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Socio-economic impacts of mine retrenchments on household livelihoods in Lesotho.

A Study Presented to the School of Development Studies

Faculty of Humanities

University of Witwatersrand

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Development Studies

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Abstract

While mining has been a source of livelihood for many Basotho families since the 1970s, the 1980s, the 1990s, and the 2000s, have seen progressive decline in the number of migrant mine workers in South Africa's mining companies. This decline has forced many families to adjust their livelihood activities to replace income lost from mine migrant wage labour. In view of various livelihood transition options, former mine migrant labour families have reverted to rural subsistence agricultural livelihoods as well as capitalized agricultural activities based within rural areas. These livelihood options are significantly influenced by investment options undertaken while still employed within the mining industry. Although these livelihood transitions have necessitated adjustment of expenditure patterns, these adjustments have in many instances not significantly altered gender based decision making practices and responsibilities of adult household members. In spite of limited income generation activities by husbands, in most families the husband continues to be seen as the head of the household, responsible for making decisions pertaining to investment and disposal of assets, expenditures related to ploughing of fields and caring for livestock, while the wife's decision making activities are confined to matters pertaining to caring for the children, including their schooling.

Keywords: Livelihood resources, Livelihood transitions, household relations, household decision-making

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Declaration

I declare that the research report entitled "Socio-economic impacts of mine retrenchments on household livelihoods in Lesotho" is my own work and has not been previously submitted to another University.

Candidate

Nthabiseng Molefe. Date: _____

_____

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction and Problem Statement

In Southern Africa, since the 1870s, poverty as a result of failure of agricultural production, inadequate employment opportunities in the home country, as well as increasing needs for cash forced rural communities to migrate to mining areas in South Africa in search of waged employment (Murray, 1981). In Lesotho and other countries of Southern Africa, migrant labour to the mines has provided an economic livelihood for many families with a majority of men between the ages of 24 to 54 having migrated to the mines to engage in wage labour (Sechaba consultants, 1994 in Coplan and Thoahlane, 1995). Income from such labour has gone into satisfying financial needs such as school fees, uniforms and books, purchases of agricultural implements and inputs, investments to facilitate accumulation of assets, as well as to support alternative sources of income such as agriculture and other micro-enterprises (Head, 1995).

Although mining wages were low, the numbers of migrant workers continued to increase until the late 1980s when economic and policy implications resulted in massive retrenchments of migrant workers from within as well as from outside South Africa. From the gold mining industry there was an average 34% decline in the number of mine employees between 1986 and 1992 (Crush, 1995:23). In Lesotho, having had 20% of its population engaged in migrant labour in 1970, the proportion had fallen to 8% by 1990 (Paton, 1995:205). Retrenchments in the mining industry have continued into the next

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century with a total 4% decrease in mining as a percentage of total private non-agricultural employment between 2000 and 2004 (Chamber of Mines, 2004).

Research by Chirwa (1997) on the impact of retrenchments of Malawian workers from South African mines, as well as by Bezuidenhout et al (2003) on the impact of retrenchments from textile industries within South Africa outline the dire consequences of retrenchments as a result of a loss of a stable income. Experiences from Malawi however indicate that through accumulation and investments built during employment on the mines, some ex-mineworkers have developed micro-enterprises in various forms of trade, supplemented by farming, to generate economic livelihoods. The most hard-hit by retrenchments have been those who have dwelt on the hope of re-employment in the mines traveling to and from recruitment centres to await and check for possible job vacancies. A bulk of their retrenchment packages has been spent on immediate needs such as finishing a house, buying food and clothing, and sending children to school, as well as transport costs to and from recruitment centres (Chirwa, 1997).

In Lesotho the situation of retrenched mineworkers is not much different. Literature points to a dire situation of poverty and loss of an economic livelihood following retrenchment from the mines. In an environment of high unemployment, the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) has set up cooperatives to absorb retrenched mine workers. These have, however, only absorbed 500 of the 180 000 Basotho ex-mineworkers retrenched during the late 1980s (Philip, 1995). Ex-mineworkers therefore have had to find ways of creating their own alternative livelihoods.

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1.2 Rationale

The purpose of this study was to investigate how ex-mineworker households in Lesotho are adapting their livelihood strategies since the loss of employment in mining. It focused on what ex-mineworker households have spent their wage remittances on, i.e. whether consumables and or accumulation of assets; what retrenchment packages have been spent on; what assets ex-mineworker households have accumulated; how they have invested their assets; what market networks they have created to build alternative livelihoods; and how household decision-making dynamics have influenced such decisions. Thus, building from the histories of mineworkers' accumulation of resources, the research explored in detail the livelihood strategies which ex-mineworker households have embarked on after retrenchment.

The study also investigated how the loss of a mine wage income by the male breadwinner, usually a husband and a father, has impacted on decision making roles between adult males and females in the household, as well as traditional gender relationships both within the household and outside. Where the loss of a mine income has forced the female members of the households to become primary income earners, what choices and options did they have in achieving the status of primary income earner? What have been the implications of their breadwinner status on gender relationships within the households and outside?

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The study was carried out in a rural village in Lesotho, and the methodology involved interviews with former mineworkers and their wives with the intention to find out whether and how household livelihoods; decision making statuses of both husbands and wives; and the household relations have changed from the era of mine migrant labour to the current status of mine migrant labour retrenchee households. Only households which had mineworkers that had been retrenched for at least two years and had worked for the mining industry for not less than five years were recruited for the study.

This report is structured into six chapters. Subsequent to the introductory chapter and the research methodology chapters is the literature review which examines the history of mine migrant labour in Lesotho, the impact of migrant labour on livelihoods and household relations, the impact of retrenchment on livelihoods and household relations, and livelihood options post retrenchment. The next chapter discusses the study findings which indicate that there is a link between livelihood decisions and household relations during the migrant labour era and into the post-retrenchment era. Chapter five contains an analysis of the findings, and chapter six contains conclusions and recommendations of the study.

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Chapter 2 Research Design

2.1 Aims

Most literature focusing on the experience of retrenchments has been limited to reporting statistics relating to the loss of mining jobs for Basotho men in South Africa (Chamber of Mines, 2004, Philip 1995, Sechaba consultants in Coplan and Thoahlane, 1995). Some literature has also discussed the impact of the loss of mine remittances on home communities (Coplan and Thoahlane, 1995, Cobbe, 1995, Foulo, 1991). In addition, other literature has shown the failures experienced by ex-mineworkers engaging in agriculture as an alternative source of livelihood (Coplan and Thoahlane, 1995), the same agricultural failures that have been experienced in Malawi (Chirwa, 1997). There is however limited literature on how ex-mineworker households are creating alternative economic livelihoods to cope with retrenchments. It is therefore the purpose of this study to investigate how ex-mineworker households are creating livelihoods post-retrenchments. The study further seeks to find out whether the changes in the roles of men and women as income earners as a result of mine retrenchments (Francis, 2000) have brought about a shift in decision-making roles between genders within the household; whether there is a shift in the traditional (under male migrant labour) male breadwinner and female household manager roles; whether there is a shift in gender relations as they relate to males as providers of income in conjugal as well as concubinage relationships; whether there is a shift in expenditures on consumption and accumulation; whether any relationship conflicts have arisen as a result; and how they have been handled.

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2.2 Research Questions

The issues raised above give rise to the following research questions which guide the study design as well as formulation of the questionnaire:

1. What are the existing natural and produced resources that ex-mine worker households have accumulated?
2. What are the expenditures, and who makes decisions about expenditures within the household?
3. On what have retrenchment packages and other financial benefits accruing from mine employment been spent?
4. What are the current sources of income for the households of retrenched mine workers?
5. How are livelihood decisions made and how do gender relations within households affect them?
6. In what way if at all, have the roles of adult household members changed with changes in economic relations?
7. What are the future aspirations to ensure sustainable livelihoods for retrenched mineworkers and their families?

2.3 Research Design

A retrospective panel study of former mineworkers and their spouses, retrenched for two years or more was conducted. Interviews were conducted to determine the historical livelihoods standards of individuals and their families while still employed on the mines and the change in livelihood standards and decision-making strategies following

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retrenchment. The study investigated how a shift in livelihood strategies from migrant mine labour to current livelihoods have influenced decision making roles within households between adult male and females, how social relations within households have changed in term of roles of income earners, and roles of household managers responsible for ensuring subsistence income streams.

2.4 Determining eligibility for the study

The ex-mineworkers that formed part of the study were retrenched for at least two years, and they had all worked for the mining industry for not less than five years. The two years limit on retrenchment was to ensure that study participants have adequate experience of a way of life as retrenchees, and the five year limit on mine employment was to ensure that study participants have adequate experience of the way of life as mine employees as well as adequate time to accumulate significant financial retrenchment benefits.

2.5 Sample size and representation

A snowball and intensity type of sampling was used to select the appropriate village in which to conduct the research. The village of Malimong, in the district of Berea in the lowlands region of Lesotho was selected as a case of interest. This area has been chosen by using the information provided by Mineworkers Development Agency (MDA) who by virtue of their experiences working with retrenched mine workers know what cases/areas are information-rich. Malimong is a village comprising about 150 households . The village, although located not more than 50km from the commercial centre/town, the poor

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nature of transport facilities isolates it from intense interaction with the commercial centre/town except by those with private transport infrastructure or through migration. Like most rural areas in Lesotho, this area satisfies the requirements of an information-rich area manifesting the phenomenon of retrenched mineworkers intensely, but not extremely (Miles and Huberman, 1994 in Punch, 2000). The researcher was born, raised and schooled in Lesotho and therefore possesses adequate knowledge of various areas in Lesotho. The researcher's personal knowledge of the way of life in Lesotho as well as the Sesotho language was complemented by the work of TEBA and MDA.

A total of 12 households comprising 21 interviewees were selected for the study. By talking to authorities such as traditional leaders within the village, households of ex-mine workers were identified. From this sample, the households were then stratified into relative (as defined by the researcher) higher income, middle income and lower income households. A random selection of households was then carried out so that there was a representative distribution of households in the three income levels identified. A retrospective recollection of the way of life as a household with mine employee income and the livelihood thereof, how the retrenchment benefits were applied, as well as the way of life as a household of a former mine worker formed the basis for formulation of the questionnaires. Retrenched adult male members of the household as well as their spouses were interviewed. Field research was carried out over a period of two months (February and March 2007) where household members were each visited three times to conduct interviews and observe livelihood activities.

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2.6 Recruitment of informants

Informants were identified by speaking to the local chief, who was willing, and able to identify some of the families of retrenched mine workers. These families (as identified by the chief) were then requested to identify similar families of retrenched mineworkers. Preliminary interviews were then held with individual families to identify whether they fitted the pre-determined criteria (retrenched for at least two years, and mine migrant work experience of at least five years). Only families that fitted this pre-determined criteria were recruited into the study.

2.7 Informed consent

All interaction with the community, as well as interviews commenced with an information session to highlight to the informants the aims of the study, the researcher's expectations of informants and the informants' right to participate or not to participate in the study (See Annexure A). The informants were also assured of the confidentiality of their participation in the study, as well as confidentiality of any information they may provide during interviewing. Verbal consent was obtained.

2.8 Data collection

Although the study made use of qualitative methods of data collection, some quantitative data about the ex-mine workers was collected. Structured questions formed the preliminary structure of the questionnaire to investigate the frequency of occurrences of ex-mine workers who were able to either maintain the same levels of expenditure before and after retrenchment, those who improved their livelihood by accumulating more assets

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following retrenchment, and those who had a to sell off some to their assets to generate a livelihood for themselves and their families following retrenchment. This section of the questionnaire was also used to investigate the current form of livelihood strategy (i.e. sources of income), assets accumulated, as well as exposure and access to levels of schooling and education, entrepreneurship training or mentoring and possession of alternative employment skills as well as assets owned and how these were acquired (i.e. were they inherited, purchased through mine wages, purchased through retrenchment packages, or purchased through income generated after retrenchment).

Qualitative data was then collected by means of semi-structured questionnaires administered face to face, to ex-mineworkers as well as their spouses (see Annexure A). A similar format of interviews was again used with representatives of MDA and TEBA. Only one-on-one interviews were administered so that in-depth information about each study participant would be obtained. The one-on-one interview was preferred so as to increase the willingness of study participants to divulge personal and confidential information such as income levels, challenges and successes. Through in-depth interviews the study was able to investigate the socio-economic interactions in the community in the form of study participants' actions, decisions, behaviour and practices through their eyes and perspectives (Roberts et al, 2003). This method provided a contextual perspective on the issues being studied which would otherwise not be possible if structured questionnaires were to have been used (Roberts et al, 2003:52). This form of interviewing was useful as the study required that detailed information be collected from a small number of participants. The semi-structured nature of the interviews allowed the

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respondents to share their thoughts on particular issues. Structured interviews on the other hand are restrictive to the respondents, not allowing them to express the context that coins their responses. Through unstructured interviews, respondents are able to use their own words to describe their experiences which is also important in studying the context and emotion that goes into the responses (Roberts et al, 2003).

Individual study participant families were observed to assess the general livelihood and relations in the community. This form of research allowed the researcher an opportunity to observe the activities of the households as they unfold in their natural social setting (Roberts et al, 2003). I observed how people access basic needs such as transportation and food, the different types of housing in the community, existence of entrepreneurship strategies, and their ownership in relation to the notion of asset accumulation and investments by migrant mine worker households and or ex-mineworker households, and relationships between individuals within households. Written notes were taken by the researcher to keep a record of observations, and these formed part of the field notes.

Documents containing information about the population dynamics such as the census, the general community livelihood such as documents from non-governmental organisations, etc was also analysed. These documents filled an information gap on the wider social and economic dynamics of the country as well as the localities where the study will be conducted.

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2.9 Data analysis

Field notes were read and re-read as a way to understand the gist of the answers and to make sense of the findings, thus drawing conclusions on which areas have a bearing on the research questions. This process involved making sense of trends, contradictions and exclusive responses within the data (Roberts et al, 2003).

The next step was to identify the main themes and sub-themes, as well as aligning themes with research questions. Then data was coded and aligned to themes and sub-themes, research questions and theories (Roberts et al, 2003).

