



# **DFID Zimbabwe Country Engagement Final Scoping Report**

**Produced for:** DFID Zimbabwe

**Work Package Code:** A.ZIM.PRE.01

**Date:** February 24<sup>th</sup> 2017

**Version number:** 4



*The views and opinions expressed in this report are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the position of the UK Department for International Development*

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## Executive Summary

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This ICED scoping report has been prepared for the DFID Zimbabwe country office to better understand urban trends and dynamics in Zimbabwe which can inform future urban programming. The report is structured in three sections, with supporting annexes. Section one of this report offers an introduction to the study objective and approach. Section two presents an in-depth review of urban data alongside analysis of the drivers of these trends. Other characteristics of Zimbabwe's changing urban landscape, such as urban governance structures, poverty and informal sector considerations are also discussed. Section three considers the implications of Zimbabwe's urban dynamics and highlights opportunities for future urban programming.

### Zimbabwe's changing urban landscape

There is uncertainty regarding the extent and nature of urbanisation and urban growth in Zimbabwe because of gaps in knowledge and data. This scoping report analysed the 2002 and 2012 census data to identify inter-censal urban related population changes. The 2012 census suggests that overall there has been slight de-urbanisation since 2002. In other words, a smaller proportion of Zimbabwe's total population as of 2012 lives in urban centres in comparison to the total population in 2002.<sup>1</sup>

However, the headline trend of de-urbanisation may potentially be a product of changing enumeration boundaries, as opposed to demographic shifts. In addition, the de-urbanisation narrative conceals the diversity and complexity in population movements at regional and local levels. For example, there is rapid urban growth in some cities and towns, urban sprawl, and provincial variations. And, despite the decline in urbanisation rate, Zimbabwe's total urban population is growing, albeit slowly (0.6% per annum).<sup>2</sup>

The issue of whether and how urban areas are designated as such creates a great deal of confusion. As a result of this, many areas that exhibit 'urban' characteristics are not officially designated as 'urban'. This makes it difficult to accurately assess the spatial and demographic characteristics of different peri-urban areas, which are typically located outside city boundaries in designated rural districts.

### Drivers of urban dynamics

Urban areas in Zimbabwe are heterogeneous and shaped by multiple factors. The particular nature of urbanisation, and the conditions arising from this in different towns and cities, are shaped by macroeconomic and political factors, including a strong influence of informality. Examples of some of these drivers of urban dynamics in Zimbabwe include:

- **Macroeconomic instability** – characterised by economic recession and macroeconomic mismanagement discouraging investment and job creation

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<sup>1</sup> See ZIMSTAT (2012) Census 2012 National Report. Harare: Government Printer and CSO (2004) Census 2002 National Report. Central Statistical Office, Harare: Government Printer.

<sup>2</sup> According to the World Bank the average urban population growth rate across sub-Saharan Africa was 4.2%. <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.URB.GROW> (accessed on 01/02/17).

- **Circular mobility** – whereby urban workers move back and forth between cities and their villages and small towns during harvest seasons, periods of climate pressure and political turmoil, or urban economic downturns
- **Economic transformation from mineral resources** – changing patterns of urban profiles arising from mineral production and global commodity market dynamics
- **Natural population growth differentials** – where the total fertility rate is on average higher in rural areas than in cities.
- **Cross-border and domestic transportation linkages** – suggesting that urban settlements on international borders or the intersections of major highways have flourished

## Scenarios and opportunities for donor engagement

Continued political uncertainty, a weak economy and ongoing drought create a potentially highly fragile situation in Zimbabwe which may have significant implications in urban areas. Due to these factors, donor-led programming needs to be adaptive and flexible. Three political-economy scenarios are envisaged in this report which offer a basic framework through which donor engagements in urban programming may be assessed. The scenarios cover a 1) business as usual situation, where patronage networks and structural corruption continue; 2) measured political reform undertaken by the current ruling ZANU (PF) which result in international donor reengagement; and 3) precipitous change, which could be either catastrophic resulting in large scale violence and destabilisation or it may be controlled and ordered.

Given the fluidity of the situation in Zimbabwe and the limitations of this rapid scoping, the ICED team, in discussion with the DFID Zimbabwe country office, has not undertaken a detailed assessment of existing programming or developed specific options for future urban and infrastructure programming. Rather, broad considerations for donor engagement in urban areas are discussed below in the context of the data analysis and political-economy scenarios. These are intended to initiate a dialogue with development partners around the future direction of urban programming in Zimbabwe, particularly in the following areas:

- Maintaining basic service provision for the urban poor and vulnerable
- Identifying local initiatives for infrastructure service delivery in urban and peri-urban areas
- Supporting robust urban data analysis and evidence to inform policy and programming

Given the diverse challenges Zimbabweans are facing, the support of the United Kingdom will have a continued role to play in the country for the foreseeable future. Whilst the data are inconclusive about the full extent of urban dynamics in Zimbabwe, there are considerable challenges of poverty and vulnerability in Zimbabwe's urban areas (whether officially designated as such or not). Addressing the needs of the most vulnerable and marginalised groups will require action in towns and cities. As a critical step to addressing these needs, further analysis with available population and dwelling datasets – such as those obtained from satellite imagery – is required to inform policy and programming.

## 1. Introduction

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### 1.1 ICED support to DFID Zimbabwe country office

Infrastructure and Cities for Economic Development (ICED) is DFID's catalytic and flexible facility designed to accelerate DFID's infrastructure and cities initiatives across the world to contribute to poverty reduction and to resilient, inclusive, and transformative economic growth. In particular, ICED supports DFID country offices in shaping portfolios of programmes that support cities and infrastructure investment.

ICED support to the DFID Zimbabwe country office has been undertaken within a difficult political economy context. The current situation is also nested in the context of a longstanding and continuously deteriorating political situation in which key features are the failure of governance, political repression, economic decline and adverse environmental realities (predominantly in the form of drought and cyclones). This has resulted in a highly fragile and rapidly changing environment which requires a dynamic, risk conscious and flexible response to programming.

Understanding the changing situation is critical for effective interaction. However, by its very nature, the continuously fluctuating urban-rural demographic and economic situation in Zimbabwe requires continuous monitoring, if an understanding of the situation is to remain current. For this reason, the ICED scoping study is only able to provide a "snapshot" of the current situation. In undertaking this analysis, a distinction has been made between factors which are likely to remain unchanged in the near future (the next five years, from 2016 – 2021) and those which may change very rapidly depending on the uncertain political context.

### 1.2 Objective and approach

#### Objective

The overall objective of the project is to provide support to the DFID country office to gain a nuanced understanding of urbanisation and migration dynamics. It also includes understanding emerging adaptations in economic activity related to de-industrialisation and identifying vulnerable and marginalised groups within these urban dynamics. This analysis serves to better inform programming across DFID's current and future programming to promote inclusive economic growth.

#### Phased approach

The ICED team applied a two-phased approach to the assignment:

In the first phase a rapid **situational analysis** was undertaken focusing on the political economy of urbanisation and de-urbanisation in Zimbabwe, with an emphasis on understanding marginalised and vulnerable groups in the country. This comprised two elements: a desk-based review to identify trends, marginalised groups and institutional structures; and a series of remotely administered informal interviews to gather anecdotal evidence from a broad cross-section of individuals, to provide a 'snap-shot' of current realities.



The second phase of the analysis included a brief in-country **scoping mission** (29 August – 2 September 2016) to verify the findings of the first phase through meeting a range of stakeholders, in order to better understand urban trends and explore recommendations to address marginalised and vulnerable groups within DFID country programming. For a list of the stakeholders consulted, see Annex 5.

In discussion with DFID Zimbabwe, it was agreed that where the terms of reference required specific advice on existing and future programming, this would be provided generically as DFID Zimbabwe's Business Plan for 2016-2021 had not been approved and therefore could not be shared with the team. During the course of the scoping study some 57 individuals and 28 different organisations were consulted directly or indirectly (through the Phase 1 questionnaires). This is clearly not an exhaustive study and much of the information gathered is anecdotal, but it nonetheless provides a convincing overview of the current situation. Due to the sensitivity of some of the opinions expressed and to protect individuals, not all comments and insights are attributed to individuals.



Dzivarasekwa Extension, Harare

## 2. Zimbabwe's changing urban landscape

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This section summarises the key trends in Zimbabwe's urbanisation rate and the shifts in composition, economic activity, and urban population location. It analyses the underlying drivers of these trends, including national urban policy changes, de-industrialisation, mineral resource development and circular migration.

The definition of 'urban' and 'rural' in Zimbabwe is complex, as is determining how changes in population and land classification are influenced by the broad politicisation of all aspects of policy and governance. The trends in urbanisation and the urban population are also analysed in terms of their linkages to the urban economy, urban and peri-urban poverty dynamics, urban governance and political economy, and provision of urban public goods and infrastructure.

### 2.1 Urban definitions and data

Zimbabwe has a hierarchy of human settlements comprised of metropolitan areas (Harare and Bulawayo), cities/municipalities, towns, and as many as 472 small urban centres in the form of growth points, district service centres and rural services centres. The administrative definitions of these settlements have shaped how urban populations, growth and the urbanisation rate are measured, and are integral to the challenges of assembling comparable urban datasets for longitudinal analysis.

#### Definitions

##### *Urban population*

The official definition of urban areas in Zimbabwe is based on a combination of two criteria, namely, (i) a settlement designated as urban and (ii) a compact settlement of 2,500 people or more, the majority of whom are occupied in non-farm employment. However, among many of the key informants, the perception of 'urban' excluded the small urban settlements.

##### *Urban growth*

The increase in the urban population that occurs as a result of any or a combination of rural-to-urban migration, natural increases, boundary changes or reclassification of rural villages/territories into urban areas.<sup>3</sup>

##### *Urbanisation rate*

The proportion of the national population that resides in urban areas. This proportion increases when the overall rate of population change in urban areas is higher than the overall national rate of population change; if urban and rural populations are growing at the same rate, there is no change to the urbanisation rate – only urban

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<sup>3</sup> UN-HABITAT (2014) State of African Cities Report, 2014: Re-imagining sustainable urban transitions. Nairobi: UN-HABITAT; Potts, Deborah (2012) Whatever happened to Africa's rapid urbanisation? London: Africa Research Institute, Counterpoints. <http://www.africaresearchinstitute.org/press-room/press-releases/rapid-urbanisation-in-sub-saharan-africa-is-a-fallacy/> [last visited 12th March 2016]; UNECA/UN-HABITAT (2016) HABITAT III Regional Report for Africa: Progress, Challenges and Priorities in Housing and Sustainable Urban Development in the Africa Region. Nairobi: United Nations Habitat and Addis Ababa: economic Commission for Africa

growth.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, if the urbanisation rate is increasing slowly (if at all, as official statistics in Zimbabwe suggest it decreased from 2002 to 2012), there is still urban growth.

### Urban data availability constraints and limitations

A critical aspect of the review was based on analysis of the 2002 and 2012 census data to identify inter-censal urban related population changes. This is the only comprehensive source of countrywide quantitative data on urban areas. The outcomes of this analysis and weaknesses in the data are highlighted below. Inter-censal migration data (inter-provincial, inter-district, inter-urban) to capture circularity and impacts on major post 2002 socio-political changes is not clearly presented in the published reports. While this type of data may be available in the ZIMSTAT databases, it was not possible to access during the course of this study.

An in-depth review of census data suggests that Zimbabwe's 'de-urbanisation' may potentially be a product of administrative changes, as opposed to actual demographic changes. The 2012 census enumeration tracts were changed to align with the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission's (ZEC) 2008 elections boundaries, making it difficult or impossible to compare 2012 census data with previous censuses. A review of the main 2012 census report indicates that in many instances, boundary changes led to urban populations of many small settlements and undesignated urban areas being counted and reported as rural, even though their population may have been above the official 2,500 threshold.

The census data are also inconclusive about the extent to which peri-urban growth is occurring, due to census enumeration tracts which traverse rural and urban boundaries. This makes it difficult to accurately assess the spatial and demographic characteristics of different peri-urban areas, which are typically located outside city boundaries in designated rural districts. For example, ZIMSTAT reports that in 2012, Victoria Ranch Farm and Clipsham Farm, which are situated outside Masvingo designated boundaries, are classified as rural but have an estimated population of 5,211 and 9,020 people.<sup>5</sup>

Further evidence is needed to confirm the analysis with respect to these issues, although the case study of Caledonia (Box 1) and other information reported by key respondents points strongly in this direction.

There are various other discrepancies in the urbanisation data in the 2012 census. For example, the 2012 census reports the urban population for Zimbabwe as 4,284,145 and 4,261,243 in two places – a difference of 22,902 individuals. There are also extremely large urban population shifts reported in some provinces. For example, Mashonaland Central Province's population in 2012 is reported as 71,332, a 31%

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<sup>4</sup> Take the example of Ghana census results for 2010 which show an overall urban population growth to 12.5 million from 8.3 million in 2000; a growth rate of 4.2%. But this is the urban population growth rate and not the urbanisation rate. For the urbanisation rate, this 4.2% has to be compared against the 2.5% national average population growth, giving a 1.7% urbanisation rate for Ghana over the 2000-2010 period.

<sup>5</sup> Census 2012 data supplied by ZIMSTATS, 24<sup>th</sup> September 2016. See also Dube, B., 2013, Planning and peri-urban Zimbabwe: lessons from Bulawayo's Rangemore subdivisions. Chapter 4 in Chirisa I. (ed.) *Contemporary rural and urban issues in Zimbabwe: implications for policy and planning*. Dublin-Palo Alto: Academica Press.



decrease from the 2002 census report figure of 102,873.

### Potential alternative population data sources

The Zimbabwe government and local authorities have a rich tapestry of administrative information and data. However, much of it is not in electronic form and has become increasingly difficult to access. Important reports such as local authority audited accounts, ministerial directives or circulars on land and local authorities, commission of inquiry reports on urban governance or land management made since 1999 as well as census enumeration base maps are difficult to access. Comprehensive data on growth points and small towns where much of the urban growth is taking place as well as longitudinal public sector investment programme (PSIP) statistics are the other critical sets of data relevant to this study that could not be accessed, but could form the basis for further work.

There is also a substantial and important grey literature in hard copy form that could not be accessed from a distance or is now archival and would need more time to locate. This includes valuable urban project and programme reports for institutions like The World Bank, USAID, SIDA, AusAid, local authorities and the government.

Finally there is potential to undertake further work with existing global population data sources to clarify the understanding of urbanisation and urban growth trends in Zimbabwe. For example, Landsat, a source which uses several data inputs to measure the spatial distribution of the world's population, is collated from satellite imagery dating back to 1998.<sup>6</sup> Analysis of this data against 2002 and 2012 census district boundary baselines would give enhanced insight into the urbanisation trends explored below. Recent work by Smith and Wills demonstrates how this data can be used with other datasets to address questions, where access to accurate population data is challenging. Using Landsat datasets with night time lights data they explored the economic links between urban population changes and natural resource extraction.<sup>7</sup>

#### Box 1: Caledonia case study

The case of Caledonia (to the east of Harare on what was a 2,325 ha farm) is illustrative of a countrywide pattern that requires detailed quantification and mapping. In a consultative discussion, a panel of ZIMSTAT officers, conceded that the 2012 census figures could have an error of  $\pm 5\%$ . However, it seems this is perhaps conservative as in-depth follow up on the boundary issues shows that significant populations who settled in rural peri-urban areas (following the Fast Track Land Reform programme) were counted as rural, whilst functioning as an extension of Mabvuku-Tafara, a low income suburb of Harare.

Residents started settling in Caledonia around 2000 and by the time of the 2012 census, there were between 23,000 and 30,000 plots.<sup>1</sup> Assuming an average of four persons per plot, the population was no less than 100,000.<sup>1</sup> However, even after a Presidential proclamation (Statutory Instrument SI 119/2012) declaring the incorporation of Caledonia into Harare municipality, the area was enumerated as part of rural Goromonzi District (Ward 25) and remained politically represented as such at September 2016.

<sup>6</sup> The Landsat database, collated and published by the Oak Ridge National Laboratory, estimates population distribution at the finest currently available resolution, 1km x 1km. Accessed on 01/02/17: <http://web.ornl.gov/sci/landscan/index.shtml>.

<sup>7</sup> Smith, B. and Wills, S., (2015) 'Left in the Dark? Oil and Rural Poverty', Oxford Centre for the Analysis of Resource Rich Economies Research Paper 164, October 2015.

## 2.2 Urbanisation trends

The Zimbabwe Population Census 2012 states that about 33% of the country's population lived in urban areas.<sup>8</sup> When compared to the 35% figure from the census 2002,<sup>9</sup> this implies that Zimbabwe is de-urbanising; a conclusion supported by government and some international organisations.<sup>10</sup> However, despite the decline in the urbanisation rate the urban population has expanded slowly from 4,029,707 to 4,284,145 (0.6% per annum),<sup>11</sup> and there is diversity and complexity in population movements at regional and local levels. The headline figure conceals rapid urban growth that continues to take place in some cities and towns, urban sprawl, and provincial variations.

Comparing the distribution of the national urban population by province shows minor changes between 2002 and 2012 with a slight decline in the share of population in Bulawayo (see Figure 1). In 2002, 46% of the urban population was in Harare (36% if Epworth and Chitungwiza are separated out) and 47% in 2012 (and 35% without Epworth and Chitungwiza). This suggests that the de-urbanisation trend has been reasonably uniform across the country.

It appears that while both urban and rural populations are growing, the rural areas are growing faster. Figure 2 shows that there has been rapid urban growth in some small and intermediate towns such as Ruwa, Beitbridge, Norton, Chinhoyi, Gwanda, Chipinge, Gokwe and in peri-urban areas such as Epworth. For example Ruwa has grown by 150% since 2002,<sup>12</sup> while the capital city of Harare has grown by less than 6% during the same period, and Bulawayo (the second largest city) has experienced a small decrease in its official urban population.

Some of the individuals we consulted believe these examples suggest that the urbanisation rate is being underestimated by official statistics. Given the changes to the enumeration tracts, with some previously urban land classified as rural, the rapid growth in these towns may suggest that urban-peri urban migration is a wider trend, especially around Bulawayo and Harare, reducing the urbanisation rate as a consequence. Key informants consulted during scoping suggested that the proportion of Zimbabwe's urban population could rise to around 40% if the urban-rural designations were readjusted in 2018.

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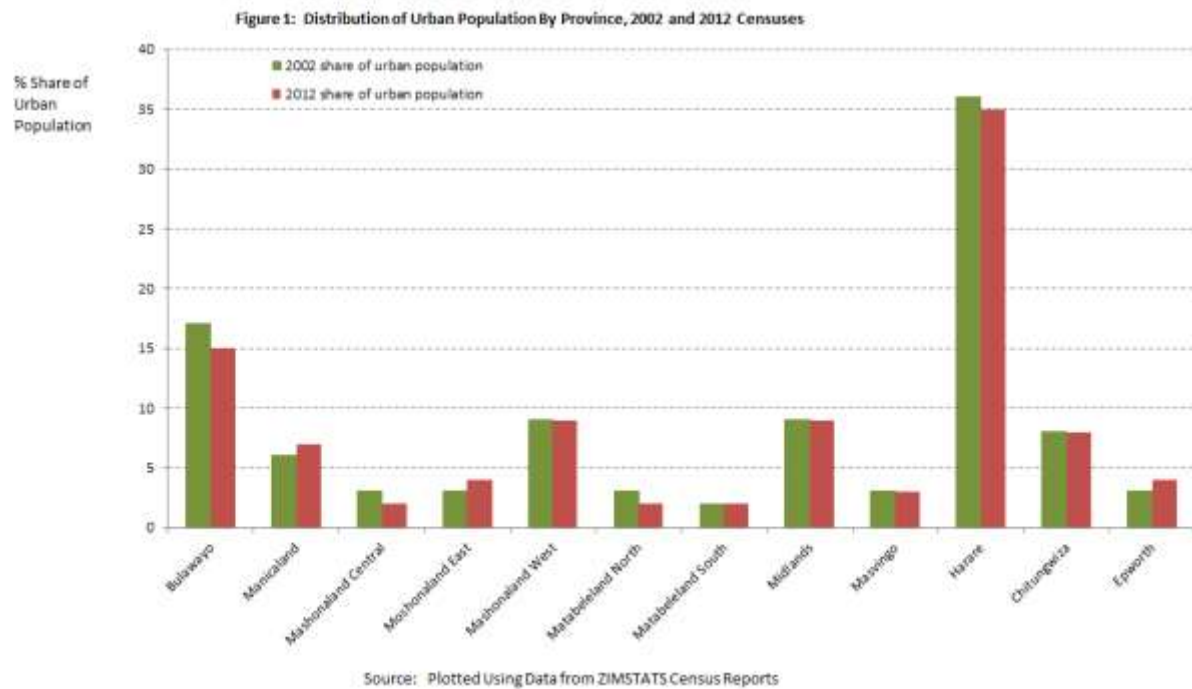
<sup>8</sup> ZIMSTAT, 2012: 25

<sup>9</sup> CSO, 2004: 16

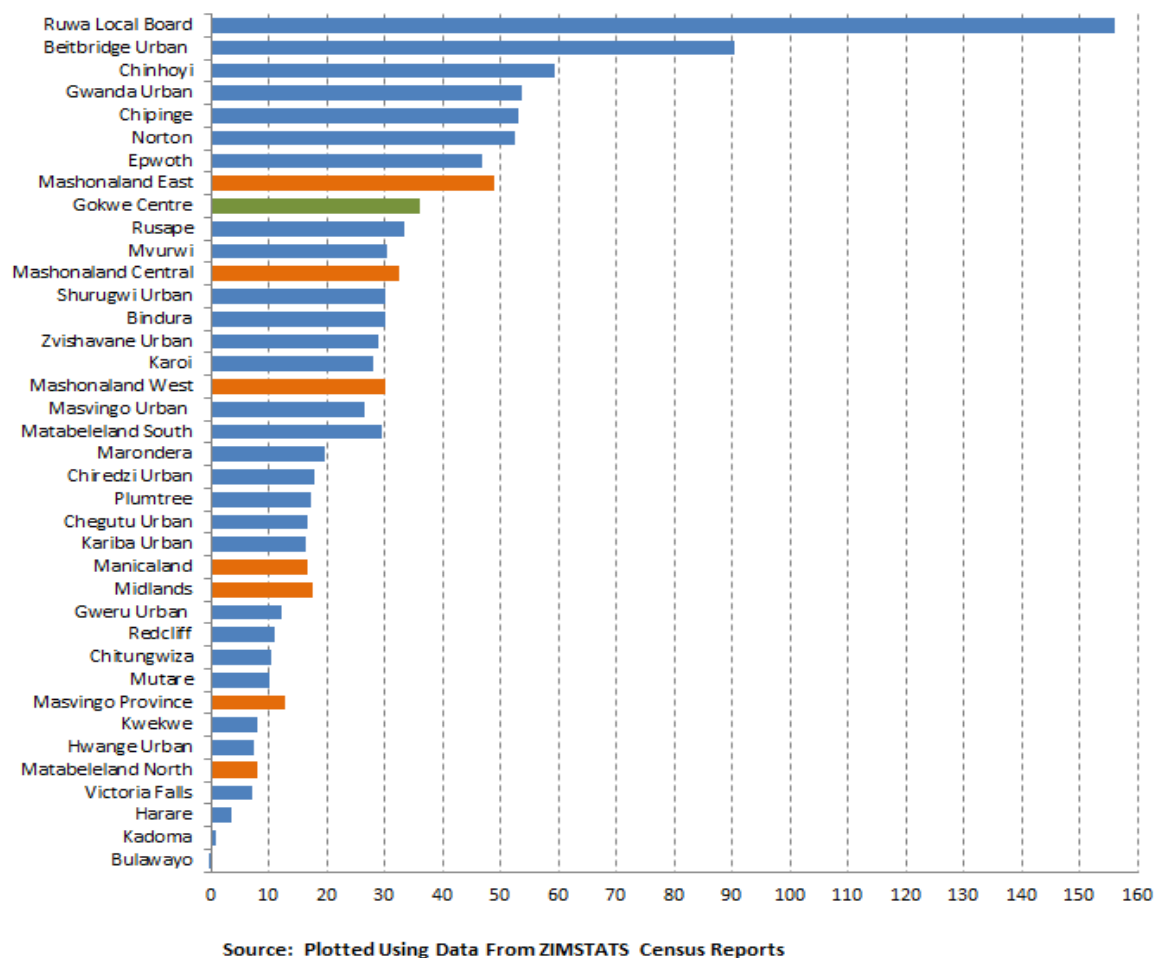
<sup>10</sup> ZIMSTAT, 2012; and CSO, 2004

<sup>11</sup> According to the World Bank the average urban population growth rate across sub-Saharan Africa was 4.2%. Accessed on 01/02/17.

