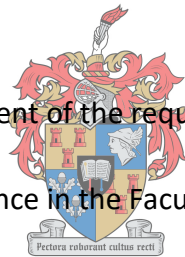


An analysis of the continued resurfacing of illegal backyard dwellings settlements: A case study of Mbare Residential Suburb in Harare.

Submitted by Primrose Chirowodza

Mini-thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree Master of
Philosophy in Urban and Regional Science in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at
Stellenbosch University



UNIVERSITEIT
iYUNIVESITHI
STELLENBOSCH
UNIVERSITY

100
1918 · 2018

Supervisor: Mr. Herman Geyer

March 2018

DECLARATION

By submitting this mini-thesis electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the sole author thereof (save to the extent explicitly otherwise stated), that reproduction and publication thereof by Stellenbosch university will not infringe any third part rights and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

Date: 4 November 2017

Copyright © 2018 Stellenbosch University

All rights reserved

ABSTRACT

The spatial growth of irregular settlements in cities of less developed countries reflects increasing disparities in the distribution of wealth and resources. 25-70% of the urban population in African countries is living in irregular settlements, squatter settlements, unauthorised land development, rooms and flats of dilapidated buildings in city centre (Lasserve & Royston 2002). Even though massive destruction operations like Murambatsvina are being carried out in these African countries to mention just a few Zimbabwe, Tanzania and Malawi. These illegal structures are still mushrooming in African countries. This study seeks to find the underlying factors behind the continued resurfacing of these illegal dwellings in Mbare Harare. The study also looked at how migration and urbanisation determine the processes and affects informality in Zimbabwean.

Key words and Phrases: Operation Garikai, Operation Murambatsvina, Internal migration, Migration, Poverty, Formal employment, Informal employment, Backyard dwellings

OPSOMMING

Die ruimtelike groei van onreëlmatigenedersettings in stede van minder ontwikkelde lande weerspieël toenemende ongelykhede in die verdeling van rykdom en hulpbronne. 25-70 % van die stedelike bevolking in Afrika-lande is wat in onreëlmatige nedersettings, plakkerskampe, ongemagtigde land ontwikkeling, kamers en woonstelle van vervalde geboue in die middestad (Lasserve & Royston 2002). Selfs al massiewe vernietiging bedrywighede soos Murambatsvina word uitgevoer in hierdie Afrika-lande net 'n paar Zimbabwe, Tanzaniëen Malawi te noem. Hierdie onwettige strukture is nog steeds soos paddastoele in Afrika-lande. Hierdie studie poog om die onderliggende faktore wat agter die voortgesette vernuwing van hierdie onwettige wonings in Mbare Harare te vind. Die studie het ook gekyk na hoe migrasie en verstedeliking bepaal die prosesse en die invloed in formaliteit in Zimbabwe.

Sleutelwoorde en frases: Operasie Garikai, Operasie Murambatsvina, Interne migrasie, Migrasie, Armoede, Formele indiensneming, Informele indiensneming, Agterplaaswoning

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks are owed to the following people for their assistance with my thesis and this article:

- Mr H Geyer for his support, guidance and supervision. It was because of his expertise, patience and continuous encouragement that this research article has been completed.
- Centre for Regional and Urban Innovation and Statistical Exploration (CRUISE) under the leadership of Professor HS Geyer for granting me a departmental bursary to enable me to study for my Master's degree. Many thanks also go to the entire CRUISE staff for their relentless support during the course of my studies at Stellenbosch University.
- The Harare Municipality for granting me the opportunity to conduct the research in their jurisdiction
- My family for their unwavering support, motivation and encouragement. My family is my pillar of strength.
- Above all, glory goes to God for enabling me to further my studies and for all the loving and caring people around me

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ARDA	Agricultural and Rural Development Authority
CHOGM	Commonwealth Heads of Government
ESP	Economical Structural Adjustment Programme
OGHK	Operation Garikai / HlalaniKuhle
OPM	Operation Murambatsvina
PDL	Poverty Datum Line
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAPS	Structural Adjustment Programmes
UN Habituated	United Nations Habituated
UN	United Nations

Contents

ABSTRACT.....	ii
List of Tables and figures	ix
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
1.2 Background to the study.....	2
1.3 Problem statement	3
1.4 Aim of the study.....	4
1.5 Objectives.....	4
1.6 Research questions	4
1.6 Conclusion.....	5
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE STUDY	6
2.1 Introduction	6
2.2 Nature and motivation of the study	6
2.3 Theoretical Frameworks	6
2.3.1 The Socio-Spatial Approach	7
2.3.2 Urban Informality.....	8
2.4 Operation Murambatsvina.....	12
2.5 Operation Garikai (OGHK).....	14
2.6 Introduction of growth points.....	15
2.7 Urbanisation in Zimbabwe	16
2.8 Study area: Mbare	18
2.9 Chapter conclusion	19
CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY	20
3.1 Introduction	20
3.2 Research Design and Methods	20
3.3 Quantitative and Qualitative Data	21

3.4 Primary Data Collection	22
3.5 Secondary Data Collection	23
3.6 Selection of Study Sample.....	23
3.7 Case Study Approach	23
3.8 Ethical Considerations.....	24
3.8.1 Informed Consent	Error! Bookmark not defined.
3.9 Chapter Conclusion	25
CHAPTER FOUR: PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS.....	26
4.1 Overview	26
4.2 Section A: Description of study sample	26
4.2.1 Educational level of Respondents.....	27
4.4.2 Work area and distance travelled to work place.....	28
4.3 Section B	29
4.3.1 Relationship between type of employment and dwelling type.....	29
4.3.2 Materials used for the construction of the backyard dwellings.....	30
4.3.3. Employment status	31
4.3.4 Household income	31
4.3.5 Type of Migrants	33
4.3.6 Intended length of stay.....	33
4.3.7 Reasons for moving to Mbare.....	34
4.3.8 Tenure status	35
4.3.9 How respondents felt about their tenure.....	36
4.3.10 Number of rooms in dwelling	39
4.3.11 How they were affected by OPM in 2005.....	39
4.3.12 How soon do you expect Murambatsvina to come back?.....	40
4.3.13 Coping measures against OPM	40
4.4 Discussion.....	42
4.5 Conclusion	44

References	45
Addendum 1: The questionnaire used for the study.....	48
Addendum 2: Permission letter from Harare City Council	66

List of Tables and figures

Table 2.1: Push and pull factors for rural to urban migrants16

Table 2.2: The accelerated housing demand in Harare17

Table 3.2: The number of individuals represented per household27

Table 3.4.5 Cross tabulation of employment status and dwelling type29

Table 3.5: Pearson for employment and dwelling type30

Table 3.6: The material used for construction by respondents30

Table 3.7: Employment status of respondents and of their relatives living outside household 31

Table 3.8. When the residents moved to32

Table 3.9 How the respondents perceived their tenure36

Table 3.10 Security about their tenure and how often the property was maintained37

Table 3.11: Service delivery by the local municipality38

Table 3.12 : The prediction of the massive destruction40

Figure 2.1.: The map of Mbare19

Figure 3.1.: The educational level of respondents28

Figure 3 : 2 Household income of respondents32

Figure 3. 4 Type of Migration for respondents33

Figure 3. 5.: Intended length of stay for respondents34

Figure 3.6 Reasons for moving to Mbare35

Figure 3. 7 The respondents relationship with landlord36

Figure 3. 8 :. Number of rooms in dwelling place39

Figure 3.9.: How they were affected by OPM**Error! Bookmark not defined.**

Figure 3.10.: Coping measures against OPM41

Chapter 1: Introduction

African cities are witnessing unprecedented population growth (Todaro 1997). Indeed, population in developing countries is concentrating in urban areas, in a prevailing pattern of rural to urban migration (Collision *et al.* 2007). The rapid urbanization experienced in the African continent has resulted in the increase of informality in urban areas as the housing supply is outstripped by demand (Msindo *et al.* 2013). Current research reveals that the highest proportion of slums is currently in Sub-Saharan Africa (Mpofu 2013). With no changes to urban policies and urban management, the numbers are projected to skyrocket to an estimate of 2 billion by 2030 (Mpofu 2013).

A similar trend is recorded in Zimbabwe where the main engine of urban growth is rural to urban migration which accelerated with the attainment of political independence in the 1980s (Mpofu 2013). The urban growth in Zimbabwe is being influenced by the pull factors of towns especially Harare. The economic opportunities available in areas such as Mbare are tremendous to the rural and some urban folk such that many come to try to make a living in such areas. However, influx of migrants from rural to urban is not correlating with the formal development of housing units. This is leading to property owners in Mbare and surrounding areas to build backyard dwellings to accommodate those who need places to live. Over the years, from the 1980's, these backyard dwellings were being built without much problem from council authorities.

In 2005, the government of Zimbabwe, with the help of Harare City Council (HCC) and police, undertook Operation Murambatsvina (Clean up Campaign) or Operation Restore Order where a number of illegal housing (backyard dwellings) and trading structures were demolished and individuals lost their working and living spaces (Chatiza & Mlalazi 2009). Despite this urban 'clean up', a number of illegal structures and squatter camps are resurfacing in urban Harare. The issue of internal displacement in Zimbabwe is not new neither is it unique to the continent. African countries like Kenya and Senegal also took out urban clean up campaigns and displaced thousands of people (Msindo *et al.* 2013).

The cities of developing countries face major problems and one of these problems is urban squatters. These individuals unlawfully settle in an area without a lawful claim to the land. According to Manaster (1968), squatter settlements are a result of unparalleled population growth and the assumption that cities offer a better life. In Zimbabwe the fact that the government have strict rules of formalising the cities has led to endless confrontations with squatters (Mpofu 2012).

This paper focuses on the reappearance of backyard dwellings in Mbare, an old high density suburb in central/southern Harare, Zimbabwe. In particular, the study focuses on the construction of backyard dwellings, informal houses/ dwelling units constructed adjacent to a formal building. In Zimbabwe, these types of dwellings are controversial because they are generally constructed at the front or back of a legal building, serving as a shop or a house.

1.2 Background to the study

The number of people living in Zimbabwe's peri-urban areas increased dramatically just before independence in 1980 (Msindo *et. al*2013). After independence the removal of control restrictions resulted in unprecedented urbanisation. Between 1982 and 1992, the urban population rose from 2 million in 1982 to 3.2 million in 1992, reaching 4.8 million in 2000 (Mpofu 2012). However, the urban economy failed to offer adequate housing and jobs which led to the proliferation of squatter settlements (Potts 2006). High rates of urbanisation saw the poor being marginalised in informal settlements (Gukumire 2012). The HCC provided a platform/list whereby people in need of residential stands could apply for one. The list grew and demand outstripped supply. Naturally, this led to economically aware property owners to either extend their core houses or build backhouse dwellings (*boyskhaya rooms* is local language), to service the demand. The property owners would demand rent from lodgers and that was the situation in most urban suburbs of Harare, especially the high-density suburbs of Mbare, Glen Norah and others.

Because the government did not want to informalise cities, squatters were labelled as 'outcasts', 'new gypsies of our society', 'bandits' 'social deviants' and 'criminals' (Mpofu 2012)

and there was need to remove them. The May 2005 Cleanup campaign was remarkably different from previous operations against 'informality' in the urban areas. Other operations that were implemented did not target large groups but smaller settlement and individuals were given proper formalised land to resettle. The implementation of Operation Murambatsvina was followed by a government programme code-named Operation Garika/HlalaniKhule (Operation Live Well) a large-scale public housing and urban renewal project that intended to redress the outcome of Operation Murambatsvina by providing public goods and services to affected families. The residents that were removed from Mbare and Porta farm in Glen-view were settled in Hatcliffe (Chirisa & Machini 2010).

1.3 Problem statement

Efforts by the Zimbabwean government in the 1980s and early 1990s to promote regional development strategies such as rural growth points failed to curb rapid urbanization (Mpfu 2012). The unchecked increase of urban population in Zimbabwe, and the failure of the urban economy to provide adequate employment and housing caused the poor to informalise at the urban periphery. This process reached its peak in 2005, when the government forcefully and unilaterally implemented Operation Murambatsvina which was characterised by the demolition of illegal structures in cities and the resettlement of some of the evictees in public housing developments and rural growth points (Gukumire 2012). An estimated 1.5 million people were caught in this government blitz. Despite the persistent risk of demolition, informal settlements have continued to resurface in urban areas, particularly in the very areas where Operation Murambatsvina was carried out in 2005. Backyard dwellings continue to resurface in Mbare despite it being a target of past blitz by the HCC and government. Thus there is need to investigate reasons, perceptions and other factors behind the resurfacing of the illegal structures especially backyard dwellings. There is currently no academic study that examines the continued resurfacing of urban informal structures in Zimbabwe.

Thus, this study seeks to contribute in filling this gap in academia through a deep examination of the root causes for the resurfacing of these settlements, and to suggest a viable solution to this challenge. In particular, the study will provide a profile of the characteristics of informality

in Mbare and discuss the changing behaviours of residents and traders in illegal structures as a result of Operation Murambatsvina.

1.4 Aim of the study

By systematically applying the social spatial approach this study aims to examine the factors behind the continued resurfacing of squatter settlements, specifically backyard dwellings, in Harare even after the nationalised clean up campaigns by the HCC and government.

1.5 Objectives

The objectives of the research are to:

1.5.1 Determine the factors leading to the resurfacing and reappearance of illegal backhouse dwellings in urban Harare

1.5.2 Examine the profile characteristics of individuals who reside in these illegal back house houses.

1.5.3 Investigate possible measures to curb the resurfacing of informal settlements in urban areas.

1.6 Research questions

This research seeks to address the following main research questions, *inter alia*:

- What are the reasons and motivations behind the continued resurfacing of illegal structures/ Squatter settlements in Harare?
- What are the possible measures that can be put in place by government and other development agencies to minimise the resurgence of illegal structures?

- What is the profile of the people living in Mbare and how does it influence their choice of household dwelling.
- How has the response of the residents and traders in illegal structures changed since Operation Murambatsvina and Operation Garikai?
- How has the government response to informality changed since operation Murambatsvina and Operation Garikai?

