Making use of population census data in Zimbabwe

MUGUMBATE Jacob
DODO Obadiah
MAUSHE Francis
RUPARANGANDA Lenah
ZEMBERE Monica
MAKWERERE David
NGWERUME Emmaculate
MTETWA Edmos
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Authors

Jacob Mugumbate

Jacob is a Lecturer in the Department of Social Work, Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities at Bindura University and a PhD in Social Work at the University of Newcastle, Australia. He has research interests in social justice focusing on disabled persons and rural dwellers.

Obadiah Dodo and Tafadzwa R Dodo

Obadiah is a Lecturer in the Department of Peace and Governance, Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities at Bindura University and a PhD student in Peace and Governance at the University of Lusaka, Zambia. He has research interests in conflict and employment. Tafadzwa is a student with the Great Zimbabwe University.

Francis Maushe

Francis is a Lecturer in the Department of Social Work, Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities at Bindura University. He has research interests in child welfare and rural development.

Lenah Ruparanganda

Lenah is a Lecturer in the Department of Social Work, Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities at Bindura University. She has research interests in child welfare and urban development.

Monica Zembere

Monica is a Lecturer in the Department of Peace and Governance, Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities at Bindura University and a PhD student in ... at the Stellenbosch University, South Africa. She has research interests in constitutionalism and education.
David Makwerere and Frank Chiwada

David is a Lecturer in the Department of Peace and Governance, Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities at Bindura University and a PhD student in Peace and Governance at the University of Durban, South Africa. He has research interests in conflict, peace and development. Frank graduated from Bindura University with a Bachelor of Science Honours Degree in Peace and Governance in 2014. His research interests are in conflict, violence and peacebuilding.

Emmaculate T. Ngwerume

Emmaculate is a Lecturer in the Department of Peace and Governance, Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities at Bindura University. She has research interests in conflict and urban development.

Edmos Mtetwa

Edmos is a Lecturer at the School of Social Work, Faculty of Social Studies at the University of Zimbabwe and a PhD in Social Work at the University of Zimbabwe. He has research interests in disability and human rights.
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Preface

This book is a collection of 8 chapters examining and discussing development policy and practice in Zimbabwe. Most of the papers base their arguments from results of the 2012 population census.

In the first chapter of this book, Jacob Mugumbate explores some forms of exclusion as reflected in the National Census Report for 2012. Exclusion is the sum total of forms of disadvantage and marginalisation placed on certain groups of people in society. As a social phenomenon, exclusion is mirrored in our everyday lives. It reflects in the streets and villages we walk. The face of exclusion is poverty, itself a reality we encounter every day in Zimbabwe. Evidence of exclusion seems not hidden; it exists even within the armpits of government. The report has glaring evidence of exclusion including: the illiterate 4%, the 11% assumed to be unemployed, those dying below 38 years (life expectancy), women, the disabled, the unmatched 7%, the orphaned, the elderly 4%, the rural 67%. For this chapter, the author focused on the illiterate, the unemployed, the elderly, persons with disabilities, women, rural people as well as mortality issues.

In the second Chapter Obadiah Dodo and Tafadzwa Dodo explore youths and unemployment in
Zimbabwe. Just like most developing economies the world over, Zimbabwe is in a state of transition from near death to recovery. During this phase, it is expected that the economy recovers and be able to create employment for most of its needy citizens. Presently, Zimbabwe’s unemployment rate stands at over 85% and literacy rate at over 92% even though the population census of 2012 gave an unemployment figure of only 11%. While there is talk and policy on paper regarding black indigenous economic empowerment, there has also been an influx of immigrants who have along the way grabbed some of the empowerment opportunities much to the disappointment of local citizens. It is this ‘disappointment’ that has motivated this study which endeavours to analyse the relationship between unemployment and potential conflict in Zimbabwe. The discussion is a product of an intensive desk research which unravelled various policy papers including the 2004 Zimbabwe Labour Force Survey (LFS) and archival literature using constant comparison method. The study established that while poverty may lead to conflicts, there should be other influences supporting. However, in respect to Zimbabwe, the hypothesis may not really manifest due to the following factors amongst others; lack of a willing tool, lack of a culture of violence, levels of literacy and economic empowerment and tolerance driven by ‘unhu’.
Chapter 3 examines population in rural areas. In this chapter, Francis Maushe looks at the growth point policy. The recent statistics from the Zimbabwe Statistical Agency (ZimStats) revealed that the population in the rural areas had increased by two percent between 2002 and 2012. People are seemingly moving to the rural areas from urban areas, which is an anomaly. This is so because migratory trends worldwide indicate that people normally move from rural to urban areas in search of better living standards, economic well-being, employment and educational opportunities. According to the ZimStats, (2012) census statistics, about 33 percent of the population was in the urban areas. The distribution of the population reside in the communal lands and resettlement areas. This phenomenon could be linked to the resettlement of over 200 000 households during the land reform programme which has led to the development of new communities within the rural areas and has attracted labour from urbanites grappling with a shrinking industry. According to the Sunday Mail May 18-24 2014, official figures show the number of people residing in urban areas increased from 26 percent in 1982 to 31 percent in 1992 and 35 percent in 2002. The trend is now suffering a reversal with the percentage of people living in rural increasing significant between 2002 and 2012. Rural migration figures revive calls for growth point investment. The growth point policy is a long forgotten initiative, the government should
undertake a major evaluation exercise of all the rural growth points in order to be able to formulate revival strategies based on a current resources inventories.

In the 4th chapter of the book, Lenah Ruparanganda looks at water and sanitation in urban Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe over the past decade (2004-2014) has seen a continued deterioration in its water and sanitation system as evidenced by persistent erratic water supply services, long distance walk to nearest water sources, increased open defecation, open dumping of waste and continued burst sewer pipes. Local Authorities and ZINWA form the major bodies charged with the mandate to manage water and sanitation services. These are guided by legislative instruments such as the Water Act of 1998 and ZINWA Act of 2000. The effectiveness and efficiency of the two bodies and legislative instruments in alleviating the situation remain an issue for debate. The Zimbabwe 2012 National Census Statistics reflects that 75% of the households in Zimbabwe have access to safe drinking water. This paper provides contextual analysis of the 2012 National Census Report on the country’s water and sanitation situation. Focus is on explaining the urban and rural water and sanitation supply trends, challenges faced by households and gaps in current water and sanitation supply system. Findings are based on secondary review method. The key findings reflect that access to clean and safe water varies
by season and is greatly reduced during water rationing periods in both rural and urban areas. Hence, households when faced with compromised access to water and sanitary conditions, resort to negative coping strategies which include open defecation and use of unprotected water sources. Lack of comprehensive water management policy, funding problems, lack of political will and inadequate infrastructural support services form some of the commonly cited reasons for the deteriorating situation. Some of the recommendations include the need for comprehensive policies, financing strategies and garnering political will so as to effectively deal with problems.

Monica Zembere examines relationship between literacy and constitutional knowhow in Zimbabwe in Chapter 5. She uses a cross sectional overview of the relationship between literacy rate in Zimbabwe and constitutional literacy in Mashonaland Central Province. The central argument in this chapter is that although Zimbabwe has the highest literacy rate of 96% in Africa, there is an apparent contradiction between literacy rate in the country and constitutional literacy in Mashonaland Central. This study was conducted using a descriptive survey design. This method was chosen because it allows the use of a representative sample from a population and that it allows the researcher to handle a larger number of respondents within a given period. A
survey was conducted on conveniently selected three districts of Muzarabani, Mazowe and Mbire. The population consisted of eight hundred and forty respondents aged between fifteen years and above purposively drawn from the three districts. The age group selected for study has been influenced by the census results of 2012 because that was the same age group where the country’s literacy rate was drawn from. The researcher employed interviews, and documentary analysis to gather data for the research. Overall, this research revealed that the majority of those who voted in the referendum in 2013 did not know the contents of the document they were voting for, and therefore concluded that higher literacy rate does not translate to constitutional literacy. Based on these findings, it was recommended that constitutional studies be introduced in primary and secondary schools as a subject rather than having selected topics infused in History and Geography.

The sixth chapter by David Makwerere and Frank Chiwada looks at empowerment in Zimbabwe. The first decade of the 21st century in Zimbabwe saw the purportedly nationalist government embarking on sweeping agrarian and empowerment reforms of a national scale. Different schools of thought have been put across to explain the developments. Other scholars have attributed the initiatives to political grandstanding by the ZANU-PF government whilst others have seen it
as a genuine approach towards transforming the remnants of the colonial structures that were both a source of conflict and a source of economic discrimination. The paper focused on the National Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act which was promulgated in 2007. The focus of the paper was on the effectiveness of the initiative as a conflict transformation tool. An analysis of the process so far has indicated that the process is being seriously hamstrung by political manipulation, corruption and lack of a sustainable model to take the process to the desired levels. If properly administered, the process can effectively benefit from the vast human resource capital that the country has produced over the years as well as the vast mineral resources that are at the disposal of the country. The process can be an effective conflict transformation tool as it attempts to initiate a process of structural transformation in the name of economic empowerment.

In Chapter 7, Emmaculate Ngwerume writes about housing in urban Zimbabwe. She argues that Zimbabweans have endured the problem of decent housing in urban areas ever since the colonial times when most of the urban spaces were ‘reserved’ for the white race. With the attainment of independence in 1980 and the subsequent liberalisation of these urban spaces, urban areas have now become overpopulated such that the independent government is under increasing pressure
to provide decent accommodation and humane living conditions to the majority of the urban dwellers. Compounding this situation has been the series of policies, both domestic and foreign that the government has adopted ever since 1980. The lack of effective strategic planning and leadership has compromised the development of the country to a greater extent. This has resulted in accelerated deterioration of service provision in a manner which has reduced the majority of the urban inhabitants to the status of ‘destitute’ even though they may have a roof above their heads. According to the 2012 National Census Report, house owners constituted 59% of the population while the remainder were either lodgers or tenants. 56% of the households had dwelling units without electricity, only 38% of households had their main source of water on their premises and only about 33% of households mostly used flush toilets. It is, therefore, imperative to explore this existing gap in housing provision since there is a specific Ministry (Ministry of Local Government, Public Works and National Housing) that has been in existence right from the time of independence. This conceptual analysis also seeks to ascertain the extent to which the current economic blueprint, the Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation (ZIMASSET) addresses this thorny issue. The discourse on Human Security shall largely inform this discussion.
In the 8th and final chapter, Edmos Mtetwa discusses disability issues in Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe’s Disabled Persons Act defines a disabled person as; a person with a physical, mental or sensory disability, including a visual, hearing or speech functional disability, which gives rise to physical, cultural or social barriers inhibiting him from participating at an equal level with other members of society in activities, undertakings or fields of employment that are open to other members of society. Despite being one of the first countries in the world to enact Disability Discrimination Legislation, Zimbabwe has not developed necessary administrative infrastructure for its effective implementation. Despite having the Disability Act, there are no formal policies and implementation strategies in place to ensure the Act’s enforcement.

From exclusion to unemployment, constitutional literacy, housing, disability, empowerment and rural development, this book tackles important issues that are helpful for scholars, researchers, lecturers, implementers, advocates and policy makers in social science. By focusing on the results of the population census, the book provides an evidence based perspective which is now the preferred route in development. Enjoy your reading!
Dedication

To a pro-poor and evidence-based development agenda in Zimbabwe.
The idea of coming up with this book is duly credited to Obadiah Dodo during an OSSREA workshop held at the Bronte Inn in Harare in 2014. He was also responsible for applying for the ISSN. Each writer deserves special mention for taking time to study the census report, providing a critical analysis of their selected subject, peer reviewing each other’s chapter and providing the much needed financial resources towards the printing of the book. Jacob Mugumbate is credited with the work of soliciting writers, putting the chapters together and editing. The support of the publisher and the printers is duly acknowledged.
Outline of chapters

Chapter 1  FACES OF EXCLUSION AS MIRRORED FROM 2012 POPULATION CENSUS Jacob Mugumbate

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Chapter 8  DISABILITY POLICY AND PRACTICE IN ZIMBABWE Edmos Mtetwa
Chapter 1
FACES OF EXCLUSION AS MIRRORED FROM 2012 POPULATION CENSUS REPORT

Jacob Mugumbate

“The face of social exclusion is poverty, a reality we encounter every day in Zimbabwe”, Mugumbate, 2014.
Overview
Exclusion is the sum total of forms of disadvantage and marginalisation placed on certain groups of people in society. As a social phenomenon, exclusion is mirrored from our everyday lives. It reflects in the streets and villages we walk. The face of exclusion is poverty, itself a reality we encounter every day in Zimbabwe. Evidence of exclusion seem not hidden; it exists even within the armpits of government. For this book chapter, exclusion will be explored as it is reflected in the National Census Report for 2012. The report has evidence of exclusion including: the illiterate 4%, the 11% who are assumed to be unemployed, those dying below 38 years (life expectancy), 52% women, the disabled, the orphaned, the elderly 4% and the rural 67%. For this chapter, the author will focus on the illiterate, the unemployed, the elderly, persons with disabilities, women, rural people as well as mortality issues.
Introduction
Exclusion is the sum total of forms of disadvantage and marginalisation placed on certain groups of people in society. As a social phenomenon, exclusion is mirrored in our everyday lives. It reflects in the streets and villages we walk. The face of exclusion is poverty, itself a reality we encounter every day in Zimbabwe. Evidence of exclusion seem not hidden; it exists even within the armpits of government. For this book chapter, exclusion will be explored as it is reflected in the National Census Report for 2012.

What is exclusion?
Exclusion can be seen as a process by which individuals or entire communities of people are systematically blocked from rights, opportunities and resources available to others. This results in multiple deprivations and inequities, forms of marginalisation which, as conceptualised by interactionists like Erving Goffman, can result from an undesired differentness or an association with a particular characteristic, race, religion or belief.

Burchadt, Grand and Piachaud (2002) argued that exclusion only manifests if an individual is not participating in production, social interaction, consumption and political engagement for reasons beyond their control yet they are able and willing to
participate. These views are supported by Room (1995) who equates social exclusion to inadequate social participation, lack of social integration, lack of social rights and lack of power.

**What is the purpose of a census?**

In general, the purpose of a census is the provision of current information on demographic and related socio-economic characteristics of the population at national level and various sub-national levels to facilitate effective planning and evaluation of various programmes of government, private sector and civil society. This needs to be performed in a manner that ensures effective application of findings by the various agencies representing the main census data users.

**A discussion of some forms of exclusion**

*Education*

Whilst the population census for 2012 reveals that the literacy rate was 96%, showing a small illiterate rate of 4%, there are still some people in the Zimbabwe population who are excluded from the education system. First, though it seems negligible, is the illiterate 4% of the population. These may constitute those who are old and did not get a chance to acquire literacy skills because of historical reasons. The 4% may also involve children who are not given that opportunity. These may be children on the streets or children staying where there are
no educational facilities or where such facilities are far away from their homes. This group may also include people with disabilities or women, groups often excluded from social services.

The second group of those excluded in the education system includes 30% who were reported to have dropped out of school. Of these, 54% were girls and 46% were boys. When one looks at these figures, a question on why there is a difference hangs. An explanation could be the disadvantage that faces girls in Zimbabwe compared to their male counterparts. This results in issues like early marriages or employment whilst boys continue with school. Some children are also dropping out of school to work so that they can earn a living for their families. This is mostly prevalent in mining and commercial farming areas.

**Employment**

Unemployment was defined by the Zimbabwe Statistics Agency (ZimStats, 2012: 83) as:

*A situation where the supply of labour exceeds demand.... The unemployed were those who had done no work and were looking for work and were available for work.*

This is the standard definition used worldwide.
The census report produced debatable employment figures. Using their methodology and definitions, they emphatically concluded that unemployment rate stood at 11% (see Figure 1). ZimStats defended their findings in public meetings and in the media. However, the figure remains a bone of contention. For example, in 2013, the ZANU-PF manifesto promised 2 million jobs and one wonders why a party would promise to create 2 million jobs when only 565 000 people were unemployed? More so, the 2002 census reported exactly the same figure of 11%!

*Figure1: Zimbabwe population distribution*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total population</td>
<td>13 061 239</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children under 15</td>
<td>5 372 281</td>
<td>41.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adults above 15</td>
<td>7 661 295</td>
<td>58.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economically inactive</td>
<td>2 491 721</td>
<td>32.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economically active</td>
<td>5 120 540</td>
<td>68.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>945 920</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home makers</td>
<td>1131848</td>
<td>45.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired/sick/too old</td>
<td>413 953</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>566 787</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>4 553 753</td>
<td>88.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: ZimStats, 2012 (Differences in % are a result of some respondents not responding to questions)*
With similar unemployment figures for 2002 and 2012, it signifies that Zimbabwe has been stable. Yet the situation on the ground is contrary. In 2002, the economy was still having more people formally employed than 2012. The decade in between was characterised by brain drain as people moved to work outside the country in search of greener pastures. Most companies closed during the period. Although there was recovery after political stability in 2008 which was coupled with the introduction of the multi-currency system, most companies remained struggling and the economy could not be said to be capable of accommodating the same number of jobs as in 2002.

A closer look at their methodology is important also. The total population was recorded as 13 061 239. Of these, 2 491 721 were economically inactive. These constitute students, homemakers, the retired, sick and the elderly. Homemakers are those people normally referred to as ‘home defenders’, male or female. Of the 5 120 540 economically active, only 566 787 (11%) were unemployed! The unemployment rate has been put at 60% by the United Nations, 85% by civil society organisations and figures above this have also been proffered.

Zimbabweans may agree that although the 88.9% of those categorised as working includes a majority who are paid well below half of the poverty datum line, are
willing to change their source of income for one that pays them decently since most of them are engaged in hazardous (e.g. *makorokoza* or street vendors), demeaning (e.g. Zimbabweans with degrees vending) or non ‘formal’ unreliable sources of income.

This summarises the qualitative and quantitative aspects that ZimStats chose to ignore. Some vendors earn a dollar a day from selling airtime. This translates to $30 a month. Yet they were categorised as fully employed.

The author thinks ZimStats, in its quest to unlock true unemployment, should have focused on people who are contributing Pay As You Earn (PAYE), which is individual income government tax which is a good measure of those who are contributing to the fiscus noticeably. It should also have focused on those who are contributing to the National Social Security Authority (NSSA) which is the government initiated and mandatory pension scheme. PAYE and NSSA are compulsory and they may be a good indicator of employment rates in Zimbabwe’s situation. The census could also have put a ceiling in terms of income. For example, they could have used a minimum salary of $200-00 a month as a benchmark even though the monthly consumption basket, which reflects the poverty datum line for a family of 5, stood at over $500-00 a month at the time of the census.
The ZimStats figure also raises moral issues. If ZANU-PF felt 2 million people were unemployed by 2013 and ZimStats finds that only 566 787 were unemployed, then where do the 1 433 213 belong? In my opinion, these are those in illegal trades: makorokozas, mahwindi/touts, vendors, prostitutes and others. These are harassed every day, but when it comes to census, they are counted as employed. Further, if you are a university graduate, but you are a vendor, would we say you are employed with a smile? This is the argument on morality.

This debate aside, the inactive population and the unemployed population remain excluded from income. Under normal circumstances, government will be providing social assistance grants to the inactive and unemployed population and various packages to stimulate their participation in the labour market.

*Mortality and orphan-hood*

Zimbabwe still has high mortality rate especially for infants. An infant mortality rate of 64 per 1000 live births was recorded in 2012. This means that out of 1000 live births, 64 die before they reach their first anniversary. In 2002, infant mortality was at 67. Life expectancy was found to be 38%. Further, maternal mortality was estimated to be 525 women for every 100 000 live birth. Children below 17 years who had lost either parent, i.e. orphans, constituted 20%.
These figures reflect high death rates in Zimbabwe. The causes of death include diseases, road accidents, birth complications, injuries among others.

Maternal mortality remains a challenge for Zimbabwe. This may be because of early child marriages and lack of emergency facilities. Further, some sections of our society still do not believe in modern maternal health, they despise modern birth control provisions and also believe in community based maternity care. Unfortunately this fuels maternal mortality.

The World Health Organisation data shows that in 2008, Zimbabwe’s life expectancy was 42 compared to 61 in 1990 (see Figure 2). The major reason for this fall, like in the rest of Sub-Saharan Africa, is attributable to HIV and AIDS.

*Figure 2: Life expectancy at birth in years, in Zimbabwe and neighbouring countries, 2008 and 1990*
The causes of death are numerous but the major ones are presented on Figure 3.

**Figure 3: Distribution of causes of death among children aged <5 years (%) in Zimbabwe, 2008**

*Source: adapted from WHO*
These statistics indicate that Zimbabwe still has a huge burden in relation to deaths. Deaths expose children to orphan-hood and have an overall impact on socio-economic development.

**Women**

The population of women was 6,780,700 whilst men were 6,280,539 in 2012. Overall, women constituted 52% and men constituted 48% of the total population. Despite being more than men, women still remain excluded from mainstream politics, economy (see Figure 4) and social life.
Figure 4: Comparison of men and women in the labour market

Source: 2012 Population census report

Women lag behind in terms of educational participation. Figure 4 shows that fewer females than males were students. This means that there were more males than females in universities, polytechnics, colleges and other tertiary institutions.

Further, Figure 4 shows that homemakers were largely women. This means that more women were always at home doing unpaid work. This relegation of women to unpaid work reduces their involvement in the economy.
Rural areas
People in rural Zimbabwe constituted 67% of the population. In spite of their numbers, they still remain excluded from many sectors of Zimbabwe. They have poor health and education facilities.

Figure 5: Rural and urban population distribution

![Zimbabwe population distribution](image)

Source: 2012 Population census report

Further, the census report shows that in rural areas, most people are economically inactive. This is mainly because the economically active population migrates to urban areas where they hope to find a lucrative market for their labour.

The migration of labour has resulted in old people, young ones and the sick residing in rural areas. This situation
has also crippled agriculture which is the main stay of rural areas because of a shortage of labour.

Social amenities like housing, energy, roads and communication remain undeveloped in most rural areas and this is a cause for concern for development.

**Persons with disabilities**

The 2012 population census did not prioritise collection of disability related data. It only carried a question on employment and a sub question on type of employment. This was a missed opportunity since disability data on prevalence is not available. The census could have posed questions to measure the magnitude of disability among children and adults.

The World Disability Report of 2010, produced by scientists commissioned by World Health Organisation (WHO) (2011), proved that the global prevalence of disability is increasing. Current estimates by the scientists show that 15% (over one billion people) of the world’s population lives with some form of disability. This is an increase of 5% from the previous estimates. The increase was a result of better methods of measuring disability (previous methods excluded some disabilities), increasing ageing mostly in first world countries, and declining health conditions especially in the third world countries. Employment rates in some countries were 44% for people with disabilities compared to 75% for people
without disabilities. The 15% estimate means that there are about 1.8 million people with disabilities in Zimbabwe out of a population of 13 million people. Prior to this new estimate, prevalence of disability in Zimbabwe ranged from 1% to 10% (Choruma, 2007 and Mtetwa, 2012).

Again, ZimStats’s figures on disability and employment were quite shocking to say the least. In summary, they concluded that persons with disabilities have a higher employment rate compared to their non-disabled counterparts. Ridiculous!

