

# **Zimbabwe's Operation Murambatsvina (Operation Clean Up/Restore Order): The Epitome of Forced Evictions, Broken Lives And Lost Livelihoods**

<sup>a</sup>C. Madebwe, <sup>b</sup>V. Madebwe, <sup>c</sup>M. Togo and <sup>d</sup>L. Pazvakawambwa

---

<sup>abc</sup> Department Of Geography And Environmental Studies, Midlands State University, P. Bag 9055, Gweru, Zimbabwe

<sup>d</sup> Department of Mathematics, Midlands State University, P. Bag 9055, Gweru, Zimbabwe

Paper presented at the Social Science Research Seminar Series at the Batanai Campus on 26 November, 2005.

---

Phone: +263 54 260464 Fax: +263 54 260311

Email addresses:

<sup>a</sup>[cmadebwe@yahoo.com](mailto:cmadebwe@yahoo.com) / [vicmadebwe@yahoo.com](mailto:vicmadebwe@yahoo.com) /  
<sup>c</sup>[muchatogo@yahoo.com](mailto:muchatogo@yahoo.com) / [muchatogo@gmail.com](mailto:muchatogo@gmail.com)  
<sup>d</sup>[pazvakawambwal@msu.ac.zw](mailto:pazvakawambwal@msu.ac.zw)

°Corresponding author

**ABSTRACT**

*Using situational analysis, household questionnaires and interviews the paper analyzes socio-economic impacts of Operation Murambatsvina in two residential areas in Gweru. The number of households sharing a house ranged from one (66%), two (23%) and three (11%). Living rooms (23%), kitchens (28%) and dining rooms (63%) were used as sleeping quarters. Average monthly household income was Z\$4 018 443 inclusive of salaries, rentals, remittances and income from informal activities. Households with backyard shacks (27%), illegal extensions to houses (9%), illegal fowl runs (47%), illegal business premises (8%) and illegal tuck shops (8%) had such structures demolished. Seventy-nine percent of the structures had been in use for over 5 years. Monthly household income loss due to demolitions averaged Z\$2 227 400. Seventy-seven percent of respondents had not received formal prior notice about the demolitions and evictions. Thirty-five percent of evictees sought accommodation in the 'main' house, 36% moved to other residential areas whereas 5% and 24% went to rural areas or unknown destinations respectively. Operation Murambatsvina truncated children's education, caused instant homelessness, loss of livelihoods and dislocation from jobs and neighborhoods.*

*Key words: Operation Murambatsvina, informal settlements, demolitions, evictions, urban governance*

## **INTRODUCTION**

Human Rights are indivisible because of an absence of a hierarchical structure among such rights. Consequently, the housing right is at parity with all other human rights. In spite of housing having been declared a basic human right at the United Nations Conference in 1948 and at subsequent conferences such as Habitat 1 (1976), Agenda 21 (1992) and Habitat 11 (1996), housing rights are the least universally enjoyed rights (Madebwe and Madebwe 2004b). Over 1 billion people in the world are inadequately housed. Projections show that about 1.6 billion people will be living in informal settlements by 2020 (IFS 2001; United Nations Centre for Settlements 2001; Corr 2005). Homelessness, growth of the informal housing subsystem and forced evictions are stark evidence of the continued assault, erosion and violation of housing rights of individuals and whole communities by governments or their agencies, corporate globalization, international wars and internal armed conflicts (Akrofi 2001; Balbo 2001; Kombe and Krebich 2001).

Because of its ability to create social and human capital, housing is a fundamental developmental priority (Sisulu 2004). The right to housing is critical to the fulfillment of a decent life and for social and economic empowerment. Components of the housing right include inter alia; security of tenure, affordability, freedom from dispossession, resettlement, safe environment, security and privacy (Choike 2005). Sadly, 6-7 million people in the world are illegally evicted from their homes every year in abridgement of

internationally recognized norms, laws and procedures (Bozen 2004; Olden and de Mello 2005).

In developing countries, a considerable proportion of the urban population lives in informal or non-regularized housing without sanitation and security of tenure (IFS 2001 and Shakur 2002). The proportion of the urban population living in urban informal settlements ranges from 61% in Accra, 61% in Calcutta and 72% in Santa Domingo (Corr 2005). Concepts such as informal settlements or informal housing subsystem grossly understate the diversity in settlement types, cultural and social organization systems and practices. Such settlements range in typology from slums, squatter settlements, urban low income settlements, backrooms and shacks (Matovu 2000; Clacherty and Clacherty 2005). Residents of these settlements comprise the urban poor, a category made up of vulnerable and socio-economically marginalized groups namely, women, children, orphans, the aged, disabled and migrants with insecure incomes and fragile livelihoods (Kombe and Kreibich 2001).