<sup>12</sup> Ruwa trends confirmed in discussions with Acting Town CEO and Director of Finance Ms. Fatima Mhiti on Friday, September 2<sup>nd</sup> 2016 in Harare, Zimbabwe



**Figure 2: Urban Growth in Zimbabwe: Percentage Intercensal Population Change 2002 - 2012**



It is difficult to assess this contention without reference to spatial population and dwelling datasets. While analysis of the concentration of overall urban population growth by settlement size cohorts seems to support the conclusion that the growth of smaller centres is a significant trend, they are not growing at a sufficient rate to prevent de-urbanisation as argued by the aforementioned informants.

Official urban population growth has not exceeded the natural population growth rate in urban areas of all sizes. This finding is strongly suggestive of outward migration from urban areas despite the slow overall urban population growth. For example, at the time of the 2012 Census, the Rate of Natural Increase (RNI) recorded in Harare's urban districts was 3.1%<sup>13</sup>; in Bulawayo it was 1.8%.<sup>14</sup> However, as can be observed in Table 1 below, the estimated annualised rate of urban population growth is 0.3% per annum and -0.3% per annum respectively. While these rates have been interpolated from data by the authors of this report, as opposed to being based on inter-censal data, the comparison is suggestive of significant outward migration from the Harare and Bulawayo urban districts.

It is clear that urban areas with populations between 100,000 and 500,000, and below 100,000, have grown more steadily at 2.6% and 1.5% respectively, although they are again exceeded by the RNI for representatively sized cities (Chitungwiza, pop. 356,840, RNI = 3.2%<sup>15</sup>; and Hwange Urban, pop. 37,522, RNI = 2.2%).<sup>16</sup>

**Table 1: Analysis of urban settlement change between 2002-2012 (Source: ZIMSTAT)**

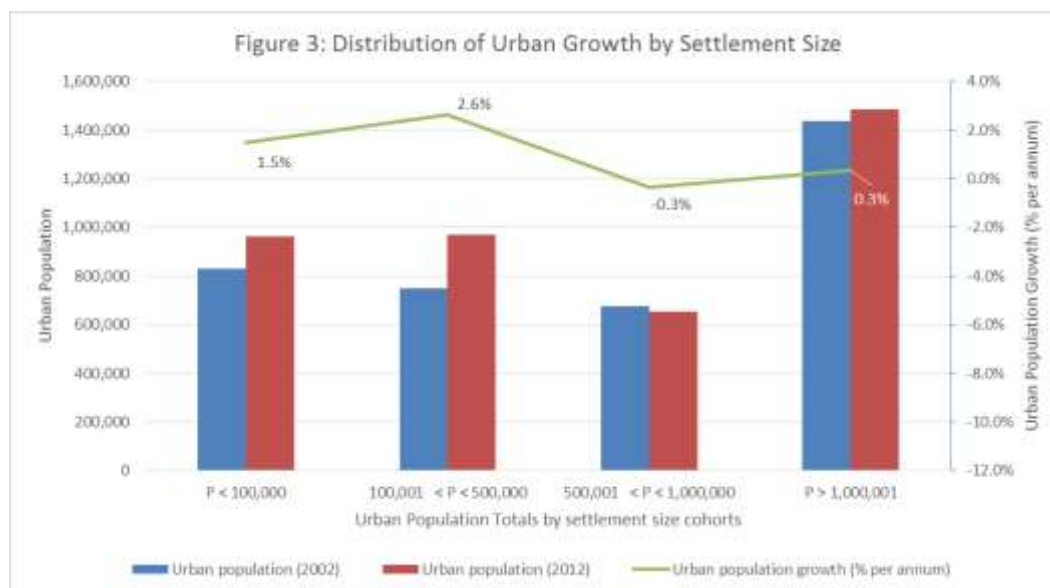
	Urban settlement population cohorts				Total
	P < 100,000	100,001 < P < 500,000	500,001 < P < 1,000,000	P > 1,000,001	
Urban population (2012)	962,856	970,688	653,337	1,485,231	4,072,112
Number of settlements (2012)	23	5	1	1	30
Urban population (2002)	831,557	748,599	676,650	1,435,784	3,692,590
Number of settlements (2002)	24	4	1	1	30
Urban population growth	131,299	222,089	-23,313	49,447	379,522
Urban population growth (%)	16%	30%	-3%	3%	10%
Urban population growth (% per annum)	1.5%	2.6%	-0.3%	0.3%	1.0%
Urban population growth as a proportion of total (%)	35%	59%	-6%	13%	

<sup>13</sup> ZIMSTAT, *Census 2012, Provincial Report: Harare*, Harare, Zimbabwe, 2012, p.16

<sup>14</sup> ZIMSTAT, *Census 2012, Provincial Report: Bulawayo*, Harare, Zimbabwe, 2012, p.18

<sup>15</sup> ZIMSTAT, *Census 2012, Provincial Report: Matabeleland North*, Harare, Zimbabwe, 2012, p.21

<sup>16</sup> ZIMSTAT, *Census 2012, Provincial Report: Harare*, Harare, Zimbabwe, 2012, p.16



The drivers of growth in the small and intermediate towns, the stagnation and decline in large cities like Bulawayo or former mining and manufacturing towns like Kadoma, Mhangura, Kwekwe and Chegutu are detailed in Section 2.3 below.

## 2.3 Observed drivers of urban dynamics

The 2012 Census suggests that overall there has been slight de-urbanisation since 2002. In other words, a smaller proportion of Zimbabwe's total population lives in urban centres. De-urbanisation in Zimbabwe has been noted since the 1990s, with conjectured causes ranging from urban economic decline and de-industrialisation,<sup>17</sup> households' responses to HIV/AIDS and the collapse of urban services<sup>18</sup> with retrenched workers and the terminally ill retreating to rural areas.<sup>19</sup>

However, there are also regional and local dynamics that run counter to the analysis supporting a general de-urbanisation trend in the period between the last two censuses, instead suggesting dynamics of mobility common to patterns of rural-urban migration observed globally, and responsive to political economy conditions and structural changes in Zimbabwe's economy.

<sup>17</sup> Potts, Deborah (2010) Circular migration in Zimbabwe and contemporary sub-Saharan Africa. Oxford and Cape Town: James Currey; Potts, Deborah and Mutambirwa Chris (1998) Basics are now a luxury perceptions of structural adjustment's impact on rural and urban areas in Zimbabwe. *Environment and Urbanization*, 10 (1): 55 – 76

<sup>18</sup> Mbiba, Beacon (2010) Burial at home? Dealing with death in the diaspora and in Harare, Chapter 4 in McGregor, JoAnn and Primorac, Ranka (eds) *Zimbabwe's new diaspora: displacement and the cultural politics of survival*. Oxford and New York: Brghahn Books.

<sup>19</sup> A recent assertion is that de-urbanisation was driven by the land resettlement programme (see Mo Ibrahim Foundation (2015) *African Urban Dynamics – Facts and Figures 2015*. London: Mo Ibrahim Foundation, p.13. *The Fast Track Land Reform contributed to urban and peri-urban migration from former commercial farm workers*.

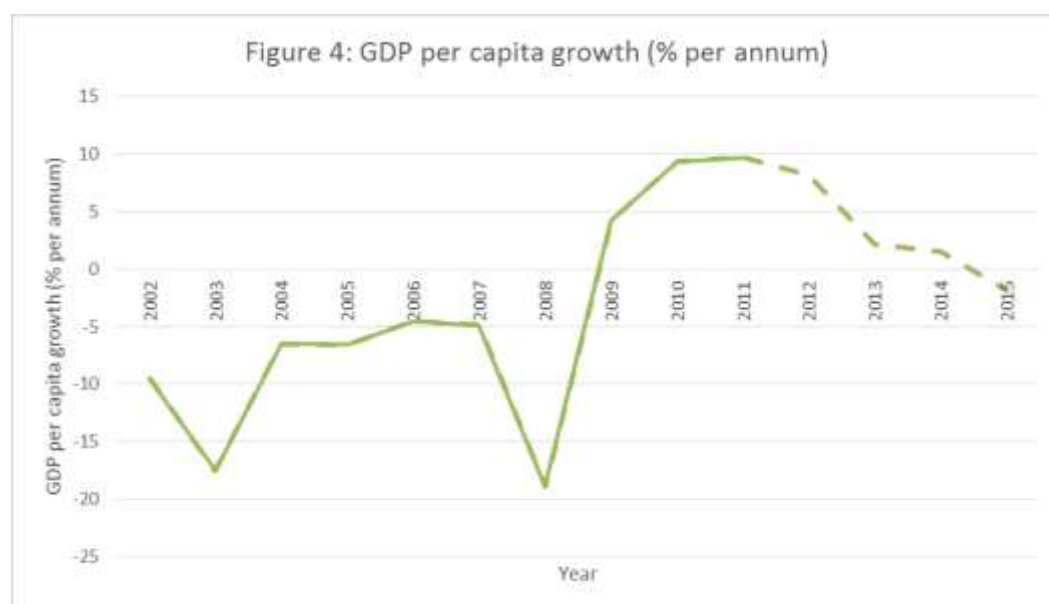


**Table 2: Drivers of urban dynamics in Zimbabwe**

Urban dynamic drivers	Examples of urban areas	Processes
<b>Macroeconomic crisis</b>	Bulawayo, Harare, Chegutu, Masvingo, Mrondera, Chiredzi-Triangle	De-industrialisation, urban sprawl, collapse of textile industry and cattle ranching.
<b>Circular migration</b>	Urban and peri-urban areas, especially around Harare and Bulawayo	Response of new urban workers to political, economic, climate, and agricultural context.
<b>Economic decline and transformation – mineral resources</b>	Shurugwi, Selous, Mvuma, Trojan-Bindura, Kwekwe, Redcliff, Kadoma, Mhangura, Hwange, Zvishavane, Mashava, Chinhoyi, Victoria Falls, Nyanga, Kariba, Matobo	Accommodation and non-tradeable services building up around extractive industries, responding to international commodity prices.
<b>Natural population growth differentials</b>	Rural areas vs urban areas (census average)	Elevated rural population growth rates
<b>Cross-border and domestic transportation linkages</b>	Beit-Bridge, Plumtree, Kotwa, Chipinge, Ngundu, Rutenga, Murewa, Mutoko, Mvuma, Chivhu.	Economic activity associated with logistics, and service centres for travellers.

### Macroeconomic crisis

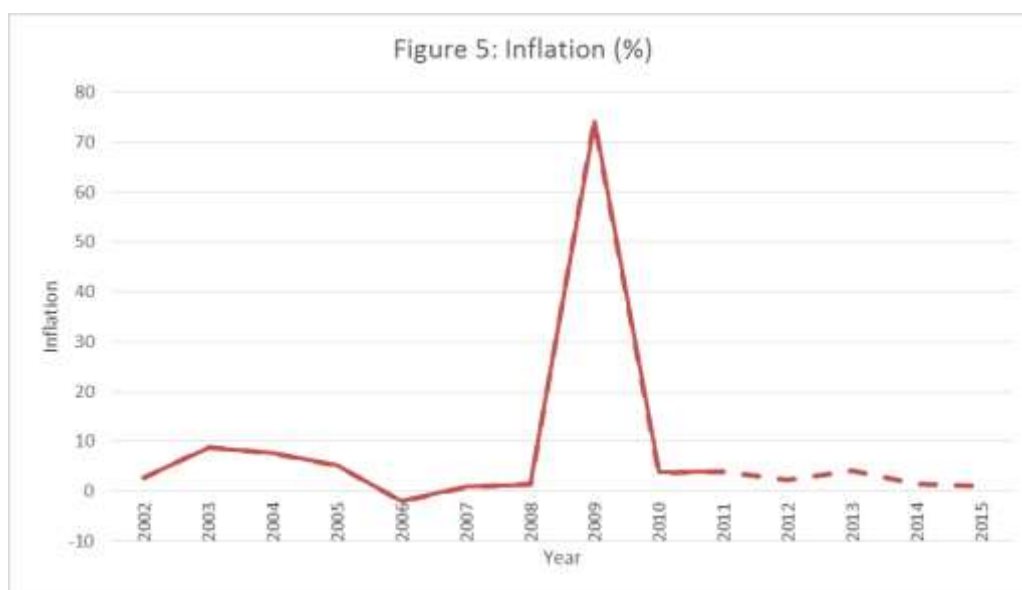
During the ten years between 2002-12, Zimbabwe experienced seven years of recession with a short burst of high economic growth from a reduced base from 2009-12.<sup>20</sup> The country also experienced a major bout of hyperinflation in 2009.<sup>21</sup> These conditions have discouraged investment and created difficult conditions for job creation and the private sector.



Source: World Bank database

<sup>20</sup> World Bank, Accessed on 21/02/17:  
<http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.KD.ZG?end=2015&locations=ZW&start=2002>

<sup>21</sup> Ibid



Source: World Bank database

The International Office of Migration and ZIMSTAT report that there are strong push and pull factors driving outward migration, with the economic crisis fuelling emigration choices of highly skilled nationals.<sup>22</sup> These highly skilled nationals are likely to be primarily urban dwellers, and therefore this is likely to be a key factor in the slow urban growth observed in Zimbabwe's urban areas relative to rural. The World Bank data indicates that between the censuses Zimbabwe experienced a net outflow of approximately 527,572 people (see Table 3 below).<sup>23</sup> Had these outward migrants remained in Zimbabwe's urban areas, the urban population growth across the period would have been 2.2% p.a. rather than 1% p.a.

**Table 3: Net outward migration between 2002 - 2012 (source: World Bank).**

	2003-07	2008-12	Total
Net migration:	- 307,650	- 219,922	- 527,572

With the Economic and Social Adjustment Programme (ESAP) and the post-2000 political economic crisis, productivity in manufacturing collapsed and the economy became increasingly informalised. ESAP boosted informality as many retrenched workers used their severance packages to start small enterprises in the retailing of locally manufactured products and farm products, small scale manufacturers and backyard 'home industries'. Most enterprises were of a survivalist nature and by reluctant rather than willing entrepreneurs.

Also since the late 1980s, urban agriculture has risen as one of the major activities that changed urban landscapes as households adjusted under the impact of neoliberal reforms. Food from urban and peri-urban plots enable participating

<sup>22</sup> International Office of Migration and ZIMSTAT, *Migration in Zimbabwe: a Country Profile 2009*, Harare, Zimbabwe, 2009 p. 68

<sup>23</sup> World Bank, <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SM.POP.NETM?locations=ZW>

households to cover up to 30% of their food needs.<sup>24</sup> It estimated that agricultural produce from urban council areas contributes 5% to national agricultural output.<sup>25</sup> With the emergence of a 'casino economy' post-2000,<sup>26</sup> informal spaces expanded to increased cross-border trade,<sup>27</sup> retailing of Chinese and South African manufactured goods and other second hand products from OECD countries.

### Circular migration

As suggested in Figure 2, there is population growth in small urban centres and peri-urban zones. One possible explanation of this observed growth may be that peri-urban and rural growth are a feature of increased 'multi-sited mobility' and circular migration. This term describes a process where individuals and families are moving in and out of rural and urban areas and circulating between different sites mainly for purposes of pursuing informal economic activity. The circular migration pattern is a common feature of urbanising societies, as new urban workers move back and forth between cities and their villages and small towns during harvest seasons, periods of climate pressure and political turmoil, or urban economic downturns (such as that experienced by Zimbabwe).<sup>28</sup>

The official statistical view of slowing urbanisation is not shared by the majority of respondents and participants, particularly those participants of the roundtable discussion on urbanisation, hosted by DFID during the scoping trip. Many individuals consulted during the week were surprised at the suggestion that the country is de-urbanising. As noted previously, this seems to be a genuine phenomenon, although it may also be in part due to how urbanisation as defined is misinterpreted, as well as in the demarcation of boundaries of peri-urban areas for census, electoral and routine administration.

Field observations and key informant discussions indicated that there are two broadly discernible groups of poor urban neighbourhoods and vulnerable households that can be specified in spatial terms, namely:

- The **ingrained poverty areas**<sup>29</sup> are located in old high density residential areas such as Mbare (in Harare) and Makokoba in Bulawayo. These include elderly people who will need continuous additional support to survive. Renewal of overcrowded and obsolete Rhodesian era infrastructure is a critical need in these areas.

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<sup>24</sup> Mbiba, Beacon (1995) Urban agriculture in Zimbabwe: implications for the environment and poverty. Aldershot: Avebury

<sup>25</sup> ZIMSTAT (2013) Poverty Income Consumption and Expenditure Survey 2011/2012 Report. Harare: Zimbabwe National Statistical Agency (ZIMSTAT)

<sup>26</sup> Gono, Gideon (2008) Zimbabwe's casino economy: extraordinary measures for extraordinary challenges. Harare: ZPH Publishers Pvt Ltd

<sup>27</sup> Muzvidziwa, Victor (2000) Zimbabwe's cross-border women trader: multiple identities and responses to new challenges. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 19 (1): 67-80; Mutopo, Patience (2014) Women, mobility and rural livelihoods in Zimbabwe: experiences of fast track land reform. Leiden: Brill

<sup>28</sup> Saunders, D (2011) *Arrival City: how the largest migration in history is reshaping our world*, London, Windmill Books, p.38.

<sup>29</sup> As conceptualized by Jeanette Manjengwa, Interview 29<sup>th</sup> August 2016, Institute of Environmental Studies, University of Zimbabwe.

- The **transient poor neighbourhoods** include residents of peri-urban informal settlements and recently developed neighbourhoods lacking in infrastructure and basic services. Children and young households dominate these areas. These areas are defined as ‘transient’ in that, “they look poor, but are moving up, are transient and have different demography from those older residential and inner city areas”; in other words reflecting a pattern of circular migration. Where support and income opportunities are made available, households in these areas are able to engage in incremental improvements to their conditions in ways similar to ‘extending themselves’.<sup>30</sup> While today their shelter may be an overcrowded basic plastic or wooden shack, with incomes, they can develop incrementally to produce modern housing; this could be through cooperative savings schemes to build temporary housing while saving for future more permanent housing. In some of the post-1999 informal peri-urban areas like Victoria Ranch Masvingo and Caledonia (east of Harare), high value properties can be observed in these infrastructure and service poor neighbourhoods (although these high value properties are not universally the case).

### Economic transformation from mineral resources

Bryceson and MacKinnon’s term, ‘mineralised urbanisation’, is an apt description of Zimbabwe’s history of urbanisation.<sup>31</sup> This refers to the changing patterns of urban settlements and urban profiles arising directly and indirectly from mineral production cycles as well as related investments and commodity cycles at local, national, regional and global levels.

During periods of economic growth, mining companies running mining settlements have invested in urban infrastructure, education, sports and recreation. Non-tradeable firms, such as retailing, banking, insurance, wholesale and equipment suppliers also invested in the centres. However, since the 1980s, mining firms struggled in the context of government controls and fluctuating commodity prices. Firms struggled to compete given their high operational costs following reform in the 1990s. Mining investment continued to decline, thousands of workers lost jobs and mining operations eventually closed especially for tin, copper, iron and chrome mining, as well as some gold mining. However, some of these towns were revived during the commodities boom of the 2000s (Shurugwi for example), especially those producing platinum metals. Towns such as Kadoma and Redcliff, which had relied on iron ore production, continued to stagnate.

Further structural changes have occurred since the late 1990s. In particular, the decline in corporate-based mining and the closure of some mines have been accompanied by the rise in small-scale and artisanal mining. This switch was accelerated by the Fast Track Land Reform programme. Land reform opened up access to more land that had previously been controlled by a few thousand farmers. This became available for artisanal and small-scale mining by both newly resettled farmers and displaced farm workers. Secondly, thousands of displaced farm workers

<sup>30</sup> Tipple, Graham, A. (2000) *Extending Themselves: User-initiated Transformations of Government-built Housing in Developing Countries*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press

<sup>31</sup> Bryceson, Deborah and MacKinnon, Danny (2012) *Eureka and beyond: mining’s impact on African urbanisation*. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 30 (4): 513 – 537

(of Malawian and Mozambique heritage) lost their livelihoods and had nowhere to go except to peri-urban areas. Initially, this was to the main urban areas like Harare, Kadoma, and Chegutu and others where they survived in the informal sector.