*Figure 6: Percent persons with a disability by employment status and sex Zimbabwe*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>370 199</td>
<td>93.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>27 067</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>397 266</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: adopted from the 2012 Population census report*

Whilst the census report did not give more data on disability, some statistics can be inferred from it. This is illustrated on Figure 7.*Figure 7 shows that the overall population of people with disabilities was 7.7%.*

*Figure 7: Statistics of people with disabilities*
Older persons
The elderly constituted 4% of the population. It is worth noting that within the year of the census, the Older Persons Act was enacted in Zimbabwe with the objectives of: providing for the well-being of older persons; providing for the appointment of a Director for Older Persons Affairs, the establishment of an Older Persons Board and to creation of an Older Persons Fund. According to HelpAge Zimbabwe, the Older Persons bill was signed into law by the President of the Republic of Zimbabwe on the 18th of September 2012. The Act will pave way for selected social protection mechanisms and an older persons fund will be set aside for such purposes. Older persons face challenges ranging from neglect, poor health, no income, poor participation, no recognition and
at times they are often homeless. Some of them have become surrogate parents, looking after several orphaned children left behind by their deceased parents mainly due to HIV and AIDS.

**Conclusion and recommendations**

Exclusion can only be dealt with when it is identified and planned against. Luckily for Zimbabwe, its magnitude is known as reflected in the census report for 2012. The evidence for its existence is available. With all this data on exclusion of different segments of society, it should be easy to come up with plans to deal with it. It can be seen that, in most cases, plans and policies are in place, but they are not executed. There is therefore need for implementation coupled with active and ongoing monitoring and evaluation. Further, financial and human resources are not always made available. The government must ensure that resources like personnel, grants for income generating projects for women and the disabled, are made available. Job creation should be made a priority by funding industry and adjusting education so that it focuses on innovation rather than theory. For rural communities, there is need to address rural urban migration through developing rural services including village industries, growth points and markets. Broadly, government should utilise available knowledge to come up with responses to address exclusion.
“Subsequently, unemployment has led to poverty and conflicts in society which have also had negative downstream effects”, Dodo and Dodo, 2014.
Overview
Just like most developing economies the world over, Zimbabwe is in a state of transition from near death to recovery. During this phase, it is expected that the economy recovers and be able to create employment for most of its needy citizens. Presently, Zimbabwe’s unemployment rate stands at over 85% and literacy rate at over 92% despite the census report’s assertion that employment rate stands at over 89%. While there is talk and policy on paper regarding black indigenous economic empowerment, there has also been an influx of immigrants who have along the way grabbed some of the empowerment opportunities much to the disappointment of local citizens. It is this ‘disappointment’ that has motivated this study which endeavours to analyse the relationship between unemployment and potential conflict in Zimbabwe. The discussion is a product of an intensive desk research which unravelled various policy papers including the 2004 Zimbabwe Labour Force Survey (LFS) and archival literature using constant comparison method. The study established that while poverty may lead to conflicts, there should be other influences supporting it. However, in respect to Zimbabwe, the hypothesis may not really manifest due to the following factors amongst others; lack of a willing tool, lack of a culture of violence, levels of literacy and economic empowerment and tolerance driven by ‘unhu’.
Introduction

Zimbabwe has been undergoing a very long phase of economic hardships and suffering while experiencing the least of democratic systems possible. This study is a follow up to a previously published research on unemployment and insurgency in Zimbabwe. However, unlike the previous study which focused on youth, this one focuses on the general population in Zimbabwe.

The study is motivated by various arguments by various scholars who believe that poverty and in some cases, deprivation lead to conflicts, chief amongst them being the Relative Deprivation which argues that people become rebellious when they see an incongruity between what they believe they are supposed to benefit and their actual benefit. While this discussion may have some reservations on that argument, various cases have been presented to buttress the poverty/inequality/violence hypothesis; the Casamance conflict in Senegal (Humphreys, 2003), the 1970s Maitatsine riots of Nigeria, the Kikuyu/Masai-land conflict of the 1960s, and the Mozambican civil war of 1975 (Weinstein and Francisco, 2003). The study also proffers the view that in some of these poverty-induced conflicts, there will be few individuals in need of power and wealth who then coerce innocent and defenceless civilians to join the campaigns. However, the study focuses on unemployment in Zimbabwe and the prospects of a
conflict with a view to crafting a possible solution. The study is also forced to develop interest in this particular area largely because of the fact that Zimbabwe boasts of over 92% literacy rate, Zimbabwe once boasted as the industrial hub of southern Africa second to south Africa, Zimbabwe once played the bread basket role within the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC), that almost all the prominent industries in Zimbabwe are shutting down in the people’s faces and that immigrants are finding it easy to prosper courtesy of the Zimbabwe indigenous economic empowerment policies while Zimbabweans are struggling.

**Background**

Unemployment and underemployment in Zimbabwe remains a major challenge. Zimbabweans have ambitions to become active people and participate in their countries’ growth. They demand more rights, more prospects and for their opinions to be recognized. Since the imposition of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme in 1991, the unilateral payment of former freedom fighters in 1997, Zimbabwe’s participation in the war in the Democratic Republic of Congo, unregulated land invasions and the imposition of targeted sanctions, Zimbabwe’s economy has never been the same. Poverty, hunger, unemployment, crime, diseases, migration, and several other ills have characterized Zimbabwe and its people and yet the same country is
awash with various natural resources that could turn it into a world jewel and economic hub.

Zimbabwe has various policies, initiatives and laws which seek to arm and protect indigenous people in various economic fronts. However, for some time, Zimbabweans have languished in poverty; working for immigrants and playing second fiddle while most of the immigrants control the bigger chunk of the economy. Some of the economic policies have not been used to safeguard the interests of the locals like the 2007 Indigenous Economic and Empowerment Act which clearly preserves some sectors for the locals. Unfortunately, that has not happened as goal posts continue to be moved unilaterally. Unemployment in Zimbabwe also comes at a time when most Zimbabweans fall within the literate category and yet cannot get formal jobs.

Culturally and socially in Zimbabwe, one is expected to seek and get employed as soon as he/she attains some academic or professional qualification. However, that has not been possible. Compounded by the fact that most immigrant are doing well, anger, impatience and hate for the foreigners begins to boil up in the locals in a manner reminiscent of the South African xenophobic attacks that were experienced from 2008 till this day. While unemployment is affecting Zimbabweans across the
divide, the impact on the youth is soon becoming a worry to the safety and security of the people given the trend that was witnessed in North Africa over graduate joblessness and in South Africa over immigrants’ sustenance. Therefore, the study endeavours to look at the scourge of unemployment in Zimbabwe with a view to finding a nexus with conflict.

Methodology
The study following up on a previous action research was conducted through formal interviews with 5 key informants in collaboration with a desk approach whereby policy documents, the 2004 Zimbabwe Labour Force Survey (LFS) and archival literature were analysed using Constant Comparison method which created subjects across texts before they were consistently coded manually. Deliberately, literature review stretched from year 2000 when the crisis started up till 2013.

Education system
After Zimbabwe gained its independence from colonial rule in April 1980, the majority have witnessed unbelievable developments in school expansion, vocational skills training, teacher training, and resource improvement. This has resulted in the Zimbabwean levels of literacy becoming the highest in Africa at 92% as at 2012/13 (Coltart, 2012).
Zimbabwe's education system is made up of 7 years of primary and 6 years of secondary school before students can enter into university which also normally takes from 3 to 5 years duration. The seven years of primary school culminates in four nationally-set examinations in Mathematics, English, Shona or Ndebele and Content (a combination of sciences and social sciences). Secondary School period also consists of three levels: Zimbabwe Junior Certificate (ZJC) which is made up of Forms I and II; Ordinary level (O) which is made up of Forms III and IV; and Advanced level (A) which has the following Forms V and VI. The Core Curriculum of ZJC comprises the following subjects amongst others: English, Shona or Ndebele, Mathematics, Science, History, Geography, Bible Knowledge, and a Practical Subject; Food and Nutrition, Fashion and Fabrics, Woodwork, Agriculture, Metalwork, Technical Drawing or Computer studies. However, the precise number of subjects and the specific subjects depend on the resourcefulness of the school and its location amongst other factors. At Ordinary level, students are generally encouraged to attempt not more than 12 subjects while at Advanced level, 3 subjects are mandatory. Most of these subjects are drawn from the following; Biology, Chemistry, Physics, Mathematics, Further Mathematics, Management of Business/Business Studies, Economics, Accounts, Computer Science, English Literature, Geography, Shona/Ndebele Language and Literature, Divinity, History, French, Art, Music and

After 2002, the Zimbabwean government established Zimbabwe Schools Examinations Council (ZIMSEC) which is responsible for the administration of all local schools’ examinations taking over from the previous authority; University of Cambridge International Examination (GCE) system. The system had to be moved from Cambridge following a political and diplomatic stand-off following the 2000 land invasions which were immediately followed by economic smart sanctions on some Zimbabwean personalities. However, some individuals still sit for Cambridge examinations, which are generally considered expensive though of international standards and repute. What must be realized is that following the establishment of ZIMSEC, the system has been characterized by corruption, fraud and shoddy work so much so that certificates have been finding means to people who would not have written examinations. From 2007 up till 2009, ZIMSEC failed to administer examinations as over 8000 schools were closed owing to an economic crisis (Dodo et al, 2014) while over 90000 teachers were not attending classes and textbook to pupil ratios had fallen to an average of 1:15. In the entire Education ministry, according to the relevant Minister Coltart (2012), during the economic crisis era, there were no operational
Education Management and Information Systems (EMIS) and no correct statistics since 2006. This has seen the industry and most tertiary institutions refusing to recognize schools’ graduates who were produced during this era. This has seriously affected the quality and credibility of the Zimbabwean education system.

Social culture
The Zimbabwean social culture is generally characterized by hard work and enterprise. It is within the nature of things Zimbabwean that some systematic path is followed from birth till ones’ death; skills acquisition, practice, employment, family- hood, growth and prosperity and retirement. Traditionally, within the Zimbabweans; Shona, Ndebele and other minority groups, the concept of ‘unhu’ defines how people relate with each other and with the surrounding nature. This ‘unhu’ and several other social expectations then force people to want to work and follow some lifestyle which may be emulated by the entire community before creation of one’s social status.

After attending education in Zimbabwe for an average of 11 years, one expects to secure a decent job that is able to provide a normal life. However, with the situation in Zimbabwe where there are 14 internationally rated universities and several other tertiary institutions and with literacy levels hovering around 92% (Zimstats,
2012), almost everyone would want a job, a descent one for that matter. Therefore, the concerns about employment are not so much about people’s desire to work but rather, social pressure to seek work so that the entire family’s life is transformed for the better. It is this pressure again which raises levels of unemployment in most economies, Zimbabwe included. Failure to secure the desired job and being laughed at in society becomes a cause of conflict.

Unemployment in Zimbabwe
There is no doubt that Zimbabwe is facing a problem of inescapable unemployment especially amongst the youth. Yet there is no agreement on the exact statistics of youth unemployment (Dodo, 2012). The same applies to disaggregated data on the nature of this youth unemployment. At independence in 1980, Zimbabwean labour was comparatively unskilled, with the wage distribution tilted against them while unemployment among blacks was close to 10% (Ncube, 2000). It is expected that the national figures of youth unemployment also includes graduate joblessness since most university and tertiary college graduates fit within the 15-39 year age bracket. However, officially, the Zimbabwean government argues that unemployment figures stagger between 15% and 17% as most of the people are somehow engaged in some work which pays at the end of the day. This argument does not however
consider the following factors; levels of income, levels of education vis-a-vis the nature of work and whether the type of work is taxable or not. While the general unemployment in Zimbabwe stands at over 85%, youth unemployment stands at over 70% (ILO 2006, Dodo, 2012).

According to CSO (2006: 27), unemployment ‘refers to the population age 15 years and above who during the seven day reference period, did not work and had no job or business to go back to, but who were available for work’. The CSO definition also expects that those without a job and are available for work actively look for work. The definition also stipulates that an unemployed person who may be engaged in some activity providing services and goods for at least one hour is deemed employed. In short, the argument here is presenting the following key factors: ‘without work’, ‘currently available for work’, and ‘seeking work’. This definition simply tells that there is no unemployment in Zimbabwe as there may not be people actively looking for work. The simple reason being that there are no places to look for that work as most of the industries and workplaces have long shut down. Besides, the few available industries including jobs in government pay paltry that none of the informally employed would want to secure them. In Zimbabwe, an average graduate selling talk-time in street earns an average of US$20-28 a day
(US$868/month) compared to US$480/month remuneration paid by government and most factories.

Globally, youth unemployment has of late become a security issue following the Arab Springs that are connected to the anxiety amongst the unemployed youth and graduates in countries like Tunisia, Algeria and Egypt amongst others (ILO, 2011). However, like in several other developing economies, Zimbabwe has not deliberately come up with a clear policy meant to address this scourge. Some scholars have attributed this laxity to lack of resources rather than arrogance. According to some participants, it was revealed that young women, especially single mothers, were more susceptible to joblessness, underemployment, discrimination and sexual harassment. The same participants hailed Zimbabwe for leading in ensuring that the question about ethnicity in employment and economic sectors was never accommodated. This is contrary to situations in other countries where such resources and opportunities are availed along ethnic lines.

There are other agencies in Zimbabwe like the Zimbabwe Youth Council (ZYC), Ministry of Youth, Empowerment and Indigenisation and individual political movements which have crafted various papers on possible employment creation. However, most of these initiatives have not yielded much owing to lack of
political will, conflict of interests and lack of economic resources amongst others. According to the Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency (Zimstats) (2012), at least 3,7 million Zimbabweans are involved in informal sector activities with women making up 55%. From the Zimbabwe’s 13 061 239 people, the economically active group staggers at 68,8% while the inactive group stood at 32,5% as at 2013 (ibid).

Unemployment in Zimbabwe has been driven by various factors; some being described as political, economic and social while others are considered self-made from poor governance. However, most of the factors point to the fact that the education curriculum and the needs of the industry may not be in tandem while others attribute the problem to a shrinking economy which has failed to accommodate all needy youth and graduates. According to a study by Chingarande and Guduza (2011), some of the causes of unemployment in Zimbabwe were the incompatibility between the curriculum and the needs of the industry thus leaving graduates’ skills irrelevant to the needs of the nation, and the shrinking economy failing to absorb all the youth. From an international relations and governance perspective, it is argued that unemployment in Zimbabwe has been influenced by poor investment policies citing the 2007 Economic and Indigenisation Act, lack of democracy citing the continued hold on power by a failed regime, bad
governance which includes corruption, lawlessness and lack of property rights and an undefined international policy regarding international investments and targeted economic sanctions.

There is also an argument that unemployment has been perpetuated by the carelessness of the leadership and its dishonest approach, leading to a culture of retaining power and financial misuse instead of channeling it towards developing the economy. In other instances, joblessness is usually triggered by urban migration that usually takes place before the industrial growth required to employ those migrants (ILO, 2012). Some schools of thought proffered by some participants argued that Zimbabweans were more susceptible to unjust treatment in the workplace because they are desperate for formal employment.

**Poverty**

Since the early 2000s, the economic situation in Zimbabwe deteriorated to unprecedented levels where most of the working class people and the rest of the ordinary citizens were rendered destitute till they resorted to finding better pastures across the borders especially in South Africa, Botswana, Namibia, United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Mozambique and other destinations. For those that were in employment, remuneration had become valueless owing to the
astronomically shooting levels of inflation. In other words, almost every household in Zimbabwe was characterized by poverty and hunger. It may honestly be unfair discussing poverty and several other challenges in Zimbabwe without mentioning the International Monetary Fund (IMF)/World Bank (WB) imposed Economic Structural Adjustment Programme which was adopted by Harare in 1991. The effects of this programme were extreme and devastating as they left almost the entire industry closed and hopeless (Bond and Dor, 2003). Several other African governments in the late 1980s and early 1990s were victims of this prescription.

The concept of poverty is understood differently in various forums. However, Bjorn (2002) developed five classifications; administrative, relative, consensual, contextual and absolute poverty. According to Bjorn (2002), administrative poverty is that which results from the state’s failure to provide to eligible beneficiaries who may be unemployed or aged while consensual poverty rests on the opinions of what the community believes to be lower than basic provisions. Contextual poverty is grounded on a contrast of poverty to the social, economic and cultural ranks of a specific society. On the other hand, absolute poverty arises when people live in a state of scarcity due to inadequate earnings while relative poverty is viewed from a comparative point of view.
Poverty is also understood culturally, contextually and multidimensionality. However, the Poverty Assessment Study Survey of 2003 (PASS II) conducted by the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare defined unemployment as ‘including the frequently unemployed, those in the informal sector not by choice, the very poor and the poor communal and resettlement farmers, very poor and poor unpaid family workers, very poor and poor in the informal economy and the very poor and poor engaged in public works’ (ZiNEPF, 2009: 2). With this definition, the rate of structural unemployment in Zimbabwe rises to nearly the right levels of over 85% contrary to ZimStats figures of 15% (ZimStats, 2012). Soon after the land reform programme in the early 2000s, structural unemployment was higher for females hovering over 70% and males at 56% (ZiNEPF, 2009). However, with the 2007-2009 economic melt-down, structural unemployment for males has also risen to over 80% since most of the previously employed males have since lost their jobs and are into informal business. It has been realized by those in the informal sector that the informal business has no job security that bread-winners are able to plan for a reasonable period without getting stressed up. Besides, there is no pension and the entrepreneurs may not be able to access capital from the lending institutions for development and growth.
Conflict
This is a situation when different parties fail to see things from a common perspective. In other words, there will be contradicting goals and perceptions. Conflicts occur in various situations and are a common phenomenon which characterize societies the world over. In some circles, it is actually argued that conflicts are a necessity that drives societies. Galtung (1996) posited that generally conflicts are caused by attitudes, behaviours and contradictions. However, in Zimbabwe and several other African states, conflicts are caused by different influences; the need for power, scarce resources, criminal tendencies, religious reasons, selfishness, cruelty, and poverty amongst others.

Conflicts are experienced in different forms and severity and the above is dependent on the following amongst others; duration of the conflict, primary parties involved, types of weaponry, culture of violence, ideological/religious motivation, gravity of hostility, availability of fuelling resources, state governance system and the nature of propaganda media available. It has been argued by other scholars that conflicts may be caused by poverty as well. However, in this discussion, we choose to differ and the argument will be proffered in detail later in the discussion. What may be necessary to highlight is that conflicts have often negatively impacted on economies and employment creation in most countries.
A sketch survey has shown that some of the conflicts that were experienced in Africa seriously devastated economic and physical infrastructure so much so that there were no industries and workplaces for formal employment. Cases in point include a civil war that was waged in Mozambique and left thousands of people jobless, the war in the Democratic Republic of Congo also left millions of potential workers in the bush and poverty-stricken while the Lord Resistance Army in the northern part of Uganda has also led to serious under-development of the region as people cannot engage in meaningful agriculture and other productive work. Similarly, wars in Liberia and Sierra Leone in the 1990s also meant that people could not engage in any formal developmental work thus bringing poverty, hunger and diseases. The newly established South Sudan has also suffered the same fate. Ever since the creation of this state and the subsequent declaration of a civil war, the economy and the social systems; education, health and family units have been going down while in the neighbouring Somalia, a 15 year old civil war has seen the dilapidation of almost the entire economic infrastructure. Resultantly, there has been an acute poverty, hunger and disease epidemic and children’s education has been affected as well. Back in Zimbabwe, Matebeleland region could not experience development during the 1980s as it was under a military insurgency.
During the entire 7 year insurgency era, it is reported that over 20,000 people were killed (Dodo, 2010), investment confidence lost and other vital installations broken down. As a result, thousands of Ndebele and other moderate Shona people crossed into South Africa for safety and employment.

**National employment initiatives**

There is need to recognize that productive employment and decent work, for the youth and graduates, cannot be accomplished through disjointed and isolated interventions. Instead, this entails continued, determined and intensive efforts by all stakeholders, especially those most affected: youth, women and the disabled.

It must also be realized that Zimbabwe does not exist in isolation of the rest of the global economy. Has it tries to fit into the main world economic system and political dynamics, it has to be guided by several of the global and regional commitments like the following: UN Millennium Declaration of 2000, UN resolution on promoting youth employment of 2002, UN resolution on youth policies and programmes of 2004; all domesticated through the Ouagadougou Declaration of 2004 and the 93rd International Labour Conference resolutions on youth employment of 2005 and the International Labour Organisation’s (ILO) Decent Work Agenda amongst others. In that regard, the Zimbabwe government crafted
a National Employment Policy framework which intends to make available the necessary articulate and harmonized approach that summarises complementing policies on dual perspectives; specific intercessions to help the un/under-employed overcome exact obstacles to their access into the labour market and a combined approach for growth and advancement of morally standard and fruitful employment. The framework was also established following a realization of a failure especially without a clear employment policy where economic and social objectives were unified deliberately into the growth matrix, approaches and programmes taken to deal with un/under-employment and poverty reduction (ZiNEPF, 2009).

The national employment initiative is strongly expected to acknowledge that formal employment plays an intermediating role between growth and poverty reduction. However, for growth to be unbiased and contribute in the direction of maintainable poverty reduction, it must be facilitated through policies that reinforce the capabilities and generate prospects for poor people so that they too can add towards, and profit from the growth process. Anything short of this and many more positives is likely to lead to an informalised economy which has many disadvantages like the following:
Informal business operators are non-taxable thus weakening national revenue collection base.

No clear and coherent national data. Informal operators are difficult to register because of their high mobility and inconsistency.

Promotion of illegality and corruption. Within this sector, there is a lot of illegal and corrupt operation of business as people try to maximize their profitability. Besides, in a corrupt economy, operational costs tend to rise as every head within the chain has to be ‘greased’.

Non-adherence to constitutionalism. The concept of following strictly the country’s constitutional laws and policies falls out as people try to make ends meet. Besides, government agencies also fail to stick to the written policies and laws as they work towards achievement of the people’s desires.

Fertile ground for conflicts of all forms. Informalised economies are usually characterized by conflicts as operators seek to control and access valuable resources.

Conducive breeding arena for an immoral youth. Because of lack of formal systems and regulations, the youth involved in such environments tend to behave anyhow in the process losing their cultural morals and discipline.
● Failure to fit into a global standard measure. Zimbabwe has often argued that unemployment stands at around 15%. Interestingly, it has failed to collect taxes as expected in an economy with employed people. This is a typical failure to fit into a global standard measure.

● Poverty stricken citizens. While people have activities that afford them food on a daily basis; life is not only about food but other aspects like health, education, security, entertainment and peace of mind. These are lacking in most Zimbabweans.

● Creation of barons and war-lords. In an informalised economy, it is difficult to regulate conduct let alone police operators. There have been allegations that some of the most prominent vending markets in Harare are controlled by a few individuals who collect revenue before they remit a minute percentage to the responsible authorities. These individuals have in a sense created kingdoms.

● Creation of classes in society. An informal economy does not set standard measurements and labour regulations so much so that there are irregularities created. Some of the irregularities have led to distinctive classes where some people continue to suffer lack while others progress.
● Lack of formal channels for coordination and resource distribution. Most government policies and programmes have not been able to reach the intended people due to non-availability of legally recognized mechanisms and avenues through which they can be cascaded down to the recipients.
● The law frequently creates barriers to those who have no capital or personal connections. In an informal economy, most laws are either inapplicable or irrelevant due to the barriers that are usually deliberately and corruptly built to bar other participants from penetrating through to the other side.

It is also important to mention the fact that while most of the national initiatives have either failed or fallen by the way side, there are some positives that have to be highlighted. The 2003 land reform programme which saw over 300 000 indigenous people benefitting from the land has made an impact on the economic arena. However, according to various relevant Ministries and economic departments and agencies, it has been very challenging coming up with clear and accurate data on the production and contributions made by this new sector on the general national economy. This is attributed to the haphazardness in which some records are kept by some individuals as they seek to cover illicit and corrupt
dealings and the informality of the economy in general. What is clear with this sector unlike other initiatives is that most of the beneficiaries were drawn from the people who really wanted land and had endured the challenges that accompanied the programme especially from year 2000 up till 2003 when the exercise was first formalized through an Act of Parliament.

