



FACULTY OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

POVERTY IN HOPLEY AREA: A MYTH OR REALITY

DISSERTATION

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DEDICATIONS

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents Mr and Mrs Kuvheya, my brother Pontian Takunda Kuvheya, my grandparents and the rest of the family. From you my definition of life emanates.

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ABSTRACT

The study sought to bring out the reality or the mythical concept that surrounds the issues of poverty in Hopley settlement. Hopley settlement is an informal settlement that was established after the Operation Murambatsvina (Restore Order) that was instigated by the Government of Zimbabwe in the year 2005. According to the GoZ the operation was meant to restore order in the cities that have been ravaged by illegal activities as well as containing the rise of crime rate. However according to political analysts, the infamous operation had some political connotations that surrounded it. The basic needs approach defines poverty as the scarcity of resources and opportunities to satisfy basic needs. The study focused on assessing the causes of poverty, manifestations of the epidemic as well as the coping strategies that are particular to the area of study Hopley settlement. With the continued economic meltdown in the country, socio-economic status at community and household levels have been further dismantled and the prospects of the current Zim asset have not been delivered thus motivating the study. The research used the qualitative research designs in which questionnaires, interviews, non-probability sampling as well as observation were employed to gain information. The study found out that Africa as a whole experiences poverty and the causes affecting the continent also infringe on the community and household livelihoods, however there are particular causes of poverty that are attached to the area of study which include the Operation Murambatsvina, Exclusion as well as no land rights. The research again found out that poverty manifest in different ways and these manifestations vary with area or rather geographical location and income rates. Nevertheless poverty in Hopley area has resulted in more school dropouts, domestic violence, malnutrition, high crime rates as well as indecent housing. These have affected livelihoods to a greater extent and it is likely that a culture of poverty might be created. Also the study found out that there are various coping strategies that have been employed so as to curtail poverty. These include offering casual labour, motor repairs, school dropout, migration as well as remittances among others. The researcher also recommends collective action whereby different stakeholders like the GoZ and Harare City Council should harness ideas together with the people directly affected so as to deal with poverty and bring sustainable development. A plan on upgrading slums should be initiated so as to develop these settlement that are housing almost a third of city dwellers. Further studies could be done by looking at the prospects of previous national policies in trying to deal with urban poverty and in particular poverty in the informal settlement.

ACCRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

OM.....	Operation Murambatsvina.
GoZ.....	Government of Zimbabwe.
HCC.....	Harare City Council.
Zim asset.....	Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation.
HIV.....	Human Immune Virus.
AIDS.....	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome.
ILO.....	International Labour Organisation.
SSA.....	Sub-Saharan Africa.
GDP.....	Gross Domestic Product.
ESAP.....	Economic Structural Adjustment Programme.
FTRLRP.....	Fast Track Land Reform Programmed.
NAC.....	National AIDS Council.
MDGs.....	Millenium Developmnt Goals.
ZINWA.....	Zimbabwe National Water Authority.
WHO.....	World Health Organisation.
IMR.....	Infant Mortality Rate.
STIs.....	Sexually Transmitted Infections.
ECD.....	Early Childhood Development.
IMF.....	Intrenational Monetary Fund
WB.....	World Bank
UNICEF.....	United Nations Children’s Fund

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1 1.1 INTRODUCTION

Poverty, like a cancerous cell has been spreading in developing countries particularly in Africa. The state of Poverty in Hopley area : a myth or reality, a question that has not been pondered on after the Operation Murambatsvina. The ever growing population in urban areas due to migration, inability to afford rentals in decent settlements, the desire to own stands as well as the situation in the aftermath of the disastrous Operation Murambatsvina (Restor Order) has led to a massive emergency and expanding of the informal settlements. By 2012, 29 per cent of Zimbabweans were now living in urban areas, with urbanisation increasing at a rate of almost 4 per cent per year (ZimStats, 2012). Hopley settlement is one of the major informal settlements that emerged after the unpopular Operation Murambatsvina that took in place in most urban and some rural areas in Zimbabwe in the year May 2005. Again the area is one of the top rated settlements that experience poverty. This investigation will focus on bringing out the situation at Hopley settlement twelve years after the establishment of the settlement. The study will help bring to surface whether the so called poverty at Hopley is a reality or is just a myth that needs to be reconsidered. Causes, impact as well as coping strategies of poverty will be unpacked by the study.

2 1.2 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

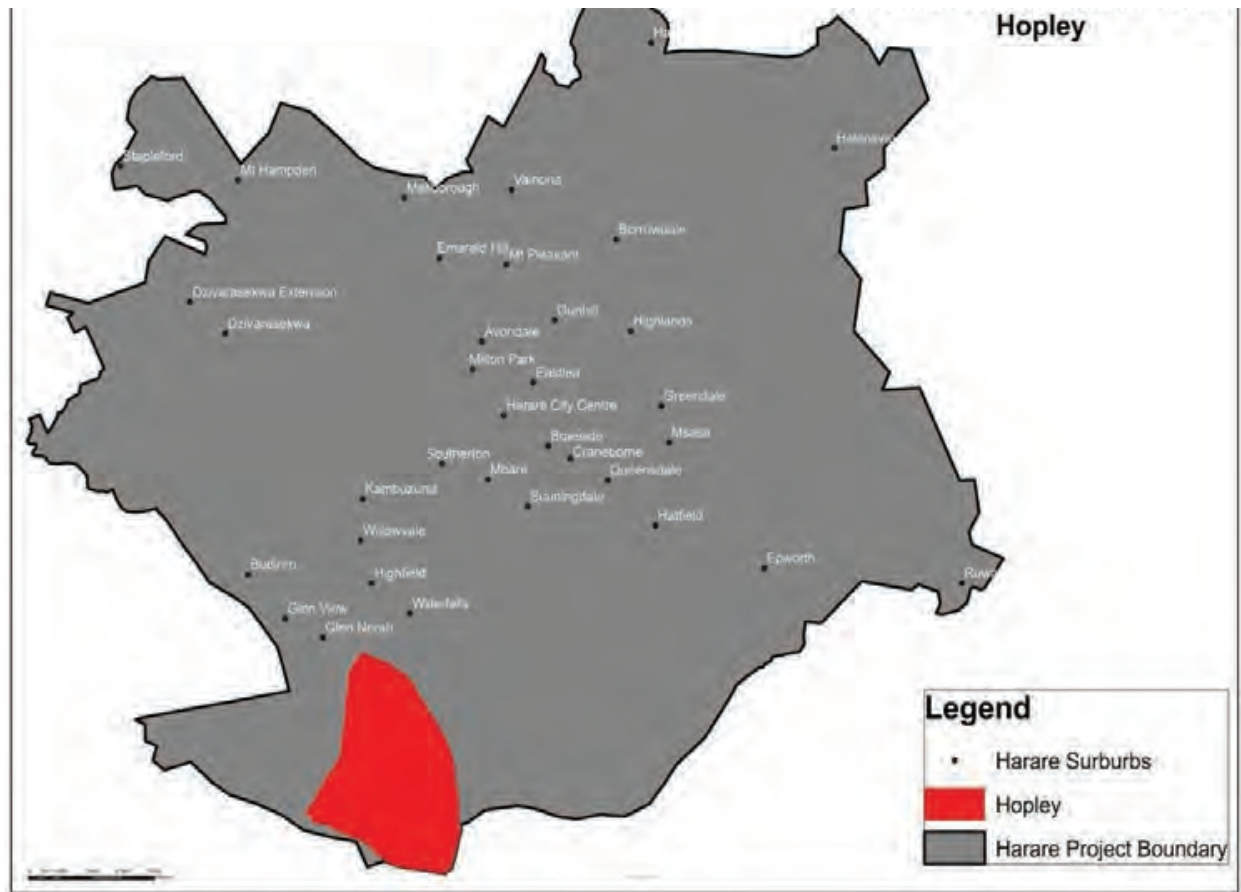
Urbanisation has been taking center stage in the world with developed countries producing most of the biggest cities in the world like New York City, Washington DC, Beijing only to mention. This rapid urbanisation has been going on for decades with Africa also being in the equation. Big cities have been emerging in Africa with Lagos, Abujah, Johannesburg and Cairo being some of the big cities in the continent. Due to this growth many informal settlements have been mushrooming up for instance Alexandra township in South Africa, Kibra and Mathare in Kenya and Slovo in Cape Town South Africa only to mention but a few. Population growth has not been on pause. With the population growing, there has been a huge demand for basic needs like clean water, food, shelter, education, health among others. This has not been made easy due to the ever changing climate that has negatively affected food production and intensified water

scarcity resulting in most Sub-Saharan Africa being in a state of poverty. Seventy-five per cent of the world's poor are located in Africa with Zimbabwe, Liberia and Ethiopia included.

In Zimbabwe people that lived in high density suburb who were tenants and some who were low-income earners were left homeless after the operation murambatsvina. Most high density suburbs in Harare like Mufakose, Glen View, Glen Norah Mbare and Highfields only to mention were highly affected by the operation Murambatsvina. However this so called operation Murambatsvina did not only affect the Harare residents but all major cities in Zimbabwe which are Bulawayo, Mutare, Gweru as well as Victoria Falls. It was in May 2005 that the government of Zimbabwe decided to embark on a clean up campaign that has been dubbed operation restore order popularly known as operation murambatsvina.

Armed police moved into shantytowns all over the country, wrecking and burning down thousands of dwellings and the makeshift stalls of small traders that were said to be unlicensed. In some areas people were told to destroy their own homes; in others the police had to use bulldozers, sledgehammers and flamethrowers so as to destroy the illegal structures. The government justifies that the operation was essential because the cities were swamped with criminals and had become "sanctuaries for illicit and criminal practices and activities which could not be allowed to go on." On June 10 the president told parliament that the government had organized a forceful crusade to restore sanity and order in the urban areas (Action Aid International, 2005).

People affected by the demolitions were left homeless, jobless without any source of income. For example majority of high density dwellers had invested their pensions by extending their homes. These acted as important source of income but this is no longer the case as these extensions were destroyed. Affected tenants had to resort to main roads, parks as well as open spaces for accommodation. The economic meltdown which reached its peak in 2008 also exacerbated the socio-economic situation in the country. Combined with a total crack down on the informal trading sector, including the destruction of official vending areas and confiscation of all wares, Operation Murambatsvina (OM), or "Drive out the Filth" caused a direct mayhem in the lives of millions. The sheer scale and thoroughness of OM set it apart from previous demolitions, not just in Zimbabwe, but in Africa (Tibaijaka:2005).



Source: Harare slum profile report, 2014. **Fig.1**

Hopley settlement was officially designated a settlement area in 2005 to accommodate former populace of Porta Farm, Hatcliffe extension and Mbare who were evicted during Operation Restore Order in which the government of Zimbabwe tried to decongest some of the suburbs especially the high density suburbs (Ravengai: 2012) although a number of people were already living there illegally. Hopley resettlement also includes people who had set up camp at Churu and Caledonia Farms who were also evicted during the course of the operation restore order.

The area Hopley is no longer a preserve for people that were displaced during operation murambatsvina but a free for all. Squatter settlements mainly in the periphery of the cities began to surface and grow as more and more families failed to get into the “formal” housing system

within cities (Biti:2009). While the name Hopley may invoke images of cheerfulness and buoyancy, for many of the estimated forty thousand residents have it as an illusion. Without the basic amenities such as water, electricity, other infrastructure and wrestling with socio-economic issues like crime which has been aggravated by the absence of street lights, sexual abuse and prostitution which sometimes involves minors(Yikoniko:2015), the settlement is a nightmare. The place has become a refuge for vices especially during the tobacco selling season due to its proximity to Boka tobacco auction floors. It does not look well for Hopley residents.

Hopley settlement is made up of six zones which distinct the origins of the people living there. Zone one upto four is made up of residents that relocated from Caledonia holding camp that was set up temporarily to house families that had been evicted from Porta Farm and Hatcliffe Extension. Zones five was apportioned to families that had been evicted from Tsiga im Mbare, on the other hand zone six is occupied by families that were allocated plots by the City of Harare. Also there are a few houses that have been built by the ministry of local governance and urban development during the futile reconstruction exercise code-named Operation Garikai by the Government of Zimbabwe (Goz) (Harare slum upgrading profile, 2014).