In Africa, growth in the proportion of the urban population without access to adequate housing can be attributed to the negative synergistic effect of a multiplicity of factors ranging from fiscal and political crises, inequalities of opportunity, decentralization by national governments of the responsibility for housing provision, lack of integration of economic and social planning, corporate globalization, deterioration of urban conditions due to under funding, poor governance, policy and institutional failures, over-regulation of the urban housing sector and high urban population growth rates (Otiso 1999; Akrofi

2001; Balbo 2001, Kombe and Kreibich 2001; Wikipedia 2005). Although Africa has the lowest proportion of global urban population (39.7%), it has the highest slum incidence and urbanization rates of 71.9% and 4-5% a year respectively (African Ministers 2005). Delayed urbanization in Africa is due to influx control regulations that were enforced in some countries during the colonial period. Rapid urbanization has not been matched by a corresponding growth in levels of industrialization, employment generation and per capita investment in social services. Provision of housing in the formal sector has been outpaced by demand. Primacy is still dominant and capital cities remain the favoured destination of many rural-urban migrants. A sense of deprivation, poverty, breakdown of communal safety nets, natural disasters, lack of egalitarian resource distributive policies and wars fuel migration from rural areas (Otiso 1999; Kombe and Kreibich 2001; Madebwe and Madebwe 2004a).

Migration to cities is a rational household survival strategy triggered by the need for individual and family welfare optimization. Although rural-urban migration has been blamed as the major cause of urban population growth, fertility differentials between urban and rural areas are not significantly different. In the 1990's, for example, the contribution of natural increase and migration to urban population growth was 60% and 40% respectively (Otiso 1999). Other components of urban population growth are reclassification and growth due to influx of international refugees and internally displaced persons.

It is the mismatch between demand, availability and affordability of housing in the formal sector that has fuelled the growth of the informal housing subsystem. Government policies with respect to the informal housing sector range from; indifference, tolerance, outright disapproval and hostility, passing stringent regulations and exclusion from infrastructure provision. Few governments and local authorities consider the informal housing subsystem as an asset or a solution to housing problems in urban areas (Kombe and Kreibich 2001; Syagga, Mitullah and Gitau 2001). To control the perceived problem of rapid growth of the informal housing sector, several interventionist strategies have been used ranging from; eviction, demolition with or without replacement, upgrading, provision of land for aided or non-aided site and service schemes, provision of houses in or out of urban areas and rural repatriation ([Matovu 2000](#)). It is widely recognized that both evictions and demolitions are short term rather than long-term solutions because they do not address the fundamental and proximate determinants of the problem of squatting.

According to Goal 7, Target 11 of the Millennium Development Goals acceded to by world leaders in 2000; measures taken to deal with the problem of informal housing should uphold human rights of the affected individuals and communities. International legislation governing evictions obligate governments to provide reasonable notice, genuine consultation, information on the proposed evictions and adequate alternative housing or resettlement before effecting evictions (Bozen 2005).

Zimbabwe has a population of 11.6 million people, 36% of whom live in urban areas. The slum incidence rate is 3.4% (CSO 2002; UN-HABITAT 2003). The country faces many political and socio-economic developmental challenges. Economic regression post 2002 has seen social and economic indicators going down (Madebwe and Madebwe 2005). Inflation is about 340% while unemployment has driven 75% of the adult population into the informal sector (UNI 2005). The proportion of the population below the total consumption line is 80% (Tibaijuka 2005). In addition, 24.6% of the population is infected with HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS 2004). More than half the population for the third successive year will need food aid. Urban poverty due to high levels of unemployment, instability of incomes due to high inflation and a phenomenal rise in the working poor (living on the equivalent of US\$1.00 or less a day) has increased the number of food insecure households country wide. By March 2004 the minimum wage for workers in industry could purchase only an estimated 12% of the Consumer Council of Zimbabwe's estimated 'food basket' comprising basic food items for a family of six (United Nations Relief and Recovery Unit, 2004). Dire economic conditions have driven some people in urban areas to live in non-regularized housing and settlements.

Zimbabwe initiated state sponsored demolitions of informal settlements, 'illegal' residential dwellings and 'illegal' structures used for a variety of production and trade activities by informal traders in both urban and rural areas on 25 May 2005. The Official viewpoint is that demolitions and evictions were necessary in order to rid urban areas of criminals, illegal immigrants, illegal foreign currency dealers and unsafe structures. Government's action was considered insensitive and received widespread condemnation

both locally and internationally on a scale large enough to warrant independent investigation of Operation Murambatsvina by the United Nations Secretary General Special Envoy on Human Settlements Issues in Zimbabwe, Anna K. Tibaijuka and Bahame Tom Nyandunga a member of the African Union Commission on Human and People's Rights and Special Rapporteur Responsible for Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Internally Displaced Persons in Africa (Olden and de Mello 2005; UNI 2005). Demolitions and evictions in Zimbabwe were condemned on the grounds that such demolitions and evictions;

- (i) breached local and international laws governing demolitions and evictions including the Children's Rights Act
- (ii) triggered a humanitarian crisis which spawned homelessness among close to 700 000 internally displaced people
- (iii) destroyed the dignity of affected people by asking them to pull down their own homes or fining them where there was resistance and a bulldozer had to be used
- (iv) destroyed livelihoods of people dependent on the informal sector in gross violation of their citizenship and socio-economic rights
- (v) contradicted, ironically, widely publicized government policies that encourage school leavers to generate employment rather than look for employment by getting support from the Ministry of Small to Medium Enterprises