1.6 Conclusion

The chapter introduced the research the problem, questions and aims and objectives. It introduced the issue being researched and the state of the problem at hand. The issue of background dwellings was put into context of urban development in Zimbabwe and issues leading to influx of people into urban areas.

Chapter 2: Literature Study

2.1 Introduction

A “thoughtful discussion of related literature builds a logical framework for the research and locates it within a tradition of inquiry and a context of related studies” (Marshall & Rossman (2006: 44). In this respect through literature review, the study stays on focus. According to Gibson & Brown (2009:34), exploring related research “helps researchers to refine and extend their ideas and gives them a clearer sense of what has been achieved in the field in which they are proposing to work and how it has been achieved”. This is important because previous research works tend to guide new efforts. In this context, literature review can be described as “a *conversation* between the researcher and the literature” (Marshall & Rossman, 2006:44). This chapter presents the review of related literature on urbanisation, Operation Murambatsvina, Operation Garikai, growth points and other issues. Furthermore, the theoretical frameworks, will be discussed as well.

2.2 Nature and motivation of the study

The study uses a useful theoretical framework of Socio-Spatial Approach to interrogate factors behind continued resurfacing of squatter settlements in Mbare. The study is an enquiry based research which as aimed at investigating an issue of urbanisation and town planning. It is aimed at identifying various factors that lead to informality in high density areas. Its motivation is on addressing the urban informality and plight of the displaced.

2.3 Theoretical Frameworks

2.3.1 The Socio-Spatial Approach

The social spatial approach in urban analysis is a theory that was introduced in the 1990s. It implies that the form of settlement space is related to the rule of organization of the economy. The spatial organization of a society is viewed in four ways. These are cultural, political, social and economic features of the mode of societal organization (Gottdiener & Budd). The theory also shows inequalities in a town which are portrayed in terms of the setting of buildings, the reproduction of classes and how government intervenes. The theory stipulates that any developmental changes are related to the political economy of the society.

Furthermore, the framework views informality as a common thing where the homeless individuals live in the dilapidated parts of the city. Poor people in the city are surrounded by rich people. There is urban inequality where substandard houses are constructed for the urban poor. Public policies are restricted by the on-going fiscal crisis in the state. Societies suffer, as these programs are mainly private enterprises (Gottdiener & Budd).

Friedrich Engels who argued that, inequalities are natural as people received their rewards according to their individual worth and their hard work, first explained the issue of inequality in 1973. Furthermore, Henri Lefebvre gives an insight of the approach when he argues that space is an important factor in metropolitan development and that one is governed by profit making at some level from the way capitalists in the primary circuit make profit. Basically, the framework is governed by five aspects, which are

1. Categories of political economic analysis such as class exploitation, rent and investment in the analysis of urban development.
2. The circuit of capital investment in real estate follows a cyclical pattern of growth and decline that is somewhat at variance with the primary circuit of industrial production. The development trends of a society require specific attributes between circuits and the relationships between them. These aspects of analysis are much more complex than simpler approaches of urban ecology or other forms of urban sociology like the Chicago school.
3. Social activities are about space. Space is the integral factor of everything we do. The idea helps us explore the built environment and to understand our behaviour. Attention to the

spatial aspect of human life means design and architecture all play an important role in the way people interact.

4. Spatial environments contain signs and symbols, which are representatives in people's minds as mental maps and in the conception of the city by residents, politicians and the police. This space has a meaning to everyone that lives in it. However, other times people conflict over the meanings of space and the definition of what is acceptable behaviour in particular spaces. These aspects used to be ignored in urban planning. In the past representatives of space had been ignored but now with the socio-spatial approach, the symbolic and cultural dimension is very important.

5. Finally, the socio-spatial approach highlights the important role that is played by the government in space. Politics defines the metropolitan and the geo-political boundaries. Conflicts about these spaces can lead up to serious political problems if not war at national level. Governments can also transfer wealth across spatial boundaries. This kind of public investment is important to the general wellbeing of places. This is called a transfer of value to the space. When the public sector is involved, it is also uneven development but the presence of government policies also means that they may be genuine institutions at work. This shows that the role of state is of paramount importance to the socio-spatial aspect

The theory is applicable to the current study in that it provides a platform to understand the socio-spatial characteristics of Mbare. It allows the analysis of different economic and social assets of the respondents and analyse them against the location or choice to locate in Mbare. Space and socio-economic factors are show to be correlated in certain way or following a certain trend.

2.3.2 Urban Informality

Urban informality concept can be situated in Hall and Pfeiffer's "informal hypergrowth" cities idea (Roy 2005). The idea expresses great concern for the exploding and swollen cities which render them ungovernable (Roy 2005). It views urban informality as a crisis and Hall and Pfeiffer (2000) argue that the urban poor have "built their own city without any reference

whatsoever to the whole bureaucratic apparatus of planning and control in the formal city ..." (p. 15) in (Roy 2005, p 147). Importantly Hall and Pfeiffer (2000) describe the informal sector as totally localized collective subsistence economy. This and above factors are important for the current study. The views encompass the situation in that the Mbare backyard dwellings and other informal buildings are part of a localised subsistence economic activity. The inhabitants of the backyard houses are attracted by Mbare because it serve in their daily economic activities. Interestingly, the property owners also rely on those backyard houses in form of monthly rents. All this builds into the subsistence nature and base of informality in Mbare.

In contrast with the above, Hernando De Soto (2000), in his book *The Mystery of Capital*, presents an image of informality as "heroic entrepreneurship" (Roy 2005) He goes on saying that the "informal economy is the people's spontaneous and creative response to the state's incapacity to satisfy the basic needs of the impoverished masses" (p. 14) in (Roy 2005 p. 147). This view is important in that it encompass and summarise the Mbare phenomena. Backyard buildings can be viewed with the lenses of 'heroic entrepreneurship' in that they provide both a service and a source of livelihoods for the property owners. They also work as base for the poor entrepreneurs, most of them, according to the results obtained, work in and around Mbare in informal sectors of the economy.

However, for Roy (2005), the above frameworks yield many problems. The first is the equation of informality with poverty. Roy suggests that "neither frame recognizes how informality might be a differentiated process embodying varying degrees of power and exclusion". In this view the informal sector of the economy is seen as excluded or not part of the power matrix of the global or national economy. Practically, there is an economic factor that goes on between the property owners and the dwellers of backyard buildings. Second, both frames conceptualize informality, and poverty more generally, as caused by isolation from global capitalism. This is important in Mbare because more times, the economy of the area is very much linked with the global market. The vegetables market serves various markets, shops and people from all over Harare. The Mupedzanhamo clothes market sells clothes from as far as America. There is a bus terminus which serve travellers who travel to as far as Cape Town, Tanzania and other countries. This is important in that this is a market for the informal traders, some of whom reside in Mbare and in backyard dwellings.

Roy (2005) views urban informality as a mode of metropolitan urbanisation. She puts across the view that informal housing is a distinctive type of market where affordability accrues through the absence of formal planning and regulation 149. Important in this view is that there are trends which are pointing to a “complex continuum of legality and illegality, where squatter settlements formed through land invasion and self-help housing can exist alongside upscale informal subdivisions formed through legal ownership and market transaction but in violation of land use regulations” (Roy 2005, 149). In Mbare the legal structures on a particular stand exist alongside the illegal and informal backyard dwellings. Situation is that a, property owners are building some structures at the back ad front of the main houses. The legal houses exist alongside the illegal backyard structures in violation of land use regulations. This is important factor in that it provides a basis to interrogate the perceptions behind breaking council regulations and continuing resurfacing and increase of informal structures adjacent to the formal structures.

2.3.2.1 Urbanisation and informality in Zimbabwe

The rapid urbanization in the country and the failure by the economy and government to provide formal jobs and low cost housing brought about high levels of urban informality. Urban informality is understood as an economic sector or a form of shelter and service provision, which are unregulated. The informal sector is unplanned and it exists outside the institutional regulations. Urban informality is a dual sector, which is characterised by pervasive poverty, precarious self-employment and slums (Ferguson 2007). There are two views that explain the relationship between the formal and informal sector. The first one explains the two sectors as evidence for labour market segmentation, which is due to a combination of formal sector wages being set above market clearing rate and governmental regulation which gives firms incentives to “hide” in informality (Foster 2009; Roy 2009 & Falco *et. al* 2011). High formal sector wages create either a large pool of unemployed or an informal sector oversupplied with labour at markedly lower wages rates (Harris and Todaro 1970). In support of the above argument, the sector can be explained as a notion of there being a “cloudy” sector in which anyone who

wishes to work can and assuming a divide within the urban sector between this “murky” sector and the formal sector (Fields 1975).

The informal sector has been widely recognised in the study of labour markets in poor countries. In Zimbabwe, the informal sector has historically been relatively small both in terms of size and in terms of its role and status of the economy, especially when compared to other African countries (Mhone 1995). However, a survey that was conducted revealed that 88 000 micro-scale enterprise provided informal jobs and employed 50% of the natural labour force and the figure was expected to sky rocket as natural response to the upsurge in retrenchments and the closing down of established enterprise (Martine *et. al* 2008). The increase of urban informality in the country has been credited to the economic meltdown and the SAPS (Mhone 1995). The SAPs caused a lot of job loss at the same time when hundreds of school leavers were entering the job market (Ndlovu2008). The urban informal sector consists of establishments that primarily entail self-employment with additional one or two helpers who are often family members.

The government encouraged virtues of surviving in the informal sector. The HCC was instructed to look the other way and allow vendors to play their trade without any interference. An upsurge of the informal sector materialised with welding shops, hair salons, car repairs and a plethora of other cottage industries in back yards. Private flea markets were established with an agreement of government ministers (Ndlovu 2008).

The government’s response to the urban informality differs. They are basic three ways that can be implemented by governments; they can either implement preventive measures remedial measures, or maintain ignorance (Pacione 2001). The government of Zimbabwe and the Municipalities did not have a planned ways of dealing with urban informality as they implemented both of the above measures. It could be argued that they responded to the situation only when they benefited from it (Mpofu 2012). In 1980, preventive measures were implemented through the promotion of growth points in rural areas to control rural to urban migration. The method did not work. However, due to the failure by the government to provide formal employment and the introduction of SAPS, at some point ignorance led to the raising urban informality (Mpofu 2012 & Machini 2010).

The local municipalities in a way encouraged to take no action against informality (Ndlovu 2008). Remedial measures were implemented when the government forcibly evicted squatters at Porta farm and Mbare. The evicted individuals were resettled in Hatcliffe then an informal settlement, which was upgraded to a planned settlement (Chirisa & Machinge 2010). OPM was also a remedial measure but its conditions were harsh as it displaced thousands of families and was done without proper warning to those targeted and an immediate place to resettle displaced people through OGHK was implemented only a few months later.

The justification for discriminating against the urban informality has been that they should not have moved to the city, assisting them cause over urbanization, and urban polices should prevent rural urban migration (Martin *et. al* 2008). The Zimbabwean government is not any different. One the first recorded eradication of urban informality was done in Mbare where the town was cleaned in preparation for the Queen of England arrival to the heads of state meeting. Thus, urban improvements a means of justification was used when the government took action against informality (by removing slums/ squatter settlements and any forms of informal activities) in preparation for a major event (Mpofu 2012; Pacione 2001).

Furthermore, slums and squatter settlements can be labelled as sources of crime and health concerns. This view supports the Zimbabwean situation where Minister Chikowore described slums as a social hazard and inhumane settlement that needs to be destroyed (Mpofu 2012). This justification was given also when OPM, Porta farm and Mbare squatters were forcibly removed from their houses by the Zimbabwean army. Another justification that can be is used is when the state wants to redevelop the land for more profitable activities. In the Zimbabwean scenario the justification was never used (Mpofu 2012).

2.4 Operation Murambatsvina

After Economic Structural Adjustment Programmes (ESAP) lowered labour absorption rate at a period when thousands of school leavers were entering the job market, the government encouraged informality in the urban areas (Ndlovu 2008). The government publicly encouraged virtues of surviving in the informal sector, the government even pressured the city council to

look the other way and accept the informality in the cities (Ndlovu 2007). Indeed, the encouragement of the informal sector by the government just after independence could be the motivational factor behind the resurfacing of these illegal structures in Zimbabwe (Kamete 2009). The rising informal housing and informal economy were partly a result of the perceived inability by the government to address problems such as unemployment and the rising cost of living. According to the UN Habitat (2005) the high unemployment levels that were witnessed in the 1990s in the major cities of Zimbabwe gave room for high levels of informality. This was a way to supplement household economy as well as to offer cheap housing for the increasing urban population that was being experienced at that time.

However, in May 2005, the government decided to take remedial measures against the negative spill overs of increasing urban informality. Operation Murambatsvina (OPM) was launched by the government to address the municipal by laws violations by the urban informality (Ndlovu 2007; Vambe 2008; Charisa & Mlalazi 2008; Gukurume 2012; Mpofu 2011; Potts 2006). The above mentioned scholars view OPM as a result of the failure of the government to provide adequate housing, education and health for all by the year 2000. These scholars argue that increased informal urban employment and low incomes have fuelled the mushrooming of illegal low income housing solution in urban areas.

OPM targeted illegal and unauthorised shanty towns/squatter settlements, backyard dwellings in formal urban areas as well as informal industrial areas (Charisa & Mlaladzi 2009). The violations of the city by-laws included informal trading, unlicensed vehicles, illegal housing and restricting informal construction activities, paratransit, prostitution, vandalism of public infrastructure, urban agriculture (husbandry and cultivation), amongst others (Potts 2006). The OPM programme was done because the above mentioned activities and breaking of by-law which resulted in the deterioration of the conditions and standards in the Harare city. Though the campaign was only implemented between May and June 2005, it was announced by the Harare City Council as an ongoing programme to maintain urban standards (Mind *et. al* 2013).

