects, the researcher is invariably asking the subjects to reflect on the past, present and future. These reflections appear outside of the 'natural setting' such that, in their day-to-day existence as they live out their lives, it is not possible to thereby conclude that they are therefore daily reflexive, reasoning and rationalising human subjects. Ethnographic accounts are most likely to discover whether this is the case or not. This thesis did not involve an ethnographic study, but the identification of pathways – rather than trajectories – in the histories of livelihoods in Budiriro may at least give a sense of the basis on which Budiriro households act.

This is not a debate about whether structure or agency is more important in understanding human practices, though this remains unresolved in sociological analysis. Rather, the issue pertains to the conceptualisation of agency itself. To remind the reader, Bourdieu argues for a dispositional theory of agency, with human subjects (as social and historical) subjects borne along by their past as it sets the course for the present and future. Thus, humans are not rationalising and reasoning subjects, but they act in a rational and reasonable manner given their current life circumstances and their likely future. For Bourdieu, then, livelihood activities and strategies are the product of habitus, rooted in his notion of the logic of practice: in everyday life, human subjects act according to historically-generated dispositions, such that reflexivity rarely comes into play. This is different from the practice of logic, involving highly reflexive thinking (such as in the world of intellectuals) or during times of crises such as stresses and shocks. When a crisis emerges, such as the death of a loved one or loss of permanent employment, human subjects enter into the realm of the practice of logic, as they think deeply about their life including its very meaning.

This is where the main challenge lies in understanding the agency of Budiriro households as they pursue livelihood practices. If the history of Budiriro households was simply characterised by trajectories (along a straight path), then habitus would seem to be particularly useful in understanding the construction of household livelihoods over time. But they are not characterised as such, and the main reason for this is that the lives of Budiriro households seem to be in a constant state of crisis (or almost permanent shock and stress). Because of this, though (from a distance) long-term structural trends underpinning the lives of Budiriro households might seem stable and fixed, they are in fact constituted by ongoing crisis-marked conjunctures which necessitate some form and level of conscious reasoning in making livelihood decisions and pursuing livelihood options. In the end, this is not an overall claim against Bourdieu's argument about the predominant form of agency in everyday life. It does however highlight that seeking to understand agency cannot be accomplished *a priori*, as it requires detailed empirical investigation as delimited by space and time. At the same time, this discussion highlights the need to pursue livelihoods studies with greater sensitivity to macro-sociological theorising.

Irrespective of any sociological conclusions about the very form of human agency, this thesis has sought to critically analyse Budiriro livelihoods over time with reference to broader political and economic structures and forces impinging on the lives of Budiriro households. This temporal focus, I would argue, is an important contribution even to the (mainstream) livelihoods literature which typically fails to address broader theoretical concerns. In the case of urban livelihood studies in Zimbabwe, they have generally presented snapshots of current livelihood strategies within a specific juncture of a household's existence. For example, the recent study by Gukurume (2015) on livelihood resilience traces the lived experiences of individuals involved in money-burning activities and explores the dynamics and challenges of trading in foreign currency during the era of hyperinflation in Harare. In another study by Tawodzera and Zanamwe (2016), the authors examine various livelihood and income-generating activities amongst poor urban households in Harare in the context of economic crisis, and they show how these households are deriving their incomes from part-time and full-time employment, informal sector activity, remittances, rent, pensions, gifts and aid among other livelihood strategies. In a different study on urban poverty in two low income neighbourhoods (Highfield and Epworth) located in and near Harare, Manjengwa et al. (2016) found high levels of income-based poverty

mainly associated with family size, low education level of the household head, lack of income from permanent employment, and low cash transfers. Further, the study by Kamete (2010) demonstrates the oppositional spatial practices of urban youth in an authoritarian environment by highlighting how they defend their ‘illicit’ livelihoods, challenging the dictates of the planning systems through localised non-confrontational struggles that disrupt existing institutional arrangements and spaces. All of these, and other, studies are legitimate and valuable studies but they display minimal or no historical depth.

On this contrary, this thesis not only presented and identified the processes, patterns and factors shaping and influencing the vulnerability contexts and livelihood strategies of households in Budiriro at the time of data collection, as it did this also historically. The study untangled, unpacked and identified livelihood patterns over an extended period of time, thereby adding complexity and depth to the understanding of Budiriro livelihoods. Whether one adopts the theoretical perspective of Archer or Bourdieu, or does not engage in macro-sociology at all, a full analysis of urban (and rural) livelihoods necessitates a return to the past and a thorough temporal analysis in order to understand the relational, historical and socially embeddedness of household livelihoods. By going beyond a mere snapshot or synchronic analysis of capitals, vulnerabilities and shocks, it is possible to analyse the historical processes through which livelihood strategies are not only constructed but are subject to constant reconstruction. It is hoped that by providing such a temporal view of livelihoods in Budiriro, along with the multi-spatial dimensions to them, this thesis contributes to recent attempts at strengthening the Livelihoods Framework, including by drawing upon macro-sociological theory (Dehaan and Zoomers, 2005, Dijk, 2011; Sakdapolrak 2014).

## **7.4 Conclusion**

In conclusion, I point to possible areas of further research on livelihoods, besides the necessity of sustained temporal analysis and drawing upon macro-sociological theorising. First of all, as indicated, there needs to be a more sustained focus in livelihood studies on intra-household dynamics, and particularly around questions of gender and generation. More explicitly feminist work, particularly in analysing the domestic sphere (as a crucial site of social reproduction) in the context of patriarchal practices and discourses, would add considerable insight into the

complexities of household-based livelihood patterns. Secondly, there is a tendency in livelihood studies to examine exclusively, as this thesis has done, low-income households in urban and rural spaces. It would be important to shift the focus and study high-income households, as this may also contribute to theoretical reworking around the character of livelihoods, including the question of agency. Thirdly, more in-depth comparative analyses, perhaps even straddling urban and rural settings or national contexts, would be able to identify both livelihood similarities and differences across spatial contexts. In summary, it is hoped that this thesis on urban livelihoods in Budiriro (Harare, Zimbabwe) stimulates other scholars to pursue these and other areas of research so as to deepen our sociological understanding of the construction of household livelihoods.

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## **APPENDIX ONE: SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE**

	CHARACTERISTICS OF HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS				
	B1	B2	B3	B4	B5
P e r s o n  C o d e	Who usually lives and eats in this household	Sex	What is the relationship to the head of house hold	Age (Years)	Marital Status
		1.Male 2. Female	1. Head 2. Spouse 3. Child 4. Parent of head of household 5. Parent of Spouse 6. Brother/Sister 7. Co-Wife 8. Grandchild 9. Grandparent 10. Other Relative 11. Non Relative/Employee		1. Never Married 2. Married 3. Divorced 4. Seperated 5.Widow/Widower 6. Cohabiting
01		1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11		1 2 3 4 5 6
02		1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11		1 2 3 4 5 6
03		1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11		1 2 3 4 5 6
04		1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11		1 2 3 4 5 6
04		1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11		1 2 3 4 5 6
05		1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11		1 2 3 4 5 6

06		1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11		1 2 3 4 5 6
07		1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11		1 2 3 4 5 6
08		1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11		1 2 3 4 5 6
09		1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11		1 2 3 4 5 6
10		1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11		1 2 3 4 5 6



