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Adverse Incorporation and Social Exclusion in Harare: An Analysis of Spatial
Design Mobility and Accessibility of Low-income Groups Residing in Harare's
Southern Suburbs

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A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of Pretoria, in
fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Development Studies

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to God, who gave me the strength and perseverance to complete this study, and to the resilient residents of Harare's southern suburbs who navigate daily challenges with unwavering courage and determination.




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DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis carrying the title, “Adverse Incorporation and Social Exclusion in Harare: An Analysis of Spatial Design, Mobility, and Accessibility of Low-Income Groups Residing in Harare’s Southern Suburbs,” is my own original work and has not been submitted for a degree at this institution or any other for diploma, degree, or other related purposes. I also declare that all the sources cited and quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

Name: Tadiwa Webster Chikengezha

Signature.....  Date.....30/06/2025.....



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ETHICS STATEMENT

As the author of this thesis, I declare that I obtained research ethics approval for the purposes of conducting this research and acknowledge that I have complied with all the ethical standards required. The approval was granted by the University of Pretoria Research Ethics Committee and relevant authorities from the City of Harare, Zimbabwe.



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IMPORTANT NOTES ON REFERENCING

This thesis employs the Harvard referencing style for all citations and references. Secondary data sources have been carefully cited within the text to maintain academic rigour. Additionally, the life historical accounts of residents in Harare's southern suburbs have been referenced throughout the thesis to highlight their lived experiences. Frequently used Shona terms are cited in footnotes for ease of reference. While these terms are thoroughly explained in the "Frequently Used Shona Terms" section found in the preliminary pages, footnote citations are provided to facilitate quick and accessible referencing throughout the document.



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Abstract

This thesis critically examines the phenomena of adverse incorporation and social exclusion within the context of Harare, Zimbabwe, with a particular focus on the city's southern periphery (Southlea Park and Hopely). Adverse incorporation refers to the process by which individuals or groups are integrated into economic, social, or political systems in a manner that perpetuates their marginalisation, inequality, or exploitation. This concept, coupled with social exclusion—a multidimensional process that prevents individuals or groups from fully participating in the socio-economic and political life of the city—provides a framework for analysing the living conditions of low-income residents in Harare's peri-urban areas. The research explores how these processes influence key aspects of urban life, particularly mobility, accessibility, and access to essential services such as healthcare, education, and economic opportunities. Like many cities in post-colonial Africa, Harare is characterised by significant spatial and socio-economic disparities, a legacy of colonial urban planning that continues to shape the city's development. Despite the abolition of institutionalised racial segregation, the spatial design of Harare remains deeply influenced by its colonial past, manifesting in stark inequalities between the northern affluent areas and the southern low-income suburbs. Through an ethnographic case study approach, this research delves into residents' experiences in Harare's southern periphery, exploring how historical and contemporary urban planning, socio-political dynamics, and economic structures contribute to their marginalisation. The study reveals that the southern suburbs, originally designed as dormitory towns, are characterised by poor infrastructure, inadequate public services, and limited economic opportunities. These areas have become hubs of poverty, where residents face significant challenges in accessing reliable transportation, quality healthcare, and education, all of which are crucial for improving their socio-economic status. The research findings highlight how marginalised communities experience economic and spatial exclusion in specific areas, leading to long commutes, high transportation costs, and limited access to the city's economic centres, perpetuating poverty and exacerbating social inequalities. The study recommends re-envisioning urban spaces in Harare to promote inclusivity and accessibility, addressing historical and structural inequalities in the city's southern suburbs. This research provides valuable insights for policymakers, urban planners, and development practitioners working on urban development in post-colonial African towns.

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List of Acronyms

AISE- Adverse Incorporation and Social Exclusion
 CBD - Central Business District
 CCC- Citizens Coalition for Change

CoH - City of Harare
 ESAP - Economic Structural Adjustment Programme
 FDG - Focus Group Discussion
 FTLRP - Fast Track Land Reform Programme
 GoZ- Government of Zimbabwe
 Kombi - Commuter Omnibus
 MaaS - Mobility as a Service
 MDC - Movement for Democratic Change
 MLPN - Ministry of Local Government Public Works and National Housing
 NTP - National Transport Policy
 ROSCA - Rotating Savings and Credit Association
 RTA - Road Traffic Act
 VID - Vehicle Inspection Department
 USD- United States Dollar
 ZANU-PF - Zimbabwe African Union Patriotic Front
 ZHRC - Zimbabwe Human Rights Commission
 ZIMSTAT: Zimbabwe Statistics
 ZINARA - Zimbabwe National Roads Administration
 ZRP - Zimbabwe Republic Police
 ZUPCO - Zimbabwe United Passenger Company
 ZWL- Zimbabwean Dollar

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CHAPTER 1

CONTEXTUALISING THE PROBLEM

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Urban spaces worldwide are becoming more important as a resource that can alleviate poverty (Venter, 2009). The world's urban population has proliferated from 751 million in 1950 to 4.2 billion in 2018, constituting 56% of the global population, and it is expected that the urban population will increase to 68% by 2050 (UN, 2018). Population growth in urban spaces has been accompanied by the dwindling of capacity and resources in cities, thereby perpetuating urban poverty. Inapt outcomes of population growth and stretched resources tend to produce mobility disparities, which trigger unequal access to urban spaces that are key to livelihoods and alleviating poverty. The mobility of people and access to resources in urban spaces is believed to contribute to acute urban livelihoods and urban poverty. Recent years have witnessed renewed global attention to persistent spatial inequalities, urban poverty, mobility, and accessibility.

Urban mobility has been an area of contestation for a developing country like Zimbabwe due to historical, political, social and economic factors (Mbara & Pisa, 2019). The quality of life for urban city dwellers has been burdensome due to the challenges in the distribution of goods and services. Central to this study was an analysis of mobility and accessibility disparities, spatial inequality and the distribution of impacts of commuting on Harare's residents. The study was situated on residents' experiences in Harare's southern suburbs. The study explored their terms of incorporation into the urban space and their mobility and accessibility to socio-economic activities. Exploring Harare's southern suburbs also situated urban spaces, mobility and accessibility into the broader urban poverty debates. This study, thus, aimed at appraising the trajectories of mobility and accessibility in urban spaces based on the incorporation of the Harare residents.

1.2 CONTEXTUALISING HARARE'S URBAN SPACE DESIGN ACCESS AND MOBILITY

Harare sits on the bedrock of historic colonial structures that were exclusionary and exploitative (Brown, 2001). Before independence in 1980, the urbanisation of Zimbabwe's African population

occurred under a restrictive and controlled regime that prevented many urban workers from obtaining rights to remain permanently in urban areas (Potts & Mutambirwa, 1990). As a city, it was established as a settler colony in 1890. The colonial government was concerned with establishing an environment for the settler population, supporting the new city's manufacturing base, and controlling the African labour force (Rakodi, 1995). To prepare for Salisbury's expected growth, an extensive cadastral plan was drawn up between 1890 and 1894, and much of the city's present land-use pattern originates from this era (Potts & Mutambirwa, 1990).

Legislation restricting the movement of people to the cities was introduced, including the 1946 Native (Urban Areas) Registration and Accommodation Act and the Land Tenure Act of 1969 (Potts & Mutambirwa, 1990). These repressive laws dictated the city's architecture, movement and people's access to socio-economic activities. Infrastructure setup that resulted from such controlling legislation included narrow streets, two-way road systems and single-use zoning in some areas (Richard, 2005). 1980 the country gained independence from colonial rule and shifted from white minority rule to black majority rule. The repressive laws were abolished, which led to an influx of people into the city. Once restrictions were lifted, it was expected that migration patterns would alter (Potts & Mutambirwa, 1990). In 1979, the population of Harare (formerly Salisbury) stood at 598,000, just before the country attained its independence (ZimStat, 2020). Rural-to-urban migration combined with natural population increase saw the population of Harare rising to 1 million by 1990, and ten years later, it had risen to 1,4 million (ZimStat, 2020). However, the increasing demand for public goods and services also increased access to economic activity (Brown, 2001).

The colonial infrastructure catered to the relatively low population residing in urban areas during the colonial era and still exists today, although there is a large population in urban areas (Rakodi, 1995). For instance, Mbare hostels in Harare were constructed as single-sex hostels, and today, families occupy these hostels (Potts, 2011). Equally, the road network around Mbare did not change, although more people use roads in and around it. Post-independence planning has reinforced this historic polarisation by continuing with the architectural template of the former colonial regime. For instance, government housing policies have concentrated on the provision of

single-use, low-income housing projects and have reinforced segregation and created new low-income communities which are isolated on the outskirts of the city (Brown 2001, Potts 2011).

Resources such as water, housing, and jobs were now in high demand since urban areas were seen as places of economic and social opportunities. Unfortunately, the city of Harare could not match the needs of the growing society, thereby creating a backlog of housing, water, health, and education (Chanza et al., 2014). The housing backlog forced many to form informal settlements on the periphery of Harare (McGregor & Chatiza, 2020). The country's declining economy further pushed people into the periphery, which was underdeveloped and lacked government services and public goods provision (McGregor & Chatiza, 2020). The peri-urban space has grown exponentially as many people are finding residence on the city's edge (McGregor & Chatiza, 2020). Examples of urban housing impinged into peri-urban and rural areas are Dema Village, 40km southeast of Harare, Southlea Park, 20km south of Harare and Rydale Ridge, 25km west of Harare.

1.2.1 Spatial Design Mobility and Accessibility Difficulties in Harare

Although with the attainment of independence, institutionalised racial discrimination became constitutionally obsolete, its continuing effect on the spatial form of the city is phenomenally evident to the extent that it is hardly worthwhile to make any demographic and socio-economic generalisations about the city as a whole (Brown 2001, Potts 2011). The predominantly White Low-Density Residential Areas (formerly 'European Areas') reflect the privileged socio-political position of the past and the much higher incomes which the Whites were used to, while the High-Density Residential Areas (formerly 'African Townships') reflect years of political repression, poverty and general social malaise (Brown 2001, Potts 2011). Although obsolete, the blurred colonial racial divisions have evolved into socioeconomic classes. The rich now occupy the formerly European areas while the poor continue occupying the former African townships and the city's edge (Potts, 2011).

The city's racial divisions and spatial disunity have been reinforced for years by its fragmented administrative structure. This fragmentation was popularly known as Apartheid development, which advocated for separate development. It was not until July 1971 that 'Greater Salisbury' was

created with an area of 550 km², of which 350 km² had already been developed (Potts & Mutambirwa, 1990). By that time, some 49.5 per cent of the total non-Black population of the city were residing in the town council areas outside the City Municipality boundary (Potts & Mutambirwa, 1990). Even then, some residential areas remained outside the Greater Harare administrative areas.

Harare, once proud of its 4,000 km surfaced road network, now faces significant challenges in accommodating its estimated population of 3.2 million residents. This road infrastructure was initially designed for a population of less than 1 million (McGregor & Chatiza 2020; ZimStat, 2020). In the city, affluent neighbourhoods are primarily in the northern regions, while low-income areas are in the south. The southern suburbs are predominantly residential, whereas the northern sector serves a dual purpose as both a commercial and residential hub (Potts, 2011). This disparity in urban design results in mobility trends that adversely affect the livelihoods of low-income groups, forcing them to travel longer distances, spend more on transportation, and endure longer commuting times (Mbara & Pisa 2019; McGregor & Chatiza 2020).

While housing affordability has pushed low-income families to the urban periphery, mobility and accessibility to centres of socio-economic activities have become a challenge (Mbiba, 2017). For instance, school pupils residing on the periphery must travel long distances to schools in the main urban centres, and formal and informal workers now take more time to travel to and from the Central Business District (CBD). Moreover, lacking social services such as clinics and hospitals requires people to go to built-up urban areas with such facilities. The lack of government services such as roads, rail, and transport termini has also increased the inaccessibility of the CBD for those living in the urban peripheries.

The literature points to urban space, mobility, and accessibility due to population growth, urban planning policies, and processes, with less emphasis placed on incorporation for the residents. A focus on the terms of incorporation allows us to go beyond the simple physical fact of unsociability in planning and consider the terms upon which urban areas are linked to the residents, processes, and institutions (Hickey & Toit, 2013). The terms of incorporation were adverse during the colonial stage of the country based on racial discrimination and labour dynamics (Potts &

Mutambirwa, 1990). However, these seem to trickle into independent Zimbabwe, and the dynamics have continued to evolve from racial lines to income lines. They are reinforced by city planning and design (Potts & Mutambirwa, 1990). The problem of reproducing adverse terms of incorporation in Harare is limiting access and mobility to urban resources to a greater population size than in the colonial era. The geographical discrepancies allow for an interrogation of why some areas are more severely impacted than others.

One definition for terms of incorporation describes the concept as the process of absorbing something or the state of being absorbed (Collins, 2021). Terms of incorporation can be used interchangeably with terms of inclusion. However, the process by which individuals are included in urban space or urban spaces processes including residence (Hickey & Toit, 2013). The terms of incorporation regarding mobility and accessibility are uneven between the people who reside on the north side of Harare and those residing on the south. It is argued that adverse incorporation captures how localised livelihood strategies are enabled and constrained by economic, social, and political relations over time and space, in that they operate over lengthy periods and within cycles, as well as at multiple spatial levels, from local to global (Hickey & Toit, 2013). The argument advanced here is that adverse incorporation is linked to spatial discrepancies, mobility and accessibility to the main socioeconomic functions in the city of Harare.

Addressing the challenges of urban development in Zimbabwe, especially in peri-urban regions, requires an understanding of its interplay with national, regional, and global development frameworks. Nationally, Zimbabwe's Vision 2030 and National Development Strategy 1 (NDS1) highlight sustainable urbanisation, infrastructure advancement, and poverty alleviation as essential avenues for evolving the nation into an upper-middle-income economy by 2030 (MFED 2019, MFED 2020). Nonetheless, gaps in execution have resulted in peri-urban communities like Southlea Park remaining underserved, exacerbating exclusion and inadequate service provision.

Regionally, the African Union's Agenda 2063 envisions "The Africa We Want," which includes aspirations for inclusive growth, sustainable development, and resilient cities. Globally, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), particularly SDG 11 and the New Urban Agenda, provide

additional frameworks for addressing urban challenges through inclusive planning, improved infrastructure, and environmental sustainability (African Urban Forum, 2024).

This research examines how these policies and frameworks intersect with the realities of urban development in peri-urban Zimbabwe. A detailed analysis of their relevance and implementation are explored in Chapter 4, focusing on bridging the gap between policy aspirations and lived experiences.

1.2.2 Are There Any Gaps in Literature?

The literature on spatial design, mobility and accessibility in Harare has mainly focused on institutional stakeholders. Most literature focuses on the governing authorities' failures of reformation, policies and economy as to the cause of mobility challenges. For instance, the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme of 1993, Operation Murambatsvina (Restore Order) of 2005 and the failure to strategies and implement a robust blueprint to guide the public transport sector (Nyatondo 2013, Mlambo 1997, McGregor & Chatiza 2020). These examples are among the common points of departure for the main literature on land-use patterns, mobility, and accessibility of Harare residences. The terms of incorporation between the residents and the political, economic, and social institutions are less emphasised and are poorly understood as a cause of spatial, mobility and accessibility disparities. Considering the terms of incorporation as a social aspect, spatial inclusion, mobility, and accessibility reveal why some mobility problems are difficult to resolve.

1.2.3 Statement of the Problem

The persistent socio-economic and spatial inequalities in Harare's urban development reflect the adverse incorporation and social exclusion of low-income communities. Despite policy interventions, these groups face significant barriers to mobility and accessibility, exacerbated by poor infrastructure, fragmented urban planning, and weak governance. Residents of Harare's southern suburbs experience long commutes, high transportation costs, and limited access to social services and economic opportunities. These challenges perpetuate cycles of poverty and marginalisation, raising critical questions about the terms of incorporation into urban systems.

This study addresses the following problem: Adverse incorporation and social exclusion affect the spatial design, mobility trends, and access to socio-economic activities of low-income residents in Harare's southern suburbs. This thesis unpacked the structural and institutional factors that entrench exclusion, thereby contributing to debates on urban poverty and sustainable development.

1.3 AIM OF THE STUDY

This study aimed to critically examine how processes of adverse incorporation and social exclusion shape the spatial design, mobility patterns, and accessibility of socio-economic opportunities for low-income residents in Harare's southern suburbs. This research seeks to unravel the structural and socio-political dynamics underlying these processes, exploring their impact on livelihoods, access to essential services, and the perpetuation of urban inequalities. By analysing the lived experiences of residents in peri-urban areas such as Southlea Park and Hopley, the study aims to provide insights that inform sustainable urban planning and policy interventions.

The following breakdown of the research aims and objectives were:

- Identified and analysed the various forms of adverse incorporation affecting the residents of Harare South Peri-Urban;
- Explored how the terms of incorporation in urban Harare impacted social trends and cohesion of populations in Harare South Peri-Urban;
- Investigated how spatial disparities in Harare South Peri-urban dictate access to mobility and economic and livelihood opportunities; and
- Identified and analysed the impact of political circumstances on people's access to socio-economic activities and spatial inclusion, shaping their incorporation.

1.3.1 Research Questions

The principal question that this thesis answered was: *To what extent does adverse incorporation impact the spatial design, mobility trends, and access to socioeconomic activities of low-income residents in the city of Harare?* The main question was approached by attempting to answer a subset of more specific questions to provide a detailed answer.

1. What are the various forms of adverse incorporation affecting the residents of Harare South Peri-Urban?

2. How does adverse incorporation impact social trends and cohesion in the Harare South Peri-urban Region?
3. Do spatial differences in Harare dictate access to opportunities and socioeconomic activities?
4. How do political and social circumstances affect people's spatial inclusion and access to socio-economic activities inducing the terms of incorporation?

1.3.2 Motivation and Significance of the Study

Despite decades of independence, Zimbabwe's urbanisation process, particularly in Harare, has remained indifferent. Colonial-era urban planning templates continue to shape the city's growth, fostering spatial inequalities that limit mobility and access to services for the poor. Efforts at decentralisation and urban reform have yielded limited success, leaving low-income communities trapped in exclusionary urban systems. For instance, Harare's population of 3.2 million outstrips the capacity of its infrastructure, which was initially designed for less than 1 million people.

The rapid urbanisation of Africa demands immediate interventions to prevent the deepening of urban inequalities and to ensure that cities can sustainably accommodate growing populations. Africa's urban population is projected to triple to 1.34 billion by 2050, placing immense pressure on fragile urban systems (WEF, 2020). Harare's challenges, highlighted in this study's findings, are vital for sustainable urban development. This study is motivated by the urgent need for inclusive urban policies prioritising marginalised communities' needs. The findings aim to inform policymakers, urban planners, and development practitioners about the structural changes necessary for equitable urban growth.

This study critically engages with adverse incorporation and social exclusion concepts, thereby enhancing the theoretical framework surrounding systemic inequalities within urban environments. Elucidating the interplay between spatial design and mobility underscores their pivotal roles as determinants influencing access to socio-economic opportunities. Furthermore, it provides a nuanced analysis of how these factors contribute to the perpetuation of inequities, demonstrating that the physical and social architectures of cities are instrumental in shaping lived experiences and outcomes for diverse populations.

1.4 DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

Adverse incorporation refers to the process by which individuals or groups are integrated into economic, social, or political systems in a manner that perpetuates their marginalisation, inequality, or exploitation. It is a concept often used in development studies and sociology to analyse poverty dynamics, social stratification, and power relations.

Social exclusion is a multidimensional process of marginalisation that prevents individuals or groups from fully participating in social, economic, and political life. It involves the lack of access to resources, rights, goods, and services, leading to the inability to engage in normal or desirable social activities.

Mobility refers to the ability to move or be moved freely and easily. In a social context, it often relates to social mobility, the movement of individuals or groups within or between social strata. Social mobility can be upward (towards higher status) or downward (towards lower status) and is influenced by factors such as education, occupation, and social capital. In a physical context, mobility refers to the movement of people and goods, which is crucial for access to employment, education, healthcare, and other services (Breen & Jonsson 2005, Creswell 2006).

Accessibility refers to the ease with which individuals can reach desired goods, services, and activities. It is a key concept in transportation planning, urban design, and social equity, as it affects people's ability to participate in economic, social, and cultural life. Accessibility is determined by factors such as the spatial distribution of destinations (e.g., jobs, schools, healthcare facilities), the availability and quality of transportation options, and individual mobility capacities. Enhancing accessibility is often a goal of policies to reduce social exclusion and promote sustainable urban development (Geurs & van Wee 2004, Handy & Niemeier, 1997).

Urban Governance refers to the processes and structures involved in decision-making, planning, and policy implementation within urban areas, including the interaction of formal institutions (government bodies) and informal arrangements (community and private sector actors) that influence the growth and functioning of cities (UN-Habitat, 2002).

Peri-Urban is the zone of transition between urban and rural areas, often characterized by mixed land use, rapid population growth, informal settlements, and limited access to infrastructure and services (Chirisa, 2014).

Spatial Inequality is the unequal distribution of resources, services, and opportunities across different geographical locations within an urban area, typically manifesting in significant disparities between affluent and marginalized areas (Kanbur & Venables, 2005).

Marginalisation refers to the process by which certain individuals or groups are pushed to the edge of society, limiting their access to resources, rights, opportunities, and political or social influence. This is often a result of systemic inequalities in urban planning, governance, and social inclusion (Silver, 1994).

Informal Settlement refers to a residential area where inhabitants have no legal claims to the land and where housing is not in compliance with planning and building regulations. These areas often arise due to housing shortages and lack of affordable formal housing, leading to overcrowded, poorly serviced environments (UN-Habitat, 2003).

Informal Economy refers to economic activities that are not regulated by the government or included in official economic statistics. Informal economies often arise in contexts where formal employment is scarce, particularly in urban areas, and are characterized by lack of worker protections and insecure income (Chen, 2012).

Urban Poverty is a condition where individuals or groups living in urban areas lack basic resources, services, and opportunities necessary for a minimum standard of living. Urban poverty is often compounded by inadequate housing, poor infrastructure, and limited access to essential services like education and healthcare (du Toit 2008).

1.4.1 Thesis Structure

The thesis is structured as follows: Chapter 1 introduces the study and situates the problem. The chapter provides an outline of the research problem and the objectives. The basis of the argument emerges through the presentation of the thesis standpoint.

Chapter 2 contains the literature review from a broad and general perspective cascading down to a more specific perspective. In this chapter, the gaps and spaces in areas of spatial use and access to socio-economic activities in communities are unravelled based on the revealed literature. Based on these gaps, the need to research the relationship between urban spaces and adverse incorporation in peri-urban and the conceptual framework for analysis is developed.

Chapter 3 provides an overview of the methodology that was used to conduct the study. This includes details on the research design, population, sampling procedure, sample size, data collection methods, data analysis procedures, and ethical considerations that were considered during the study. Additionally, the chapter discusses some of the challenges faced during the research process and how they were addressed.

Chapter 4 of the study establishes the academic context for the research, examining the background features that influenced its development. The chapter explores the historical composition of peri-urban space in Zimbabwe through the lens of policies. It also includes profiling and key informant interviews to provide social, political, and economic context. These elements are crucial for framing discussions on data and key arguments, forming the foundation of the study.

Chapter 5 examines adverse incorporation and social exclusion and their specific impacts on residents of Harare South Peri-Urban. It analyses various forms of adverse incorporation, investigates how they affect the residents, and explores the broader social trends influenced by these incorporation terms. In doing so, the terms of inclusion are seen to be reproduced by the disparities found among low-income households.

Chapter 6 delves into the spatial disparities within Harare South's peri-urban areas and their impact on residents' access to social services and economic opportunities. It sheds light on the significant

shortcomings of healthcare and education infrastructure, leading residents to endure lengthy journeys and thus weakening social bonds. Moreover, economic hurdles are exacerbated by the diminishing agricultural land due to urbanisation, exploitation by land and space magnates, and the lack of access to formal jobs.

Chapter 7 explores how political and social contexts impact spatial inclusion and access to socio-economic activities, influencing incorporation. It delves into the interplay of socio-political dynamics and urban space, examining the role of historical and current political choices, social frameworks, and policies in shaping the city's spatial structure and the resource and opportunity access for different population segments.

Chapter 8 serves as the concluding chapter of the thesis, presenting an analysis of the research findings and exploring the broader policy implications. It provides a summary of the processes of adverse incorporation and social exclusion have evolved within peri-urban areas, specifically highlighting their effects on the livelihoods and social dynamics of low-income households. The chapter also offers recommendations for policy responses that could mitigate these challenges, alongside a final conclusion that ties together the core themes of the study.

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CHAPTER 2

ADVERSE INCORPORATION AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION: A FRAMEWORK FOR UNDERSTANDING URBAN DISCREPANCIES

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Academics have studied urban development and population growth since ancient times. However, the role of adverse incorporation and social exclusion in an urbanised area has gained more attention. Ferguson (1990) examines how development projects often incorporate marginalised communities into economic systems in ways that perpetuate their disadvantage. Understanding the impact of adverse incorporation and social exclusion on individuals and communities is essential for addressing issues of inequality and promoting inclusive development. This exploration will delve into the intricate relationship between spatial differences and access to opportunities, shedding light on how geographical location shapes socio-economic outcomes and affects individuals' ability to thrive in each society.

This chapter critically assesses existing literature on adverse incorporation, social exclusion, and access to socio-economic opportunities. It specifically examines the relationship between livelihoods in peri-urban areas and adverse incorporation and social exclusion. The study is underpinned by an analytical framework incorporating five key concepts: adverse incorporation and social exclusion, urban space, affordability and accessibility of urban services, mobility and accessibility, and inequality. These concepts are elucidated, and their interconnections are thoroughly explored to establish the analytical framework for the research.

2.2 URBAN SPACE AND ADVERSE INCORPORATION AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION PERSPECTIVE

The term "social exclusion" initially emerged in the context of Western Europe, delineating groups marginalised from access to state benefits (Sen, 2000). However, the conceptualisation of social exclusion has evolved significantly over the years, now encompassing a more comprehensive

understanding that addresses the multidimensional and relational facets of deprivation and poverty. This broader lens is particularly pertinent within developing countries, where the interaction of various societal factors can intensify the experience of exclusion (Silver, 2015). This expanded definition incorporates a myriad of elements, including but not limited to disability, gender inequities, disparities in power dynamics, and the effects of spatial disconnection. Each of these factors plays a critical role in obstructing individuals' full participation in socio-economic and political life (Levitas et al., 2015).

When examined from a spatial perspective, the persistence of inequality is intrinsically linked to discriminatory practices entrenched within institutional frameworks. Such practices inherently restrict access to vital resources, opportunities, and avenues for decision-making. The manifestation of these disparities is particularly pronounced in urban environments, where exclusionary governance models can further entrench marginalisation among certain populations. This is especially relevant in the context of sub-Saharan African cities, where the interplay of governance and social exclusion has been well documented (Hickey & du Toit 2015; UN-Habitat 2020).

Social exclusion encompasses multiple dimensions, namely social, economic, cultural, and political factors. Numerous analysts highlight the significance of unequal access to political decision-making structures as a crucial determinant of social exclusion. Such political inequalities frequently yield a skewed distribution of governmental resources (UNRISD, 2010:85). Two principal assumptions underpin this discussion: first, that disparities in political power distribution correlate with inequitable public spending, and second, that underdeveloped regions face relative deprivation as a consequence of their diminished influence in state decision-making arenas (World Bank, 2016). To facilitate equitable regional development, it is imperative to incorporate economically disadvantaged regions into essential political decision-making institutions. According to a pertinent study, "implementing effective remedial policies for marginalised groups is unlikely in the absence of political inclusivity" (UNRISD, 2010:82; Stewart).

Debates exist regarding the usefulness of exclusion in explaining relative deprivation in developing countries. According to Kabeer (2000), exclusion is valuable in poverty analysis as it relates to people being "set apart" or "locked out" of socio-economic and political development

processes. Laderchi et al. (2003) argue that this concept uniquely focuses on the processes and dynamics that cause deprivation to arise and persist. Similarly, Sen (2000) emphasises the relational focus of social exclusion as significant in poverty analysis.

Some scholars argue that the Western concept of exclusion is unsuitable for explaining poverty and inequality in developing countries. For instance, Levitas (2018) and Silver (2015) state that the concept was initially designed to describe pockets of poverty among a small underclass in industrialised countries, whereas poverty in sub-Saharan Africa is widespread. However, Gore acknowledges that exclusion from political organisation and representation is a key aspect of social exclusion in sub-Saharan Africa, emphasising the incorporation of clientelist systems. Exclusion from representation affects access to economic advantages linked to government offices, leading to the establishment of clientelistic networks and factions (Gore, 1994).

While exclusion remains a critical lens for understanding deprivation, some recent scholars highlight its limitations in fully explaining poverty in the Global South. For instance, Pieterse (2018) critiques the concept of exclusion in explaining inequality, suggesting that it fails to capture how people can be included in economic or social systems yet still face poverty due to adverse incorporation. This concept—introduced by Hickey & du Toit (2007)—argues that poverty results from exclusion and the terms under which marginalised groups are incorporated into economic, political, and social systems. These terms can be exploitative, thus perpetuating inequality and deprivation even when individuals are integrated into society.

Moreover, Pieterse (2018) and Bracic (2022) point out that spatial exclusion—such as geographic isolation or poor integration into national economies—also plays a significant role in perpetuating deprivation. This is especially relevant in urban settings in sub-Saharan Africa, where informal settlements and rural-urban migration patterns often lead to unequal access to resources and opportunities.

Hickey et al. (2015) emphasise the complementarity of adverse incorporation and social exclusion concepts in understanding chronic poverty. Both concepts highlight relational dynamics—social exclusion addresses the inability to access opportunities, while adverse incorporation focuses on

how integration into society can occur on unequal terms. These frameworks are crucial for analysing how structural inequalities persist over time and across different spheres of life, including labour markets, political participation, and access to services.

Critics argue that the idea of exclusion in sub-Saharan Africa is too simple. They believe persistent spatial inequality in the region is caused by exclusion and being part of socio-economic and political life on unfair terms. According to Pieterse (2018), social exclusion should not be used to explain all cases of capability deprivation, as many problems stem from being included on unfavourable terms rather than just being excluded.

The concept of adverse incorporation (AI) is commonly discussed in development circles. It describes circumstances in which individuals participate in social, political, and economic domains, but do so on disadvantageous terms (Moore, 2001). This concept challenges the idea that poverty is mainly caused by exclusion, emphasising that being incorporated on unfavourable terms can itself lead to underdevelopment (CPRC, 2008a:130). It suggests that development is a process in which certain regions and people become and remain poorer due to how they are integrated into national, regional, or global interactions (Hickey and du Toit 2007, Bird et al. 2002). This reflects the Marxist criticism of capitalism, where persistent regional inequality results from the subordinate incorporation of peripheral regions into exploitative economic networks. Bernstein (2005) argues that adverse incorporation is grounded in capitalism's class relations and accumulation dynamics.

Some analysts contend that examining chronic poverty through the concept of adverse incorporation offers a clearer perspective than the notion of social exclusion (Bracking, 2003:5; Murray, 2001:5). This perspective is illustrated by situations where individuals participate in urban economies under exploitative circumstances, such as informal waste-picking in Nairobi (Simone, 2004) or low-wage construction work in Accra (Owusu, 2021). Moore et al. (2008) highlight that migrant labourers frequently lack access to public services while being adversely incorporated into unstable job markets. Silver (2015) effectively encapsulates this dynamic by stating that 'the excluded are simultaneously excluded and dominated,' underscoring the complex interplay of power and exploitation.

The relationship between exclusion and adverse incorporation is a critical factor in understanding the persistence of spatial inequality in sub-Saharan Africa. In political systems where power is highly personalised, exclusionary practices and the adverse incorporation of marginalised regions into national frameworks shape the allocation of resources and reinforce disparities (Jackson and Rosberg 1982; Kelsall 2013). Personalised political systems often prioritise political stability over equitable development, leading to the selective incorporation of elites from disadvantaged regions into ruling coalitions. While maintaining political alliances, this strategy frequently fails to address the socio-economic needs of the broader population in these regions (Boone 1994, Arriola 2009).

The mechanisms of political incorporation in sub-Saharan Africa are often tied to patronage networks. Boone (1994) and Arriola (2009) highlight how ruling elites incorporate ethno-regional leaders into governance structures to neutralise potential opposition and distribute patronage. However, this incorporation primarily benefits the elite while excluding the poorest communities from state resources. Mustapha (2006) and Stewart (2010a) argue that formal political representation cannot influence resource allocation meaningfully. In many cases, marginalised groups see little improvement in their socio-economic conditions, as elite incorporation often serves symbolic or strategic purposes rather than addressing grassroots development.

Exclusion and adverse incorporation work together to perpetuate inequality, creating a dual-layered dynamic of marginalisation. Elites from disadvantaged regions may gain access to political structures, but the lack of substantive benefits for their constituents leads to continued socio-economic exclusion at the grassroots level. Kelsall (2013) observes that this dynamic perpetuates underdevelopment in marginalised regions, as adverse political incorporation does not translate into equitable access to public resources or development initiatives.

The extent and nature of these dynamics vary across time and space in sub-Saharan Africa. Jackson and Rosberg's (1982) analysis of personalised political systems remains relevant, but shifts since the 1980s have altered governance frameworks. For instance, countries like Ghana and Botswana have implemented more stable and democratic governance systems, improving resource allocation mechanisms compared to nations like Nigeria and Zimbabwe, where ethno-regional patronage

remains deeply entrenched (Crook 2010; Southall 2018). Similarly, Kenya and South Africa have pursued democratisation and decentralisation, diversifying governance structures. However, local elite capture has undermined these reforms' potential benefits, excluding many communities from meaningful development (Resnick 2014, Southall 2018).

In conflict-affected states like South Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo, resource allocation is shaped by control over violence rather than formal governance processes, further entrenching regional disparities (Southall, 2018). Even in more stable contexts, the persistence of patronage networks and weak institutions has hampered efforts to address structural inequalities. Stewart (2010b) notes that political representation without substantive control over resource allocation fosters frustration among marginalised groups and perpetuates socioeconomic disparities.

The discussion suggests that adverse incorporation and social exclusion can be complementary frameworks for investigating the social and political relations that cause and sustain poverty (Green 2005, Green and Hulme 2005). Hickey and Du Toit (2007:1) call for a closer examination of the linkages between chronic poverty and adverse incorporation and/or social exclusion processes. Both concepts emphasise the relational nature of poverty, with persistent inequalities seen as a function of societal power relations.

The concepts of adverse incorporation and social exclusion (AISE) explore the politics of persistent regional disparities in Ghana. An AISE perspective can help correlate the spatial distribution of political power among regional elites with decision-making processes like resource allocation. This approach shifts focus from power-blind accounts of regional inequalities to the influence of power relations and informal institutions on development outcomes.

The explanation offered by AISE alone does not fully account for spatial inequality dynamics in politics. The political settlements framework also analyses what motivates elite behaviour and influences state institutions. This research explores the significance of power dynamics in the development process. Although the political settlement framework has limitations, such as its bias

towards rational actors, it provides valuable insights into elite behaviour and the implementation of policies.

The political elites in some countries support programs aimed at helping the poor because of their beliefs, as exemplified by Tanzania's irrigation project (Therkildsen, 2011:34) and Hickey's (2012) research on six countries. Their beliefs can influence their decisions and actions towards reducing poverty and inequality. However, the political discussions about building nations in postcolonial Africa often don't focus enough on providing resources to the regions most affected by colonial policies. Instead, the political elites from these regions were negatively brought into ruling groups, reinforcing the development patterns established by colonial policies.

2.2.1 Additional Forms of Exclusion that Contribute to Social Exclusion

Church et al. (1999) argue that poverty signifies a lack of access to material welfare, while social exclusion refers to people's inability to participate in society fully. De Haan (1999) adds that exclusion occurs at all societal levels through various processes. The complexity of social exclusion involves interconnected factors and cannot be reduced to single issues. For instance, Church et al. (1999) identified six types of transport-related exclusions: geographical, economic, fear-based, time-based, space, and physical exclusion. Transport issues do not solely cause these forms of exclusion but also contribute to them. Church et al. (1999) suggest that transport challenges should be seen as consolidating multiple factors leading to various exclusions.

Lucas (2016) highlights that social exclusion in urban contexts often stems from inadequate transport infrastructure, reinforcing existing inequalities. Pereira, Schwanen, and Banister (2017) emphasise that transport-related exclusions are not merely logistical issues but are deeply intertwined with socioeconomic injustices. Their research underscores how limited accessibility to transport systems perpetuates disparities in employment, education, and healthcare access.

According to Kwan and Schwanen (2016), mobility is a critical lens through which social exclusion must be examined. Access to transport is shaped by geographic, economic, and social barriers, which collectively restrict participation in urban life. For instance, economic exclusion often manifests in limited affordability of transport options, thereby curbing opportunities for low-

income individuals (Jones & Lucas, 2012). The spatial concentration of poverty exacerbates these issues, as marginalised communities frequently reside in areas poorly served by public transport (Bracic, 2022).

As Bracic (2022) discussed, fear-based exclusion significantly influences travel behaviour. Their findings show that fear of harassment and violence on public transport disproportionately affects women and other vulnerable groups, limiting their mobility and reinforcing social isolation. As a determinant of exclusion, fear highlights the broader need for safety in urban transportation planning.

Time-based exclusions also remain a pressing concern. Brookings (2016) identifies how long commute times disproportionately burden low-income and caregiving populations, leading to what he terms “time poverty.” Pereira et al. (2017) explore how systemic inequalities are compounded through transport inefficiencies, emphasising the cumulative effects of time, space, and economic exclusions.

Spatial and physical exclusions are critical dimensions of social exclusion. Dimitrov (2018) and Lucas (2016) note that urban design often neglects the accessibility needs of disabled and elderly populations. This oversight marginalises these groups and underscores systemic neglect in urban planning. Furthermore, spatial exclusion—marked by inadequate transport facilities in peripheral areas—limits access to socio-economic opportunities, deepening inequalities.

Recent studies by Jones and Lucas (2019) suggest an integrative approach to urban planning prioritising inclusivity. They advocate for policies that address the interconnected dimensions of exclusion, ensuring access to transport for marginalised communities. Similarly, Brookings (2016) and Bracic (2022) emphasise the need for public transport systems to consider the safety and accessibility of vulnerable groups, including women and children. These recommendations align with global goals for sustainable and equitable urban development.

2.2.2 Political Aspects of AISE

As discussed earlier, both the concepts of adverse incorporation and social exclusion emphasise the crucial role political factors play in either perpetuating or alleviating poverty. In this section, the historical and political insights provided by the AISE (Adverse Incorporation and Social Exclusion) framework to critique the emerging consensus on the role of politics in poverty reduction. This consensus often emphasises either top-down state reforms or bottom-up empowerment approaches. The focus here is on the political processes of incorporation and exclusion, commonly framed in terms of citizenship and clientelism.

In mainstream development discourse, patron-client relationships are increasingly viewed as major obstacles to political development, good governance, and democratisation—essential elements for development (Hickey and Du Toit, 2007). In contrast, citizenship is often seen as an inherently progressive political status linked to the rule of law, secure property rights, democratisation, and empowerment (e.g., Newland and Patrick 2004, Eyben and Ladbury 2006). This perspective aligns with a trend in social exclusion research that tends to oversimplify the relationship between social exclusion and citizenship, suggesting that “...exclusion is combated through citizenship, and the extension of equal membership and full participation in the community to outsiders” (Silver, 1994: 543).

However, the argument is that positioning these two political forms—clientelism and citizenship—as inherently opposed oversimplifies the issue and obscures the complex links between political dimensions of AISE and chronic poverty (Hickey and Du Toit, 2007). Specifically, we contend that (a) citizenship can also entail significant exclusionary aspects; (b) conversely, clientelism may offer some benefits to the poorest individuals, at least in the short to medium term; (c) clientelism and citizenship should be understood as closely interconnected forms of political subjectivity rather than binary opposites; and (d) both should be analysed within the broader context of political representation, competition, state formation, and modes of governmentality, rather than through the more normative and abstract lenses of ‘good governance’ and democracy. Additionally, our focus on chronic poverty prompts us to consider that for those who are extremely destitute and chronically poor, neither political form may hold significant relevance.

The methods by which the state in developing countries seeks to incorporate its citizens have varied significantly over time and across different contexts. As Gore (1994) notes in his examination of early post-independence Africa, a central issue was the extent and nature of political integration. This was often framed as a transition from “backward” tribal identities to more “modern” national identities. However, efforts to create "national citizens" in the post-colonial era have often been seen as unsuccessful, with some scholars even referring to these as “states without citizens” (Ayoade, 1988). Additionally, critics have pointed out that dominant forms of citizenship inherently excluded certain social groups, particularly women and migrants (Gaidzanwa, 1993; Isin and Wood, 1999). This exclusion was also observed along urban-rural lines, with rural inhabitants often remaining as "subjects" rather than being recognized as "citizens" (Mamdani, 1996: 18).

□ The political dynamics of adverse incorporation and social exclusion (AISE) in African cities are profoundly influenced by power, authoritarianism, and patronage issues. These forces shape urban governance and perpetuate inequalities in access to resources and opportunities (Pieterse & Simone, 2017). Authoritarian regimes often centralise urban planning processes, sidelining participatory approaches and reinforcing systemic marginalisation of disadvantaged groups (Hickey and Du Toit, 2007).

Patronage systems further complicate the landscape by entrenching political elites’ control over urban resources. This is evident in land allocation practices, where informal settlements often emerge due to politically motivated patronage systems that prioritise loyalty over equitable resource distribution (Muchadenyika, 2020). Such practices exacerbate spatial segregation and undermine efforts to address urban inequalities.

Power dynamics also manifest in urban policies disproportionately favour affluent areas, leaving peripheral and low-income neighbourhoods underserved (Myers, 2016). This disparity is often legitimised through policy frameworks that neglect the voices of marginalised communities, further entrenching exclusionary practices.

Case studies from cities like Nairobi, Lagos, and Harare illustrate the interplay between authoritarianism and patronage in shaping urban exclusion. For instance, in Nairobi, informal

settlements have been repeatedly evicted under the guise of urban renewal projects, highlighting authoritarian tendencies in urban governance (Lines & Makau, 2017). Similarly, political patronage has influenced housing allocations in Harare, perpetuating inequalities and undermining sustainable urban development (Muchadenyika and Williams, 2017).

The broad themes of citizenship and clientelism can be further explored by examining the specific forms of political participation and representation available to citizens in developing countries. The various ways people are represented—or incorporated into broader political structures—are closely related to the persistence of poverty. Cleaver (2005) argues that the chronically poor cannot often represent themselves within existing socio-political organisations, while Wood (2003) discusses the "Faustian bargain" where the poorest groups trade their agency for security. Similarly, Gore (1994) identifies exclusion from political organisations as a critical dimension of social exclusion in sub-Saharan Africa, focusing on forms of incorporation within clientelist systems. In these contexts, exclusion from representation is tied to the lack of access to economic benefits associated with government offices, which are often distributed through clientelistic networks (Gore, 1994). Thus, clientelism acts as a form of closure, where political elites secure the resources needed to maintain the patronage system and their power.

The politics of representation in sub-Saharan Africa is significantly shaped by historical and structural factors, particularly those related to political economy. Notably, political mobilization has tended to emerge vertically, through clientelist networks, rather than horizontally, by class (Khan 2005, Szeftel 2000). According to Khan (2005), intermediary classes that act as political entrepreneurs in poor countries rarely share common ground and find it more feasible—and less politically risky—to forge alliances with faction members lower than themselves in social and economic status. Consequently, political competition often assumes a pyramidal structure.

Problems of participation and representation are particularly challenging for certain social groups, such as women (Goetz and Hassim 2003; Geisler 2000; Tripp 2001; Hirschmann, 1991), pastoralists (Azarya, 1996), and vulnerable populations like children, the elderly, and disabled individuals (Elwan, 1999). Given that women are disproportionately represented among the chronically poor, their ability to gain political representation is incredibly crucial. Despite notable advances—such as fixed quota seats in India and Uganda, parliamentary representation, and

women-focused budget initiatives in South Africa—there have been persistent difficulties in translating inclusion into actual influence (Goetz and Hassim, 2003). The incorporation of social movements, such as women’s movements in South Africa and Uganda, into formal political structures often dissipates the social energy behind gender equality (Geisler, 2000). It leads to the deadening effects of patronage, where women representatives may feel unable to challenge those who granted them power (Goetz and Hassim, 2003). Nevertheless, it has been suggested that some women’s movements retain a progressive potential that could challenge the basis of neo-patrimonial clientage and ensure the representation of specific interest groups (Tripp, 2000).

This approach highlights the significance of political incorporation, a concept linked to Foucault’s notion of “governmentality,” which intersects with issues of citizenship and clientelism. Much can be learned from analyses that follow Scott (1998) in examining the social technologies of knowledge and representation through which states categorize their subjects, affecting the reduction or reproduction of poverty. Broadley, this deepens recent research by examining how political elites construct discourses around poverty and link these narratives to actual governance technologies, particularly those concerning poverty reduction programs.

For instance, Corbridge et al. (2005) emphasize how poor people encounter the state in their daily lives. Importantly, in the post-colonial world, few people approach authority figures as individual citizens aware of their rights, as suggested by the language of “civil society.” Instead, ordinary people operate within the realms of political society, where the state creates and maintains different patterns of political rule that shape the possibilities for “citizenship empowerment.” It is here that the poor negotiate with mediators in their interactions with the state, and the identity and quality of these mediators are crucial to the livelihoods and dignity of poorer people (Corbridge et al., 2005).

These encounters can be studied by examining how various anti-poverty and good governance interventions perceive and govern the poor. The links between poor people and the government are often mediated by political bosses or brokers, known as *dadas* in India, who act as intermediaries between the state and its citizens. Such encounters vary across regions and forms of public goods, incorporating elements of both citizenship and patronage. For example, a widow collecting her pension in India may experience delays, rough treatment by state officials, and

demands for bribes, yet still, have legitimate expectations of the state, including a sense of her rights as a citizen. This perspective underlines the complex interplay between clientelism and citizenship, even within the same political subjects, and suggests that the prospects for the poor to transition from clients to citizens will be influenced more by challenges to specific forms of political rule and governmentality than by abstract notions of democracy and good governance.

2.2.3 Economic Dimensions of AISE and Poverty

The Adverse Incorporation and Social Exclusion (AISE) framework offers a useful perspective for examining enduring economic issues concerning chronic poverty. It provides insight into the relationship between chronic poverty and economic growth, the continuities and discontinuities of contemporary development compared to the economic relations established during colonialism, and the potential benefits and risks associated with developments in international trade and globalisation. In this sense, adverse incorporation revives many critical questions raised in earlier debates by proponents of dependency theory and other approaches that challenged the unfulfilled promises of modernisation and economic integration (Hickey & du Toit 2007; Barrientos et al., 2011).

In contemporary development policy, there is a prevailing assumption that enabling markets to assist the poor primarily involves strengthening market institutions, encouraging corporations to provide goods and services efficiently and affordably, building the capacity of the poor to participate in markets, and ensuring that markets function effectively (Sanchez-Ancochea & Mattei 2011; Hickey & Bukenya 2016). However, this approach often oversimplifies modern economies by viewing them merely as marketplaces governed by the mechanisms and rules of buying and selling goods and services. It fails to consider how their integration within complex deeply influences the functioning of these markets' power-laden institutional arrangements and global commodity chains (Barrientos et al., 2011).

For example, integration with global agro-food markets has produced mixed outcomes in sub-Saharan Africa. While some have benefited from increased opportunities for value addition, many more have faced heightened barriers to market access. These shifts have largely been driven by

the growing dominance of buyer-driven agro-commodity value chains, where Northern retailers wield significant power in distributing value-adding activities to suit their interests (McMichael 2020, Ponte & Sturgeon 2014). Moving beyond a simplistic focus on market access as an opportunity, and instead examining the terms on which people are integrated into global markets, can help policymakers advance the debate on how markets can truly work for the poor (McMichael, 2020). Understanding power dynamics within value chains and commodity systems is central to initiatives such as Fair Trade, which aim to ensure that primary producers benefit (Fridell, 2017).

Labour markets represent another way in which poor people are integrated into the broader economy. Understanding adverse incorporation in this context requires examining the terms of exchange in labour relationships and exploring the historical processes that have shaped these markets (Phillips, 2011). In South Africa, for example, the impoverishment of rural African hinterlands that supplied labour to mines and factories was not merely the result of employers' desire to purchase cheap labour and workers' willingness to sell it. Instead, it stemmed from deliberate policies that destroyed the black peasantry, confined them to rural homelands through racist legislation, and introduced monetisation measures (e.g., hut taxes) that compelled people to make themselves available as labour (Leibbrandt et al., 2012; Seekings & Natrass, 2015).

Adolfo Figueroa's concept of the 'sigma' society theorises persistently high levels of inequality by analysing its historical origins and exclusive characteristics. In this model, the initial distribution of assets within a society is seen as the outcome of a historical shock, such as colonial incorporation into global capitalism (Copestake, 2007). Unevenly distributed assets systematically prevent unskilled labour from accumulating enough resources to sustain themselves at a viable rate (Copestake, 2007; Hickey et al., 2020). This approach highlights how economic exclusion from key markets—such as labour, capital, and insurance—is closely tied to political and cultural forms of exclusion.

The AISE framework promises to shed light on at least four types of economic relationships. Firstly, it challenges researchers to scrutinise the lives of the 'working poor' and the dynamics between employers and employees at the firm level. Secondly, it encourages broader examinations of the economic structure, moving beyond dualistic explanations of relations between 'formal' and

'informal' sectors. Thirdly, AISE illuminates how broader restructuring processes—such as modernisation, urbanisation, and de-agrarianisation—shape power dynamics and determine the terms under which the poor compete or operate within the economy. Lastly, AISE emphasises the role of transnational integration processes, examining how developing countries are incorporated into the international trading system and the power relations created by restructuring international commodity chains linking producers in developing countries to global economic centres (Oya, 2019).

Potential research paths informed by these perspectives could include exploring:

- The health and financial security of the 'productive' poor, such as within Uganda's plantation sector (Dolislager et al., 2020);
- The impoverishing effects of capitalist penetration into rural areas, as seen in South African cases (Seekings, 2020);
- The formation of categories of the 'undeserving' poor in response to specific capital demands (Khan et al., 2017);
- Local labour regimes, including available formal work, working conditions, and remuneration (Phillips, 2020);
- The links between asset (dis)accumulation and processes of adverse incorporation (du Toit & Neves, 2014);
- Macro-economic trends, particularly regarding the forms of capital being empowered under current international financial institution policies and their implications for industrialisation in poor countries (Hickey et al., 2020);
- The complex relationships between growth, distribution, and chronic poverty (Barrientos, 2019).

2.2.4 Social Dimensions of AISE Discrimination and Gender Inequality

Social and cultural identity are crucial factors in the processes of social exclusion and adverse incorporation, particularly in how culturally ingrained gender norms and roles contribute to the marginalisation of women. Analysing social exclusion and adverse incorporation allows for a more socially embedded understanding of racism and discrimination, demonstrating that exclusion

based on identity is not merely a matter of prejudice or attitudes but is deeply connected to broader political and political economy processes.

"Discrimination based on gender, ethnicity, race, religion, or social status can lead to social exclusion and trap individuals in long-term poverty" (World Bank, 2000: 117). Discrimination is a fundamental aspect of social exclusion, as highlighted by De Haan (1999), and there is increasing evidence linking it to persistent poverty in developing countries. Kabeer, in particular, emphasizes that social exclusion becomes especially difficult to address when it is tied to what Nancy Fraser describes as 'bivalent categories.' These socio-cultural categories, such as ethnicity or caste, intertwine with economic disadvantages, creating a complex web of exclusion that is particularly challenging to break free from. For example, lower caste groups in India face entrenched barriers that are both social and economic. Similarly, Copestake (2007) and Saavedra et al. (2002) underscore the significance of these 'bivalent' categories, noting that differences in racial backgrounds can have profound implications for socioeconomic outcomes. Examples of this phenomenon include caste in India, race in South Africa, indigenous groups in Latin America, and stigmatized communities such as lepers.

The disproportionately high number of women affected by chronic poverty serves as a prominent example of how processes of adverse incorporation and social exclusion can entrench poverty. The gendered nature of these processes has been discussed throughout this paper, particularly in relation to political representation, citizenship, and labour markets. However, questions remain about the extent to which the concept of social exclusion adequately captures the various ways in which gender relations perpetuate poverty for many women.

Jackson (1999) raises a critical concern, arguing that "social exclusion must employ a concept of gendered subjects rather than an implicitly ungendered universal person." She warns that residualist interpretations of social exclusion might undermine the progress made by the 'gender and development' approach, which emphasized the relational basis of poverty. AISE research must go beyond exploring the relational aspects of poverty to understand how these relationships become institutionalised, ensuring their reproduction over time.

As Green and Hulme (2005) point out, women are not poor simply because they are women, but because of the specific constructions of womanhood that exist in particular contexts. These constructions then become the foundation for institutional arrangements. For instance, social norms of patriarchy may become entrenched within legal systems, as seen in the asset-stripping experienced by widows. In these cases, patriarchal norms are legitimised and reinforced by legal mechanisms, consigning some widows to destitution. Additionally, gender roles often dictate that women—especially young single female heads of households and elderly women—bear the brunt of the social and economic shocks, such as those stemming from the HIV/AIDS crisis in South Africa (du Toit and Neves, 2007).

2.3 DEFINITIONS, CHARACTERISTICS, AND THEIR ROLE IN SHAPING URBAN SPACES

Urbanisation refers to the transition from rural to urban living, encompassing changes in population, land use, economic activity, and culture (McGranahan, 2014). There is a growing consensus on urbanisation's critical importance in international development. However, confusion remains about its definition, whether it is accelerating or slowing, whether it should be encouraged or discouraged, and how to respond to it (McGranahan, 2014).

Urbanisation and urban planning are essential for managing population growth in urban areas. Urban planning involves the technical and political processes of land use and built environment development, including household mapping, road construction, and transport networking (McGranahan, 2014). Together, urbanisation and urban planning impact mobility, accessibility, and the availability of resources like transport. Understanding urbanisation in the context of public transport requires exploring city zones, including the Central Business District (CBD), urban-suburban areas, and peri-urban areas.