However, Operation Restore Order in 2005 forced a number of displaced farmers residing in urban and peri-urban areas to seek refuge in some of the abandoned mining settlements, occupying the vacant houses and using whatever resources and infrastructure there was. Mining towns whose populations had declined saw an upturn in numbers, but not necessarily in economic productivity with a few exceptions. Some centres diversified into agro-processing with diversified urban settlements have been more resilient to economic shocks (such as Chegutu, Kadoma). However others like Mangura (copper) and Hwange (coal) remained dependant on extraction of a single mineral commodity.

Overall Kamete<sup>32</sup> and Banana et al.<sup>33</sup> report that there has been a transition from “prosperous mining towns, to ghost towns then to havens”. Most of the population survives on petty trading, artisanal mining of gold, tribute mining and casual labour on the resettlement farms. These former mining towns have attracted a growing population of homeless people seeking housing and land where there is infrastructure. Insecure land tenure arrangements are significant constraints to investment by households and local authorities alike.

### Natural population growth differentials

One key factor in growth dynamics is the natural population growth differentials between rural and urban areas, with rural areas apparently experiencing faster population growth than the urban areas. This may be due in part to higher natural growth in rural areas where the total fertility rate is on average higher than that for cities. Total fertility rates of 2.8 for Bulawayo and 3.1 for Harare are lower than the rates of 3.6 to 4.3 range for the other provinces. In addition, boundary changes (detailed in section 3) that reduced the scope of urban areas in the 2012 census and both the national and international migration patterns are the other factors. However, it is important to stress that ZIMSTAT has yet to prepare a detailed and disaggregated report on urbanisation and migration, after which a more detailed picture of migration patterns in Zimbabwe will be possible.

### Cross-border and domestic transportation linkages

The International Office of Migration (IOM) and other agencies have documented the outward migration from Zimbabwe over the last ten years.<sup>34</sup> In this context, the limited data we have access to suggest that urban settlements on international borders or the intersections of major highways have flourished – something supported by the interviews we conducted. These settlements include, for example, border towns such as Kotwa in Mashonaland East Province (rural, on the border with Mozambique), Mutare in Manicaland Province (urban, on the border with Mozambique) Beitbridge in Matabeleland South Province (urban, on the border with South Africa), and highway

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<sup>32</sup> Kamete, Amin, 2012, Of prosperity, ghost towns and havens: mining and urbanisation in Zimbabwe. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 30 (4): 589 – 609

<sup>33</sup> Banana, Evans., Chitekwe-Biti, Beth and Walnycki, Anna, 2016, Co-producing inclusive city-wide sanitation strategies: lessons from Chinhoyi, Zimbabwe. *Environment and Urbanization*, 27 (1): 35-54.

<sup>34</sup> IOM, 2009. *Migration in Zimbabwe: A Country Profile*. Also see Table 6 for World Bank data.



towns such as Mvuma in Midlands Province (rural).

The South African border has seen particularly significant emigration. Taking for example the border town of Beitbridge, across the inter-censal period the population increased by over 90% (6.6% per annum), from 22,136 to 42,137 people. Further analysis with population and dwelling datasets would help establish whether this suggestive statistic in fact indicates a wider trend of population movement in border settlements, especially along the border with South Africa, but also with Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia.

The work of agencies such as the IOM does suggest that populations in border settlements such as Musina (a town in South Africa across the border from Beitbridge) are particularly vulnerable, especially the elderly, women and girls. Trafficking of Zimbabwean migrants is an intraregional phenomenon, with porous borders being exploited by human traffickers.<sup>35</sup> According to the IOM's Country Profile in 2009, the economic crisis discussed above appears to be a key cause of this vulnerability. Migrant populations are also often significantly more vulnerable to HIV/AIDS than those who are settled.<sup>36</sup>

## 2.4 Informality and the urban economy

A review of the literature on Zimbabwe's informal economy highlights several key features of this phenomenon:

- **An informal sector in Zimbabwe does not exist.** Instead, there is an informal economy – the whole economy is an informal economy based on unwritten rules, relations, social capital and structures of power. Yet despite this, official government reports<sup>37</sup> state that the informal economy contributes only about 20% of the Gross National Product.
- The informal **economy is not just for the poor.** A preoccupation with the poor fails to capture (i) the symbiotic interactions between the poor, the middle classes and elites; (ii) movements in and out of poverty; and (iii) deeper and more sustainable interventions based on opportunity rather than poverty driven understanding of local circumstances.
- Crucially (and as noted by Roy<sup>38</sup>), the **elites, large corporations and even the state operate informally**; the Zimbabwe state routinely suspends the law and operates outside written rules and regulations in order to achieve its objectives.

However, development practitioners are faced with a contradiction not only in Zimbabwe but across Africa in that while informal economies create employment and support livelihoods, they have limited productivity and value addition in the value chains of the formal economy. The bulk of informal economy activities are in services and retailing rather than manufacturing and their contributions to local authority

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<sup>35</sup> IOM, 2009, *Migration in Zimbabwe: A Country Profile*, p. 84

<sup>36</sup> Ibid p. 86

<sup>37</sup> ZIMSTAT, 2013: xi

<sup>38</sup> Roy, Ananya (2009) Why India cannot plan its cities: informality, insurgence and the idiom of urbanisation. *Planning Theory*, 8 (1): 76-87: p.81-82

revenue are minimal – with substantial implications for the funding and investment capacities of local authorities.

## **2.5 Urban and peri-urban poverty dynamics**

A range of factors drive urban poverty and vulnerability in Zimbabwe. These include economic conditions (commencing with the structural reforms of the 1990s), HIV/AIDs, droughts and other adverse weather conditions, political instability, and enduring colonial structures and attitudes. Interventions to address the causes and triggers of poverty and vulnerability therefore need to be multi-dimensional in nature. Whilst targeted sector and group specific interventions or approaches will be required, there is a need for integration to address these interlinkages. Equally, integration should respond to the diversification of livelihoods and assets witnessed at household levels.<sup>39</sup>

As evidenced in the Zimbabwe Poverty Atlas 2015 and positions of the major UN-organisations such as UNICEF and UN Women, as well as census data from ZIMSTAT, the majority of Zimbabwe's poor live in rural areas. At the same time, however, in-depth studies and reviews show that there are significant zones of urban poverty and vulnerability in towns and cities. Recent research focusing on children living on the streets suggests that being poor in an urban area can be worse than being poor in the rural areas, because of the higher level of urban vulnerability to economic shocks.<sup>40</sup> In small towns, residents are better able to make links with rural hinterlands providing access to land, and daily transport costs are lower as they can walk to work or to access services. In large settlements like Chitungwiza, land that was recently available for urban agriculture<sup>41</sup> has been taken up for 'built' development,<sup>42</sup> and residents have to travel further out to access agricultural land.

Respondents urged a gendered and generational approach to poverty that recognises widows and orphans as among the most vulnerable and poor in urban Zimbabwe, whether in rural areas or in the urban neighbourhoods cited above. The terms for categorisation of poor neighbourhoods may not be the usual use of 'transient' poverty but reflect responses from key informants and observations in the neighbourhoods. Furthermore, and in policy direction terms, the ingrained poor areas are particularly vulnerable as they correspond to those areas identified for urban renewal while the transient poor neighbourhoods correspond to those areas in need of upgrading.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Matondi, Prosper (2011) "I am doing my own thing!" Livelihoods diversity study in Zimbabwe. Oxfam Harare and Ruzivo Trust. Harare: Ruzivo Trust.

<sup>40</sup> IOD PARC (2013) Impact Evaluation of the protracted Relief programme II in Zimbabwe: Final Report Prepared for Department of International Development (DFID). Sheffield: International Organisation Development Limited (IODPARC): 70; Manjengwa, J., Matemba, C., Tirivanhu, D. and Tizora, R. (2016) Deprivation among children living and working on the streets of Harare. *Development Southern Africa*, 33 (1):53–66; Potts, Deborah (2015) "Debates about African urbanisation, migration and economic growth: what can we learn from Zimbabwe and Zambia?". *Geographical Journal*, 182 (3): 251-264, p10

<sup>41</sup> Mutizwa-Mangiza, Naison, D. (1991) The organisation and management of local authorities in Zimbabwe: A case study of Bulawayo. *Third World Planning Review*, 13 (4): 357-380

<sup>42</sup> GoZ (2013) Report of Audit Team On Issues of Land Management and Land Allocations in Chitungwiza Town and Seke Rural District. Harare: Ministry of Local Government, Public Works and National Housing

<sup>43</sup> GoZ (2012) National Housing Policy, 2012. Harare: Government of Zimbabwe, Ministry of Local Government, Public Works and National Housing



Senga Road, Gweru. Typical Property in old neighbourhood; rundown or overcrowded and occupied by poor elderly residents.



Victoria Ranch Farm, Masvingo. Peri-Urban expansion with no water, sanitation, transport or education services. The truck is selling water to residents. However, many houses are of high value. This area is unlikely to remain a poor area.

## 2.6 Urban governance and political economy

### Understanding the political economy

The issues of demographic and land-use change described in the previous sections have to be understood within the context of changing urban politics and policies. Increasing urban disaffection has compounded the fraught relations between national and local government that have characterised urban management since 1980. European-dominated urban councils resisted Africanisation in the early years after 1980. Thereafter disaffection has been driven in large measures by an urban-centred anti ruling-party sentiment whilst services continued to deteriorate. This sentiment has crystallised as significant votes for opposition parties in national elections (Zimbabwe Unity Movement in 1990, the Zimbabwe Union of Democrats in 1995, and the Movement for Democratic Change in 2000).



## The roles and limitations of local authorities

The constitutional and legal framework for Zimbabwe provides for fairly autonomous urban local authorities with decentralised powers for land use planning, local revenue collection (especially from land rates) and urban management. Government departments (such as the Department of Physical Planning) and parastatals such as the Urban Development Corporation (UDICORP), the Infrastructure Development Bank of Zimbabwe (IDBZ), the Zimbabwe National Roads Administration (ZINARA) and the Zimbabwe National Water Authority (ZINWA) offer planning, development and management services for special urban areas and small urban areas below town status. Each local authority has an elected council and mayor that supervise technical professionals who run service provision and urban management.

However, as documented in a series of government commissions of inquiry, the central government has increasingly been involved in the running of local councils, for example through the appointment of senior professionals, the use of resources, and the allocation and development of land.<sup>44</sup> For a decade from 1999, Harare was among the municipalities run by government-appointed commissions instead of elected councils, as prescribed by law. Zimbabwe's central government made an attempt to centralise urban water management within ZINWA before reversing the decision in 2009. Recentralisation of power and creation of parallel urban structures aligned to ZANU-PF is now standard.<sup>45</sup> The central government frequently acts to restrict revenue raising and land management by urban councils: for example, in Local Government Circular No.3 of 2010, the central government instructed local authorities not to engage debt collectors to recover unpaid levies, rates and rents<sup>46</sup>; while on the eve of the 2013 elections, the central government issued a directive instructing local authorities to write-off all debts owed by residents.<sup>47</sup> Since then, councils have struggled to get residents to pay for services. Within two years, debts owed were double the pre-write-off amounts: at \$600 million for the top ten of the 32 urban councils.<sup>48</sup> On top of this, central government also owes up to \$38 million in unpaid water and rates to local authorities (at June 2016).<sup>49</sup>

Since 2000, significant urban development related to the Fast Track Land Reform programme and housing delivery policies have been introduced. In Circular Number 70 of 2004 "New National Housing Standards",<sup>50</sup> minimum plot sizes for low cost/high density housing were reduced to between 70m<sup>2</sup> and 200m<sup>2</sup> from the previous 150m<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> GoZ (1999) Report of the Investigating Team Into The State of Governance and General Administration of The City of Harare" of 28th May 1999, set up by Hon. J.L. Nkomo, MP, then Minister of Local Government and National Housing and chaired by Mr M.J. Thompson. Harare: Government of Zimbabwe; City of Harare (2010) Special Investigations Committee's Report on City of Harare's Land Sales, Leases and exchanges From the Period October 2004 to December 2009, 23 March 2010 (Dumba Report); GoZ, 2013; and GoZ (2015) Report on the findings of the inter-ministerial team investigating issues at Caledonia Farm. Harare: Ministry of Local Government, Public Works and National Housing

<sup>45</sup> McGregor, JoAnn (2013) Surveillance and the city: patronage, power-sharing and the politics of urban control in Zimbabwe. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 39 (4): 783 – 805.

<sup>46</sup> Ministry of Local Government, Rural and Urban Development, 24<sup>th</sup> March 2010

<sup>47</sup> Residents anticipate another debt write-off before the next 2018 elections.

<sup>48</sup> See The Financial Gazette "Councils Bankrupt", Harare, The Financial Gazette, 18<sup>th</sup> June 2015

<sup>49</sup> Residents anticipate another debt write-off before the next 2018 elections.

<sup>50</sup> Ministry of Local Government, Public Works and National Housing, Circular 70 of 2004, New National Housing Standards.

to 300m<sup>2</sup>. The circular also stipulated reductions in infrastructure standards in order to reduce costs. These reduced land use, housing and infrastructure standards were further articulated in the 2012 Housing Policy (GoZ, 2012) and the Implementation Guide to the National Housing Development Programme, 2014 (GoZ, 2014). To address an increased housing shortage in a context of diminished national government and local authority capacity, this policy encourages cooperatives, employers, financial institutions, landowners, the diaspora, the private sector or any entity with resources and expertise to participate in the provision of housing and urban infrastructure. Houses can now be built and infrastructure developed later, in contrast to previous policy where all infrastructure had to be in place before houses could be built.

Although there were many high density housing programmes in the 1980s, there have not been substantial programmes catering to low-income urban communities in recent years. As outlined above, however, there has been substantial urban construction and housing by private developers, housing cooperatives and individual households. Beyond the government and local authority linked institutions, other formal players involved in urban development include pensions funds such as Old Mutual, Fidelity Life, NASSA (the National Social Security Authority), the Local Government Pension Fund, the Mining Industry Pension Fund, Railways Pension Fund, employers and Building Societies (Central African Building Society and Zimbabwe Building Society). These stakeholders are involved in housing, office development and industrial parks which are targeted to more middle and upper class communities.

Banks, particularly new indigenous banks such as CBZ and the Infrastructure Development Bank of Zimbabwe (IDBZ) are heavily involved in financing urban development or are developers themselves largely because of restricted business opportunities in the rest of the economy. While some of the new developers target low income households, there are some corrupt dealer-developers, housing cooperatives and land barons linked to political parties (especially the ruling party), and financiers that often operate in conflict to legal provisions and in ways that undermine local authorities.<sup>51</sup> According to official reports in Caledonia, all the 23,000 plots were allocated by cooperatives and land barons, many with sanction from government and ruling party elites<sup>52</sup> while only 30% were on land with formally approved land-use plans. Therefore, while these new neighbourhoods have provided housing and housing plots to many people, they are largely devoid of infrastructure.

## **2.7 Urban infrastructure provision**

Zimbabwe's formal urban areas are well planned and designed. However, recent expansion in the built environment has proceeded through informal processes led by a variety of actors, including the state, political elites, land barons and dealer-developers. These actors are engaged in extra-legal wholesale conversion of public urban open spaces, green belts and rural/state land of low value, to 'built' development (mainly housing) of significantly higher exchange value.

The occupants of these new urban developments are not only low-income residents but also middle income groups who have found it difficult to access land through the traditional urban land delivery process. There is diversity in the form and future

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<sup>51</sup> see GoZ, 1999; City of Harare, 2010; GoZ, 2012 and 2015

<sup>52</sup> GoZ, 2015



potential for these developments: while some are likely to become permanent developments regularised into the mainstream urban fabric, others will remain at risk of demolition, and it is not always easy to determine which is which.<sup>53</sup>

However, it is clear that this unplanned urban expansion has created significant infrastructure deficits especially for basic services – water and sanitation, transport, education, health services and electricity. There are also other related impacts, which include high levels of commuting and increased congestion on limited transport infrastructure. The risks of environmentally related poor health including cholera are very high. To reverse this infrastructure deficit, Zimbabwe would need up to USD \$ 325 million per year for at least a decade for water and sanitation (WASH) alone. Yet, in 2010, the WASH sector allocation was a mere USD \$15 million or 16% of total spending.<sup>54</sup>

Informal processes have provided plots and housing to thousands of residents while simultaneously creating an infrastructure dilemma and entrenching patronage systems. The emerging challenges are multifaceted in their origins, features and potential solutions. These infrastructure deficits may also be worsened as a result of environmental change, with drought potentially reducing not only the availability of water for household and industrial use, but also reducing the electricity generation potential of hydropower plants.

Despite Zimbabwe's urban infrastructure challenges, there are emerging pilot local-level examples of innovative incremental and participatory interventions that need further documentation, sharing, mainstreaming and possible scaling. During stakeholder consultation, the overwhelming view was that water and sanitation, as well as education and health are critical sectors where both immediate and systemic infrastructure investment and support is needed.

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<sup>53</sup> Dube, 2012.

<sup>54</sup> WSP (2011) Water supply and sanitation in Zimbabwe: Turning Finance into Services for 2015 and Beyond. An AMCOW Country Status Overview. Harare: Water and Sanitation Programme (WSP), African Ministerial Committee on Water (AMCOW): 26

### 3. Scenarios and opportunities for donor engagement

Three broad factors – political uncertainty, a weak economy and ongoing drought – create a potentially highly fragile situation in Zimbabwe – and particularly in urban areas. Firstly, there is a current state of uncertainty over future political change and what consequences might arise. There is also the economic and monetary situation, with the country having the highest ranked unemployment rate in the world at 95%.<sup>55</sup> Although the unemployment figures are contested and vary depending on the definition of ‘employment’, there is little argument that a significant proportion of the population is reliant on informal economic activity, particularly in urban and peri-urban spaces.<sup>56</sup> Finally, widespread drought conditions are impacting most parts of the country, and indeed the region. Environmental, governance and economic hazards are also all inter-related. Poor or non-existent rural and urban service provision, particularly water for potable and productive use, together with the prevailing economic realities mean that there is very little latitude in the coping strategies of rural and urban families to survive further low rainfall drought years.

Due to these uncertainties, donor-led programming needs to be adaptive and flexible. Three basic political-economy scenarios are envisaged below, each of which may have a variety of highly nuanced sub-options. These scenarios are based on observations made and discussions held during the course of this brief assignment. They do not offer a comprehensive picture of Zimbabwe’s complex political-economy, but rather are intended to provide a broad framework through which donors may engage in discussions around urban programming.

#### 3.1 Scenarios for donor engagement

##### 3.1.1 Scenario 1: ‘Business as usual’

The first scenario is based on the absence of sudden political change, the continuance of patronage network, systems of structural corruption and rent-seeking. The systems politicisation of every aspect of social, economic and public life continue.

Urban and peri-urban land will remain a major patronage resource making transparent urban development and land use planning challenging. Recurrent and deepening problems of infrastructure and service provision will be a major feature of urban landscapes. This will erode trust between the public servants and citizens. While in this scenario there may be a change in leadership, possibly through the 2018 elections, the general direction of the ruling party will remain largely unchanged.

This unsustainable trajectory will inevitably lead to a continued deterioration the nation’s economic and social structures. Signs of this institutional deterioration are visible in at least two related areas:

- The monetary situation as evidenced by the cash shortage throughout the country and the proposal to print Bond Notes, which began in late 2016. This situation has arisen for three main reasons:

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<sup>55</sup> Statista – International Statistics Portal, Germany, Accessed on 5 September 2016: <http://www.statista.com/statistics/264656/countries-with-the-highest-unemployment-rate/>

<sup>56</sup> The CIA World Factbook also quotes 95% unemployment (2009) for Zimbabwe, but cautions readers that: “[T]rue unemployment is unknown and, under current economic conditions, unknowable”.

- Zimbabwe's ever widening trade deficit as the productive formal economy collapses to a virtual complete standstill;
  - The outflow of cash from the country through both legal and illicit means; and
  - The strength of the US dollar relative to regional currencies such as the South African Rand which form part of the basket of currencies used since the collapse of the Zimbabwe Dollar in 2009.

A further related sign of increasing dysfunctionality is the frequent late payment of public servant salaries which has led to increased rent seeking on the part of public servants, particularly the police, and public unrest, as the public service is the largest sector of what remains of the formal economy. The late payment of salaries is an indication of a near bankrupt public sector as a result of the lack of revenue due in turn to the collapse of the formal economy.

This scenario may involve precipitous breakdown of economic and social structures, with urban insecurity a major concern. The timeline for this scenario is uncertain, as deterioration may continue at a slow pace, or accelerate due to a confluence of factors. In terms of donor engagement, where programming is often a five-year horizon, initiatives should build in adaptability with regards to uncertain time-horizons and also risk-based scenarios for weakened economic and governance institutions.<sup>57</sup>

### 3.1.2 Scenario 2: Measured political reform

#### *Scenario 2a: Reform from within ZANU (PF)*

In the opinion of a small number of respondents, there may emerge in the ruling party a faction which gains power and which is sufficiently reform-oriented to engage constructively both with the opposition within Zimbabwe and with the international community to return the country to democracy and economic normality. There are numerous factions within the ruling party and currently no clarity on which may ultimately take power, or how long this process may take.

#### *Scenario 2b: Reform with international support*

The International Finance Institutions (IFIs) have been pursuing rapprochement with the ZANU (PF) government of President Robert Mugabe in order to normalise relations between the IFIs and Zimbabwe and resume lending which would enable the country to meet its public sector commitments and re-generate the economy. A continuation of this process, with ZANU (PF) is the basis for this scenario. Examples of this re-engagement include:

- Since 2013, Zimbabwe has completed two IMF Staff Monitored Programs and undertaken limited reforms
- The Government of Zimbabwe has a plan to borrow funds from the Cairo-based African Export-Import Bank (Afreximbank) through a seven year loan of \$986m to pay arrears to the World Bank, and make further arrangements to

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<sup>57</sup> There is a view that just like in 2008-2009, ZANU (PF) will not allow total collapse. The unknown is what strategies it would use this time round.

settle its outstanding debts of \$1.8bn owed to the World Bank, the IMF and the African Development Bank.