**Effects of unemployment in Zimbabwe**
Considering that employment is reliant on growth, all aspects that have a bearing on growth eventually impact employment generation. It is disturbing that this condition has not been satisfied even prior to the start of the crisis under discussion as growth had already dropped to a very low level, suggesting a serious feature of employment formation and poverty decline. It is this decline in employment that the discussion attempts to focus and understand the ultimate effects of un/under-employment in Zimbabwe.

Unemployment has been found to be prevalent among the youth in Zimbabwe who are now developing serious psychological effects due to their idleness against a backdrop of having attended college and passed. According to Lith (2007) unemployment has a well-researched adverse effect on psychosocial well-being caused by joblessness. Therefore, employment has an important responsibility in upholding psychological wellbeing: the financial self-sufficiency which it affords
is fundamental to describing social position. Public recognition of young males as men may demand the capacity to start and support a family.

It has been noted from the experiences in North Africa that extended joblessness ordinarily ends up in some form of social disease typically mirrored by an increased rate of crime and violent protests. Joblessness has been seen to generate disgruntlement against the state so much so that any minor provoking subject could activate vicious protests and social strife typical of the 2010 Tunisia, 2011 Egypt, and 2011 Syria amongst others. In Zimbabwe, family disintegration is another social result of joblessness. When the head of a family is rendered jobless, the only alternative would be to seek better pastures across the borders where for years the partners do not meet eventually resulting in the breakage of some families. This was typically experienced in Zimbabwe from year 2000 when the economy went into a depression. In some cases, families have had to break simply out of poverty as family heads failed to provide the basics leading to the wife deserting her family or vice-versa. Some of the effects of joblessness in Zimbabwe have been indulgence in extreme intake of cheap quality and toxic alcohol, drug abuse, violence and petty crime or, in the case of females, engaging in prostitution for survival.
Stop-gap measure for idle youths

Previous studies have indicated that Africa has an active youth population which has proved its capabilities and strength through its participation in some recorded insurgency cases, criminal escapades and several other productive efforts. The Zimbabwean liberation war was largely waged by the youth who had either left school or had failed to secure employment, (Bhebhe, 1999). Reports have also shown that several other wars elsewhere are supported by these youth mostly in their adolescence periods.

I have argued before in various publications and conferences that most idle youth in Zimbabwe have resorted to seeking shelter in other economies around as they have either failed to secure appropriate jobs or failed to resolve their challenges locally. It has been argued that some of the options considered by the youth include being trafficked to other economies, refuge in neighbouring economies and simple resignation locally where they have exposed themselves to potential abuse by political vultures. Most of these youth have resorted to imported spirits or intoxicants as some of the solutions to their economic challenges. These intoxicants have the capacity to take consumers into drunken stupor within minutes and have a disturbing effect on people’s health, including swollen feet, laziness and loss of memory. Draman (2003) interestingly looks at this ‘crisis
narrative’ of the intensity of youth and unemployed young graduates in African cities as an essential constituency of their communities forming the informal sector, without which most African economies would fold. This view is different from seeing them as a threat to society as advocated by Kaplan (1994).

Conflicts in society
Most societies in Zimbabwe have experienced various challenges at one point or another due to either economic or political movements. Some of these challenges have often cascaded down to the grassroots person thus affecting daily lives and often developing into perennial conflicts. In the case of Zimbabwe, there have been various conflicts which either impacted heavily on the youth and unemployed graduates or were perpetrated by the same constituencies.

It is appreciated that after experiencing conflicts, there are very high chances of transformation into violence where lives may be either lost or maimed. Violence is explainable by economic or non-economic influences, or their blends depend on the form of violence. Contextually, conflict is any activity that is capable of disturbing development, peace and stability in any system while violence is an act of inflicting terror, pain and killing through any means possible and during the process, disrupting peace, stability and development. What must be noted is that there can be a conflict which
is non-violent but there cannot be violence in a non-conflict situation. According to Justino (2006), violent conflicts have a multidimensional occurrence, sometimes covering a variety of intensities of violence from demonstrations to full military war.

Various schools of thought have been proffered on the possible causes of conflicts and poverty the world-over. However, here we argue that it is a complex puzzle as poverty leads to wars while the same wars may then worsen poverty. In this study, the complex puzzle creates a situation of poverty, hopelessness, collapse, devastation and human sufferings. Conflicts have resulted in high figures of deaths, immigrants and exiled people, physical damage and even state collapse thereby costing years of investment and development efforts (Verstegen, 2001). To some extent, we wish to differ in this study on the belief and argument that has been widely presented by various scholars; Richards, 1996, Luckham et al, 2001, Beehner, n.d, Urdal, 2007, and Heinshon, 2010, that poverty leads to conflict. Instead, there are various factors that come into play like governance system, level of repression, level of economic empowerment, level of citizen naivety, experience in violence, willing organizer, alternative voice, and level of literacy and a general culture of violence. Our view is also shared by Justino (2006) and Ikejiaku (2012) that poverty may only cause conflict when other influences are existent. It is not a
given. Our argument here derives from the economic and political crises that were experienced in Zimbabwe from year 2000 up till 2009 where the rate of inflation went as high as 131 million percentage points with completely empty grocery shops, no electricity, water and fuel and yet no-one raised his/her head. All some could do was to cross the borders as refugees leaving the governance systems running. Actually, poverty alone is not likely to steer conflict as the poor usually lack voice and organization. It may be necessary to discuss some of the conflicts so that there may be some clarity.

The Zimbabwean youth are hired by different political parties to conduct campaigns which unfortunately do not involve explaining policies to the electorate but intimidating opponents and voters. They are given money and alcohol and are asked to travel round the constituencies disrupting meetings of rival parties and intimidating opposition voters. The youth terrorize innocent Zimbabweans, brutalise opposition supporters, force people to buy political party membership cards and have been implicated in politically motivated murders over the 32 years. During the drought and food shortages of 2002 and 2003, they played enforcers of government policy; attacking overcharging retailers, arresting people in possession of scarce commodities, confiscating goods and stopping opposition supporters from getting food aid. In several other cases, the youth have been reportedly on
a spree of raping innocent and defenceless girls and women especially in the areas where ZANU PF party is dominant. In return for their services, they are rewarded with immunity from prosecution and with jobs in the security sector. The youth militia has therefore become the government’s tool of choice for subduing any form of dissent.

The Zimbabwean society is always known for its love for peace and harmony. However, the young people are sometimes forced to lose their cultural and moral paths mainly because of poverty and joblessness. As a response to the above, they engage in crime so that they earn a living. Some may even engage in drug abuse, violence and hooliganism as a means of safeguarding their spaces; politically, socially and economically. In the case of Harare, the extreme that could be experienced is that inequality can only be a spring of social strain and low level conflict in the form of crime and prostitution and never full scale violence as projected by Atwood (2005).

**Impact of unemployment on conflicts**

Unemployment in Zimbabwe has forced people especially the youth and graduates to resort to anything that they believe made their day. One such option is informal sector which is but not recognized by the law, and that those who work within it writhe from an array of drawbacks that characterise this lack of legal recognition.
One scholar, Luebker (2008) has rightly noted that the informal sector is not a new phenomenon in Zimbabwe having been embraced soon after independence in 1980 when people were exposed to small-scale income generating businesses. This is in view of the fact that the contemporary commentators have presented a situation whereby the 2000s economic crisis did usher the concept in response to formal unemployment challenges.

What has also been established in the study is that Zimbabweans are so literate, tolerant, civilized, lenient, open-minded, cultured and educated that they may never rise up against any of the situations that have forced others elsewhere to rise up. In Zimbabwe, most people have been empowered in one way or another so much so that it becomes difficult to protest violently and especially destroying properties as the same properties; cars, shops, houses, bicycles and vending markets are owned by locals unlike in other economies where locals are sheer spectators. Like I always argue in my studies, I argue here again that unemployment and poverty only lead to violence only if other necessary conditions are available; level of citizen naivety, level of economic empowerment, experience in violence, willing organizer, alternative voice, level of repression, governance system, and level of literacy and a general culture of violence. It may then be not clear in the case of Zimbabwe whether these conditions are now available.
Policy response

Poverty alleviation policies and programmes are designed and implemented by both government and the donor community. The government is the responsible authority in as far as citizen and welfare administration are concerned while the donor community has the needed resources both financial and material so much so that it can determine the direction and pace in which development and welfare programmes are developed. The government of Zimbabwe has crafted policies and laws to deliberately empower and protect locals from unnecessary competition economically. However, some of the initiatives have lost steam along the way while others have been deliberately manipulated to benefit selected individuals in society.

As the donor community in collaboration with the people on the ground realized the areas that need attention and intervention, the mandate is given to the government to design provisional frameworks through which any interested part could intervene. The government should never fool itself into thinking that it can operate without other stakeholders like non-state actors, the international community, civil society institutions, and the ordinary men and women. The policy development approach should never mistake tolerance and peace by Zimbabweans as naivety and docility.
Recommendations

The study, having looked at all the perspectives and arguments presented by both participants and reviewed literature, puts forward some recommendations which are believed to be part of the solution to the unemployment crisis in Zimbabwe. Some of the recommendations are as follows;

- Ensure effective implementation of policies on employment so that unnecessary immigrants do not hijack the benefits and opportunities at the expense of locals.
- Create a national organizing mechanism comprised of pertinent ministries, educational and training institutes, worker and employer groups, and the private sector to guarantee appropriate organization and incorporation of professional and academic programmes with the needs of the industry so that graduates are not rendered idle.
- Avail tax reprieve for employers who generate the highest numbers of jobs.
- Identify gifted and trained entrepreneurs at grassroots level to partake in the business incubation and mentorship schemes.
- Eradicate corrupt tendencies like nepotism, favouritism, and bribes through a deliberate national pronouncement especially by the highest political leadership.
• Training and education systems should gear themselves away from informal entrepreneurial spirit. Rather, the economy should re-invent itself into a formal system so that it fits into the international economic and employment standards.

• Develop incentives for employers who engage young people as interns to encourage more formal work related exposures.

• Review and improve international relations with the capitalist nations so that there may be investment.

• Given the levels of polarization and hostility within the society especially between the unemployed youth and graduates and some foreign nationals and between the youth and some political leaders, there is need for some deliberate conflict resolution policy at the lowest level possible. This calls for the establishment of local peace advocates which this presentation calls ‘peavocates’. ‘Peavocates’ will be responsible for the identification of potential conflicts, interested stakeholders, and areas of possible eruption before they recommend possible remedies and implementation of peace projects on the ground. This is in view of the conflict resolution theory which views youth as either drivers of conflict or as peace advocates.
Conclusion
Unemployment matters and challenges in Zimbabwe are not a new subject of research and discussion. Several scholars and policy makers have made noise about this in the past and libraries are full of material on the same subject matter. In an effort to add on the body of knowledge, the study touched on a variety of aspects ranging from the nature of Zimbabwean education and curricula, societal expectations from adults who are supposed to be employed, unemployment and its effects to both humanity and conflicts, poverty and its relationship with conflicts, conflicts and related effects, unemployed young people options in society, employment initiatives and policy responses to the question of unemployment. It was established in the study that Zimbabwe has a very high literacy rate and yet the curricula may not be suitable for such an ailing economy. The study noted that some of the actions by the young graduates are a result of pressure from the society which expects them to be working and transforming their families’ lives soon after college.

It was also pointed out in the study that unemployment in Zimbabwe has become a scourge threatening peace, security and development. Unemployment has also been noted to have been a result of various factors; political economic, social and policy-related. Subsequently, unemployment has led to poverty and conflicts in society
which have also had negative down-stream effects. Various constituencies in society have had to react differently to the challenge of unemployment; positively and negatively. The study concluded by touching on the efforts and initiatives by government in its endeavor to resolve the unemployment challenges in Zimbabwe. It was generally noted that while unemployment might have reached near climax, the nature of Zimbabweans’ culture and morality may be far from instigating violence and instability. It is in the nature of Zimbabweans that peace and tolerance are prioritized always.
Chapter 3

RURAL MIGRATION: CALLS FOR GROWTH POINT POLICY REVIVAL

Francis Maushe

“The growth point policy is a long forgotten initiative, the government should undertake a major evaluation exercise of all the rural growth points in order to be able to formulate revival strategies based on a current resources inventories”, Maushe, 2014.
Overview
The recent statistics from the Zimbabwe Statistical Agency (ZimStats) revealed the population in the rural areas has increased by two percent between 2002 and 2012. People seem to be moving to the rural areas from urban areas, which is an anomaly. This is so because migratory trends worldwide indicate that people normally move from rural to urban areas in search of better living standards, economic well-being, employment and educational opportunities.

According to the ZimStats (2012), about 33 percent of the population was in the urban areas. The distribution of the population reside in the communal lands and resettlement areas. This phenomenon could be linked to the resettlement of over 200 000 households during the land reform programme which has led to the development of new communities within the rural areas and has attracted labour from urbanites grappling with a shrinking industry.

According to the Sunday Mail May 18-24 2014, official figures show the number of people residing in urban areas increased from 26 percent in 1982 to 31 percent in 1992 and 35 percent in 2002. The trend is now suffering a reversal with the percentage of people living in rural increasing significant between 2002 and 2012.
Rural migration figures revive calls for growth point investment. The growth point policy is a long forgotten initiative, the government should undertake a major evaluation exercise of all the rural growth points in order to be able to formulate revival strategies based on a current resources inventories.
Introduction
There is a reported increase of people migrating from urban to rural areas, following hardships prompted by de-industrialization, which the rest of the country is grappling with. Urban dwellers are finding the going tough, due to unemployment and a lack of disposable income for daily upkeep. The poverty datum line is pegged at around $600 per month for a family of six. This amount is too much for many urbanites. Many workers are earning far less than this figure.

Urbanites are faced with problems of rent for accommodation, food, school fees for their children among others. As a result, they opt to relocate to rural areas where life is less expensive.

Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) 2011 labour report, revealed that there is a 3.6 percent increase of urban to rural migration. This shows the extent to which urban dwellers are feeling the pinch of economic hardships and end up relocating to the countryside. This is caused by poor economic performance affecting the country. Some companies are retrenching workers and some are failing to pay their workers in time. Some companies are going for months without paying their workers.
Land reform programme and operation Murambatsvina have also contributed to the Zimbabwe’s urban to rural migration. A significant number of people moved from urban areas to acquire land during land resettlement programme. More and more people seems to be moving to rural areas as a result of increased farming business opportunities.

Moving to rural areas presented its own challenges. Moving to rural areas leads to social unrest. There would be new fights for grazing land, land for crops and new fights for resources in rural areas. This calls for the need to revive the growth point policy which has been long forgotten. Growth point development concept has been at the heart of the new government of Zimbabwe in 1980 at independence. This was meant to serve the rural areas but this concept collapsed few years down the line and with the twist of urban to rural migration there is need now for calling to revive the growth point policy.

**Growth point concept**

In Zimbabwe, the concept of growth points, was actually introduced before independence as part of a policy document, called “Integrated Plan for Rural Development,” that was introduced in 1978. This plan designated ten growth centres in communal areas, namely Chisumbanje, Gutu, Jerera, Maphisa, Mataga, Murewa, Mushumbi, Nkayi, Sanyati, and Wedza. The
designication of the aforementioned was to be adopted, after independence, as part of the government’s policy that embodied growth with equity, as it was felt that for general economic development to succeed at a national scale, regional inequalities had to be drastically reduced. Rambanapasi (1990), Mlalazi and Conyers (2001), and Heath (1978) agree that the theory of the growth points strategy in Zimbabwe was adopted as a regional planning policy aimed at correcting colonial imbalances through the provision of infrastructure to the disadvantaged communal sector.

A Growth Point is a rural village or small town in Zimbabwe. The term is applied by the Zimbabwe Government for certain designated villages or small towns. Growth Points are almost always located in a communal land and usually there is only one Growth Point per communal land. The Growth Point could be considered to be the capital of the communal land and the service center of the communal land. Growth Points are generally underdeveloped, and receive additional resources and incentives from Government to encourage their development to proper towns in their own right. The long term aim was to also reduce rural-urban migration. Rural urban migration was to be reduced by attracting the rural people to stay in their respective areas and look for employment and get the services they need in their respective areas. People are now migrating to rural in their numbers and these rural services areas are also
collapsing due to a number of reasons. In return they are failing to cope up with the pressure of the souring population, (Mlalazi and Conyers, 2001).

**Challenges facing growth points**

During the 1980s many growth points were seeded by the government. Investors, mainly in the form of commercial businessmen, were helped to put up structures and start viable businesses, either as individuals or as co-operatives. It seems that most growth points are failing to attract meaningful investment except for the building of a few government departments and Grain Marketing Board silos, which have gradually become white elephants. As years go by, there have not been any meaningful changes at the centres three decades after independence. As people are moving from towns to rural areas, servicing centres are to serves them are currently in shambles. Growth points are facing a number of problems which need to be tackled in time to avert conflict which might occur due to pressure or fight on the resources available, (Monyanhaire, Mhishi, Svitwa and Sithole, 2009).

A number of constraints can be singled out to explain the state of growth points, particularly in Zimbabwe. There have been a number of problems encountered in applying growth centre strategies in the developed and developing worlds. In some cases, as in the USA in the 1960 investment has been ill advised because it has been
spread too thinly in too many growth centres and has been on a worst first, greatest-need basis, rather than a greatest potential basis (Bradford and Kent, 1987). It resulted in having too many growth centres continually absorbing investment without achieving the aims of self-sustained growth and development through the cumulative causation process as envisaged. The broad based constraints to the growth of these centres are part of the social, economic, and physical interaction complexes. The general trend linked with decline in growth points has to do with lack of investment and political constraints, (Monyanhaire, and et al, 2009).

The theoretical basis of the growth point strategy has been extensively discussed and applied in both the developed and developing countries. The unattractiveness of the growth points in the developed countries tends to be enhanced by the desire by investors to locate in areas already enjoying economies of scale. Any business supplying goods or services, whether a shop selling groceries or a broker selling insurance, needs a minimum number of customers or threshold population in order to generate sufficient revenues to stay in business (Luckas, 1991).

Declining growth centres are characterized by labour migration and the resultant shrinkage of market for the existing business, as well those aspiring to establish new
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investment ventures. As for migration, what seems to be crucial is the economic status of the area of origin, as compared to areas which labour migrates to moving away in search of labour deficient areas. Growth points even in the developed world are now confined to sheltering workers commuting to larger towns. They have been relegated to dormitory towns, or points. In Zimbabwe, most growth points have been turned into residential areas without any meaningful capital investments. It has been difficult to attract the right kind of industry, namely the propulsive growth industries, which have extensive multiplier effects (Bradford and Kent, 1987).

The situation is even more critical for Zimbabwe, where it is not a question of failure to attract the right kind of industry, but failure to attract any economic investment at all in most cases. Hence, the dominance of services at the growth centres, which are failing to justify their being termed “growth points” when they are literally “stagnant and disintegrating cores”, (Monyanhaire and et al, 2009).

While resource based theorists argue that the trigger for economic growth lies in the basis of the presence of the exploitable natural resource, the advocates of decentralization in most developing countries seem to ignore this essential ingredient for growth. Most centres designated for growth points do not have the requisite
potential or strong human resource base from where to ignite the processes of cumulative causation and subsequent growth. Hence, the stagnation at most growth centres. Attempts by governments to facilitate the processes of decentralization have resulted in tension between centralization and decentralization (Semu, 2001).

One of the major problem affecting growth points is lack of a clear policy of decentralization and policy implementation is very poor. The policy which was promulgated to promote growth point development is not being implemented.

Lack of investment in growth points is also a major challenge facing growth points. There are no incentives for attracting inventors to invest in these growth points. As a result few investors invest in these growth points. Investors in growth points are mainly retails shops and bear hall outlets.

On the other hand, small population in most growth points affect markets for most of the investors as such they shy to invest in these growth points.

Lack of funding, and low revenue base in growth points is also another challenge affecting growth points. Growth points have small revenue base as such as has no money to develop themselves.
Other problems included lack of title deeds, decline in farming activities, dominance of the commercial space by a few individuals, lack of participatory planning, as well as general decline in economic performance at national level. The movement of people to rural area from urban areas with the problems affecting the rural centres there is need of relooking at the growth point policy to enhance growth point develop for these centres to be in a position to serves the surrounding areas and attract for investments.

**Reviving growth points policy**

Growth points are rural centers of economic activity, which are artificially created or stimulated in disadvantaged regions with the intention that they will eventually become natural centres of economic growth. They are centres of expanding industries, which trigger a chain reaction of production and promotion of associated services with the ultimate goal of improving the quality of life. It is envisaged that by declaring promising and resource-endowed centres as growth points, the cumulative causation process would kick-start the process of economic development, whose spread effects would activate the quality of life in the periphery. In so doing it would attract investment and favourable government treatment, which would lead to both cumulative growth in economic activity and high
population growth. Some growth points have continued to prosper long after the initial stimulation factor gone through multiplier effects associated with a growing centre (Monyanhaire and et al, 2009).

For a growth point to become viable and sustainable there should be the right mix of policy and planning. A successful growth point planning strategy captures the wide base of the social and economic dynamics, as well as a clear plan to maximize the utilization of the resource base available to propel growth. This would then mean that for growth points to become viable and sustainable, other factors must be at play, like innovation or identification of new resources, in conjunction with favourable government policy support. The concept attracted much enthusiasm among business people at independence in Zimbabwe, but has since taken the back stage in economic development policy, especially rural development.

While during the policy-making stages of growth centre strategies, most governments support or view the relocation of a government funded enterprise or industries (decentralization of services) as key to growth; experience and practical life on growth centres has indicated otherwise. Very few growth centres can boast of having government-funded enterprises, hence the dominance of services and the economic decline which
characterise most if not all such centres. In this regard the centres fail to play a key role in rural development.

This, however, has tended to favour existing towns than the new growth points. To exacerbate the problem, cuts in government expenditure, which occurred along with prescriptions of economic reforms in the 1990s, came into effect before the programme of infrastructure and service provision was completed. Consequently, in some growth points, such as Gokwe, lack of such facilities is actually hampering growth. In summing up the problem of regional inequalities affecting peripheral cores of development and growth, Wekwete (1997) pointed out that the main reason for overall lack of progress was that inherited inequalities, which were deeply entrenched, have been reinforced by the combined effects of local, national, and international power structures and relationships.

The growth point strategy came about amid the desire by central governments to effect equitable regional development previously denied under colonialism. It was also an attempt to influence socio-economic development of peripheral rural areas through concentration of economic activities at selected growth points.

More than three decades after Zimbabwe’s independence, the idea of developing its rural areas
seems to have been laid to rest, as points intended for development have been turned into beer outlets, which seem to be more lucrative than industry.

But across the country, those in rural areas are calling for the revival of growth points. Growth points were meant to develop into towns, complete with their own industries and housing estates. Their purpose was to provide employment in rural areas and improve the local economy, without forcing people to migrate to large cities and towns to find work.

The government promised to bring investment and create jobs for our youths, but over the years nothing credible has happened and the youths continue to rely heavily on farming as a form of employment. The youth are suffering in poverty due to unemployment despite the potential for job creation at growth point centres. If the growth points are developed into industries and employment is created, most of our youth who are now living as refugees in foreign lands might decide to come back and have a better future here where they can live closer to their families.