Indeed, the issue of internal displacement is not unique to Zimbabwe only. It is a widespread occurrence issue of concern in the African context. For instance, according to Mind (*et. al* 2013) in 1970, the government of Senegal did performed a systematic campaign which destroyed squatter settlements in the city of Dakar and in 1975 another clean-up campaign was launched

in Nimzatt and Angle Mousse squatter settlement. Furthermore, in Kenya, Nairobi a campaign was done to demolish over 10,000 squatter settlements (Mind *et. al* 2013). There is need to look at the factors behind the reoccurrence of the urban informality as the Mayor of Harare made a clear statement when she mentioned that the operation was going to be an ongoing programme. The figure below illustrates the areas in Harare affected by Murambatsvina

The state implemented numerous smaller ad-hoc clean-up campaigns prior to OPM, which included arresting vendors and preventing the construction of illegal structures by destroying squatter settlements in Porta farm and Mbare and resettling the families in Hatcliffe which was then transformed from an informal to formal (Chirisa & Machini 2010). These operations were not implemented to the degree that OPM was implemented (Potts 2006). This could be because the operation took place against a backdrop of deteriorating national economy and an increasing polarised economy (Kamete 2007).

In July 2005, Anna Tibaijuka, a United Nations (UN) special envoy, estimated that around 650 000 to 700 000 lost either a business or their livelihood due to the operation. OPM however resulted in the large-scale demolition of informal structures in the city. Although some of the demolished structures were shacks made of corrugated iron and plastic sheeting, the majority of the structures were one or two roomed brick houses. Some demolished structures included multi-storey houses built according to architectural plans (Ndlovu 2007). Although the practice of demolishing illegal informal structures is a common practice in the sub-Saharan Africa, OPM remains unprecedented in Africa due to the scale of the operation (Potts 2006). Operation Garikai / HlalaniKuhle (OGHK) was formulated as a programme that responded to OPM.

2.5 Operation Garikai (OGHK)

(OGHK) was a response to OPM after the government was criticised for the crime against humanity (Dzimiri & Runhare 2012). The operation was launched on 29 June 2009 with a mandate of restoring the dignity of victims and meeting their hopes by building formal houses and market bays where they could earn their living (Mpofu 2009). It was supposed to target homeless people with preference to OPM victims. However, the programme ended up

benefiting individuals who were on the municipal housing list and not former victims of OPM. The register sequence was not followed and in Bulawayo army generals, and not specialists in the housing department administered the programme (Mpofu 2009; Dzimiri & Runhare 2012). Given the controversy behind both OPM and OGHK, this study seeks to examine the reappearance of illegal structures in Mbare.

2.6 Introduction of growth points

Challenges of urban informality predate the country's independence attained in 1980. Initially, the colonial and postcolonial government responded to the challenges by introducing growth points (Hoddinott 2006). Since developing urban areas was not a government priority they decided to adopt growth points as a way to curb informality in urban areas (Chirisa & Machini 2010). Growth points were rural settlements, which received public sector investment to improve their physical and social infrastructure. The idea of growth points was mooted during the colonial period when the colonial transformed tribal trusts into agrarian communal developments through the Agricultural and Rural Development Authority (ARDA) (Sibanda 1985). The ARDA established extensive irrigation schemes, agro-industries, provided tillage services and skills development in order to promote commercial agrarian development. The organisation also built roads, utilities and housing to attract commercial and industrial enterprises to growth points (Wekwete, 1988).

Growth points were also identified as central locations where specialized commercial, industrial, administrative and commercial services provided. Furthermore, the area also provided a ready market for locally manufactured goods, agricultural farming inputs and raw materials for manufacturing. The growth points initially viewed as an alternative solution to control rapid urbanisation (Mpofu 2012). Growth points were unsuccessful in curbing migration into large cities due to the continued failing of agricultural and the raising of the cost of living (Manyanhaire *et. al* 2009). Furthermore, they lacked funding due to declining national economic performance, a lack of proper planning, small initial populations in these areas and the failure of the agricultural activities. They also failed to offer adequate employment resulting

in continued migration into cities (Manyanhaire *et. al* 2009). In turn, this failure gave rise to rapid urbanization in Zimbabwe.

2.7 Urbanisation in Zimbabwe

The removal of colonial-era influx control into urban areas after independence resulted in a second wave of urban migration (Smith 1997). The removal of restrictive laws also resulted in the proliferation of the urban informal sector (Patel 1988). The promise of jobs by the new government also incentivised urbanisation (Mazingi & Kamidza 2005). Furthermore, the crippling droughts in the early 1980s drove failed farmers to relocate to cities. The annual population growth rate of two largest cities, Harare and Bulawayo doubled soon after independence (Mazingi & Kamidza 2005). In the 1990s, the introduction of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPS) accelerated the rate of rural to urban migration. The incentives that used to benefit people in the rural areas like free education and health had been revoked and individuals decided to migrate to urban areas. The urbanization / movement of people from rural areas to urban cities have been explained by different scholars using different terminologies though they were both referring to the same thing. Thus, reasons for migrating ranged from the failure of agricultural activities, new government promise of jobs to perceptions that living conditions were better in cities than in rural areas. The table below explains the reasons behind the massive urbanisation that was experienced in the country.

Table 2.1: Push and pull factors for rural to urban migrants

Push	Pull	Author
Failure of agricultural activities	Removal of restrictive legislations	Mpofu 2012
Failure of agricultural activities due to major draughts	Government promise of jobs after independence	Gukurimwe (2012)
	Removal of restrictive law	Patel (1998)
Agricultural mechanism reducing the need for farm workers	Industrial and government employment	Smith (1977)

Deteriorating of economic conditions in rural areas	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perception of living conditions in urban areas • Presence of relatives or friends living in urban areas • Status rise social prestige associated with urbanisation 	De Bruijin <i>et al</i> (2001)
---	--	--------------------------------

The influx of the rural population into the urban areas caused acute shortages of basic services, Furthermore, the formal economy was deteriorating and major industries were relocating to other countries due to the instability of the economy (Mpofu 2012; Potts 2006).

The laws and legislation adopted by the country which governed urban development placed the burden of housing provision squarely on local authorities (Kazingi & Kamidza 2005). Because the local authorities adopted the colonial government municipal ordinances, they could not provide sufficient services for the rapidly urbanizing population. In order to house the increasing urban population a housing list was developed by the government, and donors were sought from non-governmental organizations to help solve the problem (Potts 2006). Families on these waiting lists were allocated land developed under these schemes, and in some instances the black working elite could access housing finance through building society loans for incremental housing construction. Despite these efforts, the housing backlog in most cities increased. Local authorities lacked the resources to cater for the growing demand. The table illustrates the housing demand in Harare

Table 2.2: The accelerated housing demand in Harare

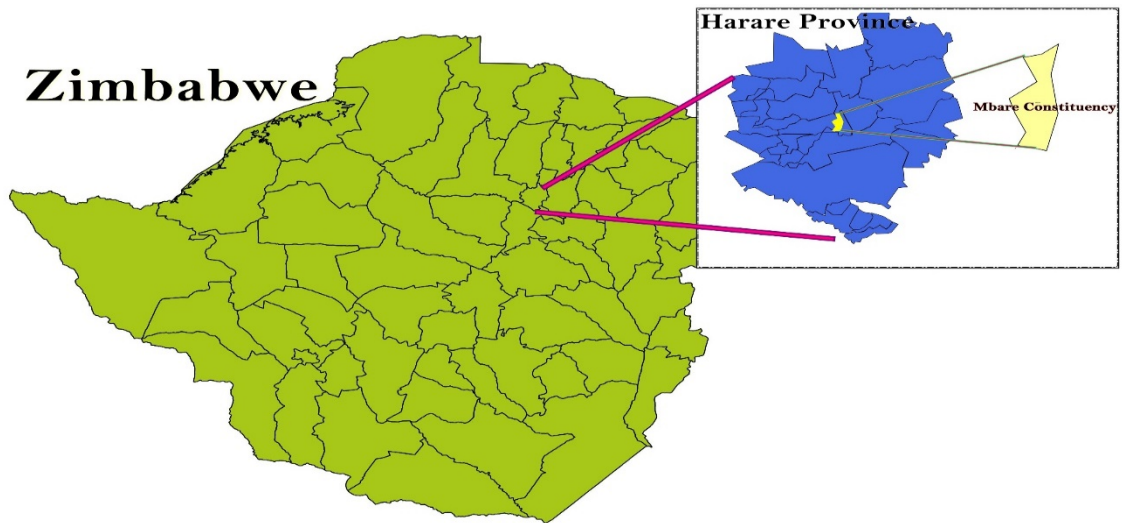
Years showing the increment of housing supply	Estimated Demand
1991	15 000 units
1992	20 000 units
1992-1994	670 000 units
2002	Over 1,000,000 units

The table above clearly outlines how the demand for houses increased from 1991 to a peak point in 2002 before the massive destruction of OPM (Mpofu 2012). The increasing demand for housing (illustrated in Table 2.2) created a demand for alternative accommodation in the form of squatter settlements and backyard dwellings. For instance, in Harare it was discovered that 18 families were residing at one residential unit (Mpofu 2012) According to Mpofu (2012) this showed an estimate of up to 72 people sharing a dwelling unit comprising of usually four habitable rooms.

Construction of backyard shacks for rental became a viable option both for urban dwellers in high density suburbs as a source of income, and to cater for the new arrivals to the city as well as those who were last on the waiting list for formal local authority housing (UN Habitat 2005). As most poor families were unable to acquire formal housing within cities, illegal informal structures were developed. Informal settlements developed in the urban periphery and families built cheap houses that did not adhere to the building standards required by the country's by-laws for formalised residential areas (Potts 2006). Families' occupied land that had no upfront services, as was required by the existing building by-laws of most local authorities (Msindo *et. al* 2013).

2.8 Study area: Mbare

Mbare is a high density suburb situated in the southern central parts of Harare. The suburb is densely populated and it is the oldest suburb in the country formed in 1907 (Taderera & Madhekeni 2012). It has a population of approximately 120 000 and soon after independence the residents used to boast about the settlement as it evolved to a cultural centre of the sub Saharan Africa (Mabika 2009). By 2011, Mbare had 24 124 households (Central Statistical Office, 2011). There are vast socio-economic activities, which typifies the suburb including informal trading of imported second hand clothes at Mupedzanhamo, retail market for fruit, and vegetables where farmers from all over the country display and sell their produce, formal business, the largest bus terminus in the country for both local and international buses (Mabika 2009). The population characteristic comprises of both locals and migrants.

Figure 2.1: The map of Mbare

The suburb was largely affected by the 2005 OPM though it was not the first time such an operation was carried out (Vambe 2008). There were several clean up campaigns that were previously done before OPM (Vambe 2008 &) the first to be recorded was done just before the Commonwealth Head of Government (CHOGM) meeting that was held in Harare to give the impression to the Queen of England that the country was clean. This campaign specifically targeted Mbare residents only (Vambe 2008). It is because of its status that it was purposively selected for this study

2.9 Chapter conclusion

The chapter discussed a number of issues. It reviewed the literature and issues such as nature, of the study, the theoretical framework, OPM, OPMGK, Urban informality, growth points as measures to curb increased urban development, and urbanisation issues in Zimbabwe. These issues are important to this study as they inform and provide a context from which to build on. The theoretical framework, the socio-spatial approach, provide a basis for the study, and other issues discussed provide a window and work as reference to the study.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter presented a review of literature related to the research. This chapter presents the research methodology that was used to address the research questions identified in Chapter 1. This chapter deals with issues such as research design, qualitative and quantitative research, sampling, data collection, and data analysis and presentation.

3.2 Research Design and Methods

Research design can be thought of as a matter of figuring out what kind of data is needed to answer a research question or a set of questions and specifying approaches for gathering or generating that data (Gibson & Brown, 2009:47). The study analyses the motivations behind the resurfacing of backyard dwellings in Mbare high density suburb in Harare and both quantitative and qualitative methods are going to be used. In qualitative approach, case study method, which is an empirical enquiry that investigate “a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context especially when the boundary between the occurrence of an event and context are not clearly visible” (Kohlbacher 2006). The backyard dwelling situation under study is an ongoing real life contemporary phenomena. New backyard dwellings are being built daily and tenants exchange between the different backyard dwellings almost on a monthly basis. Thus, it is very appropriate to study the backyard dwellings in Mbare using the case study approach. Data is gathered through in-depth interviews and structured questionnaires. These will inform on the research questions to give an understanding on issues at hand.

The study uses non-probability snowball sampling technique in data gathering. In this way, one respondent can identify another person in the same condition as his, that is, backyard houses tenants. As such, the study sampled sixty households and interviewed them to reach the saturation point. The study was restricted respondents who were heads of households. This criterion is important in that the head of the household is responsible for upkeep of the

household and have required information on the family stay in a backyard house. Other members of the household were not respondents as such, however, their information, for example age, education and others was captured.

Snowball sampling or referral sampling is considered a type of purposive sampling (Sedlack and Stanley 1992). A non-probability sampling technique is appropriate to use in research when the members of a population are difficult to locate. In this case, not all visible backyard dwellings current occupants are former victims of OPM. This prompted use of this technique to locate specific respondents. Participants/respondents used their social networks to refer the researcher to the other respondents in the same situation, as they were which made it easy to identify victims of OPM.

The available data on OPM and Garikai was analysed using descriptive statistics to test the theories under study. Descriptive statistics were used to describe the population of Mbare. The data was collected, analyse with SPSS and Microsoft Excel. The research supplemented the data by document analysis. Newspapers and some other documents were read and provided important information.

3.3 Quantitative and Qualitative Data

Census data and council data on Operation Murambatsvina will be analysed using descriptive statistics to test various issues that are under study. These quantitative tests will provide a platform for analysis of relationships between variables being tested. The analysis can be objective and no meaning is put at responses.

In addition to quantitative data, qualitative data will be collected through interviews from the victims of Murambatsvina who are living in Mbare and Hopely. Jones (2010) argues that these methods provide opportunities for in-depth, flexible engagement with research participants. Semi-structured questionnaires will be designed and used as instruments of data gathering. Semi-structured questionnaires give the respondents an opportunity to formulate and respond to questions using their own words. They are also flexible and give a subjective respondent from participants. The responses will be analysed by descriptive statistics tools to show

relationships, trends and issues. A meeting will be arranged with the Harare City Council Housing Department. The mixed research approach provides with a platform to do an in-depth study informed by both qualitative and quantitative paradigms. In as much as this study is scientific, it also recognises the subjectivity of the issue at hand, and the meanings respondents put on the events being investigated.