- The World Bank is promoting re-engagement (after the World Bank Annual Meetings in Lima 2015) to provide credit to the Zimbabwe government to stabilise its economy, meet public sector commitments and promote reforms necessary for economic recovery.

Re-engagement of the IFIs (and broader international community) would not guarantee a resolution of many of the underlying governance and economic problems facing the country – although it would produce positive pressure for reform. Even if finance in the form of substantial loans were available, the strict fiduciary and financial management conditionality's of the IFIs would require substantial reforms to be made at all levels of government before finance would be available for infrastructure development projects, although emergency financing could probably be made available fairly rapidly for stabilisation purposes.

At the time of the preparation of this report, there is no assurance that the IFI re-engagement process will happen. However, for the purposes of scenario development, re-engagement of the IFIs would, at least for a time, alter the development landscape in Zimbabwe substantially which would result in multi-lateral and bi-lateral development partners reconsidering their programming around infrastructure and urban development.

A successful re-engagement of IFIs and large-scale reinvestment in Zimbabwe will take time and will require significant institutional, administrative and financial support. Time will also be required to build public confidence and willingness to pay for infrastructure services. During this process, elements of existing infrastructure programming which provide support to communities, especially the poorest and most vulnerable sectors of the urban and rural populations, will need to continue for some years before the benefits of re-investment are felt throughout society.

### **3.1.3 Scenario 3: Precipitous change**

During the scoping mission in conversations with a range of stakeholders there were common perspectives which emerged. These included a perception that the political situation had changed in the last few months in late 2016, giving rise to a sense of anticipation that there is further change to come. There was a new boldness to resist the status quo, especially amongst the youth. This included resistance to the tightening of informal cross-border trading regulations with South Africa, the non-payment of public sector salaries, and to police corruption especially related to road blocks in urban areas. On a number of occasions people expressed concern that, due to the accumulated factors of youth unemployment (irrespective of educational status), cash shortages, concern related to the drought, the failure of basic services and many other related factors, there was a growing sense that there was nothing left to lose for the average citizen, especially young people in urban areas.

These factors, combined with the continued emergence of conflicting political alliances within the ruling party, the apparent lack of a leadership succession plan, and disarray amongst opposition groups, together present the possibility for precipitous, rapidly

occurring change. Such change could be either catastrophic resulting in large scale violence and destabilisation or it may be controlled and ordered.

### *Scenario 3a: Catastrophic precipitous change*

A catastrophic change scenario would represent the worst-case scenario. This could result in wide-scale disruption and instability including violence. This would yield possible long-term consequences to the country and the region. In such an eventuality, the donor-led programming would need to be re-evaluated based on the need to promote stabilisation in a fragile and conflict affected environment.

### *Scenario 3b: Ordered precipitous change*

There is a proposal for the formation of an Interim Authority to support a political transition in Zimbabwe. An Interim Authority would be non-political and which would oversee broad reforms, including specifically electoral reform, and prepare for national elections over a five-year period. It is unclear, given the complexity of the environment, how realistic such options are.

Were such a scenario to present itself, it could be possible that the international donor community could provide support to the implementation of broad reforms an Interim Authority (contingent on the relationship between any Interim Authority and the international donor community). This type of support could include support to urban planning authorities and other technical assistance to facilitate improved and more inclusive infrastructure services. The donor community could also serve to maintain support to the poorest and most marginalised sectors of the population throughout an interim transition process.

## **3.2 Thematic areas of engagement**

Given the fluidity of the situation in Zimbabwe and the limitations of this rapid scoping assignment, the ICED team, in discussion with the DFID Zimbabwe country office, has not undertaken a detailed assessment of existing programming or developed specific options for future urban and infrastructure programming. Instead, broad areas of donor engagement in urban areas are discussed below in the context of the data analysis in Section 2 and the political economy scenarios discussed in Section 3.1. These areas were also developed in consideration of DFID Zimbabwe's Strategic Objectives, which are summarised in Box 2.

Each of the engagement areas require in-depth further analysis in order to apply them to specific programme scenarios. At this stage, they are intended initiate a dialogue with development partners around

#### **Box 2: DFID Zimbabwe's Strategic Objectives**

1. Supporting peace, democracy and good governance in order to enhance stability, improve public financial management and accountability, and achieve international reengagement.
2. Strengthen resilience and response to crisis particularly in the agricultural sector and through support to the World Bank in infrastructure development especially in the energy sector.
3. Promote economic reform and prosperity including access to finance and promotion of trade with the UK.
4. Continued support to basic services for the poorest sector of the population including health, education, WASH, social protection and gender support.



the future direction of urban programming in Zimbabwe, particularly in the following areas:

- Maintaining basic service provision for the urban poor and vulnerable
- Identifying local initiatives for infrastructure service delivery in urban and peri-urban areas
- Supporting robust urban data analysis and evidence to inform policy and programming

### 3.2.1 Maintaining basic services

A recurrent theme which arose in virtually all the discussions and was evident in the responses to the questionnaires in Phase 1 of the project, was that there is a critical need to ensure that basic necessities which will determine the survival of Zimbabwean society are maintained in at least a nascent form, whatever the scenarios faced by the country. This is broadly termed maintaining the “fabric of society” and covers basic water supply and sanitation services (WASH) social protection, health services and education. The failure to maintain this basic fabric will result in long lasting generational consequences which will cast a long shadow over the future of Zimbabwe and possibly the Southern African Region.

The activity of maintaining the basic fabric of the country should not be regarded as humanitarian but rather developmental activity. The activities required to ensure that the basic areas do not collapse entirely may differ depending on the context – urban, peri-urban and rural.

It is clear from stakeholder consultations, especially with slum-dwellers and those working in peri-urban slums surrounding Harare, that the different elements of this basic set of requirements are all interlinked. Schools cannot function without basic infrastructure provision, such as water and sanitation, and neither can basic health services. As the public sector continues to collapse, education is becoming increasingly privatised which often results in the poorest losing access to education.

It is very likely that, irrespective of the immediate political and economic trajectory of the country, support will be needed to ensure the maintenance of these basic services to the poor for the foreseeable future until economic regeneration has been firmly established.

### 3.2.2 Catalytic local service delivery initiatives

Despite the economic and political uncertainty in Zimbabwe, a striking feature of all the interactions during the assignment was the resilience and creativity of many individuals and groups in the face of enormous challenges.

**It is very important that the creativity, initiative, leadership and innovative spirit exhibited under often very difficult circumstances is identified, recorded, supported and replicated as essential human capital which will be required in future nation-building stages of the country’s history.**

The following are a small number of examples of this creativity and innovation which the team identified in the course of the assignment focusing on only one place in the country (Harare and its surrounds). There should be further exploration of how DFID and other development partners might engage with these examples:

- Community-organised self-government. As the formal public sector vacates the development space which it normally occupies, particularly at local government level, civil society has in some instances been able to self-organise to provide basic services. This has generally happened in some of the most marginalised peri-urban informal settlements where local government has either not ventured or not recognised. In such situations communities have created their own savings and revenue schemes which have enabled them to provide their own services. These include providing water through boreholes, latrine sanitation services, solid waste removal, roads and social support such as saving for school fees, burial services etc. Receipt of services is based on group commitment and involvement. Payment is generally very high as there is a direct correlation between payment and services received.
- Alternative revenue streams. One local government authority in a peri-urban area on the outskirts of Harare has developed a separate revenue scheme specifically for road maintenance. This system circumvents the traditional requirement of transferring all local revenues first to the central government, where subsequently a smaller allocation is returned to local authorities. In one example, the local government authority created a separate "Road Fund" where revenue is not transferred to the central government. Households contribute \$2/month and businesses \$10/month and the community works with the local government to help in maintaining roads. The "Road Fund" is well supported by the community in contrast to the lack of payments of normal rates and services.
- Technical support from local government to community initiatives. Further examples of innovation between local communities, civil society and local government are initiatives related to the provision of services (including raising local funds) and technical support from local government. Examples are where communities provide local reticulation of water supply. The community raises funds for piping and provides labour whilst technical expertise is provided by the local government in the form of advice and more complex technical activities such as connecting into local trunk mains. NGOs support by facilitating engagement between resident and local government, providing local skills training and education on operation and maintenance and procuring infrastructure. This joint commitment from all parties (residents, local government and NGOs) can be formalised through a Memorandum of Understanding, which recognises the partnership.
- Incremental development of housing and services. In a number of high density peri-urban areas, communities and civil society (with the support of NGOs) have been engaged in the incremental development of housing development. Households begin with wooden and corrugated iron shacks (referred to as 'transitional homes') alongside which they construct simple brick houses over

time. Eco-toilets are being constructed in many locations in preference to traditional pit latrines in order to avoid polluting the groundwater on which communities depend for water supply. These schemes have been undertaken with the support of local government in some cases, with successful schemes being used as showcases to other interested local authorities.

- Beyond these brief examples of local urban innovation, there are also many other cases which need to be recorded, analysed and discussed further with development partners. In addition, the possible impacts of such initiatives should also be explored in depth. For example, supporting innovative methods of alternate revenue collection by local authorities may lead to a long-term impact of rebuilding a social contract citizens and local authorities, as discussed in Box 3.

**Box 3: The process of rebuilding a social contract in urban areas**

Respect for authority and formal governance structures has been eroded through the abuse of power and rampant corruption. Restoring this trust and relationship between public servants and their citizens will not take place overnight. However, the process can be supported through the innovative initiatives which also support this long-term objective. One example is around land and local revenue collection and expenditure for local services: citizens need to trust local authorities to appropriately use and invest revenue from rates and other service payments. Activities in the urban informal sector where community-based services are directly supported and paid for by residents (see examples in Section 3.2.2) illustrate that one impact of increased transparency and accountability over revenue streams is that even the poorest of the poor willingly acknowledge the mutual responsibilities of service provision and payment.

Therefore, impacts of innovative initiatives should be considered to the extent they strengthen the process of rebuilding a social contract between citizens and authorities. This will assist in achieving a stable transition through the promotion of peace, justice and the rule of law where the purpose of law is to promote and protect the common good.

### 3.2.3 Strengthening evidence base for urban demographic data

An important objective of the ICED scoping study was to provide insights into urban/rural demographic and economic dynamics in the current Zimbabwe context. Whilst it is clear that the country is undergoing a fundamental process of de-industrialisation, it is not clear whether or not there is a net migration in or out of urban areas from rural areas. This is partially as a result of how 'rural', 'urban' and 'peri-urban' is defined and measured in Zimbabwe, as discussed in Section 2 above.

A limited exercise such as this ICED scoping study can at best provide a partial 'snapshot' of the current situation, and can hint at broader trends. A frequent point made by numerous parties during this study was that the focus of the political struggle in the immediate future and leading up to the 2018 elections will likely be centred around urban areas and will primarily involve the youth. The aggregated census data available from ZIMSTAT is inadequate to understand the changing political economy of rural / urban trends.

There is a need for international development partners in Zimbabwe to work with government bodies such as ZIMSTAT, civil society and NGOs in monitoring urban trends as a key indicator of the political and developmental dynamics of the country. These trends will be shaped by complex inter-relationships between economic,

environmental and social forces – all of which need to be understood both independently and in association with each other.

As discussed in Section 2, there are several independent spatial population data sources which could form the basis of further analysis into urban dynamics in Zimbabwe. It would be possible to analyse these with reference to the different settlement boundaries used in both the 2012 and 2002 censuses for the purposes of tracking trends. This could be developed as a knowledge product, potentially in collaboration with ZIMSTAT.

A second potential approach would be to use a separate, independent, set of criteria based upon density and settlement size (there are many examples used by international statistics agencies), which could be used by donor agencies as a tool for understanding where populations are concentrated, especially the most vulnerable, and for planning and coordinating activity accordingly.



Norton, outside Harare



Informal road-side economic activity, Harare



## 4. Conclusion

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The purpose of this ICED scoping study has been to provide a review of urban data trends for DFID Zimbabwe to inform future urban programming. The difficulties with obtaining inter-censal population data, and the changes in the boundaries and definition of urban and rural settlements between censuses, make it challenging to draw definitive conclusions about the nature of the urban dynamics in Zimbabwe. Further analysis with available population and dwelling datasets – such as those obtained from satellite imagery – is required to support firm conclusions in this respect.

The scenarios presented in this report will have significant implications for urban areas, which will require programmes to be highly adaptable. Whilst the trajectory of the country remains uncertain, the need to continue to support the poorest and most vulnerable sectors of the population continues irrespective of the political economy scenarios presented in this report. In addition there remains very encouraging resilience and creativity in the face of extreme conditions exhibited across a broad spectrum of society, including some of the poorest urban dwellers. This type of support to community based initiatives and local initiatives should be explored further.

It is important to note that the ICED scoping study is only able to provide a “snapshot” of the current situation based on a review of available data and in the context of a changing political economy landscape. Recommendations for further data analysis and continued assessment of urban dynamics should be explored for more informed policy-making and programming.



Dzivarasekwa Extension, Harare



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## Annexes

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### Annex 1: Methodology

#### Phase 1: Situational analysis

##### *Desk review*

The desk exercise compiled and reviewed published literature from refereed journals, books and institutional reports on Zimbabwe with a focus on issues of urbanisation, urban development, infrastructure and poverty. There is substantial and important grey literature within Zimbabwe mainly in hard copy form that could not be accessed from a distance. These include valuable project and programme reports for institutions like The World Bank, USAID, SIDA, AusAid, local authorities and the government. Equally, a lot of Zimbabwean commentary has been produced by the media and civil society. But much of this has no explicit focus on the urban topics at hand. A search of the International Bibliography of Social Sciences (IBSS) shows that even for the scholarly and refereed journal articles, only a few have an urban focus in their titles.

The review also conducted an analysis of 2002 and 2012 census data, with a focus on identifying inter-censal urban-related population changes. The outcomes of this analysis and weaknesses in the data are highlighted in this report. For instance, changes to enumeration boundaries made in the 2012 census make it difficult to do longitudinal analysis especially for small urban settlements. Inter-censal migration data (inter-provincial, inter-district, inter-urban) to capture circularity and impacts on major post 2002 socio-political changes is not clearly available. Limited dialogue with key informants was also conducted by e-mail and phone to seek opinions on the above issues.

##### *Informal interviews*

The terms of reference called for ten informal interviews to be conducted as part of this analysis. A larger number than this were canvassed in order to ensure diversity, but not all responded, which was anticipated due to short timelines and also the nature of the current situation in Zimbabwe. In total, seventeen responses were received.

During the conceptualisation of the project, it was agreed to utilise existing networks of the ICED team to reach community members, religious leaders (through, for example, networks within the Anglican Church) and current development networks in Zimbabwe (international and local organizations). The respondents are consequently very diverse including urban women's groups, vendors, World Bank officials, faith-based groups and activists in the NGO sector.

Two questionnaires were developed to suit the variance in respondents. The first questionnaire was technical and sought to understand the underlying factors driving and influencing rural and urban economies in Zimbabwe, including impacts on the lives of ordinary people. This questionnaire is attached in Annex 4. The second questionnaire was descriptive and provides an anecdotal description of people's current observations and experiences of life in Zimbabwe from their individual perspectives. This was entitled "**Life today in Zimbabwe**" and is attached in Annex 4. The questionnaire was purposefully written in a direct and simple format and was designed to solicit responses from personal experience. The questions are aimed at

similar areas of interest as the technical questionnaire but are framed in non-technical language.

## Phase 2: In-country scoping

### *Overview and mission objectives*

Phase 2 of the ICED team's support to DFID Zimbabwe included a country scoping mission to validate Phase 1 findings and develop guidance on future directions for the DFID country office. Phase 2 sought to address the following question: in the context of the situational analysis findings and given a greater understanding of urban trends and the political economy environment, **what are DFID's options to strengthen the effectiveness of current programming to improve the lives of Zimbabwe's most vulnerable?** This involved an analysis of what past and current urbanisation and political economy trends mean for current DFID programming.

During the country scoping mission, the ICED team sought to conduct numerous stakeholder consultations – from community slum dwellers to development partners – in order to gather diverse perspectives.

### *Trip itinerary*

The ICED team conducted a one-week trip to Harare and peri-urban areas of Harare during the week of August 29<sup>th</sup>-September 2<sup>nd</sup>. Whilst the short time available meant that the team was unable to travel beyond the greater Harare area, the team did consult with individuals outside of Harare via Skype. The Phase 2 consultation sits alongside the 17 informal interviews which were conducted in Phase 1, where respondents came from across Zimbabwe. The list of individuals consulted during Phase 2 can be found in Annex 5.

## Constraints

A number of constraints were faced in accessing information both through formal channels, such as census data from government departments, and informal inputs into the project through the questionnaires. Some of these constraints are systemic challenges, as a consequence both of deliberate policy and a lack of government capacity to adequately manage and analyse information. Other constraints were a result of the prevailing difficult situation in Zimbabwe. These constraints are clarified in Annex 2 on data sources, quality and limitations.

## Annex 2: Further notes on urban data sources, quality and limitations

Data collection for this report guided by a conceptual view of the urban as a system composed of two faces (a) the outward face relating to linkages that an urban area may have with other cities, the hinterland, regional and global economies and (b) an inward face in which the city is a partially self-contained system with various interlinked parts. The desk exercise compiled and reviewed published literature from refereed journals, book and institutional reports on Zimbabwe with a focus on issues of urbanisation, urban development, infrastructure and poverty. A search of the International Bibliography of Social Sciences (IBSS) shows that of the nearly two thousand scholarly and refereed journal articles published since January 1990, less than five percent have an urban focus in their titles. Articles and reports were reviewed to identify urban themes covered, the data sources, concepts and conclusions regarding aspects of urbanisation.

**Table 4: Urban Focused Refereed Articles on Zimbabwe**

Based on a search of the International Bibliography of Social Sciences (IBSS) – for articles published after 1<sup>st</sup> January 1990

Article Title Search theme or topic	Number of hits
Zimbabwe	1791
Harare	198
Governance Zimbabwe	90
Urban Zimbabwe	68
Mugabe	46
Bulawayo	29
Zimbabwe cities	19
Zimbabwe city	11
Sustainable development Zimbabwe	11
Peri-urban Zimbabwe	6
Urban poverty Zimbabwe	5
Rural-urban linkages Zimbabwe	4
Urban poor Zimbabwe	4
Urban water	1
Urban poor Harare	1
Urban poor Bulawayo	1

The team had limited dialogue with key informants, initially conducted by e-mail and phone, and then during institutional visits during this stage of the process. The team carried out a questionnaire survey, two round table discussions, one with selected experts and another with civic society representatives. These exercises were carried out to seek opinions on urbanisation issues identified by the team, to triangulate evidence and identify further issues or information sources.

Respondents to questionnaires and participants to round tables were purposively selected based on previous contacts or leads emerging from the literature reviewed. Consequently there may be gaps in the cohort of this group compared to one selected using random methods. Regarding informal interviews, seventeen responses were received in the first phase of the study and came from very diverse spectrum including urban women's groups, vendors, World Bank officials, and activists in the NGO sector.

However, many more approached did not respond for a possible range of reasons including lack of time and other priorities or constraints. Throughout the duration of this project (July – August 2016), Zimbabwe was facing a number of difficulties: payment of public servant salaries had been delayed; the importing of foodstuff from neighbouring countries had been stopped; there has been a chronic shortage of cash in circulation throughout the economy; prompting a return to the printing of money; nation-wide work-stoppages and protests have been called and there have been incidents of rioting, looting and policy crack-down. The period also coincided with mid-year holidays. For all these reasons, many people may have been preoccupied which resulted in longer than average response rates to questionnaires. Details questionnaire survey objectives, question and procedures are lodged in the annexes.

ZIMSTAT officials, panel discussants and key informants all indicated a statistical and knowledge gap on migration dynamics (inter-urban migration; urban to rural migration, inter-district migration). Challenges with the 2012 census data suggest a need to support capacity building in the collection, analysis and use of urban data especially production of disaggregated data on urbanisation and inter-censal migration trends. In 2014, the International Organization on Migration (IOM) made efforts to address issues of internal migration in Zimbabwe. However, this has focused on aggregate flows and the impact of socio-political fragility.<sup>58</sup> Urban area specific and disaggregated data is still patchy. With urban population growth and the central role of cities in achieving sustainable economic development, accurate and credible data is required to support urban interventions. A 'low hanging fruit' in this respect will be interventions with local partners to better understand urban Zimbabwe through disaggregated extraction, analysis and dissemination of 2012 census data. Addressing these gaps would require resources and may entail use of external expertise working with ZIMSTAT and other locally based multilateral agencies such as UNICEF and UNFPA that have helped produce a valuable disaggregated Poverty Atlas.

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<sup>58</sup> Some of the IOM reports on human mobility in Zimbabwe are unpublished and not accessible.

## Annex 3: Urbanisation trends supporting material

### Dualistic political economy and pre-2000 policies

Although the United Cities and Local Governments for Africa (UCLG) and the Cities Alliance recently categorised Zimbabwe among the African countries with ‘no national urban strategy’, in practice the country has had a very rigid urban and national spatial planning strategy since colonial times when urban areas developed as mining towns, agro-processing centres, transport nodes and administrative towns. Most of these were located in the former European areas. The native reserves (later relabelled Tribal Trust Lands and present-day Communal Lands), where the majority Africans were consigned, were less productive urban settlements. The urban strategy dovetailed with the overall policy of racially separate development in the settler capitalist political economy.

As succinctly put by Potts<sup>59</sup>, the development of cities in this white settler state:

“... was fraught with the tensions inherent in a political economy which required African labour in towns but deemed it imperative to restrict as far as possible the political voice of these urban workers. This led to major institutional controls on their mobility and urban housing, which were lifted in 1980...”

Crucially, in the settler colonial political economy, the majority of Black Africans had no urban citizenship: they were ‘sojourners in the city’ – there to provide labour. Until the late 1970s, they could not own a house or run meaningful businesses. Consequently, rural-urban-rural migration or circular migration was inscribed in the cultural DNA of Zimbabwe. The feature of communal areas as a domain of social and economic reproduction, as a framework for state sanction and social control and as social security and livelihoods for Black Africans remains key and drives some of the rural-urban-rural dynamics of the present. Importantly, this attachment to land appears to be much stronger in Zimbabwe than in the other southern settler economies of Zambia and South Africa.