Lastly, data was displayed and presented in a form that conclusions could be drawn in a clear and presentable manner. This was achieved through development of summary tables and figures which were used to measure the frequency of occurrences; noting patterns, grouping persons and activities with similar characteristics, developing relationships between variables, and relating findings to general theoretical frameworks.

2.10 Ethical considerations

Given the setting of the research in a rural area, in a poor country with high levels of poverty and unemployment, it is expected that the researcher may come across incidents that raise ethical considerations requiring intervention. It is for this reason that an information pamphlet was drawn up giving interviewees information on where to get assistance in case of adverse poverty, morbidity, abuse or related problems (see Annexure A). Information to be posted on the information pamphlet was sourced from relevant

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government departments and confirmed with local government officials and chiefs at the site of the research.

Only one incident that posed ethical considerations arose during the research, involving physical abuse between the husband and wife. The husband reported that the wife was physically abusive towards him, and similarly the wife reported that the husband was abusive towards her. Both parties were given the information pamphlet and advised to contact the community safety police.

2.11 Limitations of the Study

Since the study is limited to one village, the results cannot be generalised to other villages or rural areas in Lesotho. The results are only a reflection of what is happening in the village in question. In addition, the sample size of 12 households in a village of about 150 households may also not be a true reflection of what is happening in the village but an indication of what might be happening in the village in the midst of high unemployment rates following retrenchment from the mines.

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Chapter 3 Literature Review

3.1 History of mine migrant labour in Lesotho

In Southern Africa, migrant labour to the mines in South Africa, as a livelihood strategy is as old as mining itself. Since the beginning of diamond mining in the 1870s, black people have left their home areas for wage labour in the mining industry in South Africa (Allen 1992: 35). Although early migrant labour in the Southern African region includes job seekers in the commercial agricultural sector, in the homes of white colonial 'masters', into construction, manufacturing, railways, and into the public service for wage labour, I focus here only on migrant labour to the mines. Allen (1992: 87) details the complex reasons for the history of migrant labour in Southern Africa:

> Defeat in war, loss of guns, economic destruction, the loss of cattle, annexation of land, increased burden of debt, an inability to pay rent or tribute, eviction from farms, anti-squatter laws, vagrancy laws, hut and poll taxes, compulsory labour, improved administration of labour laws combined with a decline in the authority of chiefs, intensified population pressure on the land, famine resulting from drought, cattle diseases and finally the continual oppressive presence of British imperial armed forces were all factors in totality which increasingly impoverished them to the point of absolute starvation. In consequence, many African families were either made homeless with no means of subsistence or they were rendered so impoverished that they had to find a supplementary source of subsistence. There was only one escape route for these people and that was to enter the labour market.

This process signifies de-agrarianisation and a transition to migrant labour to the mines in South Africa coming from Mozambique, Lesotho, Botswana, Malawi and Swaziland with

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Malawi exporting the largest number of mine migrant labour. By 1972 Malawians comprised 38% of the foreign migrant labour force but by 1989, following withdrawal of Malawian labour (by the Malawian government), Lesotho comprised the largest exporter of migrant labour to the mines, comprising 54% of the foreign migrant labour force (James, 1992:36). By 1990, an average 125 000 Basotho men were employed on the mines, each having an average of six dependents. This translated to a total of 750 000 people dependent on the mining industry (Foulo, 1991:5). A majority of migrant mine workers from Lesotho have been from the rural areas with an average 47% of rural households compared with an average 25% of urban households having at least one household member as a migrant worker (Foulo, 1991:31).

These migration patterns follow the neo-Marxist theory which sees migration as influenced by systemic factors and structures of production and reproduction i.e. penetration of capitalism in Southern Africa, commodification of production which undermined subsistence farming, and proletarianisation thus putting pressure on households to accumulate capital (Pule and Matlosa, 2000).

3.2 Impacts of the migrant labour system

3.2.1 Impacts of the migrant labour system on household relations

Owing to migrant mine labour, the prolonged absence of husbands and fathers was associated with high rates of conjugal breakdown and desertion. Migrant labour induced a repetitive cycle of illegitimacy and instability in arrangements for rearing children, while the concentration of earning capacity among younger men subverted the authority

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of the senior generation (Murray, 1981:171). The fact that men spent long periods of time away from home, leaving their wives and children behind often generated economic insecurity due to inconsistencies or inadequacy of remittances, marital disharmony due to emotional misery often leading to problems of social immorality and legitimacy of children, and heavy domestic responsibility (Murray, 1981). Mosoetsa (2005), in her research conducted in Kwazulu Natal points out that men's household head status has always been linked to their economic status, and through remittances, men were able to become absentee heads of households. With retrenchments, financial insecurity within households has been exacerbated. With loss of breadwinner status, the men's statuses as heads of households is undermined, and women have had to migrate as primary income earners, with an impact on household relations (Mosoetsa, 2005).

In his study of the effect of mining retrenchments in the Eastern Cape, Ngonini (2002) talks about some level of collapse of marital relations following retrenchment of men and loss of wage income. Some of the former mine workers, embarrassed by their loss of breadwinner status as a result of loss of mine jobs, have deserted their wives. Similarly, some women have been driven away by their husbands' loss of income. On the other hand, Murray (1981) refers to some level of collapse of marital relations due to long-term absence of men due to migrant labour. In spite of the reported (Ngonini, 2002, Murray, 1981) collapse of marital relations due to retrenchment and loss of breadwinner status by husbands, Larsson (1995) in research conducted in Qwaqwa points out that men as heads of households bring with them dignity to the household even if they don't contribute money. i.e. the presence of men gives dignity to the home, the love of a father, discipline

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to the children, protection of the household from public violence and criminal elements, the capacity to carry out certain traditional and cultural rituals assigned traditionally to adult male members of the household – regardless of the ability to contribute financially. Women headed households lack this status (Larsson, 1995:57).

The study investigated how intra-household relations in Lesotho have changed as a result of retrenchments, where men are no longer absent from home for long periods of time, and in an environment where although mine remittances were inadequate (on their own) to cater for all household needs, retrenchments have meant loss of a primary source of livelihood for many households.

Owing to the migrant labour system, many rural areas which comprise a majority of feeder communities for the mining industry, have been characterized by a periodic absence of young, able-bodied men. The result has been a system of oscillating migration with a high proportion of widows and female-headed households (as a result of relatively high incidents of occupational diseases and accidents) and a distorted sex ratio in the middle-age ranges as a result of absence of male migrants, and a numerical preponderance of villages of the young, the female and the elderly with a lower propensity to migrate (Murray, 1981). A World bank report (1995 in Coplan and Thoahlane, 1995:) finds that in Lesotho.

> About 54% of all households are headed by women. About 25% are formally (de jure) headed by women (who are single, widowed, divorced or abandoned by their spouses); and about 29% are effectively (de facto) headed by women,

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> because the male head of the household is absent. The other 46% of households are headed by men who live at home.

This pattern of *de jure* and *de facto* absence of fathers and husbands has a potential to threaten the gender roles of fathers and husbands within the household. But as Murray (1981) points out, although absent from home because of migrant labour, owing to their financial status in mine jobs, Basotho men were able to maintain their breadwinner and head of the household status. As indicated by Pule and Matlosa, this stems from the common law and customary law practices.

> Under common law practice, access by women to all assets including fields, homesteads, property and cash income is through men, and under customary law, a woman is considered a perpetual minor, Before marriage she is the responsibility of her father/male guardian, upon marriage the responsibility of her husband. . . . (although) under common law a women is (only) a minor until she reaches age 21, the majority age, this has deepened the male domination in most facets of social life. . . . men are therefore the final decision makers in their households even in their absence, when the homestead is managed by women (2000:7-8).

But acting within these restrictions brought on by the customary law, women on the other hand maintained a household management status, carrying out instructions on how to exercise expenditure of the remittances received from the mines into activities such as house building, purchasing furniture, and purchasing agricultural inputs. Because of their long-term absence from home, men often lack comprehension of immediate household needs, and their (men's) instructions at times tend to disregarded immediate household needs (such as food, ploughing needs, clothes and children's school fees) as assessed by the wives (Murray, 1981).

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3.2.2 Impacts of migrant labour on livelihoods

Notwithstanding the exploitative nature of mining systems on mine workers, migrant labour has been of benefit to the individual migrants and their families, as well as to labour exporting nations through revenue derived from the deferred pay system. While the system of deferred pay was compulsory for employees from Lesotho, Malawi and Mozambique, Botswana and Swaziland's systems were voluntary. Through the system of deferred pay, employees could defer between 60% and 90% of their wages to bank accounts in their home countries which could be accessed by their families in the home country or by themselves on their return home (James, 1992 36). The deferred pay served as a credit system for the various labour sending governments (James, 1992:36). By 1988, Lesotho was receiving R348 million in deferred pay and remittances which comprised 64% of total remittances and deferred pay to Lesotho, Mozambique, Botswana, Malawi and Swaziland (James, 1992:37).

A reduction in migrant labour from the neighbouring countries therefore has resulted in a reduction in employment opportunities and wage income for individual mine workers, as well as loss of revenue for labour exporting states. Because of high unemployment in labour exporting states, as well as the historical economic reliance of men on migrant mine labour, labour exporting states were also desperate (especially in the 1980s, when South Africa started engaging in measures to decrease foreign migrant labour to the mines) to ensure continued foreign recruitment of mine labour (James, 1992: 50). The era

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of decline in mine labour has exacerbated the problem of unemployment for labour sending areas.

The system of migrant labour meant that men "were not available at home to mend roofs, build houses and storage bins, to clear the land, hunt small game, fish and farm their own fields and cattle. Gradually many of these tasks were taken over by (male) artisans and paid for out of migrant wages" (Roesch, 1986 in Head, 1995:135) thus providing a source of income for those not engaged in migrant labour. Across labour sending communities, some mine workers used their wages to establish themselves in agriculture, sometimes increasing their income by ploughing others' fields for payment, as well as to increase agricultural produce for purposes of sale in towns, to engage in trade, by investing in agricultural and other tools, building material, watches, radios, sewing machines, bicycles, motorbikes, and motor vehicles, paying lobola and at times food (Head, 1995: 135). Mining has in essence been positively used as a channel for accumulation of assets, and migrant workers were able to provide a diverse source of economic livelihood for themselves and their families.

Migrant labour households in rural areas have generally done better than their counterparts who maintain livelihoods through rural employment and some form of rural entrepreneurship. Chirwa's (1997:634) studies in Malawi show that migrant labour households would often have a 'good' house with imported domestic items, a reliable non-agricultural source of income, an ability to pay school fees for the children, an ability to care for the extended family, and they have a bank or postal account. They also have

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an ability to accumulate and invest in micro-enterprises that enable them to sustain their economic and social well-being (Chirwa, 1997:634).

3. 3 Impacts of retrenchments

3.3.1 Impacts of retrenchments on livelihoods

De-industrialisation, especially in the mining industry in the late 1980s have, however, seen a decline in foreign migrant labour from both within South Africa and from neighbouring states. The causes of the decline in migrant labour have been varied and include, a drop in the global price of gold, mechanization of mining operations, improvement in conditions of labour thus making mining attractive to South Africans, as well as policies within South Africa to recruit locally. "Whereas in 1976, 48% of Basotho men in the age group 20 to 54 were mine workers, the figure had fallen to only 38% in 1986 and to 35% in 1993. By 2001 the figure was 17% (Sechaba consultants, 1994 in Coplan and Thoahlane, 1995: 140). Wason and Hall (2002) estimate that in 2002, only 7% Basotho men were employed on the mine in South Africa.

Such mine retrenchments have adverse effects that spread from individual migrant workers to their families as well as all sectors of the community and commercial life (Coplan and Thoahlane, 1995:140). But while macro-economic literature indicates that because of higher wages the absolute total of remittances have been kept level over the years in spite of retrenchments, an average of dependents per retrenched family have lost a breadwinner due to loss of mine labour (Coplan and Thoahlane, 1995:140). This notion is reiterated by the Chamber of Mines reports (2004) where the total numbers of

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employees in the South African mining industry has continued to decline over the years from a high of 598 000 in 1995 to a low of 407 000 in 2001, with a slight increase in figures during 2003 to 2004. The general proportion of non-agricultural employment in the mining industry has however continued to decline from a high of 17% in 1995 to a low of 9% in 2004. But higher wages for employees have ensured a continued increase in total remuneration paid to employees in mining from R15.5 million in 1995 to R33.3 million in 2004 (Chamber of Mines, 2004).

Still,

> "the consequences of losing a regular salary are unavoidably severe for a Lesotho migrant worker household. A good retrenchment package, well invested, can provide the basis for making a living in Lesotho. In a majority of cases however, even an equitable package is largely spent on immediate needs such as completing a house, buying clothing and paying school fees, assisting close kin and meeting outstanding obligation" (Coplan and Thoahlane, 1995: 146).

Research conducted in Malawi following the recall of about 100 000 migrant mineworkers from South Africa shows that retrenchees who had the economic drive and entrepreneurial skills were able to use the proceeds of their labour migration to improve their households' economic lives. But the failure rate of the businesses was high owing to lack of business acumen, inadequacy of capital resources, lack of fallback resources in the event of failure, the nature of the enterprise, and the individual's improvidence (Chirwa, 1997:632). Failure of most businesses was however attributed to the wider economic context indicated by an increase in the cost of farming inputs, climatic and weather variations leading to failure of farming investments, increase in the cost of spare

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parts and bad rural roads which demanded frequent maintenance led to failure of investments in motor vehicles and taxis, with a general negative impact on rural enterprises due to bad roads.

On the other hand itinerant cross-border trade was found to have the highest success rate. There is however limited literature to indicate how ex-mineworkers have invested their retrenchment packages to provide themselves and their families with a basis for making a living. At retrenchment, those hoping to be rehired spend the little money they have traveling to and hanging around at retrenchment offices (Chirwa, 1997). There is again limited literature to show how those who choose not to seek re-employment in the mining industry make a livelihood for themselves and their families, within an environment of limited job opportunities and mining skills that are not readily marketable outside the mining sector (Setsabi et al, 1992 in Coplan and Thoahlane, 1995).