Hopley has no suitable social service delivery and residents live as squatters on sub serviced and unapproved land with stand sizes at approximately 20 metres by 40 metres (Mandawarara, 2006). The settlement has no running water nor sewage reticulation, roads or electricity and most residents have built shacks or two roomed houses from blocks or farm bricks. The buildings are constructed in an unsystematic manner clearly showing little or no town planning at all. In most cases there is too little space for roads or any other form of infrastructure especially in the area allocated to people that were evicted from Tsiga grounds in Mbare. Each household has a Blair toilet and an unprotected shallow well for domestic water use (Mandawarara, 2006).

There is one health facility and one educational facilities which is a primary school living residents with no option but to travel to other neighbouring suburbs for most fundamental health and educational needs. A transitory clinic set up by a humanitarian agency in 2005, and later handed over to the Harare City Council (HCC), is far from adequate. It is situated in an old farm house, with no running water and dolefully inadequate sanitation facilities. Clinic staff and

patients share a single pit toilet. The supply of medicines to the clinic is erratic (Amnesty USA, 2011). Most children have to travel to Chitungwiza or Glen Norah for educational purposes since the private colleges there are run by unqualified teachers thus not providing the best quality education as expected when looking at the indicators of quality education. The macroeconomic instability also resulted in widespread poverty, gruesome inequality, deterioration of infrastructure and constrained supply of basic utilities like water among other factors led to a decline of essential urban services provision, thus increasing poverty.

3 1.3 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Developing countries have now become increasingly aware of the importance of implementing development plans that are based on the aspirations of people, if poverty is to be significantly reduced. Despite the fact the government has carried out programmes and set up measures to alleviate poverty, the continued existence of poverty proves that the epidemic might be here to stay. The government has introduced the Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation (Zim Asset) policy which has four clusters and cluster number two specifically concerned with social services and poverty eradication but however no notable changes have been seen towards meeting the target on poverty eradication since 2013 when the policy was introduced. Thus it is difficult to tell whether the poverty is a reality or is just a myth, basic needs fulfillment is viewed as an essential prerequisite for socio-economic development.

The vision of a classless Zimbabwean society by the year 2000 envisioned after Independence in 1980 has been distorted by the failure of development programmes to alleviate poverty and reduce inequalities. The poor and disadvantaged sections of the population have become further relegated, thus making development efforts fruitless. This assertion can be substantiated by the fact that rural and urban poverty is on the increase in spite of metaphorical commitments to rural development. This unwelcoming situation is populated by other social indicators such as homelessness, high rates of unemployment, increasing crime and other forms of unexpected behaviour. The demand for housing, water-supply, electricity, transport, education, health and other social services has therefore increased significantly, and the situation of the poor has also

been exacerbated by the HIV/AIDS pandemic and the hostile macro-economic environment, hence the research is to bring out the truth that surrounds the issues of poverty in Hopley settlement. Also it is equally important to look into the effects of the current monetary crisis, evaluating how the scenario has exacerbate poverty.

4 1.4 THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK

Basics needs approach

In the past years poverty was defined in atters of income, conversely this economic definition has been complemented by other approaches that explain poverty in a more multidimensional way (Subramanian, 1997). These approaches include the basic needs approach (Streeton et al, 1981), the capabilities approach (Sen, 1999) and the human development approach (UNDP, 1990).In recent years the basic needs approach to development has encouraged a great deal of interest among planners and policy-makers in developing countries, the international development community, and donors, both bilateral and multilateral. It received support at the World Employment Conference convened by the ILO in June 1976, when the member states permitted that "strategies and national development plans and policies should encompass explicitly as a priority objective the encouragement of employment and the satisfaction of the basic needs of each country's populace.

The basic needs approach is one of the chief approaches to the measurement of absolute poverty in developing countries. It makes an attempt to define the absolute minimum resources necessary for long-term physical well-being, usually in terms of consumption goods. The poverty line is then defined as the amount of income required to meet those needs. The basic needs approach to development was endorsed by governments and workers' and employers' organizations worldwide. It influenced the programmes and policies of major multilateral and bilateral development agencies, and was the foundation of the human development approach.

The basic needs approach has a long history and it became widely discussed and practiced in late 1970s. Streeten (1979) argued that this concept of poverty has outdated former approaches by providing a more positive concept than the negatives of eliminating or reducing unemployment,

alleviating poverty, or reducing inequality. Thus, it is significant in encouraging more practical or rather active anti-poverty policies. The thinking behind the basic needs approach is that everyone should be able to pursue well-being.

The central conception of the basic needs approach is essentially acquisitive. It works by recognizing a bundle of basic consumption and assess whether the population has adequate access to it. It has been generally accepted that the package should contain commodities that are needed across the world, such as shelter, sanitation, clean water, food among others. However, there has been no worldwide agreement on what the bundle should specifically contain. Still, advocates argue that such package would essentially guarantee a person's survival. If any person has inadequate access to these commodities, then he or she may be considered as poor. This approach has inspired policies that aim to make public services more reachable for the poor. By increasing the poor's access to basic consumptions, they may thus be able to achieve subsistence and live decent lives. Also, practitioners have argued that the bundle of commodities should be continuously re-evaluated at local levels, since people's needs tend to change over time. Hence the study will refer to the basic needs approach in terms of analyzing the basic commodities that are available to the people living in Hopley area. In addition the theory is essential in defining poverty.

5 1.5 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

1.5.1 Poverty

More generally, poverty means the inability to meet basic needs, including food, shelter, clothing, water and sanitation, education, and healthcare. In this sense, poverty generally reflects a combination of income poverty at the household level and poverty at the community level in the provision of basic infrastructure and public services. When looking at Hopley settlement it is essential to examine the general public services provided so as to bring out the reality or the mythical interpretation of poverty (chronic poverty center, 2006).

1.5.2 Relative poverty

Is the condition in which people lack the minimum amount of income needed in order to maintain the average standard of living in the society in which they live. Relative poverty is considered the easiest way to measure the level of poverty in an individual country. Relative poverty is defined relative to the members of a society and, therefore, differs across countries. People are said to be impoverished if they cannot keep up with standard of living as determined by society. Relative poverty also changes over time. As the wealth of a society increases, so does the amount of income and resources that the society deems necessary for proper conditions of living. Gordon and Spicker (1999) continue to define relative poverty as poverty in terms of its relations to the standards that exist elsewhere in society. It merely says that one may be considered as poor if they earn much less than other people in their area of residence,

1.5.3 Absolute Poverty

Absolute poverty is different from relative poverty. It refers to those people, whose income is less than dollar a day. Bearing in mind that one dollar is not enough to pay for basic needs for example food, clean water, shelter among others needed to survive. In other words it refers to a condition where a person does not have the minimum amount of income needed to meet the minimum requirements for one or more basic living needs over an extended period of time. Also, **Absolute poverty** has been defined as “a condition characterized by severe deprivation of basic human needs, including food, safe drinking water, sanitation facilities, health, shelter, education and information. It depends not only on income but also on access to social services.” (World summit, 2005). To be specific, poverty can be further defined in both extreme and relative terms. Absolute poverty means lack of the ability to meet fundamental human needs, for example food and shelter. Its indicator is in terms of a monetary threshold for example a poverty line of USD1 a day (Gunther and Harttgen, 2009). Extreme poverty may also be called as absolute poverty

1.5.4 Income poverty refers to Incomes below a “minimum subsistence” or 50% or 60% below the median.

1.5.5 Reality

Reality is defined as the state of things as they actually experience or seen, especially if this is unpleasant.

1.5.6 Myth

Myth is defined as a belief that is widely held but false belief or idea. In the case of Hopley settlement, it might be a myth that the area is in poverty thus it is essential to carry out a study that would really bring out the truth about poverty situation in Hopley area.

6 1.6 RESEARCH AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

1.6.1 AIM

The aim of the research is to bring out the reality or the mythical concept of the state of poverty in Hopley area.

1.6.2 OBJECTIVES

1. The objectives of this study is to explore the various causes of poverty taking into consideration the causes that are particular to Hopley settlement.
2. The study is also determined to reveal to what extent has poverty affected the livelihoods of people in Hopley area.
3. The research also seeks to bring to surface the various coping strategies that have been adopted by people at Hopley so as to counter poverty.

7 1.6.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The research seeks to address the following questions:

1. What is poverty?
2. What are the causes of poverty?
3. What is the state of the poverty situation in Hopley settlement?
4. What are the obstacles posed by poverty in terms of meeting basic needs?
5. What can be done in terms of poverty reduction?

8 1.7 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This study will be highly significant to Students who would also want to research more on poverty issues since it will reveal the hidden challenges that have been mounting on the poor settlement in the aftermath of operation murambatsvina.

The research will be of benefit to the ministry of health and child care by pointing out the gap that has been created through the absence of adequate health facilities in the area. Again several health personells will get a glimpse of the various health threats that stand in the way of people in Hopley and thus may make a way forward to address those problems.

The study will also help the Public Service delivery team particulary Harare City Coucil and Zimbabwe Electricity Supply Authority. The study will bring out the challenges being faced by people in terms of shortage and unavailability of resources in the area. This will help the service providers to improve the service delivery that they are already and planning to offer to the community.

Government of Zimbabwe will also benefit from this report. This report will act as a measuring tool for the project that was launched by the government that is the Operation Garikai Hlalani Kuhle as wel as a measuring tool for the current Zim Asset programme. The report will provide an analysis on whether the projects have helped to change the lives of the people that were affected by operation Murambatsvina (operation restore order).

9 1.8 LITERATURE REVIEW

Over the past few years, the hasty urbanization driven by migration from rural to urban areas, occurred in sub-Saharan Africa countries along with slow economic growth. The percentage of Africans living in urban areas increased from 15% in 1950 to 39% in 2010 and is anticipated to rise to 43% in 2020 (UN, 2010). Migrants with different backgrounds, skills and expectations move to urban areas in their countries and across borders, in spite of having to cope with social interruption, lack of secure housing, poor services and inadequate environmental conditions.

Central and local government are incapable of providing public services to an enlarging number of urban residents who end up living in informal settlements characterized by excessive unemployment rate, poor housing conditions, and poor public service provision which include health, education and security (Fosto et al., 2008). According to 2006 estimates (Candiracci and Syrjanen, 2007), up to 72% of urban dwellers in many sub-Saharan Africa countries (SSA) live in slums which can also be referred to as unplanned settlements which perfectly describes Hopley settlement. In Kenya for instance, it is estimated that 60 to 80% of urban residents live in slum or slum like conditions (Candiracci and Syrjanen, 2007).

Informal settlements are characterized by high and increasing population density, small landholdings, diverse sources of income, uncoordinated conversion of farmland to housing, as witnessed by the establishment of Porta farm which formally housed people that were later on moved to Hopley after the Murambatsvina evictions. Studies that have been carried out in informal settlement have it that poor living conditions or rather poverty has been exacerbated by high levels of crowding and deprivations in needs like clean water, sanitation as well as solid waste collection among others (Cecelia et al., 2015).

Life in informal settlements has been made more difficult due to some sort of discrimination from the general populace. People in the so called unplanned settlements have been referred to as squatters and even the local authorities have also adopted a culture of calling these people squatters (Gukurume, 2012). Again Gukurume (2012) also purports that at some point in 2009 when the cholera pandemic reached its apex, people from informal settlements were banned from using toilets as they were regarded as part and parcel of the filth that was solely responsible for the spread of the disease. This further marginalizes these people leaving them with no other option but to resort to risky coping strategies in order to access basic needs. Referring to the Hopley case the term squatter has long been abandoned but however they still face challenges in acquiring basic needs hence it leads to a conclusion that the inability to meet basic needs goes far beyond the term squatter. More factors like low income, unemployment and others also takes center stage in limiting access to basic needs.

Many informal settlements are leaving under the threat of eviction (Cecilia et al., 2015), for example in Zimbabwe the people that formally settled at Porta farm were eventually evicted and

later on settled in the area under study Hopley settlement. Cecilia et al. (2015) goes on to say that inadequate government risks are also solely responsible for the poverty status in Informal settlements. These inadequate government risks may impair health, education as well as water and sanitation risks. The writers also suggest that government's inadequacy has resulted in the government failing to meet the infrastructural demand that has been posed by massive urbanization as well as rural to urban migration thus drawing the conclusions of informal settlement (Chifamba, 2016). Chifamba, (2016) is also of the view that failure to uphold necessary environmental policies as well as failure to meet demands on social services by the government has already exacerbated the poor living conditions present in most informal settlements.