	1. Education							
	C1	C2	C3	C4	C5	C6	C7	C8
P e r s o n  C o D E	Has _____ _ ever been to school?	Completed Level of Education	Is _____ _ currently attending school?	If yes to C3: which educationa l institution is _____ attending?	Does your household afford the school fees and school supplies for _____ –	Which 3 main problems, if any, did he/she experienc e at school or other education institution during the past 12 months	Was _____ _ ever absent from school on any day during the past week?	If yes to C7, what was the main reason for _____'s absence?
	1. Has Been 2. Never Been (Go to C12) 3. At School 4. Dropped	1. No schooling, illiterate 2. No schooling, literate 3. Primary, Incomplete	1 Yes 2. No  If no, and under 24 years go to	1. Governme nt school 2. Council School 3. Mission	1. Yes 2. Rarely 3. Sometimes 4. Usually 5. No	1. Lack of books 2. Lack of uniform 3. Lack of teachers	1. Yes 2. No (if no go to C16) 3. N/a	1. Chase away from non payment of fees 2. Lack of school stationery 3. Hunger 4. Illness of child

	Out	4. Primary, complete 5. Secondary, Incomplete 6. Secondary, complete 7. Vocational/Technical 8. University	C12. If no and above 24 years, go to C21	School 4. Satellite school 5. Private school 6. Non formal school 7. University 8. Technical 9. Other 10. N/a	6. N/A	4. Poor teaching 5. Sick teachers 6. Non payment of school fees/levies 7. Shortage of classrooms 8. Hunger 9. Insufficient subsistence money 10. Illness of child 11. Illness	5. Illness in the household 6. Other (Please specify) 7. n/a <hr/> — <hr/> —
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						of family member		
1		1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6
2		1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6
3		1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6
4		1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6
5		1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6
6		1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6
7		1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6

						11		
8		1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6
9		1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6
10		1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6



	C9	C10	C11
	If _____ is currently out of school, or has never been to school, what is the main reason?	Can _____ read?	Can _____ Perform accurate money transactions?
	1. Financial constraints 2. School too far 3. ill health 4. Religious or cultural reasons 5. Too young 6. Education not important 7. Became pregnant 8. Could not cope with school. 9 Truancy 10. Completed education 11. To work at home/ on farm 12. Other (Please specify) _____ _____	1. Yes 2. No	1. Yes 2. No
1		1 2	1 2
2		1 2	1 2

3		1 2	1 2
4		1 2	1 2
5		1 2	1 2
6		1 2	1 2
7		1 2	1 2
8		1 2	1 2
9		1 2	1 2
10		1 2	1 2

C 12	How far is the nearest primary school?	1= Less than 1km; 2= 1km – 5 km; 3 = 5 km or more
C 13	How far is the nearest secondary school?	1= Less than 1km; 2= 1km – 5 km; 3 = 5 km or more
C 14	How do your children get to school?	1 = walk; 2= drive; 3= Other (Specify) _____

C.15 Compared to ten years ago has the situation for your child's schooling improved deteriorated or stayed the same?

Primary Schools

Secondary

Schools

(i)

(ii)

1. Improved

☐
☐

2. Stayed the same

3. Deteriorated

4.

n/a

HEALTH (General Health)									
	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	D7	D8	D9
P e r s o n  c o d e	During the past month did _____ suffer from any illness/injury?  1. Yes 2. No If no, go to next person or section	If yes to D1: What was the major illness/injury that _____ suffered from in the past month?  1. Malaria 2. Diarrhea 3. Injury 4. Skin condition 5. Eye condition 6. Ear/Nose/Throat condition	Was _____ unable to engage in his /her usual activities, such as working, going to school or playing due to the illness/injury?  1. Yes 2. No	Did _____ seek treatment?  1. Yes 2. No If yes, go to D6	If no to D4: why did _____ not seek treatment?  1. Facility too far 2. Lack of funds 3. Home treatment 4. Religious beliefs 5. Condition cannot change 6. Illness/injury	Where did _____ seek treatment?  1. Public clinic/hospital 2. Private doctor/ clinic/ hospital 3. Traditional/Fai th healer 4. Other (Specify)	How much did _____ pay for treatment? (US\$)  1. Cash 2. Medical Aid 3. In kind 4. Did not pay Multiple answers acceptable	Was _____ satisfied with the service provided?  1. Yes 2. No If yes, go to D9	If No to D8, what was the main reason _____ was not satisfied?  1. Long waiting time 2. Drugs too expensive 3. Drugs not available 4. Staff rude/

		7. STIs 8. Tuberculosis 9. Other (Specify)			y not serious 7. No time 8. Other (Specify)				uncaring 5. Incorrect diagnosis 6. Facility understaff ed 7. Under- qualified personnel 8. Was not cured 9. Other (Specify)
0 1	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	1 2	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2 3 4	1 (\$_____ ) 2 3 4	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 2	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	1 2	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2 3 4	1 (\$_____ ) 2 3 4	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 3	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	1 2	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2 3 4	1 (\$_____ ) 2 3 4	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9



							) 2 3 4		
0 4	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	1 2	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2 3 4	1 (\$_____ ) 2 3 4	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 5	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	1 2	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2 3 4	1 (\$_____ ) 2 3 4	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 6	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	1 2	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2 3 4	1 (\$_____ ) 2 3 4	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 7	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	1 2	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2 3 4	1 (\$_____ ) 2 3 4	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 8	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	1 2	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2 3 4	1 (\$_____ ) 2 3 4	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
0 9	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	1 2	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2 3 4	1 (\$_____ ) 2 3 4	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
1 0	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	1 2	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2 3 4	1 (\$_____ ) 2 3 4	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9



DISABILITY (Ask all members of the household)									
	E1	E2	E3	E4	E5	E6	E7	E8	E9
P e r s o n  c o d e	Is _____ disabled?  1. Yes 2. No  if no go to next person or next section	What is the nature of the disability?  1. Difficulty moving 2. Difficulty seeing 3. Difficulty hearing 4. Difficulty learning/mental handicap 5. Chronic fits/Epilepsy 6. Strange behaviour/Mental illness 7. Lack of feeling in hand	Does this disability prevent him/her from maintaining a significant economic activity or attending school?  1. Yes	During the past 12 months did _____ receive any public assistance in connection with his/her disability?  1. Yes 2. No (Go to	Where was it from?  1. Social welfare 2. Churches 3. NGO 4. Community 5. Other( Specify)	What type of disability assistance did _____ get?  1. Money 2. Food 3. Clothing 4. Orthopaedic appliances 5. Other (Specify)	If _____ received cash, how much was it? \$_____  _____	Was the assistance adequate?  1. Yes 2. No	Why do you say the assistance was inadequate?  1. Too little 2. Not adequate to buy basics 3. Other ( Specify )

		/feet (leprosy) 8. Other (Specify)	2. No	E6)					
0 1	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2	1 2	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5		1 2	1 2 3
0 2	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2	1 2	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5		1 2	1 2 3
0 3	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2	1 2	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5		1 2	1 2 3
0 4	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2	1 2	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5		1 2	1 2 3
0 5	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2	1 2	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5		1 2	1 2 3
0 6	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2	1 2	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5		1 2	1 2 3
0 7	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2	1 2	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5		1 2	1 2 3
0 8	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2	1 2	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5		1 2	1 2 3
0 9	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2	1 2	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5		1 2	1 2 3
1	1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2	1 2	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5		1 2	1 2 3