Consequences for the retrenched living in urban areas are even more dire with many having to live off the income of other household members or on handouts. Some families have reported having to take their children out of school due to their inability to meet the costs of books, fees, uniforms, lunches, etc, and some families of the retrenched have had to send their dependents away to live with family members who have a more stable income. In a study conducted by Bezuidenhout et al (2003) among retrenched textile workers in South Africa, 90% of the respondents reported being unable to meet their minimum basic needs since retrenchment compared to the 80% who were able to meet their basic needs while still employed. But even in this dire situation, many were

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determined not to go back to a rural life following retrenchment (Bezuidenhout et al, 2003:24). Again a majority of those who lost their jobs living in the urban areas, renting residential premises could not engage in agriculture as an income generating activity due to inavailability of arable land.

In the case of Lesotho, farming as an alternative source of livelihood following retrenchment has however been less than successful with many farmers reporting relatively higher produce while they still had access to wage labour on the mines (Coplan and Thoahlane, 1995). The alternative of wives engaging in migrant labour has been unacceptable to most men who fear losing their wives to employed men in South Africa or in the urban areas within Lesotho (Coplan and Thoahlane, 1995:149). Within a system of migrant labour which has been a source of livelihood for many households in Lesotho, the ideology of the male breadwinner and female domesticity has been perpetuated. But retrenchments and loss of alternative employment for ex-mineworkers, sees more and more women taking on the role of income earner with many taking up shebeening and street trading, while others found employment in clothing factories (Sweetman, 1995 in Francis, 2000).

This role reversal in income earning responsibilities due to decline in availability of work for ex-migrants raises tensions over gender "responsibilities for maintaining livelihoods and the powers that these responsibilities should confer" (Francis, 2000:96). Reversal in the income earning roles of men and women bring about "changes in domestic responsibilities which call into question deeply held assumptions about the roles of

husband, father, wife and mother" (Francis, 2000:97). Francis (2000) notes in research conducted in Lesotho, that the role of women as primary income earners following retrenchments of men from the mines brings about various responses within household relations. While in some households men continue the role of decision-making on their wives' incomes, in other households there is some level of joint decision making with women taking on the greater role of stretching the household budget to meet all basic needs. In both cases tensions arise resulting from the women's loss of control over their incomes, and from men's loss of decision-making power due to loss of their role as breadwinners (Francis, 2000). Does role-reversal in income earning capacity also translate into men taking over the role of household- manager previously taken over by women?

The literature above paints a grim picture of impacts of retrenchments in Lesotho. In the light of de-agrarianisation which pre-empted large scale migration to South African mines by Basotho men, returning men, retrenched from the de-industrialising mining industry are faced with a challenge of creating livelihoods outside agriculture, and outside mine migrant labour. Mosoetsa (2005) in research conducted in townships in Kwazulu Natal and in Mpumalanga, identifies three scenarios of livelihood progression for households retrenched from textile industries: first, 'financially sustainable households' with a steady and reliable income, as well as savings to cater for risk periods; second, 'coping households' with just adequate income to meet basic needs, but unable to move out of poverty; and third, 'declining households' with no regular income, and unable to meet basic needs. Many in the category of 'coping households' were in this

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category (coping households), because of their access to government transfers in the form of child grants and old-age pensions (Mosoetsa, 2005).

With government transfers limited to a meager R150 (scheduled to increase to R200 during 2007) in old age pensions, declining agricultural output which cannot adequately provide a livelihood, dwindling mine migrant labour opportunities, as well as limited employment opportunities within Lesotho, what alternative livelihood strategies are being pursued by retrenched mineworkers and their families? Under what conditions would households of retrenched mineworkers progress into scenarios of 'improving household', 'coping household', or ''declining household' described by Mosoetsa (2005).

Ngonini (2002) in his research on the impacts of mining retrenchments in two villages in the Eastern Cape found out that those who have been retrenched have been able to create alternative livelihoods through employment in local shops as cashiers or security guards, employment in factories in nearby towns, trading in scrap metal, vegetables, domestic work by women or parents' old age pension grants. Some have even gone into illegal or socially unacceptable livelihoods such as concubinage, where women engage in social-sexual relations as a means to gain income to support their families (see also Hunter, 2002), or production and sale of dagga. It should however be noted that wage-based livelihoods are not new in these areas, "rural people in Nyanisweni and Dutyini (in the Eastern Cape) for decades, never specialised in livestock or crop farming to the exclusion of other income generation activities. Livelihoods were diversified through employment in nearby sugar cane or forestry plantations" (Beinart, 1982 in Ngonini, 2002:64).

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As indicated below, most of the livelihood activities described by Ngonini (2002) thrived in the presence of migrant labour and remittances. It is questionable whether the same activities can be relied on to create reasonable livelihoods in an era of large-scale retrenchments. At the height of mine migrant labour in the 1970s, activities in the informal sector flourished in order to 'soak up' migrants' surplus cash. In Lesotho these activities include beer brewing, retail of imported in season fruit, production and sale of crafts such as hats and scarves, as well as 'concubinage'(Murray, 1981:157). These activities were not meant to build capital but rather to satisfy everyday household needs such as paraffin, sugar, tea, and soap. This research seeks to investigate whether in the era of dwindling migrant job opportunities and retrenchment from existing jobs, these activities are still viable as part of a diversified livelihood strategy.

3. 4 Livelihoods approach

Labour migration, rural non-agricultural labour diversification or non-agricultural rural employment (NARE), change of agricultural labour form or capitalist farming with displacement of peasant farming and socio-economic ostracism or social and economic marginalisation are processes of creation of the alternative livelihoods strategies in transition from agrarian livelihoods. Chambers and Conway (1992 in Scoones, 1998:5) define a livelihood as comprising of capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for making a living. Livelihood strategies should be able to provide gainful employment on or off-farm, as part of a wage labour system or in the form of subsistence production; should be able to keep poverty at bay; should

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enhance the intrinsic well-being of people; and to ensure sustainability, livelihoods should be resilient to vulnerabilities. For instance, livelihoods should be able to cope and recover from stresses and shocks and must have a sustainable natural resource base.

The ability to pursue different livelihoods is based on tangible and intangible assets that people posses. These would be in the form of personal capabilities, tangible assets and intangible assets. These assets and capabilities, also referred to as livelihood resources, can be classified into natural capital (natural resources, as well as the environmental well-being), financial or economic capital (cash, credit, savings, other economic assets including infrastructure, production equipment and technology), human capital (skills, knowledge, ability to labour, good health and physical capability), produced capital (basic infrastructure, production equipment) and social capital (social resources in the form of networks, social claims, social relationships, affiliations and associations upon which people can draw when pursuing different livelihoods) (Bebbington, 1999). These capitals form resources or inputs that make livelihood strategies possible. These capitals are also assets that give people capabilities, as well as outputs that make livelihoods meaningful and viable (Bebbington, 1999: 2029).

The ability to claim, defend, transform, receive assets as well as to challenge the market, state and civil societal rules that govern their distribution, control and transformation rests on individuals' capabilities to act within relationships, within households, within organisations and with other individuals (Bebbington, 1999). In this setting, assets can either be invested in commercial markets, sold, loaned or exchanged through wage

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employment, commodity sales, rental of tools or facilities, receipts of income from state transfers or from private individuals, or subsistence activities in the bid to enhance income streams (Smith and Wallerstein, 1992). Owing to the setting of the study, in a rural area with no formal organisational structures, as well as financial limitations which would not permit deeper investigation of other forms of organisational structures, this study only analyses activities of individuals and their relationships within households as an income pooling unit.

Smith and Wallerstein (1992) define a household as an "entity responsible for the basic and continuing reproduction needs such as food, shelter and clothing" by putting together different kinds of income (wages, market profit, rental income, transfers and subsistence income). It is expected that on an annual basis, or at least in a lifetime, all members of a household will contribute some kind or a combination of different kinds of income to the household (Smith and Wallerstein, 1992). If the income received by a household is reduced, such as through retrenchment from wage employment, the household must either live on less income or find substitute income by investing its labour power in subsistence income, securing market income or rental income activities. Ironically, a household that relies heavily on wage income is least flexible to find substitute income since "the ability to obtain wage income is a function of the offer made by someone outside the household" (Smith and Wallerstein, 1999).

Although Mosoetsa (2005) notes that alternatively, under conditions of reduced income as a result of retrenchments from wage employment, individuals conglomerate to form

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larger households as a means to escape poverty, in which case the limited resources are then stretched too far and cannot cope with the expanding size of the household, this research found all families, high income, middle income and low income, living within the nucleus family with only the husband's parents in-law forming part of the household. But as indicated by Whitehead (1984 in Moser, 1993:24) the household is not necessarily a collectivity of mutually reciprocal interests. Self interest is often the predominant motivation for decisions on distribution of resources within the household. Even where an ideology of sharing exists this does not necessarily mean that an equal distribution of resources occurs. Decisions within the household are influenced by the fact that men and women not only have differing access to resources, but gender power relations and gender determined responsibilities also result in differences in the management and distribution of resources within the household. Cultural traditions determine which aspects of collective expenditure each must cover and rarely are women's and men's income allocated to the same expenditure categories (Moser, 1993:25).

Households comprise of multiple actors with varying preferences and interests, and differential abilities to pursue and realise those interests through consumption, production and investments. But evidence from many regions reveals persistent gender inequalities in the distribution of household resources and tasks (Agarwal, 1997). For rural people, a person's bargaining power within the household, against subsistence needs, depends on the following factors which are linked to forms of capital in the sustainable livelihoods approach: ownership and control over assets (e.g. land); access to employment and other income earning means; access to communal resources; access to traditional social support

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systems or social networks such as credit to relatives or friends, or intergenerational transfers of assets between parents and children; support from NGOs and/or support from the state (e.g. pensions, increased access to employment, assets, credit, infrastructure, etc); social perceptions about needs; contributions and other determinants of deservedness; and social norms (Agarwal, 1997). These factors have an influence on a person's ability to fulfil subsistence needs outside the household. Hence, the greater the person's ability to physically survive outside the family, the greater would be his/her bargaining power over subsistence within the household (Agarwal, 1997). But, social perceptions may influence bargaining power beyond actual contributions, needs and abilities. A person's contributions, needs and abilities can in this way be undervalued as a result of factors such as gender or race. Incorrect perceptions can thus reduce a woman's bargaining power in relation to household subsistence (Agarwal, 1997).

In spite of the influences of the ability to fulfil subsistence needs outside the household on intra-household bargaining, then, social norms can impinge on bargaining as they set limits on what can be bargained about. They are a determinant or constraint of bargaining power. They determine whether bargaining will be conducted covertly, overtly, aggressively or quietly; and, they themselves constitute a subject to negotiate and change (Agawal, 1997). For instance some traditional social norms are accepted as natural, and therefore not open to question or contestation. These include, in some societies, gender division of labour outside the household, with some occupations segregated according to gender; whether women should work outside the home; who can participate in certain household decision-making processes; land ownership rights which

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are usually awarded to men; lack of acceptance for assertiveness and explicit bargaining methods by women; etc. These social norms have an impact on intra-household bargaining power between genders (Agawal, 1997).

Focusing analysis around the five forms of capital in the sustainable livelihoods approach provide us with a useful means of differentiating livelihood processes and decision-making in Basotho households.

Natural capital:

Access to natural capital in the form of land has traditionally been through expropriation by chiefs, or through inheritance. Only married males who are citizens of the political community where the chief has jurisdiction are allocated usufructuary title to cultivate the land and dispose of its outputs. Married women and widows can therefore only retain their husbands' title to the land (Murray, 1981). But access to as well as productivity of the land have been greatly reduced as a result of increase in population, decline in soil quality due to mono cropping and drought. Shrinkage of agricultural output has been further affected by decline in financial capital which traditionally financed farming inputs, owing to retrenchments from mine employment.

Financial/economic capital

Mine labour has provided financial resources for households which have enabled households to claim, defend, transform and receive other forms of capital. Mineworker remittances have been used to pay for health care and children's education, to purchase

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farming inputs, to enhance social networks through shared resources and to honour *lobola* arrangements (Murray, 1981).

Human capital:

Mining jobs have for a majority been either unskilled or semi-skilled, characterised by low levels of formal education with some lacking even the basics of formal education. Although at retrenchment many have acquired some mining related skills, such skills have rarely been transferable to alternative employment or entrepreneurship initiatives (Phillip, 1995). On the other hand mine labour has been characterised by the strongest and most productive male population between the ages of 20 to 54 (Murray, 1981). This has meant an absence of productive male labour from productive activities such as agriculture and maintaining homes, back in the home communities. Women have had to embrace the role of maintaining the household and being responsible for production of subsistence income.

Produced/Physical capital:

Mining jobs have provided households with means to accumulate various forms of produced/physical capital. Mine wages and remittances have afforded households opportunities to accumulate assets such as farming equipment, bicycles, sewing machines, livestock and at times vehicles. Through social networks, these forms of assets have been used to create income streams with assets borrowed out, exchanged, sold, or used in shared labour activities (Murray, 1981).

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Social capital:

Social capital ensures relationships that allow access to other forms of capital (human, financial, produced and natural capital) (Bebbington, 1999). Access to all these assets centres around social capital which affords individual and households an opportunity to invest, sell, loan or exchange assets as a way of increasing income streams. Traditionally, households have made use of sharecropping practices to share agricultural cost and to pool assets as a way of creating income streams that would not be possible if individuals or households acted independently (Murray, 1981).

Thus we see that each of the forms of capital is relevant for describing the context of household livelihoods in Lesotho. The forms of capital also help to disaggregate arenas of gendered decision-making within households. In addition, we need to pay attention to how livelihoods have changed over time to fully understand these forms of capital.

3.4.1 Livelihood options post retrenchment

In Lesotho, the early 20th century was characterized by high agricultural productivity with export of grain crops, wool and mohair and self-sufficiency in food (Murray, 1981). But the following years (from the 1930s) saw rapid de-agrarianisation as a result of both natural and man-made economic impacts. Declining agricultural output, as well as increasing cash requirements compelled many Basotho, primarily men, to seek alternative livelihoods in migrant mine labour in South Africa. Although migrant labour was the primary source of income for many families, still, many families used migrant remittances to finance agricultural inputs. In the era of massive retrenchments from the

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mines in South Africa from the late 1980s, ex-mineworkers and their families have had to find alternative livelihoods. In view of de-agrarianisation, which facilitated migration, and subsequent retrenchments and return to rural areas characterized by agrarian outputs that are heavily dependent on inputs supported by migrant labour remittances, what alternatives do ex-mine worker households have in creating alternative livelihoods. This study has however established that although Lesotho is no longer a grain exporter, in spite of migrant labour, families never stopped engaging in agrarian livelihoods to supplement their migrant labour wages. Through investments in inputs such as farm implements and livestock, many families have been able to continue to subsist through agricultural produce post retrenchment, and many other entrepreneurial households still engage in agriculture to supplement their non-agricultural income in the post-mining era.