3.4 Primary Data Collection

The study will implement both quantitative and qualitative methods of gathering information. Sometimes both qualitative and quantitative methods are used to complement each other (Creswell 2003). In such scenarios, a qualitative study will be conducted to follow up on findings from quantitative data and to help in understanding what the figures actually mean. Furthermore, a quantitative study can be conducted as a means to follow up on findings from qualitative data (Creswell 2003).

The research implemented structured survey questionnaires as the main research instrument, to understand the motivations of the residents. The questionnaire is a research instrument consisting of a series of questions and other prompts for gathering information from the respondents (Maser 1957). For a study dealing with people, the view that, 'human actions cannot be understood unless the meaning that human beings assign to them is understood' is worth noting (Marshall & Rossman 2006). As such, deeper perspectives into the thoughts, feelings, beliefs, values and ways of living in Zimbabwe were obtained through interviews.

An approval letter to conduct this research was obtained at the Rowan Martin municipal building from the director of municipality. This letter enabled the researcher to gather information from the Harare municipality as it is a mandatory for a researcher to have permission before carrying out the study. However, any information obtained from the respondents has not been used in ways that affect the security of the respondents themselves. This information has been used to explain the status of the situation many years after OPM. Furthermore, no government data was utilised for the research.

3.5 Secondary Data Collection

Document review of (newspaper, journals and past theses) with information pertaining to Operation Murambatsvina and Operation Garikai, and any material regarding the study will be utilised. These documents brings out pertinent issues on the issue at hand.

3.6 Selection of Study Sample

This study will use non-probability snowball sampling and sixty households were interviewed to reach a saturation point. Snowballing sampling or referral sampling is considered a type of purposive sampling (Sedlack & Stanley 1992). It is a non-probability sampling technique that is appropriate to use in research when the members of a population are difficult to locate. In this case, not all visible backyard dwellings current occupants are former victims of OPM that is why this sampling technique was most suitable for the study. In this method, participants or informants contacted will make use of their social networks to refer the researcher to other people who could potentially contribute to the study (Jones 2010). With the sampling technique there is need to locate a few victims who will locate, and introduce to the researcher, other people who were in the same dilemma.

3.7 Case Study Approach

.A case study is empirical inquiries that investigate a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context especially when the boundary between the occurrence of an event and context are not clearly evident (Kohlbacher 2006). This makes a suitable study to determine the motivations behind the re-occurrence of informal settlements in Zimbabwe. A case study of Mbare will investigate the new construction of backyard dwellings and how they view OPM and Operation Garikai, their experiences with these two operations and why they have continued to build backyard dwellings in the same adverse environment. Though the generalization drawn from a

single case study cannot be generalized to the whole, it will provide insight into the global picture (Van Dalen & Meyer 2009).

3.8 Ethical Considerations

Issues of informed consent privacy, confidentiality and accuracy were addressed. Informed consent involves informing respondents on the nature and consequences of the research and giving them the right to refuse to be interviewed and the right not to answer particular questions. An ethical statement was made asking the respondent to participate and giving them the right to not to participate in the interview or not to answer questions they were not comfortable with.

Issues of privacy and confidentiality were addressed. After every interview the respondents were identified with a pseudonym. However, it was noted that insiders may recognise pseudonyms, and this might not be an adequate measure to ensure complete privacy and confidentiality. The results will be kept anonymous so that no social stigmatisation, prosecution or persecution could result from the survey. The Harare Municipality where permission was sought and granted to conduct the survey requested for the survey final copy. Although a copy of this thesis will be delivered to the Council no personal information of any sort will be availed.

Given the volatility of the political atmosphere in the country, interviews had the potential of being interpreted politically hence extreme caution was exercised. Accuracy was addressed by recording each interview on a dictaphone and transcribing words, actions, and pauses of the respondents. Where respondents were not willing to be recorded, the questionnaire with appropriate gaps to fill in responses to questions was availed while care was taken to write down the exact phrases used to describe situations and actions.

Furthermore, the study considered the possibilities of emotional and psychological distress that can be encountered by the interviewees. The study considered the possible psychological effects of questions regarding OPM hence it minimised the effects by only asking the most basic questions without dealing with the particular losses experienced during OPM. The Zimbabwe Association and Rehabilitation of the Offender (ZACRO - a non-governmental organisation

which works closely with the Harare Residents Association and provides counselling services for the latter) offered free counselling services to interviewees who required that assistance.

3.9 Chapter Conclusion

The chapter looked at various research methods applied in this study. It also identified some problems associated with various research methods and how to avoid such problems. Issues such as sampling technique employed, primary and secondary data sources, and research design were discussed.

Chapter 4: Presentation of Findings and Analysis

4.1 Overview

The findings and analysis are presented in two key stages below. Section A specifically describes the study sample, demographic and background information. Section B describes the motivations behind the continued resurfacing of illegal backyard dwellings after Operation Murambatsvina and Operation Garikai. Furthermore, it describes the changing nature of informality in an insecure environment, and the government response to informality in terms of security of tenure and notions of illegality since Operation Murambatsvina.

4.2 Section A: Description of study sample

A total of four hundred questionnaires were administered in Mbare (copy in the index section). As is shown in the table below 61.1% percent were married while 12.9%, 14.5% and 6.5% were divorced, single and widowed respectively. The majority of the respondents were Zimbabweans who spoke Shona and English followed by Malawians who spoke Njanja, Shona and English, and lastly the Mozambicans who spoke Portuguese and Shona. Table 3.1 indicates the demographic profile of respondents.

Table 3.1.: The demographic profile of Respondents

Variable	Number of respondents(n=400)	Frequency (%)
Gender		
Male	174	43.5
Female	225	56.5
Marital status		
Single	52	12.9
Married	264	66.1
Divorced	58	14.5
Widowed	26	6.5

Citizenship		
Zimbabwean	329	82.3
Malawian	39	9.7
Mozambican	32	8.1

32.3% of the respondents had 6 individuals in the household whom were represented in the study, 24.2% represented 5 individuals 17.7% represented 4 individuals, 16.1% represented 7 individuals and lastly 9.7% represented 3 individuals. 24.2% had only one adult who resided in that household, 9.7% had two adults, 32.3% had one adult, 17.7% had two adults and 16.1% had one adult. This is indicated in the table 3.2 below.

Table 3.2: The number of individuals represented per household

Individuals represented by the respondents	Number of respondents n=400	Frequency
645	1 adult and 5 children	32.3
388	1 adult and 4 children	24.2
284	2 adults and 4 children	17.7
448	1 adult and 7 children	16.1
195	2 adults and 5 children	9.7

32.2% of the respondents did not have households living outside their dwelling place, 38.7% had other households living outside dwelling in the high density suburbs of Harare where middle and low income earners reside. Furthermore, 16.1% had other households residing in rural areas which might imply that they had dependents in rural areas and needed to work to provide for them. 13% had their household residing in other towns outside Harare and the remaining 1.6% had household living outside the country in Malawi.

4.2.1 Educational level of Respondents

48.3% of the respondents had completed secondary school. From the interviewees there were only 12.9% of respondents who had completed tertiary level and they were also part of those who were formally employed. 33.3% of the respondents were educated only up to primary level with only 1.6% who did not receive any form of education. In Zimbabwe, the difference between Secondary and High school is that with secondary education you are enrolled at diploma awarding colleges whereas successful high school graduates enroll at degree awarding institutions. The majority of those that had completed tertiary level came from Zimbabwe and a minority from Malawi. Figure 3.1 below depicts the education status of the interviewees.

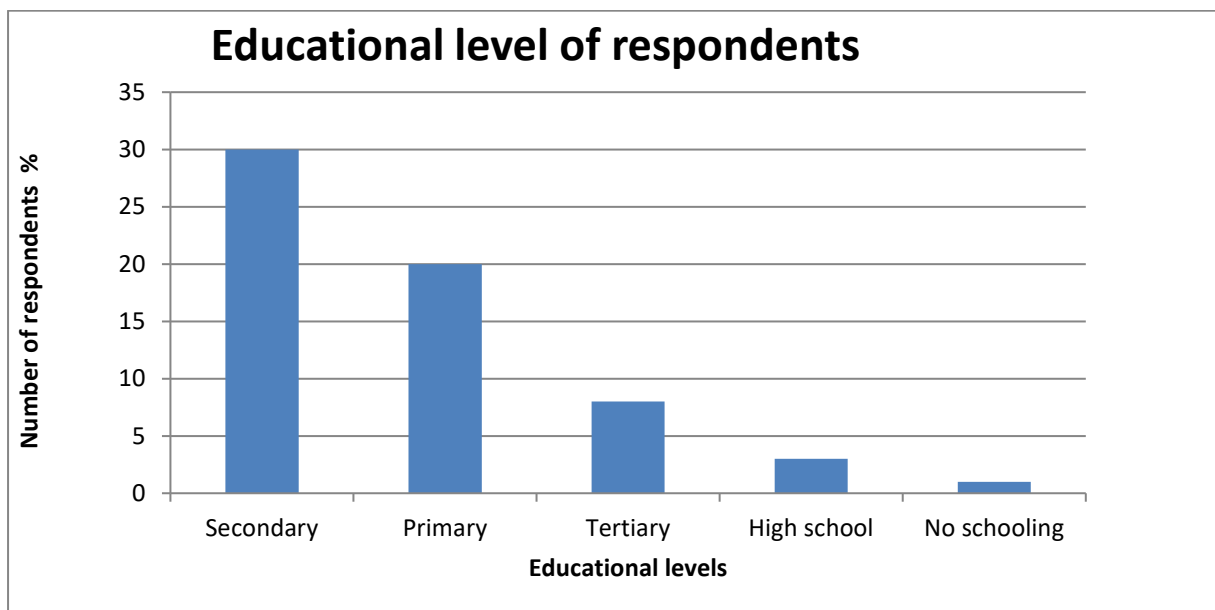


Figure 3.1: The educational level of respondents

4.4.2 Work area and distance travelled to work place

Most of the respondents worked in Mbare as informal traders. They travelled only short distances to work. 62.9% spent less than 30 minutes walking time to reach their work places. 33.8% spent more than 30 minutes to reach their work places using public transport and of these most of them worked in the CBD and others walk long distances selling their goods to clients. 3.2% of the remaining respondents who were teachers spent more than 30 minutes driving to work, using private transport.

4.3 Section B: Analysis

This section focuses on the main reasons behind the resurfacing of illegal dwelling in Mbare high density suburb. The presentation of findings is done using cross tabulation, correlations, chi-square and graphs to show relationships and reason behind the mushrooming of illegal structures in Mbare.

4.3.1 Relationship between type of employment and dwelling type

A cross tabulation was formulated to show the relationship between dwelling type and employment status. From the four hundred interviewees, 78.7% were informally employed while 21, 3% were formally employed. All of the respondents resided in illegal backyard dwellings that ranged from single rooms with multiple uses to a number of rooms with different uses. Table four below depicts the relationship between employment status and dwelling type.

Table 3.4.5 Cross tabulation of employment status and dwelling type

Employment status	Total	
	Informal structure	
	Yes	No
Count in formal employment	85.2	0
% within backyard dwelling	21.3%	0
Count informally employed	314	0
% within backyard Dwelling	78.7%	0
Count total	400	0
%	100.0%	0%

Furthermore, a bivariate analysis was performed to determine whether there was a relationship between employment status and living in an informal settlement. A bivariate correlation is a measure of relationships between two variables. In this case, employment status and dwelling type was performed to determine whether there was a relationship

between educational level and dwelling type. It measures the strength of their relationship which can range from absolute 0 to 1. The analysis showed that there was a significant association between employment status and living in an informal structure. $P > (0.01)$ clearly stipulated that employment status was the major contributing factor to the resurfacing of illegal structures in Mbare. The table 3.6 below depicts the results of the bivariate

Table 3.5: Pearson for employment and dwelling type

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	31.131 ^a	2	.001
Likelihood Ratio	7.973	2	.019
N of Valid Cases	400		

4.3.2 Materials used for the construction of the backyard dwellings.

The majority of the houses were mainly constructed of locally manufactured cement blocks. Cement blocks had the frequency of 59.9% followed by bricks that had 29.9% and lastly wooden materials that had the list percentage of 4.8%. Furthermore, from the observations that were made 80.6% house floors were constructed with cement, followed by wood that had 6.5% and tiles that were only found in 4 houses with a 6.5%. Table 5 below depicts the building materials used by of respondents to construct their dwelling places

Table 3.6: The material used for construction by respondents

Variable	N=400	Frequency (%)
Wall		
Cement block	240	59.9
Bricks	116	29.0
Wood	19	4.8
Floor		
Tiles	19	4.8
Cement	322	80.6
Wood	26	6.5

Roof		
Corrugated zinc iron sheet	271	67.7
Asbestos	129	32.3

According to the respondents the building materials were being manufactured locally like cement blocks, wood and bricks. They also pointed out that these houses were sub-standard due to limitations of materials like cement. The property owners were now constructing below standard temporary structures that were easy to destroy even in the event OPM came back.

4.3.3. Employment status

Three hundred and twenty two (80.6%) of the respondents were informally employed and seventy seven (19.3%) were formally employed. From the informally employed (vendors, brick layer, brick molding, cleaner, cook, cross boarder trader, carpenter, garden boy and shopkeeper), the majority were vendors. Of the formally employed the largest number were teachers. This group included the following professions, teachers, bus drivers, till operators and security guards. The employment status of the respondents and is clearly illustrated in table below.

Table 3.7: Employment status of respondents and of their relatives living outside household

Employment status of household members outside dwelling		Respondents employment status	
Informal	50%	Informal	80.6%
Formal	12.9%	Formal	19.3%
Pensions	12.9%		
N/A	24.1%		

4.3.4 Household income

The majority of the respondents were earning between \$80 -\$100 USD per month, followed by 29% who were earning between \$160 and \$200, 25.8% earning between \$200-\$300 and lastly 12.9% who were earning above \$450. The household income is clearly depicted in figure below.