2.3.1 Defining the Urban

Urban areas are characterised by specific metrics that distinguish them from rural and peri-urban areas. Standardised definitions include population density, a built environment, the quality and level of infrastructure, and the predominant economic activities, such as service sector jobs (UN-Habitat, 2019). High accessibility to essential services like healthcare, education, and

transportation also defines urban spaces (World Bank, 2020). The rural/urban divide becomes evident in peri-urban areas serving as transitional zones. These areas exhibit both rural and urban characteristics, with varying levels of infrastructure development and service provision (Meth & Todes, 2021). While peri-urban areas often lack the economic density of fully urbanized regions, they play a critical role in urban expansion and the integration of rural populations into urban economies. Meth and Todes (2021) argue that peri-urban areas highlight spatial disparities and developmental challenges. Their work underscores the need to address uneven service delivery, land tenure insecurity, and inadequate infrastructure to ensure equitable urbanisation processes. These realities illustrate the complexities of defining and managing peri-urban spaces in rapidly urbanising contexts.

2.3.1.1 The Central Business District (CBD)

The Central Business District (CBD) concept, introduced by E. W. Burgess, describes a city's core that integrates financial, business, cultural, and service institutions, supported by infrastructure like office buildings, hotels, apartments, and transportation (Yaguanga, 2011). Burgess' concentric zone model views city expansion in concentric circles from its inner core outward.

The CBD's growth has been reevaluated, especially in developing nations. Scholars like Mbara and Maunder (1996) argue that the development of the CBD is influenced by its surrounding urban areas. While Burgess supports a centrifugal growth pattern, Mbara and Maunder propose a centripetal force driven by socio-economic activities in peripheral areas (Mbara and Maunder, 1996; Burgess, 1925). In colonial Zimbabwe, urban centres, especially cities, were predominantly reserved for the minority white population, a legacy that significantly influenced the post-colonial development of the Central Business District (CBD) (Mbara and Maunder, 1996).

Challenges in the CBD include traffic congestion, worsened by peripheral population movement. In Harare, economic activities are centralised in the CBD, leading to congestion as people commute by private or public vehicles (Chirisa, 2020).

2.3.1.2 Urban Suburban Area

According to Burgess's model, the urban-suburban area includes mixed land uses, from business to residential, with residential areas subdivided into low, medium, and high density (Burgess, 1925). High-income households closer to the city centre typically form low-density areas due to higher land values. Harare has expensive housing in the North, Northwest, and Northeast parts of the city (Nyatondo, 2013). Cheaper housing is more concentrated and located further from low-density residential areas.

Postcolonial migration from rural areas to Harare increased housing demand and prices in suburban areas (Mbara and Maunder, 1996; Nyatondo, 2013). Low-income families, unable to afford city centre housing, moved to peripheral regions, creating economic exclusion due to distance from socio-economic opportunities.

2.3.1.3 Peri-Urban Area

Mancebo (2008:1) defines urban sprawl as the process driving the outward spread of urban development densities and the associated socio-economic and cultural influences into surrounding rural areas. This expansion is typically supported by developing essential infrastructure and services, primarily transportation, which facilitates access to and the development of new residential areas on the city's outskirts. However, without such infrastructure, "precarious" peri-urbanisation occurs, often characterised by informality (Chirisa, 2013).

Despite the importance of these areas, Peters (2011:38) observes that urban policymakers frequently overlook or underestimate the need for investment in peri-urban zones. This urban bias often leads to inadequate provision of essential services, such as education, sanitation, and healthcare, along with lax enforcement of zoning and building standards on the urban fringe.

Defining peri-urban areas is a complex task, as the term is interpreted differently across various contexts and countries. Generally, peri-urban areas emerge from the expansion of urban activities beyond the existing administrative boundaries of urban regions. Thus, peri-urbanisation can be described as the process by which rural areas on the outskirts of established cities gradually acquire urban characteristics—physically, economically, and socially—often in a piecemeal manner (Webster, 2002: 5). McGregor et al. (2006) note that the terms "peri-urban" and "peri-urbanisation"

are often used interchangeably, signifying the urban fringe. In the Euro-American academic context, this area is frequently referred to as the "urban fringe" ("Stadtrandzone" in German, meaning "fringe belt") and is seen as a zone of significant social and economic transformation driven by spatial restructuring (Roy, 2009:6). More specifically, the peri-urban area has been conceptualised as a "producer of zones of chaotic urbanisation resulting in fragmented urban space" (Chirisa,2013). The "peri-urban" is also associated with newly urbanised zones at the edges of cities, often termed the "peri-urban interface" (Adell, 1999:5). In Africa, peri-urban zones are often viewed as areas susceptible to disasters, such as disease outbreaks and other social hazards, due to a general lack of planning and institutional integration, leading to laissez-faire development, land fragmentation, and social exclusion (Chirisa et al. 2010, Iaquina and Drescher 2010).

Peri-urban areas reflect the aspirations of poor households who seek to capitalise on the social and economic opportunities that peri-urban spaces offer. The proximity of peri-urban areas to cities allows residents to access urban services more readily. Since many low-income households cannot afford the higher cost of living within the city, they often relocate to peri-urban areas where housing is either free or relatively affordable (Peters, 2011).

The concept of the "peri-urban" has been defined in various ways—as a concept, a geographical space or zone, and a temporal phenomenon (Adell, 1999a; Narain and Nischal, 2007:261). As a space, Ubink (2008:23) describes peri-urban areas as "tenorial flashpoints where property relations are subject to intense contestation and where access to wealth and authority undergo rapid change." He views the peri-urban area as an interface zone between urban and rural areas, integrating demographic, market, and transport flows between these distinct spatial economies. Narain and Nischal (2007:261) similarly describe the peri-urban as an interface of rural and urban activities and institutions. While the discussions in this book will draw on contributions from scholars like Ubink (2008) and Narain and Nischal (2007), they also acknowledge the diverse interpretations and perceptions that define the concept, space, temporal phenomenon, and process of peri-urbanisation.

It is important to recognise that the discourse on peri-urbanisation is not limited to the Zimbabwean context but is relevant to cities worldwide experiencing rapid expansion and change. As existing

conurbations grow spatially, they tend to extend their geographical boundaries to the outskirts and connect with other cities globally through various forms of mobility. The issues addressed in this book—such as land tenure insecurity, land management strategies, access to water, green economies in peri-urban areas, and the political economy of peri-urban development—are also evident in countries like Uganda, Kenya, Botswana, Zambia, and South Africa.

2.3.2 Historical Context of Urban Development in the Southern African Region

This section aims to provide a comprehensive analysis of the historical context of urban development in the region, with a specific focus on prominent cities, including Johannesburg, Cape Town, Nairobi, and Harare. The analysis will thoroughly compare their governance structures, emphasising both similarities and differences while considering the impact of colonial legacies, post-independence policies, and socio-economic dynamics on shaping their urban development trajectories.

2.3.2.1 Urban Development and Colonial Legacies

Their colonial pasts have significantly influenced the urban development of Johannesburg and Cape Town. Johannesburg, established following the discovery of gold in 1886, rapidly transformed into a thriving mining centre (Mabin, 1992). The city's swift growth was propelled by the arrival of European settlers and the exploitation of mineral resources, leading to an urban landscape characterised by profound racial segregation (Parnell & Robinson, 2012). During the apartheid era, Johannesburg's urban structure was meticulously organised to enforce racial divisions, with specific areas allocated for white, black, Indian, and coloured populations. The implementation of the Group Areas Act of 1950 further solidified these divisions, giving rise to the establishment of townships such as Soweto, where black South Africans were forcibly displaced (Mabin, 1992)

Cape Town, established by the Dutch East India Company in 1652 as a supply station, developed differently due to its coastal location (Watson, 2016). As a major port city, Cape Town attracted a diverse population, including slaves, free blacks, and European settlers. However, like Johannesburg, Cape Town experienced significant racial segregation, particularly during the apartheid era (Watson 2016; Oldfield 2015; Kihato 2018). The Group Areas Act was also

rigorously enforced here, leading to the displacement of non-white populations to peripheral areas such as District Six, which was declared a whites-only area in 1966, resulting in the forced removal of over 60,000 residents (Worden, 1994).

Despite the end of apartheid in 1994, both cities continue to grapple with the legacy of segregation (Pieterse, 2009). The urban form and socio-economic divides established during the colonial and apartheid eras persist, influencing current urban governance and planning efforts. Efforts to redress these historical inequalities are ongoing, with policies promoting inclusive urban development and improving infrastructure in previously marginalised areas (Pieterse, 2009).

Nairobi's establishment as a major urban centre dates back to 1899 when it was founded as a railway depot during the British colonial government's construction of the Uganda Railway (Wamukoya, 2020). Initially a swampy area, Nairobi's strategic location made it an ideal administrative and commercial hub, and it rapidly grew to become the capital of British East Africa in 1907 (White, 1990).

Colonial urban planning in Nairobi was characterised by racial zoning, with distinct areas designated for Europeans, Asians (mainly Indians brought in as labourers for the railway), and Africans (Wamukova, 2020). The city's layout reflected the colonial hierarchy, with Europeans occupying the most desirable areas with better infrastructure and amenities. At the same time, Africans were relegated to overcrowded and under-serviced locations, often called native reserves (Obudho & Aduwo, 1988).

The segregationist policies of the colonial era have left a lasting impact on Nairobi's urban form. Rapid urbanisation, population growth, and the persistence of informal settlements have challenged post-independence efforts to address these disparities (Wamukova, 2020). Today, Nairobi continues to struggle with issues of spatial inequality, inadequate infrastructure, and informal housing, which are remnants of its colonial past (Mwangi, 1997).

Harare, whose colonial name was Salisbury, was founded in 1890 by the British South Africa Company during the colonisation of Zimbabwe, then known as Southern Rhodesia (Potts, 2003).

The city was named after British Prime Minister Lord Salisbury and was established as a colonial administrative centre *ibid*. From its inception, Salisbury was designed to serve the needs of European settlers, with planning policies favouring their economic and social interests (Patel, 1988). Racial segregation was a cornerstone of urban planning in Salisbury, with strict zoning laws that allocated the best residential and commercial areas to Europeans (Mlambo, 1999). Africans were confined to high-density townships on the city's outskirts, such as Highfield and Mbare, where they faced overcrowded living conditions and limited access to essential services (Rakodi, 1995).

The legacy of these colonial planning policies is evident in Harare's contemporary urban landscape. Despite gaining independence in 1980 and being renamed Harare, the city still grapples with spatial and socio-economic inequalities rooted in its colonial past. Efforts to address these disparities have been hampered by economic challenges, political instability, and inadequate urban governance (Muchadenyika, 2015).

Johannesburg and Cape Town: Post-apartheid South Africa adopted a decentralised governance model aimed at dismantling the institutional frameworks of apartheid and promoting inclusive development. Johannesburg and Cape Town, as major metropolitan areas, have metropolitan councils responsible for a wide range of urban management functions, including planning, service delivery, and economic development. These councils are designed to operate autonomously, allowing them to tailor their policies and initiatives to local needs (Pieterse, 2009).

Both Harare and Nairobi experience significant central government control over local urban authorities, limiting local decision-making and autonomy. This centralisation often leads to inefficiencies and delays in addressing local issues (Nyikadzino and Vyas-Doorgapersad 2022; Khan 2010). In contrast, Johannesburg and Cape Town benefit from more decentralised governance structures, though they still face challenges related to the legacy of centralised control during the apartheid era, which affects their ability to fully address local needs (Turok 2014, SACN 2021).

Political interference is a common issue in Harare and Nairobi, where national political considerations often override local priorities. This undermines local governance and exacerbates urban management challenges (Nyikadzino and Vyas-Doorgapersad 2022; Khan 2010). In Johannesburg and Cape Town, while political interference is less pronounced, historical inequalities and socio-political dynamics continue to influence urban governance (Pieterse, 2009).

All four cities grapple with historical and contemporary urban segregation and inequality. In Johannesburg and Cape Town, apartheid-era policies have left enduring spatial and socio-economic divides (Turok, 2014; Pieterse, 2009). Harare and Nairobi also exhibit significant disparities, driven by both colonial legacies and post-colonial political dynamics (Rakodi, 1995; Government of Kenya, 2021). On the other hand, Johannesburg and Cape Town benefit from a higher degree of local autonomy compared to Harare and Nairobi. The South African constitution provides for metropolitan councils with substantial powers, facilitating more responsive and localized urban governance (SACN, 2021). Harare's local government operates under strict central oversight, limiting its capacity to address specific local needs effectively (Nyikadzino and Vyas-Doorgapersad, 2022). Nairobi's devolved government system, though an improvement, still struggles with significant national government influence (Khan, 2010).

Moreover, Nairobi has made efforts towards decentralisation by establishing the Nairobi City County, although significant power still resides with the national government (Government of Kenya, 2021). This creates a more dynamic but sometimes conflicted urban governance environment. Harare struggles with the selective enforcement of regulations and political patronage, leading to uneven urban development and marginalised communities (Nyikadzino and Vyas-Doorgapersad, 2022). In contrast, Johannesburg and Cape Town have more structured urban planning frameworks, though they still face challenges in addressing the needs of previously marginalised populations (Pieterse 2009, SACN 2021).

Johannesburg and Cape Town, as major economic hubs in South Africa, have more developed infrastructure and economic opportunities than Harare and Nairobi. This economic disparity influences urban governance and the capacity to implement development projects effectively (Turok, 2014; SACN, 2021). Harare faces significant financial challenges, exacerbated by political

instability and poor management, hindering its urban development (Potts, 2010). While more economically vibrant, Nairobi also has substantial informal settlements and infrastructure deficits (Government of Kenya, 2021).

The decentralisation has facilitated more localised decision-making, enabling these cities to address specific urban challenges more effectively. However, the legacy of apartheid persists in the form of spatial and socio-economic divides, which continue to pose significant challenges to urban governance. Efforts to redress these inequalities involve extensive investment in infrastructure, housing, and social services aimed at improving the living conditions of historically marginalised communities (Harrison et al., 2008).

Kenya's 2010 constitution established a devolved system of government aimed at enhancing local governance and improving service delivery. Nairobi operates under the Nairobi City County government, which is responsible for urban management and development within the city. Despite these decentralisation efforts, significant power remains centralised, particularly in areas such as land allocation and major infrastructure projects, which are still heavily influenced by the national government (Ouna, 2017).

The devolution has brought some improvements in local governance, but the persistence of centralised control continues to limit the effectiveness of local authorities. The overlapping responsibilities and frequent conflicts between national and regional governments hinder coherent urban planning and management, contributing to informal settlements and inadequate infrastructure (Mwangi, 1997).

Harare's governance is characterised by a highly centralised system where significant authority rests with the Ministry of Local Government (Mbiba, 2019). This centralisation restricts the autonomy of the Harare City Council, leading to inefficiencies and delays in addressing local issues. Political interference is rampant, with national political considerations often taking precedence over local needs, further undermining effective urban governance (Chirisa, 2017).

The centralised governance model has led to a fragmented approach to urban planning, with frequent conflicts between the city council and national government. This has resulted in inconsistent policy implementation and a lack of coordinated development efforts, exacerbating Harare's urban management challenges (Muchadenyika, 2015).

2.3.3 Aspects of Urban Service Usage

Urban services, such as healthcare and education, are paramount in shaping the quality of life in urban areas. These services are indispensable for a city's socio-economic development and significantly contribute to its residents' well-being. Various factors, including the availability of services, affordability, and governance structures, influence the accessibility of these services.

2.3.3.1 Healthcare Services

Access to healthcare services in urban areas significantly determines health outcomes. The proximity of healthcare facilities, public transportation availability, and healthcare services' affordability are critical factors influencing healthcare accessibility (Carruthers et al., 2005). In many urban settings, healthcare facilities are often concentrated in central areas, making it difficult for residents of peri-urban and informal settlements to access these services (Lättman et al., 2016). Studies have shown that transportation costs and reliable public transport availability significantly affect residents' access to healthcare facilities (Penchansky & Thomas, 1981; Gulliford et al., 2002).

Sanders & Chopra (2006) believe the quality of healthcare services in urban areas varies widely, often reflecting socio-economic disparities. While some metropolitan areas boast state-of-the-art medical facilities, others suffer from underfunded and overcrowded clinics and hospitals, particularly in low-income neighbourhoods *ibid*. The uneven distribution of healthcare resources is a significant issue in cities like Johannesburg and Harare, where historical inequalities and governance issues continue to affect service delivery (Harrison, 2019).

Health outcomes in urban areas are closely linked to the accessibility and quality of healthcare services (Muserere, 2014). Equity in healthcare provision is a significant concern, with marginalised groups often experiencing poorer health outcomes due to barriers to accessing

healthcare. Improving health equity includes targeted interventions to enhance healthcare accessibility for disadvantaged populations and addressing physical and financial barriers (WHO, 2016).

2.3.3.2 Education Services

Christie (2008) argues that access to education is a fundamental right and a critical factor in socio-economic development. In urban areas, the accessibility of educational facilities is influenced by the availability of schools, the quality of infrastructure, and transportation options. Students from low-income families often face difficulty accessing quality education due to long travel distances and high transportation costs (Filmer, 2007).

The quality of education in urban areas varies widely, often reflecting broader socio-economic disparities. Motala (2009) suggest schools in affluent neighbourhoods typically have better facilities, more qualified teachers, and greater access to educational resources than schools in impoverished areas. This difference in educational quality perpetuates cycles of poverty and limits socioeconomic mobility, as it can result in unequal opportunities for students based on their geographic location and economic background (Habib, 2019). This can further entrench socio-economic inequalities and hinder the ability of individuals from disadvantaged areas to improve their circumstances through education.

Ensuring equity in education is about addressing disparities in both access to education and the quality of education. Policies aimed at improving educational equity often involve providing additional resources to underfunded schools, establishing scholarship programs to support students in need, and enhancing transportation infrastructure to make it easier for students to get to school (Motala, 2009; Habib, 2019). These equity-focused educational reforms are crucial for promoting inclusive urban development and reducing socio-economic inequalities, as highlighted in a report by UNESCO (2015).

2.3.3.3 Aspects of Transport Usage

Land use patterns and opportunities for socio-economic activities significantly influence public transportation usage. Endogenous factors such as affordability, availability, accessibility, and

acceptability determine transport usage patterns across rural and urban areas. Transport affordability is a critical factor affecting households' access to essential services. Gleeson and Randolph (2002) describe transport poverty as a situation in which households spend excessive income on travel costs, particularly motor vehicle ownership and usage. According to TDM (2016), households should ideally spend less than 20% of their budgets on transport and less than 45% on transport and housing to ensure affordability.

Transport affordability is multidimensional, encompassing accessibility, availability, and acceptability. Research indicates that defining and measuring it can be challenging due to the diversity of contextual factors across different countries (Carruthers et al. 2005, Fan & Huang 2011, Litman 2014). Venter and Behrens (2005) note the difficulty of establishing uniform measures of transport affordability due to varying definitions and contextual influences.

The availability of public transport services is a significant component of urban mobility. The need for connectivity to social and economic services underscores the importance of transport availability. However, transport network planning often prioritises cost reduction over equity and access, neglecting the needs of disadvantaged populations (Murray, 2003). Transport availability involves the provision of infrastructure, information, and services that facilitate ease of movement. Mbiba (2017) emphasises that public transport must be accessible to all, considering location, gender dynamics, and societal norms. Key factors influencing transport availability include infrastructure, time, and cost (Jackiva & Yatskiv, 2017).

Transport accessibility refers to the ease with which passengers can use public transport, encompassing factors such as distance to bus stops, safety, and availability of information (Carruthers et al., 2005). Accessibility is crucial for transport utilisation, as it addresses the diverse needs of society, including gender, income, and social status (Chirisa, 2020). Personal security during transport activities is a growing concern worldwide. The need to travel for essential activities, such as work, education, and healthcare, often places individuals in vulnerable situations (Gwilliam, 2002). Therefore, ensuring the safety and security of public transport is vital for enhancing accessibility (Lättman et al., 2016).

The expected standards of individual travellers determine transport acceptability. Factors such as vehicle condition, personal security, driver behaviour, and waiting facilities influence the acceptability of public transport (Fan & Huang 2011, Luke & Heyn 2020). Chirisa (2017) highlights that transport must be available, affordable, and accessible to be deemed acceptable by the community. Acceptability significantly influences transport modal choice and travel patterns. Even if public transport meets objective quality benchmarks, perceived safety, comfort, or convenience deficiencies can deter potential users (Carruthers et al., 2005).

2.4 UNDERSTANDING INEQUALITY AND GENDER DYNAMICS IN SOUTHERN AFRICAN CITIES

This section presents the theoretical framework used to analyse the dynamics of centralised power and urban management, socio-economic inequalities, and gender dynamics in urban contexts. The selected theories comprehensively understand how these factors interact and shape urban development, particularly in Southern African cities such as Harare, Johannesburg, and Nairobi.

2.4.1. Socio-Economic Inequalities

Socio-economic inequalities in urban areas are deeply rooted in the economic structures and class relations that define city life. Marxist Theory offers a critical perspective on how capitalist urban development leads to socio-economic disparities, with wealth concentrated in the hands of a few while marginalised communities face deprivation. Harvey (1973) emphasises the role of economic exploitation in creating these urban inequalities, arguing that the capitalist mode of production inherently produces and perpetuates socio-economic disparities.

Weberian Theory adds another dimension to the analysis by focusing on multiple aspects of social stratification, including class, status, and power. Weber (1978) provides a comprehensive framework for examining how socioeconomic inequalities manifest in urban settings and are maintained through social structures and institutional arrangements. Critical Urban Theory further critiques the capitalist urbanisation process, emphasising the need for transformative policies that address structural inequalities and promote social justice in urban areas. Brenner, Marcuse, and Mayer (2009) argue for a radical restructuring of urban governance to tackle the root causes of urban inequality and foster inclusive development.

2.4.2 Inequality of Opportunities

In a well-functioning market economy, opportunities to receive an education, secure a good job, and earn sufficient income should not be limited by a person's gender, race, place of birth, or parental background (EBRD, 2016). However, inequality of opportunities becomes prevalent in economies that are not well-functioning. Inequality of opportunities refers to situations where individuals in the same society cannot access the same opportunities (EBRD, 2016). High levels of inequality of opportunity mean that factors such as a person's circumstances at birth, gender, place of birth, ethnicity, or parental background significantly determine their educational qualifications, type of employment, and, ultimately, their level of earnings (EBRD, 2016). This type of inequality is widely regarded as an unfair aspect of social inequality.

Equality of opportunity does not mean eliminating all differences in educational qualifications or income levels. Instead, it means that such differences should reflect individual effort and choices made freely at various stages of life (Roemer 1998, Fleurbaey 2008, Ferreira & Peragine 2016). Inequality restricts the options and opportunities available to individuals, groups, and society as a whole, thereby slowing down the overall market economy. Inequality of opportunity is inefficient because it prevents people from utilising their skills or realising their entrepreneurial ideas, negatively impacting long-term economic growth and trapping a country in a cycle of increasing income and wealth inequality (Marrero & Rodríguez 2013, Ferreira et al. 2014). This impact may be even more significant during periods of rapid technological change when large segments of the population are unable to acquire the new skills needed to benefit from technological innovation.

Unequal access to opportunities can also lead to a loss of confidence in the critical economic and political institutions that underpin society and the market-based economic system as a whole (EBRD, 2016). This loss of confidence can result in the reversal of reforms and lead to high economic costs. More broadly, the concept of equality of opportunity is rooted in the Rawlsian philosophical tradition, which expects people to construct a society in such a way that they would be content with their place being determined by a random draw. Rawlsian principles state that the freedom of individuals and rational persons, concerned with furthering their interests, would accept an initial position of equality as defining the fundamental terms of their association (Rawls,

1971). Equality is vital in unlocking the potential within society, as more opportunities drive economic growth.

An individual's income is determined by an array of factors, including their level of effort, circumstances such as gender or locality, and elements of luck. Inequality of opportunity varies substantially across different regions and often between neighbouring countries. For instance, the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) exhibits higher levels of inequality of opportunity compared to the European Union (EBRD, 2016). Within the SADC region, differences between countries are apparent. South Africa, as an economic powerhouse in Africa, provides numerous employment and investment opportunities. In contrast, opportunities in Zimbabwe and the Democratic Republic of Congo are limited, forcing citizens to seek opportunities in other countries and regions.

Assessing inequality of opportunities from a top-down approach has advantages when analysing inequality at a macro level. This method allows for the overall impact assessment of inequality at national, regional, and continental levels. However, the drawback is that it often lacks a detailed understanding of lived realities, culture, and the status quo in society (Fleurbay, 2008). Top-down assessments can lead to blanket solutions that do not consider social dynamics and differences between countries and regions.

Inequality of opportunity is a significant issue in Zimbabwe, particularly in urban areas like Harare. The socio-economic environment in Zimbabwe, characterised by political instability, economic decline, and policy failures, has created vast disparities in access to education (UNDP, 2020), employment, and other opportunities. These disparities are often exacerbated by factors such as gender, ethnicity, and place of birth, which play a crucial role in determining an individual's life chances (Chingarande 2004, UNDP 2020).

Zimbabwe's education system, once a model for Africa, has been severely undermined by decades of economic challenges (Zvobgo 2009, ILO 2018). Access to quality education is highly unequal, with children from wealthy families able to attend well-resourced private schools while those from poor backgrounds are often relegated to underfunded public schools. This disparity perpetuates a

cycle of poverty, as access to quality education is a key determinant of future employment and income (Zvobgo, 2009; Maringe, 2020).

Employment opportunities in Zimbabwe are also highly unequal. The formal sector, which offers better wages and job security, is often inaccessible to those without the necessary educational qualifications or social networks (Kanyenze et al. 2011; UNDP 2020). This inequality is compounded by the dominance of the informal sector, where jobs are typically low-paying and insecure. The economic decline and high unemployment rates in Zimbabwe have further exacerbated these disparities, particularly for young people and women, who face significant barriers to entering the labour market (Kanyenze et al. 2011; ILO 2018).

Gender plays a critical role in the inequality of opportunities in Zimbabwe. Women, particularly in urban areas, face significant barriers to education and employment due to entrenched patriarchal norms, limited access to resources, and gender-based discrimination. Despite legal frameworks promoting gender equality, such as the Gender Policy and constitutional provisions, these barriers restrict women's opportunities, contributing to their economic marginalisation (Muchabaiwa, 2022; UN Women, 2020).

The Rawlsian perspective on equality of opportunity is particularly relevant in Zimbabwe, where the lack of a level playing field has led to widespread disillusionment with socioeconomic and political institutions (Rawls 1971; Mlambo 1997). Addressing these inequalities requires comprehensive policy interventions that improve access to education, healthcare, and employment opportunities, especially for marginalised groups. Such interventions are essential for breaking the cycle of poverty and promoting social mobility (Rawls, 1971; Sen 1992).

2.4.3 Inequality of Outcomes

Inequality of outcomes and inequality of opportunities are often associated with different views on social justice in economic inequality literature. Inequality of outcomes refers to the distribution of the joint product of a person's efforts and the circumstances in which these efforts are made (Roemer, 1998). This concept is mostly concerned with income inequality. In contrast, inequality of opportunities refers to differences in those circumstances that are beyond an individual's control but significantly affect their results and effort levels (Roemer, 1998). Income inequality is more visible than inequality of opportunity.

Weatherdon (2014) provides an analogy to illustrate the inequality of outcomes: Suppose there are two children. Child A has parents who earn \$75,000 a year, for a pre-tax household income of \$150,000, or about \$50,000 per person. Child B has a single parent who earns \$20,000 a year, for a pre-tax household income of about \$10,000 per person. This scenario demonstrates inequality of outcome. If both children attend public school and participate in sports teams and the school band, but do not receive extra tutoring, they might still achieve similar academic records and extracurricular success due to varying levels of parental involvement and support.

If both children graduate high school with similar marks and apply to similar programs at quality schools, obtaining similar jobs and earning \$75,000 a year within five years, this would reflect equality of opportunity despite the initial income disparity of their families. The analogy shows the narrow margin between inequality of opportunity and outcomes. Unequal outcomes, particularly income inequality, significantly influence human well-being. This is evident from the strong association between income inequality and inequalities in health, education, and nutrition (WHO, 2008). Beyond a certain threshold, inequality harms individual behaviour and societal cohesion, suggesting that addressing both types of inequality is crucial for sustainable development.

The Republic of Zimbabwe exhibits notable disparities in income, health, and living standards within its urban population (Muzondidya, 2009). The economic downturn of the past twenty years, exacerbated by hyperinflation and currency instability, has led to a substantial widening of income inequality. This contrast is particularly evident in Harare, where a clear socioeconomic division exists between affluent suburbs and densely populated informal settlements lacking fundamental services (Muzondidya, 2009; World Bank, 2019).

Income inequality in Zimbabwe is closely linked to the country's economic structure, where a small elite controls the majority of wealth and resources (World Bank, 2019). This inequality of outcomes is further entrenched by unequal access to opportunities, as discussed earlier. The disparities in income have a profound impact on human well-being, as they translate into differences in access to healthcare, education, and other essential services (Manero 2016, WHO 2015).

Health disparities are significant, with the wealthy having access to private healthcare facilities, while the majority rely on underfunded public health services. As a result, there are noticeable differences in health outcomes, with poorer populations experiencing higher rates of preventable diseases and lower life expectancy (Gaidzanwa, 1997; Chikanda, 2005). An analogy provided by Weatherdon (2014) is relevant here, as children from affluent families have access to better education, healthcare, and social networks, enabling them to achieve better outcomes in life. In contrast, children from poor families often struggle to escape the cycle of poverty due to their socioeconomic circumstances.

2.4.4 Inequality of Opportunity vs. Inequality of Outcomes

Previously, we discussed the top-down approach to addressing inequality of opportunity. In contrast, addressing inequality of outcomes often requires a bottom-up approach. A critical distinction between these perspectives lies in the direction of causality between outcomes and opportunities. The question arises: Do higher incomes lead to improved opportunities, or do greater opportunities result in better outcomes in terms of human well-being? This, however, presents a false dichotomy because outcomes and opportunities are highly interdependent. Achieving equal outcomes is impossible without ensuring equal opportunities, and equal opportunities are unattainable if households start from unequal positions.

An analysis of income inequality in this context focuses primarily on income distribution across two dimensions: household income distribution and functional income distribution. Household income distribution examines how income is spread across households within an economy. This can be further divided into primary, secondary, and tertiary income distribution. Primary income distribution refers to the initial distribution of household incomes before taxes and subsidies, determined by market forces and institutions. It includes various factor incomes within each household, which can sometimes be cumulative. Secondary income distribution is the distribution of household incomes after taxes have been deducted and transfer payments included, reflecting the impact of government policies on income distribution. Tertiary income distribution encompasses household incomes after accounting for imputed benefits from public expenditure, such as healthcare, education, and other public services, following deductions and subsidies (Atkinson 2009; van der Hoeven 2008; UNDP 2015).

Functional income distribution looks at the income allocated to different factors of production, such as land, labour, and capital. It is typically measured by the share of wages or profits in the national income. This perspective emphasises how income inequality affects the distribution of economic participation and benefits among various production factors.

The relationship between income inequality and opportunities highlights the interdependence of outcomes and opportunities. Equality of outcomes cannot be achieved without equal opportunities for all individuals. Conversely, establishing equal opportunities is challenging when households have vastly different starting points regarding income and resources. Understanding the causal relationship between outcomes and opportunities is crucial for designing effective policies. Policies to reduce income inequality must address household and functional income distributions. For instance, improving access to education, healthcare, and other public services can help level the playing field, providing more equitable opportunities for all. Policies that ensure fair wages and equitable participation in economic activities are essential for achieving a more balanced income distribution.

The connection between inequality of opportunity and outcomes is clear in Zimbabwe. Limited access to equal opportunities has resulted in significant disparities in outcomes, particularly in income, education, and health. Conversely, the unequal distribution of income and resources has further entrenched the lack of opportunities, creating a vicious cycle of poverty and inequality (Ncube 2011; Chipika 2013).

The approach of addressing inequality of opportunity from the top down, often used in policymaking, has limitations in the context of Zimbabwe. National policies aimed at improving access to education and healthcare may not effectively tackle the specific challenges faced by communities in informal settlements, where schools and clinics are often under-resourced and overcrowded (Muchadenyika, 2015). A bottom-up approach that considers the lived experiences of the urban poor is essential for addressing both inequalities of opportunity and outcomes (Potts 2008, Muchadenyika 2015).

Policies designed to reduce income inequality need to address both household and functional income distributions. This can be achieved by implementing measures such as progressive

taxation, social welfare programs, and investment in public services. These policies are crucial to ensuring a more equitable income distribution and opportunities in Zimbabwe, ultimately promoting social justice and inclusive development (Atkinson 2009, UNDP 2015).

2.4.5 Understanding the Informal Sector in the Economic Decline of Zimbabwe

In response to the profound economic instability that gripped Zimbabwe in the late 1990s and early 2000s, particularly following the collapse of formal employment opportunities, the informal sector emerged as a vital component of the country's economy. This sector has expanded dramatically in the face of shrinking formal job markets, becoming the primary income source for most Zimbabweans. By 2014, it was estimated that over 90% of the workforce was engaged in informal economic activities, a stark indicator of the sector's dominance and the limited opportunities available in the formal economy (African Development Bank, 2014).

The informal sector in Zimbabwe is characterised by diverse economic activities ranging from street vending, artisanal mining, and informal manufacturing to small-scale trading and various forms of unregistered service provision (Bandauko et al., 2021). These activities have proliferated across urban areas, rural markets, and even in the country's border regions, driven by the need for survival in a context of pervasive economic hardship. The expansion of the informal economy has been both a symptom of and a response to the broader financial challenges facing Zimbabwe, as individuals and households have sought to create livelihoods in the absence of formal employment opportunities.

The growth of the informal sector has had profound implications for urban spaces in Zimbabwe. The informal economy has significantly reshaped the urban landscape in cities like Harare. Informal markets, vending stalls, and small workshops have proliferated in areas not originally designated for such activities, often occupying sidewalks, public squares, and other open spaces (Kamete, 2006). These informal spaces frequently operate outside the bounds of formal urban planning regulations, leading to a complex and often contentious relationship between informal traders and municipal authorities.

One of the most visible impacts of the rise of the informal sector has been the transformation of urban centres into vibrant, yet chaotic, hubs of economic activity. In Harare, for example, the Central Business District (CBD) and various high-density suburbs have become focal points for informal trade, with vendors selling everything from fresh produce and clothing to electronics and household goods (Tibaijuka, 2005). The informal sector's presence is so pervasive that it has blurred the lines between formal and informal spaces, creating a dynamic but often congested urban environment.

However, the proliferation of informal economic activities has also brought about significant challenges. The presence of informal markets in areas not designed for such purposes often conflicts with formal urban planning and zoning regulations. These tensions are exacerbated by periodic crackdowns on informal traders, which are often justified by the need to enforce city bylaws or maintain public order. These crackdowns can be violent and destroy informal markets, leading to confrontations between the state and the urban poor (Rogerson, 2014). Such actions not only he livelihoods of informal traders but also and the sense of insecurity and vulnerability among those who depend on the informal economy for survival.

Despite its precariousness, the informal sector has become essential to Zimbabwe's urban economy. For many households, especially those in urban and peri-urban areas, informal economic activities provide the only means of survival where formal employment opportunities are scarce, unreliable, or nonexistent (Bandauko et al., 2021). This sector has acted as a critical safety net for millions of Zimbabweans, cushioning them against the worst economic instability effects and offering financial autonomy in an otherwise challenging environment.

However, the informal sector is also characterised by significant vulnerabilities. Workers in this sector often lack basic legal protections, such as contracts, minimum wage standards, or access to social security benefits. The absence of these protections means that informal workers are frequently subject to exploitation, with little recourse in the event of disputes with employers or customers (Chen, 2012). Furthermore, the informal nature of these activities means that they are often excluded from official statistics, economic planning, and policy-making processes. This exclusion further marginalises those who rely on the informal sector for their livelihoods, making

it difficult for them to access credit, training, or other forms of support that could help improve their economic prospects.

The rise of the informal sector has also highlighted broader issues of spatial inequality in Zimbabwe's urban areas. Informal settlements, which are often located on the peripheries of cities, are typically underserved by basic services such as water, sanitation, electricity, and healthcare (Chirisa, 2010). This lack of infrastructure not only reflects the broader economic challenges facing the country but also reinforces patterns of exclusion and marginalisation. For instance, in Harare's southern suburbs, residents of informal settlements face long commutes to the city centre, inadequate public transport options, and limited access to economic opportunities, further entrenching their socio-economic disadvantages (Mbiba, 2017).

The spatial distribution of the informal sector also underscores the deepening divide between formal and informal urban areas. In many cases, informal settlements have sprung up in areas where land is cheap or unregulated, leading to the development of densely populated neighbourhoods with poor living conditions. These settlements often lack proper sanitation facilities access to clean water and are vulnerable to environmental hazards such as flooding or disease outbreaks (Tibajuka, 2005). The concentration of poverty in these areas is a direct consequence of the broader economic and social inequalities that characterise Zimbabwe's urban landscape.

Moreover, the rise of the informal sector has contributed to the fragmentation of urban spaces. As informal markets and settlements have grown, they have created distinct zones within cities where different economic activities and social practices prevail. This fragmentation has made urban planning more complex and has often led to tensions between different groups of city residents. For example, middle-class residents and businesses in formal urban areas may view the expansion of informal markets as threatening property values, public order, and cleanliness, while those in informal areas may see these markets as essential to their survival (Kamete, 2006).

Zimbabwe's economy has experienced significant turbulence since the late 1990s, with the land reform programme as a pivotal event that exacerbated existing economic challenges. The country's economic trajectory during this period was marked by a series of escalating crises, the most severe

of which was the hyperinflationary episode that gripped the nation from the early 2000s until 2009. This economic instability reshaped Zimbabwe's economic landscape and had profound social and political repercussions.

The roots of Zimbabwe's economic instability can be traced back to the late 1990s when the government embarked on a series of populist economic policies that strained the national budget. These included unbudgeted payments to war veterans and involvement in the Second Congo War, both of which significantly increased public expenditure (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2003). The situation was further compounded by the implementation of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) in 2000, which disrupted the agricultural sector—a key pillar of the economy—and led to a sharp decline in agricultural exports, foreign currency earnings, and overall economic productivity (Richardson, 2005).

The early 2000s marked the beginning of a severe economic downturn characterised by hyperinflation, which reached an unprecedented peak of 79.6 billion percent in November 2008 (Hanke & Kwok, 2009). Hyperinflation decimated the value of the Zimbabwean dollar, rendering it practically worthless and forcing the government to eventually abandon its currency in favour of a multi-currency system in 2009, with the US dollar becoming the de facto currency. The hyperinflationary environment eroded savings, destroyed household incomes, and precipitated widespread poverty. Basic goods became scarce, and the cost of living skyrocketed, leaving the majority of Zimbabweans struggling to afford even the most essential items.

The economic collapse was further compounded by international sanctions imposed by Western countries in response to the Zimbabwean government's policies, including human rights abuses and the controversial land reform programme. These sanctions, coupled with the withdrawal of international aid and investment, isolated Zimbabwe from the global financial system, exacerbating the economic crisis (Bratton & Masunungure, 2008). The sanctions restricted Zimbabwe's access to international credit and aid and significantly reduced foreign direct investment, which was critical for economic recovery and growth.

The contraction in economic activity during this period was severe, with the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) shrinking by nearly 50% between 1998 and 2008 (World Bank, 2010).

Once a vibrant component of Zimbabwe's economy, the manufacturing sector was particularly hard hit. Industrial output plummeted as companies struggled with foreign currency shortages, raw materials, and reliable power supply (Richardson, 2007). The manufacturing sector's decline contributed to widespread deindustrialisation, with many factories closing down and contributing to a sharp rise in unemployment.

Urban centres, historically hubs of economic activity and employment, bore the brunt of this economic decline. As industries closed and formal employment opportunities disappeared, urban unemployment skyrocketed. By 2008, it was estimated that formal sector employment accounted for less than 10% of the labour force, with the vast majority of Zimbabweans forced into informal economic activities to survive (African Development Bank, 2014). The decline in formal employment opportunities pushed many into the informal sector, where incomes were unstable and working conditions were often precarious *ibid*. This shift not only altered the economic structure of Zimbabwe but also increased the vulnerability of the urban population to economic shocks (Kamete, 2013).

The economic instability also led to the deterioration of public services across the country, but its impact was particularly severe in urban areas. Harare, once renowned for its well-maintained infrastructure, became characterised by chronic water shortages, frequent power outages, and deteriorating road networks (Kamete, 2013). The city's waste management systems collapsed under the strain, leading to mounting public health concerns as uncollected garbage accumulated in the streets and waterborne diseases such as cholera became rampant (Chirisa, 2008). The cholera outbreak of 2008-2009, which claimed over 4,000 lives, was a direct consequence of the collapse in public health services and the broader breakdown in urban infrastructure (Mason, 2009).

The economic instability further strained urban governance. The decline in government revenue, exacerbated by hyperinflation and a shrinking tax base, severely constrained the ability of local authorities to provide essential services (Chirisa 2018; Mbida 2017; Muchadenyika 2015). In many cases, urban governance structures became paralysed, unable to respond effectively to the growing challenges posed by rapid urbanisation, increased poverty, and the proliferation of informal settlements (Musekiwa, 2013). The inability of local governments to maintain basic services and

infrastructure led to a further erosion of public trust in government institutions and increased social discontent.

This context of economic instability created a feedback loop, where worsening economic conditions in urban areas further eroded the quality of life for residents, driving more people into poverty and exacerbating social inequalities. As public services deteriorated, those who could afford to do so began to rely on private alternatives, deepening the divide between the wealthy and the poor. Meanwhile, the urban poor, who lacked access to such alternatives, endured worsening living conditions, leading to increased social stratification and spatial inequality within cities (African Development Bank 2014, Kamete 2013).

The economic crisis also had significant political implications. The government's inability to stabilise the economy or provide basic services led to widespread public disillusionment and protests, which were often met with harsh repression (Chirisa, 2018). This period of economic instability thus not only reshaped Zimbabwe's economic landscape but also contributed to a broader crisis of governance and legitimacy that continues to affect the country today.

2.5 FRAMING THE CONCEPTS: AN IN-DEPTH EXPLORATION OF THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Understanding urban disparities requires a comprehensive approach that acknowledges the intricate interplay of various social, economic, and spatial factors. The conceptual framework presented here offers a structured analysis of these factors, emphasizing the interconnectedness of accessibility, inequality, urban services, and social exclusion. This framework is essential for dissecting the complex web of challenges that perpetuate marginalisation in urban settings.

2.5.1 Components of the Conceptual Framework

Accessibility in urban contexts refers to the ease with which different population groups can reach and utilize urban services and spaces. It encompasses physical accessibility—how easily people can move within a city; economic accessibility—how affordable these services and spaces are; and social accessibility—how inclusive these services and spaces are to different social groups. Accessibility is a crucial determinant of an individual's ability to engage with urban life,

influencing everything from employment opportunities to healthcare access. When accessibility is restricted, certain groups are effectively barred from participating fully in urban society, leading to social and economic marginalisation.

Inequality manifests in urban areas through disparities in income, education, health, and spatial distribution of resources. Urban inequality is not just a matter of income disparity but also includes unequal access to opportunities, resources, and services. This component of the framework considers how such inequalities are reinforced through systemic barriers, including inadequate urban policies, discriminatory practices, and uneven economic development. The persistence of inequality leads to stratified urban environments where certain groups are systematically disadvantaged, perpetuating cycles of poverty and exclusion.

Urban services—such as healthcare, education, transportation, and housing—are vital for the well-being of urban residents. The availability, quality, and affordability of these services vary widely across different parts of a city, often reflecting and reinforcing existing social and spatial inequalities. This component examines how the distribution and quality of urban services influence social inclusion or exclusion. For instance, when high-quality services are concentrated in wealthier neighbourhoods, residents of poorer areas are left with inadequate options, further entrenching their marginalisation.

Social Exclusion Social exclusion refers to the processes through which individuals or groups are systematically marginalized from participating fully in the economic, social, and political life of their city. This exclusion is often the result of intersecting factors, including discriminatory practices, unequal access to resources, and restrictive urban policies. In the context of this framework, social exclusion is not just an outcome but also a process that is both influenced by and reinforces other elements such as inequality and accessibility. The framework views exclusion as a dynamic process that evolves with changes in urban policies, economic conditions, and social norms.

2.5.2 Significance of the Adverse Incorporation and Social Exclusion Framework

The Adverse Incorporation and Social Exclusion (AISE) framework offers a crucial perspective for examining the complex dynamics of urban inequality and marginalisation. This framework transcends traditional poverty analyses by highlighting exclusion's structural and relational aspects (Brookings 2016, McCarthy 2022). AISE illustrates how marginalised groups are excluded from socio-economic processes and incorporated into these processes under inequitable and exploitative conditions (Hickey & Du Toit, 2007).

In the realm of urban studies, the AISE framework serves as a comprehensive tool for understanding the interplay between spatial, economic, and political dimensions of exclusion. It emphasises how adverse incorporation results in unequal access to resources such as housing, transportation, and employment opportunities. For example, urban residents in peri-urban areas are frequently "incorporated" into city life through exploitative housing markets and inadequate infrastructure, thus perpetuating cycles of poverty and exclusion (Goodfellow, 2020).

The framework's focus on power dynamics and structural inequalities makes it particularly pertinent for analysing urban governance in African cities. By examining the mechanisms through which marginalised groups are both incorporated and excluded, the AISE framework uncovers the political and economic forces that underpin urban inequality (Pieterse & Simone, 2017). This dual focus empowers policymakers and researchers to pinpoint targeted interventions that address both the symptoms and the root causes of exclusion.

Moreover, the AISE framework aligns with global efforts to promote sustainable and inclusive urban development, as detailed in the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (UN, 2020). By tackling adverse incorporation, the framework contributes to the realisation of SDG 11, which aims to create cities that are inclusive, safe, resilient, and sustainable. It also supports SDG 10, which focuses on reducing inequalities both within and among countries.

In this study, the AISE framework is utilised to critically examine the spatial, economic, and political dimensions of exclusion in Harare's peri-urban areas. This approach provides a nuanced understanding of how systemic inequalities are perpetuated and how they can be addressed through inclusive urban planning and governance. By applying the AISE framework, this study enhances

the broader discourse on urban inequality and offers practical insights for promoting equitable urban development.

2.5.3 Interconnectedness of the Framework Components

The components of this framework—accessibility, inequality, urban services, and social exclusion—do not exist in isolation. Instead, they are deeply interconnected, creating a complex web of factors that contribute to urban disparities. For instance, inequality can limit accessibility to services, which in turn exacerbates social exclusion. Similarly, poor accessibility can lead to reduced opportunities for education and employment, further widening the inequality gap. This interconnectedness highlights the importance of a holistic approach when addressing urban inequalities, where interventions must consider the broader system rather than isolated issues.

This conceptual framework serves as an analytical tool to identify and address the root causes of urban disparities. By examining how these components interact, policymakers and urban planners can develop more targeted and effective strategies to mitigate inequality and promote social inclusion. For example, improving accessibility to urban services in marginalised neighbourhoods could have a cascading effect, reducing inequality and social exclusion over time. Additionally, the framework can guide the evaluation of current urban policies, helping to identify areas where adjustments are needed to ensure more equitable outcomes.

The diagram in Figure 2.1 visually represents the relationships between accessibility, inequality, urban services, and social exclusion, as discussed above. It illustrates how these elements are intertwined and collectively contribute to the marginalisation of specific population groups within urban settings. This visual aid complements the detailed explanation provided, offering a clear overview of the framework's components and their interactions.



Figure 2:1 Conceptual Framework

Figure 2.1 sheds light on the pivotal role of Accessibility, Inequality, Services, and Exclusion (AISE) in the marginalisation experienced within urban spaces and public services. This framework highlights how inequality, mobility, accessibility, service availability and affordability, as well as urban laws and management, are intertwined and collectively contribute to the exclusion of specific segments of the population. The interconnected nature of these factors underscores the complex web of challenges that perpetuate marginalisation in urban settings, illuminating the need for comprehensive and inclusive approaches to address these issues.

2.6 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter presents a comprehensive literature review exploring the concepts of adverse incorporation and social exclusion in the context of urban development. The review begins by introducing the growing academic interest in how these concepts affect marginalised communities in urban areas, particularly in terms of their integration into economic systems that perpetuate disadvantage. The chapter emphasizes the critical need to understand how spatial differences influence access to socio-economic opportunities and shape individuals' and communities' socio-economic outcomes.

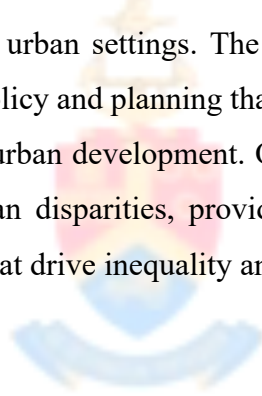
The literature review delves into the relationship between urban space, adverse incorporation, and social exclusion. The concept of social exclusion, initially rooted in Western contexts, has been expanded to encompass the multifaceted dimensions of deprivation and inequality in developing countries. The review highlights that political inequalities and exclusion from decision-making structures are significant drivers of regional underdevelopment and persistent poverty. It also critiques the limitations of applying Western concepts of exclusion to African contexts, where adverse incorporation often better explains the systemic disadvantages faced by marginalized populations.

The chapter further explores the interplay between adverse incorporation and social exclusion, arguing that these processes are not mutually exclusive but can compound each other in perpetuating inequality. In sub-Saharan Africa, where political power is often personalized, exclusion from political representation and incorporation into exploitative economic networks significantly impact resource distribution and deepen regional disparities.

Additionally, the literature review addresses the gendered nature of adverse incorporation and social exclusion. It underscores that women disproportionately suffer from chronic poverty due to institutionalized gender norms and discriminatory practices that limit their access to resources and political representation. The chapter advocates for a nuanced understanding of social exclusion that accounts for gendered experiences and the institutionalization of patriarchal norms.

The chapter also discussed the impact of urbanisation, governance, and political dynamics on shaping urban spaces and contributing to disparities. It examines the historical context of urban development in key African cities, such as Johannesburg, Cape Town, Nairobi, and Harare, highlighting the enduring influence of colonial legacies and the challenges of post-colonial urban governance. The discussion included analysing how these cities' governance structures, influenced by centralisation and political interference, exacerbate urban inequalities and marginalisation.

In the final sections, the literature review introduces a conceptual framework that integrates accessibility, inequality, urban services, and social exclusion to analyse urban disparities. This framework emphasises the interconnectedness of these factors and their collective role in perpetuating marginalisation within urban settings. The chapter concludes by advocating for a comprehensive approach to urban policy and planning that addresses these intertwined challenges to promote inclusive and equitable urban development. Overall, this chapter lays the foundation for the subsequent analysis of urban disparities, providing a robust theoretical framework to understand the complex dynamics that drive inequality and exclusion in urban spaces.



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CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH APPROACH AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents how data was collected to address the research problem. This methodology was chosen to develop a more comprehensive understanding of the worldview of adverse incorporation and social exclusion in the peri-urban area of Harare. This chapter outlines and justifies the research design, along with the key decisions and actions taken during data collection. Additionally, it explains the sampling methods and data collection techniques used. Divided into four main sections, the chapter covers the research paradigm, design, target population, research sample, data collection tools, and data analysis techniques. A discussion of the methodological limitations is provided to highlight the challenges encountered throughout the research process.

3.2 RESEARCH PARADIGM AND DESIGN

The interpretive paradigm underpins this study, emphasising the subjective and socially constructed nature of reality (Babbie & Mouton, 2002). The interpretive paradigm emphasised the ontology of reality as being socially constructed, subjective, and dynamic, and the epistemology as relying on the co-creation of knowledge through interaction with participants. Ontologically, this paradigm recognises that realities are multiple and context-dependent, shaped by individuals' experiences and interpretations. Epistemologically, it aligns with the view that knowledge is co-constructed through interaction and dialogue between the researcher and participants (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

This paradigm aligned with the study's aim to explore individuals' lived experiences and perceptions regarding adverse incorporation and the sharing of local knowledge or tips. The chosen approach for the study was suitable as it examined the various context-specific notions, behaviours, relationships, and ideas of peri-urban livelihood. Within this paradigm, a qualitative research approach was adopted, allowing for an in-depth exploration of lived experiences and contextual complexities. This approach prioritises rich, descriptive data, enabling a nuanced understanding of

social phenomena such as adverse incorporation and social exclusion in Harare's peri-urban areas (Babbie, 2013).

According to Altinay and Parakevas (2008), the research design is the operational framework for any research. Its function is to ensure that the evidence obtained enables the researcher to address the research problem and the resultant research objectives and questions as unambiguously as possible. The study adopted a qualitative study through an ethnographic case study geared at understanding the community, households and livelihoods of urban residents.

A qualitative research design allowed the subject in question or under investigation to be explored more in-depth, as it covered a broad scope and generated valuable data (Berg, 2007). The research design is a case study, selected for its capacity to provide a detailed and holistic examination of specific contexts. This design is particularly suited to exploring complex phenomena within real-life settings, as it combines multiple data sources to construct a comprehensive narrative (Yin, 2018). Therefore, more in-depth knowledge was gained about the community and its livelihood strategies concerning the evolving conditions of urban space that affect social and economic processes.

This study employed an ethnographic case study of selected areas of Harare South. Ethnographic research takes a cultural lens to study people's lives within their communities (Hammersley and Atkinson 2019; Fetterman 2010). Ethnographic research is a qualitative method where researchers observe and interact with a study's participants in their real-life environment (Yin, 2009). Case study research, meanwhile, is characterised as an approach "that facilitates exploration of a phenomenon within its context using a variety of data sources" (Baxter & Jack, 2008:54).

3.2.1 The Case Study Research Design

The research design adopted for this study is a case study, selected for its emphasis on phenomenographic data within a hermeneutical framework. Phenomenography argues that individuals experience the world differently because experiences are always partial. At any one point in time and context, people discern and experience different aspects of any phenomenon to varying degrees. Thus, different ways of experiencing a phenomenon may be understood in terms

of which aspects of the phenomenon are discerned and not discerned in people's awareness of it. Awareness of an aspect is indicated by the perception of the potential for variation in that aspect; lack of awareness is indicated by an implicit, taken-for-granted assumption of uniformity in that aspect of the phenomenon (Marton and Booth 1997). Case studies are employed to provide a detailed reconstruction of specific instances (Flick, 2015). In particular, ethnographic case studies utilise ethnographic methodologies to build arguments regarding cultural, group, or community dynamics, as well as to investigate various sociocultural phenomena (Schwandt & Gates, 2018). These studies typically span an extended duration, aligning with the inherent requirements of ethnographic inquiry. Yin (2016) posits that ethnographic case studies facilitate embedded research that integrates close observation, robust theoretical analysis, and sociocultural critique. The researcher engaged with the community for a period of eleven months, systematically gathering data pertinent to the research topic.