In spite of the status of agrarian livelihoods in Lesotho, the world is generally currently undergoing a process of de-agrarianisation with trends having been reported since the 1960s. Table 3.1 below, indicates that while in the 1960s, African countries had on average 85% of their population living in rural areas with 79% comprising labour in agriculture, by 1990 the proportion had dropped to 69%, and the labour force in agriculture to 68% (UNDP, 1992 in Bryceson, 1997a). Similarly the European Union has seen a decline in the proportion of agriculture as a share of national output, from 3.3% in 1979 to 1.7% in 2001.

Bryceson (1997a: 4) defines de-agrarinisation as an asynchronic long-term process of occupational adjustment; income-earning reorientation; transformation of social

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identification, and spatial relocation of rural dwellers away from strictly peasant modes of livelihood. This has been as a result of increase in population density leading to constraints on availability of arable land, increased investments in education which have led to increased levels of disinterest in a strictly agrarian livelihood for the youth, and competition from global products and market controls which have rendered many African commercial farmers unable to compete in an open market (Bryceson, 1997a: 8). Commodification of resources (previously freely available) such as water, wood and land, and cash requirements to cater for health, education, transport and agricultural inputs have further influenced acceleration of the de-agrarianisation process through increased demand for NARE and proletarianisation of rural livelihoods. Rural households themselves cite profit maximization, risk minimization due to climate conditions, market prices, changing access to land, or personal misfortune (such as illness), and income stabilization as reasons for engaging in NARE as a source of income. But in spite of these reasons people still engage in agriculture driven by the high cost of food, declining value of ex-migrant workers' pensions, as well as people's attachment to the rural values of their agrarian ancestors (Bryceson, 1997a: 9). This is indeed still so in rural Lesotho.

Table 3.1 African de-agrarianisation and de-industrialisation statistical indices

African de-agrarianisation and de-industrialisation statistical indices					
	Rural Population % of total		% of labour force		
	1960	**1990**	**1965**	**1989**	**% Decline/Increase**
	85	69			
Agriculture			79	67.6	-11.4
Industry			8.1	7.7	- 0.4
Services			12.9	24.7	+ 11.8

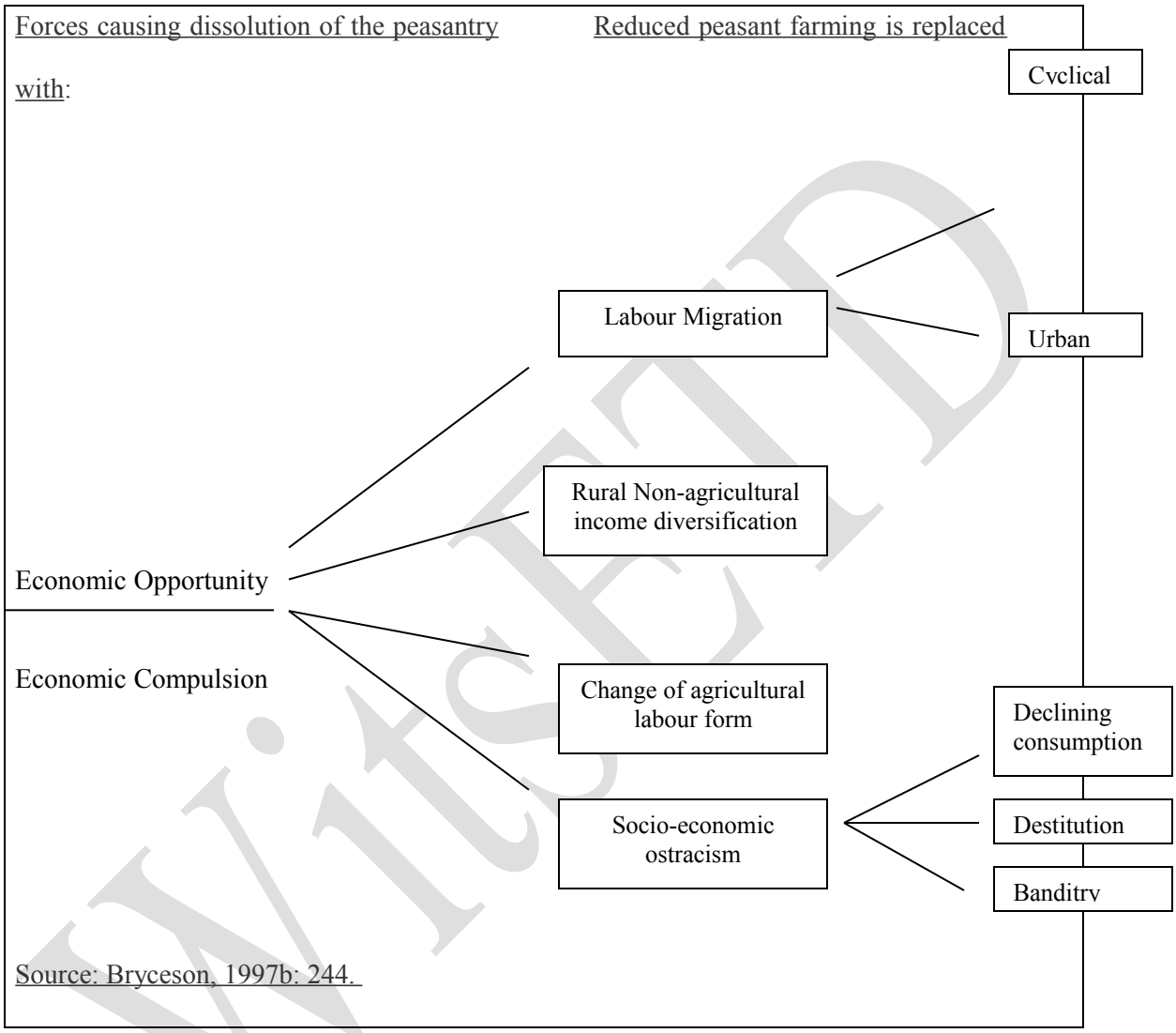
Source: Adapted from UNDP, Human Development Report 1992

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While there is no synchronic route through which society progresses to de-agrariansation (see Figure 3.1 below), there is a general gearing away from peasant modes of existence. In the processes of de-agrarianisation the following alternatives have been explored: permanent or temporary migration of labour as a result of limited opportunities for rural employment or agricultural intensification, gain or loss in rural labour autonomy, agricultural labour diversification and labour drop-out representing efforts to mitigate economic constraints and seize new opportunities (Bryceson, 1997b: 244-245). Migration is often characterized by emigration by men to obtain employment with beneficiaries at home surviving through remittances. Deagrarianisation has led to changes in rural asset ownership – while some voluntarily relinquish their peasant means of livelihood, others transcend peasant agriculture to become capitalist farmers, others engage in wealth enriching economic activities. Better-off rural households tend to be involved in activities similar to their poorer neighbours, but they operate on a larger scale, with more resources be it capital or labour thus gaining higher returns and more reliable income streams (Bryceson, 1997b: 250). This is more so in most agricultural activities where more well-off families have improved their quality of livestock through purchasing of improved breeding stock, thus also improving the quality of their wool and mohair quality. Similarly in crop agriculture, well-off families have been able to improve the quality of their produce by investing in fertilisers, insecticides; as well as the quantity of their produce by investing in mechanization of production as well as by engaging in share cropping arrangements within their communities.

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Figure 3.1 Occupational/residential routes for peasant producers in the de-agrariansiation process



The occupational and residential routes defining livelihood strategies for peasant producers as described by Bryceson (1997b) in the above figure are defined by Bebbington (1999: 2026-2028) as livelihood transitions comprising of the following alternatives:

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- Migration – due to decline in agriculture and lack of rural employment with the alternative being temporary or permanent migration. While in some instances migration is merely a survival strategy, in other instances migration has allowed significant family accumulation through remittances which allow families to combine subsistence agriculture with improvement in housing conditions
- Capitalised family farms comprising successful cases of accumulation and intensification of agricultural economies through access to land, finance, labour, an ability to gain access to higher value product markets, and presence of supportive state policy. This often involves migration playing a critical role in gaining access to funds to purchase land and requisite inputs.
- Rural proletarianisation without necessarily abandoning rural livelihoods has led to a change in the agricultural labour form. This includes urban dwellers as well as members of peasant families employed in capitalist rural enterprises such as commercial fruit and other horticultural farms.
- Rural non-agricultural income diversification which includes:
    1. Rural industries such as leather shoe making and textile industries have allowed families to combine industrial work with agriculture. This has allowed continued rural residence. This however requires the skill and market networks that link rural families to wider markets and chains of production.
    2. Rural and peri-urban commerce which refers to building rural livelihoods around commercial activities such as trading connections with urban and peri-urban areas.

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Livelihood transitions pre-empted by de-agrarianisation can be traced back to cheap labour procurement dating back to the colonial era. They have primarily involved cyclical migration of men between the ages of 16 to 60 with younger persons out-migrating and older men returning from wage labour back into incorporation into rural live (Gaidzanwa, 1977). Returnees tended to have cash reserves which could be invested in small trade and commercial enterprises to sustain their livelihoods during retirement. But migration, which signifies permanent or temporary spatial relocation of rural dwellers away from strictly peasant modes of livelihood has been declining due to contraction of urban employment as a result of macro-economic policies which have led to diminished prospects for urban employment for would-be rural emigrants. The industrial sector, which comprises mining and extractive industries, power generation, water management and reticulation and construction, has been on the decline, signifying a process of de-industrialisation. De-industrialisation, signifies the growing dominance of trade and service activities in the economy and a significant shrinkage of the industrial sector (Bryceson, 1997a:11). Mining in Africa and throughout the world has experienced significant de-industrialisation as a result of volatility of the global price of minerals, increased mechanization of production processes and exhaustion of the finite mineral resources. De-industrialisation has been a trend both in Africa (see Table 1. above) and in developed countries (i.e. within the European Union) where the proportion of industry as a share of national output has declined from 23% in 1989 to 19% in 2000 (Bryceson, 1997a).

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Lesotho has experienced a transition from self-sustainable agrarian livelihoods in livestock and grain farming (Murray, 1981) to migration for purposes of employment in South African mines. Migration as a livelihood has been accelerated as a result of de-agrarianisation because of a variety of factors including market forces, climatic conditions and livestock diseases (Allen, 1992). But de-industrialisation especially in the mining industry has led to shrinkage of opportunities for pursuing migration to the mines as a livelihood. In the light of this de-industrialisation Basotho ex-mineworker households have continued to pursue agriculture as a livelihood option, either as a primary source of livelihood or as a supplement to the non-agricultural sources of livelihood. It should however also be noted, according to the findings in this research, that although through mine migrant labour the status of agriculture as a primary source of livelihood declined, migrant households continued to engage in agriculture as a primary activity for obtaining food within the household.

Trajectories in this literature review disprove the notion of modernization/neo-classical theory which assumes that the pathway to development requires support by an expert knowledge system which ignores local people's knowledge and experiences. – i.e. the Green revolution. The modernization trajectory assumes that in the light of the capitalist economy's proletarianisation and commodification of production which undermined subsistence farming, small scale and peasant farming would gradually disappear and would be replaced by large scale, intensive capitalist farming (Pule and Matlosa, 2000). Lesotho is however characterized by a co-existence of small scale production, peasant farming, and entrepreneurial forms of agricultural organization. These forms of

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livelihoods are pursued independent of government or NGO programmes, with households using their indigenous knowledge systems, as well as knowledge of their communities to create livelihoods.

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Chapter 4 Presentation of Findings and Discussion

4.1 Demographic profile of interviewees

The 12 families interviewed comprised 10 families of husband and wife households, one widowed husband and one widowed wife (see table 4 below). All households comprised husband and wife living together with their own children within the household. All families had children within the household, with some families having only a couple of children, while others had as many as seven to eight children. One household where there were two wives had 12 children. The children were ranging in age from nine to 22 years, and six of the families were living with the husband's parent(s). None of the families were living with any other family members. All husbands except one had worked for the South African mining industry for a period of 10 to 25 years or more. Only one of the husband interviewees had worked for the mining industry for six years. At the time of the interview all husbands had been retrenched from the mining industry for a period of three to five years. Most mine terminations were as a result of mines closing or downsizing. Only two of the interviewees had been dismissed.

Table 4.1 Demographic profile of interviewees

	Marital Status	No. of children	Activities of the children	Other dependents	Duration of work in the mines	Reason for leaving the mine
Family 1	Widowed husband	6	Younger ones in free primary education, older ones out of school due to lack of affordability	Living with husband's mother	15	Mine closure

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	Marital Status	No. of children	Activities of the children	Other dependents	Duration of work in the mines	Reason for leaving the mine
Family 2	Married	8	3 are working, 5 are in primary and high school	None	25	Retrenched
Family 3	Married	4	1 working, others inactive	Living with husband's parents	10	Retrenched
Family 4	Married	4	1 working, others at school	Living with husband's mother	17	Dismissed
Family 5	Married	3	All children inactive	None	6	Dismissed for theft
Family 6	Married	3	All children in school	None	20	Retrenched
Family 7	Married	2	1 working, 1 at school	Living with husband's mother	10	Retrenched
Family 8	Married	7	1 working, 3 inactive, 3 at school	Living with husband's mother	10	Retrenched
Family 9	Married	4	2 working, 2 in active	None	26	Mine closure
Family 10	Married	6	1 in school, 1 working in a temporary job, 1 married, 2 in active with matric	Brother and his children living in an independent household within the village	26	Mine closure
Family 11	Married to two wives	12	2 children working, 10 still at school	Living with husband's parents	20	Mine closure
Family 12	Widowed wife	2	Children working in South Africa, grand children in	Living with 3 orphaned grand children	Husband had worked 15 years	Retrenched

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	Marital Status	No. of children	Activities of the children	Other dependents	Duration of work in the mines	Reason for leaving the mine
			school			

As is traditionally the practice among mine worker communities, all mineworkers sent remittances home to cater for everyday family household needs such as food, clothing and children's school fees; accumulation of household assets such as the house and furniture; purchase of income generation assets such as vehicles for rental, livestock, farming implements, grain milling machines; and purchase of various equipment for rental. At the time of mine migrant labour, families therefore had mine wages as their main or only source of income, supplemented by some subsistence agriculture..