**Table 5: Overview of the evolution of Zimbabwe’s settlement hierarchy**

Major Settlement in European Areas	Pre 1980/First Phase Growth Points	Post 1980 Growth Points / District Service Centres
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Harare (Salisbury);</li><li>• Bulawayo; Gweru;</li><li>• Mutare; Kwekwe;</li><li>• Zvishavane; Mashava;</li><li>• Kwekwe; Kadoma;</li><li>• Chegutu; Chinhoyi</li><li>• Masvingo; Marondera</li><li>• Kariba; Hwange; Bindura;</li><li>• Mvurwi; Chiredzi; Triangle</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Sanyati; Nkai;</li><li>• Tsholotsho; Maphisa</li><li>• Mataga; Ngundu; Gutu;</li><li>Rutenga; Jerera; Nyika;</li><li>Chisumbanje; Murambinda,</li><li>Birchnough Bridge; Wedza;</li><li>Hauna; Mutoko; Murewa;</li><li>Madziwa; Muzarabani;</li><li>Mushumbi Pools</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• A district centre was designated in each of the country’s districts, with some pre-1980 growth points having dual roles of economic growth points and district centres</li><li>• Rural services were also designated in each district</li></ul>

By the 1970s, chronic environmental and socio-economic challenges had emerged in the communal areas (e.g. unemployment, population and livestock overcrowding). To address these challenges, the Rhodesian government designed a growth points

<sup>59</sup> Potts, Deborah (2011) “We have a tiger by the tail”: continuities and discontinuities in Zimbabwean city planning and politics. *Critical African studies*, 30 (4): 15 – 46.



strategy to develop resource-based urban centres in communal areas or other frontier regions (Table 5). The tsetse-fly eradication programme in the Zambezi Valley and the southeast low-veld were accelerated to facilitate resettlement of some of the communal area farmers (especially in Mashonaland West and Midlands) and to support these new growth points. Further settlement of small-scale commercial African farmers was promoted in border areas (especially Centenary-Mt. Darwin), in a futile policy to create an African middle class buffer against guerrilla fighters infiltrating from Zambia. Meanwhile, the strict policy to keep Africans out of European areas saw the establishment and growth of dormitory towns like Chitungwiza designed to house necessary African labourers close to cities like Harare.

The post-colonial urban strategies were designed to rebalance structural negatives in the settler colonial strategy described above. Post-1980 saw the expansion of the policy of growth points: a core policy from which economic-trickle down to the rest of the hinterlands could be engineered. The expanded and new centres were also used as a framework for decentralisation,<sup>60</sup> especially decentralised government services and agricultural marketing that boosted rural economies. These centres became vibrant transit centres to the main urban areas and for rural non-farm investments, until the withdrawal of these services under the 1990s structural adjustment programme (SAP) which led to the demise of some of them.

During the period from the 1990s to 2000, the designated growth points, district centres and rural service centres received significant infrastructure investment and funding for roads, water and sanitation and electricity (see the Public Sector Investment Programme or PSIP). Some including Murewa, Gowke, Gutu Mupandawana, Maphisa have seen rapid growth and have recently been awarded town council status or are aspiring to (Rutenga, Kotwa, Mutoko, Hauna, Magunje etc). Meanwhile, the post-1980 policy neglected the small settlements in the former European areas (commercial farms and mining towns) which declined or became ghost settlements.

In cities, the post-1980 policy extended citizenship, property rights and homeownership to the previously marginalised. This Africanisation and indigenisation was pursued with strict adherence to urban planning regulations – making Zimbabwean urban areas of the 1990s quintessentially settler colonial cities devoid of slums witnessed in other countries of similar economic profile. They were largely well managed and had a high degree of fiscal autonomy not present in much of Africa other than South Africa and Namibia. A subsequent section on urban governance will highlight how, since 2000, with the economic crisis, the orderly urban development and national spatial plans have not been pursued as vigorously as before.

### History of mineralised urbanisation

Zimbabwe's array of modern urban settlements has diverse histories dating back to the 1890s when Europeans led by Cecil John Rhodes's British South Africa Company established a settler colony in present day Zimbabwe. The Europeans were largely attracted by prospects of mineral fortunes (especially gold and diamonds). Consequently, military forts (such as Fort Victoria, present day Masvingo) and mining

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<sup>60</sup> See Government of Zimbabwe 1984 Prime Minister's Directive of Local Government and Decentralisation.

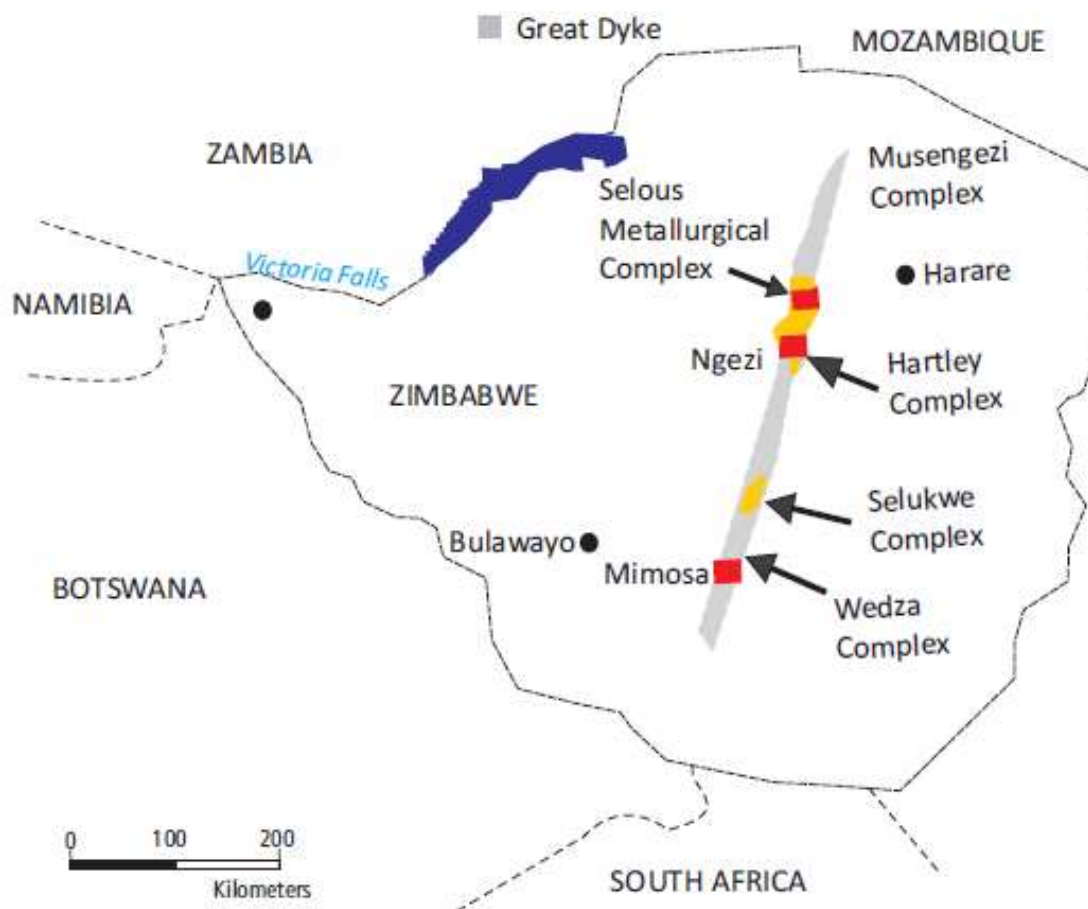
extraction centres developed into fledging urban settlements (such as Kadoma, Kwekwe and Chegutu), with the bulk in and around Zimbabwe's mineral rich Great Dyke extending from the southwest to the north and northeast of the country. Bryceson and MacKinnon's 'Mineralised urbanisation'<sup>61</sup> is an apt description of Zimbabwe's history of urbanisation. This refers to the changing patterns of urban settlements and urban profiles arising directly and indirectly from mineral production cycles as well as related investments and commodity cycles at local, national, regional and global levels. Some centres diversified to have agro-processing industries (such as Chegutu, Kadoma) whilst others like Mangura (copper) and Hwange (coal) remained dependant on extraction of a single mineral commodity. Diversified urban settlements have been more resilient to economic shocks. Large scale mining operations evolved involving some household multinationals such as De Beers, Anglo American, BHP, Rio Tinto, Lohmro, Union Carbide, Anglo Platinum, Metallon, Trillion, and more recently ZIMPLATS and Chinese firms such as Anjin.

As will be presented later, ghost mining towns are a critical category, particularly from the 1990s and increasingly so in the post-2000 era. Moreover, this mineralised urbanisation was mediated by a political economy of racially separate development; both structures have an enduring legacy. Equally, in present day Zimbabwe, planning of cities and delivering interventions to address poverty and vulnerability cannot be divorced from neither the historical structures that endure nor from the prevailing political disaffection and unfolding contemporary power and political dynamics; to be sketched in the section on governance.

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<sup>61</sup> Bryceson and MacKinnon, 2012

**Figure 5: Map of Great Dyke and mining regions in Zimbabwe**



### Rural-urban dynamics – linkages to agriculture

Agriculture developed commercially in the early years, initially to supply the mining centres. However, it evolved to be a major industry and the productive capacities of Zimbabwe's pre-2000 commercial farmers and smallholders are well documented. The backward and forward linkages in the smallholder sector took the form of incomes, money and farm inputs going to the rural areas while produce would go towards urban areas. Smallholders operating commercially and supplying fresh produce to Harare in the past (especially tomatoes from Mutoko and Murewa and greens from Chiweshe and Mhondoro)<sup>62</sup> have similarities to those producing for today's local markets<sup>63</sup> and even to South Africa.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>62</sup> Smith, J. A. (1989) Transport and marketing of horticultural crops by communal farmers into Harare. *Geographical Journal of Zimbabwe*, 20, 1-14.

<sup>63</sup> Matondi, 2011; Matondi Propser and Chikulo, Sheila (2012) Governance over fruit and fresh vegetables in Zimbabwe: market linkages and value chain study. Harare: Ruzivo Trust; Scoones (2016a) Small towns and economic development: lessons from Zimbabwe. Last Accessed on 26<sup>th</sup> July 2016: <https://zimbabweland.wordpress.com/page/2/>; Scoones (2016b) Mvurwi: from farm worker settlement to booming business centres. Last accessed on 26<sup>th</sup> July 2016: <https://zimbabweland.wordpress.com/page/2/>

<sup>64</sup> Mutopo, 2014

**Table 6: Livelihood impacts of conditions on declining copper mines and mining towns**

Period	Local, national and global conditions	Impacts on mining and mining towns	Impacts on livelihoods
Various Pre-1980	Firming mineral prices, labour policies favourable to mining companies	Investment and capital accumulation in mining; mining as draw cards for regional migrant labour; diversification through forward and backward linkages in the supply chains. Mining companies as local authorities responsible for service and infrastructure in the urban settlements, leading to <b>prosperous towns</b> .	Vibrant communities reliant on paid employment
1980s – 1990s	World commodity prices plummet; labour laws in favour of workers. Neoliberal reforms make it possible to retrench workers but create more global competition.	Mining faces viability problems, reduced recruitment of new workers, population decline, Mines closing and settlements become <b>ghost towns</b> .	Retrenched mine workers have no transferable skills and cannot find jobs nor housing in an economy with rising unemployment. As a result, they join the informal economy.
Post 1999 Fast Track Land Reform  And Operation Restore Order 2005	Land reform and election violence create internally displaced populations (IDPs) and destroys investment climate. Firming global prices for minerals. Hyperinflation decimates some of the remaining mining operations.	Copper, tin, coal mining do not benefit from firming global prices; insignificant investment goes into these mines partly due to political economic crisis. IDPs seek shelter in ghost mining towns; IDPs turn ghost towns into <b>havens</b> . Example of such towns: Mhangura, Alasaka; Sanyati, Banket, Sutton, Muriel, Dalny Mine, Mutorashanga, Shackleton (all copper mines). Gaths Mine and Mashava asbestos mines closed.	Rising population dependant on itinerant livelihoods, petty trading, and contract labour on resettlement farms, tribute mining, gold panning and exploiting natural resources. Declining infrastructure for water and sanitation, health and education. Reliance on NGOs for social services on a humanitarian basis.
Post 2000	Global revival of mineral prices; Increased demand for minerals like platinum, chrome; efforts by government to raise incomes and jobs from mining activities	Large corporations invest in platinum group metals (gold, nickel, chrome). Examples of mines include: Unki, Mimosa, Mohondoro-Ngezi	Benefits of jobs, education and health facilities in the areas but also high prevalence of STIs, environmental destruction, water pollution for hinterland communities.

Like in the mining sector, the direct involvement of large corporations and commercial farmers has declined whilst the role of smallholder communal areas and resettlement farmers has increased. New commodity chains or channels have emerged linking the resettled farmers and nearby small towns.

However, despite the vibrancy and revival of some of these centres such as Gutu, Mvuri and Chatsworth,<sup>65</sup> it should be noted that:

- There is no evidence that investments and incomes at household level have resulted in an increase in local authority revenue or increased investment in public infrastructure, such as urban roads, water and sanitation, health and education services.
- Centres that used to be home to large agro-processing firms such as cotton processing in Chegutu, grain, beef, letaher dairy and pork processing are still in the doldrums.

The urban-rural linkages go beyond agriculture to include quarrying and building materials extraction, timber harvesting for sale in local urban markets and beyond (see Annex 7; photo 2). Whilst celebrating the livelihood benefits and urban linkages from activities of smallholder farmers (small-scale) and artisanal mining, associated environmental degradation impacts should not be ignored. To date, most of the available research is on Harare and more needs to be done to understand dynamics in and around small towns and growth points in the country's varied agro-ecological regions.

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<sup>65</sup> Scoones, 2016 a and b



**Figure 6: Map of horticultural linkages with Harare** - Linkages can be spatially close or very distant and global.



Transport and marketing of horticultural crops by communal farmers into Harare.

**Source:** Smith, 1987.

### **Box 3: De-urbanisation and land reform: myths and realities**

The favourable or relative attraction of rural (farm-based) livelihoods in contrast to the urban ones is not just a product of local factors and land availability. The factors that make urban areas unattractive are critically important to understand. These factors include: de-industrialisation, lack of jobs, economic insecurity and global trends. This is critical to note because as Potts (2015) has illustrated, Zambia and Zimbabwe have previously experienced periods of de-urbanization without any associated land reform at all.

In Zambia, with a peak urbanisation rate of 40% in 1980, experienced de-urbanisation, contracting to 35% by year 2000 due to neoliberal economic policies and the collapse of urban safety nets.

Zimbabwe's recent period of de-urbanisation started in the 1990s – before the Fast Track Land Reform programme – due to economic structural adjustment programme (ESAP). Falling fertility rates in urban areas and rising deaths related to HIV/AIDS contributed to this trend, as did emigration. In the early years of the current crisis, the urban-based middle classes and educated youth were the first to vote with their feet. Events like Operation Restore Order and record-high inflation made urban living a nightmare for many without linkages to the countryside and the diaspora. Therefore, with or without land reform, the economic conditions increasingly forced Zimbabweans to look elsewhere, as they had already started doing since early 1990s.

### **Local level population dynamics**

Despite the patchy nature of the census data on urbanisation and migration, using the urban statistics from the 2012 census report, and comparing against the 2002 census data, some insights on local level changes can be made. Figure 2 shows that except for a few centres like Bulawayo and Kadoma, most urban areas witnessed significant increases in their urban population. There is significant variation in urban growth at regional and local levels with some small centres and peri-urban or satellite towns, such as Ruwa, growing at rates of up to 150% since 2002,<sup>66</sup> while large settlements have grown at rates of below six percent. Moreover, statistical data from ZIMSTAT is not clear on population sizes and growth rates for the small urban settlements where rapid growth is taking place.

Population in Bulawayo declined by 3.5% while Harare grew by about 3.4%. This is in contrast to the intermediate and small towns as well as growth points and peri-urban areas that grew by at least 6% and as much as over 50% for Norton and Ruwa (peri-urban areas of Harare) and small towns like Gwanda, Beit-Bridge and Chipinge.

Some mining towns that had stagnated in the pre-2002 period have been booming in the last ten years (Shurugwi, for example) whilst others have continued to decline (the iron and steel towns of Kadoma and Redcliff, for example). Detailed disaggregated data for 2012 is not yet available for most of the small mining towns to allow comprehensive comparison.<sup>67</sup>

The change in the urban population for Matabeleland North, Matabeleland South and

<sup>66</sup> Ruwa trends confirmed in discussions with Acting Town CEO and Director of Finance Ms. Fatima Mhiti on Friday, September 2<sup>nd</sup> 2016 in Harare, Zimbabwe

<sup>67</sup> Given the boundary changes that diluted the urban population count in the 2012 census, this data may be difficult to extract and when done will always be disputed.

Masvingo provinces appears to be low, when compared to other provinces, according to census data. The migration literature and IOM reports suggest migration from these areas to other parts of Zimbabwe, to South Africa, Mozambique and Botswana. Droughts have also been cited as playing a role, driving many young people out of these regions.

### Drivers of urban sprawl

The matrix of factors that drive urban sprawl include macro-economic, micro-economic or household factors, demographic changes, institutional competition, policy and instability. Table 8 below seeks to capture the factors as they apply to Zimbabwe in recent years. Their implications for poverty and **costs to the poor** are largely related to environmental degradation and pollution, poor infrastructure and increased risks of environmentally related diseases such as typhoid and cholera, congestion, loss of agricultural land, institutional decay and increased polarisation, increased costs of infrastructure provision in the future and increased travel costs for the poor.

However there may be **benefits for the poor**:

- The rural peri-urban households may diversify land-use to horticulture, housing and small industry to supply needs of the 'new urban'. Production of staple grain may decline. Those who benefit most are households with access to transport, land, energy and water supplies.
- The urban poor settling in peri-urban areas may have access to land for informal economy activities but mainly for food production. The benefit of cheaper food and cheaper housing has to be weighed against costs of services, transport and pollution.

Until 2000, strict adherence to development control and densification within the existing boundaries was characteristic in Zimbabwean cities. This led to high-value real estate but generated problems of affordability and chronic overcrowding in the existing built environment. This in turn has been an incentive for urban residents to seek peri-urban land for housing since 2000.

**Table 7: Matrix of factors that drive urban sprawl in Zimbabwe**

Drivers or factors	Dimensions and examples	Impacts and implications for the poor
Globalisation and macro-economic factors	Firms 'racing for the bottom' i.e. seeking low cost labour and cheap land where regulations are weak or suspended including in 'special economic zones' that are usually in peri-urban areas. A feature of the 1990s neo-liberal era – an informality by the rich.	Environmental destruction through resource exploitation and environmental waste; disjointed urban growth. Loss of livelihoods for the poor rural households.
De-industrialisation and economic decline	Mining towns like Mhangura and Alaska have not been productive. Towns become ghost towns. Some of these towns may be environmental and health risks for those who remain as residents.	Former workers destitute. Cities become dormitory towns and slum areas where no authority is responsible for service provision and residents have precarious security of tenure. Also health issues
	Rising living standards. High land prices and houses in the city, overcrowding in	Loss of agricultural land and all factors indicated above.

Micro-economic and household factors	existing housing stocks (as was the case in Zimbabwe since the 1990s) force people to seek peri-urban land for housing. Before 2000, adherence to planning rules and cost of freehold peri-urban land made it difficult to get peri-urban land. Only with cheap 'public' land following the Fast Track Land Reform has this become easier.	
Institutional competition	Competition and conflict between the urban and the rural authorities. The rural authority makes land available for urban actors to build so as to raise its tax base. The urban/metropolitan authority encourages illegal development on its borders to pre-empt incorporation of the rural land into its jurisdiction at low cost. Current cases include Bulawayo versus Umguza Rural District Council (Rangemore farming area) and Harare versus Ruwa Town Board.	Uncoordinated development with inadequate water and sanitation infrastructure leading to health risks, higher costs of infrastructure provision in future compared to planned areas. No schools, no clinics – women, children, the disabled suffer most.
Demographic change	Increase in urban population; increase in household formation e.g. for Harare due to natural increase.	Overcrowding in existing stock resolved by a drive to find housing in the peri-urban. A solution if planned well.
Household housing preferences	This leads middle class and elites to seek rural like environments with more space, less congestion etc. Often creates gated communities in the urban and peri-urban areas.	Increasing inequality, increasing commuting distances; loss of compact city and increased costs of public services provision that are used by the poor.
Inner city problems	Increased poor quality of housing, air quality, unsafe environments, social problems, poor services- all push households to search for peri-urban options such as Ruwa, Norton, Manresa and Christon Bank	Spreading out of urban slum-like conditions.
Transportation	Increased car ownership especially with neoliberal opening of borders and import of cheap second hand cars from Japan, Dubai and OECD countries. Low fuel costs. Availability of cheap cars (Kombis) has made it possible for urban households to build or rent houses further away from the city and then commute to town.	Environmental degradation as built development spreads further out to areas with no water, roads, electricity and sanitation infrastructure. Environmental health risks, congested roads, pollution all ensure.
Rural conflict and displacement	Displacement of rural populations who then flock to the cities e.g. during 1970s running away from the war; during election times if violence is rural based. The Fast Track Land Reform programme led to displacement of thousands of farm workers who fled to cities and found shelter in either the overcrowded housing stock or urban periphery.	Overcrowding, poor housing with inadequate infrastructure, education and health services. Operation Restore Order also added to this peri-urbanisation
Governance, political patronage and Land Barons	Political elites used land as a patronage resource allocating peri-urban land to potential voters and allies. Elites and business dealers aligned to ruling elites grab public urban and peri-urban land claiming this as theirs, and parcel it out to	Erosion of governance; institutional decay. Recipients of land have insecure tenure as they can be evicted or houses demolished in the

	sell to desperate urban residents. Rampant especially in Harare regions.	event that the patron or baron loses power in the elite networks. <sup>68</sup> The erosion of institutions and poor governance is detrimental to the poor in the long term. The public is robbed of resources that should benefit everyone.
Prestige projects, new towns and planned development	Planned development to meet demands for new housing and other built development. At independence in 1980, almost all Zimbabwean urban areas inherited some form of spatial development plan. For Harare, this expansion plan was “Strategy 7” largely the core of the late 1980s/1990 Harare Combination Master Plan. It envisaged a future central business district and office district in the Mt. Hampden area. Surprisingly, even without funding for basic services and rehabilitation of existing infrastructure, ruling party elites seem to be pushing for the establishment of this centre—probably to be financed with Chinese loans.	Rapid urban sprawl and loss of the compact city opportunities. Corridor development along major routes can be characterised in the development which is consolidating in Harare and Bulawayo

### Learning from history and other development agencies in Zimbabwe

Although donors appear to have operated more in rural than urban areas, there was a slow shift in the 1990s and agencies such as the World Bank, USAID and Swedish SIDA/SAREC had a notable urban presence. Since 2008, a range of donors have contributed to urban humanitarian interventions and water supply infrastructure rehabilitation. Since the 1980s, the World Bank focused on hard infrastructure and local capacity building in part using performance-based grants aimed at building the financial health of cities; improved own revenue collection, participatory planning and delivery of services. This programme was terminated in Zimbabwe post-2000 but continues in a range of other countries including Uganda, Mali, Kenya, Tanzania, Mozambique<sup>69</sup> and Ethiopia.<sup>70</sup> Local authorities now collect only a small fraction of the land based revenues due to them. Enhancing revenue collection and the financial health of cities is paramount for effective long term delivery of services in urban areas.