0									
---	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--



EMPLOYEMENT – Non Agricultural									
	F1	F2	F3	F4	F5	F6	F7	F8	F10
P e r s o n  c o d e	Has _____  ever been employed?	When did _____ leave his/her last job?	For only those who left employment after 2007	What _____'s main economic activity in the last 12 months?	What type of establishment is this?	Who owns the assests in the establishment, where _____ works?	Does _____ have a written contract for his/her current employment?	How much money per month has _____ been taking home?	To what extent does _____'s income contribute to your household's well being?
	1. Yes 2. No 3. Left employment  if 1 or 2 go to F4		What was the main reason _____ left employment?  1. Dismissed 2. Retrenched 3. Establishment folded up 4. Illness/sickness 5. Contract expired 6. Salaries or	1. Paid employment – permanent 2. Paid employee – casual/contract/seasonal 3. Informal Trader 4. Own account worker( communal and ressettlement farmer) 5. Unpaid family worker 6. Unemployed 7. Student 8. Homemaker 9. Retired with pension 10. Retired without	1. Private 2.Ltd Liability partnerships 3. Co operatives 4. Quasi corporations 5. Household Enterprises 6. Central government 7. Local government 8. Parastatal 9. Other (	1.Owners Proprietor 2 Enterprise 3. Co operative members 4. Other (Specify)	1 Yes 2. No 3. Don't know		1. Greatly 2. Moderately 3. Not at all

				wages too low/worthless 7. To become an informal trader 8. Other (Specify)	pension 11. Other (Specify)	Specify)				
		MM	YYYY	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3 4	1 2 3	US\$	1 2 3
01	1 2 3			1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3 4	1 2 3		1 2 3
02	1 2 3			1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3 4	1 2 3		1 2 3
03	1 2 3			1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3 4	1 2 3		1 2 3
04	1 2 3			1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3 4	1 2 3		1 2 3
05	1 2 3			1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3 4	1 2 3		1 2 3



06	1 2 3			1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3 4	1 2 3		1 2 3
07	1 2 3			1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3 4	1 2 3		1 2 3
08	1 2 3			1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3 4	1 2 3		1 2 3
09	1 2 3			1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3 4	1 2 3		1 2 3
10	1 2 3			1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3 4	1 2 3		1 2 3



BUSSINESS ENTERPRISE				
Household bussiness income (preferably ask owner of the household bussiness)				
H1	Did this household or any member run a household bussiness in the last 12 months? 1. Yes 2. No (if no, Go to next section on agriculture income)			
P e r s o n s  c o d e	H2	H3		H4
	What is the nature of the household bussiness which _____ is engaged in?	If the household bussiness is jointly owned, indicate the person codes of the three main owners if they are members of the household		For how many months has _____ been in this bussiness for the past 12 months?
	1. Poultry and rabbit rearing 2. Other livestock rearing 3. Knitting and crocheting 4. Sewing 5. Weaving mats and baskets 6. Vegetable vending 7. Gathering/vending of natural resources 8. Clothes vending 9. Food vending 10. Tuckshop 11. Other vending	17. Motor repairs 18. Welding 19. Watch repairs 20. Shoe repairs 21. Carpentry 22. Hairdressing 23. Mining 24. Gold panning 25. Stone sculpture 26. Wood sculpture 27. Traditional/spiritual		

	12. Beer brewing 13. Shebeen 14. Bottle store 15. Grocery/shop/butchery 16. Market Gardening	healer 28. Emergency taxi opertaor 29. Cutting/selling firewood 30. Cross border trader 31. Foreign Currency dealer 32. Other ( Specify)				
01		P1		P2	P3	
02						
03						
04						
05						
06						
07						
08						
09						
10						

BUSSINESS ENTERPRISE							
Household bussiness income (preferably ask owner of the household bussiness)							
	H5	H6	H7	H8	H9	H10	H11
p e r s o n s  c o d e	How many people were/are employed in this bussiness in the peak season during the last 12 months?	What was the total cost of starting this bussiness?  US\$ _____  Rands _____  Pula _____	Did _____ receive any bussiness loan or grants in cash during the last 12 months?  1. Yes 2. No ( Go to H12)	What was the amount recieved in cash in the last 12 months?  US\$ _____	What is the estimated income in cash from this bussiness during th last 12 months?  US\$ _____	How much income did you recieve from this bussiness last month?  US\$ _____	To what extent does the bussiness enterprise contribut to your household's well being?  1. Greatly 2. Moderately 3. Not at all
01			1 2				1 2 3
02			1 2				1 2 3
03			1 2				1 2 3

04			1 2				1 2 3
05			1 2				1 2 3
06			1 2				1 2 3
07			1 2				1 2 3
08			1 2				1 2 3
09			1 2				1 2 3
10			1 2				1 2 3

BUSSINESS ENTERPRISE							
Household bussiness income (preferably ask owner of the household bussiness)							
	H12	H13	H14	H15	H16	H17	H18
p e r s o n s  c o d e	What is the estimated total income in kind from this bussiness during the last 12 months?  US\$_____	How much income in kind did _____ recieve from this bussiness last month?  US\$_____	Who makes decisions on the use of income from household bussiness?  1. Head of household 2. Spouse 3. Spouse outside household 4. Joint 5. Other (Specify)	How much cash was taken from the bussiness in the last 12 months?  US\$_____	Did _____ face any constraints in his/her bussiness in the last 12 months?  1. Yes 2. No ( Go to next section)	What is the main constraint faced by _____ in the bussiness' last 12 months?  1. Credits/capital/inputs 2. Technology 3. Transport 4. Access to market facilities 5. Irregular supply of inputs 6. Regulations 7. Not enough buyers 8. Bad debts	Has this problem faced by _____ in the household bussiness been solved?  1. Yes 2. No

						9. other (Specify)	
01			1 2 3 4 5		1 2	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	
02			1 2 3 4 5		1 2	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	
03			1 2 3 4 5		1 2	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	
04			1 2 3 4 5		1 2	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	
05			1 2 3 4 5		1 2	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	
06			1 2 3 4 5		1 2	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	
07			1 2 3 4 5		1 2	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	
08			1 2 3 4 5		1 2	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	
09			1 2 3 4 5		1 2	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	
10			1 2 3 4 5		1 2	2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	



	<b>AGRICULTURAL INCOME</b> Household bussiness income (preferably ask owner of the household bussiness)										
i1	Does this household have access to land for cultivation 1. Yes 2. No (go to next section on livestock table)										
Crop	i2	i3	i4	i5	i6	i7	i8	i9	i10	i11	i12
	Which of the following crops did this household plant last season (2013/2014)	What was the estimated total amount of seed used for each of the crops?  Codes for units 1. 50 kg bags 2. 90 kg bags 3. Bale 4. Bucket	What was the estimated total amount of seed used?	If seed was purchased, what was the cost?  US\$_____	What was the planted area under each crop last season? (acres or heactar es)	Did you plant any of the crops under irrigation?  1. Yes 2. No (go to i21)	What planted area under each crop was under irrigation?	What is your source for irrigation water for each crop?  1. River 2. Borehole 3. Spring	How do you irrigate your crops?  1. Flood irrigation 2. Overhead irrigation 3. Drip irrigation	Are you paying for the irrigation water you are using?  1. Yes 2. No (go to i13)	How much are you paying per month?  US\$