- (vi) did not follow recommended procedures such as giving due notice to victims, providing alternative options including resettlement and conducting genuine consultation with affected communities and other stakeholders
- (vii) were carried out in mid- winter in a country suffering from food insecurity for the third successive year due to drought, institutional and other policy weaknesses
- (viii) resulted in forced removal of large numbers of people to holding camps only as an afterthought, where living and sanitary conditions are worse than in the demolished settlements as there are no schools, health centers, communal safety nets for orphans and people living with HIV/AIDS
- (ix) caused forced rural repatriation which is an exclusionary measure meant to keep the poor away from cities by erroneously assuming that in a country with endemic open unemployment and underemployment the poor are better off in rural areas even during drought
- (x) occurred in settlements some of which had been formerly set up by the government 10 years earlier as holding camps ominously suggesting that holding camps being set up following Operation Murambatsvina might become permanent dumping grounds for the urban poor
- (xi) affected some residential areas where houses were built at great cost by housing cooperatives allocated land by influential politicians who had subsequently commissioned the houses
- (xii) should not have been conducted by the police and the army in a high handed manner that was perceived as intimidatory, punitive, criminalized, traumatized

and stigmatized the urban poor when authority to manage urban areas is vested with Local Urban Authorities or Municipalities

- (xiii) accentuated income poverty by destroying, burning, confiscating and auctioning informal traders' wares including wooden and stone sculptors in an unclear, non-transparent manner without paying recompense and in contravention of Statutory Instrument 216 of 1994 of the Regional Town and Country Planning Act that allowed for development of non-residential activities in residential areas.

The Zimbabwean case study is a poignant reminder to the United Nations Taskforce on Improving the lives of Slum Dwellers that some social and political contexts severely constrain the attainment of MDG 7 Target 11. The demolitions and evictions occurred as a prelude to the All Stakeholders MDG+5 Summit which was held at the United Nations in September 2005. The year 2005 marks the beginning of a 10-year target period to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGS) aimed at reducing global poverty by 2015.

## **JUSTIFICATION**

Media reports and documentaries on Operation Murambatsvina have focused extensively on the macro-level demolitions of large-scale informal settlements on account of the aggregate number of people affected. There is inadequate information on the impact of state sponsored demolition on other informal housing subtypes. Demolition of 'illegal'

informal rental accommodation comprising backrooms/outbuildings and shacks has not received significant coverage. The study aims to;

- (a) assess the quantitative significance of 'illegal' informal rental accommodation and the socio-economic impact that demolition of such 'assets' may have caused.
- (b) generate information that stakeholders can use to determine the socio-economic consequences of Operation Murambatsvina at household level.
- (c) analyze how such information can be used in formulating pro-poor policies and influence decision making processes that seek to make urban areas more socially inclusive.

## **METHODOLOGY**

Household socio-economic data and other variables pertinent to the investigation were collected using situational analysis and a household questionnaire survey (Appendix 1). Additional data was collected from interviews with relevant Local Council Officials to find out the level of Council's involvement in Operation Murambatsvina and what requisite legal instruments were used to justify the demolitions and evictions and how Council is going to deal with the deluge of lawsuits that have been brought against it by some affected individuals whose livelihoods and houses were destroyed even where the victims had valid vendors licenses, permits and leases in conformity with requirements of Statutory Instrument 216 of 1994 of the Regional Town and Country Planning Act.

The country is experiencing a severe fuel crisis (Olden and de Mello 2005).

Consequently, in terms of spatial coverage of residential areas, the investigation is on a

micro-level. The research covered 308 households in older sections of Mkoba and Senga high population residential areas in Gweru, purposively selected, because researchers assumed that incidence of ‘illegal’ informal rental accommodation is higher in older than newer urban residential areas. The assumption is premised on observations made in an earlier study by Madebwe and Madebwe in 2004. Researchers are cognizant of the trauma caused by Operation Murambatsvina. To reduce suspicion and hostility, Midlands State University students resident in the selected residential areas acted both as entry points in the communities and key informants. Screening questions were used to determine households affected by Operation Murambatsvina. Households determined as having been affected by Operation Murambatsvina were retained in the sample and interviewed in greater detail.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### Duration of warning and how information about demolitions and evictions was obtained