The concept of growth points was mooted by the Zimbabwean government in the 1980s as a means to decongest cities and towns. This was done mainly to curb the rural-to-urban migration through employment creation and the availing of basic services to people in rural areas. Almost three decades later, most of the
growth points are undeveloped with beer outlets being the most lucrative businesses.

Cotton ginneries and tobacco sales offices should be located at growth points. This would save farmers the tiresome journey to Harare and the hassles that are associated with selling tobacco leaves.

Tobacco farmers travel considerable distances to Harare and some will be stranded in the capital were they spend weeks or months without any roofs over their heads. After getting paid most of the farmers are swindled by the thieves and money mongers from

**Solutions**

Solutions to stagnation of growth points take various forms (Mtukudzi, 1999; Hammond, 1985; Conyers, 2001). These could be the construction of new roads, railways, airports, the introduction of efficient telephone links, power supplies, postal services, the modernization of education facilities, the siting of new ware houses, retail premises, the reform for trading, land ownership, and tax laws. There should be a proactive national and local development strategy that maximizes on the opportunities provided by the local resource base rather than the sterile top down modernization approach of regional planning. Critical to the idea of growth points is the need to diffuse the tension between decentralization
and centralization through deliberate allocation of resources and the empowerment of the local people.

There is need to strike a balance between the desire to implement central policies and to generate local development initiatives, whilst at the same time resolving the conflicting claims of centralization of political and administrative power (Rakodi, 1990; Semu, 2001). Policies that have been adopted emphasized rural decentralization while the political and financial implications of such programmes have meant continued centralization (Semu, 2001; Madzingira, 2002).

**Conclusion and recommendations**

Growth points were intended to serve districts, thus their location had to take into consideration the aspect of centrality as a key factor.

Most of these growth points, have a major road that passes through, which is used as a trigger or has been developed as a result of the need to set up such centers. The major economic activity in a rural setting is farming and thus plays a critical role in determining the nature and rate of growth of the growth point. Most of the agricultural produce from this part of the country passes through the growth point for onwards distribution to the national and the international market. The major actors in
the farming sector around the growth point are newly resettled farmers supported by a strong labor force which is derived from the farms, growth point and the surrounding communal areas. As such there is need of making sure that the locals are and the growths points are benefitting from their resources also. This will see growth points growing rather than feeding cities and towns without also benefiting. This also will result in creation of jobs at growth point centres for the benefit of locals and the youths. Those migrating from towns will also find refuge at these growth points.

The growth centre strategy was perceived as a rural development paradigm that was to curb rural urban migration and to minimize regional disparities at national level. Thus, it dominated economic planning issues, and attracted major international academic debate. It was nationally viewed as the ideal basis for implementation of the decentralization policy. Critical government services were to be provided at the centre with a view to effectively and efficiently serve the rural population and this was to set a wave of modernization. This has not materialized in the manner that it has been envisaged. Land ownership at the growth point remained a critical and debatable issue as no title deeds were given to business operators. Giving title deeds to individuals creates a strong sense of ownership and belonging to the growth point. However, such a policy has to be
accompanied with financial support and or investment incentives for the development of meaningful industrial production. Economic liberalization adopted in 1990 seems to have also precipitated the decline of the growth point as government policy shifted towards reducing public expenditures in exchange for support from international donor organizations, (Monyanhire and et al, 2009).

With indications that population is increasing in rural areas, the future of most growth points lies increasingly in the solutions put forward for utilization of natural local resources through application of comparative advantage and the agrarian productive elements of the communal sector. If those having land are given government support in terms of subsidies and training, then growth points will prosper as marketing and production outlets. For those districts where agriculture performs well enough support must be given to farmers, establishment of seed grading and packing industries will be an appropriate move.

In areas where there is high production of oil seeds such as ground nuts, sunflowers and others, there is need of developing small-oil processing plants which require a guarantee of inputs from producers. In areas where there is beef production (cattle), construction of abattoirs and associated industries can be the best strategy of
spearheading economic development in rural areas and also creating employment for the youths. Agro-based industries must be set in rural areas.

It has become imperative that the central government and the local government authorities start a national program that targets funding of these small businesses with a view to diversify their trades and enhance regional economic development. The current situation at the growth point best suits one of a stagnant and declining point as no meaningful spatial economic development has taken place in the last ten years. Thus, the Growth Point has become a reminder of the national economic crisis that warrants speedily and timely intervention. If growth points are to absorb the migrants from urban centres there is need of channelling resources towards the development of these centres. The government now needs to establish supporting infrastructure to the rural areas. This is so because urban to rural migration which was reviewed by the ZimStats 2012 is good for the country since major urban centres are struggling to cope with problems that were associated with unplanned population growth and economic problems. Harare, for example is failing to cope with population growth since infrastructure that is currently in use was designed to cater for a smaller population. The urban rural migration will de-congest urban centres.
Given the multiplicity of development policies which have come and gone, there is need of giving local authorities a lead role in the promotion and management of development of these designated centers. Local councils must create business in their respective growth points.

With people increasing in rural areas, it becomes imperative that development is stimulated in growth points to enable the rural folk to find employment as well as access all essential services.
“Hence, households when faced with compromised access to water and sanitary conditions, resort to negative coping strategies which include open defecation and use of unprotected water sources”, Ruparanganda, 2014.
Overview

Zimbabwe over the past decade (2004-2014) has seen a continued deterioration in its water and sanitation system as evidenced by persistent erratic water supply services, long distance walk to nearest water sources, increased open defecation, open dumping of waste and continued burst sewer pipes. Local Authorities and ZINWA form the major bodies charged with the mandate to manage water and sanitation services. These are guided by legislative instruments such as the Water Act of 1998 and ZINWA Act of 2000. The effectiveness and efficiency of the two bodies and legislative instruments in alleviating the situation remain an issue for debate. The Zimbabwe 2012 National Census Statistics reflects that 75% of the households in Zimbabwe have access to safe drinking water. This paper provides contextual analysis of the 2012 National Census Report on the country’s water and sanitation situation. Focus is on explaining the urban and rural water and sanitation supply trends, challenges faced by households and gaps in current water and sanitation supply system. Findings are based on secondary review method. The key findings reflect that access to clean and safe water varies by season and is greatly reduced during water rationing periods in both rural and urban areas. Hence, households when faced with compromised access to water and sanitary conditions, resort to negative coping strategies which include open defecation and use
of unprotected water sources. Lack of comprehensive water management policy, funding problems, lack of political will and inadequate infrastructural support services form some of the commonly cited reasons for the deteriorating situation. Some of the recommendations include the need for comprehensive policies, financing strategies and garnering political will so as to effectively deal with problems.
Introduction
Lack of access to improved drinking water remains a challenge in most developing countries. It is estimated that 1.1 billion people in the world lack access to improved water supplies and 2.6 billion people lack adequate sanitation most of who are in developing countries (UNICEF et al. 2004). An estimated 4000–6000 children die each day from diseases associated with lack of access to safe drinking water, inadequate sanitation and poor hygiene (WSSCC 2004). In Asia an estimated 675 million people lack access to improved drinking water sources (UNICEF et al. 2004). While only 36% Sub-Saharan Africa’s’ population has access to basic sanitation (UNICEF et al. 2004). In South Sudan, the official statistics indicate that only 15% of households use sanitary means of excreta disposal, and 55% has access to improved drinking water (Joseph:2014).

Background
Zimbabwe is among other developing countries still facing water and sanitation problems (Human Rights Watch: 2013).

At Independence in 1980, Zimbabwe inherited a well-developed urban sector and a neglected rural sector. In the first 20 years of Zimbabwe’s Independence water and
sanitation coverage improved. Overall water coverage increased from 32% to 56% while sanitation access increased from 28% to 55%. By 1990 urban water and sanitation services were pegged at 97% and 99% respectively a trend that declined to 60% and 40% respectively by 2008 (CSO Report: 2010).

The Zimbabwean government has come up with a number of legislative instruments as framework for the management of the country’s water and sanitation system. These include the Water Act of 1998 and ZINWA Act of 2000. ZINWA Board is a parastatal organisation responsible for the supply and management of domestic water while local authorities have the mandate to deliver water and sanitation services. In 2006 ZINWA took over the responsibility to supply water services in urban areas a role that was quickly returned to local authorities by 2008 following the organisation’s inability to adequately provide such services.

A number of reasons have been cited for the dilapidating status of water and sanitation services in both urban and rural areas of Zimbabwe. Among these include failure by local authorities to maintain and upgrade the water and sanitation infrastructure to meet growing demands. Other reasons also include lack of a comprehensive policy and government will to effectively and efficiently manage and support water and sanitation services. Inadequate capital to support, maintain and service the
sector also forms other reasons for compromised service delivery system.

Failure to maintain and improve the country water and sanitation system has costed the country’s health sector. In 2008 the Zimbabwe was hit by a cholera outbreak which claimed a total 4000 people including children. Today, the same conditions that allowed the 2008 cholera epidemic to flourish—poor sanitation, high-density living conditions, lack of access to potable water, official denial of the magnitude of the problem, and lack of information about the safety of the public water supply—persist Human Rights Watch 2013.

Zimbabwe has two different sets of targets for the water and sanitation sector. These are the millennium development and national targets. Recent data reflect Zimbabwe as lagging in meeting any one of the set targets.

Without recovery of the water and sanitation sector, Zimbabweans will face further cholera outbreaks, more deaths, illnesses, continuing poverty, and negative impacts on livelihoods, industry, tourism, food production and agriculture, pollution of rivers and water courses. This essentially translates to more hardship, particularly for women and children (Human Rights Watch 2013). This paper focuses on providing contextual analysis of the 2012 census data on water and sanitation
services in Zimbabwe. Secondary data analysis has been used as basis of critical argument and analysis.

**Urban and rural water and sanitation supply trends**

Zimbabwe continues to struggle providing adequate water and sanitation services to its people. The quality and quantity of water supply and sanitation services have been continuously described as insufficient and poor. In majority parts of the country water services are characterised by intermittent supplies and long walking distance to nearest water point. Pit and Blair toilet facilities in most in rural homes are full with communities failing to construct new toilets due to lack of resources (UNICEF:2013). Although most urban settlements have toilet flash system in many of the times these are non-functional due to blocked sewer systems or absence of frequent water supply services. Collection of garbage is also a major problem with communities resorting to open duming.

The 2012 Census data reflect 75% coverage in terms of household access to safe water drinking. A coverage that still fall below the national and millennium goal targets. The Millennium Development Goal (MDG) targets are for 89% water coverage and 72% sanitation coverage, whilst government targets aim for 100% coverage by 2015 in all subsectors, except rural sanitation 80% (CSO Report: 2010).
More so, the 2012 water and sanitation figures reflect a decline in coverage compared to previous standards. For instance water coverage in 1990 was estimated at 78% in 2008 it dropped in rising to 75% by 2012. It is worth note that although the water coverage has started rising there remains a gap in consistent provision of water services taking into account quantity and quality of services. Crisis Coalition Zimbabwe state availability and accessibility as some of the key issues for consideration in water supply which still remain compromised in the country.

Most cities and towns in Zimbabwe are increasingly failing to provide adequate and safe domestic water to their residents with such water supply problems more acute in newly established suburbs. This is largely as a result of the water supply infrastructures’ incapability to meet growing demand (Chagonda 2010, Human Rights Watch 2013, UNICEF 2010). For instance, the infrastructure for piped water in the capital-Harare was developed before Zimbabwe’s independence in 1980, when the population was about 600,000. The city’s population is slightly over two million today yet no major repairs and renovations have been made (Human Rights Watch 2013). Aging distribution systems are vulnerable to continued breakdown of machinery, burst pipes and leaks leading contamination problems (Moe et
Lenah Ruparanganda

Failure to repair or maintain an already aging infrastructure has led to a severe decline in services. Reports from urban settlements, including growth centers, give a consistent picture of high levels of unaccounted-for water, distribution systems in need of repair, and effluent and raw sewage outflows entering rivers and dams, which are often the major sources of bulk water supply.

A great many water treatment plants are dysfunctional, do not have the power to pump consistently or lack chemicals. Intermittent power supply to water services is also a major contributing factor. Old, unmaintained pipes and leaks in both the water and sewage system mean that tap water that does flow can be mixed with sewage.

In one study on domestic water supply in a new urban settlement Maridale in Norton, findings revealed poor water quality and quantity coverage which exposed residents to various water-related challenges and risks (Chagonda 2010). Tap water service supply were erratic with residents resorting to use of shallow well water. In the aforementioned study water quality tests also revealed high coliform count in both tap and well water. Well water also tested positive to faecal coliform. The World Health Organization standards require that...
domestic water should not contain a single coliform (World Health Organization, 1993). Although study findings were confined to study population and in the period 2010 the picture resembles most urban water supply services to date. According to the World Bank, the amount of municipal water available in Harare has dropped to the levels recorded during the cholera epidemic. The risk of another public health crisis cannot be discounted (Human Rights Watch 2013).

Human Rights Watch also carried out a study on the availability of potable water and sanitation in Harare between September 2012 and October 2013. The study findings revealed that although many houses in Harare have the infrastructure for piped water, residents reported that water flow into homes was inconsistent, and sometimes as rare as a few hours every two weeks. Tap water was also reported to be often dirty, containing visible suspended organic and inorganic substance and also smelling bad (Human Rights Watch 2013). A situation that resemble reports and study findings from other urban centres such as Bulawayo, Gweru, Masvingo and Chitungwiza.

In a study by Chigonda on Maridale urban settlement 96% of respondents said the tap water usually contained some visible suspended organic and inorganic
substances, while all the respondents also said that the water had an unpleasant taste.

During the cholera epidemic, donor and United Nations agencies and international Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) drilled over 200 boreholes in areas around Harare to provide safe drinking water. While those boreholes provided a needed source of potable water four years ago, they have not been maintained and many are now contaminated. Water quality tests on borehole water by Human Rights Watch in 2013 found that one-third of boreholes tested were contaminated (Human Rights Watch, 2013).

Water and sanitation are related. Poor water services lead to poor sanitary conditions. The urban sanitation sector in Zimbabwe once had one of the highest coverage levels in Africa, including for networked sewerage. However, this has since changed to poor sanitation coverage. Lack of water flow causes frequent sewer blockages. Densification has also meant that many more households use the same infrastructure exerting pressure leading to continued blockages and sewer bursts. In newly established urban settlements most residents have resorted to building temporary shallow pit latrines which also pose a threat to the general health of residents.
The 2012 census data state a total 24% of household lack access to toilet facilities. Zimbabwe’s sanitation service has also been cited as dropping with a marked increase in open defecation. Rural households being most affected.

Open sewers and flowing sewage are common sights in the suburbs of Harare (Human Rights Watch: 2014). Other contributing factor to a poor sanitation includes an inadequate system for refuse disposal. Refuse piled up on the street, especially refuse that contains human waste such as dirty diapers, also acts as a breeding ground for various types of diseases (Human Rights Watch 2014)

Rural water and sanitation has not been spared of the stagnation and deterioration in services. Rural capital subsidies have dried, and only a few new facilities have been built. Meanwhile rural water and sanitation is characterised by aging superstructures and full latrine pits. Many rural boreholes and wells—the mainstay of the rural water infrastructure—are reported in a mal-functional status. Most rural households cannot afford costs that come with renovations hence reverting to use of unprotected water sources and open defecation. The 2010 Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey study estimates that 42% of the rural population as still practicing open defecation. The JMP reports that 98 % of those without an improved drinking water source are in rural areas. All
this reflecting poor water and sanitation condition in rural areas.

At community level institution such as schools and health centres suffer the same fate of water and sanitation problems as at household level. Some schools in the Harare suburbs are not able to provide students with safe drinking water (Human Rights Watch 2013). Most communal/ public toilets are also in mal-functional state due to erratic water and lack of proper maintenance.

**Impact of water and sanitation problems**

Deterioration and stagnation of the water and sanitation sector have negatively impacted households in a number of ways. Lack of access to clean and safe water is a violation to human rights. It also promotes and perpetuates discriminatory practices against women and children as they bear the domestic burden of providing households with water. Most studies report women and children spending long periods away from home in sought of water for domestic use during intermittent water supply periods. In such scenario women end devoting less time to properly care for the children whilst the children may end missing school in sought of domestic water.
Constrained water situations also exert strain on household members responsible with domestic chores with women and girls being most affected in patriarchal systems. Women and girls are often responsible for collecting water, either at the borehole or at unprotected wells. These end spending long periods in queues and walks as they have to fetch water for household use.

Women are also affected during menses with school going girls being most affected (Human Rights Watch 2013). In a study conducted in Chitungwiza, a dormitory town of Harare with water problems, findings revealed that girls who are menstruating face numerous challenges when attending school due to lack of appropriate disposal facilities for sanitary pads, inadequate water supply, due to lack of sufficient toilets and little provision for hand washing.

The global burden of poor access to safe water and sanitation falls primarily on the poorest of the poor. At the household level, UNICEF estimates that households in the lowest wealth quintile are 5.5 times more likely to lack improved water access and 3.3 times more likely to lack adequate sanitation, compared with households in the highest wealth quintile in the same country (based on Demographic and Health Surveys in 20 developing countries). Given persistent water and sanitation challenges in Zimbabwe, it is beyond reasonable doubt
that the poor suffer most as they lack resources to employ positive coping strategies.

Water quality and sanitation are irrevocably intertwined. Poor sanitation leads to water contamination (Moe et al: 2006). Failure to access clean and safe water exposes households to risk of poor hygiene practise thereby exposing them to a number of water borne and other related diseases such as cholera and typhoid. In 2008 close to 4 000 adults and children died of cholera and in 2012 there were 3,000 typhoid cases reported in Harare alone. To date the number of people sick from lack of access to potable water and sanitation continues to be startling and most urban centres risk another cholera outbreak (Human Rights Watch 2013).

Coping strategies employed
Humans like any other specie when faced with a challenge will always look for a way to counter. Resources are a major determinant of coping strategies employed with resource constrained households reverting to negative coping strategies. Households in Zimbabwe have employed a number of coping strategies in response to current water and sanitation problems. In urban areas these include recycling water at domestic level, use of any other most and easily accessible alternative water source, open defecation, among others discussed below. However, most coping strategies expose households and institutions to poor hygiene practices.
In most urban centres households have drilled shallow wells in their homesteads as alternative water source. Non-governmental organisations also drilled a number of boreholes following 2008 cholera outbreak which most households continue to resort to during water dry periods. Households also resort to fetching water for domestic use from any other open water body. The majority of wells in urban homesteads are shallow and susceptible to sewage and other groundwater contamination. The boreholes have also become old and mal-functional and due to poor sewage system are also contaminated (Human Rights Watch 2013).

Recycling and limiting amount of water used for household chores such as bathing and laundry form other coping strategies employed. Household recycling water strategies include of grey water for gardening and flashing the toilet. In one study 85% of the respondents noted that inadequate water supply badly affected their use of the toilet, laundry and bathing habits. They noted often forced to putting same clothes for unusually longer periods before washing them, they now use of less water for bathing and laundry. A situation that is likely to cause some skin infections and other diseases associated with dirtiness, including the proliferation of parasites, such as lice.

Households also resort to poor sanitation practices which include open defecation this is despite government
statistics pointing to a low rate of open defecation in urban areas. In another urban water and sanitation study findings revealed that often households resort to open defecation whenever they were unable to flush their toilets as a result of lack of water, or when their toilets were clogged and overflowing (Human Rights Watch 2013). Open defecation takes place in nearby bushes and at night. A practice is most likely to contaminate the dugout wells, especially the shallow and unprotected or under protected ones, thereby posing a health hazard to the residents. In other cases households resort to consecutive use of toilet without flashing which predisposes them to diseases and bad odours. Some households especially in new urban settlements have constructed some pit latrines. Pit latrines have a problem with bad odours and they also can more effectively contaminate groundwater. Institutions such as churches and schools have also resorted to pit latrines.

One other coping strategy employed by many teenage girls of school going age include resorting to non-school attendance while menstruating due to lack of proper sanitary systems in schools i.e. water and toilets (Human Rights Watch 2013).

**Gaps in current water and sanitation supply system**

There are a number of common forms of barriers to progress in water and sanitation access include
inadequate investment in water and sanitation infrastructures, lack of political will to tackle the tough problems in this area, the tendency to avoid new technological or implementation approaches and apply conventional water and sanitation interventions, and failure to conduct evaluations of water and sanitation interventions to determine whether they are successful and sustainable (Moe et al: 2006 ). Zimbabwe is one developing country facing aforementioned barriers to improved water and sanitation services.

In recent year Zimbabwe was put on economic sanctions which inherently affected flow of international aid to fund development project. This affected the sectors ability to secure funds for adequate investment in the water and sanitation infrastructure. Historically water and sanitation services had never been given priority which made the situation worse. In 2008 GoZ allocated USD17 million for the refurbishment of equipment and purchase of water chemicals, the amount fell far below the amount of USD250 million required by the Ministry of Water Resources and Infrastructural Development. Government’s own estimates reflect the breakdown in public sector finance and loss of capacity for repairs, maintenance, and spares. In 2009 Morton Jeffrey Water Purification Plant in Harare, often run out due to shortages of foreign currency to import water purification chemicals (The Herald, 2009). Along with an old and
crumbling infrastructure that is inadequate for the population of Harare,

Public sector corruption, mismanagement and lack of political will severely hamper efforts to improve water and sewage service delivery to residents. In 2012, Transparency International ranked Zimbabwe the 13th most corrupt country in the world, a slip from its 2008 rank as 24th. According to the group, “When corruption leads to contaminated drinking water and destroyed ecosystems, the detrimental consequences are often irreversible.”

Providing safe water and basic sanitation to meet both national and MDG targets will require substantial economic resources, sustainable technological solutions and courageous political will (Moe and Rheingans: 2006). Zimbabwe needs to seriously consider dealing with these stumbling blocks so as to start realising meaningful progress.

**Conclusion and recommendations**

Zimbabwe’s water and sanitation standards continue to fall below national and millennium development targets. Access to clean and safe water remains a challenge for a number of rural and urban households: a situation that poses a threat to the health and well-being of most citizen. Major constraining factor in improving the sector
include lack of adequate financial resources, mismanagement of sector funds and old dilapidating infrastructural support system. A number of legislative instrument such as the Water Act of 1998 and ZINWA Act of 2000 are in place and these seem to fall short in alleviating the situation.

In the face of continued economic challenges and population growth Zimbabwe has to seriously consider creative cost effective measures of renovating and improving its water and sanitation system. These include implementing innovative, low-cost sanitation approaches such as dry sanitation system which are best apply in water scarce situations. The dry sanitation system is a tremendous infrastructure needs and costs associated with waterborne sewerage and wastewater treatment (Moe et al 2006).