3.2.2 Justification of Study Area

The research study area was Hopley and Southlea Park, Harare. Hopley, situated within the peri-urban areas outlined in Plan Number 31, has experienced rapid planned and unplanned residential development. Bounded by High Glen Road to the North, Masvingo Highway to the West, and Harare's main cemetery (Granville) to the South, the area became a focal point of conflict in 2009 between residents and the City of Harare and the central government. Over 200 families on Hopley Farm faced eviction threats from the government (Chrisa et al., 2016).

The research focuses on Hopley and Southlea Park, two peri-urban settlements in Harare, Zimbabwe. These areas were selected because they uniquely represent urban development challenges, particularly adverse incorporation and social exclusion, which are critical themes in understanding urbanisation in Zimbabwe. Hopley, situated in the peri-urban areas, has undergone rapid planned and unplanned residential growth. The area, bounded by High Glen Road, Masvingo Highway, and Granville Cemetery, has been a focal point of land tenure conflict involving residents, the City of Harare, and the central government. The residential stands are not regularised to the standard of the CoH(Chrisa et al., 2016).

This area exemplifies the consequences of insufficient land-use regulation and uncoordinated local governance. Following Operation Murambatsvina in 2005, which displaced thousands, Hopley residents remain distrustful of government interventions. The lack of alternative housing and services raises critical questions about prioritising regulatory enforcement over service provision, making Hopley a compelling study site for understanding governance and service delivery dynamics in Zimbabwe's urban peripheries.

Located 25 km from Harare's city centre, Southlea Park is part of the Harare South Constituency, primarily comprising low-income households and housing cooperatives. Initially intended for 6,000 households, the suburb now accommodates over 8,000 residents due to informal subdivisions of land designated for socio-economic facilities (Chikengezha & Thebe., 2021). This unplanned expansion has resulted in insufficient infrastructure, such as water, sanitation, and roads, and has impeded mobility and accessibility.

Southlea Park provides a unique context for exploring the socio-economic disparities emerging from its heterogeneous population, ranging from retrenched workers to formal sector participants. The lack of essential services and economic opportunities highlights the challenges of peripheral urbanisation, where the high cost of living in central Harare pushes residents to settle in poorly serviced peripheries. Hopley offers a distinctive informal housing sector and informal markets that substantially impact the livelihoods of individuals on the periphery, serving as exemplary case studies for examining urban exclusion in Zimbabwe. Despite their proximity, the areas differ significantly in socio-economic composition, infrastructure, and service access. This juxtaposition offers valuable insights into how spatial proximity interacts with governance and urban inequality.

The study's comparative approach seeks to uncover nuanced differences and shared challenges, providing a comprehensive understanding of peri-urban dynamics. These findings are expected to inform policy recommendations for improving service delivery, governance, and socio-economic inclusion in similar contexts across Zimbabwe and other rapidly urbanising regions. By focusing on Hopley and Southlea Park, this research addresses critical gaps in understanding the intersections of urban planning, governance, and community resilience, positioning these settlements as pivotal examples of peri-urban challenges in Zimbabwe.

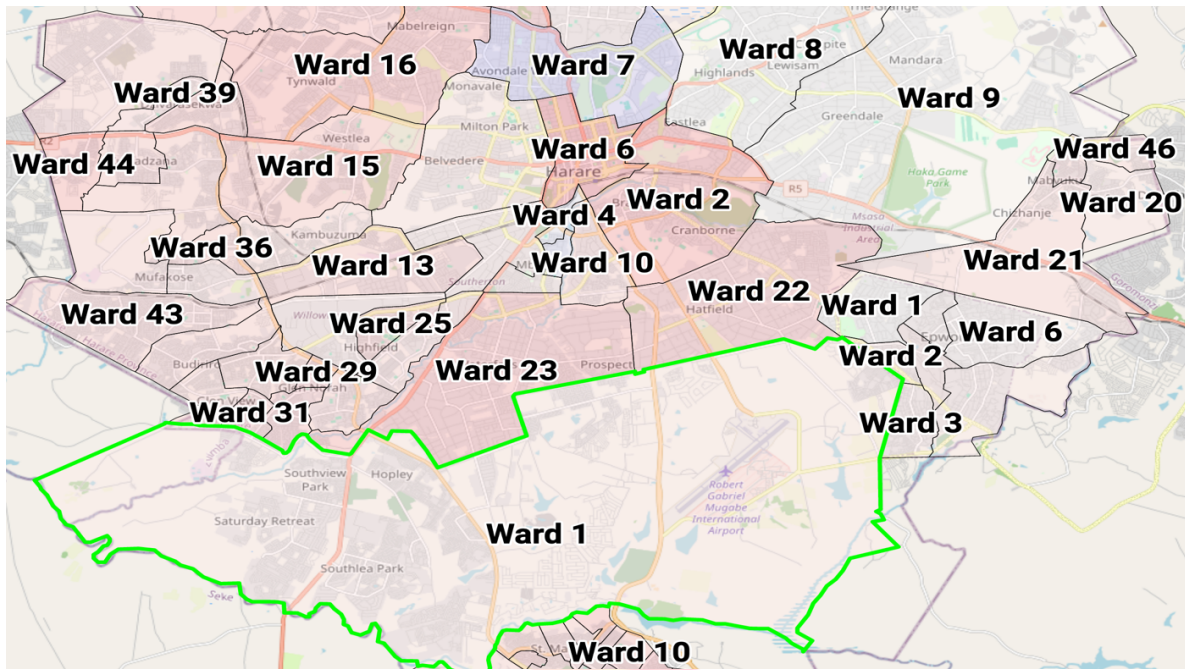


Figure 3.1: Map of Ward 1 in Harare

- Key**
- Selected Ward
 - Boundary for Wards
 - Population Destiny
- Ward Ward Demarcation*

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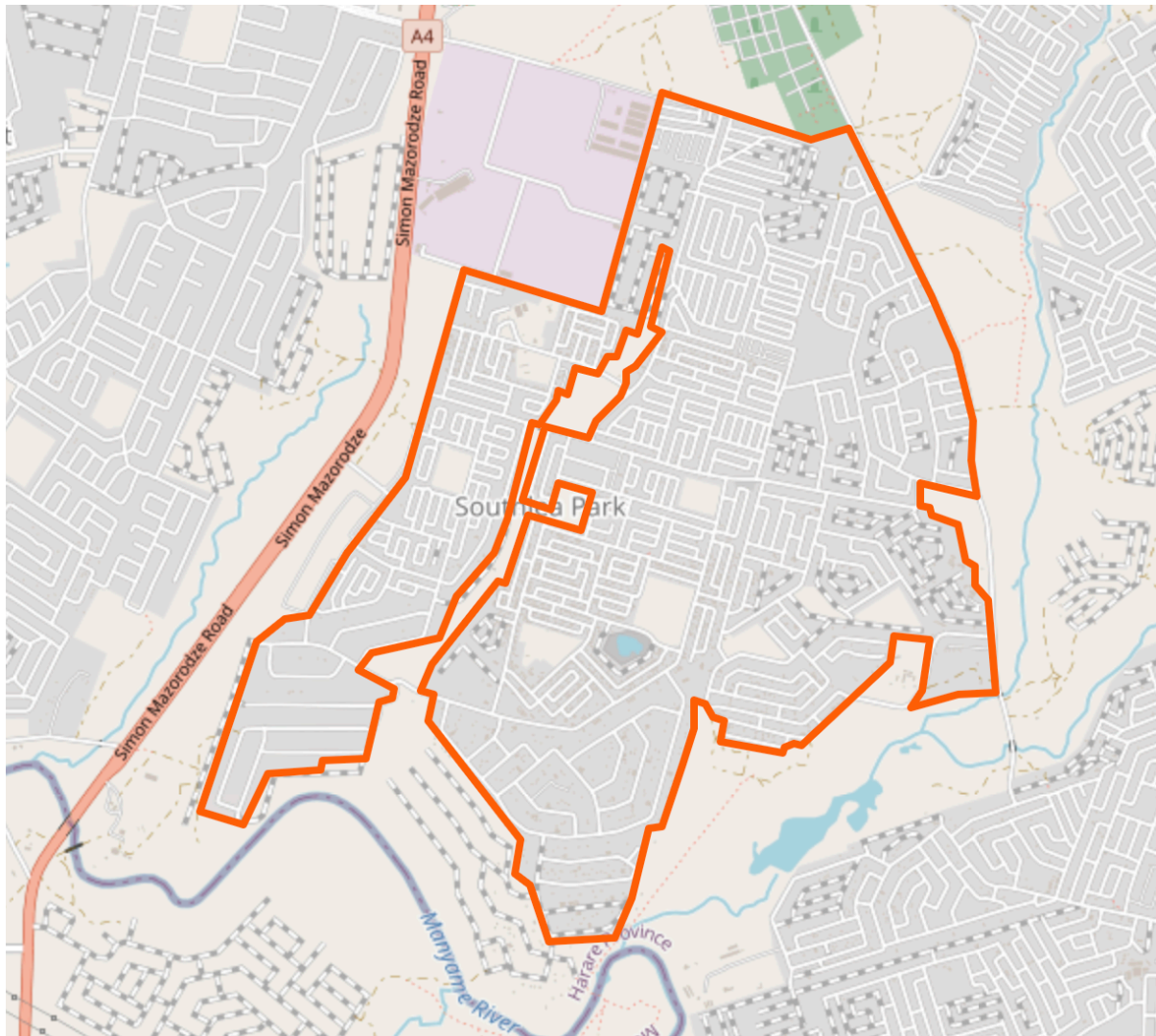





Figure 3.2: Map of Southlea Park in Harare

Key

-  A4 (Simon Mazorodze Highway)
-  Boundary for Southlea Pak
-  Residential Areas

3.2.3 Study Population and Sampling Procedure

The study focused on the populations of Hopley and Southlea Park, two peri-urban settlements in Harare, Zimbabwe. These areas were chosen due to their unique characteristics, which include socio-economic disparities, rapid urbanisation, and challenges in infrastructure and service delivery. The target population included residents of these settlements, with an emphasis on low-

income households experiencing challenges related to mobility, accessibility, and service provision.

Sampling Procedures

1. A sample size of 200-300 participants was determined to conduct the survey. This range was calculated using a statistical formula to ensure a 75% confidence level with a 5% margin of error, making the results statistically reliable and representative of the target population.

- o Calculation of Sample Size:

The sample size was calculated using the formula:

$$n = \frac{Z^2 \cdot p \cdot (1-p)}{e^2}$$

Where:

- n = required sample size
- Z = Z-value (1.96 for 75% confidence level)
- p = estimated proportion of the population with the characteristic of interest (assumed to be 0.5 for maximum variability)
- e = margin of error (0.05)

Substituting:

$$n = \frac{1.96^2 \cdot 0.5 \cdot (1-0.5)}{0.05^2} \approx 384$$

The sample size was slightly increased to 200-300 participants to account for non-responses or incomplete surveys. This ensured that the final responses analysed would remain statistically robust and representative of the two settlements.

- o Representativeness:

The settlements' populations were considered during sampling to ensure a proportional representation of both areas. Stratification based on socio-economic status, gender, and household type ensured inclusivity and diversity in the survey.

2. Qualitative Interviews: For the qualitative component, 20-30 participants were initially targeted for semi-structured interviews, with the understanding that sampling would continue until data saturation was reached. Saturation was the point where no new themes or insights emerged during data collection.
 - Justification for Sample Size:
Methodological literature (e.g., Creswell, 2014; Guest et al., 2006) suggests that a minimum of 20-30 interviews is sufficient for thematic saturation in qualitative studies. This range aligns with established norms and ensures data collection depth and breadth.
 - Purposive Sampling:
A purposive sampling technique was used to select participants who could provide rich, diverse insights into the research questions. Criteria for selection included residency in the settlements, socio-economic status, and involvement in community activities.

The study adopted a mixed-methods approach, combining quantitative and qualitative paradigms to explore the dynamics of urban exclusion and mobility in Hopley and Southlea Park. The quantitative survey provided a broad understanding of trends and patterns, while the qualitative interviews offered deeper insights into residents' lived experiences.

The transparency and comprehensiveness of the sampling techniques and overall methodology are crucial to fulfilling the fundamental principles of rigorous research, rather than simply addressing supervisor concerns. The study upholds the principles of validity, reliability, and ethical integrity by ensuring methodological clarity and aligning sampling procedures with established research standards. The detailed justification of sample sizes, statistical formulas, and qualitative methods ensures that the research is robust, credible, and replicable, contributing to a more comprehensive understanding of the issues under investigation.

For semi-structured interviews, participants were chosen based on their willingness to participate and ability to provide in-depth insights into mobility and accessibility challenges. Purposive sampling was used to select participants who could offer detailed and varied information, focusing

on those exceptionally knowledgeable or experienced regarding the study's focus areas. Typically, 20-30 participants were targeted for semi-structured interviews to reach saturation, where no new significant information emerged.

Key informants were selected based on their expertise and roles in urban planning, transportation, and community leadership, including local government officials, urban planners, transport operators, and leaders of community-based organisations. Snowball sampling was used to identify these key informants, where initial informants recommended other knowledgeable individuals. Approximately 10-15 key informants were interviewed to gather comprehensive insights, ensuring that the study included a range of perspectives while remaining manageable. This thorough and transparent approach to sampling techniques and methodologies ensures rigor and reliability, addressing the supervisor's concerns and strengthening the overall validity of the research findings.

3.3 DATA COLLECTION

The study used four main techniques to collect participant data during the fieldwork. These techniques were semi-structured interviews with residents living in Southlea Park, commuter operators, vendors, and key informants, covert non-participant observation of public transport operators in the city centre, and overt and active participant observation. Questionnaires and focus group discussions were employed to provide depth to the insight. In this section, we will explore how the data was collected.

3.3.1 Review of Literature as Data Collection

The literature review was an essential method for data collection, amalgamating existing insights on urban exclusion, peri-urban development, and socio-economic inequalities. According to Hart (1998) and Creswell (2014), literature reviews systematically identify research gaps and build a theoretical framework. The review provided essential insights that aligned with primary data gathered from surveys and interviews, enriching the study's overall depth by examining data from published sources (Muchadenyika 2015, Chirisa et al. 2016, Scoones 2018).

The literature review helped establish a robust theoretical framework for the study. It offered insights into existing theories and models related to urbanisation and t exclusion. By integrating these theoretical perspectives, the study could better understand the underlying mechanisms and factors contributing to exclusion in urban settings. This framework guided the data collection and analysis processes, providing a lens through which to interpret the findings.

The literature review was crucial in informing the study's methodological design. It highlighted best practices and methodological approaches in similar studies, such as survey design, sampling techniques, and data analysis methods. For example, stratified random sampling and the inclusion of quantitative (surveys) and qualitative (focus groups) data collection methods were derived from recommendations found in the literature. This ensured a comprehensive and balanced approach to data collection.

By reviewing the existing body of literature, the study identified gaps in current research on urbanisation and transport-induced exclusion, particularly in the context of developing countries like Zimbabwe. Identifying gaps helped refine the research questions and objectives, focusing on areas where additional empirical data was needed. The study aimed to address these gaps by collecting new data specific to Harare's southern suburbs, thereby contributing original insights to the field.

The literature review offered a comparative context by examining case studies and research findings from various geographical regions, including developed and developing countries. This comparative analysis helped contextualise the findings from Harare within a broader global framework. It also enabled the study to draw parallels and contrasts between different urban settings, enhancing the depth and applicability of the research conclusions.

The insights gained from the literature review were used to triangulate data collected through surveys and focus groups. The research could validate and strengthen its conclusions by comparing primary data with previous studies' findings. This triangulation process helped ensure the reliability and validity of the findings, providing a more nuanced and comprehensive understanding of the issues at hand

3.3.2 Survey Questionnaires

A comprehensive survey was conducted to quantitatively assess the experiences and perceptions of residents in Harare's southern suburbs regarding urbanisation and transport-induced exclusion. The objective was to supplement qualitative insights and provide a broader understanding of the impact of spatial design, mobility, accessibility challenges, infrastructure, social service availability, and access to income opportunities on low-income groups.

The survey instrument was developed through a structured questionnaire designed to capture various dimensions of transport-induced exclusion. The questions were formulated based on key themes identified in previous studies, such as geographical, economic, fear-based, time-based, space, and physical exclusions. The questionnaire included a mix of closed-ended questions, such as multiple-choice and Likert scale, along with a few open-ended questions to allow for additional comments and insights.

Before the full-scale distribution, the survey was pilot-tested with a small group of participants from the target population to identify any issues with question clarity, format, or length. Based on the feedback from the pilot test, necessary revisions were made to ensure the questionnaire was clear, concise, and easy to understand.

The survey targeted residents of Harare's southern periphery, focusing on low-income households and regular public transport users. A stratified random sampling technique was employed to ensure representation from different areas within Southlea Park and various demographic groups, such as age, gender, and income level. The survey was distributed through multiple channels to maximise reach and participation. This included face-to-face distribution by the researcher and an assistant in key locations such as markets, bus stops, and shopping centres. Additionally, the survey was made available online through social media platforms and local community websites, allowing participants to complete it at their convenience. Surveys were also dropped off at households with arrangements for later pick-up, ensuring those without internet access could participate.

Surveyors administer the survey, explaining the purpose and ensuring respondents understand the questions. Participants were informed about the survey's purpose, the voluntary nature of participation, and assurances of confidentiality and anonymity. Follow-up reminders were sent to encourage participation, and additional visits were made to areas with low response rates to ensure a robust sample size.

Responses from paper questionnaires were entered into a digital database, while online responses were automatically collected in a central repository. The data was cleaned to remove any inconsistencies or incomplete responses, ensuring the dataset was accurate and reliable for analysis. Descriptive statistics were used to summarise the respondents' demographic characteristics and responses to key questions.

The survey results were interpreted to identify trends and patterns related to transport-induced exclusion, infrastructure, social service availability, and access to income opportunities. Qualitative findings from focus group discussions were compared to provide a comprehensive understanding. The findings were compiled into a detailed report, highlighting key insights and providing recommendations for urban planning and policy interventions.

Ethical considerations were paramount throughout the survey process. Participants were fully informed about the survey's purpose, their right to withdraw at any time, and how their data would be used. Measures were taken to ensure the confidentiality and anonymity of respondents, including secure data storage and anonymised reporting.

By conducting this survey, a broader and more representative understanding of the impact of urbanisation and transport-induced exclusion, as well as infrastructure, social service availability, and access to income opportunities on residents in Harare's southern suburbs was obtained. This quantitative data complemented qualitative insights, contributing to more informed and effective urban planning and transport policies. The household surveys were conducted diligently over six months, from June to December 2022, primarily during weekdays between 9 am and 3 pm in Southlea Park. This approach ensured a comprehensive representation of the community, capturing diverse perspectives and inputs. Overall, the questionnaire emerged as a potent tool in unravelling

the multifaceted nature of exclusion in the Harare South peri-urban area, laying the groundwork for a thorough and insightful analysis.

3.3.3. Semi-structured interviews

The present study involved semi-structured interviews with commuters, residents, informal traders from Hopley and Southlea Park, and key informants in the public transport sector. The interviews aimed at personal accounts of commuters, operators, and government actors' experiences, habits, and living conditions in the public transport domain. Forty households and fifty participants agreed to be interviewed, and the semi-structured approach facilitated a comprehensive understanding of group dynamics, player roles, and the general outlook of the city. The interviews proved to be an advantageous method for accessing direct information from the source, and the researcher discovered that the interviews produced new ideas that were not previously considered in the literature review. The findings of this study underscore the crucial role that open-ended semi-structured interviews play in facilitating the expression of ideas and thoughts that may have gone unnoticed otherwise.

This research used an interview guide with a thematic structure to conduct interviews with the respondents. This guide tailored the questions to fit each interviewee's context and situation. The interview guide was created based on the research questions of the study, which helped the researcher steer the conversation during the semi-structured interviews. The guide consisted of a series of interconnected questions and allowed for follow-up questions in specific scenarios. The semi-structured interviews were open-ended, which helped bring forth unique issues that were explored in-depth because of the different lived realities of each interviewee.

Semi-structured interviews have demonstrated their usefulness in gathering data that is based on the participants' meanings, how they perceive their world, and how they make sense of the events. In the context of fieldwork, such interviews have proven to be invaluable in allowing interviewees to express themselves freely. The conversational nature of the interviews provided opportunities to interact in various ways with the interviewer, including asking questions and referencing media sources and other commuters. Referrals are critical to this process, enabling researchers to contact more commuters and commuter operators. The positive outcomes derived from these referrals have simplified

I employed an extended case study method at the household level, conducting multiple visits to households over the research period to compile detailed household life histories. The visits focused on gathering data related to specific activities or events. The case studies delved into various household aspects and challenges faced by the families, including family backgrounds, household livelihoods, broader family livelihood strategies, economic and social conditions, land requirements, perspectives on resettlement, land ownership issues, transport, health, and education.

The self-employed individuals, factories, and offices granted the researcher permission to interview Southlea Park residents employed in their respective organisations. The length of the interviews varied depending on the participant's responses and ranged between twenty to forty-five minutes. This variation was mainly due to the allotted time slots provided by the companies for interviews. During lunchtime, group discussions were held among the participants who had already been interviewed, leading to the emergence of group dynamics. The participants were informed about the purpose of the research and were given a consent form. The form contained details about the study, information use, and personal information confidentiality. All participants agreed and signed the consent form, which allowed the researcher to ask questions. Shona was the primary language used for communication, as most participants were comfortable with it. There was codeswitching between Shona and English where necessary. One of the participants used Sign Language but had an interpreter to assist. The details of some of the participants are presented in Table 3.1 and are accompanied by pseudonyms.

Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Occupation	Residency
Tarakidzwa	Male	43	Plumber	Southlea Park
Gamuchirai	Female	33	Hair Dresser	Hopley
Pedzisai	Male	28	Carpenter	Stoneridge

Yeukai	Female	19	Student	Southlea Park
Gwinyai	Male	47	Driver	Hopley
Tariro	Female	53	Street Trader	Manyame
Martha	Female	40	Street trader	Hopley
Jabu	Male	37	I.T professional	Southlea Park
Mazvita	Female	22	Street Trader	Southlea
Tambirai	Male	20	Street Trader/ Driver	Glenview
Brenda	Female	41	Supervisor	Southlea Park
Muchabaiwa	Male	48	Dispatcher	Stoneridge
Mabel	Female	56	Teacher	Southlea Park
Makanaka	Female	22	Wholesaler	Southlea Park
Freddy	Male	32	Money changer	Southlea Park
Chiedza	Female	30	Street Trader	Southlea Park
Maradze	Male	26	Street Trader	Southlea Park
Maidie	Female	27	Street Trader	Southlea Park
Tungamirai	Male	23	Street Trader	Southlea Park

Thuli	Female	19	Street Trader	Southlea Park
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Figure 3.3: List of participants (pseudonyms)

3.3.4 Key Informant Interviews

Data collection from key informants was conducted through semi-structured interviews. These interviews were designed to elicit detailed and comprehensive insights from individuals with significant expertise and roles in urban planning, transportation, and community leadership within the southern peri-urban areas of Harare.

The selection process for key informants involved identifying individuals who held relevant positions or had substantial experience in areas pertinent to the study. These included local government officials, urban planners, transport operators, and leaders of community-based organisations. Initial key informants were identified through existing networks and their professional roles. They were then asked to recommend other knowledgeable individuals, and a snowball sampling technique was employed to expand the network of informants.

The semi-structured interviews were in-person to facilitate a detailed and interactive discussion. Each interview was guided by a semi-structured interview guide, which included a set of open-ended questions tailored to cover the key topics of the study, such as urban development policies, transportation planning, community mobility issues, and infrastructure challenges. The guide allowed for flexibility, enabling the interviewer to probe deeper into specific areas of interest based on the informant's responses.

With the informants' consent, the interviews were audio-recorded to ensure accuracy in capturing the detailed responses. The recordings were then transcribed, providing a comprehensive written record of each interview. This transcription process was crucial for subsequent data analysis, ensuring that all nuances and details were preserved.

Ethical considerations were strictly adhered to throughout the data collection process. Informants were informed about the purpose of the study, the use of the data, and their right to confidentiality

and anonymity. Consent forms were signed by each informant before the interviews commenced, ensuring that participation was voluntary and informed.

3.3.5 Non-participant observation

Non-participant observation is often used in qualitative research to gather primary data while minimizing researcher interference. As Williams (2008:561) explains, it is a relatively unobtrusive qualitative research strategy for gathering primary data about some aspect of the social world without interacting directly with participants. This research technique helped explore the social dynamics of commuters and commuter operators and how they behaved in their environment. The advantage of this technique was the objectivity provided to the researcher, as observation from an informed perspective allowed patterns to emerge. For instance, while engaging in non-participant observation, the researcher managed to compare and contrast the lived experiences of the interviewees to the rest of the commuting citizens. This technique proved helpful as the social dynamic of commuters, commuter operators, and governmental players emerged by focusing on group dynamics. Here, the researcher observed several related events and actions of the participants for an extended period

While the interview technique was always going to be important in providing a context of public transport issues, a broadened view from an individual's perspective was necessary to find the root causes of some of the commuting challenges in the City of Harare (CoH). The researcher observed the commuters, commuter operators and governmental players in public transport for eight weeks. During the first week, the main bus termini were observed in the city centre during peak and off-peak hours. This observation allowed the researcher to observe the interactions of the commuters and the commuter operators in their environment. The following weeks' observation of the commuters and commuter operators included the traffic police and enforcers of the road traffic regulations. This observation revealed a pattern detailing the relationship between the three mentioned groups.

As part of a research project aimed at comprehending the public transport environment in the City of Harmony, eight weeks were selected as the project's duration. During this period, the researcher keenly observed the commuters and established a connection with the interviewees on numerous occasions. This allowed the researcher to gain a novel perspective on public transportation and

comprehend how the operators tackled the challenges in the sector. Significantly, the researcher witnessed the disputes between the commuter operators and traffic law enforcement agencies during the second week of the study. Unlike receiving information about the conflicts second-hand, this experience provided a firsthand understanding of the situation. Such an experience proved invaluable in the comprehensive understanding of the public transport environment in the City of Harmony.

During extended interactions with both male and female participants, the researcher observed the different experiences and habits of each gender and how external factors influenced these. For instance, transportation use varied based on gender in a particular context. Men tended to choose cheaper yet less efficient transport options, such as pickup trucks, while women tended to opt for slightly more expensive but efficient options. Another example was that several women felt uncomfortable boarding a commuter omnibus that loaded passengers on the curbside of the road instead of a terminal area. At the same time, men did not express any hesitation. These differences would have been difficult to grasp through interviews alone as they are unrecorded in the literature that informs interview schedules—extended interactions allowed for collecting additional data on life experiences with public transportation.

Through non-participant observation, we could observe the impact of various factors on an individual's commuting habits and public transportation practices. This allowed us to create a more representative sample and connect external factors with personal experiences. Objectively analysing each situation, we could separate fact from fiction and supplement the lived realities. This added to the data we collected and made it more reliable.

3.3.6 Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)

Focus group discussions were conducted to gather qualitative data on the experiences and perceptions of residents in Harare's southern suburbs regarding urbanisation and transport-induced exclusion. The sampling frame for the FGDs was designed to ensure a diverse representation of the community within Harare's southern suburbs. Participants were selected based on several criteria.

The FGDs included participants from various demographic backgrounds, ensuring representation across age, gender, income levels, and occupation. This was essential to capture multiple perspectives on how urbanisation and transport-related exclusion affect different population segments. Participants were chosen from Southlea Park of Harare's southern suburbs, including those living in formal and informal settlements. This geographical diversity was crucial to understanding the spatial aspects of exclusion and how different locations within the suburbs impact access to services and opportunities. The FGDs included residents, public transport users, representatives from local community organisations, and individuals involved in urban planning and policymaking. This mix of participants ensured that the discussions included those directly affected by urbanisation and transport challenges and those involved in addressing these issues.

Participants were selected using purposive sampling to ensure that those who could provide the most relevant and in-depth insights on the issues of urban exclusion were included. This approach focused on selecting individuals with firsthand experience with the discussed challenges. The participants included 10-12 individuals selected from diverse demographic backgrounds within Southlea Park, comprising residents from low-income households, public transport users, representatives from local community organisations, and urban planners and policymakers.

Focus group discussions (FGDs) took place in different locations within the southern suburbs of Harare to represent the area's diversity and ensure easy access for participants. One was in Southsea Park, a rapidly growing suburb on the outskirts of Harare, which was the primary location for the study. It is characterised by a mix of formal and informal settlements. The FGD held in this area focused on the specific challenges faced by residents in peri-urban areas, particularly concerning access to transportation and services. The other FGD was held in Hopley, another peri-urban area, which is home to a significant population living in informal settlements. The FGD in Hopley focused on the Mbudzi informal traders (vendors) and other informal activities that are linked to Southlea Park residents who earn a living there.

The focus group began with an introduction, during which participants were welcomed and the purpose of the session was explained. Ground rules were established, emphasising confidentiality,

respect for opinions, and the notion that there were no right or wrong answers. Participants were then briefly introduced to the topic of urbanisation and transport-induced exclusion.

An icebreaker session followed, where participants introduced themselves and shared brief statements about their daily commuting experiences. This helped set a comfortable tone for the ensuing discussions. The discussion on geographical exclusion prompted participants to reflect on how the spatial provision of public transport affected their ability to access different parts of the city. Participants highlighted the main challenges they faced with public transport and how the location of their residence impacted their mobility and access to services.

Next, the focus group delved into economic exclusion, discussing the economic factors influencing access to employment, housing and transportation. Fear-based exclusion was another key area of discussion. Participants were prompted to discuss any safety concerns among others in daily commutes. They shared experiences which significantly offered insight into the lived realities.

The conversation then shifted to time-based exclusion, considering the impact of time on commuting experiences. Participants discussed how the time spent commuting affected their daily activities and quality of life, as well as identified specific times when accessing transport was more challenging. Discussions on space and physical exclusion followed, where participants reflected on the physical accessibility to transport facilities in their area. They pointed out any physical barriers that prevented them from using public transport and discussed how the location of transport infrastructure impacted their daily lives.

The focus group discussions (FGDs) were designed to gather collective insights and stimulate discussion on issues related to urbanisation and transport-induced exclusion that may not surface in individual interviews. Unlike one-on-one interviews, FGDs enable participants to interact with each other, which can lead to the emergence of shared experiences, group dynamics, and the negotiation of different perspectives. This interaction often uncovers deeper insights into community-wide issues and reveals the diversity of opinions within a community.

In particular, FGDs were used to:

- **Explore Group Dynamics:** The discussions provided a platform for participants to build on each other's responses, offering a more nuanced understanding of how different forms of exclusion affect various community members. This collaborative approach can highlight common concerns or disagreements that may not be as apparent in individual interviews.
- **Identify Shared Experiences:** FGDs helped in identifying collective experiences, particularly in relation to transport-related challenges and spatial exclusion, that might be seen differently by individuals when interviewed alone. This shared dialogue often leads to the identification of systemic issues that are experienced collectively but might be underreported in individual settings.
- **Facilitate In-Depth Discussions:** The FGD format allowed for more detailed explorations of specific topics, such as fear-based exclusion and time-based exclusion, by encouraging participants to discuss their daily experiences and compare them with those of others in the group. This often leads to richer, more contextualised data.
- **Generate Solutions:** The group setting provided an opportunity for participants to collaboratively brainstorm solutions to the issues they face, which is more challenging to achieve in individual interviews. The collective discussion often results in more practical, community-oriented suggestions for improving urban planning and transport policies.

The focus group concluded with participants suggesting changes to improve land use, housing and transport accessibility and inclusion in their area. They recommended the kind of support or infrastructure that would make their lives more accessible and discussed how local authorities and policymakers could address these issues. Detailed notes were taken throughout the session, and the discussions were recorded with the participants' consent. These recordings were later transcribed for a thorough analysis.

3.4 Data Analysis

Data analysis involves evaluating data by logical and analytical reasoning and examining each element of the information provided, including its purpose, questions, and ideas (Schwandt & Gates, 2018). The study employed grounded analysis, a widely recognised form of qualitative data analysis, to scrutinise the research data. The grounded analysis is a comprehensive and systematic approach that involves identifying patterns and themes within the data to generate a theoretical

framework (Strauss & Juliet, 1994). Data analysis and identifying the primary patterns made deducing conclusions and acquiring valuable insights possible. Two approaches can be used in data analysis: deductive and inductive. A deductive approach is a top-down approach in which the researcher brings a set of concepts, ideas or topics for interpreting data (Strauss & Juliet, 1994). An inductive approach is a bottom-up approach that uses or is based on what the data collected for the study contains. An inductive method was adopted to formulate the codes and emerging themes.

The data analysis process began with open coding, where data from interviews, observations, surveys, and focus groups were broken down into discrete parts and closely examined. Codes were assigned to segments of data based on their relevance to the study's themes, such as geographical exclusion, economic exclusion, and infrastructure challenges. This process was iterative, with codes continually refined and new codes added as more data was analysed. In the axial coding phase, the codes identified during open coding were grouped into categories based on their relationships and patterns. This step involved linking categories to subcategories to understand the relationships between different aspects of transport-induced exclusion.

Selective coding involves integrating and refining the categories to develop a coherent narrative. The core category, peri-urban marginalisation, was identified, and related categories were connected to this central theme. The aim was to develop a theoretical framework that explained how various forms of exclusion interacted and contributed to the overall experience of adverse incorporation and social exclusion. Throughout the analysis process, the constant comparison method was used. This involved continuously comparing new data with existing codes and categories to refine and validate the emerging theory. By comparing different data sources (e.g., interview transcripts, observation notes, survey responses), the researcher ensured that the analysis was grounded in the data and not influenced by preconceived notions. Triangulation was employed to enhance the credibility and validity of the findings. Data from different sources (interviews, observations, surveys, focus groups, and literature) were compared and contrasted to identify consistent patterns and discrepancies. This process helped to corroborate findings and provided a more comprehensive understanding of the issues. The diagram below portrays the process of the grounded analysis approach.

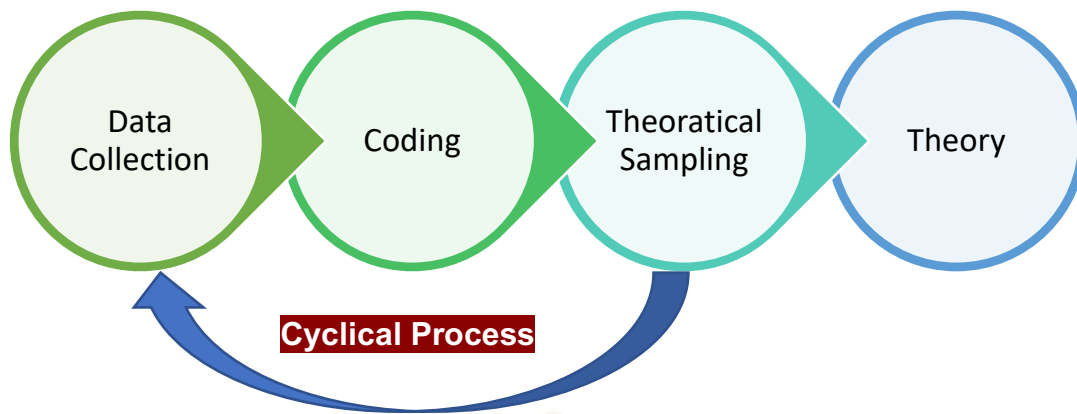


Figure.3.4: A visual representation of the process of grounded analysis by Strauss & Juliet (1994)

The analysis continued until theoretical saturation was reached, meaning that no new codes or categories emerged from the data. At this point, the researcher had developed a robust theoretical framework well-supported by the data. The grounded analysis revealed several key findings. Poor spatial provision of public transport and infrastructure limited mobility and access to services, especially for residents in peripheral areas, highlighting geographical exclusion. Economic exclusion was evident through high transportation costs and long commuting times that restricted access to employment and economic opportunities. Safety concerns, particularly among women, influenced transportation choices and limited mobility, underscoring fear-based exclusion. Long commuting times negatively impacted daily activities and quality of life, indicating time-based exclusion.

The theoretical framework developed through grounded analysis provided a comprehensive understanding of how various forms of exclusion interacted to create transport-induced exclusion. This framework informed the recommendations for urban planning and policy interventions to address these challenges in Harare's southern suburbs. The study derived meaningful insights from the data by employing grounded analysis, resulting in a robust and well-grounded theoretical framework. This approach ensured that the findings reflected the residents' lived experiences and provided a solid foundation for developing effective strategies to address transport-induced exclusion.

The study employed an additional technique to supplement the changes in the spatial-temporal in the urban and peri-urban areas. This technique involved conducting a thorough review of literature and documents. The study relied on secondary data that required a critical assessment of previous work related to the research topic and that of Harare. The research relied on the Internet and the Merensky Library at the University of Pretoria to access the literature. The literature used in the study comprised published and unpublished journal articles, books, conference reports, electronic books, newspaper articles, and dissertations that were already aligned with the national transport policy. The secondary data used in the study was classified into three broad categories as outlined below.

3.5 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS AND LIMITATIONS

In conducting research, ethical considerations are paramount to safeguarding participants' rights, dignity, and well-being. These considerations ensure the research process is performed with integrity, respect, and transparency. This section provides a detailed examination of the ethical issues addressed in this study, including the measures taken to protect participants and maintain the credibility of the research. Additionally, it explores the limitations encountered during fieldwork, highlighting the challenges related to safety, objectivity, and access to information and how these were managed to uphold the research's ethical standards.

Ethical considerations are fundamental in research as they ensure participants' protection, dignity, and welfare. This section discusses the ethical issues addressed in this study, providing a detailed examination of each concern to highlight the commitment to conducting research with integrity and respect.

3.5.1 Informed Consent

Informed consent is a cornerstone of ethical research, ensuring that participants are fully aware of the nature of the study and their role within it. In this study, participants were thoroughly informed about the purpose of their involvement, procedures, potential risks, and benefits. They were made aware that participation was entirely voluntary, and they could withdraw at any point without any consequences. This information was provided verbally and in writing, and participants were

required to sign a consent form to confirm their understanding and agreement. According to Polit and Beck (2004), informed consent involves ensuring that participants comprehend the information presented and can make an autonomous decision regarding their participation. This study adhered to this principle by allowing participants ample time to consider their involvement and ensuring their consent was obtained without coercion.

3.5.2 Privacy and Confidentiality

Privacy and confidentiality are critical to protecting research participants' identity and personal information. This study used pseudonyms to safeguard participants' identities, ensuring that their real names were not disclosed in any reports or publications. Additionally, all data collected, including notes and audio recordings, were securely stored on password-protected devices. Access to this data was strictly limited to the researcher and individuals directly involved in the study's analysis. Participants were informed of the measures taken to protect their privacy and assured their information would remain confidential. This approach aligns with best research practices, ensuring participants' trust is maintained throughout the study.

3.5.3 Protection from Harm

A primary ethical obligation in research is to avoid causing harm to participants, whether physical, emotional, or psychological. Throughout this study, the researcher was vigilant in monitoring and addressing any actions or inactions that could cause harm. Participants were reassured that they could withdraw from the study at any time if they felt their rights were being violated or if they experienced discomfort. The research design included protocols to prevent harm, such as conducting interviews and focus group discussions in safe and comfortable environments. Moreover, during the COVID-19 pandemic, strict health and safety measures were implemented, including hand sanitizers, face masks, and adherence to social distancing guidelines, to protect participants' physical health.

3.5.4 Permission and Research Approval

Before conducting the study, the researcher obtained all necessary permissions and approvals. This included securing a research permit from the City of Harare and obtaining explicit permission from organisations such as Tefoma, Calundike Exports, and Nyaradzo Life Assurance Company, where employees participated in the focus groups. These permissions ensured that the research was

conducted legally and ethically, with the cooperation and support of relevant authorities and stakeholders. Additionally, obtaining permission from the participants was a critical step in respecting their autonomy and rights.

3.5.5 Use of Recording Devices

Recording devices during interviews were carefully managed to respect participants' comfort and consent. Before recording, participants were informed about the purpose of using a voice recorder and how the recordings would be used in the study. Consent for recording was explicitly obtained from all participants, ensuring that they were fully aware and agreeable to this data collection method. This transparency helped build trust and ensured that participants were comfortable with the process.

3.5.6 Debriefing

After each interview session, a debriefing process was conducted. This provided an opportunity for participants to ask questions, clarify any points of confusion, and receive additional information about the study. The debriefing session was a critical component of the ethical research process, allowing participants to reflect on their participation and ensuring that any concerns were addressed promptly. Contact details were also provided so that participants could reach out with further questions or concerns, reinforcing the researcher's commitment to their well-being beyond the data collection phase.

3.5.2 Limitations During Fieldwork

All research has the potential to face limitations arising from human interactions, as the researcher may be influenced by their perceptions. In the case of this study, the main challenges were due to the researcher's perceptions of Zimbabwe. Conducting fieldwork in Zimbabwe can be challenging, as some researchers have been accused of being informants for the government or spying for the opposition. The researcher encountered the same problem when contacting commuter operators and traffic law enforcers. There were three main limitations that the researcher faced in this study, which are as follows:

3.5.2.1 Safety concerns of the researcher

Notably, research practitioners in the field are subject to diverse public perceptions, which vary across different social classes. In Zimbabwe, the image of a researcher tends to be associated with either government informants spying on citizens or traitors to the state. This phenomenon manifested in two distinct occurrences during the fieldwork. Firstly, commuter operators expressed reluctance to participate in the research, citing suspicion of sharing their views with a stranger. Secondly, during the "restore sanity to the city" operation, the Zimbabwe Republic Police Traffic Officers conflicted with illegal commuter operators and their associates, who were touted responsible for directing illegal operators and loading passengers into their vehicles while remaining vigilant for the police. In one of the police operations, the researcher was almost caught in the crossfire while conducting non-participant observation. However, with a letter from the city authorities, the air was cleared, but the officers warned the researcher as if researching was illegal.

3.5.2.2 Objectivity of the Researcher

The preservation of objectivity is a pivotal consideration for researchers in all fields. For one researcher who grew up using public transportation in Harare, the challenge of maintaining objectivity was particularly salient given their ability to relate to the experiences conveyed by interviewees easily. To preclude the infiltration of bias in the data collection and analysis process, the researcher had to meticulously compartmentalise their knowledge of the circumstances and responses of participants. This approach was deemed necessary to ensure that research findings accurately reflected the experiences and perspectives of the interviewees.

3.5.2.3 Inaccessibility of information

The researcher conducting fieldwork in Zimbabwe struggled to access relevant information, confirmed by conversations with other researchers who had conducted studies in the same context. The absence of documented records on urban land use and transport policies at the City of Harare Offices posed a particular difficulty. Consequently, the researcher had to acquire Ministry of Local Government and Transport records. The lack of accessibility to information also presented difficulties in using secondary data. Moreover, the present study faced the additional challenge of recent policies being saved on individual computer devices, making locating literature that supports the research cumbersome.

3.5.2.4 Socio-Political Challenges and How They Were Addressed

Protection from harm extended beyond physical safety to encompass social, political, and psychological dimensions. For instance, in Southlea Park, a few residents asked about anonymity due to previous encounters with some community members being named in a newspaper for things they did not say. Recognising the sensitivity of Hopley and Southlea Park, measures were implemented to ensure participants' confidentiality and anonymity, thereby protecting their social and political identities. Efforts were made to mitigate risks of stigmatisation or conflict by fostering trust, moderating sensitive discussions, and avoiding framing questions in divisive ways.

Several community members expressed their unwillingness to participate, citing that the nature of their work would prohibit them from engaging in interviews and fear of being interviewed. Ethical considerations, which included voluntary participation, the right to withdraw, and debriefing sessions, were implemented to safeguard the psychological well-being of participants. These measures demonstrated the study's dedication to ethical integrity while recognising and addressing the complexities of conducting research within socially and politically sensitive environments.

3.6 CHAPTER SUMMARY

The chapter explores the phenomena of adverse incorporation and social exclusion in Harare's peri-urban areas. It opens with a discussion of the selected research paradigm, focusing on a qualitative, interpretive approach aimed at understanding residents' lived experiences. This methodology was chosen to capture the intricate social dynamics and perceptions related to urban livelihoods and public transportation.

The chapter details the research design, which combines an ethnographic case study with a grounded analysis approach. This methodology allowed for an in-depth exploration of the community's socioeconomic conditions, mobility challenges, and the impact of urban space on daily life. The research involved multiple data collection methods, including semi-structured interviews, non-participant observation, survey questionnaires, focus group discussions, and key informant interviews. Each method was carefully chosen to complement the others, ensuring a comprehensive understanding of the research problem.

A significant portion of the chapter discusses ethical considerations, such as informed consent, privacy, confidentiality, and the minimisation of harm. The researcher's efforts to maintain objectivity, secure necessary permissions, and navigate the challenging fieldwork environment in Zimbabwe are also highlighted. Additionally, the chapter addresses the limitations encountered during the research, including safety concerns, the potential for bias, and difficulties in accessing relevant information.

Overall, Chapter 3 discusses the methodological framework, emphasising the importance of ethical research practices and the challenges inherent in studying complex social issues in a peri-urban context.



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CHAPTER 4

AN OUTLOOK OF THE PERIPHERY, PEOPLE AND CITY OF HARARE

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter traces Harare's urban and peri-urban emergence, briefly returning to colonial times and continuing through independence until today. Notable periods worth highlighting are the introduction of taxes on the African population as early as 1890, population control and urban settlement during the 1960s and post-colonial governmental policies. The present chapter aims to provide a silhouette of the intricate relationship between the periphery, people and the city of Harare. In so doing, the chapter provides a context for understanding contemporary peri-urban space, mobility and accessibility as it relates to the problem of adverse incorporation and social exclusion among people experiencing poverty.

This chapter emphasises the comprehensive livelihoods of the affected populations. The primary objective is to highlight the key factors and processes that have influenced Harare's peri-urban settlement dynamics, particularly in relation to adverse incorporation and social exclusion. A critical analysis of the historical and policy contexts of Harare's peri-urban regions, utilising insights from relevant literature alongside primary data gathered during the research. The synthesis of these sources facilitates a nuanced understanding of the socio-economic and spatial dynamics present in Harare South.

The chapter is structured as follows: First, Section 4.2 briefly explores colonial and post-colonial policies, city boundaries, and the periphery, before examining the evolving relationship between the city boundary and peri-urban areas in the post-colonial context. Next, Section 4.3 delves into the Fast Track Land Reform Programme and Operation Murambatsvina, two pivotal national policies that continue to influence land use, public services, and livelihoods for urban dwellers. Additionally, all other relevant policies will be examined under Section 4.3 to provide a more comprehensive understanding. Following this, the penultimate section, Section 4.4, presents

a detailed profile of the peri-urban areas, serving as a foundation for the subsequent chapters. Finally, Section 4.5 offers a summary of the chapter's key points.

4.2. COLONIAL UNDERPINNINGS AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN ZIMBABWE

Harare's urban development during the colonial period reflects patterns seen in many African cities under colonial influence. Cities such as Johannesburg, Nairobi, and Lusaka were constructed to embody and maintain racial hierarchies, favouring European settlers while sidelining the Indigenous communities. For example, in Johannesburg, apartheid policies established spatial and racial separations that remain relevant today (Roberts, 1994). Likewise, Harare's colonial architects perceived urban spaces as bastions of European civilisation, where African labour was merely tolerated to support settler economies. This shared history of exclusion and control highlights the systemic nature of colonial urbanism throughout Southern Africa, shaping both urban layouts and socio-economic interactions in cities.

Colonial urban planning's ideological foundations deepened these inequalities. The "civilising mission" of colonialism rationalised the establishment of segregated urban areas to control African populations and secure their status as a low-cost labour source. This ideology shaped Harare's urban layout and defined the socio-political dynamics in urban governance today.

Peri-urban areas, located at the edges of cities and transitioning from rural to urban use (Mbiba, 2022), embody a complex socio-economic and spatial landscape. To grasp the historical and systemic foundations of urban development in Harare, it's essential to consider the impacts of colonial urban and population control. This section delves into Harare's colonial spatial planning and governance, providing context for current peri-urban dynamics. It also assesses land use trends, population densities, and governance frameworks from both the colonial and post-independence periods.

4.2.1 Socio-Economic Dimensions: Racial Exclusion and Labor Exploitation

The urbanisation of Zimbabwe during the colonial era emerged as a consequence of capitalist expansion and systemic racial discrimination. Urban areas were primarily allocated for white settlers, while rural reserves were explicitly designated for the indigenous black population

(Patel, 1988). Tactics such as inequitable land distribution, discriminatory property rights, and economic privileges were implemented to ensure the exclusion of black competition, thereby reinforcing existing disparities.

Urban housing policies further entrenched socio-economic exclusion. The Housing Regulation Act of 1906 and subsequent amendments mandated segregated housing for African workers, financed by the township residents themselves (Musekiwa, 1995). These settlements were deliberately underdeveloped, lacking access to essential services such as water, sanitation, and proper infrastructure.

The exploitation of African labour was central to the colonial economy. Africans were employed in low-wage, menial jobs that sustained the urban economy but offered no pathways for upward mobility (Muchadenyika 2020). Their exclusion from property ownership and quality housing reinforced their subordinate status, ensuring that economic benefits remained concentrated within the settler minority.

One of the most profound tools of economic exclusion was the introduction of taxes. The hut tax (1896) and poll tax (1908) were levied on African households, compelling them to engage in wage labour to meet colonial demands. These taxes were explicitly designed to undermine indigenous agricultural systems, forcing Africans into economic dependency on settler-controlled urban economies (Ranger, 1967). The destruction of crops and seizure of cattle by the colonial government exacerbated this dependency, further eroding the autonomy of African livelihoods.

Taxation policies further exacerbated economic exclusion. The hut tax of 1896 and the poll tax of 1908 were instituted to compel indigenous populations to migrate to urban areas in search of paid employment, thereby undermining the profitability of indigenous agriculture (Bond, 1998). Ranger (1967) emphasises how these taxes compelled numerous Africans to navigate a dual existence, dividing their lives between rural residences and temporary urban employment. This framework solidified socio-economic dependency, wherein Africans supplied inexpensive labour for urban expansion while remaining excluded from the advantages of urban development.

The Industrial Conciliation Act of 1934 established essential regulations for the working conditions of African labourers. It included provisions for a minimum wage and requirements for employers to supply accommodation and food. Additionally, the Act mandated other forward-thinking workplace standards, such as providing protective clothing, air quality regulations, and controlled working hours. In 1936, the Southern Rhodesia Native Affairs Report discussed the broader obligations of self-governing European communities, emphasising the need to adequately address the welfare and needs of the African populations they governed. In response to the growing demand for a stable and permanent workforce during the 1940s and 1950s, hostels were constructed to accommodate bachelors and married couples (Raftopoulos and Yoshikuni, 1999). These measures reflected the colonial government's dual objectives of controlling African urban migration and ensuring a reliable labour supply.

4.2.2 Political Dimensions: Institutionalising Segregation

Colonial governance institutionalised racial segregation through legislative measures regulating land ownership, housing, and urban planning. The Native Urban Locations Ordinance of 1906 was one of the initial legislative instruments designed to segregate metropolitan areas (Sparrow, 1979). It imposed restrictions on African residency within urban environments, confining suitable locations for labour housing. This ordinance established the foundation for subsequent policies institutionalising racial hierarchies within urban planning (Muchadenyika, 2020).

The Land Apportionment Act of 1930 and the Land Tenure Act of 1969 codified racial divisions by designating specific areas for African and European populations. The Regional, Town, and Country Planning (RTCP) Act further complemented these legislative acts, which mandated municipalities to develop planning schemes. While ostensibly aimed at fostering harmonious and coordinated national development, these schemes perpetuated racial inequalities under the pretext of organised urban planning (Sparrow, 1979).

The RTCP Act and associated legislation strengthened the colonial government's dependence on urban housing as a spatial and racial segregation mechanism. African townships were established to accommodate black workers near industrial zones; however, these settlements were

intentionally underdeveloped. The principle that residents of townships should bear the costs of their services further marginalised African communities, thereby perpetuating a cycle of exclusion in the peri-urban areas of Harare in contemporary times (Musekiwa, 1995)

Harare, the capital city of Zimbabwe, has undergone significant transformations since its post-colonial era. However, while there have been many positive changes, the city has faced several challenges related to its urban space. These challenges have contributed to significant problems faced by the residents of Harare. This section will explore some of the problems that post-colonial Harare urban space faces, including redressing the colonial laws, the surge in rural-to-urban migration and poor urban planning.

Soon after attaining independence, the Pass Laws were repealed, restricting Africans from migrating and living in towns without proof of employment and residence. This marked the government's first attempt at promoting a right to the city (Muchadenyika 2015, Chirisa 2018) The removal of passed laws would encourage the mobility of people and accessibility to socio-economic activities beforehand limited to a white minority. However, the sudden influx of people into cities created immense housing challenges and significantly strained services. Therefore, a comprehensive approach was required to address the challenges that came with a surge of people migrating from rural areas to urban areas. This section traverses the post-colonial responses of both the government and the citizenry to the new urban form.

Two key pieces of legislation, namely the Vagrancy Act of 1960 (later amended in 1972) and the Law and Order Maintenance Act, imposed strict limitations on the movement of Africans in urban areas. The latter law restricted Africans to specified zones for up to five years. Without evidence of employment, the Vagrancy Act required authorities to arrest and deport Africans back to rural regions. As a result, housing and security laws were tightly interwoven, serving as tools that made it extremely difficult for Africans to secure permanent residency in urban areas.

4.2.3 Spatial Dimensions: Designing and Development

The spatial organisation of colonial Harare was intentionally designed to uphold settler dominance while marginalising African populations (Patel, 1988). Urban planning prioritised the needs of

European settlers, creating significant infrastructure disparities that continue to define Harare's urban and peri-urban landscapes (West, 2002). Colonial zoning laws relegated African populations to poorly resourced peripheral townships, deliberately deprived of access to essential services (Rakodi and Mutwiza-Mangiza, 1990). These townships were strategically positioned to serve as labour reservoirs for settler-owned industries, ensuring minimal African presence in European residential areas. This segregation was both physical and symbolic, reinforcing the political and economic supremacy of the settler minority (Muchadenyika, 2020).

Infrastructure investment starkly favoured European neighbourhoods, which benefited from well-paved roads, reliable water supply, and electricity. In contrast, African townships were systematically denied such services (Rakodi and Mutwiza-Mangiza, 1990). Residential segregation was further entrenched through policies that required African township services to be self-funded by their residents (Musekiwa, 1995). The Land Tenure Act (No. 55 of 1969) subsequently compelled municipalities to establish African townships to address the housing needs of urban black populations.