Poverty can be understood in terms of absolute or relative and using objective or subjective perspectives. Absolute is characterized by acute deprivation of basic needs which include food, clean drinking water, sanitation, health, shelter, education and information (UN, 1995). There are challenges in studying poverty because people have their own understanding of poverty and again the many facts that characterize poverty makes it more complicated (Mpofu, 2011). Mpofu (2011) studying poverty is even made difficult due to the nature of the poor, they are a heterogeneous group which is highly diverse this also supported by Iliffe (1987).

The intricacy of poverty also is deeply rooted in its definition that has long been difficult to suggest. There is no worldwide agreed definition of poverty. Muzaale (1999) definition of poverty is more acceptable, he describes it as not just a psychological experience representing lack of basic need like food, health, shelter and clothing but it is also a state showcasing deprivation and powerlessness where the poor experience exploitation and deprived the right to participation in making decisions in matters that concern them most (Mpofu, 2011). There are close ties between poverty and informal settlements and informal income generation. This is because poverty is mostly concentrated among the unemployed and those in low wage employment, elderly and disabled headed households as well as children and female headed households.

In the face of deepening poverty, the poor have adopted different coping strategies that range from working extra hours so as to gain additional income or work extra unpaid hours for the sack

of securing one's job, engage in informal jobs like vending, urban agriculture, shebeening, prostitution, pick pocketing, stealing from employers and relocating to urban areas (Mpofu, 2011). The government of Zimbabwe (GoZ) should monitor and evaluate efforts of the operation Garikai in order to make it an effectual remedy for OM. Again the GoZ should make adequate housing, access to clean water and sanitation a priority. Also given the negative impact of loss of livelihoods as the GoZ has failed to provide formal employment, it should at least create a flexible environment for vending and other informal activities like capentry among others (amnesty International, 2011).

In Zimbabwe there is a gap on the informal settlements that need to be filled by this study. Most studies on poverty focus on rural poverty alleviation ignoring the fact that some of the poor are found right in the urban areas. They may actually be worse off than their rural counterparts due to the unavailability of huge farm lands to help sustain food security. This clearly calls for an investigation in one of the informal settlements in the country.

10 1.9 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

1.9.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

Different research require different methodology. Qualitative research design was used to carry out this research. Qualitative is research method is advantageous since it seeks to understand a research problem from the perspectives of the local population involved, again it is affluent and descriptive in disposition. Also it aims to help us understand the social world in which we live in. The open ended questions in a qualitative research design give respondents an opportunity to respond in their own words rather than being forced to choose from the set answers. Qualitative research allows the researcher to investigate further using the why and how questions thus gaining more data.

11 1.9.2 DATA COLLECTION TECHNIQUES AND RESEARCH DESIGN

The researcher will use non probability sampling thus making use of snowballing and convenient sampling. There is no need to know the actual population size but the researcher will just hand

pick key informants depending on who is conveniently available and the sample size will be between 15 and 40. The targeted population were the key informants such as clinic personnel, councillor, department of social services as well as influential people living in the area like teachers, general dealers and not forgetting individuals that were randomly selected at market points among other places.

The researcher used field research design and descriptive survey method. Field research design is the direct observation to give a complete picture of the case that is being studied. The main methods employed in this qualitative research were observation, interviews and questionnaires.

Observations involves the researcher visiting the area and was advantageous in the fact that it gave the researcher access to the places, people and events as subjects and it also facilitated the use of mechanical aids like cameras. Here, the researcher took time to visit Hopley settlement as part of observing some physical, notable indicators of poverty like state of housing, water and sanitation among others.

Interviews were used and the type of interview used in this research was mostly the open ended interviews. The researcher collected some general ideas about the topics of the interview and some points that might arise in the discussion. Interviews were carried at household level as well as with key informants like the clinic staff, personnels from the City Of Harare and the social services department. Individuals were asked some questions so as to get a clear picture of the challenges that are being faced and how they have countered them and intend to respond to those challenges.

The researcher also visit market and vending sites to get a clear picture of how people survive through informal trading and interviews showed how this vending has helped the residents to solve their economic and social woes. Interviews allow direct interactions between the researcher and those who bear direct brunt of socio-economic challenges on the daily basis. They also allow clarifications and explanations on certain questions in order to get desirable information for accuracy purposes. Drawbacks of interviews include researcher effects that is to say researcher's gender and age may have affected the participant's response. Also time to visit the area

constantly is limited as the researcher was expected to attend lectures in Zvishavane whilst the research field is in Harare.

A questionnaire was also used as means of collecting data from the informants and respondents. The researchers issued out forty questionnaires and 25 were used in the compilation of data. Questionnaires help in providing the specific answers for the specific question being asked thus saves time of trying to deduce meaning in what the respondents would have said. Again the open ended questions will generate enough information need to complete the study and the responses are gathered in a standardised way (Milne, 1999).

12 1.9.3 SECONDARY DATA

This consists of data that has been collected already and readily available from other sources and this data is available and cheap for the researcher to get hold of. The already existing data made primary data collection easy since secondary data is there to help pin point the gaps that needed to be filled by the study. This is highly appreciated as numerous data on socio-economic challenges in Hopley settlement have since emerged which proved helpful. These include books, journals, reports and newspapers to mention a few. There will be also the collecting of data from written records.

1.9.4 TRIANGULATION

The commonest form of triangulation to be used in this qualitative research is to combine interviews with observation and questionnaires. As a result, observation will test and fill out accounts given in interviews and questionnaires. Interviews will do the same to observation and questionnaires, with the questionnaires covering the interviews.

1.9.5 DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

Data findings will be presented in table format and also an analysis of the research findings.

13 1.10 DELIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The study will be conducted in Harare metropolitan province in Hopley settlement only not taking into consideration nearby settlements like Stoneridge and Southly Park despite the unclearly defined boundaries. The researcher decided to carry out a study in Hopley settlement since the area is said to be high ranking when it comes to socio-economic challenges in Harare. Again the area is accessible due to its closeness to the city of Harare where the researcher resides. The researcher experienced resistance from residents who would withhold information due to fear of discrimination. Some could see anything wrong with their situation and therefore turned down the offer to participate. The researcher received uncompleted questionnaires and rejection by sampled respondents to participate in the survey. Some of the sampled respondents were illiterate and therefore experienced language problems to understand the questionnaires.

14 1.11 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

This research is a race against time. The time limit impacted on the nature of data collected because the research has a deadline for submission, also it will be difficult to take full time researching as the researcher was also expected to attend lectures in Zvishavane. The research had a deadline and procedures to be followed hence the researcher only used spare time to carry out field visits to Hopley Settlement. In addition, the political situation in the country with elections to be held next year (2018), some residents could not provide more personal details and express their views freely for fear of being victimised and quoted during election time next year.

Local people most of the time were busy vending and not at home, so it was difficult to meet many people at home. However, this was covered when the researcher visit the market place where there are a lot of people for interviewing. Again there were financial challenges in the form of transport cost as the researcher is expected to travel back and forth from Harare to Zvishavane in a bid to gather data.

15 1.12 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Due to the sensitive and political nature surrounding the Hopley settlement the researcher observed the research ethics. The researcher did not use the real names of the people who have participated in the research but will make use of pseudonyms. In data

collection since the information may be sensitive the researcher gave the respondents the option of whether or not they want their names to be revealed thereby observing ethics like confidentiality, seeking permission or rather approval.

16 CHAPTER ONE

17 2.1 INTRODUCTION

Poverty being a multi dimensional aspect, quiet a number of factors have been attributed to the causes of it. While other regions have developed quiet well, africa's development has remained motionless and resulted in poverty. According to the World Bank publication "Moving out of Poverty", people dive into poverty as a result of common lifecycle events that turn into a disastrous situation when there is no other way of coping with even trivial economic shocks. The following chapter will look at the various causes of poverty in africa as well the causes of poverty in Zimbabwe and Hopley settlement in particular. The aspects that have been accredited t causing the epidemic include geographical location, political and economic stability, education, corruption, social exclusion, ineffective government and policies among others.

18 2.2 CAUSES OF POVERTY IN AFRICA

The rest of the world has been developing in the past five decades but for Africa the story has been different. States in the Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) have not yet accomplished their potential since the independence era, that is to say 1947 upto present date. This is rubber stamped by Mills (2010) who is of the view that, with a per capita income of less than 50% of the next poorest region South Asia, SSA's growth has lagged behind since independence. Most Afrian leaders have been trying to find blame in some individuals or other states in particular the former colonisers for the devastating socio-economic status that has led to Africa being labeled a dark continent. There have been quite a number of other aspects besides colonialism ascribed to the causes of africa's poverty. These include Africa's position on the world markets (periphery), climate change, poor governace among others.

2.2.1 CORRUPTION

The mainstream thinkers focusing on the causes of conflict have made it clear that the winner takes all scenario amongst African communities has led to the outburst of conflict. Taking this into consideration, the winner takes all scenario may also be accredited to the causes of poverty in Africa. The altitude of corruption slows the rate of economic development and general welfare of the community (Mauro, 1995). Corruption leads to investor flight, weaken public trust and essential resources are siphoned off shore. Corruption also increases income inequality. The rich may influence policy decisions at the expense of the general poor. Where there is inequality there is the establishment of redistributory measures in the form of tax. The rich will use political advantages to escape their tax obligation (Mauro, 1995). This further undermines the poor thus exacerbating poverty since they lose more which in turn reduces the ability to save and manage socio-economic risks and shocks than their rich counterparts.

2.2.2 EDUCATION

The educational status of a person or rather a community can determine a person's destiny. Educational status of a person or a community may affect income levels which is normally used to measure poverty. Low income is associated with poverty and this is shown by situations amongst African states whereby low Gross Domestic Product (GDP) has been used as an explanation for poverty in Africa. Educational status is not only a matter of income, it is also associated with low access to opportunities for developing human capital (World Bank, 1994). According to State of education in Africa report paper (2015) globally 58 million children were out of school with 38 million being from Africa. School dropouts, low rates of continuing with school leads to high unemployment rates. Thus low educational status will attract low wage employment which has got limited repayments leading to poverty.

2.2.3 POLITICAL INSTABILITY, CONFLICTS AND WAR

Several wars have been fought on the African continent. In 1996 alone 14 of the then 53 countries were involved in armed conflicts. Upto present day, most of political instability, wars and conflicts ravaging the world are being experienced in Africa. The horn of africa as well as the great lakes region have been on the lead when it comes to armed conflicts. Armed conflicts have become one of the most important causes of poverty in the continent leading to displacement of people, destruction of communities and livelihoods (Stairway Communications, 2010). Political instability, wars and conflicts have proven to slow down the economic production rate. The everyday activities especially farming is hindered and this has widened the gap between food production and demand hence reducing food consumption and resulting in poverty. With food consumption as one of the measurables of poverty being undermined, this vividly shows that political instability, wars and conflicts are some of major causes of poverty in Africa. Acoording to Africa Watch (1990) during the Rwandan Genocide, the Northern Villages used to be the potato producers but during the genocide production decreased dramatically. This resulted in malnourishment amongst children and malnourishment is and indicator of poverty.

2.2.4 CLIMATE CHANGE

Climate change is one of the controversial issues facing the world today with some of its effects being already experienced in Africa and it is one of the factors attributed to the causes of poverty in the continent. Africa is coupled with high vulnerability and low adaptive capacity to cope with climate change and its effects (Kempe, 2009). Climate change has cmpromised food production hence reducing food consumption rate. Perennial droughts and floods exeperienced in most countries like Mozambique and those countries laying in the Sahel region has lead to poverty as well aggravating the already existing traces of poverty in Africa. The climate in africa again poses a threat on poor health which is directly linked to poverty. Due to increases in temperatures most areas in West African continent are malaria infested and this has reduced the life expectancy and raised infant mortality. For example 1 in 5 children does not see his or her fifth birthday (Bloom and Sachs, 1998) With food consumption undermined, there

is increased infant mortality rate, malnourishment as well as low life expectancy and all these are negative signs of poverty.