		5. kgs 6. tonnes						4. Dam			
		Unit	Qty								
Maize						1 2		1 2 3 4	1 2 3	1 2	
Millet						1 2		1 2 3 4	1 2 3	1 2	
Sorghum						1 2		1 2 3 4	1 2 3	1 2	
Wheat						1 2		1 2 3 4	1 2 3	1 2	
Rice						1 2		1 2 3 4	1 2 3	1 2	
Rapoko						1 2		1 2 3 4	1 2 3	1 2	
Coffee						1 2		1 2 3 4	1 2 3	1 2	
Tea						1 2		1 2 3 4	1 2 3	1 2	
Groundnuts						1 2		1 2 3 4	1 2 3	1 2	
Roundnuts						1 2		1 2 3 4	1 2 3	1 2	
Soya bean						1 2		1 2 3 4	1 2 3	1 2	
Sunflower						1 2		1 2 3 4	1 2 3	1 2	

Tobacco						1 2		1 2 3 4	1 2 3	1 2	
Cotton						1 2		1 2 3 4	1 2 3	1 2	
Sugar cane						1 2		1 2 3 4	1 2 3	1 2	
Beans or Peas						1 2		1 2 3 4	1 2 3	1 2	
Sweet potatoes						1 2		1 2 3 4	1 2 3	1 2	
Onions						1 2		1 2 3 4	1 2 3	1 2	
Tomatoes						1 2		1 2 3 4	1 2 3	1 2	
Paprika						1 2		1 2 3 4	1 2 3	1 2	
Green leaf vegetables						1 2		1 2 3 4	1 2 3	1 2	
Fruits						1 2		1 2 3 4	1 2 3	1 2	
<div> <div>AGRICULTURAL INCOME</div> <div>Household business income (preferably ask owner of the household business)</div> </div>											
Crop	i13	i14	i15	i16	i17	i18	i19	i20	i21		
	What was	How	What was	If no	How	How	To whom was	How much	How		

	<p>the main source of fertilizer used by this household last season?</p> <p>1. Free fertilizer – Govt</p> <p>2. Free – NGO/don or</p> <p>3. Purchased</p> <p>4. Manure</p> <p>5. Green Manure</p> <p>6. No fertilizer (</p>	<p>many kgs of fertilizer were used last season?</p>	<p>the cost of fertilizer purchased last season?</p> <p>US\$_____</p>	<p>fertilizer was used, what was the main reason?</p> <p>1. Too expensive</p> <p>2. Not available/no transport</p> <p>3. Not needed (Specify)</p> <p>4. Could not get credit</p> <p>5. Other (Specify)</p>	<p>many kgs were used for payment in kind?</p> <p>(Include funeral contributions)</p>	<p>many kgs did the household sell last season?</p> <p>If zero go to i21</p>	<p>the crop sold?</p> <p>1. Parastatal (GMB)</p> <p>2. Private Company</p> <p>3. Independent</p> <p>4. Community</p> <p>4. Other (Specify)</p>	<p>money was received from the crop sales?</p> <p>US\$_____</p>	<p>much of the crop is currently in stock?</p> <p>_____kgs</p>
--	---	--	---	--	---	--	--	---	--

	go to il6)								
Maize	1 2 3 4 5 6			1 2 3 4 5 6			1 2 3 4		
Millet	1 2 3 4 5 6			1 2 3 4 5 6			1 2 3 4		
Sorghum	1 2 3 4 5 6			1 2 3 4 5 6			1 2 3 4		
Wheat	1 2 3 4 5 6			1 2 3 4 5 6			1 2 3 4		
Rice	1 2 3 4 5 6			1 2 3 4 5 6			1 2 3 4		
Rapoko	1 2 3 4 5 6			1 2 3 4 5 6			1 2 3 4		
Coffee	1 2 3 4 5 6			1 2 3 4 5 6			1 2 3 4		
Tea	1 2 3 4 5 6			1 2 3 4 5 6			1 2 3 4		
Groundnut s	1 2 3 4 5 6			1 2 3 4 5 6			1 2 3 4		
Roundnuts	1 2 3 4 5 6			1 2 3 4 5 6			1 2 3 4		
Soya bean	1 2 3 4 5 6			1 2 3 4 5 6			1 2 3 4		
Sunflower	1 2 3 4 5 6			1 2 3 4 5 6			1 2 3 4		
Tobacco	1 2 3 4 5 6			1 2 3 4 5 6			1 2 3 4		
Cotton	1 2 3 4 5 6			1 2 3 4 5 6			1 2 3 4		
Sugarcane	1 2 3 4 5 6			1 2 3 4 5 6			1 2 3 4		
Beans or Peas	1 2 3 4 5 6			1 2 3 4 5 6			1 2 3 4		
Sweet potatoes	1 2 3 4 5 6			1 2 3 4 5 6			1 2 3 4		
Onions	1 2 3 4 5 6			1 2 3 4 5 6			1 2 3 4		

Tomatoes	1 2 3 4 5 6			1 2 3 4 5 6			1 2 3 4		
Paprika	1 2 3 4 5 6			1 2 3 4 5 6			1 2 3 4		
Green leaf vegetables	1 2 3 4 5 6			1 2 3 4 5 6			1 2 3 4		
Fruits	1 2 3 4 5 6			1 2 3 4 5 6			1 2 3 4		

AGRICULTURAL INCOME – Livestock Table

	J1	J2	J3	J4	J5	J6
Livestock	Does this household have any of the following?  1. Yes 2. No	How many of each livestock do you have?	What number was sold in the last 12 months?  Use the last month for the reference period for rabbits poultry	What was the estimated price per head?  US _____ –	Why did you sell the livestock?  1. Medical 2. Education 3. Food Procurement 4. Business 5. Other (Specify)	What was the number of live head used as payment in the last 12 months?
Cross breed cattle	1 2				1 2 3 4 5	

Local cattle	1 2				1 2 3 4 5	
Goats	1 2				1 2 3 4 5	
Sheep	1 2				1 2 3 4 5	
Pig	1 2				1 2 3 4 5	
Donkey	1 2				1 2 3 4 5	
Poultry	1 2				1 2 3 4 5	
Rabbits	1 2				1 2 3 4 5	
Other	1 2				1 2 3 4 5	





CASH TRANSFERS					
K1	Did you receive any cash during the last 12 months?				1. Yes 2. No (Go to next section on other income)
If yes to K1 provide details in the table below?					
K2	K3	K4	K5	K6	
From which source did you receive transfers	If applicable where is this individual?	How often is the money transferred.	How much was the last transfer?	How much in kind did you last receive?	
1. Relative 2. Spouse 3. Children 4. Government 5. NGO/donors 6. Other (Specify)	1. Urban 2. Rural 3. Region (SADC) 4. Other Parts of Africa 5. Europe/America 6. Asia/Australia	1. Monthly 2. Quarterly 3. Irregularly 4. Annually	US\$_____	US\$_____	

1 2 3 4 5 6	1 2 3 4 5 6				
1 2 3 4 5 6	1 2 3 4 5 6				
1 2 3 4 5 6	1 2 3 4 5 6				
1 2 3 4 5 6	1 2 3 4 5 6				
1 2 3 4 5 6	1 2 3 4 5 6				
K7		Who makes decision on the use of income from transfers		1. Head of household 2. Spouse 3. Joint 4. Other (Specify)	

SOURCES OF OTHER INCOME		L1	L2
		Did this household recieve any income from the following sources during the last 12 months?  1. Yes 2. No  if no go to next section	How much did the household recieve?  US\$_____
Pension			
Rent	Land		
	House		
	Other Buildings		
	Draught Power		
	Machinery (e.g Scotchcart)		
Income from other agricultural produce (e.g. milk, eggs)			
Insuarance			
Money and stock investments/ sale of financial assets			
Sale of durable			

goods			
Sale of household enterprise property			
Sale of private property			
L3	Who makes the decisions on the use of other income?	1. Head of household 2. Spouse 3. Joint 4. Other (Specify)	