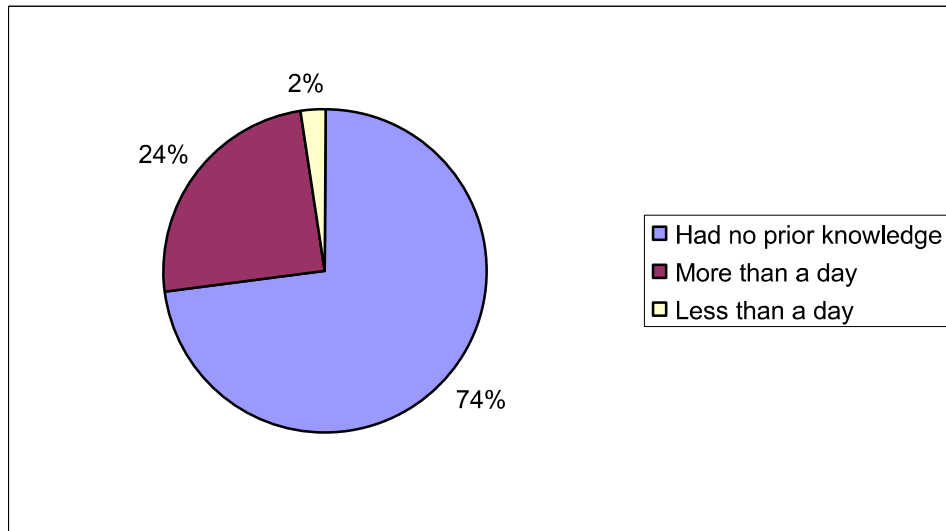


Figure 1. Duration of warning

Results show that 74% of those affected by demolitions and evictions had no prior knowledge, 2% had known about demolitions and evictions less than a day before they became victims. Only 24% of those affected had known about demolitions and evictions for more than a day. Pre and post demolitions and evictions information was obtained from the national news bulletin (77%), personal contacts (22%) and by phone (1%). According to (COHRE 2004), forced evictions are generally planned, foreseen and publicly announced. However, demolitions and evictions that were carried out country wide in Zimbabwe were executed without prior warning and court orders (Tibaijuka 2005). The decision not to send prior warnings may have acted as a pre-emptive measure to thwart potential for organized resistance. Lack of official notification on exact dates and parameters of such high profile and visible emergencies like demolitions and evictions result in fear, panic, confusion, loss of personal possessions and exploitation of vulnerable groups.

### **Household types and duration of stay at residence**

Table 1. Household types and duration of stay

Characteristic (n=308)	Percent
<b>Household types</b>	
Women-headed household	43
Single adult headed household	4
Others	53
Total	100
<b>Duration of stay</b>	
Always lived there	10
5 years or more	67
Less than 5years	23
Total	100

Urbanization is associated with a diversity of household types. Categories identified included de facto women headed households (43%), single adult headed households (4%) and others (53%). For women maintained households in particular, informal activities represent a key household economic survival strategy. In Zimbabwe 90-92% of workers in the informal sector are women (Onimode 1989). Ten percent of households had always lived at their residence, 67% and 23% respectively had lived at residences for over 5 years or less respectively.

### Type of residence and tenure status

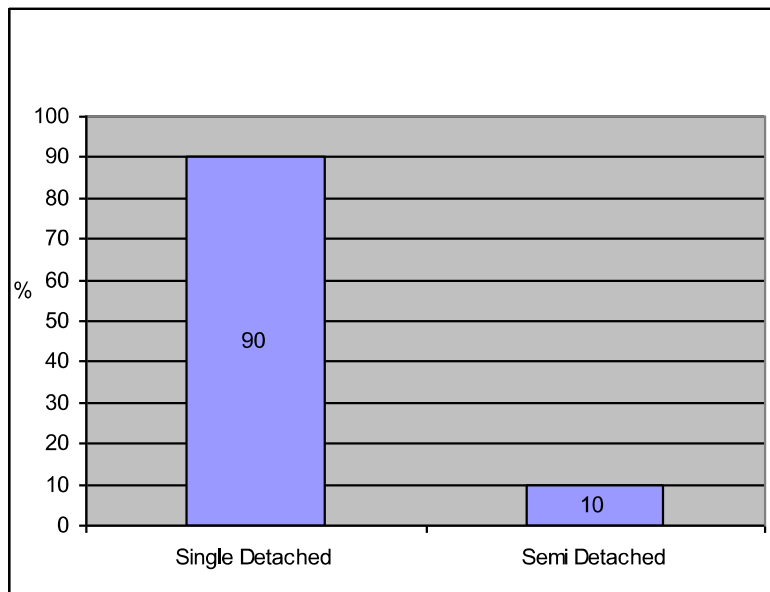


Figure 2. Type of dwelling

Ninety percent of households affected by Operation Murambatsvina lived in single detached houses while 10% lived in semi-detached houses. In 81% of cases, a member of the household owned the house.

### **Number of households sharing a house and utility of rooms**

Table 2. Number of households sharing a house and proportion of other rooms used as sleeping quarters.

Characteristic (n=308)	Percent
<b>Number of households sharing a house</b>	
One	66
Two	23
Three	11
Total	100
<b>Other rooms used as sleeping quarters</b>	
Living rooms	23
Kitchens	28
Dining rooms	63

The number of households sharing a house ranged from one (66%), two (23%) and three (11%). The average number of bedrooms used by a household was 2. This was generally inadequate resulting in living rooms (23%), kitchens (28%) and dining rooms (63%) being used as sleeping quarters.

### **Who destroyed ‘illegal structures’ in residential areas?**

According to the Urban Councils Act, Section 199, only Local Authorities are mandated to destroy illegal structures in areas under their jurisdiction after due process of law and notice to those affected. However, apart from Harare City Council where demolitions and evictions started, no process of consultation and consensus building was engaged in.

Local Authorities elsewhere were by passed or coerced by the line Ministry to take part in the Clean Up Operation by seconding staff.

Table 3. Who destroyed illegal structures and why?