The Native (Urban Areas) Accommodation and Registration Act (No. 6 of 1946) significantly changed housing provision for Africans by requiring local authorities to fund and oversee urban black townships (Patel, 1988). This law sought to control the influx of Africans into urban settings, linking housing access to job availability while implementing restrictive measures (Musemwa, 2012). Enforcement included the distribution of passbooks, which permitted Africans to live in towns as registered residents.

The growing urban housing shortages, driven by the rapid migration of Africans from rural areas, highlighted the need to lower housing standards. Despite significant state subsidies, the Rhodesian government viewed the existing standards as prohibitively expensive and overly ambitious (GSR, 1964). To cut costs, a policy was made to reduce housing standards (GSR, 1963). This led to the construction of 'ultra-low-cost houses' using standard cement-reinforced chicken wire mesh (Kamete, 2020). While this strategy aimed to make housing more affordable, it would later form the foundation of housing policies after 1980.

In the 1960s, limited homeownership schemes were introduced through long leases to accommodate the growing black middle class (Rakodi and Mutwiza-Mangiza, 1990). This policy shift was a response to the urbanised African middle class's demand for housing outside the municipal townships, to which all Africans, regardless of social status, were confined under residential segregation laws (West, 2002: 99).

By the 1970s, as the urban housing crisis worsened, municipal housing policies permitted tenants to sublet rooms to subtenants, creating a stopgap solution to overcrowding (Rakodi and Withers, 1995). In 1979, the Rhodesian government introduced a homeownership policy, allowing local authority housing tenants to purchase their dwellings at substantial discounts (Rakodi and Withers, 1995). This move likely reflected an effort to adopt an 'African-centered' housing approach under the transitional government coalition of Ian Smith and Abel Muzorewa, which resulted in the short-lived 'Zimbabwe-Rhodesia' in 1978 (Bourne, 2011).

In summary, four main factors shaped urban development during the colonial era: (i) mining and the exploitation of natural resources, (ii) the political objective of segregating Africans, (iii) changes in town planning laws in Britain, and (iv) the desire to replicate European-style towns to serve settler needs. Urban centres were developed as sanctuaries for Europeans, excluding indigenous people. The primary barrier to adequate housing provision was not financial but a lack of political will on the part of the settler government (Patel, 1981).

4.2.4 Development of African Housing in Harare in the Colonial Era

The colonial government's approach to housing African populations in Harare (formerly Salisbury) reflected its broader policies of segregation and labour control. Over the years, the development of African townships evolved in response to the growing demand for urban housing driven by industrial expansion and increased African migration to urban areas. These townships, while addressing the immediate need for housing, were often poorly resourced and designed to meet the needs of the settler economy rather than those of the African residents.

Fig 4.1 outlines the major housing schemes established for Africans in Salisbury between 1950 and 1979, highlighting the timeline of development, the target demographic, and the housing

models employed. This table illustrates the phased and stratified nature of colonial housing policies, which ranged from employer-specific housing schemes to broader site-and-services approaches.

Area	Year of Establishment	Description of the Scheme
Mabvuku	1952	Built on Donnybrook Farm, purchased by the City Council in 1942. Primarily consisted of conventional housing designed for married couples.
Mufakose	1959	Developed on Crowborough Farm, acquired by the City Council in 1951. Featured detached and semi-detached housing for married couples, targeting higher-income groups compared to areas like Mbare, Mabvuku, or Highfield.
Rugare	Mid-1950s	Constructed by the Railways for its African employees. Housing consisted of detached and semi-detached conventional units.
Dzivarasekwa	1961	The second government township, specifically built for domestic workers employed in north-western white suburbs.
Marimba Park	1961	A government-initiated, low-density, high-income housing scheme. Residents had freehold ownership from the outset.
Kambuzuma	1964	A middle-income housing scheme combining site-and-services and core housing models. Freehold tenure was available upon full payment and completion of approved extensions.
Tafara	1967	Developed by the Greendale Town Management Board to accommodate domestic workers employed in the north-eastern suburbs.
Glen Norah	1971	Government-led housing initiative. Some units were employer-tied for married employees, while others were managed by the City Council for public rental.
Glen View	1979	A site-and-services scheme with a few conventional rental houses. Building materials were provided on loan by the City Council.

Fig 4.1: Establishment of Urban African Townships (Zinyama,1995:23)

4.3 POST-INDEPENDENCE POLICE AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Zimbabwe attaining independence was a milestone for the freedom of urban dwellers. Independent Zimbabwe promoted a ‘one city’ concept by deracialising urban settlements through changes to

planning legislation (Munzwa & Jonga, 2010). As a result, Harare was well-planned, pleasant and orderly, with colonial privileges intact (Mbiba, 2022). Moreover, unlike elsewhere in Africa, there was strict control over illegal developments and informality, infrastructure and services were maintained, and wage employment remained dominant. Harare's design and cleanness became prominent features attributed to it being labelled Sunshine City. Interrogating the Sunshine City's status and how that has fared as the urban form transitioned from colonial to majority independence. The Sunshine status's perusal assists in grasping Harare's urban transition. To fully understand the urban changes in Zimbabwe, one must consider other factors, such as independent Zimbabwe's specific socio-political and economic policies (McGregor 2013; Chiumbu and Musemwa 2012). Interrogation of post-colonial follows up later in the chapter.

According to Wekwete (1994), despite gaining independence, the physical structure of urban areas in Zimbabwe continued to be segregated based on income and physical characteristics. The growth of settlements perpetuated a segregationist philosophy, with high-density areas designated for low-income households, medium-density areas for middle-income households, and low-density areas for high-income households. Infrastructure development, such as roads, also followed the income pattern of settlements. The line between racial segregation and income disparities blurred as time passed. The city's design became problematic, as it was initially planned for a minority group. The sudden influx of people after independence further compounded resource and planning challenges. One of the primary problems the post-colonial Harare urban space faces is the need for adequate infrastructure (Chirisa, 2018). The city has proliferated since Zimbabwe's independence, but its infrastructure has yet to keep pace with this growth. Previously discussed was a lack of housing during the 1960s and 1970s, time access to the urban area was restricted (Rakodi & Withers, 1995).

The housing deficiency escalated with a surge of people migrating from rural to urban areas after the country gained independence. The housing crisis was due to exclusionary urban planning, unequal economic opportunities and inaccessibility to most of the African population. Building on the deficiencies of the colonial past and the newfound reality of the African majority in the city soon overwhelmed the resources. This has led to a need for more essential services such as water and sanitation and inadequate transportation and communication systems (Potts, 2011). As a result,

many residents of Harare do not have access to these vital services, which has significantly impacted their quality of life.

Another problem faced by post-colonial Harare urban space is the issue of informal settlements (Potts, 2011). These settlements have proliferated in the city and are often located in areas unsuitable for human habitation. The emergence of informal settlements in early 1980s Harare resulted from a complex mix of factors, including the lack of affordable housing, inadequate infrastructure, and a challenging economic environment (Wekwete 1994, Conyers 2001, Potts 2011). One primary reason was the city's lack of affordable housing options, as the government had failed to provide adequate low-cost housing for the growing population. This forced many people to build their homes in informal settlements, often on peri-urban land that was not legally recognised (Wekwete, 1994). The residents of these settlements did not have access to essential services such as water and sanitation and were often at risk of eviction. Housing shortages led to a significant increase in the number of homeless people in the city, contributing to social problems such as crime and poverty.

Additionally, the informal settlements were often located on the outskirts of the city, where land was cheaper and more available (Munzwa and Jonga 2010, Mbiba 2022). These areas lacked the essential infrastructure necessary for sustainable living, which led to poor living conditions, limited mobility and accessibility to socioeconomic activities and increased health risks for residents. The informal settlements were in various areas around the city, including high-density suburbs like Mbare and Epworth and peri-urban areas like Hatcliffe and Kuwadzana (Wekwete,1994). Many of these settlements were located on marginal lands, such as steep slopes or flood-prone areas, unsuitable for formal housing (Munzwa and Jonga, 2010). The unsuitable land settlement was not new to the new urban dwellers since the colonial regime placed them in inconvenient and unproductive land. Unfolding the history of the adverse land settlement suggests a commonality between the colonial government and the independent government but under different circumstances.

The early years of independence from the colonial regime indicate a period of urban growth. In contrast, urban development could not be avoided; planning for the influx of people migrating

from rural areas still needed to be fully considered. Efforts were made to improve the situation, but informal settlements remain a significant issue in Harare and other cities worldwide. Several African cities experienced a significant population boom in urban areas after gaining independence from their colonial powers. Lagos (Nigeria) and Kinshasa (Democratic Republic of Congo) experienced a population boom after independence due to their status as Nigeria's commercial capital (Potts, 2011). The cities attracted many migrants from rural areas in search of better economic opportunities, and its rapid urbanisation was also driven by government policies that encouraged industrialisation. The response to the early population boom in the urban areas required a response from the government and the urban residents. The following section discusses some significant policies that impacted urban livelihood post-independence.

4.3 POST INDEPENDENCE POLICIES AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS ON THE URBAN SPACE

In the 1980s and 1990s, Zimbabwe, like many other developing countries, faced a significant challenge of urbanisation. Rapid urbanisation led to high demand for housing and essential services, which strained the existing infrastructure and resources. To address these challenges, the government of Zimbabwe introduced several urban policies to promote sustainable urban development and improve the living conditions of urban residents. These policies included the Urban Development Corporation (UDC) in 1983, the National Housing Fund in 1985, the Urban Councils Act in 1985 and the Urban Land Act of 1993. National and macroeconomic policies also affected the urban spaces of Zimbabwe. Notable policies such as the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme, Fast Track Land Reform Programme and Operation Murambatsvina affected the urban dynamics of Zimbabwe. This section evaluated the policies introduced by the government of Zimbabwe and the effects of the policies on the urban form.

4.3.1 Post-Independence Urban Development (1980-2000)

Since gaining independence in 1980, Zimbabwe's government has launched various urban policies and programs to tackle issues related to urbanisation, housing deficits, and fair land distribution. These initiatives aim to foster inclusive urban development, upgrade infrastructure, and improve the living standards of city residents, especially those from low-income families. Nevertheless, the

results of these efforts have been inconsistent, revealing both successes and difficulties in their execution.

This section explores the crucial urban policies implemented by the Zimbabwean government and their effects on urban development. Key initiatives include the establishment of the Urban Development Corporation (UDC) in 1983, the creation of the National Housing Fund in 1985, the passing of the Urban Land Act in 1993, and the significant impacts of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) launched in 1991. Although these policies were designed to tackle major urban issues, they also exposed considerable deficiencies in funding, planning, and governance that have influenced today's urban environment.

4.3.1.1 Urban Development Corporation of 1983

One of the earliest urban policies introduced by the government was the establishment of the Urban Development Corporation (UDC) in 1983. The UDC of Zimbabwe was established to promote and coordinate the development of urban areas in the country (GoZ,1983). Its primary mandate was planning, designing, and constructing urban infrastructure, including housing, commercial and industrial buildings, roads, and other public amenities (ibid). In addition, the UDC managed urban development projects and promoted investment in urban areas. The UDC was also responsible for developing industrial estates and other commercial infrastructure, which helped to attract investment and create employment opportunities in urban areas (Rakodi and Withers, 1995).

However, the UDC faced several challenges in its operations. One of the main challenges was inadequate funding, which limited the scope of its operations and prevented it from fully achieving its objectives (Musekiwa 1995; Rakodi and Withers 1995)—financing heavily relied on government funding. This often led to delays in project implementation, as the UDC had to wait for government funding to be released before proceeding with construction. Bureaucratic approach and its failure to adapt quickly to changing circumstances. Another significant criticism of the corporation was that it was slow to respond to the changing needs of urban development (Marongwe et al., 2011). The UDC was often criticised for its bureaucratic approach and failure to adapt quickly to changing circumstances.

The response of Harare's residents to UDCORP's activities was mixed. On the one hand, many residents welcomed UDCORP's efforts to provide affordable housing and infrastructure. This was particularly true for residents living in informal settlements and other areas with poor living conditions (Rakodi and Withers, 1995). UDCORP's low-cost housing and essential services, such as water and sewerage systems, improved the living conditions of many residents. On the other hand, some residents also had concerns about UDCORP's approach to urban development. Some residents felt that UDCORP's focus on high-density housing developments led to overcrowding and poor living conditions in some areas (Rakodi and Withers, 1995).

4.3.1.2 The National Housing Fund of 1985

The government of Zimbabwe introduced the National Housing Fund in 1985. The National Housing Fund was established to finance low-cost housing development projects. The aim was to address the housing shortage in urban areas and ensure that low-income households could access affordable housing for low and middle-income earners (GoZ, 1987). One of the main benefits of the National Housing Fund was that it allowed low-income earners to access affordable housing loans at low interest rates (Wekwete, 1994). This enabled many people who would not have otherwise been able to afford housing to purchase their own homes. The fund also supported the construction of rental housing units, which helped to address the housing shortage in urban areas.

While the National Housing Fund had some successes in increasing the supply of affordable housing in the country, it faced significant challenges and criticisms. Some challenges were associated with implementing the National Housing Fund (Wekwete 1994, Rakodi and Withers 1995). One of the main issues was that the fund was not well-funded, which limited its ability to provide adequate support for developing housing units. Additionally, the constructed housing units often lacked basic amenities and were located far from economic centres, making them unattractive to potential buyers (Rakodi and Withers, 1995). Furthermore, Zimbabwe's financial challenges in the 1990s and 2000s impacted the National Housing Fund. The fund faced funding shortages and reports of mismanagement and corruption (Wekwete, 1994). This led to a decline in the quality of the housing projects that were being developed. The annual housing provision in urban areas had significantly decreased by 2003, dropping from an average of 15,000-20,000 units between 1985 and 1995 to only 5,000 units in 2000 (Muchadenyika, 2015).

The National Housing Fund received a mixed reception from urban residents in Zimbabwe. On the one hand, the fund was seen as a positive step towards addressing the country's housing crisis. Zimbabwe was experiencing a shortage of affordable housing, and the fund was seen as a way to help low—and middle-income earners gain access to decent housing. On the other hand, while it provided some relief for low and middle-income earners, there were concerns about its inclusivity and the effective use of the funds raised.

4.3.1.3 Urban Land Act 1993

In 1993, the government passed the Urban Land Act, which provided a legal framework and guidance on allocating, managing, and using urban land, especially in Zimbabwe's rapidly growing urban areas. The act was introduced to address the issue of illegal settlements and land invasions, which were common in urban areas. The act also aimed to promote sustainable land use and to ensure that urban land was used for the intended purpose (Muchadenyika, 2015). Establishing ULAC improved the fairness and transparency of land allocation, while the guidelines for sustainable development contributed to the overall development of urban areas.

The effectiveness of the Urban Land Act of 1993 can be evaluated by looking at its impact on urban land management and distribution. One of the main objectives of the Act was to provide an efficient and transparent process for land allocation. This was achieved by establishing the Urban Land Allocation Committee (ULAC), which was tasked with overseeing the distribution of urban land. ULAC was responsible for ensuring that land was allocated fairly and that all applicants had equal opportunities to acquire land (GoZ, 1994). The enactment of ULAC has positively impacted land allocation, reducing corruption and favouritism.

Despite the positive impact of the Urban Land Act of 1993, there have been some challenges in its implementation, which may impact its sustainability. One of the main challenges has been the government's need for more resources and capacity to implement the Act effectively (Muchadenyika, 2015). This has resulted in delays in the allocation of land and the provision of infrastructure and services, which has slowed the development of urban areas. Another challenge has been the resistance from some individuals and groups who have occupied land illegally or

vested interests in certain areas (Muchadenyika, 2015). This has made it difficult for the government to reclaim and allocate land to those entitled to it under the Act.

4.3.1.4 Economic Structural Adjustment Programme 1991

The Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) was a set of economic policies implemented in Zimbabwe in 1991 to revive the country's economy, which was struggling due to low foreign exchange, inflation, and debt (Mlambo, 1998). The programme aimed to reduce government spending, remove state controls from the economy, and encourage private investment. However, the ESAP significantly impacted the urban space of Harare, the capital city of Zimbabwe.

The primary goal of ESAP was to transform Zimbabwe's economy from a state-controlled, socialist-oriented model to a market-oriented, capitalist model. The program was based on liberalisation, privatisation, deregulation, and fiscal austerity principles. Some of the significant policy measures included:

- a. Trade liberalisation: ESAP aimed to increase international trade by reducing tariffs and other trade barriers.
- b. Privatisation: The program privatised many state-owned enterprises and deregulated specific sectors, such as transportation and telecommunications.
- c. Fiscal austerity: The government implemented measures to reduce government spending, including cutting subsidies and reducing the size of the civil service.
- d. Currency devaluation: ESAP involved a significant depreciation of the Zimbabwean currency, intended to boost exports and reduce imports (Mlambo, 1997).

The implementation of ESAP had both positive and negative effects on the Zimbabwean economy. In the short term, the program reduced inflation, increased foreign investment, and improved access to foreign exchange (Mlambo, 1997). However, the program also had negative consequences, such as increased unemployment, decreased social services, and a widening income gap between the rich and poor (Mlambo, 1997) from the adverse effects of ESAP, urban space,

mobility and access to socioeconomic activities that affected urban livelihoods. The rest of this section delves into the impacts of ESAP on urban space and livelihood.

One immediate effect of the ESAP on Harare was reduced government spending, which led to a decrease in social services (Mbara, 2006). This meant the government could not invest in essential infrastructure such as transportation, healthcare, and education. In June 1994, the Zimbabwean government de-regulated urban transport, ending Zimbabwe United Passenger Company (ZUPCO's) monopoly and allowing competition by licensing other operators (Mlambo, 1997). This led to increased competition and reduced fares, making it easier for people to travel within the city. The policy change was intended to improve the efficiency and speed of the urban transport system. However, introducing new competition in the form of commuter omnibuses led to the disintegration of ZUPCO, resulting in futile efforts by the government to provide equal access to transport for its citizens due to the private sector's dominance (Mbara, 2006). Commuters were left stranded after working hours as the timetable of buses did not apply to commuter omnibuses (Mbara, 2006). The lack of a concrete National Transport Policy meant that the ESAP model served as the policy until 2013, with far-reaching consequences.

The impact of ESAP on public transport and the urban livelihoods of Harare was significant. ESAP led to the deregulation of the public transport sector, which increased the number of privately owned buses and taxis. Liberalisation of the public transport sector also resulted in a decline in the quality of service provided. Private operators did not have to meet the same standards as the state-owned transport company, resulting in overcrowded buses and unsafe passenger conditions. As a result of ESAP's outcomes, public transport was no longer a government priority, causing inefficiency and an increase in car ownership, convenient taxis, and car-sharing (Mbara, 2006). Despite the illegality of convenient taxis and car-sharing, law enforcement agencies turned a blind eye to the practice (Munzwa & Jonga, 2014). Consequently, the informal sector became the sole provider of public transport in most urban areas of the country, particularly Harare, characterised by many small and old vehicles, unsafe driving, gridlock congestion, slow speeds, and a generally inaccessible urban environment during peak hours. As a result, people now fear public transport and urban areas due to their congested nature.

The congestion of cities, such as Harare, has reduced production time, with individuals commuting most of their time (Munzwa & Jonga, 2014). Travel time between households and socio-economic activity areas is extended due to congestion, resulting from increased cars and commuter omnibuses (Munzwa & Jonga, 2014). Low-income commuters residing on the outskirts of Harare are particularly affected, spending more time commuting due to the lack of readily available and accessible transportation. This situation has been described as time exclusion based on transport deprivation (Church et al., 1999).

The location of low-income families is crucial in understanding the dynamics of transport deprivation. The 2012 Zimbabwe census revealed a decrease in the urban population from 35% to 33% (Mbiba, 2017). However, there was a significant increase in urbanisation on the peripheries between 2002 and 2012. Mbiba (2017) notes that the movement of many people to the urban periphery, particularly in Harare, is mainly due to a shortage of affordable housing in urban areas. The households in the urban fringe are referred to as the "missing urban," as they are un-serviced by the City of Harare authorities and only developed under rural conditions by rural councils (Mbiba, 2017).

The issue of housing affordability has resulted in the relocation of low-income families to the urban periphery, which has created mobility and accessibility challenges (Mbiba, 2017). For instance, pupils who reside on the periphery must travel long distances to attend schools located in the primary urban centres, and formal and informal workers now spend more time commuting to and from the CBD. Additionally, the lack of social amenities, such as clinics and hospitals, necessitates individuals to travel to built-up urban areas with such facilities. These examples highlight the need for urban residents to have accessible socio-economic activities. However, the absence of government services, including roads, rail networks, and transport termini, has further exacerbated the inaccessibility of the CBD for individuals living in the urban peripheries (Munzwa and Jonga, 2014). Preferential land division and differential property rights affected the people pushed to the urban periphery.

Another significant legacy of the ESAP on the urban space of Harare is the proliferation of slums. The decline of the formal sector in Harare left many people needing formal employment and hence

could not afford decent housing (Mlambo, 1997). The policy led to the retrenchment of many public sector employees, and the resulting unemployment led to a surge in informal activities such as street vending and informal housing. These activities led to the growth of informal settlements, characterised by poor infrastructure, lack of essential services, and a high incidence of crime. They resorted to building informal structures such as shacks and huts in areas designated for agriculture or farming. This led to the formation of informal settlements, which lacked basic amenities such as access to clean water, sanitation facilities, and electricity.

Furthermore, ESAP also harmed urban livelihoods in Harare. Removing subsidies on basic commodities increased the cost of living, making it difficult for low-income earners to afford essential goods and services (Mbiba, 2017). ESAP had a ripple effect on the economy, leading to high levels of unemployment and poverty. Removing state controls from the economy led to privatisation, which encouraged the rise of informal markets in Harare. The ESAP allowed for more open competition within the economy, but it also had the unintended consequence of excluding most of the population from fully participating in the market (Mbiba, 2017). The informal markets soon became a significant feature of the urban space in Harare, sprawling across the city centre and creating congestion, noise pollution, and littering. Many urban residents in Harare turned to the informal economy as a means of survival, as the formal sector was unable to absorb all of the new job seekers' time (Munzwa & Jonga, 2014). The informal economy consists of unregulated economic activities such as street vending, home-based enterprises, and small-scale manufacturing. Individuals or small groups often carry out these activities without formal registration or legal recognition.

The emergence of the informal economy had both positive and negative consequences for urban livelihoods in Harare. On the positive side, the informal economy provided a source of income for many urban residents who would otherwise have been unemployed or underemployed (Mbara, 2006). It also offered goods and services to consumers who may not have had access to them through formal channels. Additionally, the informal economy created a sense of entrepreneurship and self-reliance among those who participated (Mbiba, 2017). On the negative side, the informal economy was characterised by low wages, poor working conditions, and a lack of legal protection for workers. The unregulated nature of the informal economy also meant that workers were

vulnerable to exploitation and abuse by their employers (Mbiba, 2017). Additionally, the informal economy operated outside the formal tax system, which meant the government lost out on potential revenue. ESAP significantly affected urban livelihoods in Harare, with the emergence of the informal economy being one of the most notable consequences.

While the informal economy provided a source of income, goods and services for many urban residents, it also created many challenges, including low wages, poor working conditions, and a lack of legal protection for workers. Moving forward, policymakers in Zimbabwe must address the challenges posed by the informal economy while promoting economic growth and job creation in the formal sector to ensure a sustainable and equitable future for all urban residents. The lack of government investment in social services and the rise of privatisation policies created an uneven distribution of wealth, with the rich living in gated communities and the poor living in informal settlements. The ESAP serves as an important lesson on the importance of inclusive economic policies that consider the needs of all members of society.

4.3.1.5 Fast Track Land Reform Programme 2000

In 2000, Zimbabwe launched the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) to redistribute land from white commercial farmers to landless black peasants (Lahiff, 2003). The programme significantly impacted Zimbabwe's rural and urban sectors, especially the urban space, livelihoods and economy (ibid). The impacts of the FTLRP on the metropolitan area, livelihoods and economy in Zimbabwe are part of broader national economic impacts. While the limelight is on the national macro-economic impacts of FTLRP. Focusing on the FTLRP is another effort to demonstrate that the urban space in Zimbabwe is susceptible to change prompted by policy changes and implementations. This section unravels the Land reform programme and how it impacted the urban economy, livelihood, and land use.

The FTLRP had significant impacts on the urban economy in Zimbabwe. However, the purpose of the land reform programme should be clarified from the onset. The FTLRP primarily focused on redistributing farming land from white farmers to the black native population. The government underestimated the impact of the FTLRP as it had a reach on society's overall economy and social fabric. The programme led to a decline in the formal economy, as the land reforms affected many

businesses that relied on the agricultural sector (Lahiff 2003, Potts 2013; Conyers, 2001). This resulted in a contraction of the urban economy, as the decline in formal employment opportunities and the expansion of the informal sector led to a reduction in economic output.

Although a nationwide programme, the land redistribution set precedents for urban land and future housing in urban areas. A key informant who used to be employed by the Ministry of Local Government stated the following:

Whitecliffe emerged as an informal housing community during Zimbabwe's infamous Fast-Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) of 2000. Originally a commercial farm in the Zvimba Rural District, Whitecliffe was owned by Sam Levy, a prominent white business mogul in Zimbabwe. During the period of violent farm invasions, Levy attempted to change the farm's ownership by selling the property to an indigenous businessperson. Despite these efforts, the farm was ultimately sold for housing development. Amid the Fast-Track Land Reform Programme, a group comprising independent war veterans and homeless urban residents occupied part of the farm, establishing the Tongogara Housing Cooperative. Various housing cooperatives have emerged to address the housing deficit, primarily acquiring land in peri-urban areas. They have received support from grassroots advocacy groups and communities, often starting with the construction of superstructures, followed by the installation of essential infrastructure such as water and sanitation, electricity, and paved roads. The absence of such infrastructure puts peri-urban residents at risk of diseases like cholera, dysentery, and typhoid, highlighting a technological gap in peri-urban areas and necessitating innovative solutions. The Dzivaresekwa-Nehanda housing cooperative, located west of Harare in the same area as the Dzivaresekwa Extension, arose from Zimbabwe's fast-track land reform program. The cooperative's settlement on land formerly used for horticulture was part of the rural land redistribution process, which transitioned into an urban issue as homeless individuals from both urban and peri-urban areas sought housing (Interview with Key Informant at Ministry of Local Government, Harare, 2022)

The Fast-Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) had wide-ranging effects on urban land use and housing development. Although the program sought to tackle land inequality, it unintentionally exacerbated urban housing challenges. Informal housing communities and cooperatives have become crucial in bridging the housing gap, but they face difficulties due to inadequate infrastructure and public health risks. The legacy of the FTLRP extends beyond rural land redistribution, significantly impacting urban land use and housing development. This is evident in the emergence of informal housing communities and cooperatives that strive to address the housing shortage.

The informal sector emerged as a significant contributor to the urban economy, with informal trading and vending providing livelihoods for many people. However, the informal sector was characterised by low productivity, limited access to credit, and weak linkages with the formal economy (Conyers, 2001). The FTLRP also had impacts on urban land and property markets, as the decline in the value of urban property and the uncertainty around land tenure resulted in a contraction of the property market. This unforeseen consequence led to a decline in investment in urban space development. Land invasions became popular during the FTLRP and continued after the land reform programme (Scoones, 2010). The continuation also spiralled into the urban periphery, but more on this is discussed in the Operation Murambatsvina (Restore Order) section.

The FTLRP had significant impacts on the urban space in Zimbabwe. The programme led to a rapid increase in the population of urban areas, as people who lost their jobs at the farms were forced to migrate to urban centres in search of employment and livelihoods. At this point, Zimbabwe's economy was mainly underpinned by the agriculture sector (Scoones, 2010). With the collapse of the agriculture industry, many people who relied on agriculture as a source of livelihood were left out of the economy. This surged a rural-to-urban migration of people in affected white commercial farms and rural areas. Strained urban infrastructure, resulting in overcrowding, housing shortages and inadequate access to basic services such as water, sanitation and healthcare, began to rise (Potts, 2013). The FTLRP was implemented against the economic decline of the ESAP and the increase in the urban population. Informal economic activities became the go-to for all who lost jobs and were seeking jobs.

The informal sector in urban areas also expanded significantly due to the FTLRP, with many people engaging in informal trading and vending to earn a living (UN-Habitat, 2014). This resulted in the emergence of informal settlements and markets, which were often located in unsafe and unsanitary areas. Regarding the impact of the FTLRP on urban property values, it is difficult to make a general statement because the program focused primarily on rural land (Cliffe et al. 2014, Scoones 2010). However, some indirect effects of the program on urban property values are worth noting. The FTLRP led to a decline in agricultural production and exports, which resulted in a decline in foreign currency earnings for the country (Potts, 2013). The decline in foreign currency

had an impact on the overall economy, including the property market. The government could not secure housing and urban development funding due to limited governmental expenditure. Also, there was a decline in the value of urban property, as land and property were no longer secure investments in the face of the government's land reform policies.

Another unforeseen impact of FTLRP was on urban mobility in Zimbabwe. Due to the decline in agricultural production, Zimbabwe became more reliant on imports, which increased the cost of goods and services (Chigara, 2006). This, in turn, led to an increase in transportation costs, making it more difficult for people to afford to travel and access urban opportunities. Additionally, FTLRP impacted transportation infrastructure development. The lack of investment in transport and infrastructure led to an inadequate and poorly maintained transportation network, further hindering urban mobility. The lack of public transport in many areas also led to the emergence of informal transport systems, such as minibuses and shared taxis, which were often unsafe and unreliable (Muchadenyika, 2015). The expansion of urban areas also had impacts on pedestrian mobility, as many informal settlements were located far from urban centres, making it difficult for people to access basic services such as healthcare and education.

The FTLRP had gendered impacts on urban mobility, with women disproportionately affected. (Munzwa & Jonga, 2014) One way in which the FTLRP impacted women's mobility was through the displacement of women from rural areas to urban centres. Women who lost their land and livelihoods due to the program were forced to move to cities in search of employment and other opportunities. The displacement of women from rural areas to cities, the rise of precarious and informal work, and gender-based violence and harassment all contributed to making mobility more challenging for women in urban areas. Women were adversely impacted in mobility and accessibility because public transport at this point was mainly informal and unregulated (Scoones, 2010). FTLRP and economic decline had severe impacts beyond the agriculture sector. Most of the mentioned adverse impacts are less emphasised when discussions of the failure of the FTLRP are mentioned. Highlighting some of the contentious issues of the FTLRP unravels the true extent of its impact.

The key informant provided detailed insights into the primary impacts of the Fast Track Land Reform Program (FTLRP) on Zimbabwe's urban economy and livelihoods. One notable comment shed light on the FTLRP's specific effects on various urban sectors, providing valuable context for understanding its far-reaching consequences.

The FTLRP primarily aimed to redistribute agricultural land from white commercial farmers to landless black peasants, but it had significant repercussions for urban areas. As agricultural production declined, many urban businesses dependent on agriculture suffered, leading to job losses and economic contraction. This forced a surge of rural-to-urban migration, straining urban infrastructure and services like housing, water, and healthcare. The formal economy shrank, and the informal sector expanded rapidly. Informal trading and vending became primary livelihood sources for many, but this sector faced challenges such as low productivity, limited access to credit, and weak linkages to the formal economy. This shift also led to the growth of informal settlements and markets, often in unsafe areas (Interview with a CoH city planner, Harare, 2022)

The land reform programme's impact on urban land and property markets varied significantly. An urban planner serving as a key informant noted that the programme had ripple effects on these markets.

The decrease in urban property values after the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) was primarily due to land tenure uncertainty and a general economic downturn. This instability resulted in a decrease in investor confidence, leading to reduced investment in urban development projects. As a result, there was a housing shortage because fewer new properties were constructed, and existing infrastructure suffered neglect and underinvestment. The perceived risks of property ownership under these uncertain conditions made urban real estate less appealing to potential investors, further worsening the contraction in the property market. This lack of investment exacerbated housing shortages and caused a decline in the quality and availability of urban infrastructure, thus creating a cycle of economic and social challenges within urban areas (Interview with a Lecturer, Harare, 2022).

4.3.2 National Policies and Urban Development 2001-2020

From 2001 to 2020, the Zimbabwean government implemented numerous national and urban policies focused on tackling socio-economic issues and fostering sustainable development. Key policies introduced during this time are:

4.3.2.1 National Housing Policy 2000

The National Housing Policy (NHP) of 2000 emerged from discussions held during the first National Housing Convention in November 1997 in Victoria Falls. This event brought together various stakeholders to deliberate on a new housing agenda, culminating in the creation of Zimbabwe's first comprehensive housing policy since independence. The policy, released in 1999 by the National Taskforce on Housing (NTFH), emphasised fostering partnerships among diverse groups, including government bodies, local authorities, international and local NGOs, private sector actors, civil society, and local communities (Kanyenze et al., 2011). One of its ambitious goals was the construction of one million houses within a decade (NTFH, 1999: 19).

Despite this vision, subsequent post-2000 national budgets failed to allocate sufficient financial resources for housing development, leading to a gap between policy aspirations and actual delivery outcomes (Makunde, Mubaiwa, and Donga, 2012: 14). The policy advocated for a people-centred approach to housing development, arguing that it would yield better outcomes compared to a state-driven model (NTFH, 1999). It also identified overly complex planning legislation and bureaucratic processes as significant obstacles to efficient housing delivery (Chirisa and Munzwa, 2008). This recognition prompted a shift towards grassroots-based strategies, such as self-help housing initiatives and cooperative movements.

Regarding tenure configuration, the NHP 2000 proposed that 80% of publicly funded housing projects prioritize homeownership, with the remaining 20% allocated to rental accommodation. This approach underscored the government's focus on promoting homeownership over social housing, which is housing provided by local authorities or associations and allocated based on need rather than market dynamics (Reeves, 2005: 2).

However, the implementation of the NHP faced significant setbacks, most notably during Operation Murambatsvina / Restore Order (OM/RO). This state-led initiative destroyed many self-help housing projects, exacerbating the housing crisis and heightening tensions between housing movements and state authorities. Moreover, systemic and institutional barriers that

restricted the effectiveness of self-help strategies were left unaddressed, further complicating efforts to meet housing needs.

4.3.2.2 Operation Murambatsvina (Restore Order) 2005

Operation Murambatsvina, or Operation Restore Order, was a controversial 2005 operation led by the Zimbabwean government. The operation involved the forced eviction and demolition of informal settlements, such as shantytowns and marketplaces, in urban areas across the country. According to Musiyiwa (2008), the government of Zimbabwe stated that the purpose of Operation Murambatsvina was to eliminate illegal structures, crime, unsanitary stalls, and squalor from the country. This section critically assesses Operation Murambatsvina, examining its legitimacy, impact, and implications for Zimbabwean society.

According to Amnesty International (2016), 700,000 people had their homes destroyed or were left without a livelihood. Men, women, and children were left homeless and displaced without food, water, sanitation or health care in the destruction started by the government (Chibisa & Sigauke, 2008). Many people lost their livelihoods as informal businesses were demolished, and children were forced to drop out of school. A further 2.4 million were indirectly affected. Operation Murambatsvina was considered a violation of human rights and lacked legitimacy, as it was not carried out per international legal standards and failed to take into account the needs and rights of those affected (Atwood and Straus 2013, Benyera and Nyere 2015, Musiyiwa 2008). Human rights activists have raised concerns that Operation Murambatsvina was a covert operation targeting voters who preferred the opposition party, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) (Benyera & Nyere, 2015). The demolition of structures designated as illegal had a devastating impact on families, and many argue that it violated core tenets of sovereignty.

The operation had broader implications for Zimbabwean society, contributing to a deepening of political and social divisions and a loss of trust in the government. It further suggests that the operation was indicative of broader issues in Zimbabwean governance, including the politicisation of state institutions, the erosion of the rule of law, and a disregard for human rights (Chibisa & Sigauke, 2008). On May 19, 2005, the Zimbabwean government launched an operation known as Operation Murambatsvina with little to no warning. The legality of this operation is a contentious issue beyond the scope of this section. However, a newspaper article by *The Herald* (June 7, 2005)

quoted Ms Sekesai Makwawarra stating that Zimbabwe acted within the law when it initiated Operation Murambatsvina. According to Makwawarra, the Zimbabwean government was justified in asserting its sovereign right to determine the course of its urban dwelling structures and commercial activities. As referenced by Chibisa and Sigauke (2008:31) and cited by the United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat, 2005), the government contended that its actions were aimed at curbing disorderly or haphazard urbanisation, mitigating health-related repercussions, prohibiting illegal parallel market transactions, particularly foreign currency exchange and consumer goods hoarding and rectifying the damage caused by unsuitable urban agricultural practices.

The worsening of homelessness was an unintended consequence of the government's attempts to mitigate the proliferation of illegal settlements. The 2005 initiative known as Operation 'Murambatsvina' (Restore Order) serves as a pertinent illustration, whereby the government's demolition of all unlawful constructions culminated in the displacement and impoverishment of numerous individuals (Musarurwa, 2018). This reaction ultimately compelled several economically disadvantaged households to relocate to the fringes of the urban centre. The peri-urban was still unsuitable for human habitation by 2005, yet people were forced to move to the urban fringe. I propose that relocating the 'unwanted population' to the outskirts would shift the responsibility of meeting their needs from urban areas like cities and towns to rural areas. This would result in a geographical division between those who have access to resources and those who do not, ultimately leading to inequitable distribution of resources.

The severity of Operation Murambatsvina disproportionately affected the most marginalised members of Zimbabwean society, particularly women and children, rendering them even more vulnerable (Munzwa & Jonga, 2014). Children were forced out of schools as the operation destroyed houses, and women who often would undertake informal trading were severely impacted by the operation (Mbiba, 2017). Additionally, the timing of the operation was not fortuitous, as it occurred during the harsh winter season, implying that the intention was to maximise harm, loss, and distress to the affected population (ibid). The government's motives can be viewed as a response to failed urban planning and policy failure. While the government failed to address the rise in demand for urban space demand, operation Murambatsvina only made things worse.

Destitution increased as many displaced poor people increased (Potts, 2011). Access to socioeconomic activities was limited and, for some, not an option.

The critical informant revealed that O.M.'s legal standpoint had a lasting legacy.

Operation Murambatsvina's (O.M.) execution lacked proper legal procedures and failed to adhere to international human rights standards. Forced evictions and demolitions were carried out with little warning, resulting in homelessness and deprivation of necessities. The impact was severe, with Amnesty International reporting that 700,000 individuals lost their homes or livelihoods. Families were displaced, children's education was disrupted, and informal businesses were devastated. The broader repercussions included heightened political and social divisions and a significant erosion of trust in the government. The government's invocation of sovereignty was not defensible when fundamental human rights were violated (Interview with a Human rights activist, Harare, 2023).

Operation Murambatsvina had far-reaching political and social implications in addition to the immediate humanitarian crisis it caused. The operation widened Zimbabwean society's political and social rifts, leading to a loss of trust in the government. Many people believed that the government was using the pretext of urban renewal to target opposition supporters, further dividing the political landscape. Furthermore, the operation showcased the government's inability to address urban planning and policy issues, contributing to long-term social and economic instability.

The government of Zimbabwe desperately tried to reverse the effects of the operation by introducing another operation. Operation Garikai/Hlalani Kuhle (Better Life) was launched in June 2005, aiming to offer improved housing options to individuals who had lost their homes during Operation Murambatsvina (Munzwa & Jonga, 2014). Based on the findings from two reports released today, it is evident that the rebuilding efforts following Operation Murambatsvina have not resulted in significant benefits for the victims, as claimed by the government (Amnesty International, 2016). The reports indicate that only a few houses, totalling 3,325, have been constructed, which starkly contrasts the 92,460 homes destroyed during Operation Murambatsvina. Moreover, construction has stalled in several areas *ibid*. Further analysis of the situation reveals that the government's Operation Garikai/Hlalani Kuhle, purportedly aimed at

building houses for the victims of Operation Murambatsvina, in reality allocating small undeveloped plots of land to many individuals (Musarurwa, 2018). These plots of land frequently lack access to necessities such as water and sanitation, and the individuals are expected to construct their own homes without government assistance.

This section aimed to shed light on the challenges encountered by Zimbabweans residing in the peripheries of urban areas. Specifically, this portion delved into the role of state policies in shaping and controlling narratives, particularly by those in power, and how colonial and independent governments have employed statecraft to govern population dynamics. The findings of this research demonstrate that urban spaces in Harare have remained largely unaltered since the colonial era despite rapid population growth and the inadequacy of existing policies. The analysis reveals that transitions of power from one government to another have highlighted that urban design and inclusivity serve only a select few. The policies in future should consider integrating the physical fabric, financial implications, and political and social dimensions of urban development. Neglecting these crucial elements will only exacerbate the difficulties experienced by Zimbabweans living on the fringes of urban life.

4.3.2.3 National Housing Policing 2012

The second National Housing Convention, held in 2009, emphasised the need for housing policies and legislation to be more inclusive, advocating for amendments that prioritise the poor, empower civil society, and encourage stakeholder participation in housing initiatives (GoZ, 2009: 12). The Convention aimed to promote the role of community-based organizations (CBOs) in delivering pro-poor housing solutions and recommended revising the national housing policy to reflect this new direction in government priorities (Muchadenyika, 2015).

Building on these recommendations, the National Housing Policy (NHP) of 2012 focused on ensuring decent and affordable housing, supporting community and private sector-led initiatives, fostering economic empowerment, creating inclusive cities, and promoting sustainable housing solutions tailored to the unique needs of rural and urban communities (GoZ, 2012: 5–7). For the first time, the policy formally acknowledged the contributions of organizations such as ZIHOPFE and Dialogue on Shelter in addressing urban housing challenges (Muchadenyika, 2016).

The NHP of 2012 adopted seven core strategies to support the integration of CBOs and advance pro-poor housing initiatives:

1. Promoting land allocation and ensuring tenure security.
2. Providing targeted subsidies.
3. Establishing a "no eviction without alternative" policy framework.
4. Expanding access to credit facilities.
5. Implementing flexible policies to support incremental and parallel development.
6. Regulating the CBO sector effectively.
7. Allocating funds in the national budget to support CBO activities (GoZ, 2012: 16).

Despite these strategies, the government has yet to introduce targeted subsidies or extend new credit facilities for housing to the poor. Furthermore, tenure insecurity remains a significant challenge, particularly in peri-urban areas. However, incremental and parallel development approaches have bolstered grassroots efforts in housing delivery.

The NHP of 2012 acknowledges the limitations of top-down approaches to housing and redefines the government's role in this sector. Rather than being the primary provider, the government now seeks to facilitate the involvement of various stakeholders by addressing specific needs through enabling policies, adopting appropriate technologies, and creating strategies that empower other actors to play an active role in housing development (GoZ, 2012: iv).

4.3.2.4 Zimbabwe National Constitution Amendment 2013

In the 2013 Constitution, local government was granted constitutional recognition for the first time. Previously, local authorities lacked constitutional legal standing and operated under Acts of Parliament (Muramahoko, 2020). The ruling party could amend these acts with a simple majority. The adoption of the 2013 Constitution marked a significant shift, elevating the status of local government to a constitutionally recognised level.

In 2013, Zimbabwe adopted a new Constitution that profoundly reshaped the governance of urban and rural local authorities. The Constitution introduced the devolution of powers to provincial and local governments. It included provisions advancing the rights of the homeless, such as Section 28 (right to shelter), Section 74 (protection from arbitrary eviction), and Section 77 (right to food and

water) (Muchadenyika, 2015). However, the implementation of devolution has been significantly constrained by the national government's lack of political will (Muchadenyika and Williams, 2018).

The MDC revised its urban policy framework to align with the new constitutional agenda for local governance. In 2015, the party launched the "Smart City Initiative," a policy to redefine planning and housing strategies within MDC-controlled local authorities (Muchadenyika, 2015). This initiative marked a new trajectory for urban governance and set the stage for a formalisation process, particularly in peri-urban informal housing settlements and cooperatives in Harare.

ZANU-PF's stance on urban development has been shaped by its political strategy and efforts to control local governance. The party has historically viewed urban areas, often opposition strongholds, as contested spaces. The new constitutional framework, particularly the devolution provisions, was resisted by ZANU-PF, which feared losing influence over local governance structures (Chirisa et al., 2015). Instead of embracing the opportunities for inclusive urban development presented by devolution, the ruling party sought to maintain centralised control, often undermining local authorities' autonomy through ministerial directives and interference in local governance (Moyo, 2016).

One key example of ZANU-PF's approach to urban development is its emphasis on regularising informal settlements to consolidate political support (Musarurwa, 2018). While ostensibly aimed at improving housing access, this approach has often been implemented haphazardly, with selective enforcement that benefits politically aligned individuals and groups. For instance, land barons with connections to ZANU-PF have played a significant role in informal housing developments, often distributing land without proper planning and later facilitating its formalisation through political channels (Chirisa et al., 2015).

The contrasting approaches of ZANU-PF and the MDC highlight the political undercurrents shaping urban development in Zimbabwe. While the MDC's Smart City Initiative prioritised modernisation and inclusivity, ZANU-PF's strategies often prioritised political control, sometimes at the expense of coherent and sustainable urban development policies. These dynamics underscore

the complexities of urban governance in Zimbabwe's evolving constitutional and political landscape.

4.3.2.5 The Second Republic and The Urban Space 2018

The Second Republic of Zimbabwe began when Emmerson Mnangagwa took office after Robert Mugabe was ousted in late 2017. The government introduced Vision 2030, which seeks to elevate Zimbabwe to an upper-middle-income status by 2030. In line with this vision, the government focuses on housing solutions to tackle urban shortages and enhance living standards. Initiatives involve building new housing units and formalising informal settlements to guarantee access to essential services.

Zimbabwe's Vision 2030 aims to transform the nation into an upper-middle-income economy by the year 2030, with a strong emphasis on economic growth, the eradication of poverty, and the promotion of sustainable urbanisation (MFED, 2020). The framework highlights the critical significance of infrastructure development, the provision of housing, and effective service delivery in addressing urban challenges. The National Development Strategy 1 (NDS1) for 2021–2025 serves as the inaugural phase of Vision 2030, building upon these objectives with a particular focus on promoting urban resilience, climate adaptation, and inclusivity governance (MFED, 2019).

Notwithstanding these ambitious policy directives, peri-urban regions, such as Southlea Park, persist in confronting governance deficiencies, insufficient infrastructure, and restricted service delivery. Academics, including Kamete (2020) and Kusena and Mutekwa (2024), critique the disjunction between policy aspirations and their practical implementation, highlighting how resource limitations and fragmented governance hinder the realisation of these objectives. This study delves into the lived experiences of peri-urban inhabitants, providing insights aimed at bridging this disparity.

The ambitious promises of the Second Republic closely mirror the aspirations of many Zimbabweans (Kusena and Mutekwa, 2024). Although some progress has been achieved in areas such as road infrastructure and mining, significant issues like economic stability, anti-corruption measures, and service delivery remain insufficiently addressed. The strained relationship between Zimbabwe's national government and urban local authorities has further deteriorated

(Marumahoko et al., 2020). This was exacerbated by urban voters' rejection of the ruling party in the contentious 2013 and 2018 elections. This ongoing discord has significantly undermined urban service delivery, perpetuating the challenges experienced under the First Republic.

The Second Republic remains characterised by unsatisfactory urban service delivery, which has exhibited minimal meaningful improvement (Marumahoko et al., 2020). This is particularly evident in the pervasive failure to upgrade or maintain outdated service delivery infrastructure, a backlog of unfinished capital projects, insufficient water supply and sanitation programs, and irregular refuse collection services (Matamanda et al., 2021). These ongoing issues have resulted in urban residents contending with declining living conditions and a lack of effective governance in meeting their needs.

The challenges are exacerbated by the rapid growth of urban populations, which is primarily driven by migration from rural to urban areas and natural demographic changes. Urban centres in Zimbabwe have experienced significant difficulties addressing the increasing demand for services, housing, and infrastructure (Matamanda et al., 2021). Informal settlements proliferate, frequently lacking necessary planning and access to fundamental amenities (Kusena and Mutekwa, 2024). These settlements serve as a stark representation of the pronounced inequality that exists between the government's housing objectives and the lived realities of numerous urban residents.

4.3.3 The Implementation of City Planning Schemes in Harare

The City of Harare (CoH) has faced challenges in effectively implementing planning schemes. The fragmented approach to implementing these schemes has created a disconnect between policy and actual implementation. Interviews with key officials from Harare's local authority have shown a notable lack of coordination between departments, leading to the fragmented implementation of the City Master Plan and Town Planning Scheme 4. One city official said,

One of the major issues we face is the lack of coordination between departments. Each department has its own agenda; unfortunately, there is very little collaboration. For instance, while the Housing Department may be focused on residential development, the Transport Department might prioritise road networks that don't align with housing projects. This disconnects results in a piecemeal approach to urban development, which ultimately undermines the implementation of the City Master Plan"(Interview with CoH official, Harare, 2022).

According to interviews with planning officials, the urban planning processes in Harare are hindered by outdated practices and a lack of modern technology. The reliance on manual data collection and hard copy layouts has led to significant challenges in decision-making, causing delays and inefficiencies in plan implementation (Muchadenyika, 2020). Despite the availability of advanced tools like Geographic Information Systems (GIS), the local authority has been reluctant to adopt these technologies due to resource constraints and a shortage of technical expertise (ibid). As a result, the monitoring and enforcement of planning regulations have been inadequate, contributing to the proliferation of unauthorised developments and land-use changes

The official from the City of Harare emphasised that the legislative framework and political dynamics play a crucial role in the policy process. The official added:

The Regional Town and Country Planning Act, particularly through Statutory Instrument 216 of 1994, has significantly influenced land usage in Harare. While the original intent may have been to allow for some flexibility in land use, it has instead led to numerous non-conforming developments, especially in residential areas. The Minister of Local Government wields significant power under this legislation, and we have witnessed multiple occasions where ministerial directives overruled local planning decisions. This has resulted in a great deal of confusion and discrepancies between the original plans and the actual developments taking place. This is frustrating as it undermines our efforts to maintain a coherent and sustainable urban development strategy. Another significant issue is when the Ministry of Local Government assumes city authority duties in the name of national development. Over the years, the intervention of the Minister of Local Government in Harare South has made it challenging to plan and implement effectively. (Interview with City of Harare official, 2022).

The laws and political factors significantly impact the planning issues seen in Harare. The Regional Town and Country Planning Act, especially Statutory Instrument 216 of 1994, has expanded non-residential residential area activities, resulting in widespread non-conforming land uses (Karakadzai et al., 2023).

Political interference, particularly the ongoing power struggles between the ruling party (ZANU PF) and opposition parties (CCC and MDC-T), is seen as a major obstacle to effective urban planning (Chirisa et al. 2018; Muchadenyika 2015, Potts 2011). Councillors, driven by political agendas, often push for decisions that align with their party's interests, leading to the approval of

developments that violate existing planning schemes (Karakadzai et al., 2023). The central government's frequent interventions in local authority affairs, driven by political motives, have also contributed to the inconsistent application of the City Master Plan (Karakadzai et al., 2023).

The combination of fragmented implementation, outdated practices, and political interference has significantly undermined the effectiveness of Harare's urban planning. The disconnect between policy and implementation has resulted in uncoordinated development, leading to spatial inefficiencies, unauthorized land uses, and a general lack of coherence in the city's urban growth.

4.4 THE PROFILE OF THE PERI-URBAN

Urbanisation is a notable global phenomenon that has contributed to the development and expansion of cities and urban areas (Chirisa, 2018). The rapid urbanisation in developing countries, including Zimbabwe, has led to the emergence and growth of new urban peripheries, including in the capital city of Harare. This section builds on the preceding discussion by profiling the peri-urban area of Harare South. The aim is to provide an overview of the peri-urban region and the challenges associated with living on the city's outskirts. The section begins with an inventory of the study area, followed by an analysis of the social and economic characteristics of the region. The section also examines the community issues and attitudes in the area and summarises the findings.

4.4.2 Inventory of the Peri-urban

This section uses inventories of significant features and resources within the peri-urban area to develop a comprehensive profile of this region. This framework is essential for understanding the various factors that shape peri-urban development. Specifically, my focus is on the Harare South peri-urban area, which includes localities such as Southlea Park, Hopely, Stoneridge, and Ushehwekunze, all located approximately 20-22km from the city centre (Chikengezha & Thebe, 2022). The area underwent significant changes in land use following the land acquisition, land reform, and settlement program, which led to the conversion of agricultural land into urban space for residential purposes (GoZ,2006). While the change in land use was primarily to cater for the housing shortage, less emphasis was put on services that make the area liveable.

Zimbabwe's urban centres are beset with many housing challenges, ranging from shortages, overcrowding, and obsolescence to the under-provision of critical infrastructure services (Chikengezha & Thebe, 2022). With an official housing backlog of 2 million housing units, the urban councils and the government are the principal providers of housing land in cities (Minister of National Housing and Social Amenities, 2022). However, politics has unfortunately crept into the land allocation and approval process, leading to further complications. The government of Zimbabwe, through the Ministry of Land, is responsible for land acquisition and distribution. Any other arm of government would have to follow due process to have access to land. The prescribed land allocation process was not adhered to, as evidenced by the invasion of peri-urban farms and the demolition of houses during Operation Murambatsvina/Restore Order (OM/RO) in 2005, following the year 2000. This wanton violence had significant political undertones, as it was symbolic and punitive, highlighting ZANU(PF)'s resolve to maintain power and social control in the face of opposition from the population, who were possibly not providing a majority vote for the party (Chirisa et al., 2014). The areas that voted for the opposition MDC were the most brutal hit, resulting in close to a million people losing their homes. During the same period, ZANU(PF) leveraged the situation, capitalising on people's land invasion without adhering to proper town planning procedures.

Additionally, the title hold of land in the periphery is problematic. Since 2005, most people in the periphery do not have titles to their houses and the land they occupy (Muchadenyika, 2015). The government has ever since promised to resolve the issue of title deeds to urban fringe residents. For instance, President Mnangagwa promised to facilitate the issuance of title deeds in the Harare South constituency to bring order to the settlement and ensure those with houses or stands had title deeds (*The Herald*, February 12, 2022). Most of the housing in the area is on planned layouts but without the services needed to gain title deeds. However, the Zimbabwean government has backtracked on its election promise to issue 80,000 title deeds to informal settlers. The Housing Minister cites a proper process to create descriptions for each property (*Newsday*, September 18, 2022). The minister said some settlements were made illegally and must be adequately formalised before title deeds could be issued (ibid). This has impacted the development of such areas in terms of infrastructure and socioeconomic activities.