The government of Zimbabwe also needs to continue exploring progressive steps towards realizing the need for portable clean water in educational institutions, homes and business facilities across the whole country. These include application of stringent measures to contain mismanagement and embezzlement of funds in the public sector. The civic society also has a role to play towards continued advocacy and lobby so as to drive political will and support towards refurbishment and improvement of the water and sanitation sector in Zimbabwe.
Lastly, applied research is needed to identify and improve strategies to increase accessibility of water and sanitation services to most vulnerable groups such as the poor, women and children.
Chapter 5

THE NEXUS BETWEEN LITERACY RATE IN ZIMBABWE AND CONSTITUTIONAL LITERACY IN MASHONALAND CENTRAL

“There is a wide variation between literacy rate and constitutional literacy. The so called literate people in general terms are illiterate as far as constitutional knowledge is concerned”, Zembere, 2014.
Overview

This is a cross sectional overview of the relationship between literacy rate in Zimbabwe and constitutional literacy in Mashonaland Central Province. The central argument in this chapter is that although Zimbabwe has the highest literacy rate of 96% in Africa, there is an apparent contradiction between literacy rate in the country and constitutional literacy in Mashonaland Central. This study was conducted using a descriptive survey design. This method was chosen because it allows the use of a representative sample from a population and that it allows the researcher to handle a larger number of respondents within a given period. A survey was conducted on conveniently selected three districts of Muzarabani, Mazowe and Mbire. The population consisted of eight hundred and forty respondents aged between fifteen years and above purposively drawn from the three districts. The age group selected for study has been influenced by the census results of 2012 because that was the same age group where the country’s literacy rate was drawn from. The researcher employed interviews, and documentary analysis to gather data for the research. Overall, this research revealed that the majority of those who voted in the referendum in 2013 did not know the contents of the document they were voting for, and therefore concluded that higher literacy rate does not translate to constitutional literacy. Based on
these findings, it was recommended that constitutional studies be introduced in primary and secondary schools as a subject rather than having selected topics infused in History and Geography.
Introduction
Zimbabwe is a land locked country in southern Africa. It lies on a plateau bordered by two giant rivers, Zambezi to the north and Limpopo to the south. The country has a population of about 13 million people, (Central Statistics Report 2012). Since 1985, the literacy rate in Zimbabwe has been gradually rising due to government policies on education. Reports by UNESCO 2009 have indicated that literacy levels have been recorded from 95% to 98% between 1992 and 2010. The statistics are an indication that there has been an ongoing expansion of education after independence. However, it has to be noted that special emphasis has been given to science and technology arguably for national development at the expense of social sciences and humanities subjects. The primary contribution of this write up is to measure the understanding of the new constitution by the general public in Mashonaland Central. The writer assumes and argues that there is no correlation between high literacy rate in Zimbabwe and constitutional literacy in Mashonaland central.

Research methodology
This study was conducted using a qualitative research design which allowed gathering of data from both primary and secondary sources such as pictures, newspaper reports and pamphlets. The 2012 Census report and the final 2012 constitution draft as presented
by the Parliamentary Constitutional Select committee were used as sources of reference. These sources were aided by internet sources and observation especially in the case of Zimbabwe for triangulation purposes. Since this debate is based on a desk research, views from similar studies have been solicited. Primary documents from United Nations Annual reports and constitutional documents for some countries were studied to check on the writers biases. The writer was able to observe the constitutional making process which was conducted in Zimbabwe from 2009 - 2012 to establish whether people understood the process of constitutionalism. Inference shall be made on the literacy data as it was presented by the Central Statistical office in 2012 census. As stated earlier on the province of focus shall be Mashonaland Central and the main assumption is that the findings of this research in Mash central may be replicated to the other nine provinces that is why national data on literacy rate has been taken as a point of reference.
Table 1: Literacy rate for the population above 15 years by province as presented in the 2012 census report.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bulawayo</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>98</td>
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<tr>
<td>Manicaland</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>96</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mashonaland central</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mashonaland East</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mashonaland West</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>96</td>
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<tr>
<td>Matabeleland North</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>93</td>
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<tr>
<td>Matebeleland South</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>95</td>
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<tr>
<td>Midlands</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masvingo</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harare</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>96</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census report 2012

Statement of the problem

Mashonaland central has a total of 9.1% voting population aggregated against the national voting population. The province has also a comparatively higher literacy rate of 94% as of 2012, (Central Statistical Office 2012). The argument presented here in this chapter is that high literacy rate does not translate to constitutional literacy and also that voting patterns in the province in elections and the 2012 referendum has been greatly influenced by the relationship of the province to
the ruling party and not by people’s free will. This explains why many people voted ‘Yes’ in a referendum for a constitution whose contents they were not aware of.

**Research questions**
The research was guided by the following questions to allow an unbiased measurement of the peoples’ understanding of constitutional issues. The research avoided complicated questions on the constitution of Zimbabwe because it sought to solicit general ideas and understanding of the document from the general public, the ’literate’.

a) How many chapters are in the new Zimbabwe constitution?

b) What rights do people have that are enshrined in the new constitution?

c) Why did you vote for or against this constitution?

d) What other issues would you want included in the constitution?

**Constitutionalism in Zimbabwe**
The principle of constitutionalism is a theory that helps shape the content of the constitution in order to pursue justice and remove arbitrariness, (Magaisa2009). It is the belief that the existence of a constitution must control government power so that power is not exercised to the detriment of the society. This means that a constitution should by all means be understood and accepted by the
people. This can only be done by involving people in the making of the constitution and there should be continuous consultation of the public until the final adoption so that people who are the makers of the constitution must have a sustainable foundation or understanding of the powers they confer on the government and the rights they want to retain for peace and justice to prevail, (Ncube 2003).

According to Ncube (2003) the constitutional reform process in Zimbabwe has been built upon the inherited Lancaster House Agreement of December 1979. This document was negotiated between the colonial masters and liberation forces at the dawn of independence, since then, Zimbabwe has been in a constitutional crisis. Madhuku (2005) blames the constitutional crisis in Zimbabwe to the circumstances under which the Lancaster House Constitution was conceived. He further argues that the Lancaster constitution was drafted and accepted by a few elite on behalf of the entire population of Zimbabwe. In this regard, the document did not derive its legitimacy from the people. A constitution operates with supreme authority which it gets from the people. The document then becomes legitimate and it is that legitimacy that makes the constitution supreme because every individual of the society would have agreed to be under that document and be governed by it. This constitutional legitimacy is what was lacking in the
Lancaster document. Magaisa (2009) criticised the Lancaster constitution for failing to realise issues pertaining to land, natural resource ownership, citizenship and the system of government. In terms of legitimacy, the Lancaster House Constitution fell too short of even elementary standards. It was discredited as an imperfect document, a compromise to end the war. The constitution was agreed and signed by warring parties and the people of Zimbabwe did not participate in either its making or its amendments. To make matters even worst, the Lancaster constitution was not accessible to the ordinary Zimbabweans and those who had access to it found its legal jargon incomprehensible. This means that until 2009 when the drafting of the new constitution started, to Zimbabweans a constitution was something which existed in the abstract. This chapter therefore attempts to ascertain whether people in Mashonaland Central understood the process of constitutionalism. For the purpose of this discussion, a constitution shall be referred to as a body of laws which sets out the framework of government, defines how it ought to operate and makes declarations about the purposes of the society and the rights and duties of citizens,(De Villiers 1984). In short, a constitution is the ’bible’ of the nation. From this definition, it is clear that having a constitution is not enough but that the document must be understood by those to be governed by it.
Review of related literature

According to UNESCO (2010) report, in a world of 1 billion illiterate people, 98% are in third world countries with China and India accounting for 52% of this number. Research by Hara (2007) has discovered that illiteracy always translates into lack of interest or low participation in constitution related activities by citizens in third world countries specifically in India, Pakistan, Mozambique, Botswana and Malawi. Engelbronner-kolff (1993) diagnosed lack of education among the ordinary citizens in most third world countries to be one militating factor against people’s enjoyment of their rights guaranteed in the constitution specifically in countries like India, China, Malawi, Mauritania, Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and the Democratic Republic of Congo where constitutional illiteracy is comparatively high. As noted by Engebronner-kolff (1993), a large number of the population in third world countries do not speak the language of political discourse. The language employed by politicians in constitutions is invariably not understood by the general citizenry. In Zimbabwe, illiteracy has been highly eradicated but this paper would argue that constitutional illiteracy is still rampant among the so called literate communities in Zimbabwe. Constitutional literacy is the ability by citizens to define their rights and obligations that are enshrined a constitution they will have taken part in drafting. (Hara 2007).
Discussion of the findings

Two main organising frameworks were used in order to frame and present findings and discussions. The frameworks were highly influenced by the research questions. Before the discussion of these frameworks, it is ideal to analyse the statistics presented by the Central statistical office and draw from that the population that was eligible to vote as at 2012. According to the country’s constitution, a person is eligible to vote if they are eighteen years of age and hold valid national registration identification. The issue of literacy or lack of it cannot be used to disqualify a person from exercising their constitutional right. Whether people would know what they will be voting for or its implications are other issues, the underlying fact, is all adults are allowed to vote. This maybe one of the many reasons why in previous elections so many people were assisted to vote. Ironically the number of assisted voters was drastically reduced in the 2012 constitutional referendum. This of course is not the focus of this chapter but it may mirror the research problem in question. On one hand, it may be an indication that people understood the constitutional contents therefore there was no need for assistance in voting, while on the other hand people may have been pretending to be illiterate so that they may be assisted to vote.

Table 2: Population eligible to vote in mash Central as
It should be stated that although the stipulated age for voting is 18 years, there were incidences when people below that age were allowed to vote as long as they had national registration certificates and were registered voters. Many school children acquired the national identity cards before the 2008 elections when the documents were issued in schools. The research therefore assumes that all those who were recorded as eligible to vote in 2012 census report are more or less the same people who voted in the referendum in 2013.
The first framework explored the questions to do with an:
i) **Understanding of the contents of the new constitution.**

Variations existed between male and female respondents. 67% of female respondents in the sample indicated that they did not understand the contents of the constitution because they never attended the meetings held by the Constitutional Select Committee due to their busy schedules at home. From the same sample, 13% stated that their spouses attended therefore they voted for the document because they were told to vote yes by those who attended the meetings. Another 10% had a rough idea of what the document contained especially issues to do with citizenship, and equal opportunities. This may be due to the fact that “Equality of Opportunities” is a basic feature in the constitution and has been repeated again and again in the document starting from the preamble. Therefore issues to do with equality of opportunities between men and women dominated the response from those who had an idea of the constitutional contents. Male respondents (53%) above 35 years had articulated well the Bill of rights as outlined in the constitution. Prominent in the answers were citizenship rights to those born
in Zimbabwe to parents from neighbouring SADC countries. This research noted that people only knew the pockets of sections of the constitution which affect them. The study also discovered some disheartening findings. 44% of high school teachers and tertiary students could not name who the chief justice is. The disheartening fact is that the 44% is not only of people holding teaching certificates but some sort of graduate level degrees.

Participation in Constitution making Process:

ii) The second framework probed people on their contribution in the drafting of the new constitution, how they participated, attending the COPAC meetings, reading the drafts before final referendum and finally voting. Let us have a brief rundown of how the outreach programmes were conducted before presentation of the findings on this framework.

The process of gathering the views of the people marked the beginning of enjoining the people of Zimbabwe to participate in the constitution making process. Meeting points were identified by COPAC with the help of District Administrators the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission. Seventy teams were dispatched to different
provinces of the country. The teams were to solicit people’s views on what to put in the new constitution.

Data were gathered first from the reports of the provincial teams, and it is in the interest of this research to point out some pertinent issues which indicate that most people were unaware of the constitutional issues with the effect that some of the issues raised were really irrelevant and wayward. Wayward contributions included:

“Small houses, discreet marriages must be banned and people who continue to have them after this meeting should be killed because my family has been affected by a small house who squandered all our money from the tobacco production.”

“Public drinking should be allowed because it is not everyone who has a refrigerator”

“...endai munoudza VaMugabe kuti masimba emadzimai awandisa havachatiteereri mudzimba umu” translated to say “...go and tell the president to reduce women’s’ rights because women are no longer submissive to their husbands.”

One crucial point underlines these bizarre contributions, that is, a demonstration that people lacked the necessary
civic education. Some people thought that the constitution was the President’s document therefore he had the power to redeem their predicaments at home. National Constitutional Assembly represented by Madhuku campaigned for a “no” vote in the referendum citing irregularities in the conduct of the new constitution. The NCA indicated that the period between the presentation of the draft constitution to parliament and the referendum was too short. People did not have enough time to familiarise themselves with the draft. This research however concluded that the majority of those who voted ‘yes’ did not vote for the constitution but for the views of their political leaders who encouraged them to vote. It is the establishment of this research that even after the adoption of the new constitution, 60% of those who voted are unaware of what they voted for. The majority of these are in the age range of 15-34. A significant variation was observed in the 40 -55 years category. These people displayed some awareness of the constitution maybe because this group is economically active and may have followed religiously the constitutional debates. Constitutional illiteracy levels were higher in women 57% and the youths.

Considering the fact that the majority of the Zimbabwean population both rural and urban did not know the contents of the Lancaster constitution and its amendments, there was need to conduct a thorough civic
education before rushing into the drafting of a new constitution. This may help to substantiate Colliers’ (2009) argument that African governments manipulate people’s constitutional ignorance by imposing the constitutions to them. Collier cited examples of Mauritania, Zambia and Zimbabwe as countries with constitutions that are not people driven. On the same note, this research discovered that although the majority of Zimbabwe is literate in relation to the instrument used by the UNDP, not much has been done to liberate them from constitutional illiteracy.

**Redefining literacy**

Literacy has been defined as the ability to read and write with understanding in any language. The Zimbabwe 2012 census definition for literacy is anyone who has completed a grade three and is 15 years and above, displays ability to read and write. Anyone who can only read but cannot write is considered illiterate. The above definition falls short in that a person needs no formal or elementary educational standard to be considered literate. Due to this weakness, this research charges that the definition is too limited and that it has been adopted for enumeration purposes therefore it has to be reviewed.

The research proposes that the definition of literacy go beyond rudimentary literacy to include addition, subtraction, multiplication and division in maths as well
as higher order thinking like conceptualizing, inferring, inventing and critical thinking. This is the kind of literacy that would promote independent thinking and proper active and democratic citizenship.

**Conclusion and recommendations**

The research concludes that there is a wide variation between literacy rate and constitutional literacy. The so-called literate people in general terms are illiterate as far as constitutional knowledge is concerned. Despite a resounding “yes” vote at the referendum, the majority of the people did not know what they were voting for. This is why this research advocates for a more robust definition of literacy that goes beyond rudimentary knowledge.

For a constitution to be understood by people there must be civic education first before drafting and referendum. This research gathered that there was no such kind of education prior to constitutional referenda. Even in the 2000 referendum people simply voted without the appreciation of what they were voting for. Others thought by voting ‘No’ they were actually voting Mugabe out of office because ZANU PF was campaigning for a ’Yes’ vote. In this regard, the research again recommends a wider consultation of the public which is not hurried by any other agenda so that the declaration in the preamble that “We the people of Zimbabwe....do hereby adopt,
enact and give to ourselves this constitution” is sincere and meaningful.

Another observation from the research is that Mashonaland Central is a strong hold of the ruling party and whatever the party says yes to will be affirmed by people without questioning or reasoning. Any form of questioning may be construed negatively to the detriment of the one who questions. This is as far as illiterate people can be taken advantage of. They don’t question or challenge the status quo. In this light, the research recommends civic education in schools from Primary up to Secondary through to tertiary education because some people who vote in Zimbabwe will still be at primary level.

From the constitutional process that took place in Zimbabwe, one would commend the government in that efforts were made to promote informed participation by people and it was ideal for people to understand the process and not to mix it with party politics. At least people learnt that a constitution is not affiliated to a political party but is a mirror image of the state reflecting the national soul, (De Villiers 1984).
“As the country moves ahead with the implementation of the indigenisation programme, it is particularly important to take a careful approach so as to ensure a balanced process that will attract both indigenous investments as well as foreign direct investment”, Makwerere and Chiwada, 2014.
Overview
The first decade of the 21st century in Zimbabwe saw the purportedly nationalist government embarking on sweeping agrarian and empowerment reforms of a national scale. Different schools of thought have been put across to explain the developments. Other scholars have attributed the initiatives to political grandstanding by the ZANU-PF government whilst others have seen it as a genuine approach towards transforming the remnants of the colonial structures that were both a source of conflict and a source economic discrimination. The paper focused on the National Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act which was promulgated in 2007. The focus of the paper was on the effectiveness of the initiative as a conflict transformation tool. An analysis of the process so far has indicated that the process is being seriously hamstrung by political manipulation, corruption and lack of a sustainable model to take the process to the desired levels. If properly administered, the process can effectively benefit from the vast human resource capital that the country has produced over the years as well as the vast mineral resources that are at the disposal of the country. The process can be an effective conflict transformation tool as it attempts to initiate a process of structural transformation in the name of economic empowerment.
Introduction

Post-colonial sub-Saharan states have had to grapple with some debilitating effects of unequal distribution of national resources that include land, natural endowments such as diamonds, gold, forestry and water. Resources have led to several conflicts across the sub-region. Countries such as Kenya, Mozambique and South Africa have grappled with the challenge of trying to ensure the equitable distribution of resources and means of production to its people. Zimbabwe as a country has had to endure shortcomings of numerous macro and micro-economic policies by the purportedly nationalist government of the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU PF). The watershed policies include the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) in 1990, the Fast Track Land Reform Programme of 2000, Operation Murambatsvina of 2005 and the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act of 2008.

These policies were a response to the colonial imbalances that were visible at independence in most African countries. These inequalities have quite often led to serious violent conflicts in Africa.

Former UN Secretary General, Kofi Annan (2007) stated that;
“Africa as a whole has begun to make significant economic and political progress in recent years, but in many parts of the continent progress remains threatened or impeded by conflict. For the United Nations there is no higher goal, no deeper commitment and no greater ambition than preventing armed conflict. The prevention of conflict begins and ends with the promotion of human security and human development. Ensuring human security is, in the broadest sense, the cardinal mission of the United Nations.”

At independence, the country was faced with several macro and micro challenges which had been necessitated by the transition from colonial rule to independent rule. The only way to transform these inequalities was through careful government public policing.

**Background to indigenisation and economic empowerment initiatives**

The story of Africa is littered with trials and tribulations emanating from the inhumane practices of the Slave Trade to the colonial injustices. In response to these challenges, post-colonial Africa has struggled for a more consistent model for black economic empowerment. Radical scholars like Water Rodney and Andre Gunder Frank once suggested a total delink between the western countries and the third world countries whilst others have
advocated for a more gradual approach in the quest for correcting historical imbalances.

Andreasson (2010) argues that indigenisation has become a preferred strategy for reconstructing post-colonial states in Africa.

A good number of African countries have made attempts towards indigenisation. Earlier attempts towards indigenisation in Africa can be traced to Nigeria where a Nigerian Enterprises Promotions (Indigenisation) Decree was proclaimed in 1972. The main thrust of the whole initiative was to reserve a certain percentage of ownership to the Nigerian citizens. The process was however marred by corruption and thus undermining the whole process.

Whilst in Zimbabwe the indigenisation crusade appear to have gained momentum in the 21st century, it is important to note that the process had started to gain serious progress with the creation of the Indigenisation Business Development Centre in 1990. The main aim of this grouping was to push for an enabling environment for black economic empowerment.

A pressure group emerged from within the IBDC and this was called the Affirmative Action Group in 1994. The group has so far nurtured the likes of prominent personalities such as Enock Kamushinda, Phillip Chiyangwa, Saviour Kasukuwere, Supa Mandiwanzira,
to mention just but a few. The purpose of the AAG was to increase pressure on the government so as to expedite the process of black economic empowerment.

The formation of the Ministry of Youth Development, Indigenisation and Empowerment marked increased the official government activities towards empowerment initiatives. The ministry immediately came up with the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act in 2008. It is reported that up to the time of the expiry of the government of national unity, the ministry of youth development, indigenisation and economic empowerment had facilitated a number of community share ownership trusts.

The South African government embarked on the Black Economic Empowerment programme (BEE) soon after the end of apartheid rule. The BEE act was promulgated in 2003. The primary aim of the act was to address wrongs of the past, particularly those that marginalised the majority black from access to economic empowerment and emancipation. The Department of Trade and Industry (2008) defines BEE as, ‘an integrated and coherent socio-economic process that directly contributes to the economic transformation of South Africa and brings about significant increases in the number of black people that manage, own and control the country’s economy as well as significant decreases in income inequalities.’
Historian, Gatsheni-Ndlovu) argued that, “dismissals and sententious approaches towards nativism do not help in understanding the current issues in Zimbabwe and South Africa. There is need to revisit the issues of imaginings of the African Liberation agenda together with issues of resolution of the national question, teleology of the liberation, ownership of strategic resources, knowledge production, control of public discourse, imaginations of the nation and visions of citizenship and democracy.”

The very logic behind decolonisation was to transform the imbalance in resource ownership. Homan (2008) correctly observes that human life finds interests beyond its engagement with immediate demands since it transforms the world as it experiences it. Freire (2000) in the same vein feels that “It is as transforming and creating beings that humans in their permanent relations with reality, produce not only material goods – tangible objects – but also social institutions, ideas and concepts”

**Methodological issues**
This research was largely an exploratory study that sought to explore the nexus between indigenous economic empowerment and conflict transformation in developing countries. The main focus of the research was on the Zimbabwean process. Document study from already published materials formed the basis of the research.
However primary sources were also used in the research and to that effect, key authorities from the ministry of youth development and economic empowerment were also targeted for responses. Academics in the field of peace and conflict studies as well as development studies were also interviewed. Focus group discussions with the ordinary citizens were also held.

This helped the researchers in reaching a balanced conclusion on the impact of Zimbabwe’s macro socio-economic policies on conflict transformation.

**Conceptualising indigenisation and economic empowerment in Zimbabwe**

The Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act (Chapter 14:33) of 2007 defines ‘indigenisation’ as a “deliberate involvement of indigenous Zimbabweans in the economic activities of the country, to which hitherto they had no access, so as to ensure the equitable ownership of the resources.” The same act defines an indigenous Zimbabwean as any person who, before the 18th of April, 1980, was disadvantaged by unfair discrimination on the grounds of his or her race, and any descendant of such person, and includes any company, association, syndicate or partnership of which indigenous Zimbabwean form the majority of the members or holds the controlling interests.
Through this act, economic empowerment is perceived as the creation of an environment which enhances the performance of the economic activities of indigenous Zimbabweans into which they would have been introduced or involved through indigenisation.

The process of indigenisation is being spearheaded by the National Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Board (NIEEB). NIEEB is a statutory board that was established by the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act of 2007 and it came into existence in 2010 to advise the minister on the Government’s strategies for indigenisation and economic empowerment.

**Theorising conflict transformation**

*The Transformative Theory*

According to the theory, conflict is caused by systemic and structural injustice and inequality expressed by competing social, cultural, economic, religious, and political frameworks

**Assumptions**

- Conflict is a consequence of the way some societies are structured
- Economic and political systems tend to favour one group over the other
Cultures tend to be exclusive and unwelcoming to others and new ideas
- Political and economic structures are alien to the context where they are applied
- Attitudes develop over a long period of time is resistant to change

Lederach (1997) contends that conflict transformation represents a comprehensive set of lenses for describing how conflict emerges from, evolves within and brings about changes in the personal, relational, structural and cultural dimensions, and for developing creative responses that promote peaceful change within those dimensions.

Väyrynen (1991) proposed that conflicts could be transformed by four types of change; actor transformation (the emergence of new actors or change in existing actors), issue transformation (meaning a change in the way in which the parties frame their interests and goals), rule transformations (meaning a change in the norms affecting the actors’ interactions) and structural transformations (which involve a change in the existing social structure).
Indigenisation and economic empowerment: the transformative aspects

Lederach (2003) prescribes a conflict assessment and analysis when dealing with conflicts. To this end it must be highlighted that in as far as the Lancaster House agreement is concerned, the conflict between black and white people over ownership of the means of production was conflict management. Political independence came but not with economic independence. Conflict was managed so that the newly born nation of Zimbabwe could map its way into infancy and adulthood. The land clause stating that the land issue was to be kept on hold until after ten years reflect a postponement of the conflict over the means of production between black and white people or in Marxist diction, between the “haves” and “have-nots”. What this means is that there remained the need for conflict transformation at national level to address the woes of the black majority which so wished to see the reversal of colonial legacies or the elimination of the very last vestiges of colonialism.