Variable (n=308)	Percent
<b>Who destroyed illegal structure</b>	
Self	88

Police	11
Police and soldiers	1
Total	100
<b>Reasons for destroying own structure</b>	
To salvage possessions and building material	74
To avoid hefty penalties	25
Fear of victimization and intimidation	10

‘Illegal structures’ were destroyed by self (88%), by the police (11%), police and soldiers (1%). Among those who self-destroyed their ‘illegal structures’, 74% did so in order to salvage personal possessions and reusable building materials. Twenty five percent did so for fear of paying hefty penalties commensurate with the cost of hiring a bulldozer for the duration it would take to demolish the ‘illegal’ structure. Size of fines ranged between Z\$2–5 million. Ten percent pulled down their ‘illegal structures’ out of fear of victimization and intimidation by the police. Only 9.6% of respondents knew that it was illegal to construct backyard shacks, tuck shops, and fowl runs without Local Authority’s approval. The majority (90.4%) claimed that municipal by-laws were not specific about the legal status of such structures. A large number in the latter category were opposed to the demolitions in view of the economic hardships facing the country.

### **Perceived future action**



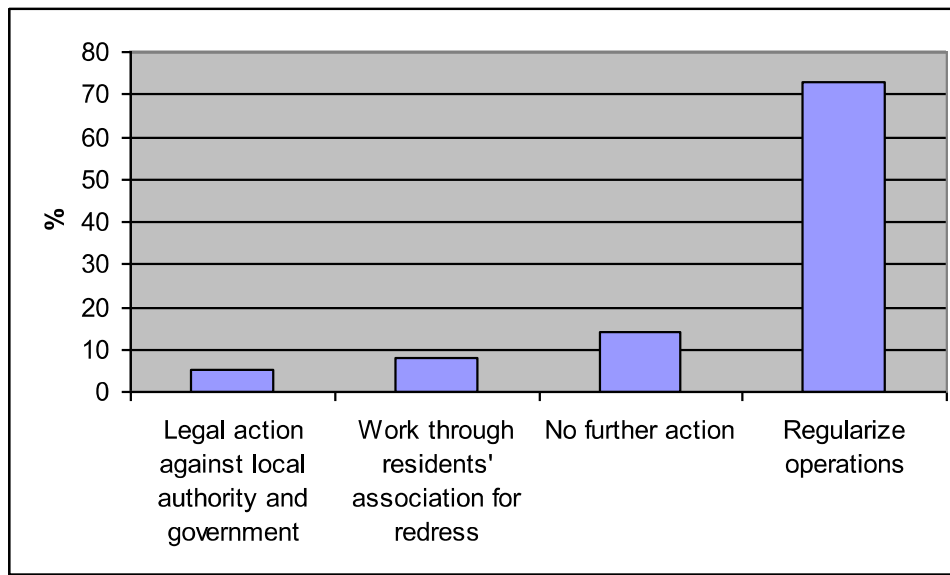


Figure 3. Perceived future action

Only 5% of those affected by demolitions expressed a desire to take legal action against both the local authority and the government, 8% will work through the residents' association on the way forward, 14% will take no further action while 73% will seek to regularize operations by seeking approval, permits and licenses. A precedent has already been set. The Bulawayo Residents' association has taken up the case pertaining to forced demolitions and evictions with the courts supported by Human Rights Lawyers. The mayor of Gweru advised aggrieved residents to sue the police and not The Local Authority.

**Type of illegal structures that were demolished**

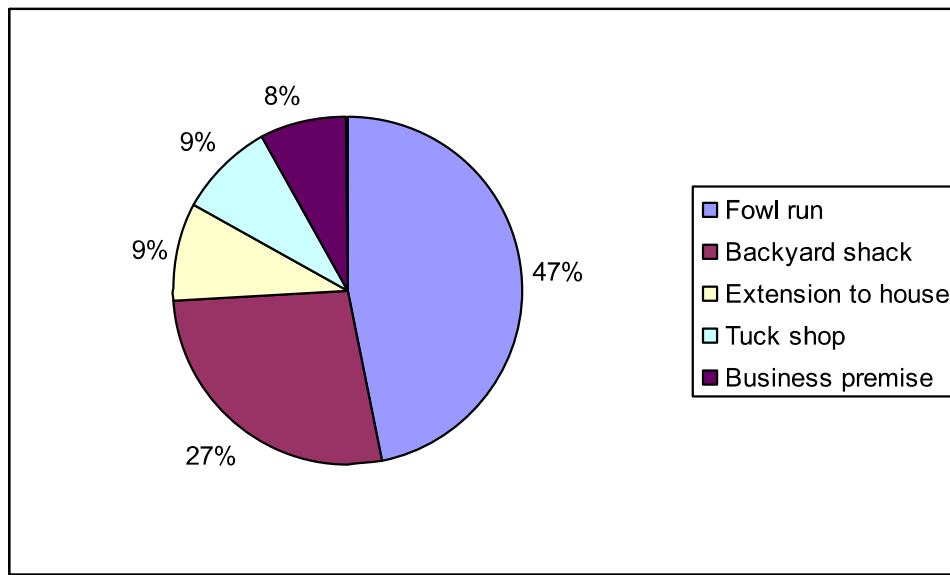


Figure 4. Type of illegal structure

Operation Murambatsvina affected households in a variety of ways as owners of illegal; backyard shacks (27%), extension to a house (9%), fowl run (47%), tuck shop (9%) and business premises (8%). Fifty-one percent of households affected by demolitions and evictions had a monthly income of Z\$2 million. Average household monthly income for the sample was Z\$ 4 million. The monthly food basket for a family of 6 is Z\$10 million (CSO 2005). At the official exchange rate one \$US is equivalent to Z\$24 000.