A significant deficiency in service infrastructure marks the southern peri-urban area of Harare (Muchadenyika, 2015). The absence of fundamental amenities, including reticulated water, sewage pipes, and electricity, has been a persistent problem since the area's inception as a human settlement. In the aftermath of Operations Murambatsvina and Garikai, the mounting pressure has led to an accelerated occupation of the peri-urban, even if it meant settling in without the necessary water and sewage systems in place (Dube & Chirisa, 2012). In June 2006, Zimbabwe's government issued a directive compelling all local authorities to transfer all water and sewerage services to a parastatal, the Zimbabwe National Water Authority (ZINWA), at zero cost (Muchadenyika, 2015).

The transfer of water and sewerage services from the city to the state was pivotal as it effectively shifted the responsibility of service provision from the local authorities to the national government *ibid*. However, this move can be perceived as a political manoeuvre aimed at consolidating power within the ruling party, Zanu PF. As a result, the city of Harare experienced a significant loss in revenue, which ultimately impacted the quality of service delivery. Consequently, residents have resorted to digging wells and constructing septic tanks to meet their water and sewage needs, particularly in the peri-urban areas. Further discussion regarding the political ramifications of service provision will be addressed at a subsequent stage.

One major challenge on Harare's periphery is the lack of adequate infrastructure. As an emerging urban centre, the road infrastructure, transport network, public transport, and storm water drainage systems are constantly evolving to meet the needs of the growing population (Chirisa et al., 2017). The road infrastructure in Harare's South peri-urban area comprises a mix of paved and unpaved roads. The paved roads are generally in critical condition, providing access to most peri-urban areas. (Chikengezha & Thebe, 2022). However, unpaved roads can be challenging to navigate during the rainy season, as they become muddy and slippery. The transport network in Harare's South peri-urban area is mainly comprised of minibuses, the most common public transport mode (Chikengezha & Thebe, 2022).

Private companies operate these minibuses and are often overcrowded, making travel uncomfortable. A few formal bus routes also serve the area, but they are less frequent and have

fewer stops. Taxis are available, but they are more expensive than minibuses. The minibuses are privately owned, and no central governing body regulates their operations. As a result, safety standards can be variable, and the minibuses can sometimes be overcrowded. A few formal bus routes also serve the area, but they are less frequent and have fewer stops.

4.4.3 Social and Economic Characteristics of the Peri-Urban

The latest population census results from 2022 conducted by Zimstat found that Harare South peri-urban area is home to approximately 358,000 individuals (Zimstats,2022). The total land area of Harare South covers 195.3 square kilometres, resulting in a population density of 1832 individuals per square kilometre, as noted in the same source. Compared to the previous census in 2012, the population of Harare South has increased by 13 per cent, with 183,000 individuals identifying as female, representing 51.2% of the population, and 174,000 individuals identifying as male, representing 48.8% of the population (Zimstat, 2022). According to the estimate, the total population in the area is 93,000, resulting in an average household size of 3.9 people per house. These statistics provide valuable insight into the Harare South peri-urban area's demographic makeup and population growth trends. As we continue to explore the dynamics of urbanisation and its challenges and opportunities, it is crucial to have a solid understanding of the community.

Housing corporative groups dominate the socio-political hierarchy of the peri-urban. Post-2000 land allocations were primarily influenced and propelled by political motivations, often bypassing standard procedures (Muchadenyika, 2015). This resulted in some cases where individuals occupying council, state or private land sought assistance from local councillors to avoid eviction or secure alternative land allocations (Chirisa et al., 2014). This indicates a pattern of individuals utilising political channels and structures to gain access to land resources expediently.

An example of housing cooperatives politicised in land allocation in Harare South is the Ushehwekunze housing cooperative, which dominates the former Saturday retreat farm area. Nearby is Southlea Park, formerly known as Odar Farm, which was established through a consortium of companies to provide decent housing for their employees (Chikengezha & Thebe 2022; Chirisa et al., 2014). However, these housing cooperatives have been influenced by political interests, resulting in land being allocated to supporters of the ruling party without following

standard allocation procedures. Consequently, this has led to excluding those not affiliated with the party, leading to tensions and conflicts within the community.

The peri-urban area of Harare South is a vibrant economic zone with a variety of informal economic activities that contribute to the local economy (Mbiba, 2017). Some economic activities include informal traders selling various goods such as clothing, electronics, food items, and household ware. Brickmaking is an everyday economic activity in the peri-urban area of Harare South.

The area has abundant clay soil, making it suitable for brickmaking. Several quarries in the peri-urban area of Harare South provide building materials such as stones and sand. The peri-urban area of Harare South is connected to the city centre, making it a hub for transport services such as minibuses, taxis, and motorbikes. Due to the rapid growth of the peri-urban area of Harare South, there has been an increase in construction activity, including building residential houses, commercial buildings, and other infrastructure (Muchadenyika, 2015). However, most peri-urban settlements are missing mainstream economic activities such as banking, insurance, retail parks and industry.

4.4.4 Community Issues and Key Findings

This section presents primary data obtained from interviews and focus group discussions, which complements the findings from the literature reviewed earlier in this chapter. The insights discussed here reflect the lived experiences of Southlea Park residents, aligning with and enhancing the themes identified in the literature.

The Harare South peri-urban area is an area that has undergone significant changes in land use, resulting in the conversion of agricultural land into urban space for residential purposes. While the change in land use was primarily to cater to the housing shortage, less emphasis was put on services that make the area liveable. This section aims to provide an overview of the peri-urban region of Harare South and the challenges associated with living on the outskirts of the city. Specifically, the section examines the inventory of the region's peri-urban and socio-economic characteristics

and analyses community issues and key findings in the area. The findings provide insight into the challenges faced by the peri-urban population and the implications for policy and practice.

Political interference in land allocation is one of the community issues identified. Politics has affected the land allocation and approval, leading to further complications. The government of Zimbabwe, through the Ministry of Lands, is responsible for land acquisition and distribution. However, the prescribed land allocation process was not adhered to, leading to the invasion of peri-urban farms and the demolition of houses during Operation Murambatsvina/Restore Order (OM/RO) in 2005. Political interference in service provision has compromised service delivery for the peri-urban. The transfer of water and sewerage services from the city to the state was perceived as a political manoeuvre aimed at consolidating power within the ruling party, Zanu PF. Further analysis suggests that politicians are using the patron/client system to hold the issuance of titles to gain political mileage. Land issues remain a contested area in Harare and Zimbabwe at large. It can be argued that those residing at the urban fringe are adversely incorporated into the city and socially excluded from exercising their rights in critical political and social functions.

Inadequate service infrastructure builds on the politicisation of the peri-urban and socioeconomic policies. Following the transfer of water and sewerage services from the city to the state, Harare experienced a significant loss in revenue, which ultimately impacted the quality of service delivery. The peri-urban area lacks fundamental amenities such as reticulated water, sewage pipes, and electricity. Residents have resorted to digging wells and constructing septic tanks to meet their water and sewage needs. Insufficient access to critical infrastructure services has added to the difficulty of living in the peri-urban. The absence of fundamental amenities, including reticulated water, sewage pipes, and electricity, has been a persistent problem since the area's inception as a human settlement. It can be argued that neglect of socioeconomic policies is at play and impacts the livelihoods of the urban residents residing at the urban fringe. Compared to the rest of the city, the peri-urban is excluded from enjoying the benefits of city dwellers.

Poor quality service delivery has daunted the urban fringe. The peri-urban transport network mainly comprises minibuses, the most common public transport mode. However, they are privately owned, and no central governing body regulates their operations. As a result, safety standards can

be variable, and the minibuses can sometimes be overcrowded. Due to improper road infrastructure, public transport operation is further compromised. Quality of service can be argued to be synonymous with the quality of infrastructure in such a case. Ultimately, the connectivity between the peri-urban and the rest of the city is severely limited. Residents whose livelihood depends on public transport and infrastructure connectivity are also in jeopardy.

4.4.4 Governance and Regulations in Southlea Park

Southlea Park, established as part of the land reform and resettlement program, has experienced significant challenges related to land tenure security. Initially, the land was allocated to a consortium of 56 companies for employee housing development (Chikengezha & Thebe, 2021). However, with the economic downturn and subsequent retrenchments, land ownership became more fluid, leading to informal settlements as individuals outside the original target population acquired land (Chirisa et al., 2014). The lack of formalised land titles continues to pose significant challenges, limiting residents' ability to secure loans, invest in their properties, or protect their rights against potential evictions.

A key informant from the City of Harare (CoH) highlighted that the issue of title deeds is particularly problematic in Harare South. He explained,

A court ruling challenged the land reform program, specifically concerning land in the greater parts of Harare rural, including Harare South. The land, which was distributed through a consortium responsible for developments like Southlea Park, was claimed by a local company. The court ruled in favour of the company, stating that it owned the land and needed to be compensated. As a result of this decision, the government decided not to issue title deeds to homeowners unless they paid their portion of the compensation. Consequently, many residents in Southlea Park still do not have formal title deeds for their houses, leaving them in a state of legal uncertainty. This situation has created significant challenges for the residents, as the lack of title deeds undermines their sense of security and limits their ability to leverage their properties for economic benefits, such as securing loans or engaging in formal property transactions. The uncertainty surrounding land ownership in Southlea Park is a major obstacle to the community's development, exacerbating social exclusion and economic instability (Interview with a CoH city planner, Harare, 2022).

While there have been attempts to regularise land ownership, the process has been slow and inconsistent, exacerbated by political influence and a lack of clear policy direction (ibid). The re-designation of land originally intended for business development into residential stands further

complicates the situation, as it reduces the availability of land for economic development and infrastructure improvement, contributing to a cycle of underdevelopment.

A lack of coherent urban planning has characterised the development of Southlea Park. Originally planned as a working-class settlement with designated areas for business and residential purposes, the area has seen a rapid and unplanned increase in housing units, from 6,000 to 9,000, driven by the re-designation of land (Chikengezha & Thebe, 2021). This unplanned growth has resulted in a shortage of essential infrastructure, including roads, water, and sanitation, which hampers further development and exacerbates social exclusion.

A community representative in Southlea Park shared some characteristics of the community regarding services,

The situation in Southlea Park is challenging due to the severe lack of basic services, despite the area's growth in small businesses like construction, pharmaceuticals, food, and retail. The government has responded slowly to the increasing demand for critical infrastructure. Most residents have to rely on boreholes or buy water from vendors because the municipal water supply is almost non-existent, and sanitation facilities are makeshift at best. The roads are in terrible condition, especially during the rainy season, which limits economic activities and makes it difficult for residents to access essential services like schools and health centres. Parents are forced to send their children to schools far away, and the nearest clinic is several kilometres away, leaving many without proper healthcare. Despite numerous appeals, the government has not addressed these issues, leaving residents to fend for themselves, which severely limits the potential for development in the community (Interview with a Community Leader, Southlea Park, 2022).

The provision of basic services in Southlea Park has been inadequate. Despite the area's growth in economic activities, including small businesses in construction, pharmaceuticals, food, and retail, the government has been slow to respond to the increasing demand for services. Critical infrastructure, such as water, sanitation, roads, schools, and health centres, remains underdeveloped, forcing residents to rely on distant facilities and makeshift solutions.

The lack of accessible roads, proper schools, and health centres has contributed to the social exclusion of residents, who must travel outside the community to access essential services. Despite residents' efforts to lobby the government to establish schools and other facilities, progress has

been minimal. This lack of development not only hinders the quality of life for residents but also limits the potential for economic growth and stability in the area.

4.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter traces the development of Harare's urban and peri-urban areas, from colonial times through independence to the present day. It emphasises critical historical periods such as the introduction of taxes on the African population in 1890, urban settlement control during the 1960s, and post-colonial governmental policies. The chapter aims to illuminate the intricate relationship between the periphery, the people, and the city of Harare, focusing mainly on adverse incorporation and social exclusion among impoverished populations. The analysis is grounded in existing literature, interviews, and archival materials.

The chapter discusses Harare's peri-urban areas' colonial legacy and post-independence dynamics. During colonial rule, urban planning was marked by racial segregation, with urban spaces reserved for the white population while rural reserves were designated for native black Africans. Legislation such as the Land Apportionment Act of 1930 and the Land Tenure Act of 1969 reinforced these divisions. Post-independence, although these laws were abolished, rapid urbanisation and inadequate planning created new challenges. The urban population surged due to increased rural-to-urban migration, which strained existing infrastructure and services.

Colonial urban and population control policies systematically segregated urban spaces, excluding black Africans from urban development. Taxes like the hut tax and poll tax forced Africans into urban areas for labour. Legislation, including the Town and Country Planning Act of 1933 and the Vagrancy Act of 1960, restricted African mobility and urban residence, leading to a dual existence between urban and rural life for many Africans. Post-independence efforts aimed to deracialise urban spaces, but income-based segregation continued to shape urban development.

The early years of independence saw the repeal of restrictive Pass Laws, which encouraged rural-to-urban migration and resulted in significant housing and infrastructure challenges. The government's Growth Point Strategy, which aimed to decentralise urban development, failed to retain people in rural areas, leading to a surge in Harare's population. This influx resulted in

overcrowding, inadequate services, and the rise of informal settlements. Despite efforts to improve urban planning, the legacy of colonial segregation persisted, and the rapid influx of people overwhelmed resources.

The chapter also evaluates several policies introduced to manage urbanisation and their impacts on Harare's urban space. These include the Urban Development Corporation (UDC) of 1983, established to coordinate urban development but hampered by funding and bureaucratic inefficiencies; the National Housing Fund of 1985, aimed at financing low-cost housing but struggling with funding and mismanagement; and the Urban Land Act of 1993, intended to manage urban land allocation but facing implementation challenges. Additionally, the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) led to reduced government spending, increased unemployment, and the rise of the informal economy. The Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) aimed to redistribute land but resulted in urban migration, strained infrastructure, and the growth of informal settlements. Operation Murambatsvina (Restore Order), a controversial government-led operation in 2005, demolished informal settlements, leading to significant displacement and loss of livelihoods.

The chapter further profiles the peri-urban area of Harare South, including localities like Southlea Park and Hopley. Originally agricultural land, this area was converted to residential space but lacks adequate services. Political interference has complicated land allocation and service provision, resulting in poor infrastructure and quality of life. Informal economic activities characterise the region, but mainstream economic opportunities remain limited. Although the population is growing, residents face significant challenges due to lacking basic amenities and reliable transport networks.

The chapter concludes by summarising the main issues faced by Harare's peri-urban areas. Political interference affects land allocation and service delivery, leading to further complications. Inadequate infrastructure, such as the lack of essential amenities like water, sewage, and electricity, hampers the quality of life. Poor quality service delivery is another major concern, with inadequate transport networks compromising connectivity and accessibility. The findings highlight the need

for comprehensive urban planning and policy interventions considering urban development's socio-economic and political dimensions.



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CHAPTER 5

FORMS AND TRENDS OF ADVERSE INCORPORATION AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION IN THE HARARE SOUTH URBAN PERIPHERY

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The exclusion of low income population groups from the development process in post-independence Zimbabwe has been an ongoing issue, but progress has been made. In Africa, despite the establishment of laws, policies, and practices to promote spatial inclusion, many people still find the built environment inaccessible (Teseemma & Coetzee, 2023). This situation is evident in Harare South Peri-urban area, highlighting the complexity of ensuring physical accessibility. This chapter explores the different forms of adverse incorporation and exclusion in the peri-urban space, focusing on Harare South Peri-urban, located on the outskirts of Zimbabwe's capital, Harare city, is rapidly growing but has experienced various forms of adverse incorporation, which have negatively impacted its residents.

The following chapter examines the real-life experiences of population groups affected by the negative impacts of adverse incorporation and social exclusion. It consists of three sections. The first outlines the findings related to infrastructure deficit and mobility challenges, the second addresses marginalisation due to a lack of service provision and the last one explores community alternatives and resilience before concluding with a chapter summary.

5.2 INSUFFICIENT INFRASTRUCTURE AND SERVICE DEFICIT AS A DRIVER OF EXCLUSION

The residents of the peri-urban area of Harare South face considerable challenges in accessing essential services. The inadequate provision of clean water, insufficient wastewater management, and substandard road infrastructure significantly impact their daily lives and overall well-being. This section presents detailed findings on the various forms of exclusion by outlining the deficiencies in infrastructure.

5.2.1 Exclusion Due to Lack of Portable Water and Sanitation

Based on interviews and focus group discussions with residents of Southlea Park, a lack of reticulated water and wastewater management was identified as a major challenge to those residing in the peri-urban spaces. Residents from the peri-urban lack services such as clean water supply and a working sewage system frequently described feelings of segregation and exclusion. As was observed in Southlea Park, 40 households under study were stated to have been directly and indirectly affected by the lack of clean water supply and sanitation.

The conditions in Southlea Park are critical as residents grapple with significant challenges resulting from the absence of essential services, particularly in water and wastewater management. Findings from interviews and focus group discussions indicate that the community feels marginalised and excluded from broader urban development due to the lack of a reticulated water supply and a functioning sewage system. This absence directly impacts the daily lives of residents, with 40 households highlighting the severe repercussions on their health, well-being, and overall quality of life. The government's delayed response to these pressing needs further compounds the residents' sense of exclusion, leaving them to navigate a deficient infrastructure environment largely on their own.

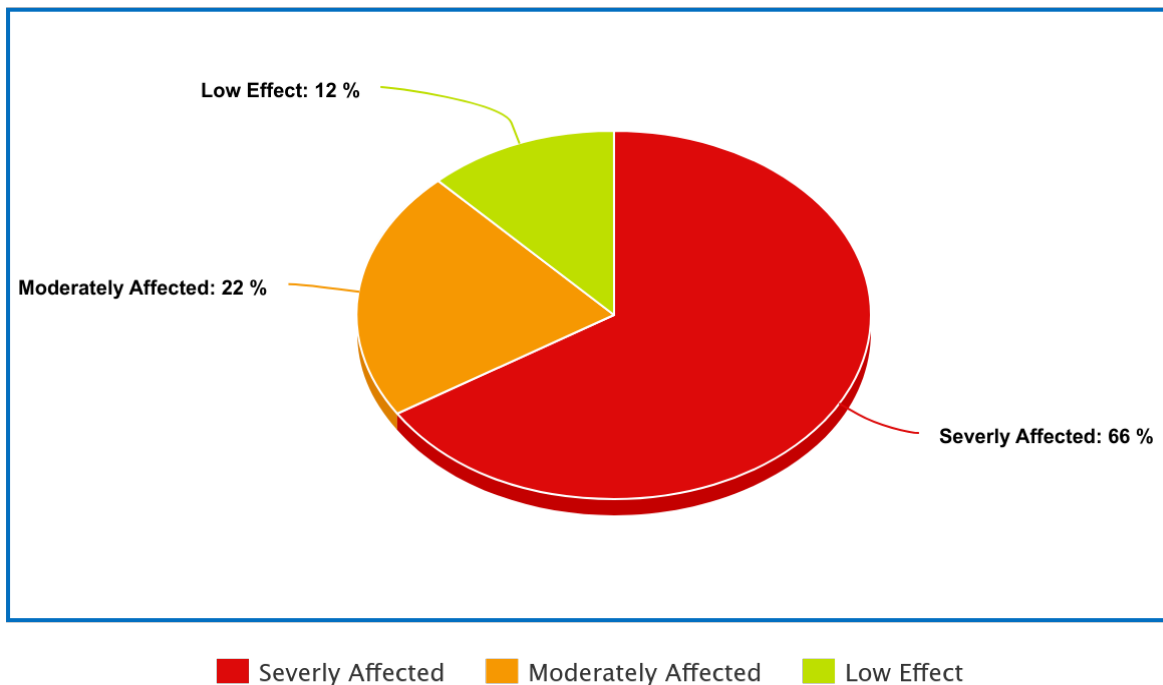


Figure 5.1: Impact of lack of clean water Supply and Sewage Management

The survey indicated that 66% of the households highlighted a lack of clean water supplied by the city authorities impacts their livelihood. It was observed that all households falling under this percentile needed onsite clean water, such as boreholes installed, and exclusively relied on wells and community boreholes to meet their water requirements. The analysis reveals that a substantial majority of the households within this percentile were observed to have outdoor toilets and bathrooms, with a comparatively small fraction of households having installed septic tanks to manage their waste. The average land size for a house within this percentile was 200 square metres. Furthermore, 22% of the households said clean water supply and wastewater management moderately affected them. Various opinions were expressed regarding why they are moderately affected. Their response deemed it crucial to find alternative solutions without government support. This group was found to have wells and boreholes on their premises, along with septic tanks accompanied by soakaways. The average size of the plot of land in this percentile was 600 square metres.

The study findings reveal that only 12% of the respondents expressed minimal impact from the lack of clean water and sewage management. Notably, this group comprised households with a considerably higher average land area of 1500 square metres. In contrast, the first and second groups reported an average land size of 180 and 300 square metres, respectively. In the 12% percentile group, respondents indicated they had adequate land to install boreholes and septic tanks, which could explain their relatively low level of impact from the lack of clean water and sewage management. Soakaways. The mean size of the stands within this sample was calculated to be 1000 square metres.

A nexus of land size, utility (clean water and sewage), and income status is linked to peri-urban livelihood. It was revealed that land size and access to clean water and sewage are disproportionate. Larger land sizes correlate with better access to alternative utilities and are linked to higher socioeconomic status, revealing a divide in urban living conditions. Kamete (2013), Chants (2015), and Chikanda et al. (2020) argue that the rapid process of urbanisation has resulted in significant urban challenges on a larger scale, which intersect with the provision and capacity of urban infrastructure. The evidence of urban challenges is valid in the case of Southlea Park. Households with larger plots of land (averaging around 1000 square metres) experience minimal disruption

from the lack of water and sanitation services. This advantage is primarily because these residents have the space and financial means to install private infrastructure such as boreholes and septic tanks. This autonomy from public utilities not only provides them with a more reliable source of clean water but also insulates them from the broader infrastructural failings of the city. Such private amenities indicate economic capability, influencing their social status within the community.

According to the survey results, most of the respondents, that is, 66%, have smaller land sizes ranging from 150 to 300 square metres. These households face significant challenges, as they lack the necessary space and financial resources to implement private solutions. As a result, they depend entirely on public boreholes, which exposes them to frequent water shortages and inadequate sewage disposal. This, in turn, significantly impacts their health, hygiene, and overall quality of life. During interviews, residents have mentioned feeling segregated and excluded, which is often attributed to the disparity in living conditions. This disparity is visibly linked to economic and infrastructure inequality.

Residents with moderately sized plots, typically around 600 square metres, face an intermediate position in terms of utility access. Although they have a better situation than those with smaller plots, they still encounter issues accessing public infrastructure. As a result, they are seeking alternative solutions that offer them partial self-sufficiency, such as personal wells and septic systems with soakaways. By investing in these solutions, this group is taking a proactive approach to managing their utility needs. While it may not fully resolve the lack of municipal services, it does offer a buffer against the most severe impacts.

A key informant at the City of Harare detailed the lack of infrastructure due to many factors. The factors include the following:

The absence of running water and proper sewage management in Harare South is primarily due to people settling on temporary land permanently before proper infrastructure development. The people of Harare South were allocated land, and the land was invaded before it could be ready for residential occupation. Consequently, installing critical infrastructure such as water pipes becomes almost impossible after people have built their homes. The only way to remedy this situation would be to demolish some of the houses to allow for infrastructure installation (Interview with a CoH city planner, Harare, 2022)

The above excerpt reveals a lack of planning and coordination in setting up the periphery for urban residency. However, this is not unique to Southlea Park; other parts of Harare’s peri-urban areas face the same reality. Muzenda et al. (2019) highlighted that the misuse of urban land and government funding restricts water-based infrastructure in peri-urban areas such as Ushewekunze, Seke, Hopley and Caledonia. The presence of wells and soakaways in Southlea Park has been identified as a potential public health concern. During the fieldwork, most wells were located at the front of the house, while the soak-away was at the back.

It emerged that the reason for that layout is that there is no piped water and sewage infrastructure. The community has a standing agreement to put the wells at the front, away from the soakaways at the back. All respondents believe it is one way the community can reduce contamination of clean water. Fig 5.2 below is a sketch of the layout of the households for a visual description.

A Sketch of a Household Layout in Southlea Park

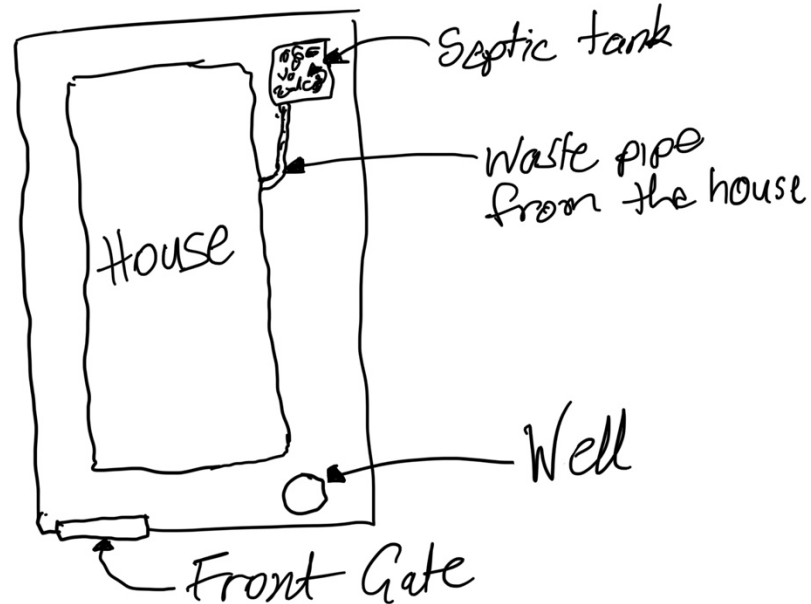


Figure 5.2: Generic Layout of a Household in Southlea Park

Nhapi et al. (2002) found that only households in low-density and industrial areas have enough space for onsite treatment systems like septic tanks and soakaways. It has been found that the Hopley and parts of Southlea Park are not in line with Nhapi et al. (2002) and the Environmental Management Act's Statutory Instrument 6 (2007), which was gazetted as the Environmental Management (Effluent and Solid Waste Disposal) Regulations, 2007. According to this legislation, having onsite sewage management systems on residential stands below 1500 square metres is discouraged. However, all households under study in the area are below 500 square metres, which makes them susceptible to groundwater contamination. The absence of infrastructure development in Harare South peri-urban area compromises the rule of law.

In Southlea Park, informal activities have also capitalised on providing services to reduce the impact due to the lack of sewage infrastructure. It came to light that 30% of Southlea Park utilise the services of a honey sucker truck to empty their septic tank. These are lorries modified to have a water tank and a water pump to suck the wastewater from the septic tank. 30% of the houses stated they use this service, on average, for one and a half years, costing between US\$50 and US\$70. Additionally, the remaining houses stated that they use other methods to reduce the wastewater collected in the septic tanks. Several houses reported using a biodegradable chemical that reacts with sewage. The biodegradable chemicals range from USD to US\$25, depending on the quantity. A further 26% stated that they had not emptied their septic tanks. Of the 26%, half indicated that they managed to add soakaways, which drain the septic tank. The remaining half were recently relocated and have not yet used any method to reduce waste water.

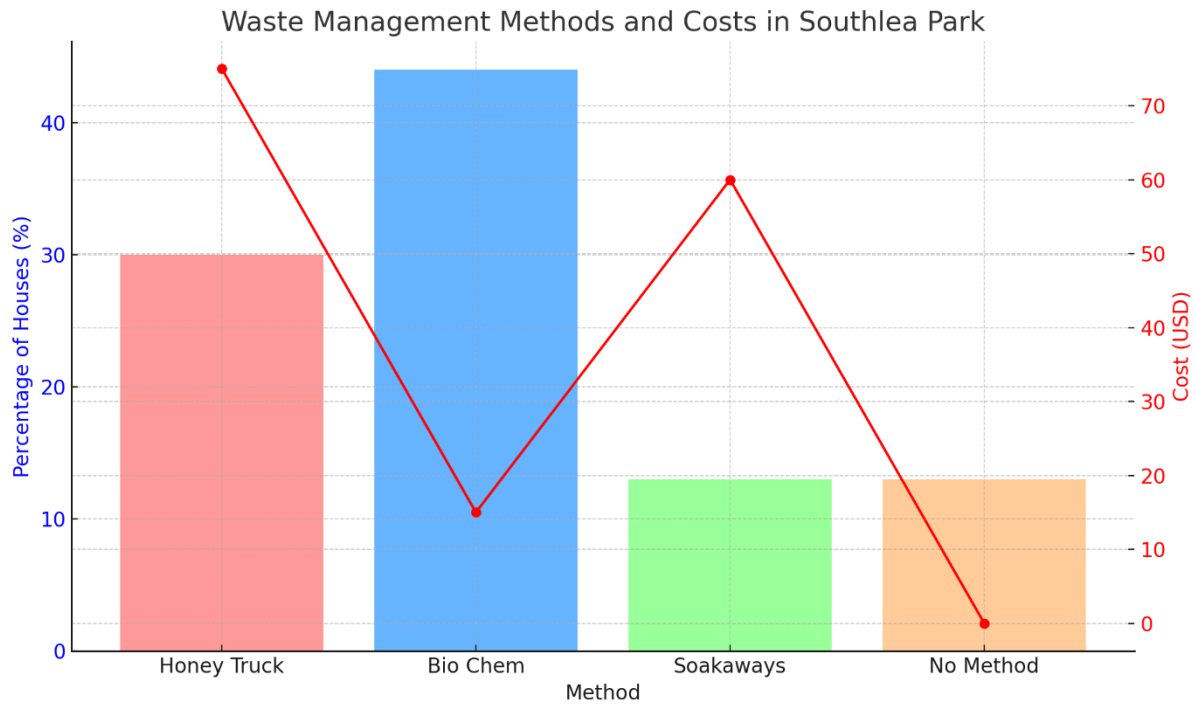


Figure 5.3: Wastewater Disposal Methods and Cost in Southlea Park

Figure 5.3 shows the visual representation of wastewater disposal in Southlea Park. The graph illustrates a disparity between service cost and utilisation of the service. The costlier methods (honey truck and soakaway) are out of reach for the majority. Instead, the biodegradable chemical method is a widely adopted method which is cheaper despite potentially being less effective or sustainable. The distribution of methods and their costs reflects disparities in access to effective waste management solutions. Households choosing no method or only temporary solutions may be constrained by economic factors or lack of information.

The government or municipal authorities typically provide access to water, sanitation, and hygiene services in peri-urban settlements. Sometimes, these services are delivered in partnership with the private sector through networks or non-network self-help strategies, which may sometimes be illegal. Mguni et al. (2020) argue that inequality of access is a typical outcome of current practices in this respect. The burden of managing wastewater individually, considering that low-income households occupy the majority of the peri-urban. The local ecosystem is compromised by

chemical treatments that may affect soil and water chemistry, while inadequate soakaways can contaminate groundwater. This affects both biodiversity and livelihood.

According to Mcgranahan et al. (2020), the availability of water, sanitation services, and infrastructure drives occupation and may accelerate gentrification, allowing for peri-urbanization. The peri-urban area of Harare South demonstrates that the provision of infrastructure and public services does not solely drive people's migration towards the city's fringes. While the absence of adequate infrastructure may result in exclusion, the peri-urban community has shown resilience by devising means to mitigate service deficiencies. Hopley residents also reported experiencing similar consequences caused by a lack of sewage management. An FDG in Hopley suggested that of all localities in Harare South, they are worse off. Five people during the discussion stated,

In Hopley, we do not have space to dig septic tanks, unlike households in Southlea Park that have space for septic tanks. In Hopley, we have pit latrines and homemade drain channels for our showers. The shower drains usually drain into the garden, so we do not waste water (Interview with resident Harare, 2022).

Moreover, the interviews and FDGs with residents of Harare South Peri-urban area revealed that the lack of wastewater management infrastructure has been contentious. In Southlea Park, residents indicated that the lack of sewage infrastructure, such as pipes and drainage, has caused frequent health issues. Masimba, a resident, argued that Harare's frequent cholera, typhoid and diarrhoea can be attributed to the city's urban crises and irregular health services managed by urban councils. Residents reported cases of waterborne diseases such as diarrhoea and cholera, especially among children and the elderly (Interview with Masimba, Southlea Park, 2022). It was revealed that the lack of proper sewage disposal has led to the use of informal means, such as open pits or direct discharge into local water bodies, exacerbating the contamination and health risks.

Reports of health concerns have been recorded in both localities. Tariro Clinic in Hopley confirmed that waterborne diseases like diarrhoea and cholera have been recurring in the peri-urban area. The FDGs revealed that in both settings, children and the elderly were reported to be the most affected population groups. This situation is exacerbated by the lack of sight for a long-term solution, such as a sewage management system connected to the city sewage management system. One resident commented on the health concerns, stating:

Our sewage system contaminates our clean water sources. For example, in Hopley, our households sit on 150 square metres of land, but we must accommodate a well and wastewater disposal. We use pit latrines but seeing such in the city is unacceptable. Wastewater has become a leading source of clean water contamination. Sometimes, when we boil our water, an odour can be smelt. It is not pleasant, making us vulnerable to water-borne diseases (Interview with Maradze, Southlea Park, 2022).

Muzenda et al. (2019) concluded that groundwater in 90% of Harare South peri-urban areas was unsuitable for drinking without treatment. In 2023, a city authority informant informed the researcher that half of the boreholes' drinking water contained E. coli, which can cause diseases such as cholera and typhoid. (Interview with City health official, Harare, 2023).

5.2.2 Challenges of Inadequate Road and Transport Infrastructure in the Peri-Urban

The lack of road infrastructure in the peri-urban area of Harare South is a critical element that underscores the adverse incorporation and social exclusion experiences. The Southlea Park community remain marginalised within the greater urban spaces, with residents lacking full access to essential services and infrastructure and unequal development. Key infrastructure such as road networks are critical for living well in urban areas. For Harare's south peri-urban, it is not the case. In-depth interviews with commuting residents of Southlea Park highlighted frequent accidents and near misses attributed to poor road infrastructure and drainage systems. The absence of essential infrastructure, such as tarred roads, sidewalks, and drainage channels, forces pedestrians to share the road with motor vehicles, increasing the risk of accidents. Insufficient road infrastructure plays a significant role in perpetuating social exclusion and unfavourable conditions for inclusion in the urban environment of the peri-urban region.

While in conversation with residents, road infrastructure issues became clear that they were at the community's heart. Kudzanayi, a resident of Southlea Park who is a pirate taxi (*mushikashika* in Shona language) driver, explains the state road infrastructure and the community's response to the state of roads. The residents of Southlea Park, including those in Stoneridge and Hopley, do not have proper roads. The gravel roads are in poor condition and have not been upgraded to tarred roads despite promises from the government for several years. Even the President of Zimbabwe, Emmerson Mnangagwa, expressed concern about the issue during a community clean-up event,

but no action has been taken. Interestingly, the roads are only graded when government officials visit the area. A company once offered to build roads, but the local community leaders rejected the proposal, claiming it was a political campaign to weaken the ruling government. The community attempted to raise funds by contributing US\$10 per month, but this approach is not sustainable for most residents due to the current economic conditions (Interview with Kudzanayi, Southlea Park, 2022).

Chirisa (2018) highlights the marginalisation of the peri-urban area of Harare South within the broader urban development of Harare, which is evidenced by the inadequate provision and neglect of road infrastructure. Despite acknowledgement of the issue by high-ranking officials such as the President, the lack of action indicates a gap between political commitments and actual progress. This ongoing neglect perpetuates the physical dangers associated with poor road conditions and reinforces feelings of abandonment among the residents. The temporary nature of road maintenance in response to high-profile visits further alienates the community, making them feel used for political gains rather than genuinely supported.

During his speech, the President pointed out that the limited road network in Harare South Peri-Urban is preventing residents from accessing essential services and economic opportunities. The state-run newspaper, 'The Herald,' has repeatedly reported about politicians' promises in the area. However, despite headlines such as 'ED [Emmerson Dambudzo] Assures Southlea Park Residents' (*The Herald*, March 15, 2019), 'President Brings Back Zimbabwe's Sparkle' (*The Herald*, October 5, 2022), and 'Title Deeds Gift Brings Joy to Urban Dwellers' (*The Herald*, July 20, 2021), little has changed on the ground. The government's promises and actions do not align, leaving the affected population precarious. This shows that politics, influence on urban development and infrastructure provision result from political decisions. Unfortunately, this disconnects the community from decision-making and further marginalises their political voices.

It was observed that the roads in Southlea Park are often narrow, poorly constructed, and susceptible to damage during the rainy season, making them impassable and disrupting transportation routes. The FDGs revealed problems for residents in commuting to work, accessing healthcare facilities, and attending schools, further exacerbating social exclusion and limiting their

livelihood options. Ruramai, who relies on public transport, describes her journey to work in the city centre:

The roads in our area are in a terrible state, causing immense difficulties for us during the rainy season. Firstly, prices of goods and services are hiked by 50% or even 100% from the city. Secondly, most buses and kombis prefer to make their final stop at the highway to avoid the wrong road network that can further delay them. Thirdly, a few kombis [minibuses] that take people to the bus stops of Southlea charge extra. However, when the rainwater overflows, these kombis do not attempt to cross the water, leaving us stranded. We fear the rainy seasons in Southlea Park as those who own cars are forced to park them elsewhere. We desperately need better road infrastructure and appeal to the authorities to take action. Walking to the highway is the best option, but it's not easy. The bad condition of our roads discourages most public transport providers from driving into our streets to drop people off (Interview with Ruramai, Southlea Park, 2022)

Ruramai's perspective of the rainy season reveals the physical and psychological toll of inadequate infrastructure on residents. Although rain is a natural phenomenon, it can cause anxiety in urban areas lacking infrastructure. The deteriorated state of the roads has a direct bearing on transportation, causing interruptions in daily commutes, restricting access to healthcare facilities, and creating impediments to education. Inadequate road infrastructure has consistently led to social exclusion of residents by limiting their options and access to opportunities and reducing their overall quality of life.



Figure 5.4: Kombi Crossing flooded road in Southlea Park Source: Author

Figure 5.4 shows a flooded area with people wading through knee-high water on a flooded road. A minibus labelled "BIG LEAGUE" is partially submerged on the left side after the rains come down. The picture demonstrates the poor drainage system found in Southlea Park. The commuters are moving together, some carrying goods on their heads or arms. The commuters walk together in a single file to avoid drowning or stepping on rocks. This was revealed as one of the community's strategies to avoid further local mishaps. "It is never good to be alone when it rains. Crossing flooded areas needs more people, and hence why you will see some people waiting on the side after it rains" (Interview with a commuter in Harare, 2023).

Additionally, rainwater flowing on the road affects vendors and other street traders. In a discussion with the street traders, they revealed that they find it difficult when it rains. For many street vendors, daily earnings are crucial for subsistence. Any disruptions caused by rainwater have immediate and severe impacts on their ability to provide for themselves and their families. The traders mentioned that they sell perishable goods, such as fruits and vegetables, that rainwater can damage. The rain sometimes discourages customers from buying, resulting in lower daily income. Vendors using stalls, tables, or other equipment informed the researcher that the rain caused rust, warping, and other damage that shortened the lifespan of these assets. Such damage necessitates frequent repairs or replacements, increasing the vendors' operational costs.

With rapid urbanisation, infrastructure such as roads directly influences socioeconomic success in an urban environment (Chakwizira and Mashiri 2009; Chrisa 2013, Matamanda et al., 2021). Figure 5.5 provides a visual of a local marketplace along the road in Southlea Park. The researcher observed that the absence of road infrastructure did not impede livelihoods depending on street trade. It reveals the community's resilience in the absence of key infrastructure. The illustration presented in Figure 5.5 showcases an assortment of goods exhibited along the roadside, including vegetables, charcoal, and shoes. This arrangement indicates a local marketplace where community members exchange everyday essentials through informal trade. The prevalence of small-scale vendors suggests a community-based economy that relies heavily on such informal trade. Notably, despite the rough terrain and dusty roads, the community has improvised a way to trade with the dust and the occasional flooding.



Figure 5.5: Street vendors in Southlea Park source: author

Some street traders stated that road infrastructure is essential for small businesses, as shown by the statement below:

Our lives do not wait for tarred roads to be installed. We live from hand to mouth, and we work with what we have. When the dust rises, we try to cover our products. During the day, we sprinkle some water to avoid too much dust. It helps our merchandise not to be spoiled and helps our clients walk easily (Interview with Chiedza, Southlea Park, 2022).

The community has demonstrated resilience in addressing its infrastructure deficits, albeit through modest actions. In particular, using water to suppress road dust is an example of the community's ingenuity in mitigating the negative impacts of inadequate infrastructure. However, it is notable that such actions also expose a case of adverse incorporation and social exclusion. Prolonged exposure to dust poses respiratory health risks and affects the livelihoods of the community members. In addition, simple tasks such as washing clothes become arduous due to the dust clouds emanating from passing vehicles. While such measures may provide short-term relief, they are not sustainable in the long run and may further exacerbate the social exclusion of the community from other urban amenities.

5.3 MARGINALISATION THROUGH LACK OF PROVISION IN SERVICE

Discussing public transport systems in conjunction with service quality and safety offers insights into how transport inequity affects daily life. Poor public transport conditions in Southlea Park have induced long travel times, increased costs, and safety concerns, disproportionately impacting lower-income residents. The empirical evidence demonstrates marginalisation within peri-urban areas is further compounded by the inadequate provision of essential services, specifically in transportation and household solid waste management. Insufficient access to reliable transportation and deficiencies in waste management infrastructure contribute to the exacerbation of existing marginalisation within the peri-urban area.

5.3.1 Public Transport and Quality of Life

Data from 20 commuters indicated that they all faced difficulties accessing economic activities and services such as healthcare and education due to poor road conditions and a lack of public transportation. As a result, commuters had to spend more time and money travelling and relied on unreliable or informal means of transport. Below is Figure 5.6 with a heat map of the travel diaries of the time to travel to the city centre from Southlea Park on the peri-urban. The heat map has been updated to reflect the specified conditions. Travel times at 5 AM and after 9 PM now range between 30 and 40 minutes across all days, indicating lighter traffic during these times.

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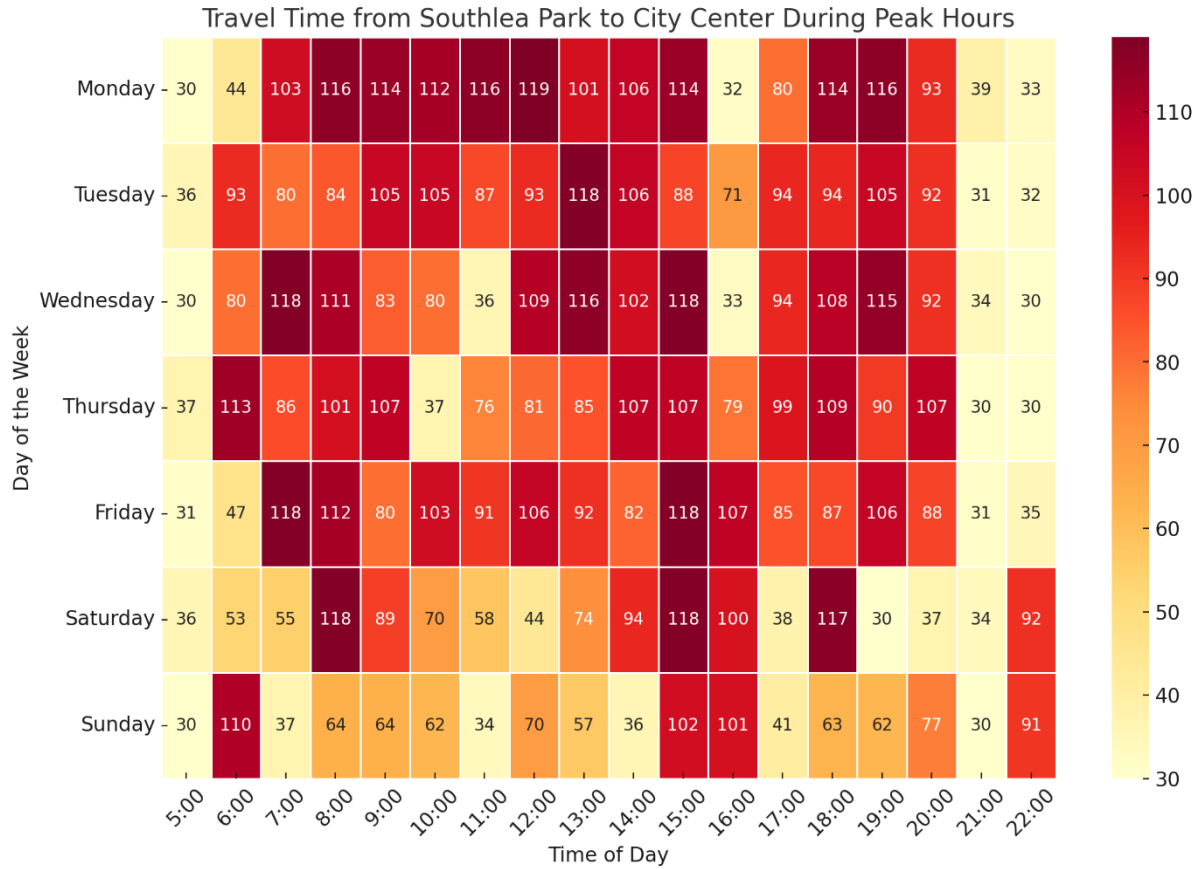


Figure 5.6: Heat Map of the Travel Time Between Southlea Park & City Centre

The graph features the X-axis representing the time of day from 5 AM to 10 PM, and the Y-axis representing the days of the week from Monday to Sunday. A colour scale is used to indicate time intervals: light yellow for less than 30 minutes, yellow for 30 to 45 minutes, orange for 45 to 60 minutes, red for 60 to 90 minutes, and dark red for over 90 minutes. This visual aid helps individuals better understand time intervals and estimate the time needed for a specific task.

The heat map reveals that commuters' travel times are longest between 7 AM and 9 AM, 12 PM and 3 PM, and 5 PM and 9 PM. Traffic congestion is significantly high during these hours, resulting in travel times ranging from 80 to 120 minutes. This pattern indicates that the peak travel hours are the morning, lunchtime, and evening, which pose the most extended travel times for commuters. The impact of this trend on the commuter is broad and varies from an individual perspective. The following were individual perspectives on the:

I have to wake up at 4 AM to get to work by 8 AM, and I still find myself stuck in traffic for hours, especially around the Mbudzi area. The road conditions are terrible, and there's hardly any reliable public transport. Most of the time, I have to rely on informal means like mushikashika, which are unsafe. This makes it hard to plan my day or save any money (Interview with Mukudzei, S.Park, 2022).

Traveling to the city centre from Southlea Park is a daily struggle. During peak hours, I spend nearly two hours on the road because of the congestion, especially at the ZBC traffic lights and the intersections near Simon Mazorodze and St George. This has affected my work performance since I'm often late and exhausted when I get to the office (Interview with Maria, Southlea Park, 2022).

Accessing healthcare has become a nightmare. Last month, I had to take my child to the hospital, and what should have been a 30-minute drive turned into a 2-hour ordeal because of the traffic and poor road conditions. By the time we got there, my child's condition had worsened. This situation is frustrating and dangerous (Interview with Memory, Southlea Park, 2022).

The commuter perspective illustrates how widespread transportation issues affect the community's well-being, reducing social cohesion and a sense of community discontent. Munuhwa et al. (2020) highlighted that environmental pollution is one of the significant challenges caused by traffic congestion in Harare. Relying on inefficient and informal modes of transport, such as Mushikashika, results in higher per capita emissions. For instance, a bus can transport the same number of passengers as fourteen Mushikashika or private cars, each seating five people. Prolonged periods of traffic congestion led to higher vehicle emissions, contributing to air pollution and environmental degradation.

Commuters' narratives reveal socioeconomic disparities. Due to their constant struggle with daily transportation challenges, commuters experience a lower quality of life. For example, Memory narrates her journey seeking health services and was limited in transport choices and time. While the transport fares at the peri-urban are similar to the rest of the city, the quality of service is different. The peri-urban appears to be connected to the city of Harare but on unfavourable terms. Commuters' reliance on inefficient public transport systems affects their livelihood. They accept that they have public transport service but under suboptimal conditions.

The following table summarises the challenges frequently encountered by individuals of different genders and ages. The challenges are related to the lack of transport infrastructure and service and their impact.

Age Group	Gender	Challenges Raised
18-30	Male	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poor Road Conditions, • Irregular fares, • Long Travel time
	Female	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Long travel time, • High Transportation Costs, • Safety concerns due to harassment
31-45	Male	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited Public Transportation • Irregular Transport Costs, • Reduced interaction with family
	Female	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poor Road Conditions, • Safety Concerns due to crime, • Limited alternatives to socio-economic activities,
46-60	Male	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High Transportation Costs, • Neglected roads prolong the journey, • Limited run time of public transport.
	Female	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Limited Transportation, • Safety concerns with pirate taxis and kombis, irregular fares
61+	Male	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Safety Concerns, • Lack of options in transportation • Poor road network
	Female	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of transport options, • High cost of transportation, • Discouraged from commuting

Figure 5.7: A List of the Common Problems Related to Transport Infrastructure

Cross-cutting issues arise from all groups. Both genders express safety concerns, though the nature of these concerns varies. For men, the focus tends to be on general safety issues related to crime

and poor road conditions. For women, safety concerns are more frequently associated with personal security risks, such as harassment and crime. The financial burden caused by high and unpredictable transportation costs affects both genders. This issue cuts across almost every age group, indicating that transport cost is linked to service quality. Economic stability and the ability to plan finances partially depend on a reliable transport network, which is crucial for all groups. Gender-specific challenges are also noted. Women specifically highlight harassment as a major safety concern, which directly impacts their freedom to commute, especially alone or during odd hours. This limits their mobility and can deter them from pursuing employment or educational opportunities that require travel.

Inadequate transportation infrastructure has a detrimental impact on the daily lives of individuals, posing significant challenges in terms of time management, financial resources, and personal safety. The findings indicate that transport challenges vary based on age and gender, with women and older commuters generally facing more severe challenges in terms of safety and access to transport. Further supporting this is the account of commute.

I have lived in Southlea Park for 12 years, and it is a beautiful community. But as a 46-year-old woman, the lack of safe and reliable transport options at night worries me deeply. The road conditions are terrible, and public transportation is limited, especially after dark. This forces many of us to rely on informal transport, such as open pick-up trucks and private vehicles, which comes with its own risks. The high transportation costs and unsafe travel conditions make every commute a stressful experience. I often find myself anxious when travelling at night, uncertain of what challenges or dangers I might face. I hope for better infrastructure and safer, more reliable transport options to make us feel secure and connected to the essential services we need (Interview with a commuter in Harare, 2022).

Limited transportation options have a caveat as they restrict personal and family activities, limiting individuals' opportunities to engage in various social and economic activities. Tarakidzwa, a 32-year daily commuter, recounts his day from beginning to end:

I start my commute at 0545hrs to arrive in town at 0730hrs. Walking to the Masvingo Highway takes me about 40 minutes to catch transportation. I find getting on the highway more affordable and quicker than in my neighbourhood of Southlea Park. I prefer walking over being jostled around like a bag of oranges due to the poor road conditions. Unfortunately, I cannot accompany my son to school personally. However, I have chosen

to hire a kombi driver to transport him to and from school, as he attends a school near waterfalls. Unfortunately, transport operators tend to overcharge for the distance between the highway and our neighbourhood, especially during the rainy season when it becomes unbearable. Walking on the road poses a danger as it is often flooded, forcing us to walk through maize fields or vacant land and sometimes even through people's homes. If we had better roads, my commute to work could be reduced by at least 45 minutes. Nighttime transportation is more expensive for me. I finish work at 5:30 pm, and it's already dark when I get home. Hence, I cannot drop off on the highway and walk. Despite paying more, I still feel exhausted when I get home (Interview with Tarakidzwa, Southlea Park, 2022).

Tarakidzwa has highlighted the significant impact of infrastructure disparities on his daily commute to work. He has described the lack of water provision that requires him to wake up early to get ready. Additionally, he has shared the ordeal of getting transport to work due to the severe impact of infrastructure on the commute between Southlea Park and the city centre. Mugumbate and Nyoni (2021) described this phenomenon as a physical exclusion that occurs due to the nature of the transport system, and the built environment also inhibits accessibility. Tarakidzwa may seem connected to the city because he can work, but upon closer inspection, he experiences exclusion and isolation daily. This can result in certain groups of people being unable to use the transportation system due to physical and psychological barriers. The absence of transportation infrastructure can have detrimental consequences, leading to social exclusion and further perpetuating societal inequalities.

Efforts to mitigate some of the challenges were observed and reported by the commuters. Carpooling is one strategy to minimise the impact of unreliable public transport, safety concerns and cost. One group revealed that they have been carpooling for three years. As one commuter described, the 'carpool family' was a family extension, reporting several times when the group catered to individual needs. For example, the carpool community has more than once assisted in health-related emergencies to and from the hospital. Therefore, a strong sense of trust and social networking developed because of transport disparities. However, carpooling is commonly mistaken for illegal hitchhiking, and the group revealed that they had several encounters with the ZRP traffic police, who once arrested the car owner for operating his private car for public transport without necessary permits.

Some community efforts to solve safety issues have been noted. The Southlea community has tried to set up a neighbourhood watch group in collaboration with the ZRP. The FDGs revealed that the neighbourhood watch programme failed due to some residents' lack of financial commitment. However, while it worked, the commuters felt safe walking at night because guards with torches could assist in the dark. A counter solution by some households is to have someone from their respective home wait for the commuter at the bus stop at night to have company in the dark. The precarious nature of public transportation and infrastructure in the peri-urban goes beyond public goods and services. Social and economic attachments to urban services and goods are critical for a reasonable livelihood in an urban setup. The community in the peri-urban is adversely incorporated into the city because public transport disparities impact the quality of life. Therefore, infrastructure provision works mutually with social and economic dynamics in an urban space.

5.3.1.1 Accessibility and Affordability of Public Transport

Access to affordable and reliable public transport is a critical determinant of urban mobility, particularly for low-income households in Harare south periphery. However, significant challenges persist in this sector, as illustrated by recent developments in the Zimbabwe United Passenger Company (Zupco). The termination of government subsidies for Zupco in February 2024 marked a pivotal moment, revealing both systemic inefficiencies and the unintended consequences of fiscal policy shifts.

Spatial inequality emerged as a critical issue within the Zupco program. Observations reveal that newly acquired buses are disproportionately allocated to affluent suburbs like Greendale, with better road infrastructure. In contrast, older, dilapidated buses serve areas like Southlea Park, which lack proper roads. This unequal distribution of resources underscores the exclusionary nature of the program. Commuters in low-income suburbs face unreliable and substandard services, perpetuating socio-economic disparities. For instance, residents of Southlea Park rely on outdated buses that frequently break down, while those in higher-income areas benefit from modern, comfortable vehicles. Such discrepancies highlight the blind spots in Zupco's service delivery and its failure to address the mobility needs of marginalised communities.