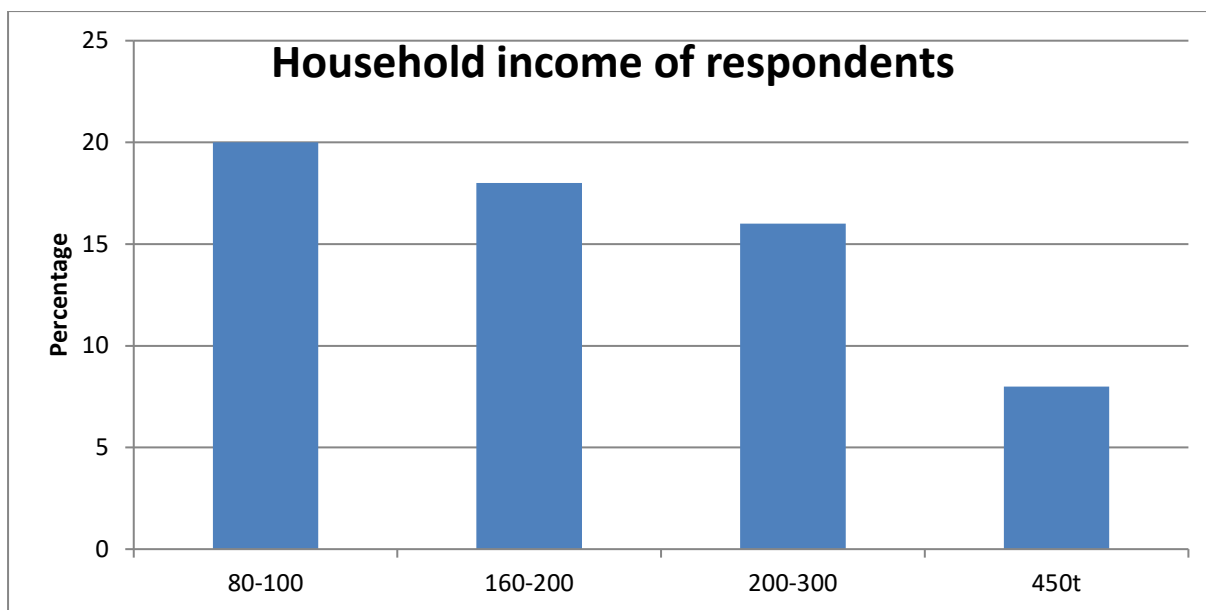


Figure 2.2: Household income of respondents

Some of the respondents moved to the province as early as 1979. Their movement into the province is going to be put into 6 categories. Firstly, those who moved into Mbare between 1979 -1989 (25-35 years) constituted 17.5%. The second category consists of those who moved into Mbare between 1990 and 1999 (15-24 years) constituting of 25.5%. The third category consists of those that moved into Mbare between 2000 and 2010 (4-14years) constituting 27.1%. The fourth category consists of those that have stayed in Mbare since 2011 (1-3 years). The fifth category consists of those born in Mbare while the last group are those that did not remember when they moved into the Mbare.

22.6% of the respondents knew nothing about Mbare before they moved to the area, 28% knew a little about the area before they moved and 77.4 % were well acquainted with the area before they moved. This could be because Mbare is the hub of all Zimbabwean road transport network, has got two of the largest markets in the city and has got the biggest informal market. Table below depicts when the respondents moved to the province.

Table 3.8. When the residents moved to

When moved to Mbare	Years they have stayed in Mbare	Frequency
1979-1989	35-25	17.5

1990-1999	24-15	25.5
2000-2010	14--4	27.1
2011-2014	3-1	15.8
Born in Mbare	All life	-
Do not remember	-	15.8

4.3.5 Type of Migrants

The results showed that the majority (66.1%) of the respondents were permanent migrants, while 16.1% were temporary migrants and had rural homes where they planned to retire after having had earned a living in Harare. However, 8.1% were those respondents who were born in Mbare and kept on residing there, and 4.8% had a tie between illegal migrants and asylum seekers. Figure below depicts the respondent’s type of migration.

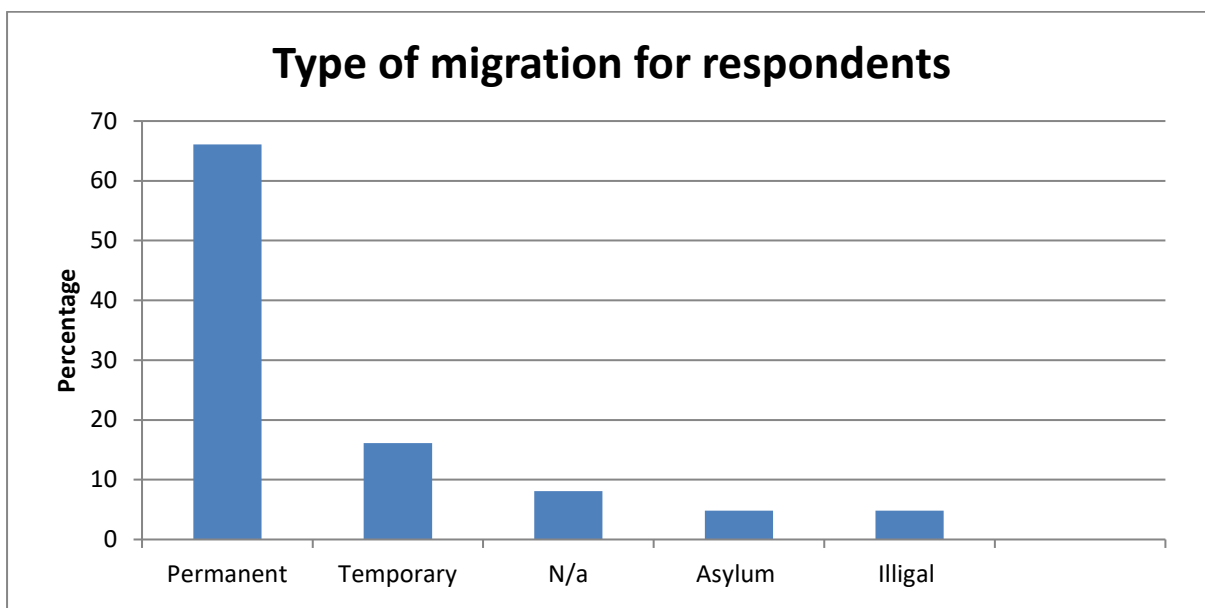


Figure 3.3 Type of Migration for respondents

4.3.6 Intended length of stay

When respondents were asked about their intended length of stay in Mbare 64.5% pointed out that they still wanted to reside in Mbare for at least ten years. This could be because they were permanent migrants and Mbare is the only place where they are able to make a living. 27.4% were only prepared to reside in Mbare for the next 10 -15years. This could be because they

have rural homes to go to or they are hoping for other better opportunities in Harare or other towns. 8.1% were indifferent because they were the ones who were born in Mbare.

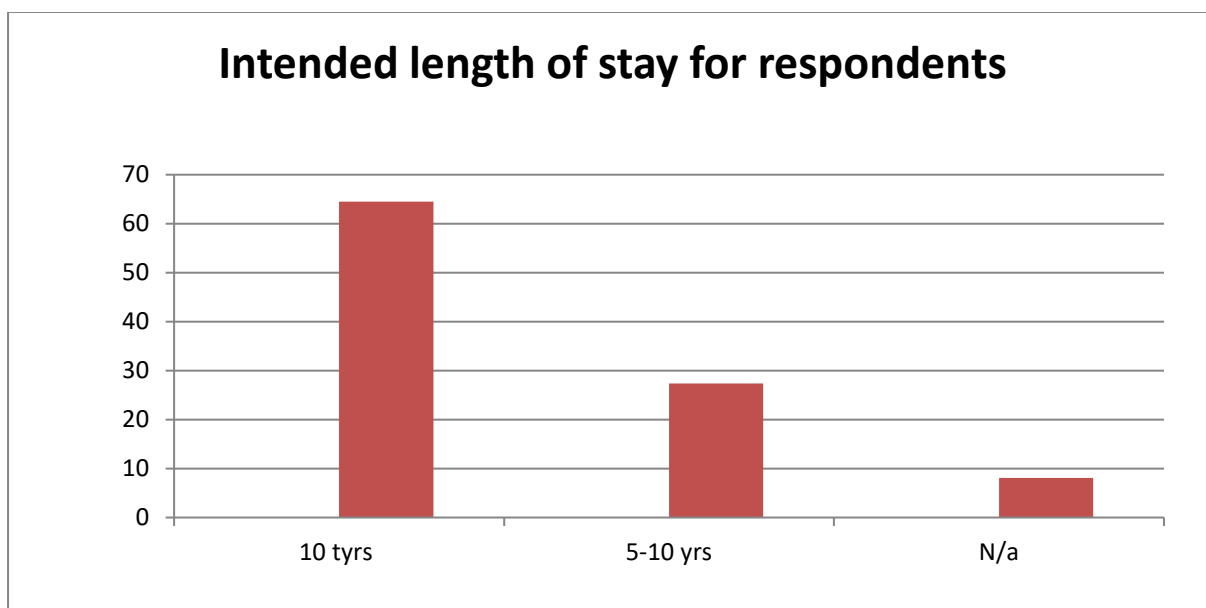


Figure 3.4: Intended length of stay for respondents

4.3.7 Reasons for moving to Mbare

The respondents had different reasons for moving to the suburb. Job hunting recorded the highest frequency of 41%. This is because since independence the country has been receiving high rates of rural to urban migration which has also been accelerated by the periodic droughts that have been happening in the country. The second reason for moving into Mbare was lower transport costs which had 36%. This portrays Mbare as a diversified suburb with different characteristics as it is the core of the capital city and one of the oldest townships in the country. Lower transport cost was followed by cheaper housing which had a frequency of 21.4%. Safety had the least respondents with a frequency of 1, 6%. The illustration below depicts the respondent's reasons for moving to Mbare.

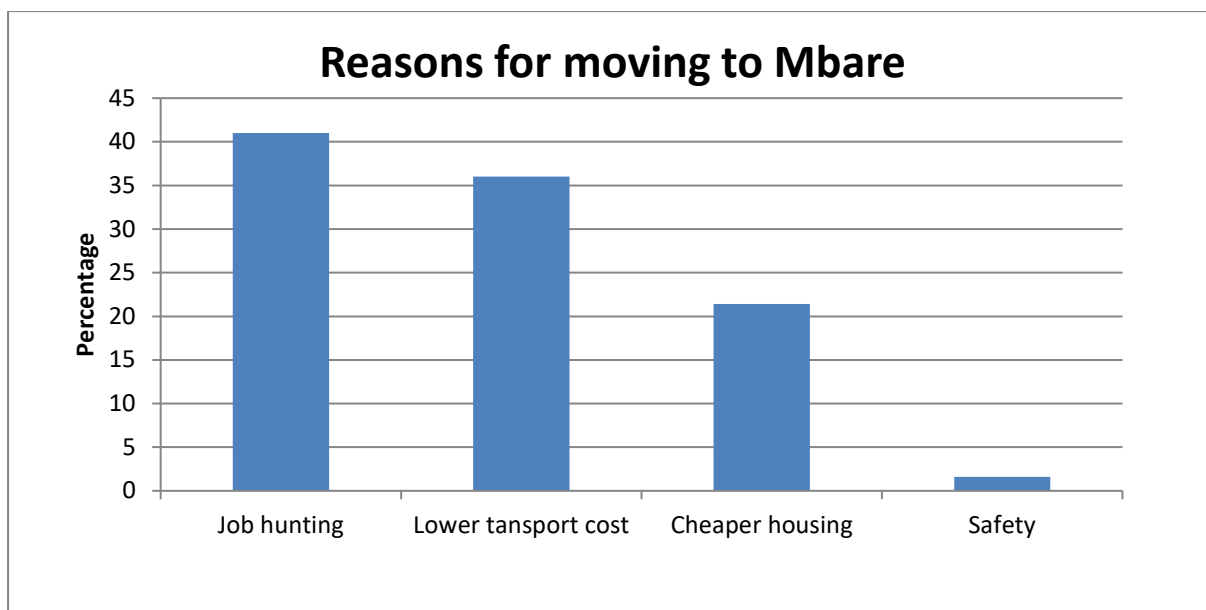


Figure 3.5 Reasons for moving to Mbare

4.3.8 Tenure status

The majority of the respondents were renting their dwelling places, except for one individual who stayed rent free. 98.3% of those renting paid their rentals to the landlord every month end. Their relationship with the landlord varied from very good to average. The majority of the respondents (51.6%) had a very good relationship followed by 24.1% who had a good relationship, 11, 2% had an average relationship and lastly, 12.9% had a bad relationship. One of the respondents from the 51.6% that had a good relationship built his backyard dwelling and was renting the ground only. All of the respondents estimated the age of the main house to be above 20 years.

1.6% perceived their house to be between 10-20 years which implies that the house managed to survive OPM in 2005. 29.2% estimated their informal dwellings to be 6-10 years old, while 27.4% estimated theirs to be 3-5 years and 25.5% estimated theirs to be < 1 year. The figure below illustrates the relationships between the respondents and their landlords.