Post retrenchment, all families are still engaged in agriculture, whether as a form of subsistence livelihood or as an income generating and entrepreneurship type of livelihood activity. All families, except the family of the widowed wife, own off residence agricultural land where they grow wheat, maize, sorghum, potatoes, beans and peas. Agricultural produce from off residence agricultural family fields is supplemented with produce from sharecropping activities as well as home-based gardening of fruits and vegetable crops. Apart from crop farming, all families own varying forms of livestock in the form of traditionally reared chickens, sheep, goats, cattle and horses.

Following loss of mine migrant labour, all agricultural produce from the fields, from the gardens or livestock has been exploited in varying forms to support livelihoods. Three of the 12 families are living a subsistence type of life: selling off livestock, or brewing

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traditional beer to satisfy cash needs. Traditional beer brewing relies heavily on agricultural produce with the bulk of the inputs comprising wheat flour, mealie meal and malt obtainable from off residence agricultural activities. Agricultural produce is also consumed within the household with most families believing that buying food that can be obtainable from local agricultural produce (i.e. mealie meal, wheat, flour, beans, peas, vegetables) is either laziness or a waste of money. Nine of the 12 households have exploited agricultural practice to build income generating livelihoods. Most families also have farm implements which are rented out within the community or used during share cropping arrangements. One family has purchased a tractor to plough fields for cash and to operate as bulk transport within the community; two of the families have purchased grain-milling machines accessed by a majority of families within the community for milling of own grain crops at a fee; and two other families have invested in assets that afford them an opportunity to diversify their income generating activities to include non-agricultural livelihood sources. These include a mini-bus taxi, and a bakkie for bulk transport between the community and the nearby town, public phones in the nearby town, and one-roomed flatlets for rental also based in the nearby town (see table 4.2). All families that have invested in exploitation of their assets to build income generation livelihoods have reported being able to earn more money than while they were employed in the mines, with the added advantage of being at home to take care of their assets and to make decisions about savings and reinvestment of outputs thereof.

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Table 4.2 Income generation assets per household

	Assets accumulated	Form of income	Current income category
Household 1	• A house • Sheep, goats, cattle • Ox-drawn planter and plough	Seasonal sale of wool and mohair Occasional sale of a sheep, a goat or a cow NB: No beer brewing since the husband is widowed	Low
Household 2	• A house • Sheep, goats, cattle • Ox-drawn planter and plough • Leather sewing machine • Leather cutting machine	Seasonal sale of wool and mohair Sale of leather belts and sandals Shoe repairs	Medium
Household 3	•A house •Sheep, goats, cattle •Ox-drawn planter and plough	Seasonal sale of wool and mohair Sale of traditional beer brew	Low
Household 4	A house Sheep, goats, cattle Ox-drawn planter and plough Grain milling machine	Seasonal sale of wool and mohair Fees from grain milling machine	High
Househol 5	• A house • Sheep, goats, cattle • Ox-drawn planter and plough	Occasional sale of a goat, a sheep or a cow Sale of traditional beer brew	Low

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	Assets accumulated	Form of income	Current income category
Household 6	•A house •Sheep, goats, cattle •Ox-drawn planter and plough •Bakkie •One roomed flatlets •Two Public phone	Seasonal sale of wool and mohair Rental income from bakkie Rental income from one roomed flatlets Fees from public phones	High
Household 7	•A house •Sheep, goats, cattle •Ox-drawn planter and plough •Plate compactor	Rental fees from plate compactor leased to government roads agency	Medium
Household 8	• A house • Sheep, goats, cattle • Ox-drawn planter and plough • Bakkie	Seasonal sale of wool and mohair Rental income from bakkie	Medium
Household 9	•A house •Sheep, goats, cattle •Ox-drawn planter and plough •Grain milling machine	Seasonal sale of wool and mohair Fees from grain milling machine	High
Household 10	A house Sheep, goats, cattle Ox-drawn planter and plough Bakkie Mini-bus taxi	Seasonal sale of wool and mohair Fees from grain milling machine Fees from mini-bus taxi	High

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	Assets accumulated	Form of income	Current income category
Household 11	• A house • Sheep, goats, cattle • Ox-drawn planter and plough • Tractor	Seasonal sale of wool and mohair Rental income from tractor	Medium
Household 12	• A house • Sheep, goats, cattle • Ox-drawn planter and plough	Seasonal sale of wool and mohair Sale of a sheep, a goat or a cow Sale of garden vegetables	Low

NB:*Low income denotes, income significantly lower than mine wage income. Middle income denotes, income equivalent to mine wage income. And high income denotes, income significantly higher than mine wage income.*

4.2 Livelihood activities post mining

Interviewee families were stratified into three categories, namely: families owning diversified income generation assets; families with only one income generation asset; and families selling off assets to generate income.

The first category of families is classified as high income entrepreneurial households. High income in this case denotes income significantly higher than the interviewee's mine migrant labour earnings.

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With the grain milling machine and sales of wool and mohair, I'm currently earning about three times more than I was earning from the mine.

These families own both agricultural assets and non-agricultural assets based within the rural area as well within the nearby town. These assets are invested and multiplied in an entrepreneurial manner to generate increasing income streams, and to multiply the value of the assets. In addition to assets, these families are exploiting all forms of capital (natural capital in the form of land; produced capital in the form of farming equipment and other assets, human capital in the form of their intellect to invest their remittances in income generation activities; financial capital in the form of cash to finance agricultural inputs; and social capital in the form of networks with the community) to improve their income (see table 4.3 and 4.4 below).

The second category of families is classified as middle income entrepreneurial households. Middle income in this case denotes income equivalent or not significantly different to the interviewee's mine migrant labour earnings. Similarly, families in this second category are, although to a comparatively lesser extent, making use of all forms of capital to generate income and a livelihood for their families. Although the income is sustainable, in the event that the one asset that the family relies on for income becomes obsolete or is unable to generate income, this category runs the risk of falling into the third category of low income subsistence livelihood households (see table 4.3 and 4.4 below).

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The third category of families is low income households leading a subsistence type of livelihood, selling off their assets to generate income for the household. Low income in this case denotes irregular income that is also significantly lower than mine migrant labour earnings. These families rely primarily on their social capital in the form of social networks within the community, as well as natural capital in the form of land and their own labour for survival. To a lesser extent they also make use of their produced capital (selling off assets such as livestock) to generate a livelihood. These activities are then from time to time supplemented with traditional beer brewing. There are no entrepreneurial livelihood activities within this category (see tables 4.3 and 4.4 below).

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Table 4.3 Forms of capital applied to generate livelihoods

Household category	Capital employed		Form of income
High income entrepreneurial households	Produced Capital	Entrepreneurial assets such as farm implements, livestock, bakkie, mini-bus taxi, grain milling machine, one-roomed flatlets	Rental income, service fees and agricultural produce from own land and from sharecropping arrangements.
	Natural Capital	Farm land	
	Human Capital	Capability to work Capability to invest for purposes of entrepreneurship	
	Financial Capital	Entrepreneurial investments, purchase of agricultural inputs, labour hire	
	Social Capital	Share cropping arrangements	
Middle income entrepreneurial households	Produced Capital	Entrepreneurial assets such as farm implements, livestock, bakkie, tractor, plate compactor, leather sewing and cutting machine	Rental income, service fees and agricultural produce from own land and from sharecropping arrangements.
	Natural Capital	Farm land	
	Human Capital	Capability to work Capability to invest for purposes of entrepreneurship	
	Financial Capital	Entrepreneurial investments, purchase of agricultural inputs, labour hire	
	Social Capital	Share cropping arrangements	
Low income subsistence livelihood households	Produced Capital	Farm implements, livestock	Agricultural produce from sharecropping arrangements
	Natural Capital	Farm land	
	Human Capital	Own labour to work for a wage	
	Social Capital	Share cropping arrangements	

As indicated in table 4.3 above, both diversified income households and one income households employ the same types of capital to generate livelihoods, the difference is that capital investments by diversified income households are much larger, and so are the outputs from such investments.

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Share cropping as a form of social capital is exploited by families in all three categories of high income, middle income and subsistence livelihoods (see table 4.4 below). Without financial capital to finance agricultural inputs, or limited produced capital to invest in agricultural activity, families within the low income subsistence livelihoods category engage in share cropping activities to ensure continued agricultural produce and therefore their subsistence. Share cropping is a form of agriculture in which a number of household pool their various forms of capital for purposes of agricultural production. Often households within the subsistence livelihoods category would contribute land, their own labour, farm implements if available, or (if available) cattle to pull ploughs to the share cropping arrangement. Families from the other categories of high income entrepreneurial category and middle income entrepreneurial categories, use their diverse sources of capital to contribute other forms of capital such as fertilizers, insecticides, a tractor if available, or cattle to pull ploughs, planters, etc; to hire additional labour, etc required to ensure a productive share cropping arrangement. The produce is then shared according to the agreed value of each family's contribution into the sharecropping arrangement. While low income subsistence livelihood families engage in share cropping arrangements because they cannot otherwise afford to be productive on their own, high income entrepreneurial households and middle income entrepreneurial households on the other hand participate in share cropping activities to supplement their general food production capacity, and where possible to sell the produce or to use it as animal feed.

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Table 4.4 Assets applied in Share cropping arrangements

Household category	Income level	Assets applied in sharecropping arrangements	Outputs from sharecropping arrangements	Use of outputs from sharecropping arrangements
1. High income entrepreneurial households	High	Hired labour Farm implements Seeds, fertilizers, insecticides	Agricultural produce	To supplement household food needs Animal feed Sale of grain crops
2. Middle income entrepreneurial households	Medium	Own tractor Own bakkie Farm implements Seeds, fertilizers, insecticide	Agricultural produce	To supplement household food needs Animal feed Sale of grain crops
3. Low income Subsistence livelihood households	Low	Land Own labour	Agricultural produce	Household subsistence Beer Brewing inputs

Within low income subsistence livelihood households, life is hard with reports of high school going children kept out of school as a result of the poor financial situation of families. Primary school going children on the other hand are able to stay in school, as this is free. For many families, the migrant labour era meant they had money to send their children to school but retrenchment has resulted in limited income, and poor families have no option but to sacrifice their children's education for subsistence of the household. Poor education, and lack of alternative skills to either explore entrepreneurship or get alternative employment spells a perpetuation of poverty without means to access consistent income streams from a job or from a family enterprise. Prospects for an

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improved standard of living are however also limited by the fact that families are not doing anything to improve their income generation situation, they are rather hoping to get another job, which would be very difficult given the high unemployment rate within the country and in nearby South Africa, lack of job prospects within the community, and the low level of skill. Other families are hoping their children could get jobs so they can support the parents, or to get their daughters married off so they can get lobola to live off.

Inspite of the financial hardships, all families have a modestly furnished corrugated iron roof house as well as a thatched roofed house, both financed partly out of remittances from mining activities and partly out of retrenchment payouts.

Subsistence agriculture is a way of life of families in all three categories of high entrepreneurial income households, middle entrepreneurial income households and low income subsistence livelihoods households.

> *It is known that money should not be used to buy food, rather food is obtained from agricultural activities. (male interviewee)*

All families perform both off residence farming activities producing wheat, sorghum, maize, beans, and at times potatoes, peas and pumpkin; on-residence activities include production of vegetable crops and some fruits; and in addition, families rear cattle, sheep, goats, chicken, and at times pigs. These provide sustenance for the family, and it is a belief within the various households that buying food is a waste of money and a sign of laziness. Only supplementary food such as fish, fruit that cannot be produced locally through agriculture, rice and processed flour are normally purchased or obtained by

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battering with agricultural produce. Grain crops from off residence farming activities are processed (into flour) locally through local grain milling machines or bartered for the industrially processed flour produce from local shops or through community networks.

Subsistence farming activities are also at times exploited to generate income. This includes use of grain crops as inputs for traditional beer brewing sold by many families within the subsistence livelihoods household strata to generate income. Maize meal, wheat flour, and malted sorghum are major inputs for brewing traditional beer thus stressing the importance for subsistence livelihood households to possess adequate agricultural produce so that they do not have to purchase inputs necessary for beer brewing. In addition to beer brewing, excess off-residence and on-residence produce, as well as livestock can also be sold to generate income for the family.

> *Whenever the family needs money, we sell a sheep or a goat, and once a year we sell a cow.*

Sheep and goats are exploited by most families for their wool and mohair outputs. All families interviewed own some livestock with families within the low income subsistence livelihood households owning the fewest number of sheep and goats (between 20 and 50), while entrepreneurial high income and middle income households own a comparatively higher number of sheep and goats (up to 200) with an intention to increase the numbers thus also increasing the level of income from sales of wool and mohair.

Cattle, defined as beasts of burden are used in share cropping activities to pull ox-drawn harrows, planters and ploughs at different times during the ploughing season. At times,

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cattle and farm implements are rented out to community members who do not have their own cattle or farming equipment as a means to generate income or as contribution to share cropping arrangements in order to generate additional off farm produce for the family.

Other families have however gone further to exploit agriculture into income generating activities. Such activities are most common within diversified income as well as in one income households. For instance, a tractor, or a bakkie provide an ongoing source of income through rental transportation activities within the rural community or between the rural community and the nearby town, or the tractor can be used for off-residence agricultural activities such as ploughing fields. The most successful of the agriculture related activities has been the investment in a grain milling machine. This has been an asset purchased solely for generation of income, accessed within the community to process grain crops into flour, at a fee. Families engaged in this type of activity have reported currently being able to produce income significantly higher than earnings from migrant mining activity.

Since leaving the mine life has become more and more easier because I had invested a lot while I was still working.

Life is good at home because I'm able to earn a higher income compared to while I was still working for the mines.

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Although some families have sought to diversify their livelihood means beyond agricultural activities, some entrepreneurship activities have not been successful due to lack of business management skills. One family that had started a shop, a restaurant and had purchased a bakkie through investment of remittances and retrenchment payout have not been able to sustain their business.