The government justified the elimination of subsidies, which previously cost around US\$6 million monthly, as a critical move to reduce unsustainable expenditures and boost Zupco's operational efficiency (Chidakwa, 2024). Funds were then redirected to repair non-functional buses and acquire over 520 new bus, aiming to make Zupco more self-sufficient *ibid*. Although these actions aimed to improve service delivery, they overlooked the immediate and significant impact on low-income commuters.

The government's plan to acquire 500 new buses has led to uncertainty regarding fare regulation and service reliability. Commuters like Memory from Southlea Park worry about potential fare increases without the support of subsidised Zupco services. Likewise, Tarakidzwa, a rider of two buses to his workplace, highlighted the convenience and dependability of Zupco-contracted buses, which now face possible discontinuation.

An analysis of the outcomes shows that the cessation of subsidies has exacerbated affordability challenges for urban residents. With Zupco services increasingly unreliable and often unavailable during peak hours, commuters have been forced to turn to unregulated private operators such as kombis.

Although these provide a flexible alternative, their higher fares impose a heavy financial burden on households, many of whom already allocate up to 40% of their monthly income to transportation. This shift effectively redistributes the cost of inefficiencies onto the most economically vulnerable, further entrenching cycles of poverty and social exclusion.

A few commuters expressed their public transport,

Zupco's bus services are inconsistent. One day the buses are present, while the next they may be absent. To put it plainly, I rely on public transport for my daily commute. It can be expensive because you often have to spend more to reach your destination. Occasionally, this expense becomes prohibitive for me due to my limited income (Interview with Chiedza, Harare, 2023)

“Kombis and mushikashika operators are unpredictable, with fares varying dramatically—one day they're reasonable, the next they are overly high, particularly during rush hours or rainy weather. For someone like me who depends on these vehicles, this leads to constant anxiety. If fares double and I'm low on cash, I find myself needing to walk or seek alternative transportation, arriving late and exhausted for work. Without regulation or

protection, we face a daily gamble that we can't afford to lose. When Zupco returned in 2020, I was hopeful they would remain for a long time to serve us, the commuting public. Now, our futures are uncertain as we await new buses.(Interview with Maria, Southlea Park, 2023).

ZUPCO buses are a cost-effective and easy option for many commuters, as long as they are in service. Nevertheless, this convenience often leads to long lines and significant wait times. It's typical to wait over an hour only to discover the bus is full, forcing you to begin the process all over again. While the system's low fares are its key advantage, the time spent waiting frequently negates these benefits.(Interview with Tarakidzwa, Southlea Park, 2023).

Recent changes in Zupco operations shed light on the challenges of transport governance. As reported by Chidakwa (2024), Zupco ended its contracts with private bus owners serving urban routes at the beginning of 2024. These agreements were initially created during the COVID-19 lockdowns through President Mnangagwa's intervention to alleviate urban transport issues while complying with lockdown measures. However, many private operators gradually sought to distance themselves from Zupco and formed their associations as restrictions eased.

In a letter dated February 9, 2024, Tineyi Rwasoka, Zupco's acting chief executive, officially informed operators about the upcoming expiration of their contracts. He highlighted that Zupco would not extend these agreements and instead shifted attention towards acquiring 500 new buses. Although this strategy intends to improve Zupco's fleet, it has sparked worries among commuters regarding potential fare hikes and the reliability of services. Commuters like Tarakidzwa from Southlea feared overpricing without subsidised Zupco services. Similarly, Chiedza from Southlea emphasised the convenience and reliability of Zupco-contracted buses, which are now at risk of being withdrawn.

Bus operators in Southlea Park have expressed worries about the termination, calling it a poorly coordinated choice:

As a small bus operator, we often find ourselves in uncertainty, waiting for the government's final decision on the situation of private contractors. Our opinions seem to hold little influence, especially compared to larger operators who are in a better position to negotiate beneficial ZUPCO contracts. Payments to small operators like us are frequently delayed, while the larger companies take precedence. This creates an unequal

environment. Sometimes, parking our buses or changing routes seems more straightforward, as uncertainty about the future remains. (Interview with a bus operator, Harare, 2023).

Moreover, the restructuring has exposed a critical disconnect between policy design and urban realities. While the government's focus on increasing the bus fleet reflects an investment in infrastructure, it overlooks systemic issues such as inadequate scheduling, maintenance bottlenecks, and operational mismanagement. The result is a public transport system that remains unfit for purpose despite the injection of resources. For residents of peri-urban areas like Southlea Park, the lack of reliable transport limits their access to jobs, schools, and healthcare facilities, undermining their socioeconomic mobility.

This case highlights the broader implications of urban transport governance. The policy effectively privileges fiscal austerity over social equity by shifting the financial burden from the state to individual commuters. Such an approach risks widening existing inequalities, particularly for those already marginalised by their geographic and economic circumstances. Addressing these challenges requires rethinking transport policy priorities, such as accessibility, affordability, and inclusivity. For instance, integrating formal and informal transport systems under a coherent regulatory framework could provide more affordable and reliable options while addressing safety and efficiency concerns.

The Zupco example thus serves as a microcosm of the tensions inherent in Harare's urban transport policy. It underscores the need for interventions that balance cost recovery with the social imperative to ensure mobility for all urban residents, particularly those in low-income and peri-urban communities. Without such measures, the promise of public transport as an enabler of development will remain unrealised.

5.3.2 Inadequate Management of Household Solid Waste as a Form of Marginalisation

Insights gathered from the community have revealed that effective waste management in Harare South is lacking. Household Solid Waste management data is categorised into three main areas: waste generation, waste collection, and waste disposal, all identified as areas of concern. The following section provides a detailed explanation of the issues raised in relation to a specific waste management item.

Residents of the Harare South peri-urban area shared their concerns about the amount of waste generated in their neighbourhood. Research conducted through household interviews, surveys, and FDG analysis has found a direct correlation between the increase in population and the amount of solid waste generated by households. It emerged that 80% of households believe that the population in the periphery has led to an increase in solid waste being dumped on open land. Kwenda et al. (2022) conducted research that supports the link between population growth and household waste generation. Kwenda's (2022) study found that the waste generation rate in the area was 0.1407 tons per capita per year in 2012, rising to 0.162 tons per capita per year in 2020. These figures demonstrate the casual-effect relation between demographics and waste generation, supporting the findings in Harare South.

Household solid waste management in Harare has decreased the quality of life in urban setups. Nemadire et al. (2017) and Mandeverere (2015) suggest that areas filled with litter and debris are less appealing and can decrease community pride and social cohesion. The community in Harare South peri-urban has identified an increase in waste volume, large volume of uncollected waste and low waste collection. Sarudzai's account highlights the shared experiences of many residents who face numerous challenges due to poor waste management practices. Below is her lived reality:

The absence of refuse collection in this part of town, specifically in Southlea Park, has been a persistent issue since I moved here in 2009. Refuse collection trucks have never been seen in our neighbourhood, leading us to resort to alternative methods for waste disposal. Burning rubbish has become common among residents, and some waste is dumped on vacant land. The dumpsite near our area is a distressing sight, with many discarded items scattered around, including used baby diapers, sanitary pads, condoms, canned food containers, and even medical syringes. The odour emanating from the dumpsite is overpowering, forcing us sometimes to avoid walking by it. In addition, the dumpsites are infested by pets and flies. Unfortunately, when it rains, the runoff water from the dumpsite flows onto our walking paths, creating hazardous conditions. Occasionally, the councillor arranges for graders and trucks to remove the accumulated waste when it becomes unmanageable. However, we have grown accustomed to this sporadic intervention since it has become our norm. Our neighbourhood's refuse collection and waste management situation profoundly concern and harms our environment (Interview with Sarudzai, Southlea Park, 2022).

In Harare South Peri-Urban, the inadequate waste management system exacerbates the challenges faced by the residents. As in the case of Sarudzai, waste management has become an issue for most community members. Burning waste releases harmful pollutants into the air, compromising the community's air quality and respiratory health. Mandeverere & Jerie (2018) observed that in areas where proper waste management systems are lacking, residents often resort to informal methods of waste disposal, such as open dumping or burning, which pose significant health and environmental risks. The practice of improper waste management has been demonstrated to impact the quality of life in urban areas.

High-density suburbs such as Mabvuku, Tafara, Chitungwiza, Highfield, Kuwadzana, Mbare, and Mufakose have experienced prolonged periods of up to twelve months without refuse collection (Tsiko & Togarepi 2012; Kwenda 2020). The collection of HSW in the peri-urban illustrates the distribution of effects from the city suburbs to the peri-urban. The specific observation in Hopley and Southlea Park that some houses are inaccessible due to inadequate road networks highlights another layer of complexity in waste management. “Suppose the HCC has started collecting HSW in Southlea Park; not all households will be served due to road. The lack of road infrastructure, even in HSW management, is a contentious issue (Interview with a City Planner, Harare, 2023). Inaccessibility due to poor infrastructure directly impacts the effectiveness of service delivery, leading to uncollected waste.

The psychological impact of inadequate waste management in Harare South is a critical but often overlooked dimension of how environmental conditions influence community well-being. The daily exposure to unsanitary conditions, coupled with the persistent lack of formal waste management services, contributes to significant mental and emotional stress for residents, particularly those in marginalised peri-urban areas like Southlea Park.

Living in an environment where waste is not properly managed can lead to chronic stress and anxiety. Residents of Harare South, like Sarudzai, who are constantly confronted with the sight, smell, and potential health risks of nearby dumpsites, may experience heightened levels of anxiety. Chiedza narrated the lived reality:

Every day, as I walk around, I can't shake off the heavy weight on my mind caused by the sight and smell of the dumpsites in our vicinity. It's not just about the filth and the unsightliness; it goes beyond that. The constant worry about falling ill due to the unsanitary conditions is exhausting, and it feels like an unrelenting burden. It's as if the city has forgotten about our community, and this sense of neglect only adds to the stress and strain we experience daily (Interview with Chiedza, Southlea Park, 2022).

The persistent fear of disease, the stigma associated with living in a polluted environment, and the frustration with the local government's inability to provide adequate services all contribute to a chronic state of stress. The knowledge that the environment is hazardous yet lacking the resources or power to change the situation, has led to despair and resignation. Over time, this can erode mental health, leading to issues such as depression and a diminished sense of agency and hope.

the psychological toll of inadequate waste management is keenly felt by women, who often bear the primary responsibility for maintaining their households. For many, the inability to ensure a clean and safe environment for their families is a source of constant anxiety and stress. This burden is compounded by the other demands on their time, leaving them feeling overwhelmed and, at times, helpless.

One resident, Maria, shared her lived experience:

As a mother, it is my duty to keep my home clean, but how can I do that when the city doesn't collect our garbage? The waste piles up, and I can see it affecting my children, they are always getting sick. I feel like I am failing them. Every day, I worry about what this environment is doing to their health, and it keeps me up at night. There is so much pressure, and it feels like there is no way out. We don't have the resources or the power to change this situation, and helplessness is the hardest part (Interview with Maria, Southlea Park, 2022).

Maria's experience is not unique. Many women in the community carry this additional burden, which not only affects their mental health but also impacts their ability to participate fully in other aspects of life. The psychological distress caused by the ongoing waste management crisis is a stark reminder of the broader inequalities faced by these women, who are left to navigate these challenges with little support.

Effective waste management is a persistent challenge in peri-urban areas. However, waste collection has provided a source of income for some individuals. Waste pickers in Mbudzi-Hopley have capitalised on the uncollected waste in the area as a source of recyclable materials. According to vendors from Hopley, "Waste pickers assist in collecting plastics, cardboard, and metal cans. The Mbudzi area is replete with economic activities, which has increased the number of waste pickers operating in Harare South" (Interview with a vendor, Harare, 2022). This entrepreneurial activity provides an income stream for waste pickers and helps reduce the volume of waste that might otherwise contribute to environmental degradation.

The study of Harare South peri-urban revealed that 50 households in Southlea Park stated that they negatively perceive the reliability of HCC collection services and are consistently dissatisfied with the quality of service. Out of 50, 30 households said they engage in street trading and noted that a dirty environment is not conducive to business. The findings have emerged from a mutually beneficial relationship between street traders(vendors) and waste pickers. Waste pickers collect recyclable waste from vendors who have bins or collect recyclable waste nearby.

The data highlights spatial inequality in waste management regarding waste disposal. While efforts by waste pickers reduce HSW, non-recyclable waste remains a cause of concern in households. According to the respondents, non-recyclable HSW is either thrown into the open, burnt, buried, or thrown into the compost. This concentration of poor waste management practices in specific neighbourhoods further deepens spatial inequality and contributes to the marginalisation of these areas. The resident's short-term waste management solution compromises the area's liveability and overall quality of life. Musemwa (2008) notes that neglecting HSW in high-density areas is one of the leading causes of waterborne diseases such as typhoid, cholera and diarrhoea.

Six households practice compost-making and using ashes as natural soil fertilisers for their garden crops. These households sell vegetables to the local community, making a livelihood from the food waste. The following excerpt is one of the households describing the trade as follows:

The numbers here are good. We used to trade in Mbare, but now the numbers in Harare South are growing, and we have seen the opportunity. We grow our vegetables on vacant land and use composts for soil fertility. We do our part with household waste. However, collecting compost waste from other households is difficult

as most people burn their waste and dump it in the open without separating it. People lack education in waste separation and disposal (Interview with a resident, Harare, 2022).

The excerpt demonstrates a unique opportunity for a few households that maximise food waste to use it as compost for their vegetable business. The excerpt revealed a lack of education on HSW in the Harare South peri-urban. Kwenda (2020) illustrated that a significant obstacle to waste management in Harare is the lack of education and knowledge about waste disposal. This is the case for the peri-urban as evidenced by improper disposal of HSW.

The evolution of waste in the peri-urban provides insight into the impact of urbanisation and population growth in the Peri-Urban. During the fieldwork, long-term residents of the peri-urban commented on the nature of waste before the mass settlement of the peri-urban.

I used to work and live at the Odar farm, now known as Southlea Park. At that time, the area had very little waste as only a few people lived there, and farming was the main activity. Most of the waste, such as sub-standard crops and fruits, was biodegradable. Since there were only a few households, people would bury non-compostable waste. The compost waste was mainly organic and fertilised the vegetable gardens near the skyline towards the Manyame River. However, nowadays, many dumpsites in the area used to be clear of such waste." (Interview with a city health official, Harare, 2022).

The excerpt highlights the impact of rapid urbanisation in the peri-urban. The transition from predominantly biodegradable waste such as sub-standard crops and fruits—to a more diverse waste composition, including non-compostable and non-recyclable materials, reflects broader trends in consumption patterns accompanying urbanisation. As urban areas expand, the consumption of packaged goods increases, which contributes to the accumulation of non-biodegradable waste like plastics and metals.

Lambin et al. (2001) have noted that urbanisation in the global south has surpassed all other adjacent land uses to the city, including prime croplands. Harare's peri-urban area is no exception to this trend. Harare South peri-urban is no exception to the notion. Organic waste was commonly composted and used as fertiliser, while households buried non-compostable waste. However, with urban expansion and densification, these traditional practices have become inadequate and led to

the emergence of uncontrolled dumpsites. Therefore, the findings demonstrate the complex nature of urban systems as they erode local solutions that sustain the peri-urban.

In their findings, Wolff et al. (2021) stated that peri-urban areas in the Global South, especially highly dynamic ones, are confronted with various challenges like unsustainable food production, land degradation, lack of infrastructure, and ownership conflicts. This supports the findings in Harare South Peri-urban. The shift from a low-waste agricultural society to a high-waste urban setting illustrates urban sprawl's broader ecological and societal impacts. These include loss of agricultural land, increased pollution, and greater demand for waste management services that existing infrastructure may not adequately meet. The informant notes the emergence of many dumpsites in an area previously clear of such waste, indicating significant environmental degradation.

5.4 COMMUNITY ALTERNATIVES TO LACK OF INFRASTRUCTURE AND SERVICES

The group dynamics at community boreholes and the strategies developed by residents to mitigate the effects of inadequate services show a high level of community agency and adaptation. Highlighting these dynamics can inform policies that support and expand on community initiatives, ensuring they are inclusive, sustainable, and aligned with broader urban development goals.

5.4.1 Gender and Vulnerable Groups Dynamics

The dearth of proper sanitation infrastructure affects individuals' health and impedes the overall well-being and livelihoods of the urban area. The absence of clean and accessible toilets undermines personal hygiene and dignity, particularly for women, children, and the elderly (Musemwa, 2008; Nhubu et al., 2019). This is the case for some households in Harare South peri urban. Muchadeyi shares her perspective, stating:

It is difficult for women to wake up and use the toilet outside. It is worse when children must use the bathroom at night. Sometimes, we use buckets and empty containers to do number 1 (urinate) in the evening and empty them in the morning. It would be simpler if we had toilets with running water like those in other parts of the

city. Here, we feel like second-class citizens. Our living conditions would be far better if we had proper infrastructure development (Interview with resident Harare, 2022).

Muchadeyi's account highlights the gender-specific challenges due to inadequate sanitation. Women and children feel particularly vulnerable when needing to use facilities outside the home at night. Muchadeyi's perspective about feeling like "second-class citizens" due to the lack of infrastructure illustrates a sense of social inequality. The reference to other areas with better facilities emphasises the disparity within the same city. Urban infrastructure distribution highlights women's vulnerability due to inadequate infrastructure.

In support of Muchadeyi's lived reality, an FDG revealed that the social dynamics at the boreholes contribute to the challenges faced in accessing water. It was established that more than 70% of people who access community boreholes are women. During interviews, it was established that the social dynamics at the well are not favourable for women. For instance, local builders and brickmakers were reported to draw water from the borehole in the morning, and they jumped the queue, which added waiting time. Therefore, lack of running water is a challenge on its own, but the social dynamics at the community borehole that other groups experience far worse exclusion.

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Figure 5.8: Community Borehole in Harare South Source (Author)

In the Harare Southern periphery, on average, women primarily fetch water at a local borehole. As shown in Figure 5.2, a community borehole installed by MSF and powered by solar energy is the primary water source for more than 2000 people. With the support of local nurses, the women in the locality have formed a women's club that regularly cleans the area surrounding the borehole. This includes sweeping the area, picking up litter and teaching the children the importance of not littering around the borehole to prevent contamination. As a result, the social network formed around access to clean water plays a crucial role in ensuring continued access to clean water.

The provision of clean water in the peri-urban area of Harare South has been found to possess a sociopolitical dimension. During the fieldwork, it was revealed that Zanu PF youths resorted to intimidating individuals at the borehole to coerce them into voting for their party in the upcoming 2023 elections. The nature of these threats varied, as revealed by the data. The threats included vandalising the borehole, beating up people and contaminating and potentially drying the borehole with cement. The nature of socio-political dynamics remains unfavourable to women as they spend

more time at the well than men. Therefore, the distribution of impacts is not uniform, making women accessing clean water more vulnerable.

In exploring the intersectionality of gender with other vulnerabilities such as age, disability, and economic status, it becomes evident that these intersecting identities profoundly shape the experiences of individuals within Harare South's peri-urban areas. Women, particularly those who are elderly, disabled, or economically disadvantaged, face compounded challenges due to adverse incorporation. For example, elderly women may struggle to fetch water due to physical limitations, and those with disabilities may face even greater barriers in accessing sanitation facilities that are not designed with accessibility in mind. Economic status further exacerbates these challenges, as those with limited financial resources are less able to afford alternative solutions, such as purchasing water from vendors.

Furthermore, interviews with residents revealed that during periods of water scarcity, some families prioritise water use for essential purposes, often at the expense of personal hygiene. This practice disproportionately affects women and girls, who may be forced to forego bathing or menstrual hygiene, leading to further health complications and social stigma. These decisions, driven by necessity, highlight the deep-seated inequalities that persist in urban areas, where access to basic services is still not a guarantee for all.

During the FDGs, it emerged that 'water boys' had a part to play in the easing of fetching water. An interview with one 'water boy' revealed that Water Boys is a service provider for the community. They have modified wheel carts carrying up to 300 litres of water: "We go door to door asking when who wants us to fetch water for them for a small fee of US\$0.5 per trip (interview with Chenjerai, Harare, 2022). In a more detailed explanation of the services, the following demonstrates the nature of the relationship between the Water Boys and their clients:

We carry a minimum of three buckets or containers per house. The minimum is avoiding making too many stops to drop off one container. We can take a maximum of 15 X 20-litre containers. We charge US\$0.5 per three containers or less. In a day, we can make five trips, giving us uS\$15 per day. We make more during the weekends as demand surges. I recall one Saturday, we made 20 trips, making around US\$40 daily. The work

is hard, but it is better than sitting at home and doing nothing. People trust us when we clean water, so we make sure we deliver clean water (interview with Chenjerai, Harare, 2022).

The excerpt above demonstrates a community adaptation strategy. The community has demonstrated their reliance by finding solutions to localised problems. Additionally, it illustrates how informal economic solutions can fill gaps left by inadequate infrastructure, provide necessary services, and offer livelihoods. Below in Figure 5.3 water boys are carrying a load to serve households in need of water.



Figure 5.10: Water Boys in Harare South `Peri-Urban

Kingsley and Moyo (2019) reported that more than half of households in Harare receive tap water only once a week. Water boys have emerged in most affected communities, applying the same strategy. For instance, places like Chitungwiza, Mabvuku, Epworth, and Budiriro have seen the rise of Water Boys with a limited supply of tap water. The Water Boy strategy appears to be a coping mechanism resulting from the limitation of water infrastructure.

The 'Water Boys' operations are contingent on the trust they can cultivate with their clients. The delivery of clean water is a critical component of their service, underscoring the importance of reliability and safety in community services. This trust serves to solidify their position within the local economy and enhance their social standing, illustrating the intricate interplay between social networks and economic activities within urban settings.

The lack of road infrastructure has opened up economic opportunities for some residents. During interviews, participants stated that the roads are prone to disrepair since they are not paved. In response, the community repairs the most affected areas. Notably, some residents involved in these repairs often collect small fees from road users or local businesses benefiting from improved road conditions. This has become an additional source of income.

While repairing unpaved roads is not sustainable, a few road repairers benefit. An interview with a sand seller and road repair provided insight into how a few unemployed men benefit. Max had this to tell:

I used to drive commuter omnibuses without a driver's license, but it was difficult because I always got arrested. I turned to sand mining and selling. Southlea Park has a lot of land with sand, which everyone needs for construction. My colleagues and I realised that we have a lot of unused soil and rocks when we get our sand and collect rubble from building sites in the community. We have begun using it to repair roads and our community benefits. Our hands and our strength are our main assets in repairing the roads. We receive a small token for our service from small businesses such as shops and a few households. Our work is infrequent. We get US\$20 on a good day, and on other days, we get US\$5. As long as there are no paved road surfaces, the roads will always need us. (Interview with Max, Southlea Park, 2023).

Informal road repairs have become a grassroots response to these challenges, filling the gap left by formal governmental interventions. Repairing roads is perceived as a response to the government's failure and not acting. Observations during the fieldwork, the repaired sections of the roads had a composite of sand, bricks, stones, and soil lumps. Informal road repairs entail volunteers engaging in outdoor road maintenance activities, such as repairing roads and working alongside live traffic. These repair efforts are not confined to peri-urban regions but are a frequent

occurrence on the streets of Harare. Munjenjema (2019) states that individuals performing road repairs have emerged across the city, including the affluent areas. This demonstrates the causal links that connect the peri-urban and the rest of the city.

In a way, the token received illustrates a critical difference between the affluent suburbs and the peri-urban. Munjenjema (2019) notes that informal road repairer areas make as much as US\$ 30 per day working with potholes in tarred roads. Conversely, the peri-urban work with dusty unpaved surfaces receives fewer tokens. This results in fewer and smaller payments for road repair work, constraining the economic viability of such activities.

The cumulative effect of these intersecting vulnerabilities is a heightened sense of marginalisation and exclusion among women and other vulnerable groups in Harare South. The lack of infrastructure, coupled with socio-political and economic challenges, creates an environment where these individuals are consistently disadvantaged.

5.4.2 Social Dynamics of Children Commuting to School

The study uncovered that informal transport operators offer school transportation services. Transportation, in this context, transcends basic transit and serves as a communal and educational platform. Findings from the study showed parents indicated that their children utilise the commute, which may last up to an hour, to engage socially and academically with peers, particularly during exam periods. This insight emphasises the vital role of the commute in children's educational and social development, underscoring its significance beyond mere transportation.

There is notable variability in service quality and operator conduct. Mai Chido, a parent who also operates a school runner service, has established a set of conduct rules to manage student behaviour effectively during transit.

I found a community need for transporting children to school. I had a Kombi that I was using as a daily vehicle. I converted it into a children's school bus and employed Mukoma Shepherd to drive it. We assist each other in driving and managing the routes. We charge US\$25 per month and accept daily and weekly payments. The parents allow us to enforce rules that help us manage the children. Some parents do not agree, and we do not let their children ride with us (Interview with Mai Chido, Harare, 2022).

From the FDGs, the parents support these rules, appreciating the structured and disciplined environment it creates. This approach is consistent with the community-centric perspective that "it takes a village to raise a child," as articulated by a parent. This reflects parents' trust in caregivers such as Mai Chido and Mukoma (Brother) Shepherd, who were considered surrogate parents during the children's commutes.

However, not all operators adhere to such standards. During our fieldwork, the researcher observed several instances of school vehicles being overloaded—some designed for 18 passengers carrying as many as 22. Additionally, unofficial operators, known as Mushikashika, were seen cramming more than ten children into vehicles intended for only five. This starkly contrasts with the responsible practices of operators like Mai Chido and Shepherd, and it raises significant safety concerns.



Figure 5.9: Image of Mushikashika in Operation with Children

This overloading not only poses safety risks but also reflects poorly on the responsibility of some operators and parents. One parent voiced concerns over the conditions some children endure, criticising the irresponsibility of allowing children to use such compromised services. These findings suggest a pressing need for stricter regulation and enforcement of school transportation standards to ensure all children have safe and equitable access to educational opportunities. The disparity in service quality indicates a broader issue of accessibility and equality in educational resources, which requires immediate and focused regulatory attention.

The use of mishikashika [plural for mushikashika] by learners poses numerous risks as they travel to and from school, which is a concerning issue. It is alarming that some learners prefer relying on unregistered vehicles for transportation. Unfortunately, many female learners are susceptible to being lured into relationships with drivers and conductors, and some even face the risk of being kidnapped and sexually assaulted

These risks were also captured in a newspaper report one Sunday:

These relationships often lead to unwanted pregnancies, prompting some learners to resort to abortions, and increasing the spread of sexually transmitted diseases. Furthermore, some learners are introduced to dangerous drugs while using mishikashika. Disturbing reports of such incidents have reached the authorities, raising significant concerns. The failure to choose good friends can result in learners being exposed to such predicaments. Mishikashika's influence has led to cases of learners dropping out of school, with girls being the most affected. Some learners skip lessons or return home late at night, impacting their academic performance and tarnishing their schools' image. In addition to the social risks, mishikashika drivers speed recklessly near school premises, jeopardising the safety of many learners, making it crucial for the authorities to protect the public from such reckless drivers (Sunday Mail, March 15, 2022).

Yet the law is disagreeable with this behaviour, but it persists. In 2021, the Zimbabwe Republic police announced the penalisation of commuters who do not use ZUPCO as their form of transport: “Zimbabwe Republic Police announced that commuters who board buses, kombis and mushikashika vehicles which are not registered under the ZUPCO franchise now risk fines of \$2 000 per head” (iHarare, June 1, 2021). While blitz operations like these are typically brief, it would

be intriguing to see how law enforcement would respond to the illegal transportation of children to school by mushikashika. Would the same laws apply to them? Would they also charge the parents or guardians who did not use the service? This goes to the earlier discussion on the conflicted nature of public commutes in Harare. The blitz operations law enforcers conduct on illegal operators is a never-ending cat-chase-mouse relationship. This relationship does not resolve school dropouts as students like any commuter are victims of a flawed system.

Furthermore, it is crucial to consider the impact of school dropouts, as mentioned in Linea Njaravane's narration. If commuting challenges are causing some students to drop out of school and a lack of educational facilities in the peri-urban areas, resulting in limited access to education, it becomes evident that spatial differences significantly affect access to opportunities. This puzzle is not just safer and reliable transport, although important, but an equitable spatial distribution of resources, particularly in education. Ensuring the availability of education in low-income areas can reduce the heavy reliance on transportation. As a result, addressing the issue of accessible education has a positive impact on reducing the demand for transport and alleviating various problems associated with public commuting.

5.4.3 Tensions and Resolutions Arising from Community Utilities

The escalating water scarcity and contamination in Southlea Park have not only deepened residents' everyday struggles but have also become a significant source of tension within the community. As access to clean and sufficient water becomes increasingly precarious, competition for these dwindling resources has led to conflicts, particularly between long-term residents and newer arrivals. These tensions highlight broader resource management issues and social cohesion issues in rapidly urbanising areas like Southlea Park.

One of the most contentious issues has been the drilling of private boreholes. In a community where many rely on shallow wells or communal water points, the decision by some households to drill their boreholes has sparked significant resentment. Long-term residents expressed their challenges,

I have lived in Southlea Park for over a decade, and things have changed a lot since then. When we first moved here, the community was close-knit, and everyone looked out for one another. But now, with so many new families moving in, things are different. Take, for example, the new family that drilled a borehole recently.

They did not consider how it would affect the rest of us. Our wells started drying up as soon as they got their water sorted. I cannot help but feel we are paying the price. It is frustrating because we have always shared what we had, but now it seems everyone is just out for themselves” (Interview with Tambirai, Southlea Park, 2022).

The resident reflects upon a past era when the community was closely interconnected and marked by reciprocal assistance. The perception of unfairness likely exacerbates tensions, contributing to an increasing schism between long-standing and recent residents. The shift from collective to individualized solutions may have enduring consequences for social cohesion, potentially deepening divisions and diminishing the community's ability to collectively address shared challenges.

In a separate case, the lack of water access has transformed from causing tension to fostering a renewed sense of community. Another resident shared,

“At first, there was a lot of resentment when a household drilled their borehole. We all worried that their actions would only make things worse for the rest of us, especially since our wells were already starting to dry up. But over time, something unexpected happened. Instead of keeping the water to themselves, they began sharing it with the nearby households who were struggling the most. Now, every morning, a small group of us gathers at their place to fill our buckets. It’s a bit ironic, really—the borehole that once caused so much tension has now brought us closer together. We may not have much, but at least we know we can rely on each other when it matters most” (Interview with Ruth, Southlea Park, 2022).

The initial reaction highlights the tensions that often arise in resource-scarce environments, where individual actions can have far-reaching consequences on the collective well-being. This shift from tension to cooperation also illustrates a broader theme of interdependence in urban communities facing infrastructural challenges. Despite the initial fears, the borehole became a unifying force, bringing residents together daily and fostering a renewed sense of communal support. The analysis shows that in resource-scarce settings, actions that prioritise communal benefit over individual gain can significantly contribute to social cohesion, even in the face of adversity.

When analysed together, these scenarios reveal the dual potential of infrastructural interventions in resource-scarce environments. The borehole, a simple infrastructure, serves as a catalyst for both division and unity, depending on how it is integrated into the community. In the first scenario,

the lack of communication and the perceived selfishness of the action led to conflict, highlighting the fragility of social cohesion in the face of resource competition. In the second scenario, the act of sharing the resource re-established and even strengthened communal ties, demonstrating that social dynamics are not static but can be positively influenced by inclusive and considerate actions.

These scenarios also reveal the importance of mediation and communication in managing communal resources. The transition from conflict to cooperation was not inevitable but was facilitated by the new family's willingness to engage with their neighbours and share their resources. This suggests that proactive community engagement and the equitable distribution of resources are critical to maintaining social harmony in urban settings, especially where resources are limited.

The deteriorating condition of the unpaved roads in Southlea Park has become a critical challenge for residents, significantly affecting their daily commutes and access to essential services. The inadequacy of the local government's response has compelled homeowners to take matters into their own hands. However, these efforts to repair roads have sparked a complex interplay of conflict and cooperation within the community. As more residents mobilize resources to improve the roads, tensions have surfaced, particularly between those who can afford to contribute and those who cannot. These conflicts highlight broader issues of inequality and the challenges of collective action in a rapidly growing urban area like Southlea Park.

One of the most contentious issues has been the self-funded road repairs initiated by a group of wealthier residents. In a community where many rely on poorly maintained, potholed roads, the decision by some households to pave and maintain the road leading to their homes has sparked significant resentment. Long-term residents expressed their frustrations:

I have been living here for 12 years, and the roads have always been bad. However, now we have more people using the road than ever before. New residents do not want to contribute towards road repairs, but we have been paying for years. It is as if they expect someone else to repair the roads, and we have come to terms with the fact that the government is not going to do anything. As a result, some long-term residents are opting out of road repairs because not everyone wants to contribute. It's not fair—they are not helping the community.

The lack of cohesion and togetherness has crippled our ability to repair roads. (Interview with Jabu, Southlea Park, 2022).

This resident's reflection illustrates a perceived shift from a collective, community-oriented mindset to one focused on individual gain. The quote illustrates how the lack of participation from newer residents has led to frustration among those who have been maintaining the roads, ultimately weakening the collective resolve to address the issue. This situation underscores how infrastructural improvements, if not approached inclusively, can deepen social divisions and undermine communal solidarity.

In contrast, another scenario emerged where road repairs fostered a renewed sense of community. A resident shared a different perspective:

When our street started getting too difficult to navigate, we all got together and decided to chip in whatever we could to fix the road. Some people gave money, others offered their labour, and a few even brought food and drinks for those doing the work. It wasn't much, but it was something. And now, every time I drive down that road, I feel proud because I know we did it together. It's funny—fixing the road brought us closer. We used to just wave to each other in passing, but now we stop and chat and plan things together. It feels like a real community again (Interview with Chipu, Southlea Park, 2022).

This resident's account highlights the potential for infrastructure projects to strengthen social bonds when approached with a spirit of cooperation. The collective effort to repair the road became more than just a physical improvement—it was a catalyst for rebuilding relationships and fostering a sense of pride and ownership within the community. Coming together to address a shared problem created new opportunities for interaction and mutual support, transforming the road from a symbol of neglect into a testament to the community's resilience.

When analysed together, these scenarios reveal the dual nature of infrastructural interventions in resource-limited urban environments. The road, a simple yet essential infrastructure, serves as both a source of division and a tool for unity, depending on how the community manages the process. In the first scenario, the lack of communication and perceived exclusivity led to conflict, highlighting the fragility of social cohesion when resources are unevenly distributed. In the second

scenario, the collective approach to road repair re-established and even strengthened communal ties, demonstrating that inclusive and considerate actions can positively influence social dynamics.

These scenarios also unpack the importance of mediation and communication in managing communal infrastructure projects. Open dialogue, shared responsibility, and a commitment to equitable participation facilitated the transition from conflict to cooperation. This suggests that proactive community engagement and the fair distribution of resources are critical to maintaining social harmony in urban settings, especially where inequalities and resource limitations are prevalent.

5.4.4 Mushandirapamwe (Working as a Collective): A Means of Coping in the Peri-Urban

In Southlea Park, Mushandirapamwe, there are initiatives to help ease financial pressures. One notable example is the round system, often referred to as a rotating savings and credit association (ROSCA). Respondents mentioned that they have a cooperative saving scheme that helps them save for building, buying cars, and food. Peter was able to buy his Kombi through the group saving scheme designed for people interested in buying cars. He mentioned,

I purchased my car through a group savings method known as a "round system." In this system, a group of us committed to saving US\$350 per month, each contributing to a collective pool. Every month, one group member would receive the entire sum, which amounted to US\$4200, and this continued until each of the 12 members had received their share. We agreed that the cycle would last exactly one year, and after the 12 months, we would conclude the round. The success of this system relied heavily on trust, as each member had to faithfully contribute every month, knowing their turn would come. Fortunately, in our group, everyone honoured their commitment, and we never encountered any issues with non-payment. We knew other groups where conflicts arose, sometimes requiring police intervention when members defaulted on their payments. However, our group was fortunate; we all achieved what we set out to do. For me, this meant purchasing a Kombi, which has since become a crucial asset for my family. The Kombi not only serves as reliable transportation but has also become a significant source of income, helping to sustain our household. This experience has reinforced the power of collective savings and the importance of trust and accountability in such arrangements (Interview with Peter, Southlea Park, 2022).

The purchase of the Kombi illustrates how ROSCAs function within the informal economy, facilitating economic activities that sustain livelihoods. The informal economy, as described by

Chen (2007), includes a wide range of economic activities that are not regulated by the state but are vital to the livelihoods of many. The Kombi, as an asset purchased through the ROSCA, becomes a tool for generating income, demonstrating how ROSCAs can play a critical role in supporting economic resilience and mobility in informal settings.

The success of a ROSCA is largely dependent on the trust among participants. Trust acts as the backbone of this informal financial system, where each member must contribute regularly with the assurance that they will eventually receive a lump sum. According to Ardener and Burman (1995), the viability of ROSCAs relies on the strength of social capital—networks of relationships, trust, and shared values within the community. The absence of formal contracts in ROSCAs means that social capital is critical for maintaining the system's integrity (Anderson & Baland, 1995). The group described in the excerpt benefits from strong social cohesion, which facilitates smooth operation and ensures that all participants meet their obligations.

While beneficial, ROSCAs are not without risks. The system depends heavily on the honesty and reliability of its members, which can lead to challenges when trust breaks down. Platteau (2000) points out that in the absence of formal enforcement mechanisms, the success of ROSCAs is vulnerable to defaults, which can disrupt the cycle and cause financial loss for other members. In the case of the group described in the excerpt, their success in avoiding such issues suggests a well-established trust system, but it also underscores the potential for vulnerability if any member fails to meet their obligations.

In the heart of Southlea Park, a group of resilient women have come together to form a unique and innovative ROSCA (Rotating Savings and Credit Association) to address the pressing issue of food insecurity in their community. Each month, these women contribute USD\$20 to a communal fund. Unlike traditional savings schemes, this fund is not merely for individual gain but is strategically used to purchase groceries in bulk from South Africa, where prices are significantly lower.

The logistical operations are meticulously organized. The aggregated funds are transmitted to a reputable intermediary located in South Africa, tasked with procuring essential groceries. This

individual has established relationships with wholesalers and guarantees the optimal utilization of every dollar. They acquire staple items such as maize meal, cooking oil, sugar, and flour in quantities that would be unachievable through local purchases.

When the bus carrying these precious supplies returns from South Africa, the women gather at the Southlea Park turn-off along the Harare-Beitbridge highway. The atmosphere is a mix of anticipation and relief as they unload the bulk goods, each woman taking her share of the groceries back to her household. The system they have developed allows them to buy more for less and strengthens their community bonds, as they support one another in times of need.

This collective effort is more than just a practical solution to a financial challenge; it is a testament to the resilience and ingenuity of the women of Southlea Park. In the face of economic adversity, they have created a sustainable model that not only puts food on the table but empowers them to take control of their economic well-being.

Sarudzai, a mother of three, joined the group when she realised that her sporadic income from selling vegetables was no longer enough to keep her pantry stocked. "Before this, I was always worried about running out of food, especially with the kids needing to eat every day. But now, with the round, I can rest easy. We can buy in bulk, which is much cheaper, and I no longer have to worry about where the next meal comes from"(Interview with Sarudzai, Southlea Park, 2022).

For Sarudzai, the monthly collection at the Southlea Park turn-off from the Harare-Beitbridge highway has become a lifeline. Each time the bus returns from South Africa, she feels a sense of relief as she collects her share of the groceries. "It is not just about the food. Knowing that my children will have enough to eat is peace of mind. And because we're buying in bulk, I can trade some items for other essentials or even save a little for emergencies" (Interview with Sarudzai, Southlea Park, 2022).

Maria, another member of the group, has found the initiative to be more than just a way to stretch her dollar; it is a way to connect with other women in her community: "We're all facing the same challenges, and this ROSCA has brought us closer together. Every month, when we meet to send

the money to our runner in South Africa, it's also a time to share our experiences, support each other, and exchange ideas on how to make our lives better" (Interview with Maria, Southlea Park, 2022).

Maria's household has benefited greatly from the cheaper prices they can access through bulk buying: "I used to buy groceries in small quantities, which was very expensive. But now, with this system, we get more for our money, and that extra savings can go toward school fees or other needs"(Interview with Maria, Southlea Park, 2022).

Chipo, who was initially sceptical about joining the ROSCA, now speaks passionately about how it has changed her life: "At first, I thought, how can \$20 really make a difference? But when I saw how much food I could get when we pooled our resources, I was amazed. Now, I never miss a payment"(Interview with Chipo, Southlea Park, 2022).

For Chipo, the benefits extend beyond the immediate financial savings: "This initiative has taught me the power of working together. Alone, I could never afford to buy in bulk, but together with the other women, we've found a way to make our money work harder for us. It's a form of empowerment. We're not just surviving; we're thriving in our own way" (Interview with Chipo, Southlea Park, 2022).

The women of Southlea Park have formed a ROSCA (Rotating Savings and Credit Association) to collectively tackle food insecurity and economic challenges in their community. By contributing \$20 each month, they pool their resources to purchase groceries in bulk from South Africa, allowing them to buy more for less. This initiative not only provides them with essential goods at a lower cost but also fosters a strong sense of community and mutual support.

Through this ROSCA, the women have empowered themselves economically and socially. The bulk buying approach stretches their limited resources further, enabling them to save money for other essential needs like education or healthcare. The regular meetings for contributions and grocery collection also serve as opportunities for the women to share experiences, offer support, and build stronger community ties.

Personal stories from participants like Sarah, Miriam, and Chipo highlight the transformative impact of this initiative. It has brought them peace of mind, financial relief, and a sense of solidarity. Despite potential challenges, such as reliance on a single supply chain, the ROSCA stands as a testament to the resilience and ingenuity of the women in Southlea Park, illustrating how collective action can lead to significant improvements in their lives.

5.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY

The inhabitants of Harare South Peri-Urban confront significant challenges stemming from deficiencies in infrastructure and essential services. An in-depth analysis of the area reveals that the absence of adequate water and sanitation facilities, along with substandard road infrastructure, profoundly affects the community's daily existence and overall welfare. These inadequacies are not solely logistical problems but are intricately linked to social exclusion and adverse integration, illustrating the systematic marginalisation of certain population groups in urban development.

The research demonstrates a strong correlation between land size, socioeconomic status, and access to clean water and sanitation services in urban areas. Households with larger plots of land and higher socioeconomic status are able to mitigate public utility failures by investing in private boreholes and septic systems, thereby ensuring a more reliable water supply and waste management. Conversely, households with smaller plots face significant challenges due to their dependence on unreliable public boreholes, leading to frequent water shortages and inadequate sewage disposal. This disparity in living conditions contributes to feelings of segregation and exclusion among less affluent residents, highlighting broader economic inequalities. The chapter also highlights the proactive measures taken by residents to address these challenges. In areas like Hopley, where space constraints prevent the installation of septic tanks, residents have resorted to using pit latrines and homemade drainage systems. Despite the ingenuity displayed in these community-based solutions, the health risks remain high due to the informal nature of these methods. The contamination of clean water sources by inadequate sewage management is a recurrent issue, exacerbating the spread of diseases and impacting the overall quality of life.

The infrastructural deficiencies in certain areas of Harare, such as Southlea Park and Hopley, are attributed to premature settlement on land designated for temporary use, as reported by key informants, including city officials. This early occupation has complicated subsequent efforts to establish proper infrastructure, leading to situations where residents face challenges such as water scarcity and inadequate sewage management, as highlighted in reports by Human Rights Watch. Despite these difficulties, the community has demonstrated resilience and resourcefulness by devising alternative strategies to cope with their circumstances, such as implementing community-approved measures like locating wells at the front and soakaways at the back of households to minimise water contamination. These efforts reflect the community's determination to enhance their living conditions despite the limited support from public utilities.

In summary, the case study of Harare South's peri-urban area exemplifies the intricate interconnection between land size, socioeconomic status, and the accessibility of essential services. Thus, social exclusion and adverse incorporation are intertwined with the provision of infrastructure and goods and services in the peri-urban.



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CHAPTER 6

THE DYNAMICS OF SPATIAL DISPARITIES AND ACCESS TO LIVELIHOOD OPPORTUNITIES

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter explored various forms of exclusion and their influence on the development of the peri-urban space. Expanding on that, exclusion and development have broader implications for accessing socio-economic facilities and activities. The main goal of this chapter is to illustrate spatial inequalities and their influence on people's ability to engage in socioeconomic activities. The findings of this research suggest that spatial disparities stemming from limited opportunities directly affect the livelihoods of peri-urban residents. The chapter is structured into four primary sections. The initial section examines the direct impacts of limited social services in peri-urban areas and the accessibility of such services. It aims to establish the realities of livelihoods and coping mechanisms. The second section delves into access to income opportunities, encompassing the mapping of economic prospects and their impact on living on the periphery of Harare City. The third section wraps everything together with a discussion on the impact of spatial disparities.

6.2 IMPACT OF LIMITED SOCIAL SERVICE IN HARARE SOUTH PERI-URBAN

Muchadenyika (2015) notes that, despite not following planning procedures, the poor have produced planning outcomes (housing and infrastructure) like those produced by formal state institutions. Harare is experiencing an urban transformation that defies conventional planning norms, procedures, and laws. Most urban poor in Zimbabwe, especially those residing on the fringes of the cities and towns, rely more on social services to live reasonably in the urban area. However, in reality, life on the fringes has been noted to be precarious due to unconventional urban development. In Harare South, evidence of mushrooming settlements suggests a lack of affordable housing pushes the urban poor.

The major constraints in urban development in Harare are the high standards of construction and delays in the land development process, permits and titles (Mbiba,2017). While this is true, in the previous chapters, it has been acknowledged that residents have decided to occupy underdeveloped

land, such as in the case of Harare South. The desire to acquire cheap housing for the urban poor has outweighed the need to have social services. This is a common occurrence in most urban setups around Zimbabwe and has been extensively covered. However, what is of interest is the impact of inadequate infrastructure. The impacts vary and are multi-layered based on gender, age and social status. To illustrate the impacts, a further breakdown of the disparities in accessing social services follows in the next section.

6.2.1 Impact of Limited Social Services and Social Cohesion

The City of Harare (2023) has a healthcare infrastructure that includes 12 polyclinics, seven primary care clinics, 15 satellite clinics, and three infectious diseases hospitals, serving 2,427,231 residents (Zimstat, 2023). Despite this, over 280,000 people in the Hopley and Southlea Park areas rely on a single government-operated clinic, Tariro Clinic. Hopley, a densely populated district with 283,450 residents (ZimStats, 2018), faces significant challenges due to limited healthcare facilities.

A key informant from the Harare City Health Services mentioned, “One of our biggest challenges is the high number of patients we serve daily, exceeding 500 at Tariro Clinic” (Interview with city health official, Harare, 2022). The clinic is staffed by approximately half the number of nurses needed, resulting in a nurse-to-patient ratio of 1:33. This ratio compromises the quality of healthcare, as noted by Gamu, a resident, who observed: The local clinic provides an easy option that avoids travelling. When the illnesses worsen, I commute to other places to seek better treatment” (Interview with Gamu, Southlea Park, 2022).

The lack of access to healthcare leads to untreated or poorly managed chronic diseases, resulting in more severe health complications over time. For instance, a 45-year-old woman named Makanaka commented:

During the first few months of 2020, I had been experiencing symptoms of fatigue, frequent headaches, and blurred vision. I suspected that I might have diabetes but had not sought medical attention due to the limited. In the first few months of 2020, I experienced symptoms such as fatigue, frequent urination, and blurred vision. I suspected that I might have diabetes but didn't seek medical attention due to the limited healthcare facilities in my area and the high cost of travelling to larger hospitals. When it worsened, I went to Tariro Clinic, and

they referred me to Harare Hospital for further tests. It was a rare condition which happened to a few (Interview with Makanaka, Southlea Park, 2022).

Similarly, limited educational infrastructure poses significant challenges. In Southlea Park, one primary school accommodates over 2,000 pupils, and its ownership is contested between residents and a private developer. The nearest school, Tariro Primary School in Hopley, enrolls around 1,000 pupils and serves the entire community. However, many families opt for schools in nearby suburbs like Glen Norah, Glen View, and Highfield, requiring transportation and additional costs.

The survey revealed that 47% access healthcare at the local clinic, while 29% go to major hospitals. Meanwhile, 84% (58% and 26%) rely on education outside their local area, with only 16% using local schools. Figure 6.1 illustrates the access to social services in Harare South Peri-urban.

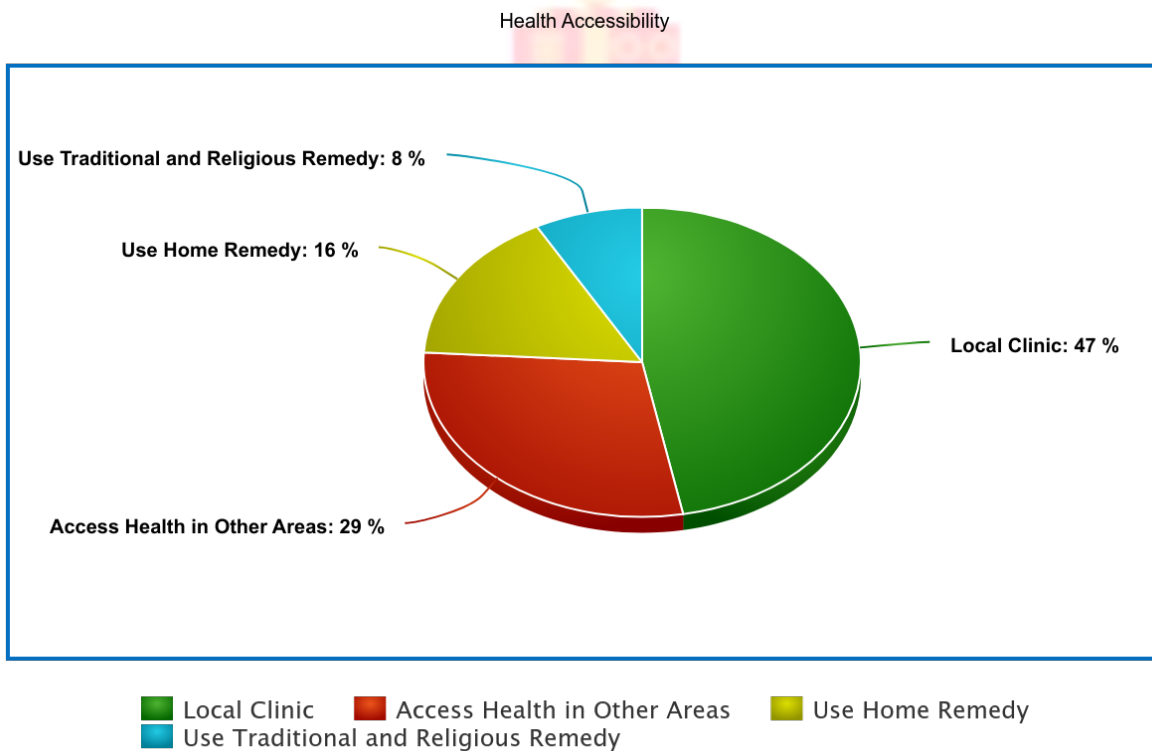


Figure 6.1: Healthcare and Education Access in Harare South Periphery.

Education Accessibility

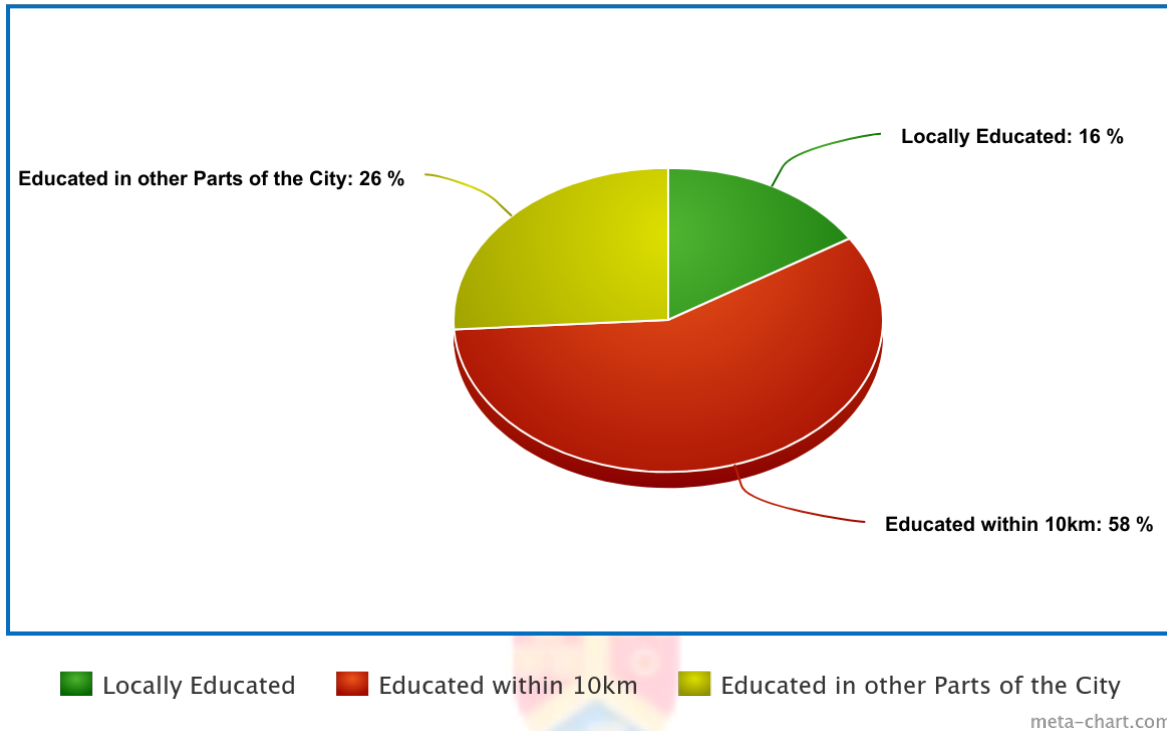


Figure 6.2: Healthcare and Education Access in Harare South Periphery.

With regard to education, one of the parents who participated in the study noted the differences in educational quality:

We listen to our children playing, and it's clear that the differences between the education they receive here and what children in other parts of the city experience are significant. For instance, children attending schools like S.O.S Herman Gmeiner in Waterfalls benefit from internet-based homework and other advanced educational resources. In stark contrast, the children at Southlea Park have no access to such facilities, severely limiting their learning opportunities and educational growth. This is one of the reasons why people here strive to enrol their children in better schools than those offered locally. (Interview with Paida, Southlea Park, 2022).