HOUSING AMENITIES AND ASSETS			
M1	What is the tenure status of the household	Owner Tenant Lodger Tied accomodation Other (Specify)	1 2 3 4 5
M2	How many separate living rooms are there in the dwelling except bathrooms?	_____	
M3	Are you subletting any rooms?	1. Yes 2. No	
M4	How many rooms does the household occupy?	_____	
M5		1. Traditional	1

	Type of dwelling unit	2. Mixed 3. Detached 4. Semi detached 5. Flat/Townhouse 6. Other (Specify)	2 3 4 5 6
M6	Does the household have access to electricity?	1. Yes 2. No	1 2
M7	What is the household's main source of energy for cooking?	Wood Parrafin Electricity (legal connection) Electricity (illegal connection) Electricity from generator Gas Coal/Charcoal Gel Sawdust Cowdung Other (Specify)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11
M8	What is the household's main source of light?	Wood Parrafin Electricity (legal connection) Electricity (illegal connection) Electricity from generator Gas Other (Specify)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
M9	What is the household's main source of water for drinking and cooking?	Pipe water inside house (go to M11) Piped water outside house (go to M11) Communal tap Unprotected well River/Stream/Dam Other (Specify)	1 2 3 4 5 6

M10	How far is the water source?	<500m >500m – 1km >1km	1 2 3
M11	Generally what do you think of the quality of your water?	Very good Good Fair Bad Very bad Poor Don't know	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
M12	Does your household treat water (e.g boiling, allowing to settle, filter, chemical treatment, etc) before drinking?	Always Sometimes Rarely Never No treatment is necessary	1 2 3 4 5
M13	Has there been a constant supply of water during the last 12 months from your main source of water to meet your Household's drinking, cooking, bathing and cleaning needs?	Yes No	1 2
M14	During the last 12 months, for how many months was your household's main source of water sufficient to meet your drinking, cooking, bathings and cleaning needs/	Number of months	
M15	Approximately how much time does it take a	Hours _____ Minutes _____	

	member of your household to collect enough water for drinking, cooking, bathing, cleaning for a normal average day?		
M16	Do you pay for the domestic water that your household uses?	Yes No	1 2
M17	How much do you pay on average per month?		\$ _____
M18	Does your household normally afford to pay for the water that you use for drinking, cooking, bathing and cleaning?	Yes No	1 2 (go to next section)
M19	Why is it your household does not pay for the water that you use for drinking, cooking, bathing and cleaning?	No one charges us Water is a free good We just don't want to pay We cannot afford	1 2 3 4

ASSET OWNERSHIP					
N1. Which of the following assets does this household own or have free access to?	Item number	Owned	Free access, not owned	None	Quantity
Motor vehicle	1	1	2	3	
Motor cycle/scooter	2	1	2	3	
Bicycle	3	1	2	3	
Television	4	1	2	3	

DVD player/Video tape recorder	5	1	2	3	
Satellite dish	6	1	2	3	
Radio	7	1	2	3	
Computer	8	1	2	3	
Telephone	9	1	2	3	
Cell phone	10	1	2	3	
Refrigerator/deep freezer	11	1	2	3	
Juice extractor/ food mixer	12	1	2	3	
Toaster/sandwich toaster	13	1	2	3	
Microwave	14	1	2	3	
Stove (gas or electric)	15	1	2	3	
Washing machine	16	1	2	3	
Electric heater	17	1	2	3	
Sewing/knitting machine	18	1	2	3	
Peanut butter/candle making/oil pressing machine	19	1	2	3	
Land (arable, industrial, residential)	20	1	2	3	
Grinding mill	21	1	2	3	
Cultivator /ridger/planter	22	1	2	3	
Plough	23	1	2	3	
Tractor	24	1	2	3	
Scotchcart/ water cart	25	1	2	3	
Wheelbarrow	26	1	2	3	
Knapsack sprayer	27	1	2	3	
Water pump	28	1	2	3	
Generator	29	1	2	3	
Solar panel	30	1	2	3	
Lounge suite	31	1	2	3	
Bedroom suite	32	1	2	3	
Dining room suites	33	1	2	3	



Carpets	34	1	2	3	
Horse	35	1	2	3	
Donkey	36	1	2	3	
Goat/sheep	37	1	2	3	
Cattle	38	1	2	3	

CONSUMPTION EXPENDITURE												
Food consumption, ask whole household as an entity												
Food Item	Did HH spend anything on the following food items?  1. Yes 2. No	Unit of measure  1. leafs 2. kgs 3. Litres	What was the total spent on the food last month?  Ask also quantity		In addition to purchases, how much did this household consume on the following items from other sources in the last month?  1. Own Production 2. Public Transfers 3. Private Transfers 4. Other (Specify)							
			1	2	3	4	Qty	Value	Qty	Value	Qty	Value
Bread	1 2											
Maize/Mealie rice	1 2											
Flour	1 2											

Mhunga	1 2											
Millet	1 2											
Rapoko	1 2											
Sorghum	1 2											
Rice	1 2											
Breakfast cereals	1 2											
Meat	1 2											
Fish	1 2											
Milk	1 2											
Cheese	1 2											
Eggs	1 2											
Butter/ peanut butter/margarine	1 2											
Cooking oil	1 2											
Fruits	1 2											
Cabbages	1 2											
Onions	1 2											
Tomatoes	1 2											
Rape/Covo/Chomo ueller	1 2											
Pumpin/Squashes	1 2											
Green mealies	1 2											

Green beans	1 2											
Dried/tinned vegetables	1 2											
Groundnuts	1 2											
Potatoes	1 2											
Sweet potatoes	1 2											
Sugar/sweets/glucose	1 2											
Coffee/tea/chocolate	1 2											
Take away cooked food	1 2											
Sit down meals	1 2											
Alcoholic beverages	1 2											
Non alcoholic beverages	1 2											

Non-food consumption expenditure (ask for the whole household as an entity)			
	P1	P2	
	Reference period  1. last month 2. last 12 months 3. last term	How much did this household spend on the following items?	
Tobacco			
Clothing			
Footwear			
Rent			
Water			
Repair and maintenance of the house			
Electricity			
Other fuel (Specify)			
Household textiles and furnishings			
Household utensils			
Insurance (house, car, etc)			
Funeral policies			
Domestic wages			
Medicines			
Medical aid payments			
Health fees (doctors/traditional faith)			

healers)			
Hospital/clinics/maternity fees			
Operations for personal transport equipment (tyres,fuel)			
Communication (Road/rail)			
Telephone(mobile/landline)			
Recreation, entertainment and cultural activities			
School fees and levies for ECEC (e.g creche)			
School fees and levies for primary education			
School fees and levies for secondary education			
College/university tuition fees			
School uniforms			
School shoes			
Stationery for school			
Education books (text book/novels)			
Transport to school			
Boarding fees			