> *We did not have good business skills. The money from the businesses was good but the family was careless about using it. Because of this the businesses fell apart.*

Another family had however purchased a leather sewing machine to support a leather belt business. The success of the business (in the post retrenchment era) had allowed the family to invest further in a leather-cutting machine, thus further improving the capacity of the business to generate sustainable income for the family. Another family had invested in property, in the form of one-roomed flatlets located within the nearby town (the family had maintained its residence within the rural village) has also proved very successful, providing income streams significantly higher than what the family earned from migrant mining remittances.

Table 4.5 Household livelihoods post retrenchment

	Assets accumulated	**Livelihood sources**	**Household expenditure**	**Future aspirations to maintain livelihoods**
High income entrepreneurial households.	A house Agricultural land Cattle, sheep and goats Planter, plough and harrow	Subsistence crop agriculture Sale of wool and mohair Own use and rental of farm implements	Children's schooling Household subsistence Medicines for livestock Farm inputs (seeds, fertilizers, insecticides)	Purchase more livestock Build more flatlets Buy another grain milling machine Educate the children well

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	Assets accumulated	Livelihood sources	Household expenditure	Future aspirations to maintain livelihoods
	Grain milling machine One roomed flatlets	Fees from grain milling Rental of flatlets	Additional livestock Maintenance of capital investments	
middle income entrepreneurial households	A house Agricultural land Cattle, sheep and goats Planter, plough and harrow Tractor Plate compactor Bakkie Leather sewing and cutting machine	Subsistence crop agriculture Sale of wool and mohair Own use and rental of farm implements Sale of leather belts Transportation activities	Children's schooling Household subsistence Medicines for livestock Farm inputs (seeds, fertilizers, insecticides) Additional livestock Maintenance of capital investments	Purchase more livestock to improve wool and mohair income Educate the children well
low income subsistence households	A house Agricultural land Cattle, sheep and goats	Subsistence crop agriculture Sale of livestock, Sale of wool and mohair, Traditional beer brewing, Month to month government employment on rural roads construction and maintenance.	Children's schooling Household subsistence	Get a job Marry-off the daughters and live-off the *lobola*

4.3 Household relations post mining

All families interviewed are accepting of the notion that the husband is the head of the household. This notion was reported by both male and female interviewees who believe

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that the husband is the head of the household and has the responsibility to financially provide for his family's needs, taking decisions pertaining to acquisition and disposal of assets, children's discipline, and maintaining social networks within the community.

> *God is the one who makes the man head of the household, and the other partner takes over when the head of the household is absent. (male interviewee)*

Although the husband's household head status is linked to an expectation for the husband to be the bread winner who has the responsibility to financially provide for his family, even where the husband is unable to financially provide for the family, the expectations (from the wife) for him to be able to provide for the family maintains his status as head of the household. This is more visible within low income subsistence households where the source of income for the family is beer brewing by the wife, but the husband is still considered head of the household by both the wife and the husband himself.

> *The head of the household is the husband providing food, shelter and clothing for the family. (female interviewee)*

> *A wife becomes a man's child after they are married, so he has to provide everything for her. (male interviewee)*

> *Head of the household is the father – this is a well known activity, with the head of the household holding the responsibility to work and provide for the needs of the dependents,The role of*

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the wife is to make children and to provide good care for them. . (male interviewee)

The husband is the head of the household "because I provide everything for the family" (family with grain grinding machine) (male interviewee)

The head of the household is the husband "because I'm the bread and butter" (family depending on agriculture and beer brewing). (male interviewee)

Head of the household is the husband and he has the responsibility to make sure all the needs of the family are met, and to make decisions for the family – the role of the wife is to feed the children, wash them, feed them and work at the fields (family with leather cutting machine) (male interviewee)

Head of the household is the husband and he has to make sure all the needs of the family are met and to make decisions for the family. (male interviewee)

It was however within low income subsistence livelihoods households where husbands were not able to provide financially for their families that wives, although accepting of

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the status of the male as head of the household, they felt that if the wife is the bread winner she should also be accorded the opportunity to be head of the household. The wives in these households expressed the unfairness of the notion that the husband should continue, as deemed in society, to be head of the household even when he is not the breadwinner.

> *I also go out job seeking like the husband and should therefore also be considered head of the household. (female interviewee)*

The husband is accepted as head of the household and through societal and community expectations, does not cease to be head of the household when he ceases to be the family breadwinner. Within low income subsistence livelihood households, in spite of the loss of breadwinner status, husbands have not lost their status as heads of the households. Husbands in these households still make decisions pertaining to, with whom to go into share cropping arrangements with, when to carryout various seasonal agricultural activities, and when to sell livestock and what type of livestock to sell, and how to spend what ever income comes out of these activities. Within these households the wife cannot engage in beer brewing activities unless the husband has agreed to it. The husband himself can also propose that the wife prepare some home brew for sale should he need cash for the household or for himself. Monies generated are then viewed as household money, with the husband making decisions on how it should be spent.

There were also indications that the status of household head was not based only on the bread winners status, but also on the male gender.

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The head of the household is, me, as the man.

Within high income as well as within medium income entrepreneurial households, where mining remittances and retrenchment payouts had been well invested to ensure continued household incomes post retrenchment, the husband's status as head of the house hold was accepted without question. With the husband taking decisions pertaining to investments and therefore production of income for the household, he successfully maintains the status of head of the household, with the responsibility to provide financially for the family.

4.4 Household relations post mining

The role of the husband as head of the household is directly linked to household decision making roles. This was most obvious during the process of seeking permission to conduct interviews within the household. While all wives could not give consent for the interviews to go ahead without the husband's permission or "knowledge", all husbands were willing to give immediate consent to be interviewed without necessarily seeking their wives' permission, consent or "knowledge". This is so within all families regardless of income or livelihood status.

The husband's decision making role covers decisions pertaining to purchasing or selling of livestock, savings decisions, when and what to plant in off-residence agricultural activities, etc. The wife's decision making is left to taking care of the children.

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Decisions about caring for the children are taken by their mother. (male interviewee)

The wife is the child even though she has to take care of the children while I do everything else. (male interviewee)

Decisions about purchasing or selling of assets are made by the husband, while decisions about caring for the children are taken by the wife. This notion is linked to the role of husbands as income earners; they would make decisions or give instructions on how their earned income should be spent or invested. Since assets such as vehicles, leather cutting and sewing machine, livestock, farm equipment, etc were purchased out of remittances or retrenchment payout earned by the husband; income earned out of investment of these assets becomes income earned by the husband, and he becomes the decision maker for such income. A portion of the earned income is then allocated to the wife to use in household subsistence and to care for the children.

Women can lead people to darkness if one is not careful, they like big things, that is why I usually do not negotiate with them.

All decisions are taken by the husband

The wife is the child even though she has to take care of the children while I (husband) do everything else.

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4.5 Gendered decision making within households

Roles for carrying out livelihood activities are divided by gender, with men as decision makers on entrepreneurial activities, while women on the other hand are tasked with the responsibility to carryout certain entrepreneurial instructions (see table 4.6 below) as well as to play the home-maker role of taking care of the household and the children. Within high income and middle income entrepreneurial households, men see themselves as income earners. This is based on the fact that men see the entrepreneurial activities a product of their mine wages and retrenchment payout and therefore their earned income.

> *Head of the household is the husband and he has the responsibility to make sure all the needs of the family are met, and to make decisions for the family – the role of he wife is to feed the children, wash them, feed them and work at the fields.*

> *Women can lead people to darkness if one is not careful, they like big things, that is why I usually do not negotiate with them on money matters.(male interviewee)*

Table 4.6 Gendered responsibilities within the household

Men	Women
Decision making on financial expenditure	Taking care of the household (nutrition and general household maintenance)
Decision making on entrepreneurial activities	Taking care of the children (their clothing, nutrition, and schooling)
The decision on whether to be interviewed for this study.	Carrying out instructions from male partners: 1. Collection of rent

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	2. Who to go into sharecropping arrangements with 3. When to plough the off-residence land
Children's discipline	
Acquisition of assets	
Disposal of assets	

Although all female interviewees were of the opinion that "*one partner's rights fits into another's rights*" and that "*each partner within the household has the right to listen to the other and be listened to*", with the husband and wife making decisions together, the practice was different. During mine employment, remittances would be sent home with instructions of how they should be spent, and accordingly, wives would comply. Some female interviewees also indicated that while the husband sent remittances home for schooling and other household needs, the rest of the money was invested by the husband, having taken the decision on his own.

> *The husband made all decisions pertaining to investment of remittances and retrenchment payout, but he would also give me money to spend on the children and household maintenance, this is why we are living well now. (female interviewee with grain grinding machine)*

> *Often decisions are made by the father as head of the household who has to be cared for and to fulfill his responsibility to care for us as his dependents. (female interviewee).*

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Every decision of the family is made by him as head of the household – because he is my husband (female interviewee)

The head of the household is the husband, he is the head of the household because is the one responsible for everything, he gives us money and we are all his dependents, except the two children who are working. (female interviewee)

Women in return have expressed no rejection of this practice, but have continued to comply with the practice of men as decision makers; both during the time of employment in the mines as well as post mine employment. Within high income entrepreneurial households as well as middle income entrepreneurial households, where wives are responsible for the management of the businesses (collection of rent, fees for grain milling, etc,) income is then handed to the husband to dispense according to his own defined needs of the family.

Not much different is the decision making practices in low income subsistence households. In spite of their limited spending capacity, decision making for expenditure for whatever income is available is made by the husband. Only one of the female interviewees expressed her dislike of the ongoing status of the husband as head of the household in spite of the fact that he is no longer the breadwinner.

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Because the husband is not working, I also have to go out and look for piece jobs, that is why I also want to be the head of the household. (female interviewee)

Although all beer brewing and selling activities are carried out by the wife, she has to seek the husband's approval to carryout this activity, and expenditure of income accruing from this activity has to be approved by the husband.

4.6 Gender relations within households

A collapse of intrahousehold relations seems to center around historical decision-making activities relating to money in the form of remittance as well as the retrenchment payout. In most of the high income and middle income entrepreneurial households, household relations are "good" (with no reports of lack of respect of one partner by the other, or lack of love of one partner by the other), and this can be attributed to the historical relations dating back to the mine migrant labour era. Wives reported adequate remittances, enough to take care of the family needs, with additional income from entrepreneurial investments to take care of all household needs. In addition, the retrenchment payout was disclosed to the spouses, with the wife knowing how much was received and what it would be used for. On the other hand, within low income subsistence livelihood households, in addition to erratic remittances, or inadequate remittances that forced wives to either take some of the children out of school, or to supplement the income with traditional brew for sale; husbands did not disclose the value of their retrenchment payout to their wives, or how the money would be spent. These income expenditure decisions by the husbands were

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construed by the wives to indicate that money is being squandered, by the husband, outside the home.

> *While he was employed, he ate his money with prostitutes and other women in Gauteng, now that he is unemployed, he wants me to brew beer so I can take care of him.*

Wives that had reported erratic receipt of remittances, as well as being denied the knowledge of how much of the retrenchment payout was received, reported poor intrahousehold relations. On the other hand, wives that had reported consistent receipt of remittances, as well as significant knowledge of how much and for what the retrenchment payout was used, reported good intrahousehold relations. Such family relations had not been influenced by the ability or opportunity for the wives to participate in decision making concerning household expenditure from remittances or retrenchment payouts. In a majority of households, the husbands prescribed how remittances and the retrenchment payout would be expended. Wives accepted this as an instruction or decision from the head of the household, and some husbands believed women would be wasteful if allowed leeway to make decisions pertaining to financial matters. As one husband put it:

> *"women like big things, if one is not careful, trouble will befall the family".*

Another husband was concerned that a woman would not be able to make correct decisions regarding the correct ploughing, weeding or harvesting season/period, which would then lead to poor agricultural output.

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Many families have to waste money and buy food because they let the woman make decisions about when and what to plough.

Household relations post mining are a reflection of household relations while the husbands were still employed by the mines. In cases where wives has reported erratic remittances which at times forced the family to take children out of school as they could not afford to pay school fees; or where wives had reported that a retrenchment payout was received but they were never informed of the value of were never involved in its use or do not know how the bulk of it was spent; household relations continued to be bad post mining, with wives complaining that

The husband is lazy and doesn't want to work

The husband uses whatever money he earns from part-time jobs on himself with little consideration for household subsistence.