The results underscore the strain on urban systems caused by residents travelling to access essential services, reducing time spent within the community and weakening social bonds. This trend reveals that as more residents seek services in other parts of town, the peri-urban areas remain unattractive because everyone is searching for something better elsewhere. The overarching impact is social fragmentation, which impedes peri-urban areas' development.

6.2.2 Impacts of Isolation and Exclusion from Accessing Social Services

In the peri-urban Harare, communities like Hopley and Southlea Park face significant challenges due to their geographical isolation and exclusion from essential services, such as healthcare and education. These challenges are not merely logistical; they have profound social and economic implications that ripple through the community, affecting everything from educational outcomes to health and social cohesion. The following sections delve into these issues, highlighting how long commutes and resource scarcity in these areas undermine educational opportunities, weaken community bonds, and perpetuate cycles of poverty. Furthermore, the reliance on traditional remedies due to limited access to formal healthcare services reveals a stark divide in health equity, exacerbating existing social and economic disparities. These sections explore the lived realities of residents, illustrating how the daily struggles for access to basic services shape the broader socioeconomic fabric of peri-urban communities in Harare.

6.2.2.1 Long Commutes and lack of resources in peri-urban Harare impact Education and community cohesion

Isolation and exclusion from accessing essential social services, such as healthcare and education, have significant implications for individuals and communities, especially in peri-urban areas like Hopley and Southlea Park in Harare. These implications encompass various aspects, including health, economic stability, social cohesion, and overall quality of life.

Long travel times to school have been shown to diminish the time children spend with their families and peers in the community. According to parents participating in focus group discussions, this impacts family cohesion and the overall well-being of children, who may have less time for leisure activities and rest. On average, students commuting to school must depart from their homes by 6:30 am due to traffic-related delays associated with school activities; some may not return home until as late as 6 pm. Chiedza, a parent with a child learning in Waterfalls, shared her experience:

When my son started attending a school in Waterfalls, we were hopeful that it would provide him with better educational opportunities. The school has more resources, experienced teachers, and access to internet-based learning, which we couldn't find in our local schools. However, the daily commute has been tough on our family. He spends nearly three hours travelling back and forth, which means he leaves home very early and

returns late in the evening. This long journey is exhausting for him and leaves little time for family interaction or rest. Moreover, the distance makes it difficult for us to stay engaged with his education. Attending parent-teacher meetings or school events requires a lot of planning and time, which isn't always feasible with our work schedules. As a result, we feel disconnected from his school life and unable to support him as much as we'd like. Our local community also feels the impact. My son has fewer opportunities to build friendships within our neighbourhood since most of his friends live far away. This disconnection affects his sense of belonging and reduces our involvement in local community activities. It's a difficult trade-off, and while we want the best for his education, our challenges are considerable." (Interview with Chiedza, Southlea Park, 2022).

During the (FDGS), five parents mentioned that their children spend 3 hours daily commuting, 1.5 hours each way, totalling 15 hours dedicated to commuting. Time spent in the community is less. It became apparent that there were cliques among the children, mainly due to similar travel patterns, timing, and attendance at the same schools. Children attending schools far from home spend less time in their local communities, potentially weakening community bonds and reducing the sense of belonging and cohesion within the peri-urban area.

In 2020, COVID-19 lockdowns prevented many children from physically attending school. Parents of students in schools outside Southlea Park reported that their children continued their education through online classes. However, children attending local schools lacked access to these online platforms. In response, the national broadcaster, ZBC TV, allocated time slots for radio lessons aimed at students nationwide. Parents participating in the FDGs quickly noticed the stark contrast between these two homeschooling methods. This disparity in educational opportunities, highlighted by the COVID-19 pandemic, has had lasting effects, including increased isolation from quality education.

The COVID-19 pandemic unravelled the disparity in access to advanced educational opportunities between peri-urban and other urban areas. Post-pandemic, the case of disproportional education has become more apparent. Students in under-resourced schools often lack access to essential facilities such as science labs, computer classes, and extracurricular activities. Maradze, a concerned parent, provided his perspective on this issue.

My children used to attend a local makeshift school. However, when I got promoted at work, we moved them to Mother Patrick in Waterfalls. We noticed a stark contrast in the quality of education offered. For example,

at Mother Patrick, integrating information and technology is far superior to the standard education provided locally” (Interview with Maradze, Southlea Park, 2022).

The pursuit of education is intricately connected to economic prospects. Maradze's perspective underscores that the combination of financial constraints and limited capacity results in the exclusion of children from accessing advanced learning opportunities. Students attending poorly equipped schools often exhibit fewer skills and qualifications, constraining their employment prospects and potential earnings. Over time, disparities in educational quality can yield substantial discrepancies in future income, constricting their exposure to a diverse array of subjects and essential skills necessary for comprehensive educational development.

The absence of quality education perpetuates the cycle of poverty. Children from low-income families are more likely to enrol in under-resourced schools, and the inadequate education they receive restricts their potential to obtain well-paying jobs in the future, thus perpetuating the cycle of poverty across generations. Zimstats (2018) reported that 7174 out of 115,000 individuals in Harare South never attended school. This statistic reveals the substantial portion of the population that remains uneducated, further exacerbating the cycle of poverty. The deficiency in basic education severely constrains these individuals' ability to engage in the formal economy, reinforcing economic inequalities.

6.2.2.2 Health alternatives induced by isolation and exclusion

During the Focus Discussion Groups (FDGs), residents in peri-urban households in Southlea Park and Hopley resort to traditional and home remedies due to financial barriers and accessibility issues associated with formal healthcare services. One resident, Chengetai, highlighted the challenges by stating, "We had to keep returning to the hospital until they had the medication we needed because we couldn't afford private care. During these times, we often relied on traditional remedies passed down in our family to manage symptoms and illnesses" (Interview with Gamuchirai, Southlea Park, 2022). The high cost of private healthcare and the overburdened public healthcare system make traditional remedies a more viable option for many families.

Cultural beliefs and practices significantly influence the utilisation of traditional remedies. According to Widzo, a community member, many individuals continue to believe in and employ

traditional medicines handed down through generations. They perceive these remedies as more aligned with their bodies and way of life. Widzo's mother favours herbal treatments, particularly for common ailments, perceiving them as safer and more natural (Interview with Widzo, Southlea Park, 2022). This deep-seated cultural reliance on traditional practices often results in the preference for these methods over modern medicine, particularly in managing less severe health issues.

Traditional home remedies are often more convenient and immediately available than formal healthcare services. Maidei emphasised this point, stating, "When my children fall ill, it is often more convenient and quicker to utilise herbs and home remedies that I can prepare immediately, rather than waiting for extended periods at a crowded clinic or travelling to a distant hospital" (Interview with Maidei, Southlea Park, 2022). The immediate availability of these remedies makes them a practical first line of defence against illness, particularly in emergencies.

Additionally, access to regular professional healthcare is essential for diagnosing and treating chronic health issues. Managing conditions such as diabetes, hypertension, and respiratory diseases necessitates consistent medical supervision and medication, which are not commonly offered by traditional remedies. While traditional remedies may seem cost-effective in the short term, the long-term financial burden can increase as health conditions worsen due to insufficient treatment. Families may face higher healthcare costs when seeking professional medical intervention for advanced conditions. The lack of such care can result in complications and a reduced quality of life for individuals affected by these conditions.

Reliance on traditional remedies persists, perpetuating disparities in access to quality healthcare. A key informant at the Tariro Clinic commented on the use of home remedies;

As a health practitioner, I believe in easy access to healthcare. Here in the peri-urban area, it is difficult because there are few to no services provided. This has forced many to use traditional and home remedies because they are easily available. However, we have had cases where there were overdoses of some unknown herbal remedies. We try to educate the community about seeking healthcare at trusted institutions. In some cases, we have seen the youth intoxicating themselves with some of the concoctions they mix. (Interview with the city health official, Southlea Park, 2022).

This trend marginalises communities that lack the means to afford or access formal healthcare services, reinforcing existing social and economic inequities. The COVID-19 pandemic demonstrates that reliance on traditional remedies is inadequate. While short-term effects were suppressed, long-term illnesses occurred with severe effects. Residents, including those who did not use home and traditional remedies, reported using them to mitigate the effects of the pandemic. Embracing traditional remedies is an example of adapting to the situation.

Conversely, there is an influx of residents from rural villages, such as Marirangwe near the Harare South periphery, seeking care at the Tariro Clinic due to the absence of healthcare facilities in their areas. A community member from Marirangwe noted, "We have no clinics in our village, so we come to Tariro for medical help. Sometimes we give false addresses because we fear being turned away. We are desperate for any kind of healthcare" (Interview with Resident, Southlea Park, 2023). However, the clinic cannot accurately account for these patients, as some provide inaccurate addresses out of fear of being denied care. This situation creates a complex pattern of health-related commuting and migration, where the strain on one system becomes a crucial lifeline for another.

6.2.3. The Marginalisation of Vulnerable Groups in Accessing Social Services

While it is not uncommon for children to miss school because of illness, peri-urban students face additional challenges. Firstly, due to the absence of certain health services, an entire day is often dedicated to travelling and seeking medical care. Secondly, for locally educated pupils such as Gamuchira's daughter, who is in ECD, absenteeism due to illness is sometimes considered a measure to protect other children from falling ill. Tungamirai, a parent, noted that "not all children have parents who can afford to travel for medical care, and given our limited resources, any disease outbreak would pose a significant problem" (Interview with Tungamirai, S. Park, 2022).

Families with elderly and disabled members often encounter difficulties in upholding hygiene standards as a result of inadequate access to clean water and proper sanitation facilities. This is particularly problematic for individuals who cannot care for themselves and depend on caregivers for daily necessities. A caregiver, Thuli, from Southlea Park, expressed that.

Bathing and cleaning for my bedridden mother is a daily struggle due to the lack of sufficient clean water.” We have adjusted how we bathe our needy. Instead of a shower or bathtub, we usually use a big bucket. Buckets help to conserve water and use less soap. It is difficult to do our work as caregivers without adequate resources and services. (Interview with Thuli, Southlea Park, 2023).

The quality of life is diminished for both the needy and the caregivers. Bathing bedridden individuals is especially difficult without proper facilities. Using a bucket necessitates more physical effort and can be uncomfortable for the caregiver and the elderly or disabled person. Additionally, caregivers bear immense physical and emotional burdens. They often struggle to provide adequate care without the necessary resources, leading to burnout and stress. Three more further expressed a similar reality. Chiedza stated, "It is tiring to maintain a clean house, cook, and do laundry without water. Constantly fetching water from the well is exhausting" (Interview with Thuli, Southlea Park, 2023). The feeling of burnout and physical effort has had a physiological impact. This compromises their ability to provide care.

During the Study, residents cited that ambulances in Southlea Park were scarce. Narratives like Clive's underscore the intricate nature of tending to vulnerable individuals, particularly the elderly, within peri-urban environments. Clive recollected the occasion when he endeavoured to secure an ambulance upon his mother's health deteriorating: “The ambulance services stated that our area does not have roads, which is worse for the patient than for the vehicle. The paramedics stated that maintaining a smooth ride helps the patient, but it is impossible on unpaved roads. We had to rely on private taxis to transport my mother, placing her life in the hands of a taxi driver” (Interview with Clive, Southlea Park, 2022). A cross-section of limited health and infrastructure deficits marginalises the elderly in peri-urban areas. The previous chapter revealed the commuting challenges associated with peri-urban living. Pairing that with inadequate health services further reduces the quality of life.

The high patient load at clinics such as Tariro Clinic has significantly strained the overall healthcare system. This has led to a decrease in the quality of care provided and adversely affected the morale of healthcare workers dealing with excessive workloads and inadequate resources. One healthcare worker at Tariro Clinic shared, "We see over 500 patients daily with limited staff and supplies. The constant pressure is overwhelming and demoralising. We often feel unable to provide

the quality care our patients deserve" (Interview with Healthcare Worker, Southlea Park, 2023). Furthermore, the migration of patients from peri-urban areas to major hospitals such as Harare Hospital and Parirenyatwa Hospital has increased health-related commuting and imposed an additional financial burden on individuals. A resident, Gamuchirai, explained, that "Traveling to Harare Hospital for my child's treatment was exhausting and expensive. The transportation costs and long waits add to the stress, making it difficult to access timely care" (Interview with Gamuchirai, Southlea Park, 2022). This commuting diminishes the overall effectiveness of healthcare accessibility, as resources are stretched thin at the local clinics and the significant hospitals they migrate to.

The existing choices perpetuate inequalities in access for girls. Girls' parents have voiced concerns regarding the overall security of the area. Tarisai noted, "The girl child is at risk when alone. Incidents of missing children and sexual assault are commonplace in our community. The overgrown vegetation and cornfields are notorious as hiding spots for such misconduct. We try to accompany them to school and retrieve them whenever feasible" (Interview with Tarisai, Southlea Park, 2022). Reports of missing children and sexual assaults expose young girls to danger, potentially limiting their freedom.

The exposure to risky environments extends to children who learn outside of the peri-urban area. The use of "mishikashika" (unregistered vehicles) by learners poses numerous risks as they travel to and from school. Some learners prefer these vehicles for transportation due to convenience and cost despite the significant dangers involved. Ruramai, who is a former student of Glenview High School, reported the following:

The use of "mishikashika" by students poses numerous risks as they travel to and from school, which is a cause for concern. It is alarming that some students prefer relying on unregistered vehicles for transportation. Unfortunately, many female students are susceptible to being lured into relationships with drivers and conductors, and some even face the risk of being kidnapped and sexually assaulted. These relationships often lead to unwanted pregnancies, prompting some students to resort to abortions and increasing the spread of sexually transmitted diseases. Additionally, there is an increased spread of sexually transmitted diseases. (Interview with Ruramai, Southlea Park, 2022)

Ruramai's account is a first-hand experience that sheds light on the ongoing safety issue for girls. Female students face the danger of being enticed into relationships with drivers and conductors, leading to potential kidnappings and sexual assaults. This leaves girls in a precarious situation, hampering their full engagement in education and personal growth. Moreover, the documented incidents of teenage pregnancies in the area provide additional proof of these dangers. The inadequate transportation, as elaborated in Chapter 5, clearly affects the well-being of the children.

Moreover, the case of lack of recreational activities at schools and the lack of facilities has led to the unwanted use of drugs by teenagers. During the FDGs, concerned respondents expressed that some learners were introduced to dangerous drugs. Reports of such incidents have reached the authorities, raising significant concerns about the influence of these vehicles on young people. A key informant who works at Tariro Clinic as a community health officer summed up the problem as follows:

It has come to our attention that children are being exposed to dangerous drugs at a young age. Reports indicate that teenage boys are the primary users of these drugs, and this has had a negative impact on their school attendance and academic performance. One of the main reasons for the increase in substance abuse is the failure to choose good friends. It has been noted that mishikashikas are responsible for distributing drugs, and the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP) conducts random stops and checks to address the issue. However, it is challenging to identify a car that looks like a mishikashika, which limits the effectiveness of these efforts. As a result, some students are skipping lessons or returning home late at night, which in turn is affecting their academic performance and harming the reputation of their schools (Interview with community leader, Southlea Park, 2022).

The primary informant has disclosed the significant impact of drug use within the community. An observed correlation exists between the transportation of children by "mushikashika" vehicles and the influx of drugs within the peri-urban area. This correlation has wider ramifications, leading to the disturbance of schooling for some children, potentially perpetuating the cycle of poverty.

6.3 DISPARITIES IN INCOME OPPORTUNITIES AND IMPACTS ON LIVELIHOODS IN HARARE SOUTH PERI-URBAN

The residents of Harare South peri-urban encounter substantial economic disparities, leading to varying degrees of social exclusion, which are predominantly influenced by the unequal

distribution of income opportunities. These disparities have resulted in significant challenges for the community, impacting access to resources, infrastructure, and overall quality of life. The complex interplay between economic disparity and social exclusion unveils broader impacts on livelihoods. This section delves into economic disparities and their impact on the peri-urban area's lives.

6.3.1 A Blend of Urban Agriculture and Informal Economy

Urban agriculture and the informal economy are closely linked as vital livelihood strategies for peri-urban residents in Harare. Scoones (2015) postulates that Participating in urban agriculture can broaden sources of income and provide essential additional earnings for urban residents, especially during economic uncertainty. Numerous households in Harare South peri-urban engage in small-scale farming to complement their earnings from informal sector pursuits like street vending, artisanal crafts, and small retail enterprises. This diversification serves to reduce economic vulnerabilities and offers a buffer against food scarcity and joblessness.

During the FDGs, all fifteen households indicated that they maintained a vegetable garden. Among them, seven households derive their income from cultivating vegetables on their land. The Moyo family, residing in Harare South, serves as a prime example of this dynamic. Comprising Johannes, his spouse Paida, their three children, and Johannes' elderly mother, the family sustains itself through a combination of urban farming and participation in the informal economy. Johannes operates as a street vendor, selling fruits and vegetables sourced from local farmers and his wife's garden. Sarah, on the other hand, manages a small agricultural plot where she cultivates maize, tomatoes, sweet potatoes, and leafy greens, meeting a significant portion of the family's dietary needs. Moreover, she generates extra income by selling excess produce at the local market and crafting and vending woven baskets and handmade jewellery at a nearby informal marketplace.

Paida tends to a small plot of land near her home by the Manyame River, cultivating maize, tomatoes, and leafy vegetables. Despite its size, this plot plays a crucial role in meeting the family's food requirements and lessening their reliance on store-bought groceries. Any excess harvest is marketed locally, boosting their earnings. Paida mentioned:

In the early morning, we work together to fetch water for both our drip irrigation system and our household use. My eldest son helps me before he goes to work, and after school around 2 pm, my mother, other son, and daughter help with the garden. Later, my husband Tonderai comes and takes the fresh vegetables to sell to people coming from work. Our strategy is different because we sell fresh vegetables, unlike others who spend all day in the sun. This approach works well for us, as we earn at least US\$20 per day. Some vendors buy from us because our vegetables are fresh, and even our neighbours come to buy directly from our house (source?).

Johannes' street vending business plays a vital role in the family's financial earnings. He procures fresh produce from local farmers, including crops from his wife's garden, and markets them in the lively streets of Harare. Sarah's handmade artisanal products, such as intricately woven baskets and unique jewellery pieces, are showcased at a Mbudzi informal market, drawing in a diverse range of customers, both local residents and visitors.

The synergy of urban agriculture and informal sector endeavours supports the Moyo family in navigating economic uncertainties. In instances where John encounters obstacles in his street vending enterprise, like decreased customer flow in the wet season, the revenue generated from Sarah's agricultural yields and handcrafted items acts as a pivotal safety net. This varied income stream is essential in a setting where traditional job prospects are limited and erratic. The Moyo family's case showcases the critical interplay between urban agriculture and the informal economy in Harare South. Through their involvement in these sectors, they broaden their sources of income, mitigate economic risks, and fortify their ability to withstand food shortages and joblessness. While urban agriculture is not formally recognised or supported by local authorities, the Moyo family and many others benefit from informal community arrangements and occasional NGO support. However, peri-urban farmers encounter challenges, such as land tenure insecurity and lack of access to formal credit, which curtail their potential for expansion and enhancement.

Urban agriculture is vital for income generation, providing a consistent source of fresh vegetables and enhancing food security. For some families, it also serves as a buffer against fluctuating food prices in the market. Despite these benefits, not all urban farmers in the peri-urban area experience the same level of food security and income generation projects. Some face challenges due to the loss of arable land caused by rapid urbanisation in Harare's peri-urban areas. According to Davies et al. (2021), urban farming goes beyond cultivating food within the city; it involves repurposing

the urban landscape for productive and sustainable uses. Harare South periphery appears to be in contrast with the ideal.

The repurposing of former agricultural land for urban land use threatens livelihoods and food security for some. Chipo and her family were affected by the recent repurposing of land close to the Masvingo highway. The Chipo and her family previously relied on a small plot of land where they grew sweet potatoes, vegetables and maize. However, due to a recent Harare-Beitbridge Road rehabilitation, the authorities claimed their plot was for commercial development. The family received no compensation, and they lost their primary source of food and supplementary income. Chipo narrated as follows:

My family has lost our agricultural land, and it has become difficult for us to secure enough food. We now rely entirely on purchased food, but with limited income, it's hard to afford three meals a day. As a result, we often skip meals or opt for less nutritious and cheaper food, affecting our health and well-being. I work as a full-time hairdresser and vendor, and my husband is a kombi driver, but our combined incomes are not enough to cover our monthly expenses. Since we haven't found any available land nearby for agriculture due to urban expansion, my husband is considering looking for land near Beatrice, which is far from the city but still accessible (Interview with Chipo, Southlea Park, 2022).

The lack of diversified income sources has left Chipo's family vulnerable to economic shocks. The limited and unpredictable income from Peter's (Husband) driving and Chipo's occasional sales are insufficient to cover basic needs, let alone emergencies. The family's financial instability has led to mounting debts and an inability to pay for school fees or healthcare.

Chipo and her family's plight demonstrate the severe consequences of losing access to agricultural land in a peri-urban area. The absence of their plot has resulted in food insecurity and limited income prospects, worsening their economic vulnerability. It emerged that the loss of land due to urban use was impacting those who depended on agriculture as a form of food security and income generation. This situation underscores the imperative need for policies safeguarding urban agriculture, providing compensation and support for displaced families, and establishing sustainable income opportunities for peri-urban residents.

The two scenarios illustrate the delicate nature of peri-urban agriculture. The experiences of the Moyo and Chipo families emphasise the vital role of urban agriculture and the informal economy in supporting peri-urban livelihoods. The Moyo family benefits from various income streams and robust community backing, while the Chipo family faces challenges due to the diminishing agricultural land, resulting in heightened economic fragility and food insecurity. Potts (2012) discusses how eliminating urban agricultural land disturbs the intricate equilibrium of food production and consumption within cities, resulting in increased food insecurity and income loss for numerous households. This disruption has several cascading effects that often result in a rise in informal activities as households and individuals seek alternative means of survival and income generation.

The income generated from selling surplus produce was a crucial component of many households' earnings, and the loss of this income source has heightened economic vulnerability and financial instability. Sarah from the Moyo family expressed how the earnings from her vegetable sales were essential for covering school fees and unexpected expenses and losing this income stream would severely impact their financial stability. To compensate for lost agricultural income, displaced urban farmers have turned to various informal sector activities, including street vending, small retail businesses, and artisanal crafts. Chipo, after losing her agricultural land, began selling homemade crafts and snacks at informal markets to make up for the lost income from farming.

Marange, another affected resident, noted, "I used to earn a good amount from selling vegetables from my garden. Now, without the land, I have had to become a money changer, which is less stable and more competitive. It's been a tough adjustment" (Interview with Marange, Southlea Park, 2022). Limited formal employment opportunities have led to a surge in informal economic activities, with individuals taking up low-barrier entry jobs such as street vending, domestic work, and informal transport services. For instance, Peter, faced with a lack of consistent formal job prospects, has resorted to working as a kombi driver to provide for his family. The expansion of the informal sector in peri-urban areas is attributed to the necessity of survival in the urban environment.

Ruth, who now works as a general hand, remarked, “Without our garden, we spend so much more on food. We have had to cut back on healthcare and school fees just to make ends meet. It feels like we are constantly struggling” (Interview with Ruth, Southlea Park, 2022). The financial strain of losing agricultural income pushes households into debt, further entrenching them in poverty and making it difficult to recover financially. The loss of agricultural land, which affects 75% of households, is another significant impact. Illegal subdivisions and the sale of land reduce the availability of arable land for farming, directly impacting food production and supplementary income. Zvirewo, a displaced farmer, expressed his dismay, stating, "The land we used for farming was divided and sold as residential plots. Now, we have no space to grow our vegetables." This loss not only leads to food insecurity but also forces families to rely entirely on purchased food, which is often more expensive and less fresh.

The findings reveal the profound and multifaceted effects of eliminating urban agricultural land on peri-urban households in Harare South. The loss of agricultural plots leads to increased food insecurity, income loss, economic vulnerability, and a rise in informal activities as households strive to cope with the resulting challenges.

6.3.1.1 Changing rainfall patterns and decline in farming viability

The impact of changing rainfall patterns on agricultural viability in Southlea Park has become a critical issue for local farmers, significantly affecting their livelihoods and the overall sustainability of farming in the area. Through interviews and observations, several key themes have emerged, highlighting the challenges the farming community faces as they adapt to these environmental changes.

One of the most pressing issues farmers report is the increasing unpredictability of the rainy season. Traditionally, the farmers in Southlea Park could rely on a relatively stable seasonal calendar, but recent years have seen a marked shift in rainfall patterns. A local farmer shared,

We used to know exactly when to plant and harvest. The rhythms of the seasons were predictable, and we could rely on the rains to come when needed. But now, the rains have become erratic and unreliable. Sometimes they come too late, other times too early, and when they do arrive, they can be so heavy that our crops either dry

out or get washed away before they have a chance to grow. The uncertainty has turned what was once a dependable way of life into a constant struggle.

Urban farming has been a lifeline for those of us who face food insecurity. In the past, we could plough larger pieces of land, and our harvests were bountiful enough to feed our families and share with others. But as more people started building homes, the land available for farming has shrunk. When household stands were pegged, we lost access to the larger plots we once relied on. Now, we have to ask permission to farm on the small pieces of land that remain.

Some of the new households that haven't yet built on their plots allow us to use their land for farming. They understand the importance of growing food locally, especially when resources are so scarce. By ploughing these small plots, we can still produce some vegetables and other crops to supplement our diets. It's not much, but it helps ensure that there's at least some extra food available within our community. However, the changing climate continues to challenge even these efforts, as the rains become more unpredictable and the land we have to work with becomes smaller and more fragmented (Interview with Chipso, Southlea Park, 2022).

The need to ask for permission to farm on someone else's land illustrates the importance of social networks and community relationships. These informal agreements are critical to how communities adapt to changes and maintain some level of food production. However, they also highlight the precarious nature of land access and the potential for conflict or exclusion.

The economic constraints new landowners face, who might choose to farm temporarily while saving to build, reflect the broader economic challenges in urban areas. Land's dual role as both a potential home and a means of sustenance underscores the pressures low-income urban dwellers face, who must navigate a complex landscape of survival strategies.

In addition to the unpredictable rainfall, the increasing occurrence of dry spells and drought-like conditions has further strained agricultural production. The lack of sufficient rain during critical growth periods has forced many of us to reconsider our traditional crop choices. As one farmer explained, "We have had to move away from the crops we used to grow because they simply don't survive anymore. Now, we're planting crops that need less water, but they don't bring in as much money" (Interview with Chipso, Southlea Park, 2022).

This shift to less water-dependent crops indicates our community's efforts to adapt to the changing climate. However, it also reflects the difficult trade-offs we must make. These new crops, though more resilient in the face of erratic weather patterns, often yield less profit and do not provide the same income level as the traditional varieties we once relied on. The economic implications are significant, as reduced profitability directly affects our livelihoods and our ability to invest in future farming activities.

Despite these challenges, urban farming remains a vital lifeline, especially as more people move into the area and the land available for cultivation shrinks. The practice of ploughing on smaller plots, often with the permission of new landowners who have not yet built on their stands, has become increasingly common. While this ensures that some extra food, like vegetables, is still available locally, the combination of limited land and less profitable crops underscores the precarious nature of our current situation.

6.3.2 Informal Sector Barons and Their Impact on Income Opportunities

Harare South Peri-urban unveils some engrossing details about income opportunities and spatial distribution of economic opportunities. The rise of barons in Harare South peri-urban areas has significantly impacted income opportunities for low-income residents. Land and space barons, individuals or groups who illegally acquire and sell land, exploit the vulnerabilities of low-income households, leading to various socio-economic challenges. In this section we explore the experiences of affected residents, highlighting the adverse effects of land baron activities on their livelihoods.

Urban space invasions by informal have been witnessed across Zimbabwe. Harare has had more spaces invaded due to a high population than other cities. This dynamic is well represented in Harare South peri-urban. A bustling informal trade network exists along the Harare- Masvingo highway towards the city's periphery. Located on the fringes is Mbudzi Mall which was specifically constructed to cater for informal traders such as vendors. According to Mr Wilbur, a representative of the Mbudzi Mall, the mall services more than 250,000 people residing in surrounding areas.

The daily economic activities around Mbudzi Mall illustrate the intricate dynamics of informal trading and urban space governance. Informal traders at Mbudzi Mall estimate that, on average, each vendor earns approximately US\$10 daily. With over 1,000 vendors operating around the mall, this equates to an estimated US\$10,000 in daily informal economic activity. These earnings are not without cost; traders often pay daily fees to "space barons," individuals or groups with deep political connections who control access to trading spaces. These gatekeepers, who frequently operate outside the law, enforce payments through coercive means, including bribing law enforcement or acting as enforcers themselves. Non-compliance with their demands can result in severe penalties, further entrenching their authority over urban spaces.

This influence extends beyond Mbudzi Mall, as space barons maintain control over various urban areas, including Caledonia, Chitungwiza, and key spaces around Harare's city center. A city planner interviewed in 2023 highlighted how informal traders, with the support of space barons, have encroached on sidewalks near High Glen and Westgate malls—spaces originally intended for formal businesses and retail. Despite numerous attempts by Old Mutual, the mall owners, to engage law enforcement and reclaim these spaces, informal trading persists. This highlights a persistent governance challenge where the influence of space barons undermines formal planning efforts and exacerbates spatial inequality, limiting access to well-designed urban spaces for low-income groups

Further into the operations of the space barons, it was reported by informal traders and also witnessed during the fieldwork that space barons assist the vendors when police and local authorities' raids are about to happen. The police are known to tip off the barons of the impending raids to restore order. Larry, a money changer, commented: "The money paid to the barons now comes to use as they advise the people to move their things before the police come. In the case of some traders being arrested, they play a critical role in their release but at a cost to the vendor" (Interview with Larry, Southlea Park, 2022). The Space Barons are central figures in safeguarding livelihoods but at a cost. This demonstrates an adverse relationship.

The activities of space barons disrupt established communities, fragmenting social networks crucial for resilience. David, a vendor, expressed frustration: "The rising influence of space barons

post-2011 tore apart our community. Organising resistance seems futile; they wield significant power and influence. Our support system crumbled, leaving us isolated and less equipped to face economic struggles” (Interview with David, Southlea Park, 2022). Space barons operating outside the legal framework undermine social networks and income opportunities, contributing to corruption, weakening socio-economic cohesion, and complicating efforts to enforce land use regulations and urban planning.

The involvement of the barons in the land dispute in Harare South has adversely affected low-income households. John, a resident of Southlea Park, recounted his experience: "We purchased our plot from a man who assured us of its legality. However, a few months later, city officials declared our land as illegally acquired, leading to our eviction without compensation" (Interview with John, Southlea Park, 2022). This pattern is widespread, with space barons targeting financially vulnerable communities ill-equipped to navigate formal land acquisition processes. These individuals often exploit residents by selling or leasing land and property at exorbitant prices, enforcing unfair terms on buyers or tenants. Moreover, many transactions lack authentic legal documentation, leaving residents with informal or counterfeit papers that offer no legal safeguard or assurance of tenure.

The presence of land barons in Harare South peri-urban areas significantly undermines the socio-economic stability of low-income residents. The survey, conducted on 50 households, highlighted the pressing issue of increased land tenure insecurity. Shockingly, 85% of affected households lack proper legal documentation for their land, leading to constant threats of eviction and a pervasive sense of instability. Tarakidzwa, a resident affected by this issue, shared thus: "We acquired our plot from an individual who assured us of its legal status. However, a few months later, city officials informed us that the land had been illegally obtained. As a result, we were compelled to vacate the property without compensation." This uncertainty not only discourages investment in sustainable agricultural practices but also hinders other long-term income-generating activities, further destabilizing residents' livelihoods.

Exploitation and increased costs prevail, with 90% of households citing inflated land prices and high living expenses due to inadequate infrastructure and services. Land barons capitalize on the

soaring demand for affordable land by selling plots at exorbitant rates, plunging many families into debt. Peter, a low-income resident, along with a Kombi driver, shared, "We paid a hefty sum for our land, leaving us with limited resources for other essentials. Now, we are burdened with debt and grappling to meet our needs" (Interview with Peter, Southlea Park, 2022). The absence of amenities like water, electricity, and sanitation compounds the financial strain on these households, heightening the daily struggle for survival.

Furthermore, 70% of households have limited access to formal credit due to the lack of legal title deeds. Without proper documentation, residents are unable to use their land as collateral to obtain loans, which limits their ability to invest in income-generating activities and improve their livelihoods. Chipso, a resident, shared the following: "We do not have proper title deeds, so we cannot get loans to start a business or improve our home. This keeps us trapped in poverty. " As a result, many people are compelled to resort to informal lending sources with high interest rates, leading to cycles of debt and financial instability.

Overall, the findings reveal the profound negative impacts of land baron activities on low-income residents in Harare South peri-urban areas. Addressing these issues requires comprehensive legal and policy reforms to secure land tenure, improve governance, and ensure that affordable housing and business spaces are available through legitimate and regulated channels. By doing so, the adverse impacts on affected communities can be mitigated, fostering a more stable and prosperous environment for all residents.

6.3.2.1 Dual exploitation by barons in Harare South

In Harare South, land and urban space barons exploit vulnerable populations not only through illegal land sales but also by running high-interest loan businesses. This dual exploitation traps low-income residents in cycles of poverty and debt, exacerbating their socio-economic challenges. The lived experiences of affected individuals highlight the severity and complexity of this exploitation. Landowners in Harare South engage in exploitative lending practices, offering high-interest loans (referred to as Chimbadzo) to impoverished and low-income families who have already fallen victim to the illegal sale of land and the allocation of vending space.

These loans often come with exorbitant interest rates, some as high as 35%, making it extremely challenging for borrowers to repay the principal amount. Maria, a money changer, recounted her experience, stating that "After purchasing land at a high price from the landowner, we did not have sufficient funds for my tuck shop. We sought a loan from Loan Sharks. We later discovered that the loan business owner was the same land baron selling people's land. The exorbitant interest rates made it unfeasible for us to meet the repayment obligations." This scenario is pervasive among residents who, having been tricked in land transactions, find themselves further entangled in debt due to these high-interest loans.

The high-interest loans provided by land barons ensnare borrowers in a debt trap, perpetuating a cycle of financial struggle. Residents find themselves in a relentless loop of borrowing to settle existing debts, unable to break free from the grip of financial hardship. This continuous borrowing not only exacerbates economic instability but also intensifies stress levels within the community. Mercy, a resident who was deeply affected by this situation, shared her experience by saying:

We acquired a loan to purchase a kombi with the expectation that its operations would generate enough revenue to cover the loan. However, the unpredictable nature of running a kombi, coupled with accumulating interest, thwarted our plans. Now, a significant portion of our earnings is devoted to debt repayment, leaving us with little to no room for savings or investments in our future (Interview with Mercy, Southlea Park, 2022).

This destructive debt cycle hinders families from enhancing their financial well-being, pushing them into a perpetual state of financial anguish. These loans do not alleviate financial difficulties; instead, they lead to more severe economic distress.

The financial burden of high-interest loans worsens poverty among low-income families. Instead of alleviating their financial struggles, these loans lead to even greater economic hardship. Chiedza, a resident struggling to repay her loan, said "We thought the loan would help pay school fees for my children, but it only made things worse. It took me nearly two years to pay back a loan that was meant to be a 6-month loan" (Interview with Chiedza, Southlea Park, 2022). The intention behind taking these loans was to navigate through financial difficulties, but the reality is that they push families further into poverty.

In cases where borrowers default on their loans, land barons seize their assets, including their illegally acquired land and any other valuables. This results in the complete loss of livelihoods and shelter for many families. Mazvita, a former landowner in the peri-urban area, recounted her experience: “When we could not repay the loan, the baron took our land and everything we had. We were now renting and trying to start over from nothing” (Interview with Mazvita, Southlea Park, 2022). The loss of assets means families not only lose their homes but also their major investments. The residents reported several cases of this extortion, revealing that some have lost cars, house furniture and even stock for their businesses. Mercy reflected on her experience and remarked, “We are continuously struggling to keep up with payments. The money we borrowed was meant to assist us, but instead, it’s worsening our situation every day” (Interview with Mercy, Southlea Park, 2022).

The issue of land barons in Harare South peri-urban areas is intricate, leading to adverse effects on low-income residents, including heightened land tenure insecurity and economic exploitation. Scholars such as Kurebwa (2020) and Matamanda et al., (2024) argue that these practices worsen socio-economic challenges. Conversely, Deininger et al. (2010) and Payne and Durand-Lasserve (2012) propose that, despite their shortcomings, land barons bridge crucial gaps in the formal housing market, providing land access to the urban poor. The findings of this study reveal that the impacts of these barons are complex and serve to perpetuate the exploitation of those already vulnerable. This, in turn, creates a loop of inequality.

The combination of land sales and high-interest loan businesses operated by land barons compounds the vulnerability of low-income residents. These practices strip them of their financial resources, destabilize their lives, and perpetuate a cycle of poverty.

6.3.3 Isolation from Formal Jobs and the Impact on Income from Precarious Informal Day Jobs

Harare South peri-urban residents face high unemployment rates, with many lacking the necessary qualifications for academic employment. This is exacerbated by limited access to quality education and vocational training, leading to a significant skills gap. This is illustrated by the table below of respondents stating their highest education and vocational training experience:

Age Group	'O' Level	'A' Level	Vocational Training	University Degree
18-24	2	1	0	0
25-31	3	4	2	0
32-45	4	2	2	2
45+	1	0	1	0
	10	7	5	2

Figure 6.3: Level of Educational Experience and Vocational Training

The illustration shows that traders in and around the peri-urban areas have limited academic experience and vocational training. This limits their opportunities for formal jobs that require such qualifications. Respondents indicate that formal jobs are difficult to obtain for various reasons. Muchabaiwa's experience, despite having a diploma in business studies, reflects this issue as he remains underemployed in a physically demanding job:

I work in dispatch at a hardware store here (Mbudzi shops). Our store offers a wide range of materials for storage, and we cater to clients who visit us for their purchases. My job involves a lot of manual labour, which can sometimes be quite tiring. Nevertheless, I have no qualms about coming to work as I usually start my day full of energy. My job is often more challenging than others, as I not only deal with the physical exhaustion from work but also face the ordeal of a problematic and exhausting transit home at the end of the day. I cannot help but feel hopeless when I look at my business studies diploma hanging on the wall. It seems like it holds no value in today's economy, especially when so many other graduates struggle to find work. It is a discouraging situation to be in. The economy is largely informal, so finding a formal job is nearly impossible. (Interview with Muchabaiwa, Harare South, 2022).

Muchabaiwa's perspective on the economy reflects a common reality. Most respondents mentioned the ongoing decline of the national economy, with the formal sector diminishing and the informal sector becoming the primary source of income. Charity, a trader at Mbudzi, highlighted the discouraging impact of the Zimbabwean economy on education and job prospects. She chose to forego further education due to her mother's struggle to secure formal employment after graduation. Currently, she works with her mother at their shop (Interview with Charity, Harare South, 2022). The instances above exemplify the preference for the informal sector as a

viable income source. Respondents expressed concerns about irregular income due to the unpredictability of certain informal trades.

The Mbudzi roundabout stands as an icon in the Harare South area. The roundabout serves as a four-way intersection connecting several key areas: people traveling from Chitungwiza to the east, Glenora, Budiriro, and Highfields to the west, the Central Business District (CBD) and southern regions extending as far as South Africa, as well as Harare's peri-urban areas. To the north, it facilitates outbound traffic leaving the city. This roundabout also marks a significant entry point into the city. This is an important feature which, since 2022, has been closed off for upgrading to an interchange to separate traffic. This has impacted the livelihoods of those who made a living by trading at the roundabout.

The closure of the Mbudzi roundabout, a crucial traffic node in Harare South, has had profound implications for the livelihoods of vendors and traders who previously relied on this bustling area for their daily income. This essay examines the multifaceted impact of this infrastructure development on the local informal economy, highlighting the economic challenges, adaptation strategies, and broader social implications for the affected individuals.

I stayed in Southlea Park and came here daily to sell my stuff and make a living. The interchange construction negatively impacted my business because moving away from the roundabout meant finding new customers and even fewer sales, whereas here, I had regulars. I relocated to Hopley, where rentals were cheaper since I started making less. I have been selling some of my products along Hopley Road (Interview with Mazvita, Southlea Park, 2022).

We moved from the old roundabout, so we looked for alternative locations, but since it was a new area, we did not know how things would go. People did not move too far away from the general Mbudzi area. Now, people are spread out from Boka sells to the new traffic light. The interchange has brought new opportunities for Hopley residents, as some now charge people selling along the road to use their toilets. I have not been affected much since I am mobile as a money changer (Interview with Tambirai, Southlea Park, 2022).

The closure of the Mbudzi roundabout necessitated the relocation of many vendors and traders, significantly disrupting established trade patterns. Vendors who had cultivated a regular customer base at the roundabout found themselves forced to find new locations and rebuild their clientele

from scratch. For instance, Mazvita, a vendor who had been operating at the roundabout, experienced a substantial drop in sales after moving to Hopley. This relocation not only disrupted her business operations but also severed the stable customer relationships she had built over time.

The economic impact of the roundabout closure has had severe implications for numerous traders. Initially, there was a marked decline in revenue. For instance, traders like Mazvita experienced a notable drop in profits, leading to difficulties in meeting daily expenses and sustaining their enterprises. The escalation of competition in alternative trading locations compounded these difficulties, with an influx of vendors converging on limited spaces to capture a shrinking customer base. This heightened competition further strained their already fragile financial positions.

In response to these challenges, vendors have utilized various adaptation and coping strategies. Some traders explored alternative markets or established new business opportunities to maintain their livelihoods. For example, Tambirai seized the opportunity of the new interchange by implementing a fee for toilet usage, showcasing resilience and ingenuity in the face of adversity. Moreover, to alleviate financial pressure, vendors like Mazvita opted to relocate to areas with lower rental fees, thus lowering operational expenses although not completely compensating for the income shortfall.

The closure of the roundabout has had a profound impact on the daily lives and well-being of the affected vendors. A primary issue is the increased travel times and costs, as vendors now must commute longer distances to reach their new trading spots. This not only adds to their daily operational expenses but also contributes to physical and mental fatigue. The uncertainty of finding new customers and the instability of their income sources add substantial stress to their lives, exacerbating feelings of insecurity and anxiety.

The displacement of vendors from the roundabout area also affected community and social dynamics. Regular interactions with customers and fellow traders were disrupted, leading to a sense of isolation for some individuals. Despite these challenges, community networks played a crucial role in providing support. Vendors relied on these networks to find new trading spots, share information, and navigate the difficulties posed by their relocation. This reliance on community

support underscores the importance of social networks in mitigating the adverse effects of such disruptions.

The brief-lived realities above illustrate the volatile nature of the informal sector in Harare. The Mbudzi interchange, reportedly costing US\$88 million (*The Herald*, April 10, 2022), is one of the most extensive infrastructure developments post-independence. Although most motorists have embraced the traffic separation concept, the fate of the informal traders who previously relied on the highway remains unknown. The exclusion of these traders from the development process has plunged many into poverty.

The US\$88 million included compensation for property owners affected by the new interchange's development. Informal traders were never compensated because they traded illegally, although they made a living in the area. The interchange symbolises Zimbabwe's Vision 2030 of becoming a middle-income economy. However, for Harare South peri-urban, this reality differs from the expressed perception of those residing and trading in the area. During a focus group discussion, many participants highlighted that the interchange primarily benefits individuals who profit from such constructions. Yet, for most residents near the interchange, it does not help put food on their tables.

Furthermore, some people questioned the government's priorities with the amount of money being spent on the interchange, given the collapsed state of the economy. What was also interesting was that some people were not aware of the total cost of the interchange. A few people commented as follows:

US\$88 million could have been used to uplift the whole of Harare south from poverty. Given the dire state of the economy, it is a lot of money to go into one project. An interchange of that nature could not have cost US\$88 million. In South Africa, the interchanges, which are far more prominent and complicated, have not amounted to that exorbitant figure.

The community is not well informed about this project. It is difficult for us to understand where the money is being spent. We thought many local young people would have been given jobs as part of the construction. To our surprise, some companies have their employees (Interview with Resident, Southlea Park, 2022).

The Mbudzi interchange highlights another instance of the formal economy interacting with the informal economy. The two economies appear to be disjointed. While the Mbudzi interchange is part of an extensive Beitbridge-Harare-Chirundu highway project, it is meant to connect the country with regional trading routes. An engineer in the Ministry of Transport stated the national benefits of massive infrastructure in the country. According to the engineer, Zimbabwe is a landlocked country and serves as a crucial conduit for connecting South Africa with Zambia, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), and Malawi. This position plays a vital role in facilitating economic trade and development (Interview with an engineer, Harare, 2022).

There is a clear difference in perspective between the informal trader's community and the broader formal economy in Zimbabwe. While debates rage over the economy, less attention is given to the spatial distribution of resources and the long-term impact of the informal and formal divide. One critical issue, especially in Harare's southern peri-urban areas, is the illegality of certain properties and housing developments. Yet, a world-class construction of an interchange exists in the same area. This exacerbates adverse incorporation and social exclusion.

The following passages describe the formal and informal sectors of employment and livelihood opportunities based on the personal experiences of different individuals. These passages offer insights into how people perceive and manage their livelihoods. Let us take a closer look:

I am Brenda, and I work as a supervisor at a Life Insurance Company. My daily commute to work involves driving, which makes it relatively easy, although the traffic congestion can sometimes be a hassle. As a practice, I always leave my house at 5:45 am to ensure that I reach my work by 7:15 am on time. It is interesting to note that someone with the right credentials and enough experience can access proper job opportunities regardless of their geographical location. In my case, I primarily work in the city centre, where formal job opportunities are available, even though I reside on the city's edge. At present, I am in the process of completing my post-graduate studies so I can get better opportunities. However, I have observed that local opportunities in Southlea Park are mostly informal and inconsistent due to our area's low level of economic activity. Unfortunately, economic opportunities in our locality are limited as many opportunities are centralised in the uptown area. Nevertheless, this does not discourage me from searching for job opportunities. As long as one can perform their tasks diligently and remain committed, no one cares about where you live. It is the skills and dedication that matter most in the professional world (Interview with Brenda, Southlea Park, 2022).

“Ndinovaka dzimba (I build houses) is what I proudly proclaim. I learned this skill from my uncle, who is also a builder. For me, this is not just a job; it's my only livelihood since I do not have any academic qualifications. I take on this responsibility to support my mother and siblings and find purpose in it. Most of my work revolves around the local areas of Southlea Park, Stoneridge, and Ushewekunze. Being a builder requires constant energy and motivation; any lack of it can lead to mistakes that can be costly. I started as a daka boy (cement mixer), learning the art of meticulously preparing concrete and mortar mixtures. Over time, I have gained enough experience and trust to build a house from start to finish confidently. Unfortunately, the underperforming economy sometimes leaves us without work, as people can't afford to build. On occasions when our clients manage to get some materials, we get the opportunity to work and earn a living. To make ends meet during lean times, I also work part-time, selling vegetables and other foodstuffs alongside my mother. While seeking better opportunities in other areas with rising formal construction companies might seem tempting, I choose to stay here. I've become tried and tested in this community and leaving it behind would be difficult. Moreover, the wages offered by construction companies are often quite low, making it less appealing to join them. So, for now, I will continue to proudly build houses and do my part to keep my family afloat (Interview with Tonde, Southlea Park, 2022).

All the stories hint at how the geography of opportunity can sustain social exclusion. Most formal opportunities are centralised, and distance adds an extra layer of adversity. Education and skill levels are both an asset and a form of adverse incorporation. Muchabaiwa and Howard are educated but are underemployed. Tonde, with no formal education, has been able to carve a niche for himself but remains vulnerable to economic fluctuations. This is a common sight to find underemployed and unemployed graduates in the city and the country. This is because of the prolonged economic decline in Zimbabwe. Both formal and informal credit systems are rigged against the disadvantaged, highlighting a common form of adverse incorporation.

6.3.2.2 The exclusion of local residents from participation in infrastructure development and other income generation activities.

The development of the Mbudzi interchange initially failed to employ local residents, despite the significant labour needs of the project. This exclusion not only disappointed the local community but also denied the community an opportunity to boost the local economy through job creation. The residents revealed that TEFOMA the company constructing the Harare-Masvingo (A4) highway and the Mbudzi interchange did not show the desire to employ locals. Freddy, a sand seller commented,

When Tefoma arrived to clear the way for the highway and interchange, they completely ignored our pleas to be employed. I spoke to one of the workers who mentioned that the company was using its own employees for the construction. They said they might hire locals for non-construction jobs if any became available. This was a significant missed opportunity for many of us. For instance, those of us who sell sand and granite stones could have greatly benefited if they had chosen to purchase materials from us. We feel excluded from the development process in our own community. We are now marginalised in our ward, missing out on job opportunities and other prospects (Interview with Freddy, Harare South, 2022).

Freddy's comments emphasise the critical issue of how a lack of local labour for construction roles deprives the community of economic benefits from large projects and fosters a sense of marginalisation among locals.

Hiring external workers instead of local labour reduced individual workers' earnings and impacted small businesses like those in the construction materials industry. For example, Freddy's business, which specialises in selling sand and granite stones, could have seen increased sales if TEFOMA had chosen local sourcing. Amanda, who operates a mobile kitchen, mentioned,

TEFOMA employees dine at their company canteen. We, as local caterers, could have benefited from catering contracts. By excluding local businesses, TEFOMA missed a chance to boost the community's economy. Local vendors rely on such opportunities for their livelihoods. Our catering services extend beyond the community to informal sector workers and travellers to destinations like Johannesburg. Integrating local caterers could generate economic benefits and strengthen the project's ties to the community. It would showcase TEFOMA's support for the local economy, enhancing its reputation. This partnership could have provided stable income, supporting local businesses and economic resilience in Harare South (Interview with Amanda, Harare South, 2022).

The decision could have significantly enhanced the economic conditions in the community. The exclusion of local caterers from the Mbudzi interchange project represents a missed opportunity for community engagement and economic inclusivity. TEFOMA's failure to leverage the resources and expertise within the local community has further marginalized local businesses and disregarded the potential to foster a supportive and inclusive development environment.

The development process was perceived as top-down, with little to no consultation with local communities. This lack of inclusion in decision-making processes highlighted a disconnect

between the developers and the affected residents. The fear of the known grips the informal traders who used to make a living on the old roundabout. Caroline, a 40-year-old vendor, has been selling fruits and snacks at the Mbudzi roundabout for over 15 years. The bustling intersection was an ideal spot, with constant traffic and pedestrians providing a steady stream of customers. However, with the completion of the new interchange, Caroline faces an uncertain future. She expressed her views as follows; "I'm worried about what will happen once the interchange is complete," Caroline says. "The traffic will no longer stop here, and I am afraid people will just drive by without noticing us. This spot has been my livelihood for so long, and I do not know where else I can go." (Interview with Caroline, Harare South, 2022).

Caroline's fear is shared by many vendors who have relied on the roundabout's high traffic volume for their income. The prospect of non-stop traffic not only threatens their immediate earnings but also raises concerns about their long-term economic stability.

A key informant from the Mbudzi Interchange commented:

The interchange design prioritises the smooth flow of traffic, potentially reducing the number of stops where commuters could interact with vendors. With vehicles travelling at higher speeds and fewer stopping points, the environment might become less safe for vendors who attempt to set up stalls along the new roads. What surprises us is that the vendors do not choose to use Mbudzi Mall, located along the highway and much safer to operate from. The new highway will connect the mall to the access roads that are under construction (Interview with a Tefoma Engineer, Harare South, 2022)

The excerpt highlights the disparity between the formal and informal economy. Informal traders thrive on their proximity to people and their ability to swiftly engage with passersby. Their businesses hinge on the heavy foot traffic and spontaneous interactions prevalent at bustling intersections like the Mbudzi roundabout. For individuals like Caroline, the proximity to potential customers is paramount for their sustenance. Conversely, the formal economy, as symbolised by the Mbudzi interchange project, prioritises the smooth flow of vehicular traffic. The interchange's design optimises traffic movement, thereby reducing vehicle congestion and travel time. This emphasis on vehicular efficiency often neglects the requirements of informal traders who rely on substantial foot traffic.

6.4 CHAPTER SUMMARY

Spatial disparities in peri-urban areas, like Harare South, profoundly impact residents' access to vital social services, income opportunities, and overall well-being. The scarcity of healthcare and educational facilities poses significant challenges for the community. For example, a single clinic serves over 280,000 residents, leading to compromised healthcare standards due to the overwhelming nurse-to-patient ratio. Similarly, the educational infrastructure is inadequate, and overcrowded schools force families to seek better options in distant areas. This not only exposes families to long commutes but also hampers social cohesion as residents spend more time travelling for essential services, reducing their local community involvement.

The economic impacts in Harare South are profound. Residents rely on urban agriculture and informal sector activities for their livelihoods. Small-scale farming ensures food security and extra income, but urbanization and land loss threaten these sources. Land and space barons worsen the situation by exploiting low-income residents through illegal land sales and high-interest loans, perpetuating poverty cycles, undermining social ties, and fuelling economic instability.

The lack of formal job opportunities exacerbates the challenges. With high unemployment rates and limited access to quality education and vocational training, residents often rely on unstable informal jobs. While infrastructure projects like the Mbudzi interchange improve traffic flow, they have also displaced informal traders, leading to disruptions in their livelihoods and a need to adjust to less lucrative economic conditions. This displacement, along with the exclusion of residents from project employment, highlights a broader issue of marginalisation and exclusion in the development process.

In conclusion, the spatial disparities in Harare South peri-urban areas pose substantial social and economic challenges. Inadequate social services, economic exploitation, and limited access to formal job opportunities contribute to a persistent cycle of poverty and marginalisation. Resolving these disparities necessitates holistic policy reforms to enhance social service accessibility, ensure land tenure security, and establish sustainable economic prospects, nurturing a more cohesive and adaptable community.

CHAPTER 7

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL DYNAMICS SHAPING SPATIAL INCLUSION AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC ACCESS IN HARARE SOUTH PERI-URBAN

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Local and central governments in the Global South are increasingly grappling with informal economic activities. Authorities frequently develop bylaws, regulations, and frameworks that impede the legitimate and ethical recognition of the informal economy (Kamete 2013, Potts 2008). This chapter delves into the way political and social factors influence spatial inclusion and socio-economic access in the peri-urban areas of Harare South. By analysing the interplay between physical environments, social structures, and governance, the aim is to comprehend how these elements shape the integration of individuals and communities into broader societal contexts.