In a country where unemployment is 75% and where 80% of the population lives below the poverty line, informal activities are the major sources of income for the majority of households (UN Observer Mission to Zimbabwe 2005). Informal activities proliferated in the 1990's when Statutory Instrument 216 of 1994 of the Regional Town and Country Planning Act was revised to allow for the development of non-residential activities in residential areas. This was meant to cushion those who lost jobs following the

introduction of ESAP in October 1991. Consequent to this, Local Authorities generated direct and indirect revenue from a wide range of informal activities.

### **Impact of demolition of backyard shacks on households**

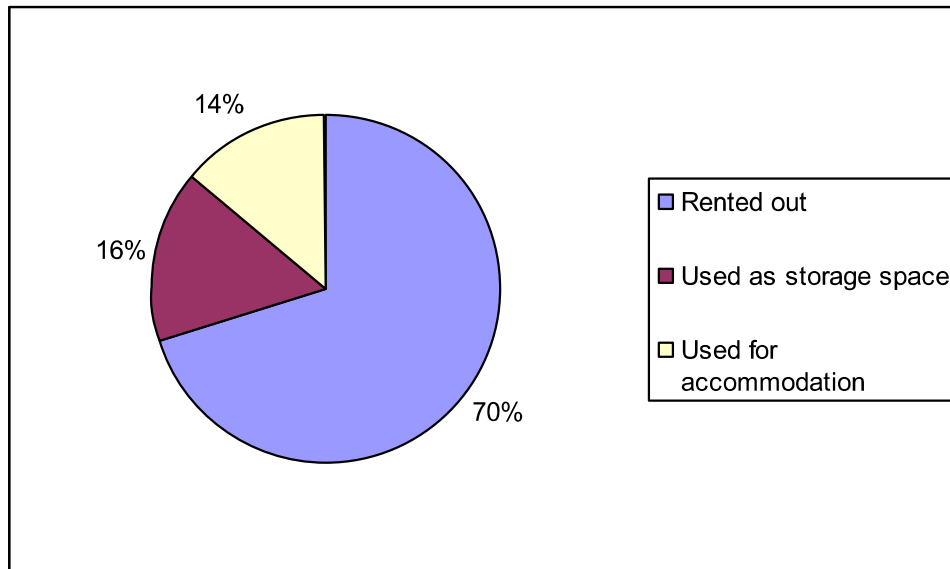


Figure 5. Use of backyard shack

An average of two backyard shacks were found at each residence. Backyard shacks were rented out to non-family members (70%), used as supplementary family accommodation (14%) and as storage space (16%). The country has a cumulative backlog of over 1 million housing units. Backyard tenancy is a major source of housing for low-income households (Tibaijuka 2005). Money generated from renting out backyard shacks contributes significantly to household income. Each backyard shack on average generated a monthly income of Z\$266 532.

Fifty-one percent of those living in backyard shacks were married. An average of 3 people lived in a backyard shack. Among households surveyed, an average of 2 children

of school going age lived in a backyard shack or in an illegal extension to a house. Fifty-one percent of people living in backyard shacks were not formally employed. The category included the retired who lived in backyard shacks while renting out their houses and university students.

Table 4. Impact of demolitions on tenants

Impact on tenants (n=73)	Percent
Became homeless	35
Moved to other residential areas	36
Moved to rural areas	5
Moved to unknown destination	24
Total	100

Unless subsequently accommodated in the main house (35%), tenants became instantly homeless following the demolitions. Evictees moved to; other residential areas to seek shelter with relatives and friends (36%), rural areas (5%) or unknown destination (24%). Evictees lost personal possessions, homes and neighborhoods. Children’s education was truncated. Jobs and income generating activities were abandoned at short notice. Rents doubled or tripled making it increasingly difficult to access accommodation creating conducive conditions that are likely to result in the creation of new slums.

**Impact of demolition of ‘illegal extensions’ to houses on households**

Thirty-three percent of households had illegally extended their houses. Half of these households had extended the original core house comprising 4 rooms to 10-14 rooms to raise money through rentals. Demolitions of illegal extension to houses caused households to lose 50%-70% of living space and livelihoods (Bozen 2004). Tenants who could not be absorbed or crammed in the remaining rooms in the main house faced the

same fate as those formerly living in backyard shacks namely, instant homelessness and dislocation from schools and neighborhoods. Fourteen percent of household heads stated that individuals in their household or their whole household expressed the need for accommodation after demolitions.

Forced demolitions of backyard shacks, illegal extension to houses and fowl runs increased households' vulnerability to poverty and eroded their social and economic security. Construction of 'illegal' structures is a mechanism used by the poor to solve their own problems using their own initiative and resources (YUVA 2005). Due to demolitions and evictions households lost 50% of their monthly incomes or Z\$2 227400.

### **Impact of demolition of fowl runs on household income**

A viable source of income for low-income households is raising chickens. The birds mature quickly and can be raised in batches to allow for continuous supply of income to the household. Forty-seven percent of households depended on income generated from chicken sales. Due to lack of prior warning regarding demolitions of 'illegal structures' including fowl runs, households could not dispose of their stock at optimum or market prices at short notice. In any event, not all chickens had matured sufficiently to be sold off. Consequently households sold chickens at a loss (32%), at cost (8%) or used them for household consumption (60%).