Table 4.7 Historical conflict in household relations

	Remittances	Retrenchment payout	Primary Decision maker	Household head	Household relations	Income
Household 1	Widowed husband (no wife to comment about remittances)	Received and used for subsistence, to settle debts, and to purchase livestock. "The money seems a lot when counted	Husband	Husband	She seemed not to care for me as when I was working – "women do not love the person, they love money".	Low

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	Remittances	Retrenchment payout	Primary Decision maker	Household head	Household relations	Income
		but is little when used".				
Household 2	Erratic remittances supplemented with beer brewing with 2 children forced to stay out of school.	Received but not disclosed to wife	Husband	Husband	Not in good relations with his wife	Medium
Household 3	Inadequate remittances supplemented with beer brew	Children's clothing, furnitur debt, and children's schooling. The wife does not know how much was received in retrenchment payout – it was badly used by the husband.	Husband	Husband	I still love her but she has stopped respecting me – insinuating that I do not want to work.	Low
Households 4	Adequate remittances for household subsistence and investment received	Retrenchment payout received and discussed with the family. Purchased additional	Husband	Husband	Household relationship good	High

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	Remittances	Retrenchment payout	Primary Decision maker	Household head	Household relations	Income
		livestock, households needs and to complete the house.				
Household 5	Adequate remittances for household subsistence and investment received	No retrenchment payout received	Husband	Husband	Household relations are good. This is attributed to the fact that ”there is no democracy in my family, I love my wife and she loves me”.	Low
Household 6	Adequate remittances for household subsistence and investment received	Used for basic household needs, increase number of flats for rental, savings. Retrenchment payout was received – “but it was not enough for someone who had worked for the mine for 20 years”	Husband	Husband	Household relationship good	High
Household 7	Inadequate remittances,	Retrenchment payout not	Husband	Husband	Relations are bad since I reported not	Medium

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	Remittances	Retrenchment payout	Primary Decision maker	Household head	Household relations	Income
	forcing the family to take a child out of school.	received			getting the retrenchment payout	
Household 8	Adequate remittances for household subsistence and investment received	Retrenchment payout received	Husband	Husband	Household relationship good	Medium
Househ old 9	Adequate remittances for household subsistence and investment received	Retrenchment payout received	Husband	Husband	Household relationship good	High
Household 10	Adequate remittances for household subsistence and investment received	Retrenchment payout received	Husband	Husband	Household relationship good	High
Household 11	Adequate remittances for household subsistence and investment	Retrenchment payout received	Husband	Husband	Household relationship good	Medium

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	Remittances	Retrenchment payout	Primary Decision maker	Household head	Household relations	Income
	received					
Household 12	Adequate remittances for household subsistence received	Retrenchment payout received	Husband (until the death of the husband)	Husband (until the death of the husband)	Widowed wife	Low

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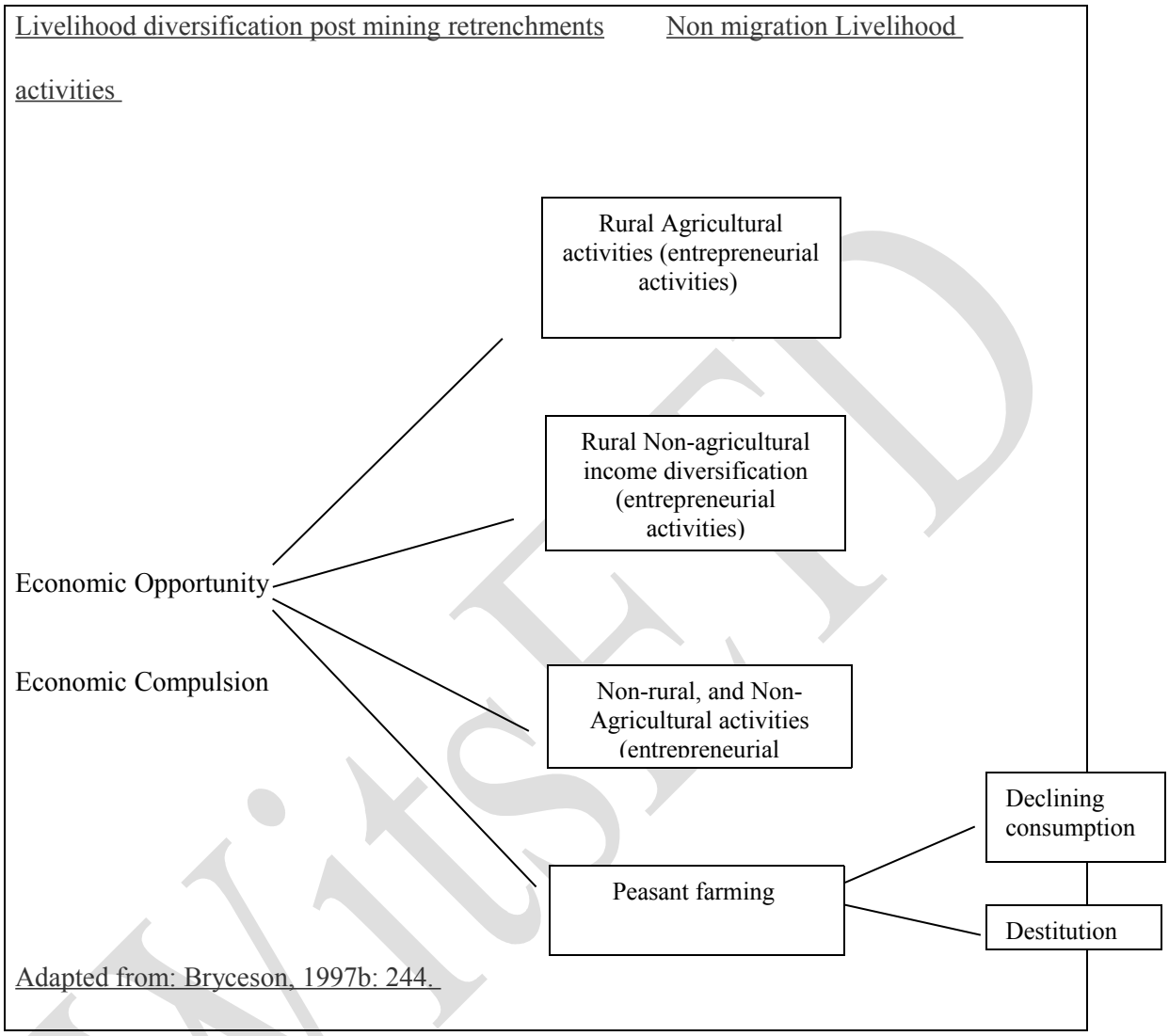
Chapter 5 Analysis of study findings

5.1 Household Livelihoods

This study found out that following retrenchments of Basotho workers from the mining industry in South Africa, families have had to adapt their livelihood activities to ensure that they can still afford their basic household needs. Subsistence and small scale farming has continued to characterize the basic livelihood activities in rural Lesotho, with some households adapting their agricultural activities to include entrepreneurial activities. In line with Bebbington's1999 suggestion of livelihood transitions, following mine retrenchments, households have opted for rural non-agricultural activities, rural agricultural activities, as well as non-rural activities as forms of income diversification activities (see figure 5.1 and table 5.1 below).

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Figure 5.1 Livelihood activities post mining



Inspite of Bryceson (1997b)'s analysis of the "occupational residential rouses for peasant producers in the de-agrarianisation process (see figure 3.1), in this research none of the former mine workers or their spouses have re-migrated following retrenchments, but peasant, subsistence and small-scale farming activities are still common livelihood activities.

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Table 5.1 Income diversification livelihood activities post retrenchments

Rural non-agricultural activities	**Rural agricultural activities**	**Non-rural activities**
Leather sewing activities	Grain milling	One-roomed flatlets for rental
Transportation activities between the rural community and the nearby town	Rental of farm equipment	Transportation activities within the nearby town
	Beer brewing	
	Subsistence, entrepreneurial and sharecropping agricultural activities	
	Sale of livestock, wool, and mohair	

These livelihood activities (as listed above in figure 5.1 and table 5.1), are a follow through from investments of mine migrant labour remittances. This means that these livelihood activities existed side by side with mine migrant labour. During the migrant labour era, remittances were used to purchase the capital equipment (machinery, vehicles, livestock, etc), to service and maintain the capital equipment, and to plough in more investments into existing livelihoods (fertilizers, insecticides, medicines for animals, etc) so as to increase the quality and quantity of outputs and therefore the family income. Following retrenchments, these livelihood activities have had to stand on their own as the primary sources of income for the ex-mine worker families. For this reason, aside from loss of mine migrant labour income, there have not been significant changes in the livelihood activities of ex-mineworker families from the time they were still employed by the mines to the era post retrenchments. Access to land, where families are engaged in both on-residence and off-residence agricultural activities has meant that, to varying degrees, retrenchee families are still able to meet their basic needs. This is unlike the

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finding by Bezuidenhout et al (2003) where 90% of the respondents who had been retrenched from textile industries and were living within an urban area could not meet their basic subsistence needs as they could not engage in agriculture.

Migration by either the wives or the husbands in the post retrenchment era was seen to have limited potential given lack of skills as well as poor job prospects in South Africa or in the nearby towns in Lesotho. Retrenchees were found to have only low level mine worker skills with wives generally possessing no skills except domestic work-related activities. Unlike Mosoetsa's (2005) findings that retrenchments of men have forced women to migrate and become primary income earners, this study has found out that retrenchee households have instead used assets accumulated while still in employment to build entrepreneurial and subsistence livelihoods within the home community. These home-based livelihood activities, together with limited opportunities for migration due to lack of alternative skills and lack of suitable job opportunities have thus negated the inclination to engage in further migrant labour by either the husbands or the wives. Where women have had to takeover the role or primary income earner following mine retrenchment, it has been through beer brewing activities carried out within the home community.

Given the location of this village, prospects for local employment are virtually non-existent. While Ngonini (2002) reported engagement of retrenchees in the limited employment opportunities such as the timber and sugar cane industry, as well as employment as security guards in the local shops, in this village there are no job

prospects. The only available remunerated livelihood activity is the government's rural construction or maintenance; or soil erosion management projects. In these projects workers are paid either in the form of food or cash. Owing to high levels of unemployment, involvement in these projects is rotational (those employed in a particular month, would have to give an opportunity for employment of another group during the following month[s]). Local shops are also largely owner run and managed, local teachers do their own domestic work or would only employ daily labour, and transport services to the nearby town for security work and other low skilled jobs (where some people could get employment) cannot accommodate commuters.

5.2 Household relations and Decision Making

Relationships between wives and husbands following retrenchments were mixed in most cases reportedly influenced by the flow of remittances from the husband to the wife during the mine migrant labour era. Within low income households, wives expressed concern and dissatisfaction that in the post-retrenchment era, they have had to engage in beer brewing activities to raise income for the household due to the fact that their husbands had been irresponsible or had squandered their mining remittances and retrenchment payout on other women. These are women who inspite of their husbands being employed by the mines, had to engage in beer brewing to generate additional income for the household, and or to take some of the children out of school as they could not afford school fees. In these households, poor household relations were observed with the husbands reporting that the "wife no longer respects me" and the wives reporting that the "husband no longer loves me". These reports were consistent with low income

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subsistence households. But unlike reports by Ngonini (2002) where some wives were reported to have deserted their husbands as a result of loss of breadwinner status, or husbands deserting their wives due to embarrassment after losing their breadwinner status, all interviewee households had wives and husbands still living together inspite of the loss of income, and inspite of poor household relations. On the other hand high income and middle income households reported good or improved household relations post retrenchments. Again such good relations seem to have been greatly influenced by the satisfactory (as expressed by the wives) flow of remittances while still in mine employment, or by the husband's ability, through investments of remittances and the retrenchment payout, to still financially provide for the family.

Francis (2000) writes that as men lose their bread winner status and women become primary income earners, tensions arise within the household as women lose control over their incomes, and men lose their decision-making power due to loss of their role as breadwinners. This study however found out that this is not the case. Where women were engaged in beer brewing, men still made the decision on what the bulk of the income would be used for. Similarly, although the husbands would make decisions on who to engage in sharecropping arrangements with, the bulk of the work such as weeding, and harvesting would be done by women. Without question, the husband was seen as head of the household and therefore the decision-maker. This was a social norm, in the name of tradition, it goes without saying that the husband is the head of the household and this is not up for contestation thus setting limits to bargaining for household headship even in the case where the breadwinner status is reversed in favour of the wife (Argawal, 1997).

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Chapter 6 Conclusions and Recommendations

6.1 Main Findings

Livelihood activities (not limited to mine wage labour) and decision making pertaining to expenditure of remittances during the migrant labour era have had an impact on the livelihoods and household relations of former mineworkers. Erratic and *inadequate* (as determined by recipients/wives) remittances did not only affect the economic livelihoods of families, but also their household relations.

All families that had reported strained marital relations post retrenchment had had historical problems relating to erratic remittances, inadequacy of remittances sent home to meet the basic needs of the family (food, clothing and children's schooling), and ultimately, little knowledge of what the retrenchment payout was spent on and how much it was. But in spite of poor household relations, and the husband's loss of breadwinner status, families stayed together. It can therefore be postulated in this case that families stayed together because of continued existence of means of production in the form of agriculture albeit subsistence or disposal of livestock to the detriment of future livelihood.

The notion of families staying together in spite of the husband's loss of breadwinner status could also be linked to the husband's continued hold over control of means of production in the form of investment of outputs (acquired out of wage labour and therefore up to the husband to make decisions over), sale of livestock, with whom and whether to go into sharecropping arrangements, and whether to engage in beer brewing

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arrangements (although this would be an activity carried out by the woman). Such hold over means of production therefore continued to give husbands the status of household head in spite of loss of breadwinner status. It would however be interesting to investigate, in cases where women have exercised the option to become migrant wage earners for the family, whether the households exchange roles, with women giving instructions on how remittances should be expended (and whether men accept to carryout such instruction) and whether any outputs from investment of remittances by women remain under the control of the women themselves. And whether such control would eventually make the women the head of the household.

All families living off various forms of income generation assets within the high and middle income entrepreneurship categories acquired their assets through investment of remittances i.e. while still in employment at the mines. In addition to non-entrepreneurial assets such as a house and furniture, some investments in agricultural inputs such as livestock and farming implements to support household subsistence, these families also invested in entrepreneurial assets in the form of a tractor or a bakkie for rental, grain milling machines, leather sewing machine, and flatlets for rental. Although still employed on the mines, these families already supplemented their mine wage labour income with entrepreneurial income. Once retrenched, the payout was then further invested in already existing enterprises to enhance the income generation capabilities of the household.

On the other hand, low income subsistence livelihood households had used their remittances primarily for subsistence and to purchase non-entrepreneurial assets such as a

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house and furniture. It is also within these families that wives reported that remittances were erratic and they had either to supplement income received through beer brewing or had to cut back on household expenditure by taking some of the children out of school. Since none of the families in all three categories of high income entrepreneurial households, middle income entrepreneurial households, and low income subsistence income households reported starting any of the entrepreneurial activities through investment of the retrenchment payout, it can only be concluded that the ability to create livelihood practices that ensure living standards similar or better than those experienced during employment has more to do with investment activities while still employed, and less to do with investment of the retrenchment payout. It is the contention of all families that started investing their remittances in entrepreneurial activities, and then used the retrenchment payout to enhance their enterprises that, in the post mining era, their families are earning much higher income than what they were earning while still employed on the mines.

Although this study site was not reached by MDA's micro-enterprise and cooperatives development programme which assists former mine workers to build alternative livelihoods, a significant number of the households forming part of this study were able to independently build alternative livelihoods by exploiting assets accumulated during mine-based employment. It is only families that had sought to wait until retrenchment to make arrangements for alternative livelihoods that reported that the capital received at retrenchment was never adequate to make significant contribution to primary investments for alternative livelihoods post retrenchment. As one former mine worker put it: "the

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money (retrenchment payout) seemed a lot when counted, but it is little when used". Within the bulk of the families interviewed the retrenchment payout was used to pay off the furniture debt, finish the house, pay the balance of children's annual school fees and purchase some basic family needs. It was only in households where income generation assets already existed that a portion of the retrenchment payout was invested towards purchasing additional assets. Depending on investment choices made during the migrant labour era, households are engaged in agricultural, non-agricultural, as well as subsistence forms of livelihoods (see table 6 below).