FOOD SECURITY ADAPTATION AND COPING STRATEGIES
--

Q1	On average, how many meals per day has this household been consuming over the last 7 days?	No. Of meals																									
Q2	If less than three meals a day, what is the main reason?	1. could not afford 2. Food not available in household 3. Food stocks not enough 4. Other( Specify)																									
Q3	How many meals per day do the folloing people normally have?	Adults _____  Children _____																									
Q4	How many times over the last 7 days have you consumed each of the following?  Please complete the table on the right	<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th>Food Item</th> <th>No of times consumed</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr><td>Maize/maize meal</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>Sorghum/millet meal</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>Rice</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>Rapoko</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>Bread</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>Meat</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>Fish</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>Vegetable</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>Fruits</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>Milk</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>Other (Specify)</td><td></td></tr> </tbody> </table>	Food Item	No of times consumed	Maize/maize meal		Sorghum/millet meal		Rice		Rapoko		Bread		Meat		Fish		Vegetable		Fruits		Milk		Other (Specify)		
Food Item	No of times consumed																										
Maize/maize meal																											
Sorghum/millet meal																											
Rice																											
Rapoko																											
Bread																											
Meat																											
Fish																											
Vegetable																											
Fruits																											
Milk																											
Other (Specify)																											

Q5	<p>What has been your staple food over the last 3 months</p> <p>(Multiple answers acceptable)</p>	<p>1. mealie meal</p> <p>2. sorghum/millet</p> <p>3. rice</p> <p>4. rapoko</p> <p>5. bread</p> <p>6. other (Specify)</p>
Q6	<p>Has this household experienced any food shortages over the past 3 months.</p>	<p>1. Yes</p> <p>2. No (go to Q9)</p>
Q7	<p>If yes, why</p>	<p>1. Drought</p> <p>2. lack of production capacity</p> <p>3. poor/small land holding</p> <p>4. food not available</p> <p>5. lack of income</p> <p>6. other (specify)</p>
Q8	<p>How has the household coped with food shortages</p>	<p>1. Skipped meals 2. Eating less preferred food</p> <p>3. Eating wild fruits 4. Zunde ramamba/ispala senkosi</p> <p>5. Sale of household assets 6. Sale of livestock</p> <p>7. Slaughtering of livestock 8. Reduced expenditure on health care</p> <p>9. Reducing expenditure on education/agric foods</p> <p>10. Food aid from government</p> <p>11. Food aid from NGOs</p>



		12. Support in cash/in kind from relatives and friends 13. Cash transfers 14. forced to migrate to find work 15. Other (Specify)																							
Q9	Who sources food in times of shortages  If person is a member of household, only record his/her person code in the first column; Otherwise proceed with filling in other columns	<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th>Person</th> <th>Age</th> <th>Sex</th> <th>Relationship to household head</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> </tbody> </table>	Person	Age	Sex	Relationship to household head																			
Person	Age	Sex	Relationship to household head																						
Q10	If you have no food shortages; What is your main source of food	1. Own production 2. Remittances 3. Government handouts 4. Begging 5. cash transfers 6. Buying 7. Other (Specify)																							

ACCESS TO LAND			
R1	Do you have access to any land in Zimbabwe?	1. Yes 2. No (go to next section)	
R2	Does this HH have access to land for cultivation?	1. Yes 2. No	
R3	If yes, what type of title does the HH have on this piece of land?	1. Owner 2. Tenant/lease 3. Use rights 4. Squatter	
R4	Who works on the land?	Type of Worker	1. Yes 2. No
		HH labour: men	1 2
		HH labour: women	1 2
		HH labour: boys	1 2
		HH labour: girls	1 2
		Hired labour	1 2
		Community labour	1 2
		Other	1 2
R5	What do you use for tillage/ ploughing	1. zero tillage 2. mechanized draught power 3. Digging (hoeing) 4. Animal draught power (plough)	
R6	Was the household able to cultivate the whole land last season	1. Yes 2. No	
R7	If no, what were the major reason you did not cultivate?	1. No draught power 2. No ploughing implements 3. Labour constraints 4.No or little rain 5. No seed/fertilizer 6. illness 7. Insecurity of tenure 8. Other	

R8	Do you think that the problems will be solved this next season	1. yes 2. No
R9	What conservation measures have you taken to conserve/improve soil in your land	1. application of manure 2. mulching 3. crop rotation 4. intercropping 5. permaculture 6. use of nitrogen fixing plants 7. contour ridging 8. terracing 9. aforestation 10. gully reclamation 11. farrowing
R10	How do you obtain your seeds	1. purchase 2. Selected by HH 3. Selected by a community seed bank
R11	What extension service did the HH receive over the past agricultural season	1. animal husbandry (including poultry) 2. crop husbandry 3. none 4. Other(specify)
R12	What benefits did your HH get from domestic animals?	1. sales from livestock 2. milk 3. meat 4. transport 5. ploughing 6. ploughing for a fee 7. traditional e.g lobola
R14	How does the HH access agricultural inputs	1. own resources 2. government 3. donors (specify) 4. relatives

		5. remittances 6. producer contracts 7. other (specify)
R15	Who makes decisions on what and where to grow?	1. head of household 2. head of household (child) 3. spouse 4. joint decision 5. other (specify)

NATURAL RESOURCE USE		
S1	Did you harvest anything from the environment in the last 12 months?	1. Yes 2. No

EXPOSURE OF COMMUNITIES TO SHOCKS			
Which of the negative events, natural or socio economic occurred in the last 12 months and how severe were they and likely occurrence?	T1	T2	T3
Shock	Occurance in the last 12 months  1. yes 2. no	Severity  1. low – minor 2. medium-moderate 3. high - major	Possibility of occurring in the next 12 months  1. likely 2. very likely 3. unlikely

			4. very unlikely
Drought	1 2	1 2 3	1 2 3 4
Floods	1 2	1 2 3	1 2 3 4
Crop pests	1 2	1 2 3	1 2 3 4
Labour shortage	1 2	1 2 3	1 2 3 4
Fire	1 2	1 2 3	1 2 3 4
Family sickness	1 2	1 2 3	1 2 3 4
Food shortages	1 2	1 2 3	1 2 3 4
General high increase in consumer prices of food and goods	1 2	1 2 3	1 2 3 4
Lack of fuel	1 2	1 2 3	1 2 3 4
Lack of domestic water	1 2	1 2 3	1 2 3 4
Lack of irrigation	1 2	1 2 3	1 2 3 4
Decrease in agriculture or other producer goods	1 2	1 2 3	1 2 3 4
Increase in number of people chronically ill or dying	1 2	1 2 3	1 2 3 4
HIV/Aids	1 2	1 2 3	1 2 3 4
Deteriorating quality of land	1 2	1 2 3	1 2 3 4
Decreasing development assistance from government	1 2	1 2 3	1 2 3 4
Decreasing development assistance from donors	1 2	1 2 3	1 2 3 4
Poor infrastructure (including road,clinics,schools)	1 2	1 2 3	1 2 3 4
Loss of employment	1 2	1 2 3	1 2 3 4
National conflict	1 2	1 2 3	1 2 3 4
Local conflict/ violence	1 2	1 2 3	1 2 3 4

COPING STRATEGIES		
T4	Which of the following activities have you been involved with in the last year as a response to shocks?	
Activity		1. yes 2. no
Sale of livestock		1 2
Sale of household assets (specify)		1 2
Sale of personal assets (e.g clothes, jewelery)		1 2
Sale of vehicle		1 2
Sale of fixed propert (eg house)		1 2
Sink borehole/well		1 2
Establish/improve irrigation system or water harvesting technology		1 2
Cultivation of drought resistant crops e.g rapoko		1 2
Increase area of cultivation		1 2
Relocation		1 2
Resettlement under land reform		1 2
Look for employment		1 2
Establish a woodlot		1 2
Establish a nutrition garden		1 2
Gold panning		1 2
Diamond mining		1 2
Mining other minerals		1 2
Sand extraction		1 2
Cutting and selling wood/timber		1 2
Selling wild fruits, insects, mushrooms		1 2
Hunting wild animals		1 2
Cross border trading		1 2
Casual work (local)		1 2
Casual work in neighbouring country (SA, Botswana)		1 2
Brewing and selling beer		1 2