2.2.5 INEFFECTIVE AND POOR GOVERNANCE, UNEQUAL RESOURCE SHARING

Most literature on Africa's governance has pointed out that most African states are undemocratic and this is one of the contributory factors to poverty. The undemocratic tendencies hamper the poor from moving out the poverty status. Autocratic governments are characterised by suppression of human rights, absence of rule of law, intolerance of minority groups whether ethnic or religious (Cecelia et al., 2015). These characteristics hamper the ordinary people from acquiring basic needs hence resulting in poverty. The abundance of resources or scarce resources may result in conflict which leads to poverty. For example in North and South Sudan as well as Democratic Republic of Congo there have been armed conflicts which are a result of the current poverty. In Nigeria as well the Northern part of the country where there are oil deposits is the most poorer region and poverty is ubiquitous. On the other hand the Southern part of the country is the most developed at the expense of the Northern region. The poverty status is attributed to the unfair distribution of resources.

2.2.6 DEPENDENCY SYNDROME

Africa's position in the global world continues to push African into poverty. Africa is always at the receiving end of development aid and aid has been debated upon for quite sometime. The dependency syndrome affecting most third world countries has further exacerbate poverty in Africa. African states are primary producers whereby they produce raw materials to the developed countries, in turn developed countries produce manufactured goods which they sell at a higher price to Africans (Mauro, 1995). This system has failed to work for the betterment of Africa's economic status but rather aggravating poverty. Due to the unbalanced trade systems Africa has been complementing its budgets with aid. Nevertheless, aid is believed to have contributed

to the outbreak of conflicts as well as perpetuating these conflicts further throwing Africa at the deep end of poverty.

19 2.3 CAUSES OF POVERTY IN ZIMBABWE

2.3.1 HISTORICAL ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

Most SSA states are said to be in a state of poverty and Zimbabwe is no exception. When the smith regime declare independence from the British rule, sanctions were imposed on Rhodesia and debt mounted on the economy. Nevertheless after the attainment of independence of Zimbabwe in 1980, the new black Majority government inherited the crippling economy and it has long standing effects to the current Zimbabwean Government.

2.3.2 DROUGHTS

Poverty in Zimbabwe can not only be blamed on the GoZ and the economic crisis, one also has to take into consideration the natural disasters especially droughts. According to Action aid (2016) drought in Zimbabwe has left many people hungry. El Nino, a phenomenon which has been causing a warming of the weather in some parts of the world has been said to be significantly resulting in droughts in Africa and Zimbabwe is no exception. In Zimbabwe and across Southern Africa, El Nino has inflicted a mayhem which has led to reduced or late rains. In zimbabwe this has been exeperienced, in February 2016 the President declared a national drought. Peopl have been failing to acquire basic needs especially food thus poverty. Again a report in the NewsDay, a daily local newspaper recorded that people in Mudzi had adopted copying strategy that is to reduced the number of times they take meals due to the shortage of food hence showing the active existence of poverty in the country.

2.3.3 INCONSISTENT POLICIES

Several developmental policies that have been adopted by the Government of Zimbabwe (GoZ) have also been attributed to the living devil of poverty in the country. After attaining independence in 1980, the GoZ has been passing on developmental policies that have suddenly become recipe to poverty. Urban bias inherited from the colonial era aggravated the state of poverty amongst the majority rural poor. During the early 1990's the GoZ through the then finance minister Bernard Chidzero introduced the "framework for economic reform" better known as Economic Structural Adjustments Programmed (ESAP) (Bond and Manyanya, 2003). This programme was tailor made by the World Bank and it was meant to liberalise the economy. However it had some overwhelming effects which include unemployment and this particular aspect accelerated the rate of poverty through retrenchments. The cost recovery scheme education and health also had negative effects which brought about poverty. The user pay principle adopted further marginalised the poor who were already struggling to meet these basic demands hence further aggravating the already existing traits of poverty. To add on the wage freeze policy adopted as well as devaluation of currency together acting against the ever growing inflation also contributed massively to poverty (Bond and Manyanya, 2003).

The desire to redistribute land to the majority black led to the continuation of the land reform programme which had began soon after independence from 1980-1997 with the willing buyer willing seller scenario (Dabale, Jagero and Chiringa, 2014), in 1997 the GoZ instigated a process of radical land reform premised on extensive compulsory land acquisition and redistribution (Moyo, 2006). However the exercise gained momentum in 2000 when it was dubbed the Fast Track Land Reform Programmed (FTLRP). Nevertheless, the once blossoming Zimbabwe lost its post as the bread basket of Southern Africa (Dabale, Jagero and Chiringa, 2014). The FTRLR ravaged the existing system of land allocation and regorously damaged the commercial farming sector which was an important source of employment to about 400 000 rural people, source of exports and foreign exchange. According to Zakhali (2008), the transfer of farming land to the majority blacks who lacked capacity to produce led to extreme low production and food

shortages hence resulting in malnourishment, loss of income as well as reduced food consumption thus poverty.

2.3.4 SANCTIONS

Zimbabwe's engagement in the DRC war 1997-1998, followed by the FTLRP then the 2002 general and presidential elections were followed by the imposition of sanctions by the western countries on GoZ (Makaye and Munhande, 2005). The west being led by Britain and United States (USA) imposed both smart and blanket sanctions. Blanket sanction refer to sanctions that are imposed on the whole country, affecting everyone (Makaye and Munhande, 2005). With the sanctions at hand there was shortage of basic needs as well as an increase on prices on those few available basic needs due to the inability of the GoZ to import goods and receive aid. This reduced purchasing power parity, unemployment reached 70%. With the above mentioned conditions, it clearly shown that sanctions are part of the causes of poverty in the country.

The 2007 indigenisation programme also immensely caused poverty in the country. The indigenisation policy has been viewed as the main driver of investor flight (Munzara, 2015). Many people lost their jobs hence reduced income at household level and also the GDP decreased. This increased the rate of poverty in the country especially in urban areas where the majority of the population were employed to foreign companies which in turn closed down or rather moved their companies to neighbouring countries like South Africa and Namibia leaving people unemployed. According to Gono (2003) the current indigenisation policy is likely to attract more economic sanctions and this will further aggravate poverty in the country.

2.3.5 HIV and AIDS

Just like any other countries in Southern Africa, the HIV pandemic in Zimbabwe has a close negative relationship with socio-economic development (Shelton, 2005). The

constantly high percentage of people living with HIV and AIDS recorded at 15% in 2014 (Mbofana, 2016) has also been credited to poverty in the country. Some investigators have anticipated that as the pandemic progresses, risk would shift from the better off (who, due to their relative wealth, are part of a larger sexual network) (Halperin et al., 2004) to the poorer (who, because of their lower educational attainment and social position, are less empowered to change their sexual behaviour) (Piot et al., 2001 and Gregson et al., 2004). In a bid to fight the pandemic disease, there has been diversion of funds for the sake of acquiring Anti-Retro Viral drugs for people living with HIV and AIDS. Again the number of orphans has been on increase due to HIV and AIDS related deaths. In other studies on poverty in Zimbabwe, child headed families has been recorded to be the most living under the poverty datum line.

2.3.6 LIQUIDITY

Due to deflation, household incomes are likely to remain low and liquidity challenges affect total demand for goods and services, in particular for poor households. Rural poverty has increased from 63% in 2003 to 76% in 2014 (Zhangazha, 2014). Most households in the rural areas are net food buyers; they do not (for a number of reasons) produce adequate food to meet their needs all the way through to the next harvest season. This working together with the shortages of hard currency will impact on income as well as food securities (Zhangazha, 2014). Zimbabwe has been harshly affected by a financial crisis and drought; the economy is expected to grow by only 0,4% this year. Going forward, external payment arrears may lead to a further contraction in imports and a decline in Gross Domestic Product (GDP). The financial crisis continues to have a significant impact on incomes, while the drought has disproportionately affected the rural poor (The financial Gazette, 2016), a decrease on GDP will heavily impact on quite a number of aspects which include health, education as well as general service delivery thus causing the rising levels of poverty.

20 2.4 CAUSES OF POVERTY IN HOPLEY AREA.

2.4.1 MURAMBATSVINA

Like any other settlement area or province, there are particular characteristics that are only linked or rather attached to an area. First and foremost, Hopley settlement is one of the poorly built, high populated and regarded as an illegal settlement. There are connotations of poverty that surrounds the area. The state of poverty in the area has been highly accredited to the infamous operation murambatsvina which led to the establishment of this settlement. The operation restore order left people homeless, hence these people had to resort to the makeshift houses in particular plastic shacks. However the Operation Garikai which was a remedy to the previous operation helped improve housing structure but these housing structures were not enough to accomodate everyone. Two roomed houses were build but some of the families in hopley are extended families thus are not enough, showing signs of inadequate housing thus poverty.

Also the operation was targeting informal sector and the majority of Zimbabweans had been self employed hence many people where affected. Most people in Hopley settlement were and are still self employed. The destruction of the so called illegal home industries like Glen View area 8 and Mufakose home industry caused poverty amongst the population in general as well as those who were evicted and went and settle in Hopley Settlement.

Not being employed as well as low income can also be credited to the status of poverty in Hopley area. Some dwellers are employed and have normal standard of living, managing to meet the daily basics but however over 50% of the population is not employed and a little fraction is getting very low income making it more difficult to meet their basic needs. According to Muzondiona from National AIDS Council (NAC) no formal emploment has caused people to live on a hand to mouth basis, surviving on less than a \$1.25 per day showing glaring signs of poverty.

2.4.2 EXCLUSION

The Hopley settlement is situated at the periphery of the city of Harare and this increases the rate of being marginazed in terms of basic services and political participation. The settlement is in a state of poverty due to the unavailability of some

basic needs like clean drinking water electricity and other services. The study found out that there is only one primary government school in Hopley settlement, parents are left with no other option but to send their children to neighboring suburbs like Chitungwiza, Highfiels, Debshire, Glen Norah and Glenview. Some parents do not afford to pay for school fees as well as money for transport hence others do not go to school. The elected members of parliament responsible for the area hardly raise the plights of the people. It has proved to be difficult to raise voices due to the nature of Hopley's location. From the looks of things, informal settlers do not have a voice or rather the power and ability to participate in matter that are directly linked to their plights.

2.4.3 FAMILY STRUCTURE

When engaging in household assessments, it is quite vital to examine the family structure as they are important sources of gaining an in-depth of poverty at household level. Family structures have a significant role in improving standards of living. Child headed families, single parent headed families and elderly headed families are more susceptible to poverty. The study indicated that in Hopley area the above mentioned family structures are very common and they have resulted in poverty amongst the dependent members. Most child headed families and elderly headed families are heavily in poverty. This is mainly caused by the fact that they it is difficult to get employed especially the elderly thus will face challenges in providing basic needs for the family.

Single parent headed families are also buried in poverty and this is mainly due to unemployment and low wage employment. Mrs Chisare a widow has been failing to take care of her three children. The income she gets from vending is not enough to cater for the whole family. Two of her school going age children are not attending school. Lack of educational qualities may perpetuate a cycle of poverty amongst the children who may find it difficult to get employed and meet basic needs when their mother is not around anymore.

The size of the family also plays a pivotal role in causing poverty in Hopley settlement. Extended families have a high chance living in poverty that is looking at household level. This is a normal scenario in Hopley, the HIV and AIDS epidemic has left many children orphaned and these have either been taken to children homes, become children living and working in the street and (street kids) the fortunate ones are taken in by relatives and become part of an extended family. Due to food insecurities resulting from low income, extended families have been failing to acquire adequate basic needs, malnourished children are present in almost every extended family in Hopley according to the study.

2.4.4 DISABILITY

Disability is another factor contributing to the worrying status of poverty in Hopley settlement. According to Oscar (1959), there is a close link between disability and poverty. In an assessment carried out in Hopley, out of a sample size of 40 households, 6 have got household heads who are living with disability. Disability has reduced the chances of getting formal employment, this may also mean that the conditions have limited capabilities of these household heads which leaves the families highly impoverished. These families are characterized by food insecurities, the children do not go to school, and they survive through begging.