In the 1990s, USAID supported Zimbabwe and other then emerging middle-income countries to improve urban land management and housing delivery, good governance, gender mainstreaming and enabling markets to work.<sup>71</sup> Since the 1990s, DFID also

<sup>68</sup> See Annex 7 for urban and peri-urban demolitions photos for Harare

<sup>69</sup> The World Bank, 2012, Mozambique-ProMaputo, Maputo Municipal Development Programme project: Implementation Completion and Results report (IDA-42570 TF-92459) report No. ICR2273, 28<sup>th</sup> February 2012. Urban and Water Unit, Country Department AFCS2, Africa Region. Washington DC: The World Bank.

<sup>70</sup> The World Bank, 2008 and 2015, *Ethiopia – Urban local government development project*. Washington DC: The World Bank.

<sup>71</sup> GoZ/USAID (1994) Zimbabwe Private Sector Housing Program Monitoring and Evaluation System: Baseline survey and Findings. Government of Zimbabwe, Ministry of Public Construction and National Housing/United States Agency for International development /Zimbabwe; GoZ/USAID (1996) Gender Analysis of the Zimbabwe Housing Guaranty Program. Prepared by Plan Inc. Zimbabwe for Government of Zimbabwe, Ministry of Public Construction and National Housing/ United States Agency for International development /Zimbabwe



ceased its capacity building programmes oriented around urban councils that were centred on the Midlands Province. Swedish SIDA/SAREC supported action oriented research on gender, land, housing and everyday life in Zimbabwe and SADC more broadly. It has continued with less expansive projects, for example in Mutare.

There is already a tradition of international agencies working with urban local governments and civil society to address critical infrastructure and governance issues. There are valuable lessons from donor led programmes, which are not reflected in this report due to limitations in contacting programme staff and challenges in accessing programme documents. For DFID and any other agencies seeking to upscale urban programming, it is important lessons from these land, governance and gender programming across agencies are shared.

## Annex 4: Situational analysis supporting material

This Annex includes the responses to the questionnaires from Phase 1 of the project.

Table 8: List of respondents for Phase 1 informal interviews					
	Person	Organisation	Location	Position	Type
<b>Life in Zimbabwe Questionnaires</b>					
1	Sheila Muganyi	Zim Homeless People's Federation	Crowborough, Harare	Vendor	Community
2	Charity Chinyani	Zim Homeless People's Federation	Crowborough, Harare	Cross border trader/vendor	Community
3	Sekai Chiremba	Zim Homeless People's Federation	Crowborough, Harare	Community Leader	Community
4	Sheila Magara	Zim Homeless People's Federation	Crowborough, Harare	Vendor	Community
5	Farirai Mudiwa	Anglican Diocese of Manicaland	Mutare, Manicaland	Relief and Development Projects Coordinator	NGO/Faith based
6	Ishmael Mukuwanda	Anglican Diocese of Central Zim	Gweru	Bishop, Chair of Zim Council of Churches and Zim Heads of Christian Denominations (ZHoCD)	Faith based
7	Austin July	Anglican Diocese of Central Zim	Gweru	Dean of Cathedral	Faith based
8	Anonymous	Mothers' Union	Mutare	Unemployed	Community
9	Darlington Musekiwa	Anglican Diocese of Central Zim	Gweru	Diocesan Development Officer	NGO / Faith based
10	Trevor Maisiri	PACT - Nigeria	Abuja (ex-Zimbabwe)	Country Director	Activist
<b>Technical Questionnaires &amp; Articles</b>					
11	Tafara Chiremba	Poverty Reduction Forum Trust / CAFOD	Harare	Programs Coordinator	NGO
12	Mr Mkhululi	Anglican Diocese of Matabeleland	Bulawayo	Development Officer	NGO / Faith based
13	Ron Lumbiwa	Anglican Diocese of Matabeleland	Bulawayo	Diocesan Development Officer	Faith based
14	Group	Diocese of Manicaland	Mutare	Group input	Community
<b>Interviews</b>					
15	Peter Morris	Consultant in Zimbabwe	Harare	Consultant – urban infrastructure	Engineer
16	David Coltart	Law firm	Bulawayo	Senator, Lawyer	Politician
17	Mike Webster	World Bank - Urban services	SA - ex Zimbabwe	Urban infrastructure / water	Technical

Summary of respondent details:

- 6 of the 10 who filled out the “Life today in Zimbabwe” are women
- 4 are vendors in the informal economy or are unemployed
- 6 are based in local communities
- 6 are associated with faith based organisations
- 4 work in NGOs
- 2 are professionals in the private sector
- 1 international development agency official
- 1 ex-senator / lawyer
- 1 activist
- 1 senior bishop
- 4 live in informal peri-urban settlements
- 6 live in or around Harare
- 3 live in Gweru
- 3 live in Mutare

- 3 live in Bulawayo
- 2 live currently outside Zimbabwe

## Summary of Responses to the “Life today in Zimbabwe” questionnaire

**Table 9: Summary of responses to the “Life today in Zimbabwe” questionnaire**

Question	Responses
Questions 1 to 10 provide details of the respondents’ circumstances, such as name, date of birth, location, employment status, etc. These have already been summarised in section 2.3 and therefore have not been included in this table.	
11. Has life been getting harder or easier for you in the past 2 years?	All respondents indicate that life has become harder.
12. In what ways has life been harder or easier in the past 2 years?	<p>Unemployment is regarded as the primary difficulty. Respondents noted challenges in the informal sector, as more and more people are forced into this sector and there is increasing competition for decreasing sales. Other challenges include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Increasing costs of basic goods.</li> <li>• Devaluation of South African Rand against the dollar reduces value of remittances which are a life-line.</li> <li>• Costs increasing in formal housing in municipal areas. Informal housing has no security, rents are very high in some place and under-cut in other areas. Tenants in informal housing are often unable to pay due to poverty, resulting in poor shack owners’ loss of income.</li> <li>• Difficulty getting cash from banks – the poor do not have access to ‘plastic money’ (credit cards).</li> <li>• Health services have deteriorated and low income has made them inaccessible.</li> <li>• Impact of the drought has made everything more difficult.</li> </ul>
13. What are your biggest worries right now?	Many worry about being forced out of formal housing due to an inability to pay rents. Many also worry about hunger and not being able to care for children and the elderly when they cannot look after themselves due to poverty. Children may get education but there are no jobs to go into, even for the educated. Those who have jobs in all sectors – church, NGOs etc. – worry about losing their jobs irrespective of their qualifications. There is also worry about political tensions, violence and civil war. Some noted increasing lawlessness, burglaries etc.
14. What is your biggest worry for the future?	Many noted one of the biggest worries is about going back to the crisis of 2008. This also includes worry around about being able to get cash and queues at bank at 5:30am. Individuals worry about a possible implosion and serious political violence. There is also large concern for the welfare of immediate and extended family. Some respondents / family are HIV positive and they worry about continued availability of ARVs. A number of respondents are also worried about prolonged drought.
15. What is your hope for the future?	The main hopes are a change in political leadership and the return to previous prosperity, including the return of industries, jobs and a stable currency. Many individuals are hopeful for one day the return of family and friends from the diaspora and a renewed sense of unity amongst the people.
16. Who are the poorest people where you live?	Respondents cited elderly people and children who are homeless or without family. Some articulated that people are so poor that they cannot access basic health services.

17. What has made them poor?	Responses include the lack of employment and poor health, in particular HIV. Individuals also cited losing family support structures as one of these factors, particularly for orphans and widows.
18. Are the poorest people today the same people who have always been poor?	Respondents expressed the personal observation that there are many more poor people now due to loss of employment, even those with qualifications. Some lost all their savings and what wealth they had, due to the failure of the Zimbabwe currency.
19. What do people do to try to improve their situations?	Mainly join the informal economy and this is making up an ever increasing proportion of the people. However, with increases in poverty, demand for goods within the informal economy is low. There is also increasing government clamp-down, for example around stopping cross-border vendor trade. Some people engage in income-generating projects such as poultry rearing, goat rearing and market gardening.
20. How do people in the community help the poorest people?	Respondents noted there is very little formal assistance from outside the community. People help each other with provision of food and clothing, where possible. People also engage in mutual support through saving clubs. Sometimes the poor give small jobs to the even poorer people. This reflects a strong sense of community support.
21. Which organisations (government or non-government) help the poorest people the most?	Respondents largely cited NGOs working with the homeless, but also large international NGOs, and some government organisations (local and national), such as: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Zimbabwe Homeless People's Federation</li> <li>• H-SUFF (Harare Slum Upgrading Finance Facility), which gives small loans for business and incremental housing construction</li> <li>• Christian Care, which is the service arm of the Zimbabwe Council of Churches</li> <li>• Lutheran Development Services</li> <li>• Care International</li> <li>• CADEC of the Catholic Church</li> <li>• Government of Zimbabwe, Social Welfare Department</li> <li>• Anglican Relief and Development of Zimbabwe</li> <li>• Relief, Development and Social Services Arm of Central Zimbabwe</li> <li>• Oxfam</li> <li>• CAFOD</li> <li>• Save the Children</li> <li>• Zimbabwe Microfinance</li> <li>• Local Government</li> <li>• Ministry of Agriculture</li> </ul>
22. How do these organisations help?	Respondents cited the following methods of help: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Help to mobilize the community</li> <li>• Small grants, food handouts and relief supplies</li> <li>• Lawyers represent evicted families, children etc.</li> <li>• Training in farming etc.</li> <li>• Microfinance for small traders.</li> </ul>
23. Which organisations should help, but do not?	Respondents cited the lack of government support, due in part to a lack of budget.
24. At a local level, what needs to change most?	Respondents argued that it is not possible to change the local without changing the top. There is also a need to change the way people view poverty; attitudes must change. There is a need for training so that people are better able to look after themselves.
25. Who has the power to change things at the local level?	The community and the people who live at the local level. However, the chance to change things at local level is constrained by political realities. The local church and the local political leadership such as councillors and traditional leaders have some power.
26. What things make it most difficult to earn a living or make money?	Respondents cited the lack of jobs as foreign businesses have closed due to government policies such as indigenisation. Low disposable income leads to depressed markets. Challenges also include taxes

	and constraints on the formal business sector. Another difficulty is the currency situation and the cash shortage. Wide spread corruption was also noted.
27. Have people been moving from the cities and towns into the rural villages and farms in the past few years or has it been the other way round?	Many people moved to rural areas because of Operation Restore Order. Now it seems people are moving to the city because of drought and in order to trade informally. Most people have rural and urban homes and move between them. The other opinion is that people are moving to rural areas because it is too expensive in urban areas. Others say people are moving in both directions.
28. Is life easier in some parts of Zimbabwe than others?	Generally it is difficult in all areas of the country but dryer areas have been hit more by the poor agricultural season (e.g Matabeleland and Masvingo provinces and parts of Midlands).
29. Which do you think are the hardest parts of Zimbabwe to live in?	Urban areas, because of the high costs of living, and rural areas which are most affected by drought.
30. Which do you think are the easiest parts of Zimbabwe to live in?	Opposite to question 29: Rural areas which have good seasonal rains.
31. Why is life harder in some parts of the country than others?	Drought and cost of living (e.g. high rents in urban areas)
32. How do you think agencies and organisations from outside Zimbabwe could best help at a local level?	Respondents identified the following areas of support: income generation projects; education; agricultural productivity. Respondents noted that food aid should be a last resort – as it is important to not create dependency. Respondents also cited that an entry point should be the government. Climate change mitigation and social enterprise development are also important areas to support.
33. How do you think local authorities could improve the situation? District Councils, Town Councils, City Councils, ZINWA, Education Department, Health Department etc.	Respondents cited that critical services need to be delivered. Service costs are unaffordable for an increasing proportion of the people. There also needs to be increased dialogue and transparency, capacity building, extension services and support to creating an enabling environment. Respondents said that there is a strong need to work with people to unite communities. Corruption is also something that needs to be dealt with.
34. Are you worried about the money situation in Zimbabwe? How has the cash shortage affected you?	All respondents are very worried. Some cited difficulties in paying school fees, rent and basic commodities. Cash shortage means lower income for vendors, which has knock-on effects. Income (donations and giving) to charities and churches has dropped significantly which hampers their support of the very poor. Businesses are closing as a result of the monetary situation causing more unemployment. Significant concern over bond notes and concerns about return to 2008.
35. When there is drought in Zimbabwe, how does it impact you and your family?	Food shortages and higher prices are a major concern for the poor and those supporting extended families. This is exacerbated by closure of cross border trade.

### Summary of telephonic interviews

Three interviews were undertaken by phone. Key points made are summarised below:

- Urban, peri-urban and rural contexts are in a continuous state of flux as people work out different coping strategies, which also include economic migration to other countries in the region, especially South Africa.
- Everything is political.



- There are severe limitations to the efficacy of embarking on re-engagement, reform and transition activities prior to political change. Stabilisation and transition to growth are not possible within the current reality. The country is currently in survival mode and the situation is very fluid.
- There are operational risks inherent in engagement in the present context of fragility. Flexibility of funding and support is critical – too great a level of risk aversion and lengthy operational processes will make it more difficult for the marginalised to get access to support.
- Political provision of urban fringe land is a constant theme. There is no security of tenure and limited service provision. Moreover, there is fear that withdrawing political support would result in a reversal of allocated urban fringe land, forcing individuals to return back to the rural areas.
- Vulnerability is closely related to lack of land tenure.
- Lack of productivity and low employment serves the interest of the ruling elite. They can continue to extract their rent and the populace is too fragile to resist.
- There is no more 'slack' in the system – everything is stretched to the limit: basic services, fiscal / monetary system, public sector etc. Shocks to the system such as monetary stress and drought can push the system to near breaking point.
- There is a concern that the international community's priority is to ensure stability, even if this means significant compromise at the expense of inclusive welfare. Stability is perceived as a higher priority than the wellbeing of the people of Zimbabwe.
- "I don't know where we are going as a country!"
- Of the three main programmatic areas of DFID in Zimbabwe (basic services, support to governance and support to economic activity), the second is perceived to be the most strategically important. Without proper governance, some respondents felt support to economic growth in an ineffective use of resources. However, whilst the governance issue is taking its course, the provision of basic services, especially to the poorest and most vulnerable, is essential.
- There is validity in supporting planning for transition. Respondents argued it would be remiss to exclusively focus on the here and now.
- Sustaining the poor must be a priority in order to maintain the fundamental 'social infrastructure' through transition. Health services and education are critical to reduce the negative legacy of the current political economy situation.
- Constraints to productivity:
  - Absence of cheap credit is a key difficulty in the economy, resulting in derelict infrastructure and many other consequences.
  - Red-tape obstruction to productivity is part of the rent-seeking culture.
  - Loss of skills to emigration has had an enormous impact on productivity.

- Loss of skilled agricultural workers (and management) and lack of tenure security on farms has led to the precipitous drop in agricultural productivity. Lack of agricultural credit is leading to debt.
- Knock-on impact of loss of agricultural productivity has impacted all other sectors.
- Exploitative involvement of Chinese capital has not resulted in growth but enormous graft (e.g. the diamond industry).
- It is very important to ensure the continued engagement with the public sector and to distinguishing between the public sector and the government of the day. There are still a significant number of highly competent and committed public servants in all sectors which the country needs now and will continue to need during a transition and recovery. A functional public sector is part of the fabric of society.

## **Responses to the Technical Questionnaire**

### **Technical Questionnaire**

Received from Tafara Chiremba, Poverty Reduction Forum Trust / CAFOD

#### **1. What are the current trends in rural-urban and urban-rural migration and comparative economic activity in urban, peri-urban and rural contexts?**

Internal migrations trends are very mixed under the current context of Zimbabwe.

- A significant number is still migrating from rural areas to mostly urban area (peri urban) and this is reflected in the growth urban and peri urban areas. Many people especially youth have been flocking into urban areas and this kind of migration is not driven by improved economic opportunities since the economy is collapsing. They end up staying in peri urban areas where life is generally cheap (especially on accommodation). Lack of economic opportunities in the formal sector has resulted in them engaging in the informal sector activities to get income or lying idle (disguised labour).
- There are also internal urban migrations (inner urban to peri urban areas) in which people who have been originally renting housing in inner urban suburbs have shifted to either to occupy their houses or rent less expensive houses in peri urban areas in responding to increasing economic hardships. This has even contributed to more decline in prices of accommodation in inner suburbs as supply is exceeding demand. This migration trend is also involving the households who used to enjoy a medium lifestyle before the economic regression of the country. Most of them have lost their formal employment due to company closures and poor performance of the industry and they cannot continue to stay in medium density suburbs where the cost of the Basic Needs Basket is generally higher than in peri urban areas.
- The Poverty Reduction Forum 's Basic Needs Basket survey research being conducted in 7 urban areas in Zimbabwe is also revealing urban – peri urban to rural migration due to increasing economic hardships in urban areas. The results show that households who are failing to sustain themselves are sending some of their household members to rural areas to reduce the monthly household expenditure obligations. These migrations trends ( peri - urban to rural ) are also not static permanent because of collapsing livelihood opportunities in the rural areas as a result

of climate change driven food insecurity and general collapsing rural livelihoods sources. Collapsing road infrastructure limits rural households to access markets for their agricultural outputs and in some cases, the agricultural land is no longer productive due to environmental degradation and unsustainable farming methods. Rural households' portfolios of assets (livestock) have been depleting over the years due to lack of adequate water and pastures. All these developments force some to go back into the urban areas (peri urban areas) to engage in informal sector.

### ***1.1. In what ways have these changes in migration and economic activity impacted on poverty, livelihoods, sustainable growth and governance?***

Zimbabwe records high urbanisation but which is not accompanied by improved economic opportunities and this actually a sign of an unsustainable economic transformation because we expect urban growth and manufacturing performance to positively correlate each other. Poor agricultural performance due to climate change and lack of targeted agricultural policy has forced migrate to peri urban areas even if there are not commensurate livelihoods opportunities. People are staying in peri urban areas where rentals are affordable. However, overcrowding of people in peri urban areas has exerted more pressure on the available social service infrastructure such as health, services. Economic hardships have pushed so many ordinary residents to peri urban places where there are no basic services such as, transport clean water and sanitation.

All the peri urban areas have been turned to be a hub of informal activities. However, the livelihoods opportunities in the informal sector are fast disappearing due to the impacts of government policy on imports and the collapse of the economy. Although the sector is supporting the livelihoods of more than 80% of the population, there is increased poverty level within this sector. Informal traders are depending on employment which is vulnerable and uncertain. They are not supported by basic standards for decent job. They don't have social protection (such as health insurance). Lack of social protection in health puts them at risk of losing all the little incomes derived from informal activities and personal belongs in the event of illness. According to the ZIMSTAT's 2014 Labour Force survey, women and youth represent a large proportion of the informally employed with women constituting 53%. This also shows that the informality challenges in the urban and peri urban areas are affecting mostly these groups.

## **2. What are the governance arrangements that hinder or foster rural-urban, peri-urban Synergies?**

Lack of rural development projects (such as road infrastructure rehabilitation and targeted communication infrastructure) which are critical for improving access to agricultural markets to foster productivity. The rural District development funds (DDF) programme which used to improve road infrastructure is no longer operational. The little resources that could be used for road infrastructure and development of other rural services such as electricity are not properly accounted. There is minimal participation of the local communities and local rural authorities in the allocation and use of these resources targeted for rural development. The DDF programme itself used to provide employment and income opportunities to able bodied people besides playing a role in improving access to agricultural markets. All this has led most young people migrating to urban areas.

**2.1. What are the characteristics of anchor institutions which result in them being stabilising factors in communities they are situated in? ('Anchor institutions' are institutions which are relatively resilient to external change – Church institutions, mission schools & hospitals, some public institutions, etc).**

**3. What are barriers to urban, peri-urban and rural productivity in the context of national economic growth and the relationship between urban productivity and rural growth?**

#### **Barriers of peri urban productivity**

- The economy is transiting to informal. However, there is lack of supporting policies to incorporate the informal sector into the mainstream economy. There is no holistic approach in formalising the informal sector as the government is worried about bringing informal traders into the tax bracket to improve their revenue without supporting policies to promote growth of their activities.
- Corruption at national and local authority level has compromised the economic recovery efforts as the little resources which could be used in social infrastructure (such as roads, water and empowerment projects) are being mismanaged. Social infrastructure projects are ingredients to urban productivity because they create both employment opportunities and human capital.
- Poor service delivery in water, energy and health limits urban residents' ability to realise their full economic potential. There is no enough coverage of social health insurance for the people engaging in informal sector. The membership requirements by private health insurance companies are still skewed to target formal employees and the private medical insurance schemes are currently serving less than 10% of the population. The lack of social protection affects their income generation and as they cannot access expensive health in case of critical illness. This has a greater negative bearing on human capital development and national economic growth of country.
- Gaps in government legislation and policy to enhance sectorial linkages and endogenous growth. Although the government has the Indigenous and Economic empowerment Act which aims to improve internal growth, there is no support to informal sector businesses so that they are able to sell their services to big companies. Small informal business cannot meet procurement standards required for them to be incorporated into the value chain and there is no reform yet along this issue. The current Act allows big and formal companies to benefit.
- The general economy collapse as a result of continued decline in demand and deindustrialisation has reduced employment opportunities for urban residents especially youth. Government is failing to generate enough resources to pay civil servants who constitute a large segment of customers for goods and services in Zimbabwe and this is affecting sales in both private formal businesses and informal sector.
- Government's policy on land in urban areas is not holistic. Whilst it is good to avail more land for housing provision for poor urban residents, there is also need to provide them with affordable land for economic activities so that generate income. This approach fosters balanced growth whereby the government will benefit from taxes on economic activities while at the same time improving the productivity of urban residents in terms of generating employment opportunities and income

- There are gaps in strengthening the social and economic justice ingredients in economic policy formulation in Zimbabwe. Policy interventions in the private sector are formulated with an economic objective only and leads to failures such as inequality. For example the recent government policy move to restrict importation has not considered the gender implications such as the loss of employment opportunities for women who constitute more than 53% of the labour force in the informal sector.