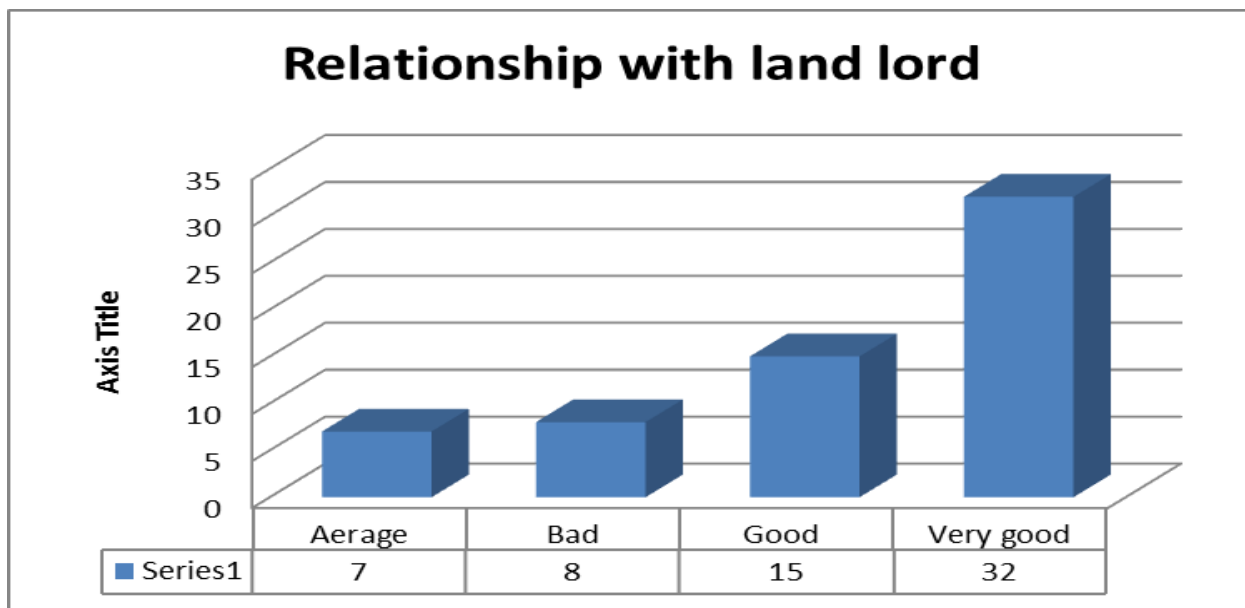


Figure 3.6 The respondent’s relationship with landlord

4.3.9 How respondents felt about their tenure

When respondents were asked about how safe they felt about their tenure, most of them were hesitant before they gave their answers. 48.3% of the respondents were insecure about their tenure, 26% were average, 16.1% were very insecure, 6.4% were secure and 3.2% were very secure. The insecure to very insecure group got the largest response probably because the residents are still yet to recover from OPM and are dreading another massive destruction like that. The table below indicates how the respondents felt about their tenure

Table 3.9 How the respondents perceived their tenure

How respondents felt about their tenure	Frequency
Insecure	48.3%
Very insecure	16.1%
Average	26%
Secure	6.4%
Very secure	3.2%

90.3% of the respondents also pointed out that most of these properties had never been maintained, while only 8% had theirs repaired by the property owners. 50% of the respondents

practiced subsistence farming where they grow green leafy vegetables and tomatoes which serves as a daily food source. Table 2 below depicts how residents felt about their tenure in terms of security, how often their dwellings are maintained and the ones who are involved in subsistence agriculture.

Table 3.10 Security about their tenure and how often the property was maintained

	Frequency	Percentage
How do you feel about your tenure		
Average	96	24.1
Insecure-very insecure	206	51.6
Secure-very secure	96	24.1
How often is the property maintained		
Never	0	0
Rarely	362	90.4
Regularly	32	8
Very regularly	6	1.6
Are you involved in any form of subsistence farming		
Yes	200	50
No	200	50
What happens if rent is not paid		
Clemency	90	22.5
Eviction	103	25.8
Fined	103	25.8
Household goods will be taken	45	11.2
Locked out of the building	58	14.5

Furthermore, there was a piped tap water on the yard and electricity connection for all the 400 dwellings. The residents also gave an overview of municipal services in their area. 56.4% stipulated that their water supply had rare interruptions. Only 16.1% pointed out that it was unreliable meaning that it had periodic interruptions. The other remaining 28% pointed out that it was very reliable which means that it had no interruptions.

Unlike the water supply, 50% stated that electricity availability was unreliable which implies regular interruptions while 47% argued that it was very unreliable as there were very frequent interruptions. Only 3.3% of the respondents stipulated that it was reliable which meant rare

interruptions. Still on service delivery 53.2% of the respondents rated reticulation in Mbare as unreliable with only 11.2% regarding it as very reliable. When asked about their relationship with the municipality, 34% mentioned that they had a good relationship and they had a tie of the same percentage with others who viewed their relationship with the local municipality as bad.8% of the respondents were not sure about their relationship with the municipality. The service delivery and the respondents relationship with the municipality is depicted in the table below.

Table 3.11: Service delivery by the local municipality

	Frequency	Percentage
Water supply		
Reliable	226	56.4
Unreliable	64	16.1
Very unreliable	108	27
Electricity supply		
Reliable	13	3.3
Unreliable	200	50
Very unreliable	187	46.7
Reticulation		
Reliable	84	21
Very reliable	45	11.2
Very unreliable	60	15
Unreliable	213	53.2
Relationship with municipality		
Average	136	34
Good	136	34
Bad	39	9.6
Not sure	32	8
Very bad	19	4.8
Very good	38	9.6

Through the majority pointed out that they had a good relationship with the municipality they had problems with the housing list. 56.4 % of the respondents stipulated that they were no longer subscribing their lodgers to the municipal housing list.16.1% were still subscribing but they pointed out the list had a lot of irregularities as they have waited for more than 10 years

without being allocated housing stands. Lastly 27% did not subscribe the lodger's card as they viewed the municipality as corrupt.

4.3.10 Number of rooms in dwelling

The majority of the respondents rented a backyard dwelling that had separate living rooms followed by those who rented only a single room with multiple uses. Single rooms that I was allowed inside were divided using curtains. There were television sets and a wiztech decoder that offers free channels, cell phones and 2 plates' electric stoves in all the houses. The figure below illustrates the number of rooms that were observed in respondents dwelling places.

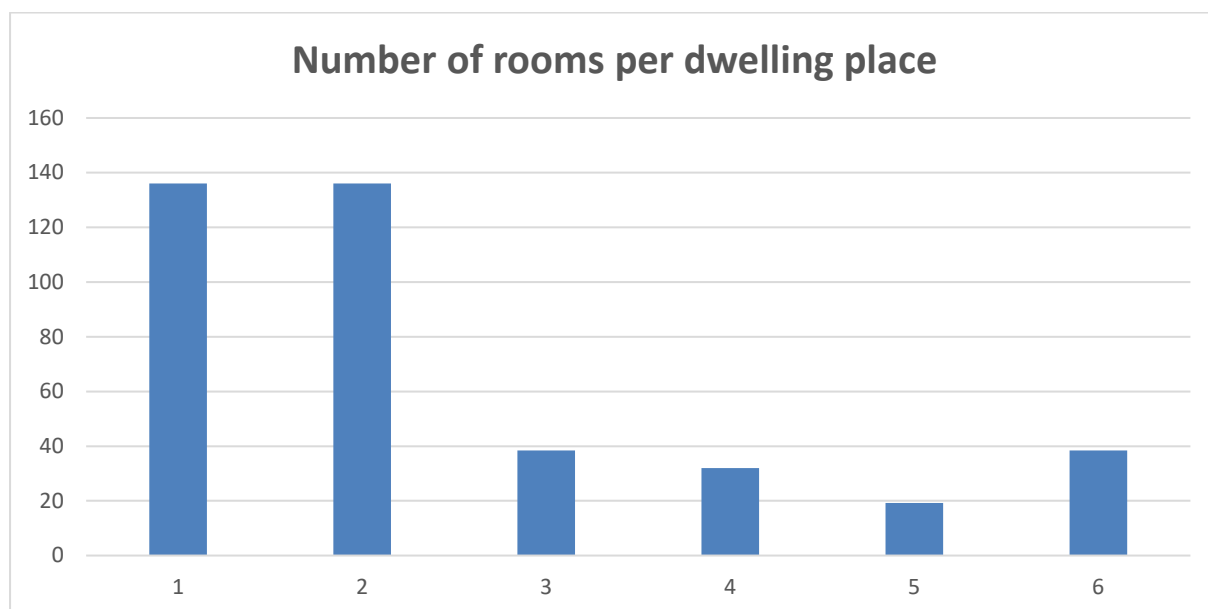


Figure 3.7: Number of rooms in dwelling place

4.3.11 How they were affected by OPM in 2005

The respondents were all affected by the 2005 OPM. 65% of the respondents lost their homes to OPM, 19.3 % lost both their business and 16.1% lost both their homes and business. Those who lost their homes and business were operating in Mbare. Furthermore, 9.6% of those that

lost businesses and homes resided in surrounding suburbs during the time of the operation, and 12.4% lived in Mbare during the time of the operation.

4.3.12 How soon do you expect Murambatsvina to come back?

Most of the respondents (46.8%) predicted the return of another operation such as Murambatsvina. 22.6% were of the view that it was most likely to happen and 12.9% thought that it was unlikely while 17.7% were so sure that it was never going to happen as they choose highly unlikely. 49.9% predicted the cleanup campaign to happen in the next year (meaning 2015 which was less than two months away at the time), 22.2% choose most probably never which meant that the operation was not going to happen, 7.9% predicted it to happen in 20-30 years' time, 6.3% were so sure that it will soon happen in 3 months' time and 6.4% predicted it to be in 6 months. The table below indicates the respondent's perceptions of the return of OPM.

Table 3.12 : The prediction of the massive destruction

How soon do you expect the destruction of backyard dwellings	Frequency	Percent
In the next 3 months	25	6.3
In the next 6 months	25	6.4
In the next year	171	42.9
In the next 2 years	31	7.9
In the next 5	19	4.8
In the next 20 to 30 years	31	7.9
Most probably never	89	22.2

4.3.13 Coping measures against OPM

From the study, 62.9% of the respondents did not have coping measures against any possible destructions like Operation Murambatsvina though they had predicted that it was likely to happen. The second group of 17.7% indicated that they would look for alternative

accommodation if there were to face the destruction again. The third group, which had the same frequency group with the second, highlighted that they will relocate to the rural areas. The last group (1.6%) highlighted that they will rebuild the house as it is. This group showed a good relationship with the landlord, had also constructed their own dwelling and were renting the ground only. Figure below illustrates the possible coping measures that were given by the respondents.

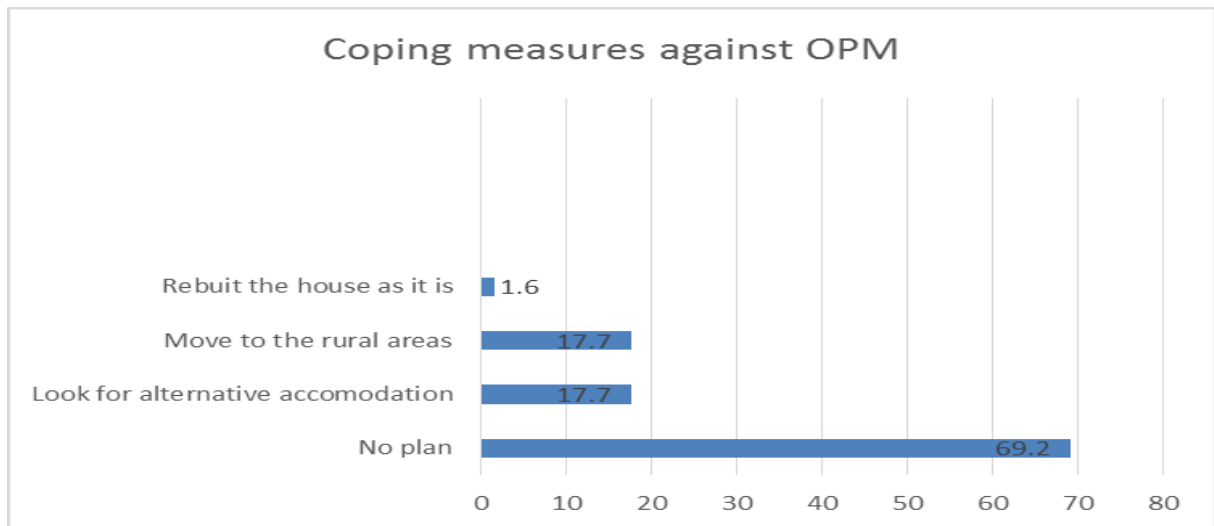


Figure 3.8 Coping measures against OPM

4.4 Discussion

The study brought out many issues which portray different phenomenon behind the resurfacing of illegal backyard dwellings in Mbare. These issues can be summarised under economic, social and political themes. Pertinent are issues such as irregularities on the municipal housing list, the downsizing and shutting down of companies in the country, high unemployment rates and poverty among many other factors. Relationships between studied variables bring out some interesting features such as the relationship between source of income and people staying in backyard dwellings. Also an interesting aspect of the economic importance of Mbare is brought out in that many of the backyard dwellers eak their living out of vending wares and other things at the Mbare market.

Since Mbare suburb can no longer expand, the municipality of Harare has tried to relocate some of its residents to Hatcliffe and Porta Farm in Glen-View to ease the resurfacing of illegal structures and to control its population (Taderera & Madhekeni 2012). Evidence showed that the process was a major failure as individuals came back to Mbare, attracted by the vibrant informal economic activities of the area. Furthermore, the absence of basic amenities such as electricity and running water in the resettlement areas meant that many continue to prefer irregular settlements in Mbare. The respondents also showed that the municipal housing list was very unreliable as some individuals have been waiting for more than 20 years to get houses.

The economic factor is of importance to the issue of resurfacing of backyard dwellings. One of the important aspect is the introduction of Economical Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) that stipulated that the local government should remove subsidies on food, health, education and also the downsizing of companies and the massive retrenchments (Mlambo 1997). ESAP caused many African towns and cities to experience a decline in living standards (Potts 1995). A major shift was highly noticeable from formal employment to informality (Msindo et. al 2013). This is also seen from the study where the majority of the respondents were informal traders working as vendors. This is so because Mbare is a hub of all the transport networks and is a home to the largest vegetable market, one of the largest informal manufacturing industry, Siyaso as well as Mupedzanhamo, a second hand clothing outlet. Individuals are attracted to the area and vending is common in the area, thus have an impact

on the resurfacing of the backyard dwellings. Some of the respondents pointed out that their reason for moving to the area was low transport cost. Lack of employment in the country had led to informality whereby most unemployed individuals traded in Mbare. For the respondents residing in Mbare they would not require any transport costs in order to go and sell their good. The need for accommodation created a high demand for housing. Property owners saw an opportunity to generate income and constructed illegal backyard dwellings.