2.4.5 UNEMPLOYMENT AND LOW AGE

Unemployment is another key factor contributing to poverty in Hopley area. About 65% of the population are formally unemployed. Unemployment is regarded as the key tool of acquiring income, nevertheless the inability to gain income has exacerbated the poverty status at household level. This has even made it difficult to use legitimate coping strategies to fight poverty. According to the study carried out, unemployment has resulted in many families failing to meet basic needs. Children do not go to school and has made it impossible to recover. Low wages have also led to the hand to mouth system which reduces the ability to save and manage socio-economic shocks.

21 2.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY

The above chapter gave an overview on the causes of poverty amongst African states as well as bringing to light the causes of poverty that are particular to Hopley settlement. The study found out that the socio-economic problems in Zimbabwe already impact on the socio-economic status of Hopley area further exacerbating the epidemic that already exist. These causes of poverty include unemployment, low wages, disability, social exclusion only to mention.

22 CHAPTER TWO

23 3.1 INTRODUCTION

The years from 1980s to early 1990s have been labeled as a period of urban crisis across the continent of Africa (UNCHS, 1996). Although the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were aimed at reducing the scale of poverty suffered during the time when the goals were defined, after the fifteen year term, the degree of poverty remained glaring in most parts of SSA. The extent of poverty suffered in SSA is obviously on the increase in the SSA part of the continent (Foeken and Owuor, 2008). Informal dwellers are vulnerable to hardships, insecurities and hazards from living in an unclean environment somewhat unserviced or unsuitable conditions (Turok, 2015). The following chapter will look at the extent to which poverty has affected illegal settlements and in particular Hopely settlement. Results from the questionnaire as well as the interviews from key informants focusing on the illustrations of poverty at Hopely settlement will be displayed. There is the use of pseudonyms as a means to protect the respondents.

The informal settlements have poor reputation as they are identified as hotspots for social unrest, squalor and crime (Turok, 2015). Corruption, inconsistent government policies, political will, economic underdevelopment, family structures among others have been sorely responsible for the poverty status in most informal settlements as alluded in the first chapter. The ESAP initiated by at least 33 African governments during the early and mid 90s did not bring about any positive changes but rather attracted huge numbers of people from rural area into cities to seek out greener pastures and this act yielded the sprouting and mushrooming of informal settlements. According to Global Urban Observatory (2003), urban poverty is mainly concentrated in the informal settlements. Poverty has got many manifestations which include school

dropouts or rather low levels of education attainment, teenage parents, boy child incarceration, ill-health and low life expectancy among others (Hoyne, 2012)

The significance of poverty on the African continent is highly disturbing (ACERD, 2001). Due to the fact that the African people have been failing to exploit their resources in order to improve their livelihoods, It has resulted in dismantling their hopes for the future. Owing to the poverty status in Africa, the continent has been thrown into a deep pit of consecutive political problems that have yeilded wars in Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), terrorism in Nigeria and Somalia, piracy in Somalia, attempted and Coup detats only to mention. Poverty cannot only be attributed to the current political difficulties, socio-economic problems have also been intensified the epidemic. Poverty has has been blamed for high levels of illiteracy in Africa. This claim is supported by World Bank (2007) which purports that poverty affects cognitive functioning in children and this later results in school dropouts as well as low levels of education attainment.

24 3.2 POVERTY IN ZIMBABWE

Zimbabwe is no exception when discussing about poverty in Africa. According to figures from International Monetary Fund (IMF), Zimbabwe is second only to Congo in the list of poorest countries. In spite of the black empowerment and indigenisation policies, Zimbabwe remains one of the most poorest ane expensive countries to live in the world. The standard wage rate in Zimbabwe is nineteen times lower than that of neighbouring Zambia, Botswana and South Africa (Mbira, 2015). According to Machamire (2015) poverty levels in Zimbabwe have reached shocking magnitude with a recent survey revealing that in some areas of the country, as many as 90% of villagers are surviving on less than a dollar a day. Again the Zimbabwe poverty atlas of 2015 recorded that areas such as Nkayi in Matebeleland have alarming poverty frequency of 96% (Machamira, 2015).

The economy of Zimbabwe that began to decline in the second decade after the attainment of independence continued to plunge the country into a deep pit of poverty. With the adoption of the ESAP programme, many people suffered including the state at large. The effects of ESAP which have already been alluded earlier on as causes of poverty in the country resulted in high mass unemployment, high food cost due to the removal of subsidies led to lowering food intake which in turn led to malnourishment amongst children. Also the introduction of the user pay principle exacerbated the school dropout rate as well as further marginalising the poor from the health sector, all these vividly show signs of poverty. According to the Country Analysis Report for Zimbabwe (2010), the economic crisis which reached its peak in 2008 played a part in worsening poverty and the unemployment situation. The report further states that as the economy deteriorated so did the labour absorptive capacity such that by 2004 four in five jobs were informalised.

With the number of the informal sector growing, population in the cities concentrated and the adverse effects posed by Operation Murambatsvina, life became tense in Zimbabwe. Even after dollarisation people in Zimbabwe are still living in poverty. The cash crisis that has ravaged the country since the end of 2015 has heightened the level of poverty. People failing to obtain cash from the banks has resulted in many failing to meet their basic need in particular food items. The cash crisis has even affected the rural poor who have not been receiving remittances or rather failing to collect the remittance from various financial institutions like Ecocash, Mukuru.com and Western Union (Zhangazha, 2014). People have even reduced their monthly budgets so as to meet the demands of cash crisis, at some point a person is forced to purchase goods using credit cards but there are certain items that do not need plastic money but hard cash for example transport.

Poverty, economy and employment are inherently intertwined hence the prevailing economic and poverty situations in Zimbabwe affected the employment sector to a greater extent (Country Analysis Report for Zimbabwe, 2010). Unemployment rate is

believed to be at 90%, this has raised a question on how people are surviving if the majority is not employed or rather not earning a salary. This has resulted in a huge number of people living below the poverty datumline when assessing poverty basing the analysis on income. According to Moltung and Mears (2002), the poor living conditions in developing countries are usually revealed by the presence of those earning a low income, which in particular reference to Zimbabwe is the majority that is unemployed.

3.2.1 POOR SERVICE DELIVERY

Sanitation refers to the fundamental essence and practice relating to the collection, removal, and disposal of human excreta, refuse and wastewater, as they impact upon users, operators and the surroundings (Mulenga et al., 2004). For quite sometime the Zimbabwean parastatals and the city as well as town councils have been failing to meet the demands of their citizens. One may start by looking at National Railways of Zimbabwe (NRZ) has failed to meet transport demands of the country. This has led to people resorting to more expensive means of transport further affecting household monthly budgets. Also Zimbabwe National Water Authority (ZINWA) has been failing to meet the ever increasing water demands. In Harare for example there are certain locations where children do not know that water comes out from household taps. These locations have gone for years without running tap water hence have been using borehole water or obtaining water from shallow unprotected wells. These locations include Budiro, Glen View, Glen Norah, Mabvuku and Tafara only to mention. There are always long queues at the boreholes thus many women are spending much time standing in long winding water queues (Tendai Makaripe, 2014). Shortage of water facilities is a sign of poverty since it is one of the core basic needs for human survival.

On the other hand, areas like Mufakose, Kuwadzana, Highfiels among others that have been fortunate enough to have running tap water but it is not safe to drink. Harare uses recycled water and the HCC has been finding it difficult to acquire enough chemicals to purify water and this has resulted in sometimes raw water with fecal matter being

directly pumped into the water pumps. This shows a high level of poverty facing Zimbabwe, citizens have been reported to drinking raw sewage at some point.

Tiseke Kasambala, Southern Africa director at Human Rights Watch reported that in many communities there is no water for drinking or bathing, there is sewage in the streets, there is outbreak of diarrhea and typhoid and a risk of another cholera epidemic. The town and city councils have been failing to upkeep the sanitation standards. The conditions violate their right to water, sanitation, and health which then shows poverty when looking at poverty as deprivation of basic needs.

3.2.2 INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS

As a result of a rapid increase in urban population and the limited capacity of the government to meet the high demand for infrastructure has led to the mushrooming of the informal settlements (Chifamba, 2016). The United Nations Human Settlement Programme notes that slum communities comprise of poverty-stricken unemployed people who cannot afford both basic food and non- food essentials. Despite having a history of physical planning, Harare like any developing city has been experiencing an increasing problem of informal settlements. The amount of squatter housing indicates the inability of people to acquire housing thus poverty.

25 3.3 MANIFESTATIONS OF POVERTY IN HOPLEY AREA

3.1.1 DISEASES/MOBILITY

The effects of poverty on health, as perceived at provincial and district levels during the Interim-Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (2016) included high incidence of preventable diseases, mental illness, suicide and death; increase in HIV and AIDS, high infant mortality and malnutrition particularly among children. Health challenges faced by communities are viewed largely as an outcome of poverty not cause of it (I-PRSP, 2016). In Zimbabwe, when people are

ill, 47.7% seek treatment from a public health facility, 12.2% from a private clinic, 3% from a traditional healer, whilst 37.1% do not seek treatment (I-PRSP, 2016).

The environmental conditions together with income status play a pivotal role in explaining the poverty status of a community. Looking at the socio-economic status and environment of Hopley settlement it is not surprising to say Hopley is now the epicenter of a typhoid outbreak that is spreading in Harare. The study carried out in Hopley settlement shows that the outbreak of diseases is a clear testimony of poverty in the area. The unavailability of water and proper adequate sanitation can be mainly attributed to the outbreak of these diseases especially water borne epidemics . Cholera and typhoid are the major diseases associated with the area. The HCC has not succeeded in providing enough water and sanitation services and this has resulted in two families sharing a toilet which in most cases is a Blair or pit latrine toilet which makes it susceptible for the transmission of diseases, in normal circumstances each family should have its own toilet.

Again it difficult for the whole community to access adequate medical services since there is one clinic situated at an old farm house and the delivery of drugs at the small clinic is inconsistent. It is not everyday that you find treatment at the clinic and this has aggravated the ill health status of the impoverished community. Hopley area is extremely dirty and unpleasant, especially due to poverty and neglect and it remains bereft of local authority services and serves as a glaring reminder of unaccomplished government promises on that issue. The settlement has limited water supplies and refuses disposal points, while the majority of residents use Blair toilets. According to the World Health Organization (WHO), typhoid fever is a disease caused by salmonella typhi. It is spread through the intake of food or drink infected by the feces or urine of infected people. Also the area is a nest for sexually transmitted diseases like HIV and AIDS in particular. This disease have been said to further undermine household poverty. Due to the desire to meet ones basic need residents in Hopley area have engaged in informal trading and at some point immoral behavior which has resulted in the high prevalence of HIV and AIDS with women being on the highest risk. Some are bed

ridden, some receive home based care kits (HBC) and some are on Tuberculosis treatment (TB).

3.3.2 INFANT MORTALITY AND HOME BIRTH

Although Hopley settlement was established more than 10 years ago, there are no maternity health facilities in the area. Case et al. (2002) purports that children from lower income households with serious poverty conditions have worse health than do those from higher income households. Khanam et al. (2009) is of the view that parental health and, in particular, the mother's health plays a pivotal role in explaining the relationship between child health and family income. Child mortality affects a country's labor force quality and efficiency over the long run, 50% of child mortality results from undernourishment, which is a direct result of socioeconomic status (Victoria et al., 2003). The fact that the settlement has only one clinic run by HCC and that it does not offer maternity services forces women and young girls to deliver at home without the help of a professional nurse or midwife. Delivering at home is not a choice but rather forced circumstance due to the failure to pay maternity bill which is at \$25 at a municipal clinic, also because of the nature of environment they are coming from sometimes they are denied medical assistance in clinic from other location due to the policy of zoning thus they end up opting for home deliveries. From the interviews from clinic personnel and other women in the community there are 28 cases of newborn deaths since the beginning of the year 2017. Premature babies die hours after death and this is believed to be as a result of failing to keep the babies warm in the plastic shacks (Amnesty International, 2010). Also due to the unavailability of clean water, women who deliver their babies at home reported that they end up using dirty water to clean themselves and the newly born babies which may expose these children to life threatening infections and sometimes death. Unable to meet maternal health needs are indication of poverty itself let alone the constant high levels of IMR and home births.

3.3.3 MALNUTRION AND NO FOOD SECURITY

Zimbabwe has been experiencing persistent food insecurity from the year 2000, with around 5 million people malnourished each year. Although waning, under-five stunting remains high at 26.8 percent in 2015, with rural areas poorer, reflecting food insecurity (I-PRSP, 2016).