The indigenisation and economic empowerment act is one of the macroeconomic policies that tries to address the “haves” and “have-nots” class established and perpetuated by the colonial regime. Sustainable peace may not be realised when thorny issues like means of production ownership have not been successfully addressed. If not addressed, they amount to structural
violence, since they are a continuation of the same policies that the colonial governments pursued. It is in itself synonymous to seating on top of powder kegs all because people will with the passage of time rise against inequality.

Lederach (2003) argued that there is need for a positive orientation toward conflict and a willingness to engage in the conflict in an effort to produce constructive change or growth. Conflict often produces long – standing cycles of hurt and destruction. The key to transformation is the capacity to envision conflict as having the potential for constructive change. Means of production have always been a bone of contention in all of colonial Africa and post-colonial phases. At this structural level, the indigenisation and economic empowerment policy responds to this woe through ensuring that 51% of means of production in various sectors are owned by the indigenous people.

In the manufacturing sector businesses with a minimum net asset value of or above one hundred thousand dollars ($100 000) should have a 51% indigenous shareholding over a period of 4 years (General Notice 459 of 2011, Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act [Chapter 14:33]). With respect to the Finance, Tourism, Education and Sport, Arts, Entertainment and Culture, Engineering and Construction, Energy, Services,
Telecommunications, Transport and Motor Industry Sectors, businesses with varying net asset values must achieve the 51% indigenous shareholding within a year (General Notice 280 of 2012, Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act [Chapter 14:33]). This is an illustration of the first objective of the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act [Chapter 14:33], which envisions the broadening the economic base by involving the majority of indigenous Zimbabwean in the mainstream economy. This fits Lederach’s (2003) responsive element of conflict transformation that attempts to re-establish individuals and communities in Zimbabwe to the pre-colonial status where they were economically self-sufficient. Stoneman, (1981), highlights that:

“...about the eleventh or twelfth centuries AD, Zimbabwe was becoming the centre of one of Africa’s largest empires... [and] this civilization [probably centered at Great Zimbabwe] grew rich and powerful on mining-of copper and coal, but above all of gold. Trade with countries as far afield as China is evidenced from the remains found in the ruins, but despite the lure of its gold mines, the empire was powerful enough to repel both Arab and Portuguese encroachments.”
It was through colonialism that saw African people disempowered as the colonial masters owned everything from mines to farms reducing the locals to mere workers. The 1889 British South African Company (BSAC) Charter, Land Apportionment Act of 1930, Companies Act Number 47 of 1951, Factory Act Number 20 of 1948, Public Health Act Number 19 of 1924 (Chapter 328), Urban Councils and Regional, Town and Country Planning Acts of 1976 and Income Tax Act Number 5 of 1967 just to mention but a few, corroborate how far skewed in favour of the whites, the means of production were during the colonial era.

The Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment is an attempt to address the imbalances that colonialism created. To this end, Harrington and Merry (1998) Burton, (1990) assertions of successful conflict transformation as the fundamental social and political changes made to correct inequities and injustice to provide all groups with their fundamental needs, rings true.

A transformational view, rather than looking at isolated conflict episodes, seeks to understand how these particular episodes are embedded in the greater pattern of human relationships. Change is understood both at the level of immediate issues and the broader patterns of interaction. Making 51% indigenous shareholding of the means of production puts and end or silences once and
for all, contention over one group. In most cases, foreigners own the greater chunk of businesses that the local people and automatically possessing more wealth than the indigenous people. The indigenous people would always ask why ownership patterns are like the way they are. Thus the Indigenous and Economic Empowerment policy puts to bed all these questions. What must be understood is that macroeconomic policies like the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment embody elements of restitution in redressing the wrongs that would have been perpetrated on a given population in times of conflict. (Hayner 2001) believes that restitution as part and parcel of reparations, aims at re-establishing to the extent possible the situation that existed before the violation took place.

Section 14 of Statutory Instrument 21 of 2010 provides for establishment of Community Share Ownership Trusts (CSOT) which shall hold 10% shares in qualifying businesses on behalf of their respective communities. CSOTs are headed and governed by a Deed of Trust and are chaired by the chief. CSOTs are an empowerment vehicle into which qualifying businesses exploiting the natural resources of a community can dispose part of their shareholding towards complying with the minimum 51% indigenisation of Zimbabwe’s economy. CSOTs are vehicles through which local communities can participate directly in the economy of Zimbabwe and benefit from
their natural resources. This is surely an avoidance of having Zimbabwean versions of the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) agitating for a fair share of resources within their resources bearing areas.

This is indeed a life giving opportunity due to the fact that the objectives of the trusts are primarily the use money accrued from the community’s 10% to undertake developmental projects, including building schools, clinics, roads among others, and promoting empowerment projects within the community. It is noteworthy that what CSOTs aim at addressing are aspects at the centre of Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Empowerment projects surely fight extreme poverty and hunger; schools are a step towards the achievement of universal primary education while clinics and hospitals focus on reducing child mortality rates, improved maternal health and the combating of diseases such as HIV and Malaria. A critical aspect of an empowering approach is to reduce inequality by broadening human capabilities through for example basic education and health care, together with adequate arrangements for social protection (Narayan, 2002) Statistical evidence below illustrates how far CSOTs have gone as at May 2013,
Table 1: Beneficiaries of the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CSOT</th>
<th>Beneficiaries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shurugwi/Tongogara Community Trust</td>
<td>77 460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gwanda Community Trust</td>
<td>116 357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zvishavane Community Trust</td>
<td>70 047</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bindura Community Trust</td>
<td>124 160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mhondoro Ngezi Community Trust</td>
<td>104 061</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zvimba Community Trust</td>
<td>245 489</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chegutu Community Trust</td>
<td>149 025</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: The New African, July 2013

The above mentioned CSOTs and others to come all aim at socio economically transforming resource bearing communities. This is the cultural dimension that is pointed out by Lederach (2003) as group or societal changes in cultural patterns in understanding and responding to conflict. The lack of this group or societal understanding of how to deal with conflict results in its continuation and intensity violence. The setting up of laws by the Nigerian state to allocate 13% of national annual oil proceeds to the oil producing Bayelsa, Delta, Ondo, Akwa Ibom and River states is an attempt to cultivate a societal understanding of how differences
must be resolved with regards to the exploitation of oil in their communities (Lawal and Etim, 2013). Analysing empowerment issues in the Zimbabwean context, CSOTs are a very powerful component in transforming conflicts.

Taking a deeper scrutiny at what is envisioned by indigenisation and economic empowerment as a macroeconomic policy; it becomes clear that it is consonant with the theory and philosophy of praxeology. Praxeology (from the Greek word, *praxis* meaning action) is a consideration of human action that has both personal and social consequences (Meenaghan, Gibbons and McNutt (2005). Its central theme is that people purposefully act to satisfy their needs to improve their needs and to improve their future. Thus actions like enacting this macroeconomic policy, is guided by what Zimbabweans are capable of doing what is expected to happen as a direct result of this action (ownership of the means of production, social development and economic self-sufficiency).

The primary task of conflict transformation is not to find quick solutions to immediate problems, but rather to generate creative platforms that can simultaneously address surface issues and change underlying social structures and relationship patterns. Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment policy has the Employee Share Ownership Scheme (ESOS). In this aspect of the policy,
companies shall allocate a maximum of 28% towards the ESOS out of which managerial employees shall not benefit to an extent exceeding 5% of the shares of the ESOS. A qualifying Employee Share Ownership Scheme or trust shall be constituted by a Deed of Trust registered with the Deeds Office and shall specify the percentage of shares to be held by or on behalf of the employees. An owner of a business or employer wishing to use the qualifying scheme or trust for the purpose of this section shall submit to the Minister Form IDG 04 together with a copy of the Deed of Trust of the qualifying scheme or trust (Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment (General) Regulations of 2010).

The conflict between employees and their employers is rooted in remuneration issues. Strikes are the common way that employees register their discontent over meagre wages. Some of them end in violence in which lives are lost. The August 2012 Marikana miners strike at a mine owned by Lonmin in Rustenburg, South Africa which resulted in the shooting of the striking workers (Hlongwane, 2013) is a case in point. Gomo (2012) laments the fact that the incident is just but the tip of the iceberg of the melancholy that besets contemporary South Africa in as far as apartheid influenced, skewed means of ownership patterns in are implicated. Simply put, the locals do not have much to talk of on issues pertaining to the means of production. Besides death that
strikes like the one at Marikana are associated with, strikes disrupt business and resultantly economic development is backpedalled. By ensuring that employees and management acquire some shareholding as part of the 51% indigenisation requirement, there is a positive and constructive change that guarantees improved worker motivation. The knowledge that their devotion and effort to their duties at the workplace has a direct bearing on the dividend they pocket at the end of the year surely motivates them.

A feeling of ownership increases caution, care and commitment workers have. Rosen & Carberry (2002) point out that the ability to participate in decision making processes, combined with the financial incentive, enhances an employee’s incentive to pass information on about customers, suppliers and processes, and creates a mechanism for these views to be heard and acted upon in a timely manner. Conversely, there is a strong negative relationship between innovation and a bureaucratic, centralised culture. Not only are ideas on innovation not passed up the organisational chain, but there is resistance to suggested changes imposed from above. In the light of this, it becomes clear that ESOS are of immense benefits to the business, staff and the nation.
Challenges

*Allegations of politicisation of the process*

The indigenisation and economic empowerment initiatives have been viewed as a noble idea aimed at transforming the structural inequalities that were created during colonial rule in Zimbabwe. However the greatest undoing to the whole process has been the serious allegations of politicisation of the indigenisation process. There have been some very serious allegations that the process has largely benefitted those aligned to ZANU PF at the expense of other political party followers.

Some of the respondents noted that in the process of land redistribution, the political heavyweights acquired the biggest and most prime farming lands around Zimbabwe. Some cited the example of the Mazowe Valley which is rich in fertile lands as well as mineral resources. They noted that most of the tracts of land were acquired by those with political influence in ZANU PF. They expressed concern that this apparently unfair redistribution of land was likely to be a serious course of conflict in the not so distant future. There appears to be a serious patronisation of the process by those within the ZANU PF camp. Perhaps what the nation needs is wider representation in the National Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Board.
As noted by Mambondiani (2013), for every right thinking Zimbabwean, the real question should be how policies such as indigenisation and empowerment (a ZANU PF product), JUICE (an MDC-T product) and ACTION (an MDC product) will contribute to socio-economic development in Zimbabwe. Are these policies presented to the populace wholeheartedly meant to benefit Zimbabwe or a selected few? Are they just one way air tickets into high offices for big men and in recent times, women? If that is the issue, it means that Zimbabwe is in for a host of smokescreens, gimmicks and pure lies covered in policies from politicians who purport to have their interests at heart.

**Lack of skills audit**

The greatest undoing of the indigenisation process is the assumption that everyone can wake up being a factory owner or a farm owner is a fallacy. Zimbabwe is blessed with a very wide pool of human resources with different specialities. Zimbabwean agricultural colleges like Chibero, Gwebi, Mlezu and Universities such as the University of Zimbabwe and Bindura University of Science Education continue to produce competent graduates in the different fields like agriculture. Unfortunately only a few of the graduates benefitted from the Land Reform Programme.

The same scenario is already prevailing in the field of indigenisation (the mining and manufacturing sectors).
There are thousands of graduates who qualify for the indigenous scheme in Zimbabwe but the process does not explicitly create an enabling environment to cater for the people with the right competencies. Whilst the process of indigenisation and economic empowerment has been hailed by many as a noble idea, the process has been seriously hamstrung by allegations of political meddling and partisanship.

**Corruption**

Already the allegations of serious high level bureaucratic corruption are being cited. Earlier during the year, the media houses were awash with allegations of corruption in what was dubbed the NIEEBGATE scandal. Even the ordinary citizens noted that there was a very serious likelihood that the wealth of the country was being transferred from the minority whites to the minority black elites with political power.

Some of the respondents expressed fear that there was a high possibility that those who benefitted from the land reform programme are the ones who are continuing to benefit from the indigenisation and economic empowerment programme because the process lacks transparency and a clear blueprint of the stages involvement.

Others complained that the National Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Board are corrupt and that it
must be reconstituted so that it represents the interests of the ordinary citizens and not the politicians and let alone ZANU PF.

**Special interest populations**
According to the World Bank, gender discrimination whether legal or customary is a particularly important aspect of inequality. By curtailing the economic contribution of half or even more of the population, overall prospects for growth and higher living standards are limited – a situation perpetuated into future generations by inadequate investment in the female divide of the population. Already women groups are crying foul over this issue. Therefore the process must endeavour to come up with an appropriate framework so as to ensure the inclusion of women in the indigenisation program.

The programme must ensure that there is a systematic and strategic way of redistributing national wealth in a manner that benefits a broad spectrum of societal groups notably, women, youth, chiefs and the physically handicapped.

The model must utilise the human security benchmarks as reflected by the United Nations Millennium Development Goals. It must be able to capture the 8 United Nations (UN) Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), namely the eradication of extreme poverty, support towards the achievement of universal primary
education, promotion of gender equality and empowerment of women (and the youths), reduction of child mortality, improvement in maternal health, combating of HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases, ensuring and assisting environmental sustainability and assist in the development of global partnerships for development.

**Sport, culture and the indigenisation process**

Sport has evolved to become big business in the 21st century. Consequently, the government must be challenged to ensure that part of the indigenization proceeds promote sport and culture initiatives. Sport and culture must be seen to be benefitting from the process. Possible strategies could be the development of sporting infrastructure as well as rehabilitating the already existing structures.

**Conclusion and recommendations**

The presentation looked at the macro socio-economic policies in Zimbabwe and the nexus with conflict transformation. The analysis revealed that the indigenisation and economic empowerment initiatives currently being implemented in Zimbabwe are an important undertaking as they will go a long way in transforming the socio-economic structure of the country. This resonates well with the key assumptions in conflict transformation were transformation occurs at four main
levels, that is, the personal, relational, cultural and most importantly the structural levels.

The process of indigenisation will surely go a long way in reconfiguring the economic dynamics in the country and will eventually ensure procedural justice and resource justice for the indigenous Zimbabweans.

However the process is also seriously hamstrung by political polarisation, corruption and a lack of skills audit so that the process is both fair and effective. There is a serious possibility that the process will end up creating a very rich black minority.

Indigenisation is a big national issue but because of political polarisation it now appears as if it’s a ZANU PF project. This presents the difficulty that lies in transforming a party policy into a national policy in Zimbabwe. Therefore there is need to bring all relevant stakeholders to the drawing board so that a more robust infrastructure is put in place so as to drive the process forward. Already there are dissenting voices over the growing socio-economic inequalities among people in Zimbabwe.

The Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment programme has the potential to transform the economic fortunes of the country. This will however require higher levels of transparency and accountability especially
among the stakeholders who were tasked with driving the process forward.

Lack of transparency and a politicisation of the process will impact negatively on the process. The critical stakeholders must guard against corrupt elements and patronage because this will further expose the already glaring social inequalities among social groups in Zimbabwe. Social inequality has a big impact on the stability of a nation as evidenced in Nigeria and the Democratic Republic of Congo.

As the country moves ahead with the implementation of the indigenisation programme, it is particularly important to take a careful approach so as to ensure a balanced process that will attract both indigenous investments as well as foreign direct investment. Zimbabwe’s international image has been seriously affected by negative publicity emanating from those Western countries perceived to be against Zimbabwe’s Land Reform Programme as well as the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Programme. Zimbabwe needs the outside community for its survival and the process must not leave us or the general populace in isolation.
Chapter 7
‘INDEPENDENT BUT DESTITUTE’: THE CHALLENGES TO DECENT HOUSING AND HUMAN SECURITY IN URBAN ZIMBABWE

Emmaculate Tsitsi Ngwerume

“It, therefore, remains to be seen if the Government will translate what has been laid out on paper into real and meaningful development. Past experiences have shown that planning and implementation are two seemingly interrelated but rather different exercises”, Ngwerume, 2014.
Overview

Zimbabweans have endured the problem of decent housing in urban areas ever since the colonial times when most of the urban spaces were ‘reserved’ for the white race. With the attainment of independence in 1980 and the subsequent liberalisation of these urban spaces, urban areas have now become overpopulated such that the independent government is under increasing pressure to provide decent accommodation and humane living conditions to the majority of the urban dwellers. Compounding this situation has been the series of policies, both domestic and foreign that the government has adopted ever since 1980. The lack of effective strategic planning and leadership has compromised the development of the country to a greater extent. This has resulted in accelerated deterioration of service provision in a manner which has reduced the majority of the urban inhabitants to the status of ‘destitute’ even though they may have a roof above their heads. According to the 2012 National Census Report, house owners constituted 59% of the population while the remainder were either lodgers or tenants. 56% of the households had dwelling units without electricity, only 38% of households had their main source of water on their premises and only about 33% of households mostly used flush toilets. It is, therefore, imperative to explore this existing gap in housing provision since there is a specific Ministry (Ministry of Local Government, Public Works and
National Housing) that has been in existence right from the time of independence. This conceptual analysis also seeks to ascertain the extent to which the current economic blueprint, the Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation (ZIMASSET) addresses this thorny issue. The discourse on Human Security shall largely inform this discussion.
Introduction
The urban housing crisis is quite a complex problem, not only in Zimbabwe but in most if not all developing countries. Closely linked to this aspect is the phenomenon of urban poverty which is also increasingly gaining prominence in developing countries. As Mubvami (1999) observes, prior to the mid 1980’s, urban areas were generally regarded as the centres of growth and development. As a result, most development efforts were directed towards rural areas which were viewed as backward and, therefore, in need of development. However, with the rapid rural-urban migration, urban areas have been haunted with ever increasing problems of unemployment, lack of adequate infrastructural services and basic housing. This has culminated into growing human insecurity in these urban spaces, with most urban dwellers finding themselves in a ‘destitute’ situation and even poorer than they were in rural areas.

Background
Kessides (2005) argues that African cities have not lived up to their productive potential due to widespread neglect, combined with bad or inefficient management. Urban poverty is not, therefore, necessarily a function of urban expansion, nor is it a sign of failure of urban economies in Africa. In fact, there is proof that much of the deprivation in cities, and the emerging urban public health problems relate to institutional failures that
perpetuate social exclusion and inequalities between the urban poor and rich. Kessides further points out that well managed cities and towns support the national development agenda by providing market demand and remittances for the rural economy, fostering entrepreneurship, economic modernisation and diversification, reducing poverty by offering a deep labour market, better access to services and creating the practical necessity for effective local governance and administration.

However, it has to be stated that the simple concentration of firms and people does not guarantee that agglomeration economies will be realised. Many African firms are not actually experiencing the market efficiencies, ease of mobility and low transaction costs that better managed cities could deliver, much to the detriment of the economy and its competitiveness. Resultantly, the serious shortcomings in basic urban services, land, housing and urban transport and the severe shortage of fiscal resources for local governments mean that urban firms and workers experience prematurely the downside of urban concentration diseconomies such as high land costs, degraded public areas, threats to public health and emerging crime which are all potential threats to their existence and security in these urban spaces.
Urbanisation defined
Definitions of urbanisation vary from one country to another. Nonetheless, there is an upward trend of rural to urban migration and an associated increase in the proportion of the African population living in towns and cities. Confusingly, as Parnell and Walawege (2011) observe, both processes are referred to as urbanisation. Rapid urban population growth is evident throughout Sub Saharan Africa. However, Potts (2012) stresses that a burgeoning urban population does not automatically denote a rise in a country’s level of urbanisation. Rather, urbanisation will only occur if the rate of urban population growth has exceeded the rate of national population growth.

Urbanisation has, therefore, two interrelated meanings:
1. Urbanisation refers to the movement of people from the countryside to town.
2. Urbanisation measures the proportion of the national population who live in urban rather than rural areas. (Parnell and Walawege, 2011)

It has to be stated that some but not all countries have official definitions of these terms. In fact, there is no uniform international classification. (World Bank, 2009) Not to be disputed, however, is the fact that the proportion of people living in urban areas will rise not only due to migration, but also due to the natural growth
of the existing urban population. In the African context, urbanisation levels will also increase because of the reclassification of settlements from rural to urban. (Parnell and Walawege, 2011)

**Human security approach to development**

The concept of human security emerged as part of the holistic paradigm of human development cultivated at the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) by former Pakistani Finance Minister, Mahbub ul Haq, with strong support from the economist Amartya Sen. (Jolly and Ray, 2006). The UNDP’s 1994 Global Human Development Report (HDR) was the first major international document to articulate human security in conceptual terms with proposals for policy and action.

The 1994 Global HDR argued that the concept of security has for quite a long time been narrowly defined as security from external aggression, or as protection of national interests in foreign policy, or as global security from a nuclear holocaust. It has been related more to nation states than to people. The report shifted the focus of security from the protection of the state and its border by military means to the protection of individuals from a wide range of threats to their well-being and security. This was to be achieved through a wide range of measures and policies, from the local and community levels to the national and international arenas. The 1994 HDR thus defined human security as including ‘…safety
from such chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression, protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily lives, whether in homes, jobs or communities’.

In essence, human security suggests that if security policy and security analysis are to be effective and legitimate, they must focus on the individual as the referent and primary beneficiary. According to Newman (2010), human security is ‘freedom from want’ and ‘freedom from fear’ that is positive and negative freedoms and rights as they relate to fundamental individual needs. In other words, human security is normative; it argues that there is an ethical responsibility to re-orient security around the individual in line with internationally recognised standards of human rights and governance. As such, the concept of human security can and should result in policy changes which improve the welfare of people.

As a follow up to the 1994 UNDP Human Development Report’s articulation on human security, in 2003, the Commission on Human Security published the report, Human security now. In this report, as noted by Spears (2009), the authors surveyed contemporary understandings and approaches to this concept. From the Commission’s point of view, human security ‘is concerned with safeguarding and expanding people’s vital freedoms. It requires both shielding people from
acute threats and empowering people to take charge of their lives’ (Commission on Human Security 2003: iv) The Commission added that what are needed are integrated policies that focus on people’s survival, livelihood and dignity. Of importance to note is the fact that the Commission acknowledges that, ‘the state remains the fundamental purveyor of security’ but observes that, ‘it often fails to fulfil its security obligations and at times has even become a source of threat to its own people’ (Commission on Human Security 2003:2)

**African perspectives on human security**

Africa has traditionally followed an expansive approach to the concept of human security. For instance, as cited by Cilliers (2004), the draft African Non-Aggression and Common Defence Pact states: ‘human security means the security of the individual with respect to the satisfaction of the basic needs of life, it also encompasses the creation of the social, political, economic, military, environmental and cultural conditions necessary for the survival, livelihood and dignity of the individual, including the protection of fundamental freedoms, the respect for human rights, good governance, access to education, healthcare and ensuring that each individual has opportunities and choices to fulfil his or her own potential.’ This, therefore, is evidence to the fact that human security as an approach to modern development
has permeated international, regional and national boundaries. It is the thrust of this discussion to investigate on the challenges being faced by the Zimbabwean urban planners and authorities against this backdrop of increased popularisation of the human security agenda.

**Overview of Zimbabwe’s National Housing Policy**

*Pre-independence context*

The colonial housing policy and practice which was basically pro-European manifested Zimbabwe’s pre-independence political, economic and urban landscape. According to Zimbabwe’s 2012 National Housing Policy, early urban centres were developed in the service of Europeans and housing needs met were mainly for Europeans except in areas which grew to encompass more administrative functions and provided higher order services like Harare and Bulawayo. Also, there was always insufficient supply of housing through a deliberate policy of discouraging blacks from permanently settling in the urban areas.