Furthermore, rural to urban migration in the country has been a major concern since independence. The massive droughts increased the influx movement of people. Also the migrant perception that in cities life is easier saw individuals relocating to Harare and end up seeking accommodation in Mbare hence landlords sustain the demand by building illegal structures.

Another important economic issue has to do with building the backyard dwellings using locally manufactured cheaper materials. The introduction of cheap building materials and building poor quality houses became a coping strategy. This is a new strategy that has been introduced by property owners in case another operation like OPM might return and the houses will be destroyed again. The use of cheap locally manufactured products cuts cost and minimizes their losses. These houses are rarely maintained with only a few being maintained only when extremely necessary.

The fact that most of (51.7%) the respondents had not completed high school nor attained any professional training can also be a factor that is causing the respondents to venture into informal means of survival. Such people have low incomes and do not afford to rent the relatively expensive formal houses. Hence this could be a major contributing factor to the resurfacing of illegal backyard dwellings in the country. This evident relationship is leading property owners to build backyard dwellings in order to meet the demand.

The respondents pointed out that poverty was the major contributing factor which is forcing them to remain in informal settlements. In Zimbabwe the Poverty Datum Line is \$505 USD and most of the respondents were earning a monthly income which is way less than that (Mzumara 2015). Most households in the country cannot afford to invest funds in activities that could enable them to invest or increase their food production (Crush 2010). Hence they continue in vending and informal trade that is highly affecting the country as there are not contributing

anything towards the taxes to improve the nation's livelihoods .Furthermore, respondents outlined that they can only afford to stay in these backyard dwellings as the rent is reasonable. They supplement their earnings with subsistence agriculture where they grow green leafy vegetables like spinach, rape and tomatoes.

This study examined the factors that are leading to the resurfacing of illegal backyard dwellings in Mbare suburb. Evidence presented in the study showed that residents have resorted to illegal backyard dwellings because of largely economic factors. Issues ranging from limited opportunities for getting housing stands from the housing waiting list to poverty which is being caused by high unemployment rates in the country, the position of Mbare and the economic opportunities it provide also had the same effect. Local authorities were also to blame for the continued resurfacing of shanty settlements in Mbare as they were not providing residential stands on time for those on the housing waiting list. Their coping mechanism is to reside in irregular settlements for as long as possible.

4.5 Conclusion

This study examined the factors that were leading to the resurfacing of shanty illegal dwellings in Mbare. Evidence presented in the study showed that illegal dwellings found their way in Mbare as a result of a number of factors most of which are economic. They range from the economic opportunities Mbare provide to the poor, unemployed informal workers, low income within the society, limited opportunities for getting housing stands from the housing waiting list and other economic determined factors. These factors lead to the demand for housing in Mbare environments, an aspect being met by economically aware property owners who build backyard dwellings in order to offer them to the market for rent. This factor is exacerbated by the council's failure to provide housing stands to those needing them. Thus the situation in Mbare is organised following an economic activity. It fits well in the socio-spatial approach in that the organisation of Mbare is being influenced by the economic demands of certain social groups. Also, it fits well in 'urban hypergrowth' concept because the backyard dwellings are not planned but an initiative to satisfy the local subsistence economy.

References

- Chatiza K. & Mlalazi A. 2009. Human Settlement Needs Assessment in Zimbabwe: Critical review and proposed methodology. Human habitat, Government of Zimbabwe
- Chitekwe-Biti B 2009. Struggles for urban land by the Zimbabwe Homeless People's Federation. *Environment and Urbanization* 21: 347
- Creswell, J. W. (2003). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approach*. Thousand Oaks, CA and London: *Sage Publications*
- De Bruijn M, Van Dijk R, Foken D 2001. *Mobile Africa .Changing Patterns of movement in Africa and beyond*.
- Gukurimwe S 2012. Protracted struggles for basic social services and amenities in Zimbabwe's informal settlements. *International journal of politics and good governance*. Great Zimbabwe University department of sociology and social anthropology vol 3 0976-1198
- Hoddinott J. 2006. Shocks and their consequences across and within households in rural Zimbabwe. *Journal of developmental studies*. Vol 44 No 301-321.
- Kazingi L & Kamunda R 2005. *Tearing us apart, inequalities in Southern Africa*.
- Lang F, R 200. *Did Neighbourhood Life-Cycle Theory Cause Urban Decline*. Housing Policy. Fannie Mae Foundation Debate Volume 11, Issue 1 1
- Latham P G 2006. *Work motivation: History, Research and practise*. Thousand Oaks Calif. *Sage Publications*
- Manyanhai I. O, Mhishig B, Svotwa E & Sithole N 2009. *Growth points or declining points? A case of Magunje growth point in Mashonaland west Province Zimbabwe*.
- Marshall C & Rossman G. B, 2006. *Designing Qualitative Research*, *Sage Publications*, California, p.53.

- Mooney E 2005. The concept of internal displacement and the case for internally displaced persons as a category of concern. *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, Vol. 24, Issue 3 UNHCR
- Msindo D.P, Gutsa I, Choguya Z. N 2013. Squatter Settlements an Urban Menace in Zimbabwe? Examining Factors behind the continued resurfacing of squatter settlements in Epworth Suburb, Harare. *Journal Settlements and Spatial Planning*, vol. 4, no. 2 171-182
- Mzumara M 2014. The financial Gazette 5 February 2014
- Patel D 1988. Some issues of urbanisation and development in Zimbabwe. *Journal of social development in Africa*.
- Pitkin B 2001. Theories of neighbourhood change implications for community development policy and practice. UCLA Advanced policy institute
- Roy A. 2005. Urban Informality. Toward an Epistemology of Planning, *Journal of the American Planning Association*, Vol. 71, No. 2
- Smith 1997. Rural to urban migration in Zimbabwe. Geo press Birmingham
- Stake R E 2010. Qualitative research. Studying how things work. Guilford Press. United States of America
- Termkin K & Rohe W 1996. Neighbourhood change and urban policy. *Journal of planning and education research* 15, 3:159-70
- Trust J 2011. Quantitative articles developing studies for publication in counselling journals. *Journal of counselling and development*. Volume 89
- UN Habitat. 2005. The urbanization, housing and local governance crisis in Zimbabwe.
- Wekwete K, H 1988. Rural growth points in Zimbabwe prospects for the future. *Journal for social development Africa* 3, 2: 5-16
- Dick J 1979. Mixing qualitative and quantitative: Triangulation in Action. Sage publications. Vol 24. no. 4

Addendum 1: The questionnaire used for the study

DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY AND ENVIRONMENTAL STUDIES (STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY)

An analysis of the continued resurfacing of illegal backyard dwellings settlements. A case study of Mbare Residential suburb in Harare.

My name is Primrose Chirowodza. I am researching for the purpose of my Master's Thesis project on the continued resurfacing of illegal backyard dwellings in Mbare, Harare. I will be asking a few structured questions about your family and background. Would you like to participate?

- (i) Tenant households survey data items per dwelling

Data item	Questions Stellenbosch University https://scholar.sun.ac.za	1	2	3	4	5
Ages	Age:					
Genders	1= Male 2= Female					
Marital status	1 = Single/ Unmarried 2 = Common law relationship (+6 months live-in partner) 2 = Married 3 = Divorced 4 = Widowed					
Language	What is your home language? 1 = Shona 2 = IsiNdebele 3 = Venda 4 = Tsonga/Shangaan 5 = English 6 = Other (state :.....)					
Citizenship	1 = Zimbabwean 2 = Malawian 3 = Mozambican 4 = other SADC (State :.....) 5 = Non-SADC African (State :.....) 6 = Non –African (State :.....)					
Education level of adults	1 = No schooling 2 = Primary and below 3 = Secondary incomplete 4 = Secondary complete/ High school 5 = Tertiary 6 = Other (specify.....)					
Dwelling relationships	1 = Relationships of adults to head of household other than spouse (e.g. friend, cousin, sub-tenant,))					etc.

	<p>2 = Relationships of children to head of household other than progeny (e.g. niece, friend's children, etc.....)</p>																		
Household outside dwelling	<p>Total household size of all persons contributing to household income or dependent on household income (including remittances and pensions/grants)</p> <p>No. Adults (.....)</p> <p>No. Children (.....)</p> <p>Relationship of adults to head of household other than spouse (e.g. friend, grandparents cousin, sub-tenant, etc.....)</p> <p>Relationship of children to head of household other than progeny (e.g. niece, friend's children, etc.)</p>																		
Household location outside dwelling	<p>Where do other members of the household live? (Town, suburb)</p>																		
Household outside dwelling	<table border="1"> <tr> <td data-bbox="320 1397 1134 1487">No. /pension recipients.....</td> <td data-bbox="1134 1397 1209 1487"></td> <td data-bbox="1209 1397 1284 1487"></td> <td data-bbox="1284 1397 1359 1487"></td> <td data-bbox="1359 1397 1436 1487"></td> <td data-bbox="1436 1397 1503 1487"></td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="320 1487 1134 1592">No. currently employed.....</td> <td data-bbox="1134 1487 1209 1592"></td> <td data-bbox="1209 1487 1284 1592"></td> <td data-bbox="1284 1487 1359 1592"></td> <td data-bbox="1359 1487 1436 1592"></td> <td data-bbox="1436 1487 1503 1592"></td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="320 1592 1134 1722">No. currently employed.....</td> <td data-bbox="1134 1592 1209 1722"></td> <td data-bbox="1209 1592 1284 1722"></td> <td data-bbox="1284 1592 1359 1722"></td> <td data-bbox="1359 1592 1436 1722"></td> <td data-bbox="1436 1592 1503 1722"></td> </tr> </table>	No. /pension recipients.....						No. currently employed.....						No. currently employed.....					
No. /pension recipients.....																			
No. currently employed.....																			
No. currently employed.....																			
Dwelling Health	<p>1 = Improvement after arrival</p> <p>2 = no change</p> <p>3 = deterioration after arrival</p> <p>4 = acquired a new disorder</p>																		

<p>Prior location</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Where did (name) live prior to settling in current location? (State locations chronologically (town, suburb)..... ) 					
<p>Place of Origin</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Where was (name) born? 1 = Mashonaland West 2 = Mashonaland Central 3 = Mashonaland East 4 = Midlands Masvingo 5 = Manicaland 6 = Matabeleland South 7 = Matabeleland North 8 = Midlands 9 = Masvingo 10 = Bulawayo province 11 = Harare province 12 = In another country (State:.....) 					
<p>When moved to Harare?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> When did (name) move to this province? <i>State year in four figures and month in two figures</i> (Year:.....Month:.....) 					
<p>When moved to Mbare?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> When did (name) move to this province? <i>State year in four figures and month in two figures</i> (Year:.....Month:.....) 					
<p>Why did the person move to the house?</p>	<p>What was the main reason for moving to the present housing?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> To be close to a job Job transfer Look for work Start a business Look for land for farming 					

	<p>6 = to be close to family</p> <p>7 = Marriage</p> <p>8 = School/Training</p> <p>9 = To live with a relative</p> <p>10 = Divorce/Separation</p> <p>11 = Adventure/lifestyle change</p> <p>12 = better quality housing</p> <p>13 = cheaper housing</p> <p>14 = lower transportation costs</p> <p>15 = better services (electricity, water, reticulation)</p> <p>16 = safety/escaping violence</p> <p>17 = close to hospitals/clinics</p> <p>18 = Other, <i>Specify</i>.....</p>					
<p>Rank reasons why a person move to the current location</p>	<p>1</p> <p>2</p> <p>3</p> <p>4</p> <p>5</p> <p>6</p> <p>7</p> <p>8</p> <p>9</p> <p>10</p>					
<p>What would most likely motivate the person to move away?</p>	<p>What would be the main reasons for moving away from the present housing?</p> <p>1 = To be close to a job</p> <p>2 = Job transfer</p> <p>3 = Look for work</p> <p>4 = To start a business</p> <p>5 = Look for land for farming</p> <p>6 = to be close to family</p>					

	<p>7 = Marriage</p> <p>8 = School/Training</p> <p>9 = To live with a relative</p> <p>10 = Divorce/Separation</p> <p>11 = Adventure/lifestyle change</p> <p>12 = better quality housing</p> <p>13 = cheaper housing</p> <p>14 = lower transportation costs</p> <p>15 = better services (electricity, water, reticulation)</p> <p>16 = safety/escaping violence</p> <p>17 = close to hospitals/clinics</p> <p>18 = Other, <i>Specify</i>.....</p>					
Rank reasons why a person would most likely move away?	<p>1</p> <p>2</p> <p>3</p> <p>4</p> <p>5</p> <p>6</p> <p>7</p> <p>8</p> <p>9</p> <p>10</p>					
Nature of Migration	<p>1 = permanent (long-term with residency)</p> <p>2 = temporary (couple of months/years before return home)</p> <p>3 = illegal/irregular (non-legal without residency)</p> <p>4 = asylum/refugee</p>					
Nature of Migration	<p>1 = from rural area</p> <p>2 = from small town</p> <p>3 = from city</p>					
Intended length of stay	<p>1 = one month</p> <p>2 = 1-6 months</p>					

in present dwelling	3 = 6-12 months 4 = 1-5 years 5 = 5-10 years 6 = 10+ years					
Reasons for moving away from previous location	1 = no employment available 2 = better education elsewhere 3 = better housing elsewhere 4 = better services elsewhere (electricity water reticulation) 5 = better health services 6 = to be close to family 7 = cheap accommodation elsewhere 8 = low transportation costs 9 = health/safety issues 10 = Other, <i>Specify</i>					
Knowledge of present area before moving	1 = knew nothing of the area before moving 2 = knew a little of the area before moving 3 = acquainted with the area before moving 4 = well acquainted with the area before moving					
Network connections at present location	1 = many family and friends 2 = many family 3 = many friends 4 = strong religious group 5 = no connections					
Occupation	State present occupations.....					
Employment	1 = currently formally employed 2 = informally employed 3 = self-employed /own business 4 = housewife /caretaker 5 = retired 6 = scholar					