Infant Mortality Rate (IMR) remains high in Zimbabwe at 69 deaths per 1 000 live births in 2015 Neonatal and IMR remain unacceptably high. Malnutrition continues to be the leading cause of infant mortality and ill health in most developing countries in the world (Nandy et al., 2005). Measurements used when determining malnourishment are stunting (low height for age), wasting (low weight for height) and underweight (low weight for age). Stunting is a result of constant undernutrition, wasting is a result of severe undernutrition and underweight is used as an indicator that shows the combination of both persistent and severe (Nandy et al., 2005). Female headed families and those families with high dependency ratios tend to face food insecurities than male headed and families with small dependency ratios (Mohiddin et al., 2012). Women in most cases find jobs that are less secure and irregular; those do not take matters of labour law into consideration or offer medical benefits than their male counterparts. This affects breastfeeding and childcare because sometimes these women are forced to leave their children or use poor quality child care, this definitely affects children wellbeing.

Environmental issues for example contamination, over-crowding, open sewerage, poor water, sanitation and pollution which are also other indications of poverty affect children's wellbeing. The urban poor who live in the informal settlements and slums face a peculiar set of difficulties compared to their rural counterparts. Exclusively reliant on the market for food and other basic items, slum dwellers are very susceptible to price increases and other market shocks and this hampers food intake thus resulting in malnutrition. Although there has been new researches focusing on people living in slums, the essence of knowledge on crucial indicators, chiefly health, food security and nutrition, is still inadequate.

Malnutrition as a result of hunger can result in 2% to 3% of the GDP loss (World Bank, 2006), this will heavily impair the national budget and negatively affect the health status of a community. Food insecurity is another manifestation of poverty and it also leads to malnutrition especially in children and this further show case the existence of penury. Rosalina et al. (2007) is of the view that a person is regarded as poor when the intake of food is sacrificed because of lack

of resources or income. Lack of resource or income to acquire food reduces food intake and even eating intervals, this to a larger magnitude impinge on health. Out of the sample size, from the data at the local clinic 39% of the children that still visit the clinic on a monthly basis are either stunted, wasted or underweight or both. This has been attributed to the lack of a balanced diet or rather food with all the essential food nutrients as well as lack of knowledge amongst most young teenage mothers on early childhood development and parenting. In Hopley, lack of income has made it impossible to stick the general principle of three meals a day. Families have Branch (combination of breakfast and lunch) or lupper as they call it (a combination of lunch and supper).

From data available at the local clinic in Hopley settlement, there are clear indications of malnutrition amongst children as well as diseases like kwashiorkor. The baby clinic cards used to record the monthly health status of children were also helpful in coming up with data on malnutrition in children in Hopley area. From children that visit the clinic on a monthly basis, 18 were stunted, 15 were wasted and 9 were underweight. The fact that an essential basic need like food is lacking is a clear testimony of poverty in Hopley settlement.

3.3.4 ILLITERACY

In the world, millions of people specifically adults are unable to read or write, and hence they strive to earn a decent living for themselves and their families. Literacy can be defined as the capability to read and write with understanding a simple statement in relation to one's daily life. Literacy often involves a continuum of reading and writing skills (I-PRSP, 2016). Illiteracy affects the entire areas of life. Those with low literal abilities are more likely to live in poverty, face health challenges because they cannot read medicine labels or instructions, and grow secluded in a world increasingly dependent on modern technology like computers (Rotary international, 2015). A number of studies have enquired whether poverty can be the cause of illiteracy (South Asian deal, 2008). It is like the chicken egg question whether poverty results in illiteracy or the opposite is true. studies show that illiterate people, on average, have significantly lower income than those who are literate. This means the chance of being in poverty is higher for the illiterate than it is for the literate (Christoffels et al., 2016).

Poverty can be measured by looking at the literacy level of a country or persons since there is a close relationship between education and poverty.

The level of education has the ability to attract low or high wage employment. Out of the sample size of 40 households, forty percent of household heads have not completed ordinary level with 30% being women. 20% have not completed primary education. This poses a threat to income, employment and even participation in decision making since most of the times the better off in terms of education take center stage in decision making. This further marginalizes the illiterate people thus they continue sinking into the bottomless hole of poverty. For years since these people were displaced to Hopley area, nothing much has changed and this is due to the exclusion in decision making in things that matter most to them. If there are projects being introduced, they are rather imposed rather than them deciding on how the project should be carried out to their benefit. This can be attributed to the low educational level that most people residing in the area possess, exclusion in decision making is poverty. Nonetheless the answer to the above mentioned question will be illiteracy can cause poverty and vis-à-vis

3.3.5 SCHOOL DROPOUTS

In general 10% of 15-24 year olds have not fulfilled primary education in Zimbabwe. 7% of boys of primary school age are not in school as compared to 6% of girls of the same age. For children of primary school age in Zimbabwe, the biggest difference can be seen between the poorest and the richest children. Nearly 45% of female of secondary school age are out of school compared to 37% of male of the same age (National Education Profile, 2014). During school days and even school hours, the streets in Hopley are always packed with children who are supposed to be going to school but are not. Hopley area does not have government secondary schools but one primary school and the rest are private colleges. As poverty continue to strike, more parents are failing to send their children to decent schools. Reasons for dropping out of school vary from one household to another but the main reasons is failure to pay for school fees as the government programme BEAM has been shut down. Since some

parents have decided to send their children to school in other nearby locations like Highfields, Glen Norah and Chitungwiza among others to acquire better education in government schools, they have been finding it difficult to raise transport money since the children would commute everyday to school this had led to truancy and eventually dropouts. From the study carried out in Hopley area at least 18% of school going aged boy children are not in school, 6% have never been to school and 23% of school aged going children are not in school and 4% have never been in school. Mrs Matore (not her real name) reported that her 7 year old daughter is not attending primary education because herself and her husband have failed to raise money for her to start the first grade thus she is left to stay at home. Mbuya Muzvidziwa (pseudonym) also shared that she is too old to work thus has been failing to send her two grandchildren who are orphans to school.

3.3.6 UNEMPLOYMENT/ LOW INCOME

With the whole country at 90% rate of unemployment what more can be expected from an informal settlement situated at the periphery of the city in terms of employment status. Unemployment refers to those people that are economically active who do not work, want to work and are available to start work within a week after an interview (SSA, 2000a). The unsteady macro-economic environment resulting, in feeble economic performance during the 2000-2008 phase, affected negatively the labour market, leading to huge retrenchments due to companies shutting down or downsizing. Employment in the formal sector declined from 1.4 million to just under 1 million by the end of 2014, with over 400 000 employees having at one time retrenched between 2005 and 2014 (zimstats, 2015).

Most people in Hopley settlement are informally employed and those that are employed, the nature of their work attract low wages. The types of work include housekeeping, gardeners, sand pouching, brick making and vending among others. With the current liquidity crisis they have been failing to make enough money thus making it difficult to acquire basic need for their families. Women headed families are hard hit due to the fact that women in most instances dominate the soft, low remunerating sectors and

professions, including; Services, Life Science Professionals, Agriculture, Social Science, education and Secretaries and clerks (I-PRSP, 2016). This explains why the highest numbers of people in extreme poverty are women. Women headed families constitute to 54% of people living in poverty in Hopley whilst the remaining percentage are families with male bread winners. Households whose heads' major activity is own account worker (vendors and carpenters among others) have the highest poverty incident of 81.5%, in addition, households whose heads are employed in the informal sector have poverty prevalence of 78.3%, with 24% in extreme poverty (I-PRSP, 2016). In Hopley area, 34% of the people are unemployed, 43% are self employed and 23% are employed but the nature of work has got very low income. This can be a clear testimony towards the understanding of poverty in the area. People are not earning enough to meet basic needs and those that do not earn at all are striving to make ends meet.

3.3.7 HIGH CRIME RATE/ JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

The escalation of crime, including trivial ones is an indication of the collapse of the economy as some of the poor and the hungry strive for survival. Juvenile delinquency can be defined as the antisocial behaviours of youths (Mambende et al., 2016), furthermore Herrenkohl (2000) defines delinquency as a set of activities that are against the collective custom or ethics of a social group, these activities include vandalism, rape, truancy, cultism, drug abuse, alcohol abuse among others (Farrington, 1991). Due to the high unemployment rate as well as high numbers of school dropouts, the level of crime has increased. Though, earning a living by way of criminal means can never be justified, but it is a common fact that in an economy that cannot give jobs, vices such as robbery and juvenile delinquencies frequently rise (Mambo, 2014).

Hopley has become a haven for illicit deeds. From one of the neighborhood watches in the area who refused to be identified by name due to professional reasons shared that at least 5 young males are handed over to the police for stealing, drug possession among others on a weekly basis. Also young women engage in illicit behaviours like stealing and in most cases young women are found in the possession of stolen food items and

clothes. Youths in Hopley especially those who dropped out of school have been forced by the bitter situation to get involved in robbery. These youths since they do not go to school have been viewed as adults even by their family members thus should fend for themselves since they at first took a huge personal decision to dropout of school. some of the youths have served prison sentences through completing a jail term or doing community service. On the other hand, young women in most cases teenage single mothers have also engaged in these illicite practices and end up serving a prison sentence leaving their children with no one to take care of. These are clear indications of poverty, the divastating situation has push people to the edges that they end up holding on to the rope of crime just for the sack of trying to pull themselves up.

To add on, high crime rate amongst adults have also ravaged in Hopley showing a vivid images of poverty and trying to earn a living. Emotional state (both chronic and current) has a great impact on personal thought processes and can be linked to criminal activities. Both men and women in the area have been charged with several offences like drug possession, robbery, murder, rape and the continued existence of such crimes can be blammed upon the poverty situation in the area. In order to earn something to eat for a day when one is not receiving a wage or salary, resorting to illegal activies has proven to be an easy way to satisfy the people's needs. Nevertheless, earning a living through illegal means can never be excused hence household heads and other breadwinners have ended up being incarcerated leaving their families widely exposed to poverty hence worsening the status of poverty in Hopley community.

3.3.8 POOR SOCIAL SERVICE DELIVERY

Service delivery is closely related to development which is an effort to bridge the gap between the rich and the poor by ways of imitative processes by which the poor slowly possess the qualities of the rich. The provision of basic services like as water and sanitation, electricity together with waste management have become the main concern in the improvements of lives of many citizens (Mabitsela, 2012). Access to safe sanitation decreases with poverty, and this pattern is true in both rural and urban area (I-PRSP, 2016). Hopley settlement is excluded from receiving some of the fundamental basic needs like clean drinking water and proper sanitation

adding on the that is electricity and according to the above mentioned definition of development this may somewhat suggest the opposite of it hence presenting poverty marks. Women are spending much time waiting in long winding queues at the few community taps in the area for clean drinking water. On the other the area has got sites which have been illegally turned into land fills or rather dumping sites due to the failure of the HCC to provide waste management services into the area. This further exposes the people to health risks. Children and at some point adults are seen scavenging for plastics, empty bottles that they later used for making fire. Basic needs should be available to anyone at anytime but thus the unavailability of these basic needs is a mark of poverty in Hopley settlement. A third of deaths in Hopley settlement are a result of inadequate sanitation and poor hygiene (Local clinic). These conditions also impair the health budget of a country at large worse off the poor who are already failing to upkeep with their wellbeing.

Since the area was established in 2005 there has not been any further attempts to install electricity apart from the poles that were dug in and left like that in Zone 6 close to the clinic. Poor households are more likely to use firewood as the main source of energy for cooking than non-poor ones at all levels (I-PRSP, 2016). The better off families use gas stoves and have solar panels however the majority poor have to use firewood, sawdust, paraffin, candles, paraffin lamps and torches for cooking and lighting. Due to the high cost of buying firewood after every three days, some households have resorted to using charcoal which produce carbon monoxide. As the charcoal burns, the concentration of carbon monoxide progressively rises. The incomplete burning of carbon produces carbon monoxide, which connects strongly to hemoglobin, quickly lessening the ability of blood to transport oxygen to the body (engineering tool box). This result in death brought about by carbon monoxide poisoning. This is a clear indication of poverty in Hopley area; people fail to obtain cleaner or rather environmentally friendly fuels.