## **CONCLUSION**

Country wide, Operation Murambatsvina destroyed 300 000 worth of ‘illegal’ housing stock. This was achieved at great human, material and economic cost. The number of serviced housing stands at the time of demolitions and evictions was 4 799 versus a cumulative national demand of 284 565 (Tibaijuka 2005). Under the circumstances, informal housing should be perceived both as an integral part of the process of urbanization and as a solution to urban housing shortage. In situations where demand for shelter outstrips supply or where the cost of renting or building a house is unaffordable, informal housing may be the only shelter option available to low- income groups.

Based on nascent urban governance norms of participation, pluralism, democracy, transparency and accountability, there is need for those who manage the urbanization process to do so not only in a sustainable but humane way. Governments often rationalize the need to carry out arbitrary and impelled demolitions and evictions on the basis of threats to public health, public order, safety and security of dwellers (COHRE 2004). However, in the process, there is often disregard for human rights, compensation and social justice. Large-scale demolitions and evictions often leave in their wake broken lives, destroyed livelihoods, dislocated and traumatised communities. The perceived ideal and evolving nature and character of cities should not be fashioned on the dictates, vision and standards of an exclusive segment of society to the exclusion of the poor, the socially marginalized and vulnerable in the community. The latter have an inalienable right to live in the city and make a significant contribution to the urban economy not only as human and social capital but also through generation of revenue.

In the residential areas studied, ex-post regularization of ‘illegal’ structures would not only have shown sensitivity to the dire social and economic circumstances of households but would have offered a viable option in conformity with global norms and development practice of adopting pro-poor policies in urban development. Interventionist policies and strategies must improve the quality of life of the people particularly the socio-economically vulnerable groups such as women, children, the elderly, the disabled and the poor. Political will is required to create democratic spaces, forge inclusive and collaborative relationships that enable all urban citizens to participate in the process of urban renewal.

### **Appendix 1**

Table 5. Other variables used in the analysis

Variable	Percent
<b>Source of information on evictions and demolitions</b>	
National news bulletin	77
Personal contacts	22
Phone	1
Total	100
<b>Knowledge about legal status of structures</b>	
Knew it was illegal	9.6
Did not know	90.4

Total	100
<b>Impact of demolition of fowl runs on household income</b>	
Sold chickens at cost	8
Sold chickens at a loss	32
Used chickens for household consumption	60
Total	100
<b>Monthly household incomes (Z\$)</b>	
Less than 2 million	51
2-8 million	47
More than 8 million	2
Total	100
Average household monthly income for the sample was Z\$ 4 million	
Monthly household loss due to demolitions was Z\$2 227 400	
<b>Marital status of those living in shacks</b>	
Married	51
Single	49
Total	100
<b>Employment status of household heads</b>	
Own account worker	40
Private sector employee	23
Public sector employee	17
Retired	18
Professional	1
Total	100
<b>Employment status of those living in shacks</b>	
Unemployed	51
Employed	46
Own account worker	3
Total	100
<b>Gender of those living in shacks</b>	
Male	80
Female	20
Total	100

#### **REFERENCES**

African Ministers. (2005) Durban Declaration on the Establishment of the African Ministers' Conference on Housing and Urban Development and Enhanced Framework of Implementation and Related Outputs, [http://www.un-habitat.org/gc/gc20/documents/uevo\\_h/K0581068INF8.doc](http://www.un-habitat.org/gc/gc20/documents/uevo_h/K0581068INF8.doc)

Akrofi, E.O. (2001) Upgrading Tenure For the Poor in Africa, [www.unchs.org/hd/hdv7n3/11.htm](http://www.unchs.org/hd/hdv7n3/11.htm)

Balbo, M. (2001) Shelter: Emerging Trends and Policies, [www.unchs.org/hd/hdv7n3/6.htm](http://www.unchs.org/hd/hdv7n3/6.htm)