### **Barriers to rural productivity**

- Lack of targeted input schemes and mechanisation programme in rural agricultural sector - for example, the presidential government input scheme treats farmers as homogenous - allocating similar seed package to all farmers (both in terms of quantities and type of seeds). The programme needs to be revised to meet different needs of different farmers in different regions.
- Agricultural seed provision, value chain agricultural projects and other agricultural extension services are heavily donor funded and there is no sustainability when these funds are pulled out. Most NGOs are becoming the permanent value chain actors in the agricultural sector and this affects sustainable rural productivity and poverty eradication. Seeds for draught resistant crops (for example sorghum) are not found in rural shops for farmers to buy and mostly these inputs are supplied by NGOs.
- Lack of mainstreaming the interlinkages between agricultural sector and other non-agricultural sectors. Rural productivity could be improved in the agricultural sector if more resources are challenged towards production of non-agricultural assets. Improved agricultural productivity, employment opportunities for youth and income security could be realised in the rural areas through funding of productive safety nets such as rural road maintenance, environment rehabilitation such as gully reclamation. The country may tap into the underutilised labour in rural areas in this way.
- There is also lack of diversification across agricultural crops in rural areas and this limits high productivity in the context of climate change. There is tendency by farmers to grow all the crops even those crops which are not suitable in their local area.
- Unsustainable farming methods – for example, lack of factoring soil fertility as a key component in agricultural productivity. In some areas, land is no longer suitable for agriculture because of monoculture and other bad practises in soil conservation and environmental management.
- Climate change and lack of government financing to invest in irrigation, mechanisations and adaptations programmes.
- Rural agricultural financing challenges. Although land was distributed through the Land Reform Programme, the land has not realised its full potential as a productive asset because of lack of rural financing especially long term.

### **4. Who are the marginalised and vulnerable groups in Zimbabwe?**

Women, Youth, older age, disabled and people engaging in the informal sector.



#### ***4.1. Why does marginalisation occur in the context of urbanisation?***

This is because urbanisation is taking place with little progress in growth of other critical sectors such as manufacturing and social services sector. Urbanisation which is driven by inclusive economic growth would pose no problems to the marginalised such as women. A sustainable economic transformation would be to have more people in urban areas as a result of more creation of economic opportunities and service delivery.

#### **5. What is the vulnerability of groups to structural and external shocks?**

- They cannot access basic services such as food due both climate change induced food insecurity.
- They also face a challenge of uncertain income opportunities stream due to external shocks such fall in the prices of primary commodities such as minerals. Africa including Zimbabwe faces a structural change of high dependence on primary sector which produces low valued raw materials on the international market due to lack of value addition.

##### ***5.1. What are the likely impacts of further erosion of the monetary stability of the economy through cash shortages, artificial currency manipulations through the printing of cash bonds, etc.?***

Impacts include;

- Lack of adequate money to transact in Zimbabwe. This will affect mostly rural people and informal sector traders who have no access to credit cards or bank accounts. The cost of accessing services for a rural person who is totally financially excluded is very high since he/ she has to connect with someone who has bank card to get services such as health treatment. In light of the collapsing health services in rural areas, rural people and informal sector traders would need to access some form of cash or mobile money service to access health services in urban areas where quality of health care is still better. The delays in getting treatment due to these challenges may result in loss of life in case of emergency illnesses.
- Low cash flow is constraining companies to import their raw materials on time and this limits production and creation of employment for Zimbabweans.

##### ***5.2. What are the impacts of recurrent drought on food and income security in urban, peri-urban and rural contexts?***

Recurrent droughts are resulting in higher food insecurity in both rural and urban areas. There is no surplus food which used to be transferred to urban areas through Grain Marketing Board (GMB). Both the rural and vulnerable urban households are now surviving on food handouts from NGOs. Food imports are also limiting sustainable economic recovery and creation of employment opportunities in urban areas as demand is created outside the country.

#### **6. To what extent are current circumstances a result of:**

- **Collateral consequences** (i.e. a by-product of the state's inability to provide services, failure of the economy, etc.)
- **Deliberate consequences** (i.e. a result of actions taken for perceived political objectives)

The root cause of the problem is largely a political issue in Zimbabwe. High levels of corruption and lack of rule of law are major obstacles to economic recovery and provision of basic services. Even in the presence of other structural issues that are affecting the economy, a policy direction to transit to sustainable economic recovery is often undermined by high levels of corruption and divergent interests of the people with political powers. Yes, there are structural changes that are also compounding the social and economic challenges being faced by the people. Some of the structural issues that Zimbabwe and other African countries are facing include over dependence on primary raw materials and rising informality of their economies. However, a credible macroeconomic policy direction underpinned by improved governance indicators can overcome these structural challenges.

## **7. To what extent do political and economic impacts differ in different parts of the country and why?**

Just by referring to the Africa rising story, African countries that are doing well both in terms of economic growth and social outcomes are mostly focusing on improving governance and public administration. Some of examples of the initiatives are; to reduce of corruption and enhance easy of doing business, embarking on tax reforms to attract Foreign Direct Investment among others. Zambia is able to generate about 1.5 billion USD in Foreign Direct Investment per year due to both institutional reforms and democratisation of their political system. Zimbabwe is not in a position to attract such an amount in the same time period. In countries where there is political will and a more democratic state, the social and economic impacts are very favourable.

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### **Technical Questionnaire**

Received from Diocese of Manicaland, Mutare

#### **1. What are the current trends in rural-urban and urban-rural migration and comparative economic activity in urban, peri-urban and rural contexts?**

The current trends is that there is an exodus of rural urban migration with people hoping to get something for survival in the urban areas. Local Authorities have also extended their territories into the peri urban where land has been allocated for development to various service providers and land developers. This is an advantage to those who could not afford to buy stands directly from the local authorities abut also a disadvantage to the rural folk who in turn would now need to be relocated to allow the incoming developer.

##### ***1.1. In what ways have these changes in migration and economic activity impacted on poverty, livelihoods, sustainable growth and governance?***

This has impacted negatively because the economy is not performing well and thus increasing crowdedness in the urban centres and even other groups of people just settling themselves where they want and these areas have no proper amenities for sanitation which is a basic right before any settlement is done.

#### **2. What are the governance arrangements that hinder or foster rural-urban, peri-urban synergies?**

The governance arrangements that foster synergies in rural and urban are that already there are government structures in the rural areas represented by chiefs, headmen and other

members who directly report to the local government. These are responsible for the governance within and are the entry point for any stakeholder that wants to operate in that area, thus providing a system. There are also good policies to this effect but maybe in terms of implementation there is some laxity in terms of operation procedures.

***2.1. What are the characteristics of anchor institutions which result in them being stabilising factors in communities they are situated in?***

The anchor institutions base more on the moral part and in a way provide some form of discipline within community members. There are also government policies that they have to stick to in terms of their operation within the different communities.

**3. What are barriers to urban, peri-urban and rural productivity in the context of national economic growth and the relationship between urban productivity and rural growth?**

The barriers to development currently is mainly on resources and the rural areas have not been accorded equal opportunities compared to those in urban especially when we look at the infrastructure i.e. roads, clinics, schools and even such services as the radio and television. There is limited access to media in some areas. When budgets are being allocated for development also the rural communities should not be left behind.

**4. Who are the marginalised and vulnerable groups in Zimbabwe?**

The marginalised and vulnerable groups in Zimbabwe are women and children.

***4.1. Why does marginalisation occur in the context of urbanisation?***

The women population is more and high percentage of them are also not formally employed and they rely mostly on vending, cross boarder activities and husbands are usually away sourcing for a livelihood or in formal employment but cannot accommodate the whole family in town. The limited resources force those groups to be vulnerable because most women and children do not own properties owing to our patriarchal set up in Zimbabwe.

**5. What is the vulnerability of groups to structural and external shocks?**

The group is vulnerable to resources i.e. monetary, access to basic needs i.e. clinics, drugs, education, food and even protection. They fall prey to different forms of abuse when they want to access these services.

***5.1. What are the likely impacts of further erosion of the monetary stability of the economy through cash shortages, artificial currency manipulations through the printing of cash bonds, etc.?***

The likelihood is the increase of different forms of abuse and acute poverty to the vulnerable group. The poor will continue to be poorer than before and thus increasing the chances of further abuse and inaccessibility of other critical services like health, food, education and sanitation.

## **5.2. What are the impacts of recurrent drought on food and income security in urban, peri-urban and rural contexts?**

The impacts of recurrent droughts will further increase poverty and vulnerability to the marginalised group. Food prices are likely to go up and can only be afforded with those who have fat pockets otherwise the rest of the community members will be in acute poverty.

## **6. To what extent are current circumstances a result of:**

- **Collateral consequences** (i.e. a by-product of the state's inability to provide services, failure of the economy, etc.)
- **Deliberate consequences** (i.e. a result of actions taken for perceived political objectives)

It is to a larger extent because both the state's inability to provide services and the non-performance of the economy too.

There has also been also deliberate consequences where the state is being held responsible for the failure of economy due to it not being accountable and transparency to the people. It now seems that anyone who gets into power has an objective to fill their pockets instead of them fulfilling the mandate of the people who voted in them and being held accountable at all levels.

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## **Response Paper: Economy and Levels of Poverty in Zimbabwe**

Mr Mkhululi, Anglican Diocese of Matabeleland

The Zimbabwean economy is based on Agriculture. For several years back Zimbabwe was regarded as one of the countries with a strong currency which was inherited from the colonial regime. The backbone of that economy was agriculture where there were massive agricultural productions which attracted the international community. Zimbabwe was exporting beef to the European Community as well as cotton to various countries. Agriculture contributed so much into the national economy and there was no sector which contributed better than agriculture into the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), hence agriculture was coined 'The Back bone of the Economy'. During this era, the economy was up and about competing very well in the international economy and as a result poverty levels were very low. Unemployment was very low and livelihoods fairly high to all classes of the community. Social services were good, health facilities functioning well and everything else stable and manageable.

Our economy started to nosedive around early 2000 when the government of Zimbabwe a Land Reform Program. The program was not well understood and accepted by Commercial Farmers which were predominantly whites and production in farm started to go down and finally Commercial Farmers abandoned production. It was clear that most of Zimbabweans were employed in farms or industry which were getting their raw material from agricultural production. As a result, industries collapsed because it became difficult to get raw materials and employees were laid off. Unemployment level started to rise up to a point where percentage unemployment was far below 10%. Energetic Zimbabweans and professionals crossed borders to look for employment elsewhere a scenario which exposed the building of

our economy to almost nil. Poverty levels rose to unprecedented levels to an extent that our communities started relying on remittances from the diaspora and food handouts.

However the government of Zimbabwe did not give up but sought ways of improving the economy through gazetting the use of multi currencies in the country. Various incentives were given to any organisation intending to input in the building of the economy. The multicurrency use was introduced in the period of Government of National Unity (GNU) where major political parties agreed to work together in government. Great improvement was realised during this period which lasted for five (5) years. Thereafter it reverted back to one ruling party and the situation turned back to very low levels which is where we are now. Government, parastatals and employees from other industries go for months or even years without receiving their salaries. The government is trying so hard to come up with ways and strategies of improving the economy, for example, an economic reform document was crafted by the Economic Planning Department of the government to try revamp the fortunes. The Blue Print Document called 'Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Economic Reform Transformation' (Zim-Asset).

### **Dynamics of Urban – Rural migration.**

The closure of industries and laying off of employees pushed those who were in urban areas to return to their rural homes as life in urban centres became very expensive. Besides it was realized that communities could come up with income generating projects from their rural areas. For example non-governmental organisations are supporting a lot of agricultural projects in rural areas. Unemployment has also forced energetic members of the communities to do gold panning to earn a living which somehow the government is trying to formalize. The government has also pulled a lot of people to rural areas through the much contested land reform. People now want to be part of system in reviving the economy hence migration to resettlement areas.

Poverty has also led to a rise to HIV and AIDS related illnesses and deaths, because of poor health facilities in urban areas the affected and infected have drifted to rural areas where health care is still a bit better than in urban areas as a result of low populations.

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### **Response Paper: Understanding the economy and levels of poverty in Zimbabwe since 2000**

Ron Lumbiwa, Diocesan Development Officer, Anglican Diocese of Matabeleland

The Zimbabwean economy experienced severe strains over decades, reaching crisis levels in 2007 and 2008. According to the draft Medium Term Plan, 2010, Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was estimated to have shrunk by a cumulative 50.3 percent; official inflation peaked at 231 million percent in July 2008; capacity utilisation in industry fell below 10 percent by January 2009; poverty remained widespread; infrastructure deteriorated; the economy became more informalised and severe food and foreign currency shortages were experienced. The country also faced cessation of funding from the Bretton Woods Institutions.

On 15 September 2008 three major political parties from the March 2008 harmonised elections signed a Memorandum of Understanding, the Global Political Agreement, which formed the basis for the formation of a Government of National Unity (GNU). This Government assumed



office on 13 February 2009. Since the GNU the country experienced a level of stability until 2013 when the Global Political Agreement expired and ushered in a new constitution.

The adoption of a multicurrency payment system in February 2009 marked a significant shift in the economy. This was reinforced by the crafting and implementation of a 100 Day Plan, and a revised 2009 National Budget denominated in US Dollars. These policy measures provided an antidote to the scourge of hyperinflation, and a holistic macroeconomic framework for economic recovery. The economy responded positively to these initiatives, with GDP growing by 5,7 percent in 2009 while the year on year inflation was -7.7 percent as of December 2009. Industrial capacity utilisation improved from about 10 percent at the beginning of 2009 to between 35 and 60 percent by December 2009. The GDP was worth USD 4.42 billion in 2008 peaking to USD 14.2 billion in 2014 and currently is worth USD 13.89 as of 2015.

The political and economic crises that characterised the economy between 2000 and 2008 contributed to the nearly halving of the GDP, and raised poverty rates of more than 72 percent, with 20 percent of the population in extreme poverty. Health, education and other basic services largely collapsed.

Agriculture plays a pivotal role in Zimbabwe's economy and is a key component of the country's efforts to reduce poverty. The country's agricultural sector is buttressed by a rich natural resource base with highly productive agricultural land. About 70 percent of the population depends on agriculture for food, income, and employment.

### **What are the dynamics of urban- rural migration?**

Migratory trends the world over indicate that people generally move from rural to urban areas in search of better living standards, economic well-being, employment and educational opportunities. The exact opposite happens in Zimbabwe. Census figures reveal this anomaly in Zimbabwe with people seemingly moving to the rural areas. Population experts believe that de-industrialisation creating a jobless class pushed back the unemployed into rural areas. Experts say the economic meltdown resulted in thousands of people finding themselves out of employment after many companies closed down. Many were forced to the rural areas. The tightening of the macro-economic environment and the introduction of the US dollar also triggered urban-rural migration. Closure of some mines resulted in the sprouting of gold panning activities as a means of survival in the rural areas. The Fast Track Land Reform Programme and Operation Restore Order (destruction of informal urban dwellings) also had an impact on urban-rural migration. A significant number of people moved from urban areas to acquire or take up land during the land resettlement programme. More and more people were moving to the rural areas as a result of increased farming business opportunities. There is a belief among others that people in the diaspora have in some way influenced the increase in the rural population. They point out that the buying power of foreign currencies before the country dollarized its economy saw some Zimbabweans living in other countries investing heavily in the peri-urban property sector which is in rural areas.

With shortages of residential stands in urban areas, the diaspora opted to build houses in peri-urban areas just outside towns. These peri-urban areas are under the jurisdiction of rural authorities hence classification of people living in these areas as under rural settlement. At the

height of the economic crisis at least three million people were believed to be living outside the country.

Rural households register a higher poverty rate than urban households, although it is common in both communities. Most rural incomes and production are inadequate and food shortages are ever rising. Households are relying increasingly on remittances and emergency aid from government to a lesser extent and donors largely and well-wishers. With the rise of unemployment and consequent male migration away from rural areas, households headed by women/widows, and children are increasingly common. Orphans, children under five years, school going children and the disabled make up the rest of the vulnerable and marginalised groups.

### **What are the existing programmes and what could be future programmes.**

The Diocese is currently involved in health and food security programmes. In health, the Diocese is partnering the Ministry of Health in the fight against malaria in the cross border malaria initiative targeting communities along the Zambezi River bordering with Zambia. The objective of the programme being to eliminate malaria in the country by the year 2030. On food security, the Diocese is partnering the Ministry of Agriculture in introducing drought tolerant small grain crops and protein rich sugar beans and also training farmers in climate smart techniques and management. The main objective being to improve the livelihoods of the orphans and vulnerable children and their caregivers and the elderly in a sustainable manner.

Over and above the current programmes it is the intention of the Diocese to increase the current area of operation and also cover more thematic areas. Besides currently attending to some aspects of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) 1. No Poverty 2. Zero Hunger 3. Good Health and Wellbeing it is the hope of the Diocese to improve on the above and venture into the following SDGs:

1. Quality Education
2. Gender Equality
3. Clean Water and Sanitation
4. Decent Work and Economic Growth
5. Climate Action

Other interventions to consider in health include HIV & AIDS and TB, whilst SDG 4 focuses on improving quality on education by supporting specific subjects inclusive of STEM subjects and those deemed underperforming. On Gender Equality, main stream gender issues will be addressed in all the projects and interventions. SDG 6 is key to improved livelihoods and economy in our communities. Decent Work and Economic Growth will address issues of sustainability. All our interventions will be sustainable with an aspect value addition in them. SDG 13 will deliberate on climate change issues. Climate Action will be implemented to counter the effects of climate change which is reducing the quality of livelihoods in our communities.

## Technical Questionnaire

ICED Zimbabwe – Technical Questionnaire  
8 July 2016



1. What are the **current trends** in rural-urban and urban-rural migration and comparative economic activity in urban, peri-urban and rural contexts?
  - 1.1. In what ways have these changes in migration and economic activity impacted on poverty, livelihoods, sustainable growth and governance?
2. What are the **governance arrangements** that hinder or foster rural-urban, peri-urban synergies?
  - 2.1. What are the characteristics of anchor institutions which result in them being stabilising factors in communities they are situated in? ('Anchor institutions' are institutions which are relatively resilient to external change – Church institutions, mission schools & hospitals, some public institutions, etc).
3. What are **barriers to urban, peri-urban and rural productivity** in the context of national economic growth and the relationship between urban productivity and rural growth?
4. Who are the **marginalised and vulnerable groups** in Zimbabwe?
  - 4.1. Why does marginalisation occur in the context of urbanisation?
5. What is the vulnerability of groups to **structural and external shocks**?
  - 5.1. What are the likely impacts of further erosion of the monetary stability of the economy through cash shortages, artificial currency manipulations through the printing of cash bonds, etc.?
  - 5.2. What are the impacts of recurrent drought on food and income security in urban, peri-urban and rural contexts?
6. To what extent are current circumstances a result of:
  - **Collateral consequences** (i.e. a by-product of the state's inability to provide services, failure of the economy, etc.)
  - **Deliberate consequences** (i.e. a result of actions taken for perceived political objectives)
7. To what extent do political and economic impacts differ in **different parts of the country** and why?

## “Life today in Zimbabwe” questionnaire

### Life today in Zimbabwe

8 July 2016



#### Individual

1. Name (or anonymous) \_\_\_\_\_
2. Year of birth \_\_\_\_\_
3. Gender:    Male / Female
4. Where do you live? \_\_\_\_\_
5. What do you do for a living? \_\_\_\_\_
6. Do you belong to a church or other organisation?    Yes / No
7. If "Yes", which organisation/s \_\_\_\_\_

#### Group

8. Group Name \_\_\_\_\_
9. Affiliation \_\_\_\_\_
10. Location \_\_\_\_\_

#### Questions

11. Has life been getting harder or easier for you in the past 2 years? \_\_\_\_\_
12. In what ways has life been harder or easier in the past 2 years? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
13. What are your biggest worries right now? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
14. What is your biggest worry for the future? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
15. What is your hope for the future? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

16. Who are the poorest people where you live? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

17. What has made them poor? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

18. Are the poorest people today the same people who have always been poor?

\_\_\_\_\_

19. What do people do to try to improve their situations? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

20. How do people in the community help the poorest people? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

21. Which organisations (government or non-government) help the poorest people the most?

\_\_\_\_\_

22. How do these organisations help? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

23. Which organisations should help, but do not? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

24. At a local level, what needs to change most? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

25. Who has the power to change things at the local level? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

26. What things make it most difficult to earn a living or make money? \_\_\_\_\_

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27. Have people been moving from the cities and towns into the rural villages and farms in the past few years or has it been the other way round?

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28. Is life easier in some parts of Zimbabwe than others? \_\_\_\_\_

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29. Which do you think are the hardest parts of Zimbabwe to live in?

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30. Which do you think are the easiest parts of Zimbabwe to live in?

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31. Why is life harder in some parts of the country than others?

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32. How do you think agencies and organisations from outside Zimbabwe could best help at a local level?

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33. How do you think local authorities could improve the situation? – District Councils, Town Councils, City Councils, ZINWA, Education Department, Health Department etc.

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34. Are you worried about the money situation in Zimbabwe? How has the cash shortage affected you?

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35. When there is drought in Zimbabwe, how does it impact you and your family?

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Thank you.

Thank you very much for giving your time and input to completing this questionnaire. The answers will be used to establish a picture of life in Zimbabwe at present, especially for the poorest and most marginalised people. This will help us to advise the British Government on how it can best support the people of Zimbabwe.