3.3.9 DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

Studies have shown that domestic violence is phenomenon not only found in Africa but the whole world, cutting across all ethnic groups and social classes. The causes of

domestic violence are various and they include drug abuse and history of being abused as a child (Goldsmith, 2016). However the causes are not only limited to the previously mentioned but also include partners' desire to dominate over the other, docile nature of women, patriarchy, african feminism, religion as well as poverty. Straus finds that serious physical acts of wife abuse are likely to be experienced in poorer homes. For more serious types of violence, the rates increase dramatically as the socioeconomic status drops (Pearlman et al., 1995), the writer further speculate that one explanation for the increased risk of domestic violence in poorer homes might be differences in law enforcement available to the economically deprived communities. They might have less police notification and documentation. Domestic violence is a pattern coupled with sexual, emotional, and physical together with intimidation and coercion. In economic recessions, episodes of domestic violence increase rapidly for instances during job loss, debt and housing foreclosure. These conditions contribute to high levels of stress and eventually increased violence. Financial constrains can also limit chances for survivors to find safety or flee (Bewley et al., 1997).

Although domestic violence reports have been low it does not mean that people have stopped committing it. Low reports may be attributed to fear, social status as well as lack of access to information which protects individuals from the acts of domestic violence. In Zimbabwe the Domestic Violence Act (DVA) as enacted in 2007 however it has not been popular among the marginalized groups. In Hopley settlement there have been few reports on domestic violence, however this does not discredit the existence of it. Monalissa Mukaro a single mother confessed to be a survivor of sexual, emotional and physical violence from her former husband. She says that the abuses began when his husband lost his job, he would get drunk everyday and then put off all his frustrations on her. However she mentioned that she never reported the matter to the police because of fear of being left alone to take care of the child alone. Nevertheless despite keeping this a secret she was unfortunately left to take care of their daughter on her own. Basing on the information from the neighborhood watches, at least 22% of females have been subjected to acts of violence from an intimate partner, parent or

relative. The increase the violence rate can easily be accredited to the harsh living conditions that have put on stress among the people living in the area thus poverty being a leading factor towards domestic violence.

3.3.10 INDECENT HOUSING

Type of dwelling can also depict the social status of a person or community. The nexus between poverty and infrastructure is no doubt just like that of crop production and famine (Pouliquen, 2000). In general, indications that poverty affects housing status are stronger than evidence that housing circumstances have an effect on poverty. There is ample evidence to show that poor housing conditions affect some aspects of child development and elements of adult health (Tunstall et al., 2013). Most residents have complained that the bare soil covered in carpets which hold much dust have resulted in respiratory health problems for both children and adults. Just as one is moving along the Chitungwiza road, the types of housing in Hopley area are vividly exposed and it is easy to come up with conclusions on the socio-economic status of the area.



*Temporary homes built for Hopley residents that have become permanent homes. Sunday Mail February 28, 2016. Picture by Tafadzwa Kadani. **Pic.1***

From the roofs that are supported by building bricks to the unfinished or rather plastered walls and not talk of the bare soil which is the floor, sometimes covered with carpets. The types of houses that most residents in Hopley area portray a society of low income earners who have failed to upgrade their houses thus presenting poverty. Steve Mkoni who has been living in the area since 2010 reported the makeshift he calls his home has got a roof that is supported by bricks, no floor and the roof leaks during the rainy season. The family sizes outstrip the capacity of the house to accommodate everyone, most families have got one to two rooms in which they live with at least four other family members making it six people per household. The disproportion between houses and the number of family size has infringed family privacy. Mr and Mrs Sande have been staying in Hopley since 2005 and they have a one roomed house in which they stay with their four children and two of them are now teenagers and it has become difficult for them to share the single room thus the girls are forced to sleep at a friend's house where there is enough space for them to sleep. Some even construct makeshifts for children to sleep in. The households' heads can barely afford the standard asbestos for roofing thus have resorted to using steel (Mazan'e) which are then supported by bricks. The above mentioned conditions lucidly show traits of poverty in the area.

26 3.4 Chapter summary

This chapter was on the manifestations of poverty in Hopley settlement. The data presented was from the questionnaires as well as the interviews and observations that transpired during the course of the research. Results presented provide a vivid image of the situation at Hopley settlement that poverty exists as a reality in the area rather than a myth.

27 CHAPTER THREE

28 4.1 INTRODUCTION

Development in Africa can only be achieved when poverty is eradicated. According to ACERD (2001) Africans cannot leave the substance and chase the shadow, if we are to let poverty exist in African communities, the dream of development will go down the drain. The aspiration of reducing poverty in Africa has attracted both state and non-state actors globally. Since the independence era that is 1947 upto date, it has been said that development amongst African states has failed. From the 1970s the era dubbed the (Big Government era) in which governments instigated projects and expanded the public enterprise. This kind of approach towards development collapsed due to the rising of basic commodities, high inflation rates as well as political instabilities. From the late 1980s upto the early 1990s, the Bretton woods institutions that is the IMF and WB implemented the SAPs in at least 30 african countries with the aim of eradicating poverty through economic growth.

According to the (Global Monitoring Report, 2015) economic growth may prove to be the panacea to poverty eradication, nevertheless there is need to make sure that the prospects of economic growth have trickled down reaching all members of the society. In a bid to address the issues of poverty, states have come up with a number of strategies. These include job creation, improve access to education and health, wage raise, debt cancellation and transparency and accountability among others. This chapter will focus on the poverty coping strategies adopted by the people in Hopley settlement as well as recommendations on how the various stakeholders like HCC and GoZ may assist this people in meeting basic amenities.

29 4.2 POVERTY COPYING STRATEGIES IN HOPLEY SETTLEMENT

From the study carried out in Hopley settlement, there are quite a number of poverty copying strategies that have been adopted by the residents in the informal settlement so as to counter the socio-economic challenges that they have been facing since the establishment of the settlement. To start with the GoZ initiated the Operation Garikai Hlalani Kuhle where by houses were built for the people that had been displaced by the OM in the year 2005. However the housing units that were constructed were not and are still far from enough to accommodate the estimated 40 000 residence (Kamoyo, 2014). Due to the unavailability of enough adequate infrastructure, the residents have resorted to building their own makeshifts which are at most a two roomed house. This has helped to accommodate most of the families in the area. According to some respondents whose households have got a high dependency ratio, they have to add a makeshift made out of plastics or straw to their two roomed house so as to create space for children to sleep in. In a bid to make sure that children have got a conducive place to sleep, respondents have reported that they sometimes make arrangements with relatives asking them to help. Mrs Gadaga one of the respondents said that two of her daughter live with her young sister in Mondoro because her makeshift is not enough to house herself, her husband and their three children including the teenage girls.



Makeshifts used by some residents at Hopley settlement. Picture by Vimbai Kamoyo 2014. Pic.2

4.2.1 REDUCE FOOD INTAKE

Due to food insecurities, families in the Hopley settlement have to limit food intake. Unemployment and low income have resulted in food insecurities thus residents had to reduce the food intake as well as increase intervals between meals and reduce their basic need basket. The study found out that 42% of respondents eat twice a day, 29% eat once a day and the remaining 29% eat three times a day. To add on the, the respondents had to reduce their basic need basket so as to compromise with their incomes. The following table shows the list of items considered as basic. However the respondents also communicated that some of these things they could not afford them on a daily basis thus they would go for days without having them despite the fact that they are needs.

Food Item	Basic item
Mealie meal 10kg	School fees
Cooking oil 2l	Medicals
Sugar 2kg	Clothes
Salt 500g	Transport
Matches 2boxes	Water
Firewood	Alcohol
Vaseline	
Soup	
Tea 500g	
Bread	

Table.1 showing a list regarded as basic needs by households in Hopley settlement.

Having these basic needs, households then decide how they can budget such that they may be able to last at least a month. The desire to last a month has forced them to have what they call branch (a combination of breakfast and lunch) or lupper (a combination

of lunch and supper). Nevertheless these arrangements may also be attributed to the malnourishment that has been evidenced amongst children.

4.2.2 ALTERNATIVE EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES

Having the general knowledge that education is the key to success, household heads have strived to send their children to school despite having one government primary institution in the area Tamuka primary school. The study indicated that children have to travel to other nearby locations like Glen Norah, Glen View and Highfields so as to attend school. Nevertheless this type of arrangements is too demanding due to the need of transport fee which in most cases proves to be difficult to raise. One respondent who proves to be better off reported that he is forced to use \$4 a day to send his two children to Shiriyedenga primary school in Glen Norah A and this is costly that it results in regular absentism. This has forced the poor household heads to send their children to local private schools that offer Early Childhood Development (ECD), primary as well as secondary education. Another respondent communicated that the private colleges that are available are there to rip out money from the hopeless students and nothing more.

Nonetheless, the existing private schools referred to as local colleges do not provide adequate or rather the basic qualities of educational standards as set by United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). The infrastructure is terrible; there are no textbooks and has inexpert staff. They are only there to enable children to read and write. Some children do not have birth certificates so they are allowed to attend lesson in this school but in the end they fail to write their national examinations. This further put these children in a series of poverty which may be deemed a culture of poverty.

Still on education, the constraints associated with the attainment of it that is failing to pay school fees and the inability to raise transport money to send them to nearby schools has resulted in sacrificing school fees for food. This study found out that some households have to remove their children from school thus sacrificing education for other needs they regard as essential like food. This has led to some children completely

dropping out of school, some skip terms and attend the next which hinder their educational process and later their professional qualifications.

4.2.3 ALTERNATIVE HEALTH FACILITIES

The study further indicated that in order to deal with the inadequate health facilities in the area they have to go and seek medical treatment to other clinics and Hospitals and at some point they are denied the assistance due to the policy of Zoning. It is impossible for someone from the southern part of Harare to attain medical attention from Parirenyatwa Group of Hospitals due to the issue of proximity. Also some women have opted for home delivery with the help of elderly women who are in most cases unskilled because the local clinic is in no position to offer maternal services. However this has had negative consequences in which some babies do not survive more than a two days.

To add on, the unavailability of income has caused some people to stay at home and not seek medical treatment when they are not feeling well. The study discovered that 3% of the poor seek divine healing from spiritual healers and traditional healers who offer free services and sometime arrange a payment plan.

4.2.4 INFORMAL SECTOR

Unemployment and low wages have turned to exacerbate the current poverty situation experienced by the majority of settlers in Hopley area. The aspirations to earn a decent living has caused some of the household heads to engage in the informal sector. The study indicated that some residents who are formally unemployed could not sit and watch their lives going down with the economy but had to find something to do. From the study, 11 males responded that they were involved in selling firewood. They travel from Hopley settlement to Ingwe Farm where they cut down trees in order to obtain firewood. They sell it to the local people who use it for cooking, a rack of firewood enough for two days usually costs \$0.50c. Through this they earn money less from enough to cater for all monthly expenses however it is enough to buy a few basics.

Vending seems to be the leading coping strategy towards the reduction of poverty amongst Hopley settlers. The study reveals that a large number of people living in Hopley settlement are heavily involved in vending. There is a market place that the locals refer to as (Speed), this is where all the activity happens. There are tuckshops, mini supermarkets, Grinding mill (chigayo) and the majority are vendors selling vegetables, meat and repackaged food items like mealie meal, sugar and cooking oil which they refer to as emergency or (tswana). These repackaged food items cost from \$0.50c to \$2.00 a pack or bottle. These repackaged goods are more popular than the ordinary packages because they are affordable to many people, however these repackaged goods do not last long hence making life in the informal settlement more expensive.

Shebeens are also quite popular although they are deemed illegal in the country (Murwira, 2015). Shebeens are unlicensed businesses or private homes retailing alcohol which are preferred by most Zimbabweans due to expedient and has flexible opening hours. One respondent confirmed to owning a shebeen at PaAntony a popular place in Hopley. Kieth Chitiza a 28 year old man reported that he has a shebeen at PaAntony, he further explains that the shebeen is his source of living since he is not formally employed. From the shebeen he gets little income that he manages to send his children to school and put food on the table. Sometimes the shebeen is subjected to raids by the police hence he struggles to save money to expand his business.