- Bozen, B. (2004) Campaign Against Forced Evictions in the Informal Settlements in Nairobi, [www.gfbv.it/3dossier/africa/nairob-en.html](http://www.gfbv.it/3dossier/africa/nairob-en.html)
- Central Statistical Office (CSO). (2002) Zimbabwe National Census Report, Harare: Central Statistical Office (CSO).
- Central Statistical Office (CSO). (2005) Quarterly Statistics Digest, Harare: Central Statistical Office (CSO).
- Clacherty, A. and G. Clacherty. (2005) Hope or Despair: Sustainable Living in Informal Urban Settlements, [www.deh.gov.au/education/publications/tsw/modules/module21.html](http://www.deh.gov.au/education/publications/tsw/modules/module21.html)
- Choike. (2005) The Right to Adequate Housing, [http://www.choike.org/cgi-bin/chike/uevo\\_eng/page.cgi?p=ver\\_indepth&id=1162&cat.htm](http://www.choike.org/cgi-bin/chike/uevo_eng/page.cgi?p=ver_indepth&id=1162&cat.htm)
- Centre for Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE). (2004) Global Survey on Forced Evictions, [www.cohre.org/new\\_body01.htm](http://www.cohre.org/new_body01.htm) – 32k
- Corr, A. (2005) No Trespassing! <http://squat.net/archiv/nottrespassing/0.html>
- International Federation of Surveyors (IFS). (2001) Agenda for Implementing the Concept of Sustainable Development in the Activities of the International Federation of Surveyors and its Member Associations, <http://www.fig.net/admin/ga/2001/agenda21.htm>
- Kombe, J. W. and V. Kreibich. (2001) Informal Land Management in Tanzania and the Misconception about its Illegality, A paper presented at the ESF/N-Aerus Annual Workshop on “Coping with Informality and Illegality in Human Settlements in Developing Countries” in Leuven and Brussels, May 23-26, 2001.
- Madebwe, C. V. Madebwe. (2004a) The Impact of Mine Closures on Rural Population Dynamics, *Eastern African Social Science Review* Vol. XX, No. 2, June 2004 pp 59-70
- Madebwe, C. and V. Madebwe. (2004b) Gender, House Ownership and Security of Tenure among Urban Married Women in Gweru, Zimbabwe, *OSSREA BULLETIN* Vol.1, No.3, October 2004 pp48-54
- Madebwe, C., Madebwe, V. and J. Kabeta. (2005) Back to Basics: The Role of Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS) in Agro-biodiversity and Household Food Security in the Smallholder Agriculture Sector: The Case of Chipinge in Zimbabwe, Forthcoming, *Pakistan Journal of Social Science* Vol.3, No. 6, 2005
- Matovu, G. (2000) Upgrading Urban Low- Income Settlements In Africa: Constraints, Potentials and Policy Options, A paper presented at the Regional Roundtable on

- Upgrading Low- Income Settlements, Johannesburg, South Africa, October 3-5, 2000.
- Olden, M. and M. de Mello. (2005) Zimbabwe poor suffer under Mugabe Clampdown, <http://english.aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/C9FC7753-C021-4243-B9D4-D49C14DD76B9.HTM>
- Onimode, B. (ed.). (1989) *The IMF, the World Bank and the African Debt*, Zed Press, London.
- Otiso, K. (1999) Are Urban Voluntary Sector Services Sustainable? A paper presented at the MacArthur Conference on Sustainability, University of Minnesota, May 1998, and in Revised form at a follow-up conference at Stanford University, February 19-21, 1999.
- Shakur, T. (2002) Global Built-Environment with a human face: The mismatch between international economic systems and the goals of sustainable development, *Global Built-Environment*, Vol. 2 No.3 pp1-4
- Sisulu, L. N. (2004) Lecture given by the Minister of Housing, at the occasion of the second Mathew Goniwe Annual Lecture, in honour of the legacy of Chief Albert Luthuli, Wits Centre for Urban and Built Environment Studies, <http://www.info.gov.za/speeches/2004/04081615451002.htm>
- Syagga, M. P., Mittullah, V. W. and K. S. Gitau. (2001) Slum Upgrading: Lessons Learned in Nairobi, A consultative report on the conditions of informal settlements and slum upgrading initiatives in Nairobi Kenya, [www.unchs.org/hd/hdv7n3/12.htm](http://www.unchs.org/hd/hdv7n3/12.htm)
- Tibaijuka, A. K. (2005) Report of the Fact- Finding Mission to Zimbabwe to assess the Scope and Impact of Operation Murambatsvina, [www.un.org/News/dh/infocus/zimbabwe/zimbabwe\\_rpt.pdf](http://www.un.org/News/dh/infocus/zimbabwe/zimbabwe_rpt.pdf)
- UNAIDS. (2004) Aids Epidemic Update
- UN-HABITAT. (2003) The Face of Urban Poverty in the New Millenium, [www.unhabitat.org/mediacentre/documents/whd/GRHSPRI.pdf](http://www.unhabitat.org/mediacentre/documents/whd/GRHSPRI.pdf)
- Union Network International (UNI). (2005) UNI Protests to Robert Mugabe over Operation Murambatsvina, [www.union-network.org/uniindep.nsf/0/A1AA777DE174A5C125701C0046EC28](http://www.union-network.org/uniindep.nsf/0/A1AA777DE174A5C125701C0046EC28)
- United Nations Centre For Human Settlements. (2001) Slum Upgrading: Lessons Learned in Nairobi, [www.unchs.org/hd/hdv7n3/12.htm](http://www.unchs.org/hd/hdv7n3/12.htm)
- United Nations Observer Mission to Zimbabwe. (2005) Report on Zimbabwe.

[www.unchs.org/chs18/English/HSC187.htm](http://www.unchs.org/chs18/English/HSC187.htm)

United Nations Relief and Recovery Unit. (2004) Zimbabwe Humanitarian Situation Report. <http://www.reliefweb.int>

Wikipedia. (2005) Operation Murambatsvina, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Operation\\_Restore\\_Order](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Operation_Restore_Order)

YUVA. (2005) Our Home is a Slum: An Exploration of a community and Local Collaboration in a Tenants' Struggle to Establish Legal Residency in Janata Squatters Colony, Mumbai India, [www.unirisd.org/unirisd/website/document.nsf](http://www.unirisd.org/unirisd/website/document.nsf)