*Post-independence context*

Post-independence urbanisation was shaped by a combination of ‘rural push’ and ‘urban pull’ factors. More so, the repeal of the race-based urban governance policies and practices spurred rural-urban migration and
intra-city population movements. As a result, Zimbabwe urbanised rapidly after 1980 thereby straining most towns as this rate of urbanisation was not matched by substantial industrialisation and expansion of infrastructure. Most urban centres face a governance crisis and rising urban poverty. Urban housing does not match demand. (Zimbabwe’s 2012 National Housing Policy) This explains the mushrooming of informal settlements and in response the government undertook major clean-up programmes in 1991, 1993, and in 2005, the latter which aroused a lot of international outcry and criticism.

The government clearly admits in this National Housing Policy that the delivery of housing in the country has been constrained by a number of factors. It notes that, structural constraints at the macro and sector levels slowed land delivery, dried up housing finance, made expansion of trunk services nearly impossible and drained capacity in key institutions. These combined to stall progress in supplying new units and maintaining existing ones. Again, investment levels by the state and non-state actors have been low.

The Housing Policy creates a framework for sustainable housing development and its objectives are to:
a. Use housing as a development strategy for eliminating disparities, gender and social inequality.
b. Create a functioning housing market without ignoring the special needs of the poorest in society.
c. Operationalise relevant aspects of the country’s social protection policies.
d. Ensure equitable access to land for housing for all citizens.
e. To strengthen the capacity of key sector institutions.
f. Improve the regulatory environment for housing development and management.
g. Address environmental consequences of housing development and management.

(Zimbabwe National Housing Policy 2012:1)

It is, therefore, against this backdrop of a well thought out and quite ambitious policy that this paper seeks to explore the existing gap between policy and implementation.

**Analysis of the housing situation in urban Zimbabwe**

As noted in the 2005 United Nations Report on Operation Murambatsvina (Restore Order), the transition to majority rule in 1980 saw the lifting of decades of
racial restrictions to the ‘right to the city’. Consequently, the urban population of Zimbabwe rose rapidly from 23% in 1982 to 30% by the 1990s. The recent 2012 National Census Report revealed an upward progression of the figure to 33%. The major cities of Harare, Bulawayo, Mutare and Gweru attained population growth rates of over 5% / annum throughout the 1980s. As previously stated, this strained the capacities of both central and local spheres of government to provide housing and basic urban services for the urban poor.

Causes of the escalating urban crisis in Zimbabwe
Several factors have been singled out as reasons for the continued deterioration of Zimbabwe’s urban centres. Chief among these are a series of both domestic and foreign policies adopted by the independent government from the early 1990s onwards. These included:

a. A failed attempt at economic structural adjustment (1991-1995) which led to the contraction of the civil service, the collapse of the domestic industrial sector and to massive layoffs.


c. Cash handouts to appease grievances of war veterans in 1997 leading to an inflationary fiscal environment.
d. Military intervention in the conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) which resulted in budgetary constraints and overspending

e. Persistent drought (UN Murambatsvina Report, 2005)

However, one factor not mentioned above but that is central to the urban woes being experienced is the lack of strategic and effective planning by the responsible authorities. The Government of Zimbabwe, through its rebranded Ministry of National Housing and Social Amenities has failed to expand or even refurbish the existing urban infrastructure so that it meets the demands of the ever growing population. The issue of prioritisation seems to be a huge challenge for the urban authorities. This, as argued by Mugumbate, Maushe and Nyoni (2013) has led to the ruralisation of urban areas in Zimbabwe. However, more than just the ruralisation of the urban areas, this has compromised in a great way the security of these poor urbanites as will be revealed as the discussion unfolds.

Poor planning compounded by the economic problems the country encountered in the past two decades has greatly undermined the provision of decent housing to the majority of urbanites in Zimbabwe. The UN Healthcare report released in 2008 clearly revealed the link between poor housing and human security when it
stated that housing shortages compromise the most basic needs of water, sanitation and safe food preparation and storage, allowing the rapid spread of communicable and water borne diseases. Itai Rusike, the executive director of the Community Working Group on Health, cited in the Financial Gazette on 28 March 2013, expressed the same sentiments when he observed that “for communities in Zimbabwe, the challenge of inadequate shelter and overcrowding are major factors in the transmission of diseases with epidemic potential such as acute respiratory infections, meningitis, typhoid, cholera, scabies etc.”

In Zimbabwe, this was evidenced by a severe cholera crisis in 2008/9 which was precipitated by a countrywide breakdown of sewerage and water supply and treatment systems which claimed almost 4500 lives out of a total of 100 000 cases. (Zimbabwe Wash Cluster Report, 2009)

The socio-economic problems bedevilling the country at the time made it very difficult for the country’s health systems to contain the epidemic which had become a huge threat to human existence especially in the urban areas.

Another development in the urban areas of Zimbabwe that is fast becoming a big threat to the security of the inhabitants is the occupation of wetlands. This has been necessitated by the rapid urban growth and the scarcity of land for housing. Wetlands can be defined as areas that are seasonally or permanently covered by shallow water
and areas where the water table is close to or at the surface (Sithole and Goredema, 2013). According to Timberlake (1998), wetlands, particularly swamps and marshes are not stable environments. As such, disturbance in wetland functions has detrimental effects on them and the surrounding environment.

In Harare, several wetlands have been converted to stands. Examples are the Monavale wetland where houses now stand, the Belvedere wetland by the National Sports stadium where the construction of a multipurpose centre was recently completed, while a school was built on the Ashdown Park Wetland. Also, as Masara (2012) observes, wetlands in Ballantyne Park, Borrowdale, Budiriro 3 and 4, Tynwald, Glenlorne, Eastlea and many others in Chitungwiza face imminent danger in the face of constructions taking place on them.

In Bindura as well, a study carried out by Kadziya and Chikosha (2013) revealed that the demand for housing in the town had seen the town authorities parcelling out land in areas that had been preserved as wetlands. The areas are not, however, fit for construction. According to USEPA, (1994b) cited in Kadziya and Chikosha (2013), urbanization is a major cause of impairment of wetlands as the process has resulted in direct loss of wetland acreage as well as degradation of wetlands. Degradation is due to changes in water quality, quantity and flow rates, increases in pollutant inputs and changes in species
composition as a result of introduction of non-native species and disturbance.

The occupation of wetlands has a very negative effect on the health security of the occupants. Sithole and Goredema (2013) argue that as a result of the occupation of wetlands, residents have become vulnerable to water-borne diseases, such as cholera, typhoid, dysentery and diarrhoea. Settling in wetlands creates a situation that provides a conducive environment for the propagation of disease. This is worsened by the inability of the councils to effectively collect refuse in residential areas, consequently, wetlands have been turned into illegal dump sites. Also with the increased pace of sewerage burst run-off, such water eventually flows into these wetlands.

Muderere (2011) further points out that houses built on these wetlands are prone to flooding and collapsing through structural failure, cracking, and bending of structures leading to reduced lifespan of the structures built. It has also become the norm that during heavy rains, structures built on such poorly drained soils cannot stand the course of nature and are eventually filled up and flooded with storm waters. As previously noted, sewage overflows make their way into houses located in wetlands. It is significant to note that wetlands remove and store greenhouse gasses from the Earth’s atmosphere thereby slowing the onset of global warming. Therefore,
building on wetlands has severe environmental implications which also compromise the well-being and security of the inhabitants in those wetlands.

Compounding the housing challenges in urban Zimbabwe is the deteriorating water situation. In Harare, as in other cities and towns, the existing waste water treatment plants are overloaded. According to Nhapi (2009), the total design capacity of these plants in the capital city of Harare is 208 000m3/d compared to total current inflows of about 300 000m3/d, resulting in 44% overloading. This has serious implications for downstream water quality. Lake Chivero receives large amounts of waste water effluent and is prone to pollution discharges from urban and agricultural runoffs. As a result Lake Chivero has been heavily polluted and eutrophic from the late 1960s and its condition continues to deteriorate. The rapid increase in population in the lake’s catchment area coupled with the shortage of funds to extend and rehabilitate water supply and waste water treatment infrastructure form a sustainability threat to Harare in terms of water quality and quantity. As a result, the challenge of limited safe water and frequent water cuts forced people to resort to unsafe sources including shallow wells, ponds and dams among others.

Due to the continued urban deterioration in Zimbabwe, urban areas have been reduced to the state of rural areas. As Mugumbate, Maushe and Nyoni (2013) observe, there
Emmaculate T. Ngwerume

has been ruralisation of urban areas in Zimbabwe. Through their study which focused on Chitungwiza, Harare and Bindura, the authors identified the features of ruralisation which include:

• Residents of urban areas using worse than rural sources of water.
• Unhygienic toileting and sewage systems embraced by urbanites.
• Inadequate houses and poor housing services in urban centres. (Mugumbate, Maushe and Nyoni, 2013)

These conditions, coupled with inefficient urban planning and management has reduced the status of most urbanites to ‘destitute’ as they have become more vulnerable to several threats thereby compromising their security as individuals and communities at large.

Inadequate housing provision also has severe social and economic impacts on families and communities. A study carried out by Chazovachii (2011) in Chiredzi revealed that overpopulation and poverty were the main cause of deviant behaviour by children, widows and husbands with wives in the rural areas. It also resulted in poor education for children, malnutrition, increased crimes and high diseased environment especially HIV and AIDS. This, therefore, gives evidence to the fact that poor housing has a very negative effect on the security of urban dwellers as it poses a serious health threat. It thus,
goes without saying that the Government has to prioritise the provision of decent housing to its citizens if it is to avert a looming crisis which may threaten the well-being of the majority urbanites.

The Government of Zimbabwe has articulated this problem in its recent five year economic blueprint, the Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation (Zim Asset) which covers the period from October 2013 to December 2018. Zim Asset acknowledges that capacity challenges, exacerbated by the corruption of councillors affected the efficient operation of councils resulting in poor water and sewerage reticulation systems. The economic blueprint further stipulates that to improve social service delivery, public infrastructure such as sewerage system, roads, health facilities, waste management, schools and social amenities, will be put in place and maintained in all local authorities.

The ZimAsset document outlines several measures that have to be taken to address social service delivery problems in the country. These among others include:

- The government to undertake a national programme to rehabilitate water supplies, sewerage systems, roads, health facilities, waste management and social amenities in all local authorities.

- To strengthen Public-Private Partnerships
• To invest Community Share Ownership in infrastructure development
• Effective community engagement
• To capacitate local authority development (finance, equipment and human resources)
• To institute performance contracts for all senior public sector managers, including parastatals and local and local authorities (Zim Asset, 2013:65).

It, therefore, remains to be seen if the Government will translate what has been laid out on paper into real and meaningful development. Past experiences have shown that planning and implementation are two seemingly interrelated but rather different exercises. It is, thus, important for the government and other key stakeholders to adhere to these set targets up to implementation so that human livelihoods especially in the urban areas and the country at large can be uplifted.

Conclusions and recommendations
The discussion has revealed that quite a number of challenges face local urban authorities in their endeavour to provide adequate and decent housing to the majority of urban dwellers. These challenges are mostly seen through inefficient service delivery, especially in the key areas of water and energy provision, sanitation as well as waste management all of which pose serious threats to the security of Zimbabwe’s urbanites. This has been worsened by the continued growth of urban populations
especially through the twin processes of natural increase and rural-urban migration. Also, the problem of corruption in the local authorities has seen the diversion of money intended for urban development, to other personal and selfish purposes. To help overcome these challenges, it is recommended that the government gives top priority to the provision of decent housing and efficient service delivery to its urban populations as failure to do so will compromise the well-being of these urbanites. The issue of corruption in these urban authorities should also be curbed through the institution of strong policing measures.

Emphasis should also be placed on rural development especially through the establishment and expansion of rural growth points so as to reduce increased rural-urban migration. This will result in urban areas having manageable populations which the municipal authorities can effectively cater for in terms of service delivery. To improve on water provision, the government needs to come up with the most suitable institutional framework for urban water management. The setting up of independent water boards and the establishment of public-private partnerships are other viable options. Also, in order to limit the occupation of wetlands, the government can develop more satellite towns. This will ease pressure on the existing urban spaces, especially the much threatened urban wetlands. Through the
implementation of these measures, the situation in the urban areas could be greatly improved, thereby, ensuring the security of the majority of the urbanites residing in these areas.
“The social model of disability is central to any advocacy activities designed to achieve disability mainstreaming in Zimbabwean society. It contrasts with the medical model which sees people with disabilities as having a problem that needs to be managed, changed and/or adapted to circumstances (if possible)”, Mtetwa, 2014.
Overview

Zimbabwe’s Disabled Persons Act defines a disabled person as; a person with a physical, mental or sensory disability, including a visual, hearing or speech functional disability, which gives rise to physical, cultural or social barriers inhibiting him from participating at an equal level with other members of society in activities, undertakings or fields of employment that are open to other members of society. Despite being one of the first countries in the world to enact Disability Discrimination Legislation, Zimbabwe has not developed necessary administrative infrastructure for its effective implementation. Despite having the Disability Act, there are no formal policies and implementation strategies in place to ensure the Act’s enforcement.
Introduction
As a point of departure, it is crucial to note that disability results from the barriers facing people with impairments – attitudinal and physical barriers that lead to exclusion from society. The UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities recognizes that disability is about the way society responds.

Defining disability
Like poverty, unemployment and development, disability is quite an elusive term to define. Disability scholars like Oliver (1990, Barnes (1991), and Moris (1999) have come to the conclusion that any definition assigned to disability is squarely dependent on the intentions of those seeking to define it. On the strength of such an argument, the pioneers of what came to be known as the social model of disability (see models below) literally drove a wage between disability and impairment in a bid to claim political, economic and social rights to which all members of society are entitled. To this end, they argue thus: “impairment is defined as lacking part of or all of a limb, or having a defective limb, organism or mechanism of the body; and disability as the disadvantage or restriction of activity caused by a contemporary social organization which takes little or no account of people who have physical impairments and thus excludes them.
from participation in the mainstream of social activities (UPIAS 1976: 3-4).

Zimbabwe’s Disabled Persons Act defines a disabled person as; a person with a physical, mental or sensory disability, including a visual, hearing or speech functional disability, which gives rise to physical, cultural or social barriers inhibiting him from participating at an equal level with other members of society in activities, undertakings or fields of employment that are open to other members of society. Despite being one of the first countries in the world to enact Disability Discrimination Legislation, Zimbabwe has not developed necessary administrative infrastructure for its effective implementation (Lang and Charowa, 2007). Despite having the Disability Act, there are no formal policies and implementation strategies in place to ensure the Act’s enforcement (Choruma, 2007). Adding her voice to the prevailing disability concerns in Zimbabwe, Choruma (2007), disability issues have a low priority within the Government of Zimbabwe despite the establishment of the National Disability Board and appointment of a Presidential Advisor on disability issues. This ‘social model’ of disability is central to any advocacy activities designed to achieve disability mainstreaming in Zimbabwean society (Mtetwa, 2011). It contrasts with the ‘medical model’ which sees people with disabilities as having a problem that needs to be
Models of disability
A historical model of central importance to the analysis of disability mainstreaming in any society is the religious model. Historically, institutions defined and enforced norms and role relationships that were socially distinct. Zimbabwe was founded and its institutions established on a historical and cultural value tradition that tended to relegate persons with disabilities to social nonentities (Mtetwa 2010). Such values and social practices were traditionally premised upon the religious ethos of a “traditional and primitive society”. In such a society, the economic, political, religious and cultural power was vested in the able-bodied majority. Disability thus was viewed and interpreted within a socio-religious milieu. This Religious Model or viewpoint saw disability as a punishment inflicted upon an individual or family by an external, usually supernatural, force (Abberley 1992). This punishment could be due to misdemeanours committed by the person with a disability, someone in the family or community group, or forbearers. “Now as Jesus passed by, he saw a man who was blind from birth. And his disciples asked Him, saying, ‘Rabbi, who sinned, this man or his parents, that he was born blind?’” (New Kings James Version 1982).
Sometimes the presence of "evil spirits" was used to explain differences in behavior, especially in conditions such as schizophrenia. Acts of exorcism or sacrifice were performed to expel or placate the negative influence, or recourse made to persecution or even death of the individual who is "different" (Thomas 1982). In other instances, it would be interpreted as an individual’s inability to conform within a family structure. In a predominantly Christian community the religious model of disability is bound to take centre stage.

The social model of disability provides an understanding that is substantially different from the traditional view that disability is essentially about physical or mental deficit or abnormality (Abberley 1987 Drake 1999 Oliver 1987). Within a social model, impairment is seen as normal for any population. What disadvantages and disables people with impairments is a complex web of discrimination made up of negative social attitudes and cultural assumptions as well as environmental barriers, including policies, laws, structures and services, which result in economic marginalization and social exclusion (Oliver, 1990, 1996, Barnes, 1991 and Drake, 1999). To borrow the words of the Union of the Physically Impaired Against Segregation (UPIAS) quoted by Watson (2004:101): “disability is something imposed on top of our impairments, by the way we are unnecessarily
isolated and excluded from full participation in society. Disabled people are therefore an oppressed group in society…” Flood (2005) concurs with many disability scholars by suggesting that The social model was and still is a statement of disabled people’s exclusion from full participation in a society where the non-disabled majority view impairment as different, inferior, and something most certainly, to be eliminated. Using the social model of disability, this chapter seeks to examine the extent to which Zimbabwe’s national statutes, policies and institutions enhance the participation of persons with disabilities in the social, economic and political life of society.

**Key legislative and policy frameworks**

Although the Disabled Persons Act (chapter 17.01) designates the disability portfolio to a government department as the situation stands, disability issues are handled by the department of social welfare. The department of Social Welfare, housed in the Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare has got several statutes under its jurisdiction. All these statutes are important to persons with disabilities (PWDs) who are seen as the prime recipients of social welfare services due to their perceived uselessness and vulnerability. This chapter therefore articulates some of the key statutes considered to be of paramount importance to disability.
The new constitution for Zimbabwe

Of paramount importance to the disability mainstreaming trajectory is the new constitution adopted by the people of Zimbabwe through a referendum held on the 16th of March 2013. Unlike the previous constitution adopted at Lancaster house together with its 19 amendments, the new constitution for Zimbabwe looks more disability friendly. Section (6) of the constitution recognizes and accords sign language as one of the national languages of Zimbabwe. Section (17) guarantees gender representation at all levels of government. Regrettably, disability has not found space among all women in Zimbabwe (Mtetwa, 2013). This makes it necessary to properly designate issues of women with disabilities as separate from those of all women in Zimbabwe. Section (22) of the new constitution mandates government to consider the special needs of persons with disabilities in all development plans. In addition, the section calls for social inclusion in areas of employment, welfare, forms of communication and reasonable accommodation regarding buildings and other public amenities to which members of the public are ordinarily allowed access. Although section (62) of the constitution guarantees access to information, it is silent on how persons with visual and hearing impairments can exercise this right. Section (76) (2) of the constitution guarantees the right to health for those suffering from chronic illnesses. This is a positive development if well implemented as it facilitates
good health care for those with mental and other disabilities requiring constant medical care and attention. Section (83) of the constitution guarantees persons with disabilities the right to state funded education, self reliance, a family life, medical care and rehabilitation as well as protection against exploitation (Mtetwa, 2013). Unlike women, (section 80), the political rights of persons with disability are subdued within the constitution. To this end, the current constitution provides for the political representation of persons with disabilities. In this light, two senators are elected by persons with disabilities through their various formations to represent them in parliament. It is however observed that the presence of representation of persons with disability in senate carries little political impact since power rests mainly with the national assembly or lower house.

The Disabled Persons Act
The Government of Zimbabwe enacted the Disabled Persons Act 1701 of 1992. The Disabled Persons Act has been hailed for being a positive base upon which persons with disabilities depend for the realization of rights (Nyatsanza, 2003). Of central importance to the act is the establishment of the National Disability Board. The Board comprises of the Director, ten members from organizations/associations that represent Disabled people, three members from disability strategic
Ministries, one member from the trade Unions in Zimbabwe and one member from the association of employers in Zimbabwe. The Board in consultation with the responsible Minister can make co-options provided the Membership of the board does not exceed twenty. According to the Act the Board should be serviced by a fully-fledged Secretariat, headed by a Director of Disability Affairs. However, since its inception, the Board has been manned by officers from the Department of Social Welfare who double up disability issues with their other responsibilities much to the detriment and neglect of disability issues (Mtetwa, 2013). According to the Disabled Persons Act, the National Disability Board has the following functions:

- Formulate and develop measures and policies designed to achieve equal opportunities for people with disabilities by ensuring that they obtain education and employment, participate in other academic activities and are afforded full access to community social services;
- Prevent discrimination against people with disabilities by encouraging and putting into operation schemes and projects for employment or income generating projects for disabled people who are unable to secure employment elsewhere; and
- Issue adjustment orders in a bid to attain accessibility to buildings, information and services.
Of late, the Department of Social Welfare has established a disability desk with a full time officer to fully service the board. In 2003, the Board created a disability fund to enable it to operationalise some of its functions. Pursuant to that, the Disability Loan facility was set in motion in 2006. The main objective of the Disability Loan fund is to economically empower persons with disabilities through the provision of capital for small projects. As Of now, persons with disabilities are able to borrow an amount of 1000$ which they return upon the successful completion of their projects.

**The public service regulations**

The Public Service Commission is the biggest employer of persons with disabilities in Zimbabwe. Most of such persons are employed as government lawyers, teachers, labour officers and rehabilitation technicians as well as social workers. In spite of this positive move by the Public Service Commission, persons with disabilities, especially those seeking to join the service for the first time still face challenges that could be associated with the influence of the medical model of disability. For instance, section eight of the Public Service Regulations (2000) stipulates that “a candidate shall not be appointed to the Public Service unless he has been examined by a medical practitioner and certified, to the satisfaction of the secretary for health, to be free from any mental, or
physical deficiency or infirmity likely to interfere with the efficient performance of his duties or render necessary his retirement before pensionable. Provided that, a candidate having a mental or physical deficiency or infirmity which is not likely to interfere with the efficient performance of his duties but which may render necessary his retirement before reaching pensionable age, may be appointed or promoted to such posts in the Public Service and subject to such conditions as the commission may determine” (Public Service Regulations 2000: 9). It is worth noting that the Public Service Commission seems more responsive to the needs of disabled employee’s inspite of the above statutory provisions. As an example, in 2003, the National Disability Board lobbied for better working conditions for employees with disabilities in the public service. The result of such advocacy was the promulgation in 2003 of a policy committing the Public Service Commission to pay for an assistant for every employee with a disability and is in need of someone to assist him in his daily endeavours.

**Disability and health care**
The prevention and early identification and referral of children and persons with disability, coupled with early intervention for conditions such as birth asphyxia, will avoid the development of permanent complications and remain central to care (National Health Strategy for Zimbabwe, 2009:77). The Rehabilitation and Disability
Program domiciled within the Ministry of Health and Child Care seeks to improve the quality of life for the people of Zimbabwe by promoting healthy living and prevention as well as management of disabilities and injuries, through a process of rehabilitation empowerment and inclusion into society (Mtetwa, 2013). The department of rehabilitation services is responsible for coordinating both clinical and all the rehabilitation services. Rehabilitation services are structured as follows: Six central hospitals namely; Harare, Parirenyatwa, Chitungwiza, Mpilo, Ingutsheni mental hospital and United Bulawayo Hospitals. Each of the six hospitals has a rehabilitation unit with four departments namely, physiotherapy, occupational therapy, speech therapy and orthotic and prosthetic services. Each of these centers has a full team of physiotherapy and occupational therapists and rehabilitation technologist.