Due to Hopley settlement's proximity to new stands of Stoneridge and Southly Park, some people especially men and a few women are actively involved in brick making, sand pouching as well as stone crushing so as to sell to the new areas that are still under construction. The study found that there are people who make a living out of sand pouching, an act whereby people excavate pit sand and resell it to those ready to construct their houses. 16 of the respondents reported to be involved in stone crushing and sell it which is then used for concrete. 23 of the respondents were also involved in brick making. These activities work as income generating mechanisms.

A large number of the most poor and vulnerable women reported to be surviving through part-time jobs in which they travel to the nearby medium density suburb Waterfalls. Here they are employed part-time and receive low income which in most scenerios is used for food. These women are usually working as housekeepers, baby sitters, washing and ironing among others. Grace Ridi a young mother of two communicated herself together with her husband are into cusual labour. She does laundry for three different househods in Waterfalls and her husband does the gardening and yard maintanance. She reported that they receive their income on a weekly basis and this has been enabling them to provide for their two sons.

Due to the continued collapse of the Zimbabwean economy, the society has witnessed the sprouting of more male hairdressers. Back then hairdressing was more of a female profession however men have also joined the industry. Sandra Chishamba responded that she is surving through hairdressing together with her two friends whom she shares a cabin used as the saloon. Sandra reported that she has ot been making mush out of hair dressing and she is struggling to make ends meet. A day she normally goes home with at least \$3, this is because it is not every day that your regular customers come for a hair do. To add on males are also making a living out hair plaiting, a former gendered profession associated with women. Takunda is a male hairdresser who specialises in braiding. He reported that he dropped out of school at the age of 15 because his parents had failed to pay for his school fees, since then he has learned to do braiding (twist) and has been helping his mother in supporting her two siblings.

The study indicated that 4 of the respondents were involved in motor repairs and earned a living out of it. Flyod Matsvororo an unskilled machanic shared that he survives through repairing cars. This can be a lucrative job but however the story has been different for him. Ofcourse he makes money but it is not enough to meet his families basic needs because there is a high dependency ratio. Tamuka explains that him and the other mechanics hardly receive customers on a regular basis due to the fact that they prefere going to more skilled mechanic for their motor repairs.

4.2.5 ALTERNATIVES FOR WATER AND SANITATION

Due to the fact that Hopley settlement is unserved, there is the unavailability of water and sanitation services. However the residents have managed to counter the social ills through digging their own shallow unprotected wells in which they obtain water to use for cooking, drinking among others. For those who do not afford drilling wells they obtain water from the community borehole which is coupled with long and winding queues. Some residents resort to (mufuku) where they obtain water from the river banks. This has helped quite a lot in alleviating water problems in the area.

As for sanitation, residents use Blair or pit latrines. Some residents share toilets although there are some risks associated with that. The HCC is unable to collect garbage in most locations in Harare and Hopley is no exception. The residents have resorted to digging pits which they use for depositing waste. However from the study carried out, it seems as if anywhere is a dumping area in Hopley. There are a number of areas that are being used to dump waste especially the area along the stream that carries waste from Irvin. Nevertheless this makes it easier for the spread of diseases.

4.2.6 ILLICIT BEHAVIOURS

Furthermore, the study discovered that people engage in illicit behaviours in a bid to gain income to help meet their basic needs. Some respondents shared that in Hopley settlement there are women who engage in prostitution as a means of living. Fadzai Bare who is a shop attendant at PaAntony shared that there are many women who come there during night time, the sad part is that even the young girl who in most cases may have dropped out of school are taking prostitution as a profession as well as an income gaining strategy to help deal with poverty. However this has placed the area under threat of high prevalence of HIV and AIDS as well as other Sexually Transmitted Infections (STIs).

Despite having a subsequent number of people being heavily involved in the informal sector and some providing casual labour, there are people who survive through begging and scavenging. Through observation the study found out that some residents in Hopley settlement are in penury. In the settlement there was clear evidence of women especially the elderly scavenging at a nearby dumping area. The area is close to the speed section where most vending and retailing happens. After vendors have thrown away what they consider to be rotten or no longer fresh for example vegetables and tomatoes, these elderly women will come and select the better offs which are then used as food back at home. Vegetables are usually dried (Mufushwa) and they supplement their diet. Also the dumping area is home to self germinated pumpkin plants and women have got free access to the pumpkin leaves (Muboora) which they go and cook at home as relish.

4.2.7 BEGGING AND SCAVENGING

Besides scavenging, begging is another strategy used to curb the devastating effects of poverty amongst residents in Hopley settlement. Mrs Chemusora who lives with disability, she is blind survives through begging. She is currently taking care of her grandson who is 4 years old. The child is not attending ECD because she cannot afford to pay the fees hence she goes to town where she now has a sport she calls “her own” and here she sits down singing gospel songs waiting patiently for people to drop coins into her plastic plate. Another young woman Liza has got three children with different fathers yet she is unemployed thus she also begs in town together with her children who are exposed to dangers of standing in the middle of the road.

4.2.8 FAMILY AND FRIENDS

Family and friends are also another source of income for some people living in Hopley settlement. This study found out cases in which household heads receive help from family or friends. Zvikomborero (17years) and Darlington (20) are a young couple living together and have a daughter Ropafadzo (8months). Zvikomborero’s husband is a commuter omnibus conductor but during the time of the study the omnibus was not working so he was not going to work. This made the already poverty situation worse.

However these two shared that they had been received assistance from willing friends especially Darlington's friends who work for the same boss as him. In addition 6 of the household heads communicated that they were receiving remittances from family that is their children who are in South Africa and Namibia respectively, this has been quite helpful in curtailing poverty at household level. They reported that their children send money once a month or in two months but however with the current cash shortages it has been difficult to collect the money from various financial institutions like Mukuru and Western Union.

4.2.9 PURCHASING ON CREDIT

Respondents shared that too often they survive through borrowing which lead to unending debts and de-saving. Most shopkeepers at PaAtony and Speed are very much aware that residents at most do not have hard cash hence they allow them to purchase on debt. Due to this kind of arrangements they are able to meet basic food items , nevertheless they are unable to prepare a well balanced diet and afford the standard three meals a day.

4.2.10 MIGRATION

Migration is another form of strategy that has been employed by the poor residents of Hopley settlement. In order to earn a decent living some household heads have migrated to neighbouring countries in search of greener pastures. The study illustrated that 8 of the household heads were said to be in foreign countries, sending back remittances that were then used by the dependencies in Hopley settlement.

30 4.3 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter illustrated the various coping strategies that have been employed by the people in Hopley settlement so as to curtail poverty. However the data presented shows that although they have managed to minimise poverty, it has been difficult to completely eradicate the epidemic. Other factors leading to the existence of poverty in the area are

deeply rooted in economic and political spectums for example unemployment, health as well as education.

31 4.4 CONCLUSION

The researcher concludes that Poverty in Hopley area is a reality rather than a myth. The initial displacement of people through the operation Murambatsvina had subsequent negative impacts which continue to manifest depressing effects on the the people despite the remedy Operation Garikai Hlalani Kuhle being launched weeks after. The socio-economic as well as political challenges that Zimbabwe is facing have got detrimental effects on its citizens at large, the rural poor are the most vulnerable but however the informal settlers are equally vulnerable. The GoZ as well as the HCC have not lived to their promises and madates to provide basic social needs to every citizen. The effects of poverty in Hopley area are detrimental, they create a culture of poverty which may be difficult to contain in the near future.

There is need for collective intervention so as to deal with this ulcer of poverty. The remedies that are being employed by residents in the communy are far from enough to tackle the problems at hand. There is need to focus on the way forward that is how to eradicate poverty in the whole country not just paying attention to rural areas. Causes of poverty are there but the viable strategies need to be crafted with active participation of those directly affected by poverty in particular informal dwellers. The idea of formalising informal settlements need to be prioritised in National polices as this may include people living in the area in political participation as well as economic.

32 4.5 RECOMMENDATIONS

Poverty reduction strategies involves a systematic collection of resources of a govern area so as to address the issues that are pertinent in the particular community (Ginneken, 1998). The study found out that the residents in hopley area alone cannot manage to eradicate poverty but rather alleviate this epidemic. Households require efforts that

would engage them as legible citizens actively participating in the mobilisation of resources that are required for the revival of their lives. The study recommends that the HCC should become the leading board in community development and should come up with strategies that are directly linked to vitalise informal settlements.

People living in the informal settlements need current information on Micro-financing. Workshops need to be carried out in these area so as to equip both men and women, young and old with enough and relevant information on how they can apply for these small loans such that they may be able to revamp their businesses and those that have been failing to get capital may also be financed. The advantages of microfinance are that they were specifically programmed to reach the poor and no collateral is needed thus they are able to access capital. To add on to that, entrepreneurship is also equally vital to people living in the informal settlements. This may be financed through micro-finance and will help in the issue of inadequate income and low wages.

Looking at the impact of unemployment, GoZ should make extra efforts so as to recognise fully the informal sector as it is playing a vital role in household livelihoods. The ministry of small and medium enterprise and cooperative development (Min. of SMEs) should be actively engaged with the both rural and urban poor without the exception of informal settlers so as to instigate viable projects that will benefit them.

To add on, municipalities need to rise to the challenge of water and sanitation issues. The study evidenced that some of the community boreholes are not functioning this it should be the duty of the HCC to monitor and repair these boreholes so as to counter water issues in the area. HCC can also hold awareness campaigns on the issues of hygiene, so as to help minimize the spread of diseases like typhoid and cholera. The municipality should actually modernize social services in order to help the greater part of Harare when it comes to water and sanitation.

The study further recommends that appropriate country wide policies should be initiated so as to effectively meet their targets. For example the current Zim asset has got positive aspirations towards social services and poverty eradication. However those intended initiatives should not only be addressed to the obvious rural poor, settlers in the informal settlements in the periphery of major cities should equally benefit from the prospects of the blue print. The GoZ should renew the Operation Garikai so as to meet the increasing demand on housing. The government should prioritise adequate housing, access to clean water and sanitation in resettlements that came about as a result of OM.

Moreover Social protection is of paramount importance when it comes to managing helping the poor and vulnerable manage risk and overcome deprivation (Marcus, 2007a). The social protection mechanism include pensions, child benefits as well as disability grants. Health insurance, employment guarantees, subsidies as well as user free exemptions, nutritional supplements through school feeding programmes are equally important in trying to guarantee better living conditions and curtail poverty amongst the poor and vulnerable groups.

The study indicated that women are more poorer than men thus ensuring gender equality through improved education for women and girls will lower women's vulnerabilities. Education for girls will also generate indirect benefits in the form of healthy babies, family nutrition as well as educational attainment for their children (WB, 2001). Also education especially secondary and tertiary levels can be essential in the building of democratic societies. Democratisation eradicate the element of exclusion and marginalisation hence equal participation for all citizens in matters that affect them directly as well as transparency and accountability from the government and municipality with regards to resource allocation and policy implementation.

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34 APPENDICES 1

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR HOUSEHOLD ASSESSMENT

First Name..... Surname.....

Age..... Sex []

Location(ZONE).....

Marital status.....

Educational level

Primary (specify grade)	High school (specify form)	other (specify)

Employment status.....

Family structure

Dependents 18 years and below

Name and surname	Age	Birth certificate	School

Dependents above 18 years

Name and surname	Age	Occupation

Basic needs afforded

Food items	Basic items

How many meals do you afford per day []

In your own opinion, which factors contributed to your current situation?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

How have you been coping with the situation?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

Thank you for taking your time to complete the questionnaire.

35 APPENDICES 2

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR KEY INFORMANTS

1. Is the assertion that there is poverty in Hopley area a reality or myth, if it is a reality what are the causes?
2. Can you point out on some of the manifestations of poverty in the area?
3. Can you comment on the issue of provision of basic services in particular water and sanitation in the area?
4. What is the quality of education provided by the local private colleges?
5. What are some of the alternatives for education/health?
6. The area has been labeled the hub of communicable diseases. How far true is this claim and how is this possible?
7. How often to women take their children to the antenatal clinic?
8. What do you have to say about the state of infant mortality in the area?
9. What is the nutritional status of children in this area?
10. What do you think are the causes of malnutrition amongst children living in Hopley area?
11. The rate of HIV and AIDS has been reported to be high, if true what are the causes of the high prevalence?
12. What is the status of crime rate in this area?

13. What are some of the activities done to curb poverty in the area especially at household level?
14. What are your suggestions on how best to revive the lives of people in Hopley settlement?