Established/joined a savings club	1 2
Community service	1 2
Sought assistance from government	1 2
Sought assistance from NGOs or donors	1 2
Better education	1 2

Recovery Ability		
T6	If one or two of the events you mentioned occurred in the last 12 months, how long will it take your household to recover?	Code
Don't know		1
Less than one month		2
Many months		3
We will never recover		4
T7	Who usually assists you in the event that any of the above negative events occurs?	Code
No one		1
Family		2
Insurance company		3
Financial institutions		4
Local government		5
National government		6
Aid organisation		7
Don't know		8
Other (Specify)		9
COMMUNICATION AND ACCESS TO INFORMATION		
V1	For each one of these sources in the table below, which do you use to get information and news, how trustworthy or not do you find it?	

	Code: Frequency: 1. everyday 2. at least once per week 3. at least once per month 4. less often 5. never 99. Don't know (DO NOT READ)	Code: Trustworthiness 1.very trustworthy 2. somewhat trustworthy 3. somewhat untrustworthy 4. very untrustworthy 99. Don't know ( DO NOT READ)		
		1. yes 2. no	Frequency	Trustworthiness
a	Radio	1 2	1 2 3 4 99	1 2 3 4 99
b	Television	1 2	1 2 3 4 99	1 2 3 4 99
c	Newspapers	1 2	1 2 3 4 99	1 2 3 4 99
d	Posters or Billboards	1 2	1 2 3 4 99	1 2 3 4 99
e	Brochures or Pamphlets	1 2	1 2 3 4 99	1 2 3 4 99
f	Internet	1 2	1 2 3 4 99	1 2 3 4 99
g	SMS text message service	1 2	1 2 3 4 99	1 2 3 4 99
h	Friends or family members in the locality	1 2	1 2 3 4 99	1 2 3 4 99
i	Friends or family members outside locality	1 2	1 2 3 4 99	1 2 3 4 99
j	Colleagues at work/school	1 2	1 2 3 4 99	1 2 3 4 99
k	Doctors/nurses/health providers	1 2	1 2 3 4 99	1 2 3 4 99
l	Religious leaders	1 2	1 2 3 4 99	1 2 3 4 99
m	Members of village executive	1 2	1 2 3 4 99	1 2 3 4 99
n	Community elders	1 2	1 2 3 4 99	1 2 3 4 99
o	Community leaders	1 2	1 2 3 4 99	1 2 3 4 99
p	Teachers	1 2	1 2 3 4 99	1 2 3 4 99
q	Other (Specify)	1 2	1 2 3 4 99	1 2 3 4 99
V2	Which are the three most important source of information to you?			
Mobile Telephony and Internet Access				



V3	When was the last time you used a mobile phone for any purpose?	1. today 2. in last 7 days 3. in last 4 weeks 4. more that 12 months ago 5. never		
V4	At this moment, do you own a working mobile phone?	1. yes 2. no		
V5	When was the last time you used the internet	1. today or yesterday 2. in last 7 days 3. in last 4 weeks 4. more than 12 months ago 5. never		
COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS AND SOCIAL NETWORKS				
W1	In the table below, list which associations, groups or institutions you belong to, rate their importance and indicate if you have attended a group meeting in the last month			
Type of group	Membership 1. yes 2. no	Importance 1. not important 2. important 3. very important	Have you attended a meeting in the last month? 1. yes 2. no	
Religious/ church/ mosque, etc	1 2	1 2 3	1 2	
Funeral association	1 2	1 2 3	1 2	
Lending and savings club	1 2	1 2 3	1 2	
School committee	1 2	1 2 3	1 2	
Health committee	1 2	1 2 3	1 2	
Political party	1 2	1 2 3	1 2	
Trading or marketing	1 2	1 2 3	1 2	

club			
Water commitee	1 2	1 2 3	1 2
Ethnic associations	1 2	1 2 3	1 2
Other (Specify)	1 2	1 2 3	1 2
	1 2	1 2 3	1 2

## APPENDIX TWO: LIFE HISTORY GUIDE

Where were your parents from?

What level of education did the parents have? Monogamous/ polygamous marriage?

Siblings (same mother same father) - How many? Birth order? (step-siblings?) (education level of all)

### EARLY CHILDHOOD:

Looking back over this early part of your life do any difficult events or periods stand out? (probe for shocks, coping strategies, channels of support [relatives, friends, NGOs, church, moneylender etc], changes in asset levels, changes in livelihood strategies)

Looking back over this early part of your life are there any positive events or periods that stand out? *(use this question to probe opportunities, investment, acquisition, aspiration, resilience)*

### ADOLESCENCE / BEFORE MARRIAGE

How did things change as you became a teenager/ before marriage?

Looking back over your teenage years are there any difficult events or periods that stand out? (use this question to probe shocks, coping strategies, changes in asset levels, changes in livelihood strategies)

Looking back over your teenage years are there any positive events or periods that stand out? *(use this question to probe opportunities, investment, acquisition, aspiration, resilience)*

### ADULTHOOD:

Marriage: Are you married? How did you meet your husband/ wife;

What informed the decision to get married; what are your parent's/ family's views of the match;

Children: list children (year of birth, gender, education level) Where there any issues around the birth of first child; other children; bringing up children; remittances from older children/ kin

Health: health of interviewee and family; impact on household well-being?

Have you lived in other places? If so, tell me a little bit about this and why you moved there. And here? *Where did you live before and after to marriage? (if married)*

Who are you living with?

And how do you most often spend your days?

Migration History

Where else have you lived?

When did you move there?

Do you recall why you moved there?

Did anybody help you or did anybody make things difficult for you?

Did life get better or worse for you once you got there?

Have you ever moved or considered moving because of the presence of violent conflict in the places you have lived?

By conflict, I do not only mean major violent events, but also conflicts that resulted in a small

number of deaths or injuries or limited property damage.

Do you plan to stay here or do you plan to move? Why?

## OCCUPATIONAL HISTORY

When did you start working? Did you work as a child? If so, what types of work did you do?

Whose decision was it for you to work?

What did you do? How and why did this change over time?

Did anybody help you or did anybody make things difficult for you?

What did you do? Do you recall how you got the work?

How did you learn the skills required for the work?

About how much were you earning?

Did you earn more as you got more experienced?

Did life get better or worse for you?

Why did you leave this work?

How did this experience help you? Do you think it helped you find work? How?

Currently, what is your main occupation/main source(s) of income? What was your main occupation/main source(s) of income ten years ago?

Do you recall the different pros and cons that you were weighing before you decided to give [livelihood] a try?

Was it your own decision to try out [the livelihood]? Or someone else's? How was the decision made?

How did you gain the knowledge and skills required for this?

Did you take out a loan or borrow cash for the livelihood?

[If so], Please tell me about this. For instance, how was the decision made? How did you select a source of credit?

Could you turn anywhere else for some material support to try out [livelihood]? If so, where could you get this support?

Did you try out different things to make [new agricultural activity] work better? [If so,] Tell me about this?