The ministry also runs specialized centers. Children’s rehabilitation centers are found at Harare and Mpilo hospitals. Orthopedic centers are at Parirenyatwa and United Bulawayo hospitals. Each of the Five central hospitals has and orthopaedic department. These centers carry out corrective surgery. Most orthopaedic surgeons have left the country. The few left are in private practice that also see and operate on government patients (government list) and teach at the medical school. Ruwa rehabilitation center specializes in spinal injuries. There
are eight provincial hospitals run under the provincial medical directorate. Each with a rehabilitation department and in some cases a satellite center which carries out repairs of assistive devices. There are sixty three district hospitals which cover all the districts in the country. Each of them has a rehabilitation unit. At this level the unit is staffed by rehabilitation technicians. These undergo a two year training programme at Marondera Hospital. The ministry in the 1990s had a programme of rehabilitation villages at district level to where people who need intensive rehabilitation and training in independent living would stay before going back to the community. Only four of these are still functioning (Chitiga, 2011). Rural health centers are staffed by the nurses and environmental health technicians who help in referrals.

At community level the ministry relies on the network on voluntary workers who include village health workers and community volunteers. These link the services to the people at community level. According to Chitiga (2011) 19% of village’s country wide is estimated to have active village health workers. This undermines the ability to reach out and delivery of services to people at community level where PWDs are located. The ministry’s efforts are complemented by various other players in the area of rehabilitation. Of paramount significance among these players is the ST. Giles
Rehabilitation Centre that specializes in the treatment and rehabilitation of persons who get injured mainly due to accidents, stroke and other calamities. ST. Giles however though fully equipped and effective is considered an elitist institution only catering for the economically well up persons in the country. Latest information gathered as part of this study revealed that a single therapy costs about 20$ per hour. In a scenario where a patient should take three therapies twice a week, the cost of rehabilitation amounts to approximately 120$ per week, an amount far beyond the reach of the majority of disabled persons. This therefore leaves the burden of care squarely with the Ministry of Health.

**Prevention of blindness**

The National Health Strategy (2009:67) posits that preventable and avoidable blindness remains a major public health problem in Zimbabwe. Eye conditions have continued to appear amongst the top reasons for OPD attendances in the course of the last decade. Cataracts, trauma and glaucoma are the major reasons for eye admissions. According to the Zimbabwe National Health Strategy (2009), it is estimated that 1 percent of the population is blind, with half of these cases due to treatable cataracts. It is further estimated that some 80% of the causes of blindness are avoidable. There is however a huge backlog in cataract surgery because of few ophthalmologists in the country largely due to the
brain drains. The Zimbabwe National Health Strategy also observed that poor equipment is a major obstacle towards the curbing of preventable blindness in the country. The National Prevention of Blindness Committee provides expert guidance and leadership in the Prevention of Blindness programme. Some of the major activities of programme implementation include development of the SAFE (Surgery, Antibiotic therapy, Facial cleanliness, Environmental improvements) strategy for the elimination of trachoma, training of ophthalmologists, post basic training of nurses in ophthalmology, and ophthalmology outreach services.

Mental health
Another statute of paramount importance to disability mainstreaming is the mental health Act. The government of Zimbabwe in its desire to provide human treatment and quality of mental health care to its people enacted the Mental Health Act 1996 No. 15. Although this act is not watertight, it has been hailed as the most successfully implemented statute on disability in Zimbabwe. To this effect, this has seen the creation of the Mental Health Policy to properly guide the implementation of the act.
• **National mental health policy**

The Zimbabwe National Mental Health Policy's major aim is to harmonize Mental Health activities and improve quality of care of those living with mental disorders. It provides a framework within which mental health programmes, projects and activities are designed, implemented, monitored and evaluated using the multidisciplinary, multi-sectoral approaches, community involvement and participation within the context of primary health care to provide all Zimbabweans with the highest achievable mental health care services.

• **Mental health programme**

In order to realize the aspirations of the National Mental Health Policy, the government of Zimbabwe, through the Mental Health Department came up with a programme of action that has come to be known as the Mental Health Programme. The main objective of the Mental Health Programme is to reduce morbidity and mortality through the promotion of mental health and prevention of mental illnesses.

The mental Health Programme Focus areas are:-

- List of 8 items
  - Promotion of mental health and prevention of mental illness
• Human Resource programmes and activities strengthening
• Advocacy for Mental Health
• Human Resource Development
• Increasing Mental Health awareness
• Integration of Mental Health Services into the General Health system.
• Co-ordination, Collaboration and Co-operation (Ministry of Health and Child Welfare (undated)).

• Government mental health institutions in Zimbabwe
Nationally there nine civilian Mental Health Institutions in Zimbabwe. These being four referral centres which are Ingutsheni Central Hospital, Bulawayo Psychiatric Unit, Parirenyatwa Hospital Annexe and Ngomahuru Hospital. The other provinces have units like Mutoko and Marondera mental health units in Mashonaland East province, Sakubva Psychiatric Ward in Manicaland Province, Gweru Psychiatric Ward in the Midlands Province, Chinhoyi Psychiatric Unit in Mashonaland West Province (Refugee Review Tribunal, 2009).

The cost of health services and its implications to persons with disabilities
According to Osika et al (2010) Hyperinflation and dollarization have impacted patients as well. Some sick people are unable to pay the user fees that hospitals are
allowed to charge. However, as enforcement of user fees is not standardized across provinces and across different types of health facilities, it is unclear what impact these fees have had on poor and vulnerable populations. Another issue that patients and health workers deal with is the lack of resources to access transportation to the hospitals and clinics. At the same time, the delivery of health commodities to health facilities is compromised by the lack of funds for vehicles and fuel. Thus, while dollarization brought an end to hyperinflation and has stabilized the economy, general poverty continues to complicate health workers wages, the functioning of health facilities, and patients’ abilities to access services.

The situation is particularly dire for persons with disabilities, who, on account of their disability fail to access basic services. According to Lee (1999) only one percent of persons with disabilities in Zimbabwe were employed. Due to the downward spiralling of the economy, the situation has most likely worsened. The cost of various important medical and other health materials is extremely prohibitive. For instance, anecdotal evidence has it that on average, persons with albinism would need an amount of twenty dollars per month only for sun screen lotion. In the event that a person with albinism fails to adequately provide with sunscreen lotion, they develop cancer. It is no anomaly to find skin cancer among such a social group making them
socially unacceptable in public. Cancer treatment is also extremely expensive, especially for persons with disabilities who are not employed. Anecdotal evidence gathered during the course of this study revealed that one session for radio therapy costs about 300$. This amount is beyond the reach of most persons with disabilities. More so, those with epilepsy, though the government should provide them with free drugs find themselves with no option but to buy the drugs from private providers due to their short supply in public health facilities. The situation goes for other disabilities that require constant medical care in an environment where the public health system is extremely struggling.

**HIV and disability**

It is not easy to get statistics on the prevalence of HIV among persons with disabilities in Zimbabwe given that the disability sector is struggling for mainstreaming and recognition in a society previously exclusive of such a group. According to a NASCOH report, people with disabilities are often left out in national programmes, including in crucial areas such as HIV and AIDS (Mtetwa, 2013). The Zimbabwe National HIV and AIDS Strategic Plan 2011-2015 [ZNASP II] makes no mention at all of people with disabilities, despite their obvious need for interventions that target them directly because of their special needs and vulnerabilities. The sexuality
of people with disabilities is poorly understood and often not recognized or discussed by society and family members, and therefore people with disabilities are not commonly regarded as a community that is vulnerable to HIV or affected by AIDS (Choruma, 2007).

Indeed, people with disabilities are often referred to as "Children of God" and do not engage in sex. Yet people with disabilities themselves claim to be very active sexually, despite being confronted with attitudes that include the need for them not to marry, that if they have children it creates a bigger burden for the extended family, and that females with disabilities should have their ovaries removed. (Choruma 2007:13). There is explicit recognition that populations who experience inequality, prejudice, marginalization and limits on their social, economic, cultural and other rights are at higher risk of HIV exposure and the impact of HIV on them is greater (UNAIDS, 2006).

**Access to HIV information**

According to a study conducted by the Disability HIV and AIDS Trust in 2011, it was found that access to Information, Education and Communication (IEC) material on HIV and AIDS by PWDs was limited. This state of affairs could be largely attributed to the fact that IEC materials are available in print, audiovisual formats and in most cases assistance is not available to PWDs especially those with hearing, speech and visual
impairments (DAT, 2011). Most Health Centers reportedly do not have Sign Language Specialists or brailed material to cater for PWDs. In addition, Health Service Centers reportedly do not have interpreters or communication aids making it difficult to communicate HIV and AIDS Information (DAT, 2011). In the majority of cases, women with disabilities are subjected to sexual abuse. In the majority of cases they are unable to report due to lack of knowledge of where and how to report, and the inability to communicate with Law Enforcement Agents (DAT, 2011). The DAT study quotes a Zimbabwe National Association of Mental Health Official asserting that people with Mental Illness sometimes become sexually hyperactive due to the nature of their medication. This may lead to sexual risk taking and combined with their social marginalization, makes them highly vulnerable to HIV infection. Patients with MI were said to be prone to abuse while undergoing treatment which makes them vulnerable to HIV infection (DAT, 2011). It is worth of note that persons with disabilities are not fully incorporated in the fight against HIV and AIDS in Zimbabwe. Even on the legislative front, the National AIDS Council of Zimbabwe Act does not mandate the minister to appoint PWDs on the NAC board.
Education
Zimbabwe government has made tremendous strides towards availing every citizen some kind of education so much such that it simply fell short of declaring primary education free (Mtetwa, 2013). In this light, the Zimbabwe Education Act, 2006, as amended provides, inter alia, that: Every child in Zimbabwe shall have the right to school education. It is the objective in Zimbabwe that primary education for every child of school-going age shall be compulsory and to this end, it shall be the duty of the parents of any such child to ensure that their child attends primary school. It is the objective that tuition in schools in Zimbabwe is provided for the lowest possible fees consistent with the maintenance of high standards of education, and the Minister shall encourage the attainment of this objective by every appropriate means. When it comes to educating a child with a disability, the government has had a plethora of policy pronouncements. Unfortunately, those pronouncements are not backed by a national policy on special education. With the advent of the new constitution, it is hoped that a policy on the education of persons with disabilities shall formally be instituted. More so, with Zimbabwe having ratified both the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with disabilities on 23 September 2013, it is hoped that efforts shall be made to align the education policies with the convention. In terms of article
24 of the Convention persons with disabilities have the right to education. The article stipulates that:

State Parties shall ensure that:

i. Persons with disabilities are not excluded from the general education system on the basis of disability, and that children with disabilities are not excluded from free and compulsory primary education, or from secondary education, on the basis of disability;

ii. Persons with disabilities can access an inclusive, quality and free primary education and secondary education on an equal basis with others in the communities in which they live;

iii. Reasonable accommodation of the individual’s requirements is provided;

iv. Persons with disabilities receive the support required, within the general education system, to facilitate their effective education;

v. Effective individualized support measures are provided in environments that maximize academic and social development, consistent with the goal of full inclusion.

vi. According to the Constitution of Zimbabwe, an international treaty does not form part of the law of Zimbabwe unless it has been incorporated into the law by or under an Act of Parliament.
Although Zimbabwe had not yet ratified the convention till 23 September 2013, it is important to note that the government of Zimbabwe had gone a long way in advancing the rights to education for children with disabilities. This is especially so given that much of education for PWDs came from missionaries. Despite these, children with disabilities have not enjoyed this right. A SINTEF study conducted in 2003 (Eide, 2003) indicated that 32% of people with disabilities in Zimbabwe have had no schooling (36% had some primary schooling, and 32% had some education beyond primary level). According to Choruma (2007) challenges to access to education for most people with disabilities start right at the family level. People with disabilities are faced with negative attitudes from family members. These attitudes are mainly reflected in the view that sending children with disabilities to school is a ‘waste of time’. While educational policies in Zimbabwe do not openly discriminate against people with disabilities, there is a general feeling that school authorities do not understand disability issues and are perceived as unwilling to make any efforts to ensure that these issues are effectively addressed. Just like the number of persons with disabilities themselves is still illusory in Zimbabwe, the same applies to the number of children with special needs (Choruma, 2007). In its Medium Term Strategic Plan (2011-15), the ministry of Education, Sports, Arts and Culture reported that there are about 150,000
children with special needs identified in the schools. This figure is however too little given that some children with special needs are just included in the mainstream by default. In this light, the Ministry of Education puts the estimate at 300,000 children. Although conservative estimates place the number of children that require support at around 300,000, some of whom may be enrolled in schools but not identified as in need, and many of whom are among the children not in school. Depending on how special need is defined, this number could be substantially higher.

Table 1: Students with disabilities enrolment by service, provision facility, disability and sex
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Facility</th>
<th>Disability</th>
<th>No. of Facilities</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Special schools</td>
<td>Mental retardation</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>631</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hearing Impairment</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>477</td>
<td>323</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Learning Disabled</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resource Units</td>
<td>Mental retardation</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>786</td>
<td>538</td>
<td>1324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Visual Impairment</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hearing Impairment</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>490</td>
<td>378</td>
<td>868</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mixed Disabilities</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special Class Pry</td>
<td>Learning Disabled</td>
<td>758</td>
<td>9973</td>
<td>7355</td>
<td>17328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special Class Sec</td>
<td>Learning Disabled</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>364</td>
<td>291</td>
<td>655</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>1096</strong></td>
<td><strong>12850</strong></td>
<td><strong>9368</strong></td>
<td><strong>22118</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Ministry of Education, Sports, Arts and Culture, 2006*
On a positive note, Zimbabwe’s education authorities are sensitive to the special needs of children with disabilities. Pursuant to this, the strategic objective (6) of the Education Medium-Term Plan places emphasis on the need to distribute and direct resources towards the education of disadvantaged children including those with special needs. Further to that, Chitiga (2011) makes the observation that the ministry of education has got a plethora of circulars stress the importance of involvement of parents of children with disability in educational activities. According to the Baseline survey undertaken by Leonard Cheshire in collaboration with the Ministry of Education, Sports, Arts and Culture the following policies have been put in place to enhance the process of inclusion;

- Chief Education Officer’s (CEO) circular No.3/89 which was revised in 1991 and addresses issues of curriculum in Special Needs Education. The circular advocates for a common curriculum for all irrespective of disabilities.
- The Secretary’s Circular No. P36 of 1994(revised in 1996) addresses the placement procedures in special classes, resource units, special schools and inclusive settings in response to the Salamanca Statement (1994).
- Education Director’s Circular No. 24 of 2001 which focuses on Examination procedures for candidates with visual and hearing impairment.
Chief Education Officer Circular Minute No. 5 of 1996 – focuses on identification of children with disabilities and learning handicaps who are self-included/integrated in mainstream primary and secondary schools.

Secretary’s Circular Minute No. 2 of 2000-outlines issues on inclusion of learners with albinism. The circular defines the Ministry’s position and service delivery to people with albinism relating to special considerations for them in terms of outdoor activities and additional support.


Education Director’s minute No. 20 of 2000 outlines class sizes and teacher to student ratio as follows;

- For all special classes 1: 9
- For classes of deaf and hearing impaired students 1: 7
- For severely mentally retarded students 1:17
- For Physically handicapped 1:10 and
- For blind and visually impaired 1:10

If the number of students with disabilities attending an ordinary school reaches seven for students with visual impairment or hearing impairment or ten for students with mental retardation, the government deploys a
special needs teacher at that school to assist with the teaching.

- The Education Medium-Term Plan (2011). This advocates for inclusive education for children with special needs and endeavours to:
  - To increase access to education for learners with special needs by 20% by 2015 (2010 baseline: 60%).
  - To increase the number of schools offering SNE by 20% by 2015 (2010 baseline: 40%).

These and other efforts put in place by the Ministry of Education bear testimony to the fact that the government of Zimbabwe is trying its level best to provide children with disabilities the right to education.

Examinations
In spite of all these circulars and standards, the education of children with disabilities is still in need of attention. Although children with visual impairment are examined in Braille, the same is not true for those using sign language that are still examined in English, shone or Ndebele. This has seen most of these children failing to qualify for college and university education and subsequently becoming the best candidates for vocational training. In this regard, there is therefore need for an inclusive education policy to articulate the best examination model for children with various disabilities taking cognisance of the peculiar needs of specific disability categories.
Higher and tertiary education

According to Chiparaushe et al (2011), students with disabilities have always struggled to access higher and tertiary education in Zimbabwe. Today some Teacher Training, Technical Colleges, and Agricultural Colleges such as Kushinga Phikelela, United College of Education and Bondolfi Teachers’ College, occasionally enroll students with disabilities. Additionally, some Zimbabwean Universities such as the University of Zimbabwe (UZ), Africa University (AU) National University of Science and Technology (NUST), Zimbabwe Open University (ZOU) and the Midlands State University (MSU), are currently enrolling students with disabilities.

Table 2 below shows the types of disabilities of students enrolled at various institutions of higher learning in Zimbabwe.

Table 2: Students enrolled at various institutions in Zimbabwe by disability type

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Disability Type</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Visual</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hearing</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The study by Chiparaushe and others in (2011) indicates that Zimbabwe has got no sound policy on higher and tertiary education for persons with disabilities. In this light, it was revealed that only twenty percent of lecturers had had some training on handling and assisting students with disabilities. Partly as a result of lack of experience in handling students with disabilities, most universities tend to assign such students to certain areas considered too easy to handle. As such, most persons with disabilities get their training in the areas of humanities. Evidence on the ground shows that persons with disabilities are not found in such areas as medicine, veterinary studies, engineering and other natural sciences. During a discussion with a seasoned special needs educator it was revealed that this problem is nurtured at primary and secondary levels of education wherein subjects such as science and mathematics are either not taught to students with disabilities or an attitude of shunning them is inculcated in the students at an early stage of their academic carrier. Such a state of
affairs however has got far reaching consequences for disability mainstreaming. Such implications include the following:

● Without persons with disabilities trained in the medical field, the mainstreaming of disability in the health sector becomes a challenge.

● Without persons with disabilities in the area of engineering sector, issues related to universal design become difficult to mainstream.

● Lack of trained personnel in natural sciences means that inventions and discoveries required to teach persons with disabilities will remain suppressed.

Disability and social protection
The need for social protection in any nation is in objectionable. This is especially so for persons with disabilities, who, due to a plethora of attitudinal, economic, political and other reasons find themselves out of formal employment. Such a state of affairs has incidentally earned such a social group the term “social welfare cases” in the daily parlance.

According to Marriott and Gooding (2007), there is concern within the disability movement that social assistance could promote a return to the medical model and a welfare attitude to disability, but many organizations see a positive role for social assistance. This may be in meeting the extra costs of disability, or as
a buffer against poverty. Disability itself is a cause of poverty (Yeo, 2005). Irrespective of geographic region or urban/rural localities, households having at least one member with a disability are significantly larger than households without (Chitiga, 2011). Persons with disabilities have benefited from social assistance given by the Department of Social Welfare in terms of the Social Welfare Assistance Act of 1988. At present, the family of a person with a disability is entitled to twenty dollars per month. This money however is not reliable as the government can take up to six months without making any disbursement. More so, through the disability fund persons with disabilities are entitled to a loan of 1,000$ for income generating projects. Again, the sentiments from PWDs are that this money does not come in most cases. PWDs also benefit from the assisted medical Treatment orders when they fall sick and seek medical treatment at a government hospital.

**Assistive devices**

PWDs also benefit from the provision of assistive devices from the government. This form of assistance however follows a cumbersome process of securing three quotations from suppliers. This poses a challenge for most PWDs who have mobility and other limitations. It is important to note that the most assistive devices in use by PWDs are not manufactured in the country. The most available but expensive devices in the country include
spectacles produced mainly by Council for the Blind at various central and provincial hospitals. Although wheelchairs are mainly imported, they are also locally manufactured by such agencies as Rescue in Harare as well as the National Council of the Disabled Persons in Zimbabwe (NCDPZ) based in Bulawayo. More to that, orthopaedic appliances are also available at government central hospitals (see section on health above). Other devices such as hearing aids, white canes and other Braille machines are not produced in Zimbabwe making their cost far beyond the reach of many PWDs who need them most. Whether the device is locally available or not makes little difference given the prohibitive cost for them. For example, the cheapest wheel chair costs in the region of 600$ whilst the spectacles would cost not less than $300. Although the Department of Social Welfare provides most of these devices, the process involved is too cumbersome and even expensive for a poor disabled person (see above). Further to that, the Department’s list of assistive devices does not include reading and writing machines for use by those with visual impairment. Due to economic challenges, government is not able to provide the funds on time resulting in too much suffering for PWDs.

**Disabled persons organisations**

Zimbabwe’s disabled persons organizations (DPOs) can conveniently be divided into two main categories. The
first is that of organizations run by persons with disabilities. These are usually concerned with the rights and participation of PWDs. They fall under the umbrella body of the Federation of Organisations for Persons with Disabilities in Zimbabwe (FODPZ). Currently, FODPZ has got a total membership of twelve organizations. The second group of DPOs consists of mainly service organizations. These provide services to persons with disabilities. Most of these service organizations fall under the umbrella of the National Association of Societies for the Care of the handicapped (NASCOH). NASCOH has 53 members. It is worth noting that there is serious tension between service organizations represented by NASCOH and DPOs represented by FODPZ. The conflict is so bad that sometimes they do not attend meetings called by the other; they do not collaborate on programmes (Chitiga, 2011). DPOs claim they have a right to represent themselves and no organization should carry out activities in their name hence the slogan “Nothing about us without us”. Most DPOs are run by volunteers who support themselves. Service organizations on the other hand claim their raison d’etre is to support people with disability and all the work they do is to further the agenda of people with disabilities. Most service organizations enjoy a more robust infrastructure which includes centres and institutions (Chitiga, 2011). They also have greater institutional capacities and are linked to funding and
other networks. This could largely be explained by the fact that in its formative stages, the disability movement was heavily anchored upon the religious as well as the charity models of disability that sought to do for the “helpless and incapacitated” members of society. Judging from the current structure of service organizations, virtually all of them are headed by able-bodied persons (Mtetwa, 2012). For those organizations formed and run by persons with disabilities themselves, teething problems still prevail in spite of the long history of the disability movement. This could partly be explained by the fact that most of these organizations are formed out of need by less educated and less skilled people whose impetus is usually emotional. On the whole, the lack of capacity on the part of organizations of persons with disabilities has incidentally stifled progress in disability advocacy in Zimbabwe. As a result, these organizations are confronted with various setbacks. These setbacks include:

- These organizations are underfunded hence find it difficult to pose a formidable force in challenging segregatory policies.
- Most of these organizations lack technical expertise in their areas of work making it difficult to deliver as expected.
- There is some infighting within and among these organizations. This infighting is usually caused by
competition with respect to scarce donor resources. Such infighting weakens these organizations.

Conclusion
This chapter has provided a discussion of disability and social policy in Zimbabwe. In an attempt to position disability policy in a specific context, various definitions and models of disability have been proffered, with a suggestion that social policies informed by the social model would help. It is from this position that the key policies or statutes have been examined. More so, a number of policies have been discussed. These include health policies, educational as well as social protection policies. Finally, a brief examination of the disability movement has been conducted with the observation that fragmentation is hampering the development and success of the movement.


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