These questionnaires will be kept confidential and will not be circulated beyond the persons and organisations directly involved in this project. Information used from your questionnaire will not be attributed to any individual.

This questionnaire can be filled out by individuals or be groups. Answers can be typed directly into the electronic file on a computer and returned by email, or the form could be printed out and filled in by hand. The completed forms can then be scanned or photographed using a mobile phone and returned by email.

Thank you again.

*Len Abrams*

Email: [Len@LenAbrams.com](mailto:Len@LenAbrams.com)

## Questionnaire covering note



### DFID Zimbabwe Country Programme Advice 8 July 2016

The Department for International Development (DFID) of the British Government supports development in many countries around the world. One such country in southern Africa is Zimbabwe. Because of the political relations between the British government and the government of President Mugabe, DFID does not fund any Zimbabwe government projects. Funds are instead channelled through multilateral institutions such as United Nations Agencies, international Non-Governmental Organisations and the private sector. The UK has the largest bilateral aid programme in Zimbabwe – the 2015/16 indicative budget is £76 million.

DFID supports a range of programmes in three main areas:

- Reform of and support to basic services (health, water and sanitation, and education);
- Promoting economic reform and development;
- Working to enable an open and inclusive society.

Because of the political and economic situation in Zimbabwe in recent years, a process of de-industrialisation has been occurring which has led to new trends in rural-urban and urban-rural migration. The DFID Zimbabwe Country Office is currently seeking to understand the drivers of the trends behind these processes and identify who are the most vulnerable and marginalised groups affected by these trends (in the context of DFID's "leave no one behind" policy). The purpose is to better inform programming across the current portfolio of DFID programmes and promote inclusive economic growth. This work is likely also to inform strategic thinking around what types of future programming would be necessary to promote economic growth.

DFID has engaged the services of advisors to analyse the current situation and identify effective methods of targeting marginalised groups in existing and future programming. Part of the analysis of the current situation is to seek the input of a variety of people both inside and outside the country at different levels. For this reason two lists of questions have been prepared. One list of questions aims to understand what some of the underlying factors are which drive and influence rural and urban economies in Zimbabwe, and the lives of ordinary people. The second list of questions will provide an anecdotal description of people's current observations and experiences of life in Zimbabwe from their individual perspectives.

I am the Lead Adviser on the team and I will be working with Senior Adviser Dr Beacon Mbiba. This is a 'Fast-track' exercise where we are hoping to gather responses to the questionnaires as soon as possible. We are hoping to get responses from a diverse group of people within Zimbabwe at a variety of levels.

I am currently developing a list of people who I could approach. This includes community level people in urban and rural settings, working people, academics, activists, individuals 'in the know', people from community based organisations, NGOs, etc. and from different parts in Zimbabwe.

Assistance with both identifying people to complete the brief questionnaires and in providing feedback through the questionnaires would be greatly appreciated. In some cases we will also seek to speak directly to respondents by telephone.

This is not an opportunity to seek funding support from DFID but all input will have an influence on how British support to Zimbabwe is targeted. This is important as DFID is the largest bi-lateral aid programme to Zimbabwe. The support is not only to projects supporting the most marginalised sectors of the population but also to supporting equitable economic growth in the future.

Thank you,  
**Len Abrams**  
Lead Technical Adviser

## Annex 5: Scoping mission supporting material

Table 10: ICED Zimbabwe Stakeholder Consultation List			
#	Type	Organisation	Name (and designation where available) * Denotes roundtable participant ** Denotes faith-based roundtable participant
1	HMG	DFID	Jo Abbot, Deputy Head*
2	HMG	DFID	David Rinnert, Evaluation Adviser*
3	HMG	DFID	Benedict Latto, Senior Governance Adviser
4	HMG	FCO	John Culley, 1 <sup>st</sup> Secretary Political
5	GoZ	City of Harare	Bridget Mandizha, Housing Manager
6	GoZ	Ruwa Local Board	Fatima Mhiti, Acting CEO and Director of Finance of Ruwa Local Board
7	GoZ	ZIMSTAT	Nelson Taruvinga, Director
8	GoZ	ZIMSTAT	Tariro Mukave
9	GoZ	ZIMSTAT	Langton Chikeya
10	NGO/CSO	ZERO Regional Environment Organisation	Shepherd Zvigadza*
11	NGO/CSO	National Association of Youth Organisations	Misheck Gondo, National Director*
12	NGO/CSO	Development Governance Institute	Kudzai Chatiza, Development Researcher & Consultant*
13	NGO/CSO	Poverty Action Forum Trust / Catholic Agency for Overseas Development	Tafara Chiremba, Programme Manager*
14	NGO/CSO	Counselling Services Unit Zimbabwe	Fidelis Midumu, Programme Manager*
15	NGO/CSO	Zimbabwe Homeless People's Federation	Numerous individuals
16	NGO/CSO	Dialogue on Shelter	Patience Mudimu
17	NGO/CSO	Kubatana Trust of Zimbabwe	Amanda Atwood, CTO and Administrator
18	NGO/CSO	Kubatana Trust of Zimbabwe	Bev Clark, Programme Manager
19	NGO/CSO	Anglican Relief and Development in Zimbabwe	Artwell Sipinyu, National Co-ordinator
20	NGO/CSO	Zimbabwe Council of Churches and Zimbabwe Heads of Christian Denominations	Bishop Ishmael Mukuwanda**
21	NGO/CSO	Catholic Agency for Overseas Development	Fambai Ngirande**
22	NGO/CSO	Zimbabwe Catholic Bishops Conference	Stefan Friedrichsen**
23	NGO/CSO	Zimbabwe Catholic Bishops Conference / Catholic Commission for Peace and Justice in Zimbabwe	Tarcisius Zimbiti**
24	NGO/CSO	Zimbabwe Council of Churches	Rosemary Munaki**
25	NGO/CSO	Zimbabwe Council of Churches	David Mangemba**
26	NGO/CSO	Zimbabwe Council of Churches	Gabriel Manyangadze**
27	Development Partner	World Bank	Camille Nuamah, Country Director
28	Development Partner	World Bank	Marko Kwaramba, Economist
29	Development Partner	World Bank	Johannes Herderschee, Country Manager
30	Development Partner	SIDA	Wonder Jekemu, Programme Officer
31	Development Partner	UNICEF	Jane Muita, Deputy Representative

32	Development Partner	UNICEF	Victor Kinyanjui, Chief of WASH
33	Development Partner	UN WOMEN	Delphine Serumaga, Country Representative
34	Development Partner	UN WOMEN	Patricia Made, Gender Expert
35	U of Z	Institute of Environmental Studies	Dr. Jenette Manjegwa
36	U of Z	Centre for Population Studies	Dr. Naomi Weketwe
37	U of Z	Sociology/Gender Studies	Prof. Rudo Gaidzanwa
38	Other	Independent	Peter Morris, Consultant
39	Other	Independent	Tendai Biti Lawyer/Politician and Former Minister of Finance GNU
40	Other	DFID-funded Transparency, Responsiveness, Accountability and Citizen Engagement Programme	Abel Chikomo, Deputy Team Leader/Programmatic Lead-TRACE

Summary of scoping mission details		
Location:	Harare, plus peri-urban areas of Dzviaraesekwa and Ruwa	
Date:	Monday, August 29 <sup>th</sup> through Friday, September 2 <sup>nd</sup>	
Team Members:	Leonard Abrams Beacon Mbiba Beth Chitekwe-Biti Caroline Brown Talia Smith	ICED Zimbabwe Technical Lead ICED Zimbabwe Senior Expert ICED Zimbabwe Expert Adviser ICED Zimbabwe Project Support ICED Zimbabwe Project Manager

### Summary of roundtable discussion on urban and peri-urban trends, hosted by DFID

<b>Date:</b>	Wednesday, August 31 <sup>st</sup> 2016
<b>Time:</b>	10:00am – 12:00pm
<b>Location:</b>	British Mission Zimbabwe 3 Norfolk Road, Mount Pleasant, Harare Zimbabwe
<b>Agenda:</b>	
<b>10:00am</b>	Opening remarks – DFID
<b>10:15am-10:45am</b>	Presentation of situational analysis findings – ICED team
<b>10:45am-11:45am</b>	Discussion – Moderated by ICED team
<b>11:45am-12:00pm</b>	Closing remarks – DFID

A key activity of the Phase 2 scoping was a roundtable discussion on urban and peri-urban trends, hosted by DFID, which sought to bring together a variety of different constituencies to discuss different perspectives on urbanisation in Zimbabwe.

The objective of the roundtable was to hold an open and interactive discussion on the current situation in Zimbabwe including the existing urban/rural trends, economic activity (particularly in the informal sector), and to identify the most vulnerable groups and individuals within this context. The roundtable provided an opportunity for the



ICED team to present the broad findings of the situational analysis so that these could be discussed and informally verified or amended, as appropriate.

The discussion also sought to reflect on the question of what options DFID has to strengthen the effectiveness of its country programming to improve the lives of Zimbabwe's most vulnerable people, and how DFID can, together with other partners, support the underlying fabric of Zimbabwe's society in the country's pursuit of inclusive and resilient economic growth.

*Discussion summary and key themes:*

- Approaches to support for basic infrastructure delivery in urban and peri-urban areas where the central and local government have limited capacity. Participants discussed how in the absence of large-scale government investment in system-wide infrastructure, fostering community-based approaches to service delivery is important. Participants also noted these are important, but not sufficient, to address system-wide large scale infrastructure investment that is needed across urban and peri-urban areas.
- Lack of trust between citizens and authorities over provision of services. This creates a reinforcing cycle where citizens don't pay rates and fees for local services, and local authorities therefore have less money to spend on infrastructure provision and service delivery.
- The politicisation of daily life, for example through the provision of stands. This is one example of how daily life in peri-urban communities has been entirely politicised. Respondents also remarked on how the urban space, and particularly youths within these areas, are becoming more politically vocal.
- Integrated versus targeted urban interventions. Participants questioned and discussed approaches to urban interventions, and whether in the Zimbabwean context more targeted or integrated interventions would be most effective.
- The need to catalyse innovation coming out of the crisis. Individuals and communities have developed new systems and approaches to urban development, including building new relationships with local authorities. We need to fully understand these new forms of institutions and the opportunities that arise from these types of partnerships.

**Summary of roundtable discussion on vulnerable and marginalised groups in Zimbabwe, hosted by the Zimbabwe Council of Churches**

<b>Date:</b>	Thursday, September 1 <sup>st</sup> 2016
<b>Time:</b>	2:00pm – 3:30pm
<b>Location:</b>	Zimbabwe Council of Churches Kentucky Airport Hotel Harare
<b>Agenda:</b>	
<b>2:00pm-2:15pm</b>	Opening remarks – Bishop Ishmael Mukuwanda
<b>2:15pm-3:25pm</b>	Discussion of situational analysis findings – moderated by Leonard Abrams, ICED
<b>3:25-3:30pm</b>	Closing remarks – Bishop Ishmael Mukuwanda

The roundtable discussion, hosted by the Zimbabwe Council of Churches, sought to bring together key constituencies from the faith-based community, which is active in providing support to the most vulnerable and marginalised across Zimbabwe. The purpose was to validate findings on the current urban context outlined in the situational analysis and discuss how development partners can improve targeting support to the most vulnerable.

*Discussion summary and key themes:*

- Continuing theme of 'everyone is poor'. In urban spaces today across Zimbabwe, numerous vendors are young individuals with university degrees who are unable to find jobs with the collapse of industry across the country.
- The need to ensure adaptability and resilience of communities in responding to crises and adverse situations, including drought. This includes the ability of those communities to facilitate and participate wholly in market development and economic opportunities.
- The need for civic education to facilitate the rebuilding of a social contract and improved urban governance. Beyond education, development partners should promote active engagement of citizens in shaping the type of infrastructure and service provision that addresses current and future needs of Zimbabweans. Civic engagement is required for the application of knowledge and to ensure information/record keeping of which approaches have been tried.
- Concern over the likelihood of an austerity agenda for the government over the coming years, which will not reach the poorest of the poor.
- Expansion of informal settlements across Zimbabwe. Recent urban development in Zimbabwe has been driven by housing, particularly in informal settlements. However, informal settlements and peri-urban housing expansion should be viewed as more than just neighbourhoods; rather, they are new locales of trade. Discussion around opportunities to support local councils to develop economic growth models in these new 'locales' which invest both in people and also in localised economic growth.
- Phased step-wise approach to town and city planning which supports and anticipates movement from stand to storefront to multiple storefronts and something bigger.
- Urban food access, particularly within the context of the ongoing drought, should also be viewed as an entrepreneurial opportunity and income generating activity that could support urban development and address the vulnerable poor
- The role of the faith-based community is multi-faceted, and includes support to keep communication across society open, to advocate for non-violence and offer mediation in the context of conflict.



## Annex 6: Current stakeholder perspectives

### Situation review through informal remove interview

The reasons for including the informal interviews and questionnaires in the situational analysis were twofold:

- The information is current. The situation in Zimbabwe is very fluid at present. The economic and political atmosphere has deteriorated over the past few months to the middle of 2016. Whilst the evidence in the literature is based on existing available documentation, this is inevitably dated in many cases by a few years. Interviews and responses to questionnaires provide a current ‘snap shot’ of the present situation from the perspective of the respondent. Whilst this is necessarily constrained and anecdotal, it provides a level of authenticity to the analysis.
- Diversity of inputs. The informal interviews were carried out either directly with individuals or remotely through the completion of questionnaires. This was done at a range of different social levels and in both urban and peri-urban locations, which ensures a level of diversity to the input and has resulted in a more nuanced analytical output.

The list of seventeen respondents is provided in Annex 4. Of these seventeen, ten completed the “**Life today in Zimbabwe**” questionnaire, two completed the “**Technical**” questionnaire, two provided brief submissions which were based on the technical questionnaire and three were interviewed verbally. In some instances responses were captured in the field by community workers from the Zimbabwe Homeless People’s Federation on behalf of the respondents. One respondent preferred to remain anonymous.

Although the list of respondents indicates a wide variety of people, this is clearly only an indicative sample of opinions presenting an anecdotal picture. This activity has not sought to canvas a statistically representative sample of Zimbabweans and therefore the responses should not be viewed as representing opinions of the whole country. The responses do however paint a very compelling picture, particularly from inside some of the communities which are most vulnerable, and at the other end of the scale, from the vantage point of persons with very broad oversight of the situation.

### Scoping mission

During the five-day scoping mission, discussions were held with 40 individuals and groups covering a wide range of sectors and interests including Government of Zimbabwe representatives, United Kingdom government officials from DFID and FCO, multi-lateral and bi-lateral development partners, NGOs and representatives of civil society, academics and individuals. These are listed in Annex 5.

During the scoping mission numerous meetings were held including two Round-Table discussions, one hosted by DFID and the other by the Zimbabwe Council of Churches. The summaries of these discussions are recorded in Annex 5.

### Reflections on stakeholder perspectives

Throughout the questionnaire responses, the individual consultations and the roundtable discussions, key themes and discussion topics were noted, including:

- Urban poor and rural poor. Discussion over who is worse off, the urban poor or the rural poor, yielded a diversity of responses. At the same time, there was consensus that circumstances for the urban poor vary significantly and they face distinct challenges to those in rural areas.
- Constrained local authorities and disempowered citizens. The relationship between central government, local authorities and citizens is complicated and interconnected. Whilst local government authorities have limited capacity and funding for basic service provision, there is also a lack of trust in the authorities by Zimbabwean citizens. At the same time, the political control from the centre has limited the ability of local authorities to operate independently, as outlined in the Constitution.
- A “culture of crisis” exists within Zimbabwe, which has influenced a national psychology of trauma. This is also evident in the complete politicisation of daily life, particularly in urban spaces. Some stakeholders view this crisis as an opportunity for catalysing resilience, new forms of partnerships and a new ‘social contract’ for relationships amongst Zimbabweans.
- Finding examples of innovation within the crisis. Despite the constrained context in Zimbabwe, communities and individuals have developed innovative strategies and approaches for urban development. There is a need to identify examples of methods that work effectively – and also to document those examples and scale them where possible.
- Change is imminent, how change occurs is unclear. There will be political change in the future of Zimbabwe; the question remains around the timeframe and mechanisms by which this change will occur.
- Everyone is poor. During this time of crisis, there is a need to maintain the ‘fabric of society’ so as to limit the generational impacts from the current crisis.

Two other aspects of everyday life should be noted here. First is the financialisation of everyday life, which includes the notion that everything has a monetary price. Second is the ubiquitous spirituality (belief in some supernatural power that determines one’s destiny) at all levels of Zimbabwean society. This spirituality can serve as a coping mechanism.

While the responses to the questionnaires and discussions represent information and data for the purposes of analysis in the context of this assignment, they also reveal challenging and complex circumstances. They show at the same time fragility, suffering and resilience in the face of a very uncertain future in Zimbabwe.

Although the respondents represent a very wide spectrum of people from homeless vendors and unemployed individuals to bishops, lawyers and professionals, the perspectives are remarkably similar.

It is clear from the responses that the actions and policies of the ruling elite overshadow and impact every facet of the political, economic and social life of the country. There are clear linkages and causal factors between the macro economic situation, ruling party policies, employment, incomes, the informal economy, housing, basic needs, health, and wellbeing. This represents the prevailing consequences of the politicisation of society.

A recurrent theme in the responses is the need for strategic support to keep the fundamental 'fabric of society' functional, particularly education and health in order to avoid a lost generation.

**Select quotes from the stakeholder consultations**

- "Everyone has become a vendor".
- "There is no dichotomy between politics and administration. You can't separate the two".
- "You can't have reforms without reformers".
- "You need political will at the end of the day".
- "The only two cranes you can see across the Harare skyline are those building the American embassy. There is no other sign of growth".

## Annex 7: Photographs



**Photo 1: Order and cleanliness, Highfield Harare (a low income area) 1990s**



Mutoko District granite rock extraction for construction in urban areas and export to Europe (See Mbiba, 1999; Bhatasara, 2013.). Other products linked to globalisation were increased tourism and horticulture products for exports

**Source:** Photo original from The Herald, Harare, 1998.

**Photo 2: Globalisation induced rural-urban linkages in the 1990s**

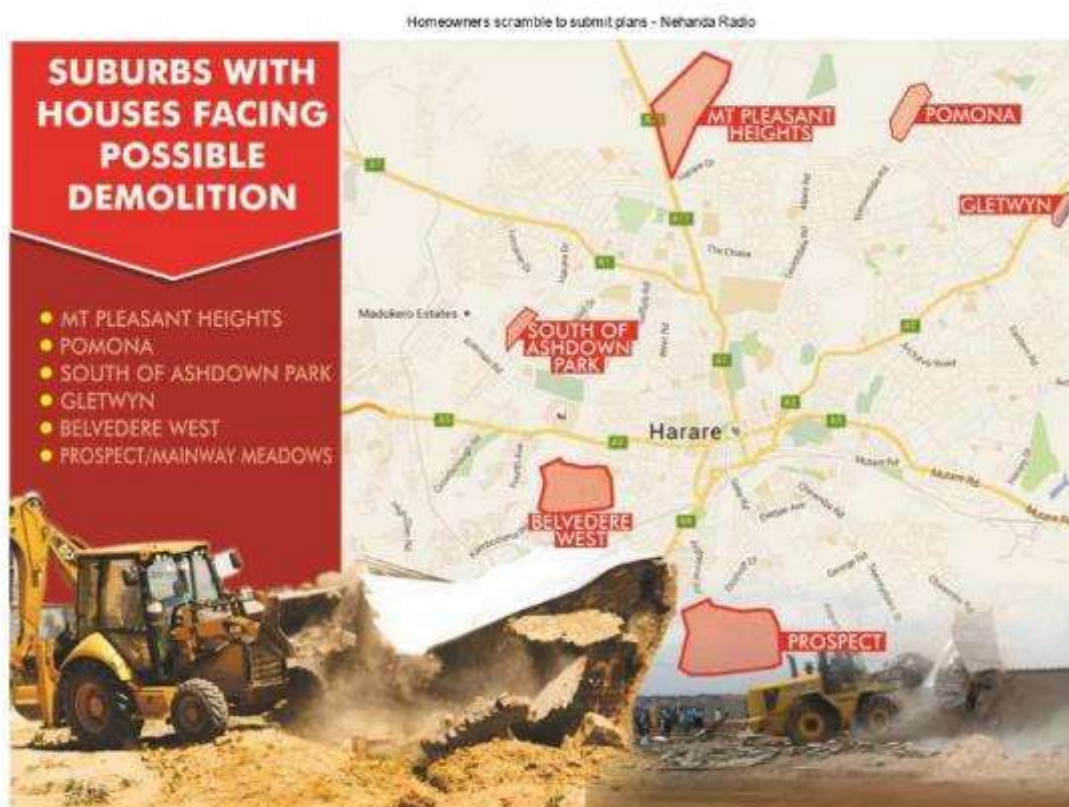




*The Harare City Council rushed to demolish houses near the Harare International Airport*

### **Photo 3: Insecurity of housing on allocated land**

Source: Nehanda Radio, 26<sup>th</sup> January 2016



*Thousands of property owners in some of Harare's upmarket suburbs risk having their properties demolished for non-compliance with the city's building by-laws after they erected buildings using unapproved plans.*

### **Photo 4: Insecurity in upmarket housing developments**



Huge financial and resource investments go into this informal enterprise although the employed persons may look or be poor. Both the poor and elites have symbiotic and beneficial linkages in the informal economy

**Photo 5: Informal economies; building materials and roast cobs sold by the roadside in Newlands/Gunhill – leafy suburb of Harare, 2014.**



Generous on-plot space in these colonial-era neighbourhoods now used for food production and 'backyard shacks' providing extra accommodation for rental or for grown up children and their families creating extremely overcrowded conditions beyond capacity of existing infrastructure.

**Photo 6: Overcrowded neighbourhoods in Mbare**





**Photo 7 and 8: Long queues for cash at Bank cash machines in Gweru 9<sup>th</sup> September 2016**



Infrastructure and Cities for Economic Development (“ICED”) is a project funded by the UK’s Department for International Development (“DFID”) and is led and administered by PricewaterhouseCoopers LLP, working with organisations including Adam Smith International, ARUP, Engineers Against Poverty, International Institute for Environment and Development, MDY Legal and Social Development Direct.

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