Was your family supportive or unsupportive of your involvement with [livelihood]? What were their reactions? How did this affect the decision to use [livelihood] and your success with it?

What about your friends and neighbors? Have they been supportive or unsupportive? Why? How did this affect the decision to use [livelihood] and your success with it?

What important changes have resulted from [new agricultural activity] for you?

What have been the biggest barriers or problems with [livelihood]?

Describe working conditions/ constraints/ profitability/ shocks/ risks/ coping strategies

Did life get better or worse for you after taking up this [new agricultural activity]? Why? [probe about economic changes and changes in social acceptance, status]

Do you belong to any economic organizations such as a union or a cooperative? If so, tell me how has this organization helped or hurt you.

What have been the most important learning and educational opportunities for your work?

In addition to your formal schooling, this might include opportunities that you had to learn new skills on the job, a training that you received, or something such as an informal apprenticeship or guidance from someone.

Now I want you to think about the impact of each new livelihood over the last ten years.

What impact did they have on your wellbeing?

#### Economic History

If you think back over your life what is the first big thing that you purchased or was perhaps given to you? How did this make a difference in your life?

What are the other important purchases or assets that you or another member of your household have bought or invested in during your life?

This might be land, a business, or a house, or it could simply be setting aside savings for your children's weddings or inheritance. *[For each major asset in recent years]*

Do you recall when this was acquired?

Why did you purchase it? How did it make a difference in your life?

What/who made this possible?

If you think back, would you say that you've been able to gradually acquire more and more wealth *[or assets]* over your life, or that there have been ups and downs? Why?

What caused this to happen?

Did particular individuals or events make a difference? What has been the timing of the changes?

Do you save? Why? Why not?

What is the form of your savings?

Would you mind discussing a little bit about your financial savings and investments in the past 10 years? *[If relevant,]*

Who do you turn to for information on managing funds?

Are there any services you turn to for information and advice on managing these assets?

How have these assets performed over the last 10 years?

What are your expectations for your savings and investments in the future?

When you think back on your working life and what you have accumulated, can you think of any government policies or programs that may have been helpful or gotten in the way?

Do you feel prepared financially if something bad should happen to the family which may require substantial funds?

How will you cope?

What would help you cope better?

Social, Psychological and Cultural History



Now we're going to switch to a very different topic.

If you think back over your life, what have been the most important relationships in your life that have helped you along the way? Why?

How have they made a difference?

Let's focus on your family and relatives?

What relationships in your family life have been most important? Why?

What kind of help have you gotten along the way?

How did this make a difference in your life?

What family events may have hindered you?

Is there any link between these events/relationships and your economic wellbeing?

Do you think that the respect which you receive within your family has increased or decreased over the years? What has led to this?

Were there any important household events in the past 10 years?

Any family break ups or deaths? Or perhaps weddings or illnesses? *[For each important event:]*

How did this affect you?

Now I'd like to move outside your home?

What have been the most important relationships with your friends and neighbors and others in the community and beyond the community? Why?

Have they helped or hindered improvement in your wellbeing?

How have they made a difference?

What have been the most important relationships with the people you work with?

Have any of these relationships been very important? How?

Are there any other relationships that have had an impact on your life?

If you think back over your life, what experiences have brought the most meaning to your life?

Do you feel confident in yourself? Has your confidence grown over the years? How and why?

Do you think of yourself as belonging to a certain community or group of people?

Is belonging to this group important to you?

Do you think this group helps or hinders your access to economic opportunities? How?

Has the importance of this group to you changed over time?

Finally, do you have any political connections?

In the past 10 years, have you as an individual or your social group (define what the group is) ever tried to get help with a personal matter from a politician or a government official?

What was their response?

Now I want you to think about the impact on your wellbeing of each relationship, involvement in a group or other experiences noted on this timeline.

## Education

What have been the most important learning and educational opportunities in your life?

This might include learning on the job, training that you received or something such as an informal apprenticeship or guidance from someone. Or it could be formal schooling.

How did this impact your wellbeing?

### **APPENDIX THREE: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE**

Please tell me a little bit about the neighborhood. How old is it? What is important to know about the history and people of this neighborhood?

How many people/households currently live here in this Neighborhood? \_\_\_\_\_

Over the past ten years or so, have there been any major events that greatly affected the wellbeing of the community? This could be an event that made people better or worse off.

Events that made people better off [please note year and share of community affected]:

Events that made people worse off [please note year and share of community affected. Be sure to probe about important climatic events if none are mentioned)]:

And ten years ago, how many people were living in the neighborhood? \_\_\_\_\_

Please tell me the different ethnic and religious groups who reside in the community.

What group is associated with particular livelihoods

Could you please describe two or three typical households in this neighborhood, for instance how many and the types of household members who typically live together and share meals?

Have there been any important developmental projects in this neighborhood in the last ten years

-Probe projects that relate to Finance, Health , Roads , Agriculture and Education

-Probe the year they began

-Was the neighborhood consulted or involved in the project

Apart from developmental projects have there been any major economic activities like the opening or closing of factories

When?

Have there been any major social disturbances ...when?

Tell me about the strengths of this community and what is going on well.

Compared to ten years ago, this community is

☐ More prosperous

☐ The same

☐ Less prosperous

Why? How has the community changed? What is different now?

Is it easier or harder for people to make a living and get ahead than it used to be? To fall back down? Why?

What are the most important factors that have helped the community to prosper?

a.

Why?

b.

Why?

Additional details on these and other important factors

What are the most harmful factors that have hindered community prosperity?

a.  
why?

b.  
why?

What are the most common reasons why people move out of this community permanently?

Do people mostly move out because they have become better off?

In this community, what factors help a household move up to the next step?

How does this happen?

When a household moves up, is it more common for a number of factors to happen at the same time?

What are these factors?

How does this happen?

What factors prevent a household in this community from moving up to the next step?

Why?

## LIVELIHOODS

What are the main types of livelihoods or sources of income for people who live in this community?

Please probe into each of the main local livelihoods providing rich descriptions.

Over the last ten years, how have these sources of activities changed? Are they more profitable or less profitable?

What has caused these changes?

Have there been changes in the availability or prices for the inputs for these livelihoods?

Is it difficult to obtain information about the availability and prices of these inputs?

Over the past ten years, has there been any changes in access to credit?

Where do you get information about access to credit?

Have there been any changes in the market for final goods or services that are produced locally?

Where do you get the information about market prices?

What about local factories or firms that process goods, have opportunities changed for them?

How and where do people get information about jobs in these firms?

What about the markets where most people shop here, have there been any changes in there?

What type of people in this community have benefited the most from the changes in the economic opportunities over the past ten years?

What kind of problems do people face if they want to improve their livelihoods? For instance, starting or expanding a business no matter how small it is or finding a job?

What would help people earn more income here?

What are the most important organizations in this community?

Which organizations work in this community?

Name of Organization \_\_\_\_\_

How does this group make your life better?

What are the organization's goals?

Who are the members and how do they benefit?

What is preventing this group from expanding?

Do any rules or regulations come in the way?

Now I would like to explore how the local government helps or hinders economic opportunities here.

Do local business owners have to come in contact with local government for any reason?

What kind of licences or permissions are needed in their business?

Compare to ten years ago, people in the community have

- ☐ More economic opportunities
- ☐ Some amount of opportunities
- ☐ Fewer economic opportunities

When people in this community have a dispute, for instance over not being paid fully, where do they turn for help?