Table 6 Primary livelihood per household category

Household Category	High income entrepreneurial households	Middle income entrepreneurial households	Low income subsistence livelihood households
Primary source of livelihood	Entrepreneurial Agricultural activities Entrepreneurial non-agricultural activities	Entrepreneurial Agricultural activities Entrepreneurial non-agricultural activities	Share cropping Traditional beer brewing Sale of livestock

In spite of mining income, all families whether within the high income or middle income entrepreneurial households, or the low income subsistence livelihood households, continued to engage in agriculture as a supplement to their mine wage income. Post retrenchment, low income households have continued to pursue agriculture as a primary source of livelihood, with middle and high income households also continuing to pursue agricultural practices as a supplement to their other entrepreneurial income sources. The capacity for low income subsistence livelihood households to practice agriculture, and

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thus to have access to an independent livelihood source, does not however overrule the hardship faced by these households in taking care of their households. The fact that these families are selling off assets to satisfy needs for cash within the households, versus investing in measures to multiply their assets so that they become income generating assets, renders these low income subsistence livelihood households prone to sinking into poverty. The fact that many children in these households are only schooled up to primary school education (which is currently free) further puts limitations on these households gaining means to lift themselves out of poverty through better employment prospects of their children.

Access and ownership of land ensures that families that would have otherwise graduated into destitution can still maintain a livelihood. A case in point is that of findings of research conducted in nine Java villages in South East Asia (White and Waradi, 1989 in Hart et al, eds). The highest comparative incomes within the villages were income averages recorded within families that owned land coming from sales of crops, livestock and poulty. The landless on the other hand had a bulk of their income from agricultural wage income in the form of cash and or crops from share cropping arrangements or outright farm employment (from those who owned land), with their incomes significantly lower than the incomes of those who owned agricultural land.

Within the village, former mineworker families have managed to maintain their indigenous agricultural livelihoods as well as to diversify livelihoods to non-agricultural activities. These efforts have not been supported in any form by Modernisation or Green

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Revolution initiatives by government or non-governmental organizations. Proletarianisation and commodification of production are existing side by side with subsistence and small scale farming. This is unlike what has been predicted by the modernization theory that with modernity; peasant farming, subsistence and small scale farming would be replaced by large scale capitalist farming.

6.2 Recommendations

It is crucial for governments to pursue policies to give agricultural incentives to communities to carryout agricultural activities, whether subsistence and individual household based, to cooperatives or assisted entrepreneurial agricultural activities. This would to a lesser or greater extent deter household members, (in the midst of high unemployment rates), from migrating to urban areas or neighboring South Africa to seek employment, and instead to have the ability to build a livelihood within the rural home community. It can be deduced from this study that, while former mineworkers in the category of "high income and middle income entrepreneurial households" used their remittances and retrenchment payouts to finance their agricultural and none-agricultural livelihoods, government assisted agricultural programmes can go a long way towards formulating more productive household livelihoods, with growth possibilities to fully functional commercial farms providing employment for the local community and the landless, higher income streams for the owners and better agricultural yields for the country's economic wellbeing.

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Mining companies on the other hand, should, through out the employment period, alert employees to the notion that mine employment will at some point end, due to economic reasons, depletion of the mineral, etc. This would dispel the notion among some mine workers that "*I never thought mining would end".* At this point employees should be encouraged to start investing their remuneration in activities that will ensure continued income generating livelihoods in the era: post employment. These livelihoods will then create opportunities for independent income generation activities in the post mining era. Mines should invest in research to identify viable entrepreneurial activities in the home areas of their employees. Such research would assist employees to make entrepreneurial choices that would assist their (employees) continued livelihoods post mine employment. Research conducted to identify viable entrepreneurial activities in the home areas of employees, should also be used to identify viable training opportunities for employees in preparation for employment. Such training should include both technical as well as business training, preparing employees for future employment in other mines or in similar industries. It is however up to individual employees to develop the motivation and to create time to study further to improve their skills. Entrepreneurial training activities should not be uniform across all mine employees. Employees should be trained/counseled on how to make the best entrepreneurial choices for their unique communities and for the employment market.

Owing to findings in this research, as well as limitations of this study, it is essential that further research that covers a number of villages is carried our to extrapolate the findings of this research as well as to investigate other possibilities of livelihoods that would be

successful in rural setting such as those in Lesotho. These would include possibilities for home industries, fisheries, beneficiation of crop and livestock outputs, and improved trade activities with accessible markets.

Furthermore, in spite of the findings of this study, Basotho women's behaviour should not be seen as homogeneous (Epprecht, 2000). For now it can be postulated that different women would react differently to the notion of a continuation of the husband as head of the household and decision maker in spite of his loss of bread winner status. It would be interesting to engage in further research to find out what influences some women to be accepting and submissive to men as heads of the household and decision maker in spite of their loss of breadwinner status, and why some women would seek to question the status of the household head and decision maker, and what factors would eventually uplift a Mosotho woman in a rural setting to the status of a household head and decision maker.

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8 Annexure A

8.1 Questionnaire Guide

Research title: Socio-economic impacts of mine retrenchments on household livelihoods and decision-making in Lesotho.

Introduction

Name and surname

Wits university student

Purpose of research

- The purpose of this study is to investigate how ex-mineworker households in Lesotho are
    - adapting their livelihood strategies since the loss of employment in mining.

      It will focus on
        - what ex-mineworker households have spent their wage remittances on, i.e. whether consumables and or accumulation of assets;
        - what retrenchment packages have been spent on;
        - what assets ex-mineworker households have accumulated;
        - how they have invested their assets;
        - what market networks they have created to build alternative livelihoods; and
        - how household decision-making dynamics have influenced such decisions.

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- The study will also investigate how the loss of a mine wage income by the male breadwinner, usually a husband and a father, has impacted on decision making roles between adult males and females in the household, as well as traditional gender relationships both within the household and outside.
- Where the loss of a mine income has forced the female members of the households to become primary income earners, what choices and options do they have in achieving the status of primary income earner? What have been the implications of their breadwinner status on gender relationships within the households and outside?

Outcome of research

- The study fill a gap in the academic literature,
- Will inform policy studies at mine level as well as at government bi-lateral level between Lesotho and South Africa on what is required to assist ex-mineworkers to succeed in creating alternative economic livelihoods following retrenchment.
- This research will inform the mines' social and labour plans on how to address impacts of mine closure and retrenchments on labour sending areas, in this case in Lesotho, and what interventions should be put in place to address adverse impacts defined, as well as to enhance the alternative means of livelihoods currently indicated as showing a potential for success.

8.2 Consent (verbal consent to participate)

You are under no obligation to agree to participate in this interview.

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If you agree to participate in this interview you are under no obligation to answer any questions that you might feel uncomfortable answering.

The information that you will give to me will be kept confidential.

Your name will not appear anywhere on the report.

8.3 Questionnaire: male interviewees

1. Name:
2. Age:
3. Marital status:
4. Number of Children (ages):
5. Are the children in school, working, married, inactive: (are the children living with you or not – why)
6. Other dependents: (are they living with you or not)
7. How long have you worked in the mining industry:
8. When did you leave the mining industry?
9. Why did you leave?
10. Tell me about your life at home while you were still employed by the mines:

    Probe for information on:

    - Remittances sent home
    - What were remittances spend on
    - Who made decisions on what to spend remittances on
    - Any assets accumulated out of remittances or other mine benefits (i.e. livestock, house, farm implements, vehicle, etc)

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- Other sources of livelihood (i.e. agriculture, beer brewing, informal training, other work/employment by other family members, gifts from friends or other family members, etc)
- How were you able to access inputs required to engage in alternative sources of livelihood.
- Who made decisions about what other sources of livelihood to engage in
- Who is the head of the household (what are the rights and responsibilities of the head of the household)
    - i.e. what makes a person head of the household
- Depending on the response above (how does the other partner fit into the one partner's rights, responsibilities and role as head of the household?

11. Tell me about your life at home since you left the mining industry:

    Probe for information on:

- Sources of livelihood (e.g. work/employment of self and or other family members, agriculture, informal trading, informal employment, government schemes, entrepreneurship, beer brewing, gifts from friends [male and female friends] or other family members, etc)
- How are you able to access inputs required to engage in alternative sources of livelihood.
- Who makes decision about what other sources of livelihood to engage in
- Existence of assets (i.e. land, livestock, vehicle, house, farm implements, etc) and use of assets as sources of livelihood
- What is income spent on

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- Who makes decisions about what to spend income on
- Who is the head of the household (what are the rights and responsibilities of the head of the household)
- Define your role in the household in the era after mining era.
- Define the role of your wife in the household

12. Since you left the mines, have you been employed anywhere else?
13. How was the decision taken within the household for you to take up this job?
    - Describe the job type and why you left
14. What are your livelihood plans for the future?
15. Describe your life at home as an absent husband and father vs a husband and father who is always present at home.
16. Has your wife ever been employed? (what type of job, commuta job or migrant job?)
17: How was the decision for your wife to seek employment taken?
18. How are the following decisions made (comparing time before retrenchment and time after retrenchment):
    - care of children,
    - schooling of children,
    - investment decisions,
    - savings decisions,
    - spending decisions (and specific kinds of spending, eg,
        - who buys the food,
        - who decides what to spend any extra money on?

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19. Describe the relationship between yourself and your wife comparing the time before retrenchment and after retrenchment:
    - Love (probe for explanation and further details) (do you still love her, does she still love you?) why?
    - Respect (probe for explanation and further details) (do you still respect her, does she still respect you?) why?
20. Did you receive a retrenchment payout? How much? How was it used? How was the decision made? (i.e. children's education, investments, house, other assets, general consumption, gifts (who received gifts), etc).

8.5 Questionnaire: female interviewees

1. Name:
2. Age:
3. Marital status:
4. Number of Children (ages):
5. Are the children in school, working, married, inactive:
6. Other dependents:
7. How long has your husband worked in the mining industry:
8. When did he leave the mining industry?
9. Why did he leave?
10. Tell me about your life at home while your husband was still employed by the mines:

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Probe for information on:

- Remittances sent home
- What were remittances spend on (building/improving the house, agriculture, children's education, purchasing assets, etc)
- Who made decisions on what to spend remittances on
- Any assets accumulated out of remittances or other mine benefits (i.e. livestock, house, farm implements, vehicle, etc)
- Other sources of livelihood (i.e. agriculture {including share cropping contribution}, beer brewing, informal training, other work/employment by other family members, gifts from friends or other family members, etc)
- How were you able to access inputs required to engage in alternative sources of livelihood.
- How were decisions about what other sources of livelihood to engage in made
- Who is the head of the household (what are the rights and responsibilities of the head of the household)
    - i.e. what makes a person head of the household
- Depending on the response above (how does the other partner fit into the one partner's rights, responsibilities and role as head of the household?

Tell me about your life at home since your husband left the mining industry:

Probe for information on:

- Sources of livelihood (e.g. work/employment of self and or other family members, agriculture, informal trading, informal employment, government

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schemes, entrepreneurship, beer brewing, gifts from friends [male and female friends] or other family members, etc)

- How are you able to access inputs required to engage in alternative sources of livelihood.
- How are decision about what other sources of livelihood to engage in made (incl. Share cropping contribution)
- Existence of assets (i.e. land, livestock, vehicle, house, farm implements, etc) and use of assets as sources of livelihood
- What is income spent on
- Who makes decisions about what to spend income on
- Who is the head of the household (what are the rights and responsibilities of the head of the household)
    - i.e. what makes a person head of the household
- Define your role in the household in the era after mining era.

11. Describe your life at home as a wife of an absent husband and father vs wife of a husband and father who is always present at home.
12. Have you ever been employed?
13. Why did you take up employment?
14. How was the decision for you to get a job arrived at within the household?
15. What did/do you spend your earnings on?
16. Who made/makes decisions on what to spend your earnings on?
17. What are your livelihood plans for the future?

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18. How are the following decisions made (comparing time before retrenchment and time after retrenchment):
    - care of children,
    - schooling of children,
    - investment decisions,
    - savings decisions,
    - spending decisions (and specific kinds of spending, eg,
        - who buys the food,
        - who decides what to spend any extra money on?
19. Describe the relationship between yourself and your husband comparing the time before retrenchment and after retrenchment:
    - Love (probe for explanation and further details) (do you still love him, does he still love you?) why?
    - Respect (probe for explanation and further details) do you still respect him, does he still respect you?) Why?
20. Did your spouse receive a retrenchment payout? How much? How was it used? How was the decision made? (i.e. children's education, investments, house, other assets, general consumption, gifts (who received gifts), etc).

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9 Annexure B

9.1 Information leaflet

1. Should you be very poor, without any means of subsistence:
   - ✓ Contact the your local chief who will enroll you in the village register for those eligible to receive government subsistence support in the form of either food parcels or enrollment in work food programme.
2. Should you be in an abusive relationship, where:
   - ✓ The husband is abusing the wife (physical, emotional, sexual, etc)
   - ✓ The wife abusing the husband (physical, emotional, sexual, etc)
   - ✓ The children abused by either of the parents in any way (physical, emotional, sexual, etc)
     - o Report your concerns to the chief who will either deal with the matter himself or refer you to the community safety police.
     - o Should the chief be of no assistance, you should travel to the nearby town and report the matter yourself to the community safety policy. Should it be necessary, the policy will refer the matter to a family court, which will appropriately make a legal and enforceable determination.
3. Note that primary education from Standard 1 to Standard 7 is free. There is therefore no reason for you to have your primary school going children out of school.
4. Should you be raising orphans, or if you have lost a breadwinner in the family, and you have high school going children, please report this to the school principal who

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will assist the child to apply for an education grant. Note however that the child has to perform well at school in order to qualify for this grant.

5. Should you be over the age of 65 make contact with the local chief who will prepare appropriate documentation for you to receive a state pension fund of R200 per month. Once this documentation is prepared, you will have to travel to the nearby town to register your eligibility for this state pension fund.

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