	<p>7 = disabled</p> <p>8 = unemployed but looking for work</p> <p>9 = unemployed but not looking for work</p> <p>10 = child</p> <p>11 = other, <i>Specify</i>.....</p>					
Occupation	<p>Where do you work? State location (town/suburb).....</p> <p>.....</p> <p>1 = In the CBD</p> <p>2 = In the neighbourhoods/ suburbs</p> <p>3 = In the neighbouring agricultural holdings</p> <p>4 = in the industrial area</p> <p>5 = Wherever I find work (different times at different places)</p> <p>6 = Other (specify).....</p>					
Commute	<p>How long do household members travel to work each way? (State:.....)</p> <p>1 = 0-10 minutes</p> <p>2 = 10-30 minutes</p> <p>3 = 30 minutes -1 hour</p> <p>4= More than 1 hour</p>					
Commute	<p>What main transportation do you use to get to work?</p> <p>1 = Walk</p> <p>2 = Bicycle</p> <p>3 = Own motorcycle or motorcar</p> <p>4 = Bus/ Taxi</p> <p>5 = Other (specify)</p>					
Household /dwelling Income	<p>How much is the aggregate monthly household income? (State :.....)</p> <p>1 = < \$20</p> <p>2 = Between \$20 and \$40</p> <p>3 = Between \$40 and \$80</p>					

	<p>4 = Between \$80 and \$160</p> <p>5 = Between \$160 and \$320</p> <p>6 = Between \$320 and \$640</p> <p>7 = Over \$640</p>					
Source of Income	<p>What is the household's main source of income for your household?</p> <p>1 = Formal employment</p> <p>2 = Informal employment</p> <p>3 = Self employment</p> <p>4 = Social grants</p> <p>5 = Other (specify).....</p>					
Neighbourhood	<p>How would you describe the relationship between yourself and the Municipality?</p> <p>1 = Very good</p> <p>2 = Good</p> <p>3 = Average</p> <p>4 = Bad</p> <p>5 = Very bad</p>					
Tenure Security	<p>How secure do you feel about your tenure?</p> <p>1 = Very secure</p> <p>2 = Secure</p> <p>3 = Average</p> <p>4 = Insecure</p> <p>5 = Very bad Insecure</p>					
Tenure security	<p>How secure do you feel about your tenure from being demolished by the government?</p> <p>1 = Very secure</p> <p>2 = Secure</p> <p>3 = Average</p> <p>4 = Insecure</p> <p>= Very bad Insecure</p>					

Tenures status	<p>What is the tenure status of this dwelling?</p> <p>1 = Rented</p> <p>2 = owned with a formal title</p> <p>3 Owned without a formal title</p> <p>4 = Occupied rent-free</p> <p>5 = Other (specify).....</p>					
Tenure relationship	<p>How would you describe the relationship between you and the property owner?</p> <p>1 = Very good</p> <p>2 = Good</p> <p>3 = Average</p> <p>4 = Bad</p> <p>5 = Very bad</p>					
Age of Property	<p>What is the estimated age of the main house in the stand?</p> <p>1 = < 1 year</p> <p>2 = 1-2 years</p> <p>3 = 3-5 years</p> <p>4 = 6-10 years</p> <p>5 = 10-20 years</p> <p>6 = +20 yes</p>					
Age of Property	<p>What is the estimated age of the dwelling you are living in?</p> <p>1 = < 1 year</p> <p>2 = 1-2 years</p> <p>3 = 3-5 years</p> <p>4 = 6-10 years</p> <p>5 = 10-20 years</p> <p>6 = +20 yes</p>					
Rent	<p>How much is the rent for the dwelling? (specify)</p> <p>\$.....</p>					

Rent	<p>What is the frequency of rent payment?</p> <p>1 = Weekly</p> <p>2 = Fortnightly</p> <p>3 = Monthly</p> <p>4 = Yearly</p> <p>5 = Once-off</p>					
Type of dwelling?	<p>What kind of dwelling are you living in?</p> <p>1 = Single room in a formal house</p> <p>2 = a formal house</p> <p>3 = a formal flat/apartment</p> <p>4 = a traditional mud and thatch dwelling</p> <p>5 = an informal structure in the yard of the formal house</p> <p>6 = shack on open land</p> <p>7 = a temporary dwelling (tent, plastic sheeting, etc.)</p> <p>8 = other (specify:.....)</p>					
Rooms	<p>How many rooms in your dwelling?</p> <p>9 = Single room with multiple uses</p> <p>10 = Separate living rooms</p> <p>11 = Separate bedrooms</p> <p>12 = Separate bathrooms</p> <p>13 = Separate kitchens</p>					
Rent	<p>Who is the rent paid to?</p> <p>1 = The landlord in person</p> <p>2 = A representative of the landlord</p> <p>3 = A rent collector not representing the landlord</p> <p>4 = A government official</p>					
Rent	<p>What is your view of the rent you pay?</p> <p>1 = Very Cheap</p> <p>2 = Cheap</p> <p>3 = Fair</p>					

	<p>4 = Expensive</p> <p>5 = Very Expensive</p>					
Type of Dwelling	<p>What are the walls of the dwelling unit mainly constructed of?</p> <p>1 = Wood</p> <p>2 = Corrugated iron/zinc sheets</p> <p>3 = Bricks</p> <p>4 = cement block/concrete</p> <p>5 = mud/thatch</p> <p>6 = Other (specify)</p>					
Type of Dwelling	<p>What is the floor of the dwelling unit mainly constructed of?</p> <p>1 = Wood</p> <p>2 = Bricks</p> <p>3 = cement block/concrete</p> <p>4 = mud</p> <p>5 = Tiles</p> <p>= Other (specify)</p>					
Type of Dwelling	<p>What is the roof of the dwelling unit mainly constructed of?</p> <p>6 = Wood</p> <p>7 = Corrugated iron/zinc sheets</p> <p>8 = asbestos</p> <p>9 = cement block/concrete</p> <p>10 = mud/thatch</p> <p>11 = Tiles</p> <p>12 = plastic sheeting</p> <p>= Other (specify)</p>					
Type of Dwelling	<p>What is the estimated size of the dwelling?</p> <p>Length, specify in metres.....</p> <p>Width, specify in metres.....</p>					

Type of dwelling	Was the dwelling self-constructed or constructed by the landlord? 1 = Self-constructed 2 = Constructed by landlord					
Access to service (Electricity)	Does this household have a dedicated connection to the main electricity supply? 1 = Yes 2 = No					
Access to service (water, sanitation)	What type of toilet facility is available for this household? 1 = Flush toilet with off-site disposal 2 = Flush toilet with on-site disposal (septic tank) 3 = Chemical toilet 4 = Pit latrine with ventilation pipe 5 = Pit latrine without ventilation pipe 6 = Bucket toilet 7 = None					
Access to service (Electricity)	Why does this household not have a connection to the mains electricity supply? 1 = No cables in the area 2 = Too expensive 3 = No need 4 = Not a reliable source (load shedding, interruptions, etc.) 5 = Other, <i>specify</i>					
Perceptions about Murambatsvin a Housing list	Have you ever been on the Municipal housing list If yes / for how many months and years now 1 = Yes, if so (Month:.....) (Years:) 2 = No If no/ why not (State:.....					

Murambatsvin a Housing list	<p>Do you think that the government housing list is efficiently managed</p> <p>1 = Very reliable (No problems in getting homes)</p> <p>2 = Reliable (some delays)</p> <p>3 = Unreliable (some difficulties, shortages, corruption)</p> <p>4 = Very unreliable (frequent difficulties, shortages, corruption)</p>					
Access to service (Refuse)	<p>Is there a charge for refuse removal?</p> <p>If so, specify R.....</p>					
Access to service (water, sanitation)	<p>Is there a charge for water?</p> <p>If so, specify R.....</p>					
Access to service (Electricity)	<p>Is there a charge for electricity?</p> <p>If so, specify R.....</p>					
Access to service (water, sanitation)	<p>Is there a charge for reticulation?</p> <p>If so, specify R.....</p>					
Access to service (water, sanitation)	<p>What is this household's main source of or access to water for drinking and for other use?</p> <p>1 = Piped (tap) water in dwelling</p> <p>2 = Piped (tap) water on-site or in yard</p> <p>3 = Borehole on-site</p> <p>4 = Rain-water tank on-site</p> <p>5 = Public tap outside stand < 200m</p> <p>6 = Public tap outside stand > 200m</p> <p>7 = Water-carrier/tanker</p> <p>8 = Borehole off-site/communal</p>					

	<p>9 = Flowing water/ stream/ river/ dam/ pool/ Well/ Spring</p> <p>10 = Other, <i>specify in the box below</i></p>					
Access to service (water, sanitation)	<p>How reliable is the water supply in the last 12 months?</p> <p>5 = Very reliable (no interruptions)</p> <p>6 = Reliable (rare interruptions)</p> <p>7 = Unreliable (periodic interruptions)</p> <p>8 = Very unreliable (frequent interruptions)</p>					
Access to service (Electricity)	<p>How reliable is the electricity supply in the last 12 months?</p> <p>9 = Very reliable (no interruptions)</p> <p>10 = Reliable (rare interruptions)</p> <p>11 = Unreliable (periodic interruptions)</p> <p>12 = Very unreliable (frequent interruptions)</p>					
Access to service (water, sanitation)	<p>How reliable is the reticulation in the last 12 months?</p> <p>1 = Very reliable (no interruptions)</p> <p>2 = Reliable (rare interruptions)</p> <p>3 = Unreliable (periodic interruptions)</p> <p>4 = Very unreliable (frequent interruptions)</p>					
Household goods	<p>What household goods do you own?</p> <p>1 = refrigerator</p> <p>2 = electric/gas stove</p> <p>3 = washing machine</p> <p>4 = vacuum cleaner</p> <p>5 = computer/laptop</p> <p>6 = television</p> <p>7 = DSTV</p> <p>8 = DVD player</p> <p>9 = motorcar</p> <p>10 = cell phone</p> <p>11 = Radio</p> <p>12 = landline telephone</p>					

	13 = other, <i>specify in the box below</i>					
Agriculture	Does the household engage in any form of household agriculture? If so, specify.....					
Tenure security	What would occur if there is a non-payment/late payment of rent 1 = occupants would be fined 2 = clemency 3 = household goods would be taken 4 = physical violence 5 = occupants would be locked out from building 6 = occupants would be immediately forced out of dwelling					
Tenure security	How often is the property maintained, repaired? 1 = Very regularly 2 = Regularly 3 = Only when necessary 4 = Very rarely 5 = Never, the onus is on the resident to maintain the property					
Murambastvin a	Do you expect the municipality to demolish the dwelling in the future? 1 =highly unlikely 2 =unlikely 3 =Likely 4 =Most likely					
Murambastvin a	When do you expect the municipality to demolish the illegal dwellings in the future? 1 = In the next three months 2 = in the next six months 3 = in the next year					

	<p>4 = in the next two years</p> <p>5 = in the next five years</p> <p>6 = in the next 10 years</p> <p>7 = in the next 20 or 30 years</p> <p>8 = probably never</p>					
Murambastvin a	<p>Has the government ever demolished a home or workplace in which you lived in?</p> <p>1 = Yes</p> <p>2 = No</p>					
Murambastvin a	<p>If so when and where did this occur?</p> <p>(State:.....)</p> <p>.....)</p>					
Murambastvin a	<p>Why do you choose to live in an area where there is a risk of the government demolishing the dwellings?</p> <p>1 = To be close to a job</p> <p>2 = Job transfer</p> <p>3 = Look for work</p> <p>4 = Start a business</p> <p>5 = Look for land for farming</p> <p>6 = to be close to family</p> <p>7 = Marriage</p> <p>8 = School/Training</p> <p>9 = To live with a relative</p> <p>10 = Divorce/Separation</p> <p>11 = Adventure/lifestyle change</p> <p>12 = better quality housing</p> <p>13 = cheaper housing</p> <p>14 = lower transportation costs</p> <p>15 = better services (electricity, water, reticulation)</p> <p>16 = safety/escaping violence</p> <p>17 = close to hospitals/clinics</p>					

	18 = Other, <i>Specify</i>					
Murambastvin a	<p>What are you doing differently because of the risk? (Risk aversion strategies)</p> <p>1 = Building a cheap quality dwelling</p> <p>2 = building temporary structures that can be demolished quickly before the government destroys it</p> <p>3 = pay a bribe to government official to prevent the demolition</p> <p>4 = looking for alternative location elsewhere</p> <p>5 = doing nothing differently, ignoring the risk</p> <p>6 = Other, <i>Specify</i>.....</p>					
Murambastvin a	<p>Has the way government is dealing with illegal dwellings such as in Mbare changed since Operation Murambatsvina?</p> <p>1 = Yes (if so state how:.....)</p> <p>2 = No</p>					
Motivations behind the continued resurfacing of illegal	<p>The reasons they have continued to build the houses against the municipal regulations</p> <p>1.....</p>					
Murambatsvin a Coping strategies	<p>What are the possible coping measures they have if the government decide to take remedial measures against Murambatsvina</p> <p>1.....</p>					

Addendum 2: Permission letter from Harare City Council



CITY OF HARARE

HUMAN CAPITAL DEPARTMENT
TOWN HOUSE, HARARE, ZIMBABWE
POST OFFICE BOX 990
TELEPHONE 752979 / 753000

EMAIL: hrd@hararecity.co.zw
ADDRESS ALL CORRESPONDENCE TO THE HUMAN CAPITAL DIRECTOR

04 June, 2014

P. Chirowodza
368 655 Crescent
Glenview 3
HARARE

Dear Madam

RE: AUTHORITY TO UNDERTAKE RESEARCH : P. CHIROWODZA

This letter serves as authority for Primrose Chirowodza to undertake her research project on the topic : **"AN INVESTIGATION OF THE URBAN RESURFACING OF INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS IN ZIMBABWE" : A CASE STUDY OF HARARE CITY COUNCIL.**

This is in partial fulfilment of the Master's Degree in Urban and Regional Planning at the University of Stellenbosch in South Africa.

The City of Harare has no financial obligation and neither shall it render any further assistance in the conduct of the research. The researcher is however requested to avail a copy of the research to the undersigned so that residents of Harare can benefit out of it. The research should not be used for any other purpose other than for the study purpose specified.

Yours sincerely

DR. C. CHINGOMBE
HUMAN CAPITAL DIRECTOR
RMR/mm