The chapter is structured into three main sections to elucidate the nature of inclusion at the periphery. The first section broadly addresses political and governance disparities that evoke interest. Here, the discussion encompasses political patronage and the government's response to rapid peri-urbanization. The second section delves into the impact of the regulatory environment on the Harare South Peri-urban area, examining ambiguity, lack of clarity, and selective enforcement of the law. The key highlights of the third section focus on the erosion of public trust in governance and strategies to navigate legal challenges. Finally, the chapter concludes with a discussion on incorporating the peri-urban area and its residents.

7.2 POLITICAL AND GOVERNANCE CIRCUMSTANCES REINFORCING ADVERSE TERMS OF INCORPORATION

Harare South peri-urban shows a clear mismatch between urban planning, governance, and the needs of the population. The differences between official government plans and the actual situation on the ground highlight the widespread informality in these areas. To understand this gap, it is important to analyse the connection between the legal framework and the residents. The upcoming sections will break down the data to uncover the complexities that lead to this disparity.

7.2.1 Hierarchy and Power in Spatial Use in Harare

Spatial design policies and directives in Zimbabwe are governed by hierarchical structures across government departments. Two main lines of authority govern land use: local government and national government. For instance, the Municipality of Harare, like all municipalities in Zimbabwe, fall under the Ministry of Local Government. A key informant who summarises the relationship between the municipal and national governments. He mentioned

Zimbabwe operates under a centralised government system, wherein a significant administrative authority is vested in the central government. The oversight of local governments, including municipalities such as Harare, falls under the purview of the Ministry of Local Government. Legislation such as the Urban Councils Act delineates the powers and responsibilities of urban councils in Zimbabwe. These laws require that urban councils, including the Harare City Council, maintain a reporting structure with the Ministry of Local Government to ensure national policies and regulations compliance. The Ministry of Local Government exercises oversight to ensure adherence to national standards and policies, encompassing financial management, urban planning, service delivery, and governance practices. (Interview with Key Informant from Local Government Ministry, Harare, 2023).

Centralised control can limit the autonomy of local governments, preventing them from making decisions tailored to their specific needs and circumstances. This has led to inefficiencies and delays in addressing local issues. Central control led to political interference in local governance. Decisions that should be made based on local priorities and needs might be influenced by national political considerations, which can undermine local democracy and governance. This chain of command introduces complexities, particularly in spatial design and transport-related matters. Figure 7.1 illustrates these institutional relationships, highlighting the intricate web of governance.

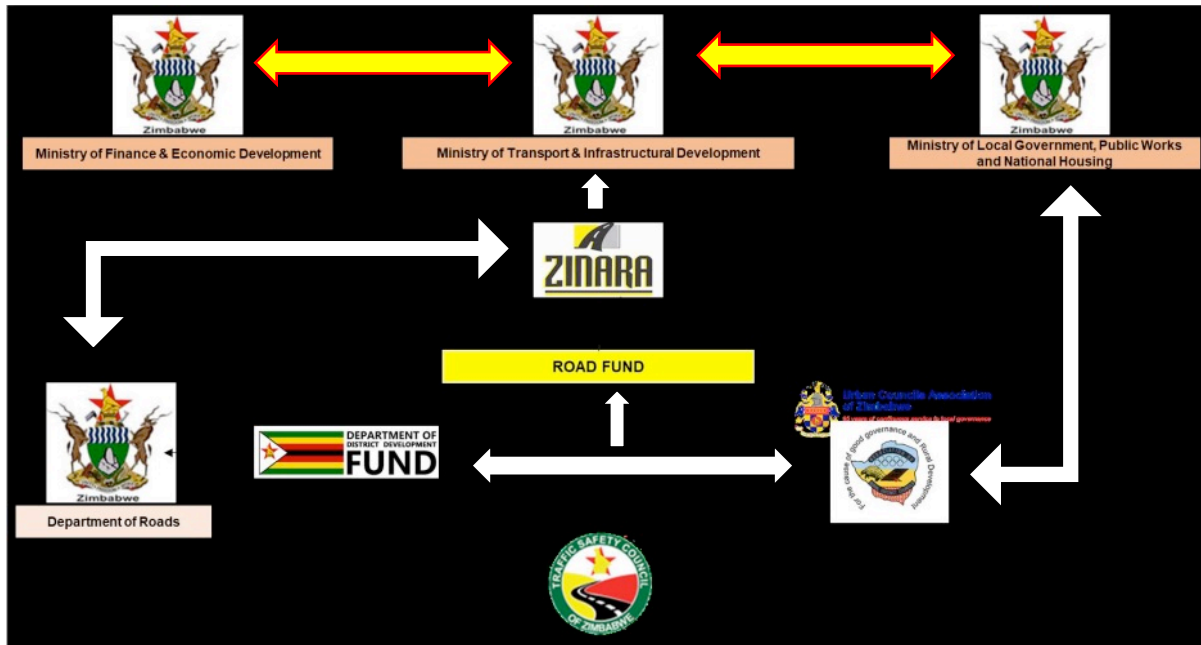


Figure 7.1: Institutional Relationships for the Road and Transport Sector in Zimbabwe (Ministry of Transport)

Government line ministries have and continue to play critical roles in spatial design as regulators and service providers. Government line institutional actors can either enable inclusion or provide barriers to access to transport services for certain population groups (Chirisa, 2017). In Zimbabwe, institutions have tended to provide barriers to spatial provision rather than play an enabling role. Take Figure 7.1 for a clear demonstration of complexities in road administration from a national level to an urban council. Three-line ministries have an overall say over design, funding and regulations. However, the city authorities align with government departments in the various ministries. A complex governance hierarchy weakens local authorities' power in designing urban spaces.

In practical terms, local authorities best design and administer urban spaces since they best deal with specific local issues. As Matjomane (2013) and Pieterse (2017) argue, local authorities, such as governors or Mayors, use the various departments as a tool to extend their executive powers. The ministry and the ministers at a national level also play this role. This setup of city administration is one of the leading causes of dysfunctional spatial designs and urban space sustainability.

In the city of Harare, power dynamics are characterised by a notable presence of the national government, particularly through the Ministry of Local Government. Local authorities, including the Harare City Council, often experience national directives overriding their decisions. This hierarchical framework impedes effective urban management and contributes to the inconsistent implementation of policies (Chirisa, 2017).

The maintenance and rehabilitation of roads in Harare have been sources of conflict. The Harare City Council has been criticised for the poor state of roads, but the council has argued that the Ministry of Local Government controls significant funding for road maintenance. In 2017, the government launched the Emergency Road Rehabilitation Programme to address the dilapidated road network, bypassing the city council and leading to tensions between the two entities.

Nairobi has a similar hierarchical structure to Harare, but it has made more significant efforts towards decentralisation by establishing the Nairobi City County under the devolved government system. However, despite these efforts, a significant amount of power remains with the national government, especially in areas such as land allocation and major infrastructure projects. This situation creates a scenario where local authorities struggle for autonomy and resources, similar to the challenges seen in Harare (Ouna, 2017).

In Harare, the power dynamics are characterised by a strong national government presence, particularly through the Ministry of Local Government. Local authorities, such as the Harare City Council, often find their decisions overridden by national directives. This hierarchical structure hampers effective urban management and leads to inconsistent policy implementation (Chirisa, 2017).

Hierarchical governance structures influence urban planning and spatial use in Harare and Nairobi. However, a notable difference lies in Nairobi's devolution efforts, which seek to empower local authorities significantly compared to those in Harare. Despite these efforts, both cities still grapple with the centralisation of power, which has critical implications for the effectiveness of urban management and spatial inclusion. This centralisation of power complicates decision-making processes and hampers the ability of local authorities to address the unique urban challenges faced

by both cities. Additionally, these governance dynamics may impact the equitable distribution of resources and the representation of diverse communities within the urban fabric.

The power dynamic in Zimbabwe's cities is critical to understanding the urban form. A Key Informant and former permanent secretary of the local government mentioned that:

The power dynamics are evident. Those at the top of the political hierarchy control everything, and their decisions often marginalise the less powerful. It's a system designed to maintain their control and influence. The hierarchy dictates who gets land, who receives development funds, and who benefits from government programs. This creates an environment where only a select few thrive while the majority remain marginalised and voiceless. The local leaders often use their positions to amass wealth and influence, perpetuating a cycle of inequality and exclusion (Interview with Key Informant, former permanent secretary, Harare, 2023).

The centralisation of power at the apex leads to a bottleneck effect, wherein decisions are made not necessarily in the best interests of the wider populace but to perpetuate the control and influence of the ruling class. The decision-making process often side-lines those outside the political elite, such as ordinary citizens, opposition supporters, and marginalised communities, leaving them with minimal influence on the development of urban spaces and allocation of resources. As noted by the former permanent secretary, the system systematically excludes the less powerful, rendering them voiceless and devoid of substantial influence over their living conditions.

Chapter 4 highlighted the governance of urban spaces driven by political power dynamics. One lecturer, a key informant, stated that the power structures that govern the city are of political rather than technical: “The mayor of Harare and other cities were stripped of their executive powers when the opposition party, Movement of Democratic Change, won most of the urban votes. The executive power rests with the ministries and the provincial ministers” (Interview with a lecturer, Harare, 2023).

Due to these contradictions and conflicted relationships, the local authority and central government consistently conflict regarding policy and program interventions. The provision of water services has been a major point of contention. The lecturer added:

The Harare City Council has often blamed the Ministry of Local Government for failing to provide adequate support and resources to improve water infrastructure, while the ministry has criticised the council for mismanagement and corruption. For instance, the persistent water shortages in Harare have been attributed to both inadequate funding from the central government and alleged mismanagement by the city authorities. Thus, no one is willing to take responsibility for the land use problems in Harare City (Interview with a lecturer, Harare, 2022).

This example illustrates the ongoing power struggles and lack of coordination between the City of Harare and the Ministry of Local Government, which have adversely affected land management, service delivery, and infrastructure maintenance.

A senior official from the City of Harare highlighted the ongoing tension between city by-laws and the Ministry of Local Government's interventions, noting that political squabbles are a key factor in the city's inability to effectively manage public services. The official explained, "We often conduct city clean-up campaigns to remove illegal public transport vehicles and vendors. The ministry sometimes suggests that we do not remove them until we provide them a space to operate. In the eyes of the public, we are the villains" (Interview with Harare City Senior Official, Harare, 2022). This lack of coordination, along with a broader absence of political will, has severely affected public transportation and other socioeconomic activities in the city.

The governing structure of the urban spaces is of dispute in nature at the top of the power pyramid. At the bottom end of the power pyramid, the same thing has been seen happening in land allocation in urban space. The same political power dynamics have been noted in Harare South in particular. The same political tension between Zanu PF and the opposition parties is realised. Gudyanga, a resident of Hopley, commented on the power dynamics of land allocation. "Stand allocations here (Hopley) are never about affordable housing but are of political compensation and vote buying failure to comply with the wishes of the ruling party, which results in the demolition of structures. Additionally, the CCC "Opposition" has power through the city council to destroy houses allocated by Zanu PF.

A key informant, who is a former local government employee in the national housing sector, provided the following comment:

Political patronage in land allocation creates a system where loyalty to the ruling party is rewarded with prime land and resources. This entrenches a culture of dependency on political figures and discourages opposition. The manipulation of land policies for political gain leads to unequal distribution, favouring those in power and their supporters while systematically excluding ordinary citizens and opposition supporters. (Interview with, local government official, Harare, 2023)

The urban governance structure is a subject of contention, reflecting broader political disputes. There is often conflict between the central government and local city councils, which are frequently controlled by opposing political parties, over control and decision-making. The manipulation of land policies for political gain leads to uneven development and persistent inequality. This results in those with political connections prospering while those without are marginalised and deprived of basic needs and opportunities. Additionally, the circumvention of laws creates parallel structures that distort urban form and development.

Evidence also points out that the peri-urban areas of most towns and cities are not exempted from these squabbles. In Gweru, “Youths forced to produce Zanu PF cards to get Gweru stands” (NewsHawk, March 10, 2022). In Gweru, “Marondera Council Blames ZANU PF for Elmswood Stands Saga” (Open Council, July 25, 2022). In both cases, Zanu PF and the opposition-led city councils contested land on the peri-urban. This evidence shows the same political rift dominating the peri-urban land use nationwide.

The primary use of the land makes the peri-urban land common ground for political contestation. Potts (2020) explores how land tenure and reform issues intersect with urban development and migration. For instance, land reform has influenced rural-urban migration patterns, as individuals moved to cities in search of economic opportunities if they could not access land for farming (Chirisa, 2018; Potts, 2018; Matamanda, 2018).

There have been instances where the ministry allocated land without consulting the city authorities, leading to disputes over the land's rightful ownership and proper usage. For example, in 2019, there were reports of the Ministry of Local Government allocating land to housing cooperatives without the approval of the Harare City Council, resulting in unplanned settlements and chaotic

urban development (Interview with CoH official, Harare, 2022). This can be argued to be a form of land reform by passing urban plans and regulations.

In Chapter 5, it was revealed that both Hopley and Odar Farm (Southlea Park) underwent a conversion from agricultural to residential use, a change heavily influenced by political factors. The political contestation between the central government and local governing bodies manifested in the post-2000 land allocations, which were driven by political motives and often circumvented normal procedures (Muchadenyika, 2015). In the case of Hopley and neighbouring farms, individuals occupying council, state, or private land sought reprieve from evictions by approaching councillors, bypassing proper land allocation procedures and instead favouring political networks (Interview with a cooperative member, Ushewekunze Cooperative, 2023).

While the objective of the land reform was to empower the landless, it was, in reality, utilised as a political tool to control the masses. A key informant from the Zimbabwe Human Rights Forum highlighted this aspect:

The land reform policies were supposed to empower the local people, but they were used to reward political loyalists. Many deserving individuals were left out because they did not have the right political affiliations. We've seen cases where entire communities were bypassed in favour of politically connected individuals who then subdivided the land and sold it at exorbitant prices. This has created a new form of inequality deeply rooted in political patronage (Interview with Zimbabwe human rights informant, Harare, 2022).

Due to political influence, the land allocation in Harare South has seen inequitable urban development. The conversion of agricultural land to residential use, driven by political motives, has failed to benefit the landless as intended. Instead, it has reinforced existing power structures and inequalities. This inequitable development undermines land reform goals and underscores the necessity of transparent, accountable, and fair land allocation processes.

The urban governance structure is contentious, reflecting broader political disputes. The central government and local city councils, often controlled by opposing political parties, frequently clash over control and decision-making. The following section expands on the impact of the power

struggles on the livelihoods of those residing in the peri-urban area south of the city and on understanding the coping mechanisms and livelihood strategies employed by the peri-urban community.

7.2.2 Parallel Authorities Fuelling Spatial Disparities in Harare South Peri-Urban Areas

The City of Harare (CoH) faces numerous law enforcement challenges, making it a complex issue for the city council. The Urban Councils Act (Chapter 29:15) gives urban councils like CoH the power to create bylaws and regulations for managing urban areas, including vending and public transport. However, CoH does not have the authority to make arrests and must depend on the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP), under the Ministry of Home Affairs, adding an extra layer of complexity for the city council. A lack of coordination between the governmental ministry and the CoH relationship results in a trickle-down of complex relations between the two law-enforcing bodies.

The complex relationship between law enforcement agencies has led to a rise in public transport lawlessness. The Passengers Association of Zimbabwe representative, Mr Goliati, stated, “The Law enforcement agencies are not always in sync. On the one hand, the CoH runs operations, and the ZRP (Traffic) conducts theirs. Unregistered vehicles (Emergency taxis/Mushika-Shika) operate around major intersections in the city, thereby causing congestion and havoc (Interview with Goliati, Harare, 2020). Despite being caught and impounded by city officials, these vehicles often return the next day after paying a fine, exploiting the CoH's inability to make arrests. The Association has pointed out that the limitation of the council police creates room for corruption, anarchy, and power brokers in the informal economy (PaZ, 2023).



Figure7.2; Private Registered Kombi loading passengers. Source (Author)

Figure7.2 demonstrates the case of an illegal kombi loading passengers onboard a private registered kombi. Secondly, the picture has ZRP traffic police in the background, allowing the kombi to operate illegally in an undesignated rank. Even though commuters are aware of designated public transport ranks, they still converge on these intersections, contributing to the disorder. This lawlessness has significantly congested major intersections in the city, affecting the movement of people and goods.

A prime example of Harare's public transport system's challenges is the intersection of Robert Mugabe and Julius Nyerere Avenue and the corner of Kenneth Kaunda Avenue and Rezende Street. Despite periodic efforts by the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP) to control the chaos caused by minibuses (kombis) and unlicensed taxis (mushikashika), the problem persists, as noted by Chikengezha & Thebe (2020), Mbara (2014) and Muchadenyika (2015). Therefore, a disparity appears between law enforcement and the returning rogue transport operators.

In addition, the southern periphery of Harare is plagued by a similar dynamism. The Mbudzi area in Hopley appears to be an extension of the same lawlessness found at the intersection of Robert

Mugabe Way and Julius Nyerere Avenue. The commotion in the Mbudzi area significantly impacts travel to the peri-urban residential areas and beyond.

Long-distance Buses and haulage trucks going as far as South Africa use the Mbudzi road network. Vendors, touts, and cash dealers occupy the roads, offering goods and services. Figure 7.2.1 provides a visual of the congestion found around the Mbudzi area.



Figure 7.3: Mbudzi area along the Highway

This study revealed that Southlea Park commuters were congested due to the Mbudzi area. One of the city authorities highlighted the lawlessness of vendors, Kombis and Mushikashika operators, as a contributor to the gridlock congestion experienced in Harare. The leading cause of the gridlocks is impatient Kombi and Mushikashika drivers (Interview with Goliati, Harare, 2020). Apart from causing instability to the overall public transport sector and the lack of restrictions in the informal sector, anyone is permitted to sell.

The issue of both human and vehicle traffic has significantly impacted travel time. During fieldwork, 90 percent of passengers and drivers mentioned that the traffic around the Mbudzi area

adds at least 40 minutes to travel time. Time-based exclusion is explained by Church (1999) as a situation where transport provision is limited or when the individual's time is constrained.

Pedzisai, a 42-year-old male employed as a company driver, had this to say:

We are at risk because we get into a vehicle not certified to carry passengers. The Mushikashika had no wipers, and it was raining. The pickup and drop-offs done by transport operators cost us time-wise, though Mushikashika is the cheapest mode of transport. Yesterday, the mushikashika I was in stopped at Mbudzi to get more passengers and waited for 10 minutes, then got stuck in traffic for 30 minutes. The commute to Southlea Park is unbearable. (Interview with Pedzisai, Southlea Park, 2022)

Pedzisai's case illustrates the importance of balancing affordability and quality of service in the transport sector. As a company driver, Pedzisai possessed a wealth of knowledge and expertise on quality checks for vehicle safety and regulations. However, when he found himself in an unworthy road car after work, his knowledge and expertise were rendered useless. This highlights the nature of exclusion in the transport sector, encompassing the absence of safe and roadworthy vehicles and a discrepancy between high-standard jobs and low-standard transportation.

The contextualisation of the use of non-roadworthy vehicles in Southlea Park bears significance. In light of the underdeveloped road network, commuter operators are reluctant to subject their vehicles to suburbs lacking adequate road infrastructure. The commuter operators who were interviewed shared the same sentiments: "We consider road networks, population density, and proximity to economic activities" (Interview with Peter a Kombi Operator, Harare, 2020). This often leads to operators being reluctant to provide transport services to areas like Southlea Park due to their unprofitability and the damage they cause to vehicles. Also sighted was the lack of government intervention on roads.

The nature of the dual reality of informal transport and informal trade dominating the peri-urban goes deeper. When interviewed, Jack, a mushikashika driver, stated: "We survive by being informal. We break the law, and we are aware, but it feeds our family, and it is working out for most people" (Interview with Jack, Harare, 2022). Jack's story corresponds with the informal livelihood experiences of other informal traders.

Golub's (2003) research suggests that paratransit modes play a crucial role in urban transportation systems, particularly in cities such as Jakarta, where informal trips account for 50% of the total trips, and in Manila, where paratransit modes account for approximately 70% of all public transit trips. This is no different to the case of Harare, as independent transport operators want a slice of the profitability of public transportation. The approximately 10,000 minibuses operate on the routes in Harare, transporting nearly one million passengers daily (Interview with Goliati, Harare, 2022).

Participation in the informal economy is influenced by various personal, economic, and social factors, which means that not all activities are undertaken by choice. Driving Kombis is a matter of life or death (Interview with Peter, Harare, 2022). This is how we feed our families, send children to school and make a living in Harare mentioned (ibid). The informal economy is often associated with creating livelihood opportunities for marginalised people around the world, as noted by authors such as Bhowmik (2012), Brown (2017), and Muiruri (2010). Therefore, given the threat to livelihood in the urban area, the rule of law is not a priority.

Bandauko et al. (2016), Chirisa (2017) and Golub (2003) highlight several issues associated with informal public transportation, including erratic scheduling, aggressive competition for passengers, cream skimming during peak hours, compromised safety due to inadequate driver training and vehicle maintenance, lack of accountability and regulation, tax and insurance evasion, labour abuses, inefficiency, and environmental concerns like air pollution from poorly maintained vehicles. This is the case in Harare, and the chaos in the city centre begs one to question who has the power in public transport. The city authorities appear to be hamstrung in curbing the traffic congestion, pop-up ranks and erratic driving.

7.2.3 Parallel Authorities Tax and Inequalities in the Kombi and Vending Business

Upon conducting a more in-depth investigation, a key informant divulged the intricacies of the informal sector within the city. GHACO (Greater Harare Association of Commuter Omnibus Operators) representative, who owns a kombi, emphasised the significance of networking in the sector. According to GHACO, operators of kombi are required to make daily payments to rank marshals, traffic police, and municipality police to facilitate the transportation of commuters. The

daily payments to the authorities range between US\$10 and US\$20, depending on their preferences. Consequently, a minimum of US\$300 per month per kombi is paid as an illegal "Kombi tax," which remains undocumented by the city authorities. More interestingly, over 50 associations are registered in Harare and operate using a similar GHACO arrangement with the authorities.

Findings from the study revealed that 54% of the 100 Kombis highlighted that their daily profit was severely affected by running costs, whilst 15% accounted for fuel on average. Kombi tax (Rank Marshall's fee) and Traffic Police fees bribes are almost identical at 7% and 8%, respectively. This paints a picture that the informal kombi business has good returns and at most profitable. However, 15% of the money is lost through the Kombi barons (Police bribes and Rank marshals). This significantly cuts into Kombi's profits and the city's revenue. According to Chikengezha & Thebe (2021), Zimbabwean public transport terminals have become increasingly dangerous and chaotic due to the actions of a group called Chipangano. This group, allegedly linked to the political party ZANU PF, is accused of organising youth into militia groups and terrorising omnibus operators at the ranks. The result has been a loss of control over the ranks and a threat to the safety of those who use them.

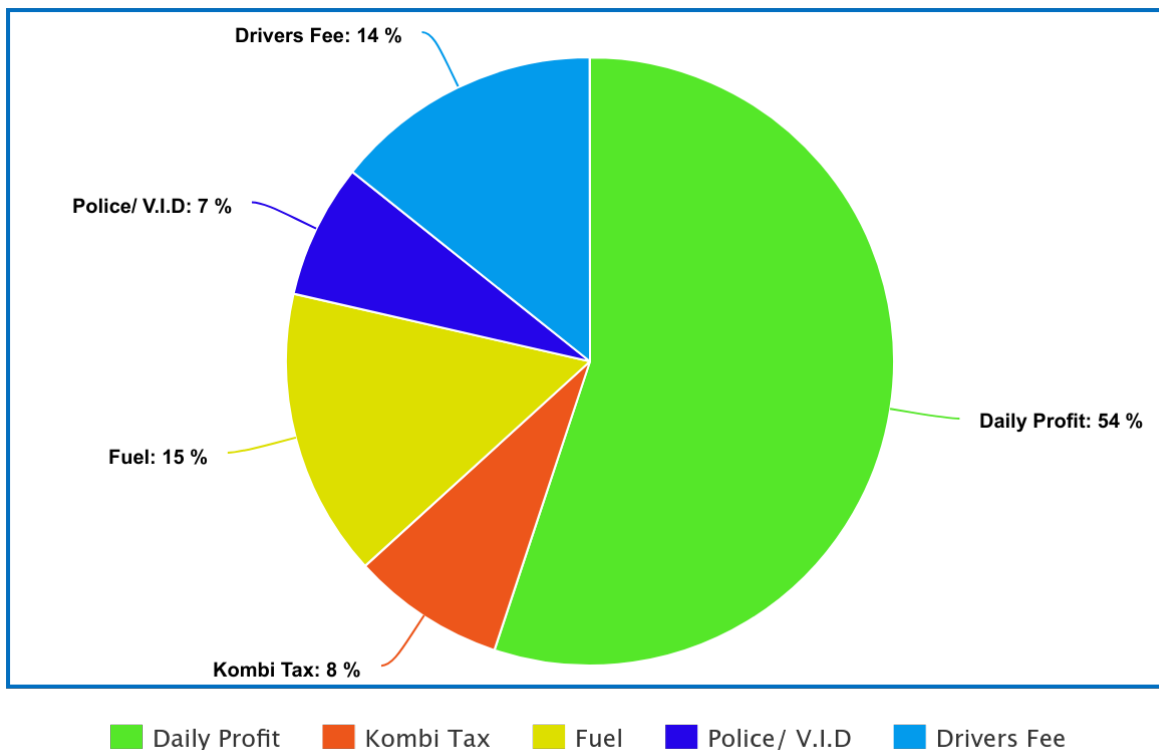


Figure 7.4: Daily Operation of Kombi Financials

Additionally, while the profit margins are shown to be positive, other expenses after the daily trips are not factored into the daily expenses. Vehicle service, emergency fund, and insurance are key expenses charged at the month's end. Therefore, the 15% illegally collected by barons is a loss for operators and city authorities.

It has been found that the same evidence has emerged for the Mushikashika, which operates between Harare CBD and the southern periphery. A survey conducted on the mushikashika has revealed that the operations vary depending on the route. For the route from the CBD to the peri-urban, a minimum of 20 trips can generate between US\$100 and US\$200. The fuel cost is US\$30 minimum and US\$40 for the long-distance mushikashika. Traffic police, municipality traffic officials and rank marshals can earn between US\$20 to US\$50 per day. The amount paid to the officials depends on the day and if the government has clean-up operations. The money can reach as high as US\$100 if operations are ongoing. No money collected by traffic officials in their personal capacity reaches the government coffers.

Tavonga, an unemployed graduate, plies the Harare- Southlea Park route as a form of livelihood. He shared his experience of operating in Harare as follows:

I work as Mashofe (pirate taxi driver) and face an informal tax when operating my business daily. I encounter at least two roadblocks every day and pay between US\$ 10 and US\$20 to police officers to overlook my services. The car owner expects me to make US\$80 daily from my operations. It is not safe to operate without the help of touts and rank informants, so I pay them at least US\$20. I need to make at least US\$120 before the end of the day before I add my cut. Unfortunately, 25% of our revenue goes to the cost of doing business with officials, informants and barons (Interview Tavonga, Harare, 2023).

Tavonga's situation exemplifies the challenges faced by those who operate outside the law while trying to make a living. Mushikashika operations are subject to the same conditions as kombis, and both types of operators are subject to an illegal kombi tax.

Touting in the city centre has become more prevalent after economic downturns characterised by job losses and dwindling opportunities. While it might initially seem that touting is merely an individual survival strategy, a deeper investigation reveals a more organised and potentially politically motivated operation. In conversation with a rank marshal, he commented,

Funds collected by rank marshals and touts at bus stations nationwide are being submitted to the offices of Zanu (PF) daily. The party's rank marshals, commonly known as touts, receive a commission from these earnings. The majority of the funds are retained by the party for undisclosed activities. The rank marshals charge an 18-seater minibus between US\$3 and US\$10 each time it departs from a station. This is dependent on the final destination price. Usually, intercity kombis and buses are charged US\$10. Typically, a local bus station would accumulate around US\$150. We operate in groups of five, with each member vigilantly monitoring the others to prevent any misappropriation of funds. Any breach of trust leads to strict disciplinary measures from the party's authorities. By the end of the month, youths overseeing the stations take home less than \$70, the rank marshal explained. (Interview with a Kombi Key informant, Harare, 2023).

The Zanu PF Youth League did not condone the touts' rogue actions. While the Zanu PF Youth League does not officially condone the actions of the touts, there is an indication that they are deployed to source funds and act as the party's eyes on the street. This suggests a dual role for the touts, serving as revenue collectors and as informants for the party. Overall, this analysis underscores the intricate relationship between political affiliations and the operations of bus stations in Zimbabwe, with financial transactions and power dynamics intertwined.

Based on research conducted by Zimpapers in 2023 and published on the 13th of November 2023, it was reported that at least US\$300 per month was collected from each kombi in Harare. This leads to significant revenue collection, considering over 5,000 registered kombis. Additionally, The Sunday Mail reported in 2024 that at least US\$1.5 million is paid to rank marshals every month. This loss of revenue negatively impacts the city's ability to improve its overall transportation system (Chirisa, 2017). Even though ZANU PF has officially distanced itself from such practices, as reported by Newsday on August 13, 2012, the persistent existence of touting is still linked back to ZANU PF.

Using the state's name by rogue traffic policing officers and touts carries significant implications. It suggests these actors operate with impunity, believing their actions will not be punished. This

perception undermines the rule of law and challenges the state's authority. The continued existence of such rogue elements highlights a gap between the government's stated positions and its actions, raising concerns about the integrity of institutions responsible for maintaining order in the public transport sector. Therefore, the prevailing conditions reproduce themselves as interested parties continue to benefit.

The study also highlighted the issue of overloading in commuter vehicles. For example, the popular kombi vehicles in Zimbabwe have a maximum gross vehicle mass (GVM) of 2800kg, yet they are often overcrowded, carrying more passengers than allowed. This compromises safety and stability. Similarly, smaller mushikashika vehicles were observed carrying more passengers than their capacity, further jeopardising vehicle stability and passenger safety. This disregard for safety standards in pursuit of profit poses significant risks to commuters and underscores the need for stricter enforcement of regulations in public transportation.

Similarly, vendors in the city have the same predicament as the kombis and mushikashika. The city of Harare grants vendors licences to sell in designated spaces in the city. However, vendors are scattered throughout the city, predominantly in busy areas like ranks and unauthorised pick-up points. A key informant representing the informal traders mentioned;

I have received credible information that officials from the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP) and the Harare City Council, particularly those in the traffic department, collect bride money from the vendors and kombis. This information was uncovered during my investigation into an incident where The Zimbabwe Anti-Corruption Commission was investigating a senior officer for living a lifestyle that surpassed that of a police officer. It was alleged that the officer owned kombis and received money from his errand boys who worked with vendors. (Interview with a representative of informal traders, Harare, 2023).

The representative of informal traders in Harare suggests that two authorities exist in the informal sector, negatively affecting the city's development.

Additionally, other vendors echoed the issue of bribes through space barons. We have an arrangement with ma-civil (police in civil clothing). Once or twice a week, they collect between

US\$5 and US\$10 here, and in return, she alerts me if there will be any raid on us or if they will come and move us. So, I pay the money, and the [Police officer] provides a 'tip' (Interview with Kudzanai, Harare, 2023).

During a conversation with another trader, corruption and bribery were raised. The vendors recounted how they stay relatively protected by paying another trader in Mupedzanhamo, in Mbare, who has contact with the Municipality Police and ZRP. When asked about the amount they pay, it emerged that they pay a monthly protection fee of \$25. Additionally, it is believed more than 500 vendors utilise his services. Therefore, the informant charges a dollar a day for the month and makes US\$12500 for providing a tip-off, which may or may not be useful.

The social fabric of vendors is woven with threads of trust. The validity and punctuality of information provided by their informants are of utmost importance; hence, the trustworthiness of these sources is paramount. These excerpts illuminate the complex web of social relations that exist among traders themselves and between traders and state officials. Moreover, they underline state officials' informal and personalised approach in their interactions with individuals operating within the informal economy, juxtaposed with the impersonal nature of their larger social networks.

Chapters 5 and 6 highlighted the informal economy as sustaining most low-income households in the peri-urban. Most vendors occupy the low-income households threshold of the country's demographics. For instance, Chapter 6 revealed that vendors pay the space barons a minimum of \$US2. Zvorwadza confirmed this when he mentioned that,

The amount that vendors pay in Harare, Zimbabwe, can vary depending on several factors, including the location of their vending site, the type of goods they sell, and any applicable local regulations. Generally, vendors are required to pay for a vending license or permit, and the cost of these can vary. In some cases, vendors might pay daily, weekly, or monthly fees for their vending spots, especially if they are located in prime areas or formal markets. These fees can range from a few dollars to significantly more, depending on the location's specifics and the vending space's size (Interview with Zvorwadza, Harare, 2023).

The vending situation has also been unresolved. Vendors are seen occupying sidewalks and pavements. This creates a problem for pedestrians, who are sometimes forced to walk on the road. The danger emanates from a clear lack of traffic separation. One vendor, Kuvimba, commented on the situation, “As vendors, we are forced to use any space we find since we follow where many people are. Besides, permit or no permit, no one wants to sell in a place where people traffic is not there.” (Interview Kuvimba, Harare, 2023). The informal sector defines its operations by defying the rule of law. Scholars (see Chen, 2012; Guha-Khasnobis and Kanbur, 2006; Hart et al., 2010) have noted how the informal economy serves as a lifeline for the destitute and a coping strategy for the unemployed.

Operating beyond the confines of the laws suggests resistance and parallel governance structures. According to Scott (1995), when institutions fail to plan effectively, an unintended "dark twin" reality emerges to fulfil the institution's needs. This is the reality of parallel structures operating alongside the constitutionally mandated structure. Both vendors and kombis operating illegally highlight the city administration's failure to create a robust structure that can sustain city functions. Kombi drivers and vendors interact regularly with local authorities and law enforcement, often in the form of bribes to avoid legal repercussions or to secure prime operational spots. Both rely heavily on informal networks. Kombi drivers depend on rank marshals and touts, while vendors depend on information from insiders to avoid raids and secure their selling spots. While this creates a network of mutual beneficiation, it is far from perfect. According to the respondents, it is the only thing keeping them from starving.

While vending and kombi driving are crucial components of Harare's informal economy, providing livelihoods to many, they also present distinct challenges and operational dynamics. The intertwining of political interests and informal sector operations, as seen with the influence of political parties, further complicates the regulatory landscape, affecting the efficiency and safety of both sectors. Both sectors are deeply embedded in a network of informal relations and face similar issues of corruption and regulation, albeit in different operational contexts.

7.2.4 Divide and Conquer as a Political Strategy for Marginalisation in Southlea Park

Many residents have been led to believe that, through payments to these intermediaries, they could secure title deeds to their properties. However, this has often been a fraudulent practice, with residents being issued fake deeds that hold no legal standing. Political elites, in collaboration with land barons, have exploited vulnerable residents by promising title deeds in exchange for payments. These individuals, desperate for land security, often fall victim to the scheme, only to find out later that the title deeds they received are fake and hold no legal standing.

Residents like Tambira who trusted the promises of political elites and land barons, quickly learned the harsh reality of this system:

I thought I had finally secured my family's future when we paid the land baron for the title deed. It was everything I had saved over the years. But when I went to the city offices to verify, they told me the document was fake. Now, we are stuck, and I do not know if I will ever own this land. We trusted them because they were connected to the local politicians. (Interview with Tambirai, Southlea Park, 2022).

This fraudulent system exploits vulnerable residents, especially those desperate to escape the uncertainty of land tenure in Harare's peri-urban spaces. The involvement of political elites lends legitimacy to the land barons' operations, creating a false sense of security for residents who believe they are dealing with individuals connected to the state. However, this illusion of legitimacy only serves to further entrench the power of these elites, who use land fraud as a tool to maintain control over the population.

For many residents, the financial impact of paying for a fake title deed is devastating. Brenda, another resident of Southlea Park, described the situation:

They told us if we paid the fee, we would get a title deed and finally have something to pass on to our children. But after we paid, nothing happened. Then they started asking for more money, saying the process was delayed because of 'political reasons.' It was a scam, but what can we do? We do not have the power to fight these people. They come with similar strategies, taking advantage of our desperate circumstances. (Interview with Brenda, Southlea Park, 2022).

This system fosters division within the community, as those who manage to scrape together enough money for a title deed often feel superior to those who cannot. Meanwhile, the political elites and land barons continue to profit from this arrangement, knowing full well that the deeds they issue are worthless. The resulting social fragmentation ensures that residents remain dependent on the

very elites who exploit them, preventing any form of collective resistance or solidarity from taking root.

The divide-and-conquer strategy is reinforced through the use of parallel authorities, where land barons operate with the tacit approval of political elites. These land barons control land allocation and demand payments for fake title deeds, creating a system of dependency and perpetuating social inequality. Residents are often too afraid to challenge these practices, as Tambira, explained: "When we confronted the land baron about the fake title deeds, he told us that if we wanted to keep our land, we should stop asking questions. Many of us are afraid to speak out because we know they are backed by powerful people"(Interview with Tambirai, Southlea Park, 2022).

The fraudulent title deed scheme is not just a financial burden—it also has severe emotional and social consequences. Many residents, like Sarudzai, find themselves trapped in a cycle of debt and uncertainty:

"At first, it felt like a dream come true. I finally had land, and I was making plans to build a house. But then the rumours started spreading about fake deeds, and I went to check mine. My heart sank when I found out it wasn't legitimate. Now, I don't know what to do—there's no money to start again, and no one is being held accountable."(Interview with Sarudzai, Southlea Park, 2022)

These individual stories reflect a broader pattern of adverse incorporation, where residents are brought into the urban system on unfavourable terms, further deepening their marginalisation. Political elites and land barons have turned the promise of land ownership into a tool of control, creating a system in which residents are pitted against one another, vying for the favour of those in power.

This manipulation of land ownership not only fragments communities but also ensures that collective action remains weak. By keeping residents uncertain about their land rights and dependent on fraudulent processes, political elites maintain their grip on peri-urban areas. The potential for organized resistance is further diminished as residents become isolated, fearful of losing what little they have.

7.3 THE INFLUENCE OF REGULATORY ENVIRONMENT ON THE HARARE SOUTH PERI-URBAN AREA

This section will discuss the exploration and analysis of the intricate relationship between the rule of law and the socio-economic dynamics within the peri-urban area. Specifically, the far-reaching consequences of ambiguity, lack of clarity, and selective enforcement will be delved into. Furthermore, the profound impacts on investments and the prevalence of discriminatory practices in the region will be scrutinised. By elucidating these complex factors, a comprehensive understanding of the challenges and opportunities prevalent in the socioeconomic landscape will be achieved.

7.3.1 Ambiguity and Lack of Clarity and Selective Enforcement

The regulatory frameworks governing the informal sector in Zimbabwe have been unclear and inconsistent, resulting in a proliferation of informal activities (Kamete, 2013). This is due to the increasing difficulty individuals and small businesses face in navigating the bureaucratic maze. Residents and business owners in Southlea Park commonly express concerns regarding the lack of clear and effectively communicated economic activity regulations. This ambiguity leads to confusion and creates difficulties in ensuring compliance.

Numerous informal traders within Southlea Park express uncertainty regarding the precise licenses necessary for legal operation. According to a Mbudzi market vendor, Tariro, the process is unclear: "We were informed about the requirement for a trading license, but obtaining information about its acquisition and associated costs has proven elusive. Conflicting information exists; some suggest an application process through the city council, while others indicate a local administrative procedure. The lack of clarity is particularly challenging." (Interview with Tariro, Southlea Park, 2022) This highlights the need for a more transparent and accessible process for obtaining the necessary licenses for informal traders.

There is a significant gap in accessible information regarding informal sector regulations. One hardware store business owner, Tarakidzwa, shared the following:

I tried to find information on the internet about registering my business, but there were conflicting regulations. There is no one-stop show for all legal requirements. I remember a group of consumer protection services visited us, and it was. It was my first time to know that such a group existed. When I went to the local office, they just handed me a stack of papers without explanation (Interview with Tarakidzwa, Southlea Park, 2022).

Additionally, Kombi operators also narrated the same ordeal with the regulations for operations. Gwinyai, who plies the Southlea Park Machipisa route, commented,

“Ever since I started driving kombis, there has not been a single day when my kombi has been without fault. I renewed my driver's license, ZBC radio license, insurance, and route permit on time, yet the police (ZRP) and the V.I.D. did not stop me and made me pay a fine. Due to the lack of clarity on what is needed to operate fully, some take advantage and accept bribes to allow people to operate. It is much easier to pay a bribe than to follow all the rules and regulations (Interview with Gwinyai, 2022).

The absence of clear and readily available information presents a challenge for traders, kombi operators, and small businesses. On one hand, the scarcity of information impedes smooth business operations. On the other hand, the gaps in knowledge related to policies and procedures underscore deficiencies in training and the application of processes. Consequently, this situation has created a void wherein corruption flourishes and seems to replace the rule of law for some individuals.

Residents of Southlea Park have expressed concern regarding the perceived arbitrariness and inconsistency in enforcing local regulations. These concerns have created feelings of injustice and frustration within the community. The lack of uniformity in enforcing regulations has led to heightened tensions and a sense of unease among residents. This issue not only undermines the perceived fairness of the regulatory framework but also hampers community cohesion and trust in local governance.

In the opinion of many residents, law enforcement practices exhibit a bias and often focus on vulnerable groups. The respondents cited numerous occurrences of targeted police operations on street vendors and informal public transport services. One such vendor, Maredze, commented, "The city officials come and shut down our stalls, but the big businesses are left alone. It's like they only enforce the rules when it suits them" (Interview with Maredze, Southlea Park, 2022). Similarly, Kombi and Mushikashika operators shared the same sentiments. Tambirai mentioned, “We are always at odds with the ZRP and V.I.D because they are selective in penalising. Kombis

linked to top officials and the police do not get penalised as much as we do for the same issues” (Interview with Tambirai, Southlea Park, 2022). In both instances, the selective application of the penalties reproduces unfair access to socio-economic activities.

This situation raises important questions about the equitable application of laws and the potential impact of enforcement actions on marginalised communities. The selective enforcement described contributes to social and economic inequalities. Penalties for the same violations can vary widely. One resident recounted,

"My neighbour was fined \$50 for building his house without permission, but I was fined \$200 for the same thing. Sometimes, we know families that had their houses demolished for building on land without permission. Almost all residential stands in Harare South are problematic as they were built on unauthorised land. The politicisation of penalties exudes corruption and shadow figures manipulating reality at the city's periphery. There's no consistency, and it feels very unfair"(Interview with Mazvita, Southlea Park, 2022)

Chirisa (2014) and Masunungure (2006) believe that inconsistent and biased enforcement of regulations in Zimbabwe has significantly eroded public assurance in government institutions, contributing to the deepening of economic inequalities as those with political influence or financial means often circumvent regulations, while ordinary citizens bear the brunt of strict enforcement.

This is further illustrated by Freddy, a money changer, who highlighted this issue by stating that "If you're connected to someone in the council, you can get away with anything. But if you're not, they come down hard on you." This observation raises questions about the fairness and impartiality of law enforcement processes. It prompts a critical examination of the connections between individuals within the community and those in positions of authority. Such concerns shed light on the need for transparency and equity within the enforcement of laws and regulations.

7.3.2 Impacts on Investments and Discriminatory Practice in Harare South

The unpredictable regulatory environment in many African cities, including Zimbabwe, creates a high-risk landscape for local and foreign investors. The lack of clear and stable policies undermines investor confidence and stifles economic growth (Turok, 2016). Due to the unpredictable regulatory environment, local entrepreneurs have hesitated to invest in new ventures.

Tarakidzwa, a homeowner in Harare South Peri-urban, expressed his challenges: "I aimed to construct a resilient house for my family, yet due to the exorbitant costs of quality building materials and the ambiguous nature of title deeds, I had to turn to more affordable alternatives, anticipating reduced losses in the event of government land reclamation" (Interview with Tarakidzwa, Harare South Peri-urban, 2022). This predicament is widespread among residents compelled to opt for cheaper materials owing to financial limitations and unclear land ownership. Consequently, resulting structures are often less robust and more susceptible to damage, posing safety hazards. This pattern not only affects the integrity of individual homes but also impacts the overall fortitude and visual appeal of the community. The prevalent use of substandard materials due to economic and regulatory pressures further hampers local development and perpetuates a cycle of inadequate housing conditions.

Tungamirai, a car service repair centre owner in Southlea Park, stated: "I wanted to expand my garage shop, but every time I go to the council for permits, they give me the run-around. It is not worth the risk when I do not know if they will change the rules again next month"(Interview with Tungamirai, Southlea Park, 2022). The uncertain regulatory environment directly impacts individual business owners like Tungamirai and substantially affects the local economy. Entrepreneurs' hesitation to invest or expand their ventures results in diminished economic activity, reduced job prospects, and decelerated local development.

Due to regulatory hurdles, small businesses encounter significant barriers when securing investment. The risk associated with some businesses, such as sand mining, while profitable, remains risky to invest. An environment officer at the Environment Management Agency stated, "The extraction of sand is predominantly illegal because EMA commissions a few sand mines. However, constructing nearly all new houses in peri-urban areas relies on sand obtained through these illegal means." (Interview with key environment officer, Harare, 2022).

Muchabaiwa, a supplier of building materials, explained,

Obtaining funding is almost impossible. The complex and unpredictable regulations deter investors. Sand mining and selling are lucrative due to the construction boom in Zimbabwe. Close to our location in Southlea

Park, the construction of the Mbudzi interchange would have benefited from our sand if we had the necessary machinery. The Environmental Management Agency (EMA) is our biggest challenge. They accuse us of mining in unauthorised areas or enforce laws we are unaware of. Even if you secure funding, there's no guarantee that the business won't be shut down next week due to an unknown violation (Interview with Muchabaiwa, Southlea Park, 2022).

The regulatory barriers dissuade local and external investors from allocating resources to potentially profitable ventures such as sand mining. This lack of investment capital impedes the growth and development of small businesses. The complexities of regulatory hurdles present challenges in securing funding, leading to economic inefficiencies. Consequently, businesses that can contribute to the local economy and meet the demand for construction materials cannot operate optimally.

Gender discrimination significantly impedes the economic endeavours of female entrepreneurs in Harare, South Peri-Urban. This discrimination manifests in various forms, including unequal access to resources, harassment, and prejudiced treatment by regulatory authorities. Women encounter greater obstacles in obtaining credit and financial services than men, as financial institutions often demand collateral that women may not possess and perceive businesses led by women as posing a higher risk. Additionally, women have limited access to business training and educational programs, which are essential for navigating the intricate regulatory landscape and fostering the growth of their enterprises.

Female entrepreneurs in the Harare South Peri-Urban area frequently encounter various forms of harassment, such as verbal abuse, demands for bribes, and even requests for sexual favours from officials. Safety concerns, particularly within informal sectors or during late hours, act as deterrents for women seeking to engage in business activities. Regulatory bodies often exhibit bias by imposing stricter compliance requirements or delaying permits for women entrepreneurs, influenced by deeply ingrained societal norms regarding gender roles. Additionally, the lack of support from male-dominated regulatory bodies and business associations further complicates these women's entrepreneurial endeavours.

Testimonies from local women illustrate these challenges. One female vendor expressed her frustrations, stating, "As a woman, it is even more difficult to accomplish tasks. Officials do not take us seriously, and we frequently encounter harassment. Men receive priority in almost every aspect" (Interview Martha, Southlea Park, 2022). Similarly, a women's advocacy group, Women's Coalition of Zimbabwe, emphasised increased support and recognition for women entrepreneurs, asserting that inclusive policies are essential to address their unique challenges.

The broader implications of this discrimination are profound. It limits women's economic participation, leading to fewer business activities, lower employment rates, and stunted economic growth in the community. This underutilisation of talent not only perpetuates existing gender inequalities but also hinders women's social mobility and economic independence. Moreover, the success of women entrepreneurs can inspire future generations, creating role models for young girls and encouraging them to pursue their ambitions.

7.4 LOSS OF PUBLIC TRUST AND PARTICIPATION IN HARARE SOUTH.

The residents of Harare South Peri-Urban have experienced a substantial erosion of trust in public institutions and a decreased level of civic engagement. This can be attributed to perceived corruption, ineffective service delivery, exclusion from decision-making, political intimidation, socio-economic inequality, and unfulfilled promises of development. These challenges have contributed to a pervasive sense of scepticism and disengagement from public affairs within the community.

Residents frequently cite corruption as a major issue undermining trust in local government. Many believe public officials are more interested in personal gain than community service. Chiedza, a street trader, expressed frustration, saying,

We see the same people getting contracts and licenses, and they're connected. It is not about what you know but who you know. How can we trust a system that is so corrupt? For us women, our plight is made difficult because to get to know someone in power, especially men, we are subjected to sexual harassment. I recall when one guy from city authorities said if we cannot pay up licence fees, we can have a workaround. I asked what he meant; long story short, he wanted me to sleep with him (Interview with Chiedza, Southlea Park, 2022).

The resident's observation that "the same people" consistently receive contracts and licenses indicates a belief that these individuals are selected based on personal connections rather than merit or transparency. This perception of favouritism suggests that public resources and opportunities are unequal or unequal.

The ongoing failure of local authorities to consistently deliver essential services has significantly contributed to a decline in public trust. Residents continue to experience persistent challenges with water supply, waste management, and the maintenance of essential infrastructure. A resident from Southlea Park expressed deep frustration, stating that "We have been assured of improvements to our roads and a dependable water supply for several years, yet we have seen no tangible changes. Potholes and water cuts remain constant issues. Why should we place any trust in their promises?" This sentiment reveals a profound disillusionment within the community regarding local authorities' credibility and ability to address longstanding issues.

7.4.1 Exclusion from Decision-Making Processes in Harare South Peri-Urban

Residents of the peri-urban area of Harare South often feel left out of the decision-making processes that impact their daily lives. This feeling of exclusion is evident in various ways, including limited access to information, a lack of opportunities for participation, and the belief that political elites predetermine decisions. These factors lead to disempowerment and frustration among community members.

Many residents report not being informed about key community decisions and developments. Important information about public meetings, development projects, and policy changes is often ineffective. A local teacher commented,

We often face a lack of transparency in decision-making processes, leaving us feeling excluded and uninformed. It's frustrating to realise that significant decisions have been made without our knowledge, making it difficult to have a meaningful impact or voice our concerns. This lack of transparency undermines our ability to participate actively in the decision-making process and can lead to dissatisfaction and distrust within the community or organisation (Interview with Mabel, Southlea Park, 2022).

Community meetings and consultations are often seen as mere formalities rather than genuine efforts to engage with residents. Participants feel that their input is not taken seriously and that decisions are made behind closed doors. A resident noted,

Often, we are invited to meetings, but it often feels like our presence is just a formality. It seems as though our suggestions and feedback rarely make it into the final decisions. This can be disheartening as we strive to make meaningful contributions and have a real impact on the outcomes. For instance, a road contractor came and met with the community leaders at the offices. The company wanted to construct a tarred road linking to the Masvingo highway. However, the community leaders refused, citing political issues. As a community, we never voiced our opinion on the matter. (Interview with Peter, Southlea Park).

Continuous exclusion and ineffective communication contribute to distrust in local authorities. When residents perceive that decisions are made behind closed doors and their input is disregarded, it undermines the social contract between the community and the governing bodies. There exists a widespread belief that decisions are significantly influenced by political elites who prioritise their own interests over the needs of the community. This perception is further strengthened by examples where projects and policies primarily benefit well-connected individuals. A local shop owner articulated: "It is evident that decisions are made to serve the interests of those in power. Regular people like us have little influence. The council simply acts as it pleases."

Despite numerous development plans and projects announced by local authorities, residents rarely see tangible improvements in their living conditions. This discrepancy between official promises and on-the-ground reality fosters a pervasive sense of disillusionment. A community elder remarked,

Over the years, we have been presented with numerous promises, but no observable change has occurred. It appears to be mere rhetoric without any corresponding action. Consequently, we have lost confidence in their statements. This lack of follow-through on promises has led to a feeling of disappointment and frustration among those who had hoped for real change. It is essential for there to be tangible progress and meaningful actions to rebuild trust and confidence in the veracity of their assertions (Interview with Brenda, Southlea Park, 2022).

Feeling excluded, many residents become disengaged from civic activities and public affairs. This disengagement weakens community cohesion and reduces collective action to address local issues. Brenda observed, "People have stopped caring. They do not attend meetings or get involved anymore because they believe it's a waste of time" (Interview with Brenda, Southlea Park, 2022).

The exclusion from decision-making processes leads to disempowerment and disenfranchisement among residents. Many feel they have no control over the developments that impact their lives. A community elder remarked, "We feel powerless. No matter what we do or say, the decisions are made without us. It's like our opinions don't matter."

Decisions made without involving the community can diminish the effectiveness and relevance of development projects. Failure to consult with residents has resulted in projects that do not adequately address the genuine needs and priorities of the community, ultimately leading to squandered resources and efforts. Pedzisai, one of the community representatives mentioned,

A lack of infrastructure development is a major issue here. During community meetings, we discuss various issues and agree on the actions that need to be taken. However, the problem arises when it comes to implementation. For instance, we discussed the need for a grader to repair the road and a water bowser to suppress the dust. To our surprise, the next thing we saw was trucks filling up the bad areas on the road with rubble. We didn't authorise this and are unaware of who hired the trucks because we agreed to re-grade the road. This is just one example of many instances where the decisions made by the community are disregarded. As a result, people are becoming less enthusiastic about participating in future meetings (Interview with Pedzisai, Southlea Park, 2022).

When decisions are made without proper consultation with residents, projects often fail to address the community's genuine needs and priorities, leading to wasted resources and diminished trust. When community decisions are disregarded, residents become less enthusiastic about participating in future meetings. This disengagement undermines collective efforts to address local issues and weakens the community's ability to advocate for its needs effectively.

7.4.2 Agency and Ways Around the Legal

In the peri-urban area of Harare South, residents demonstrate a high degree of agency in effectively manoeuvring the legal and regulatory landscape to address their needs. In light of bureaucratic inefficiencies, instances of corruption, and overly restrictive regulations, community members consistently resort to alternative approaches to pursue their objectives, showcasing remarkable resilience and adaptability. Despite occasionally operating beyond the bounds of the legal framework, these strategies are vital for sustaining livelihoods and fostering progress within an arduous context.

Scott (1999) argues that marginalised individuals must resort to extreme measures to gain the attention of their governments. Often, this takes the form of violent protests and clashes with law enforcement. These incidents have become all too common in our society, as headlines such as "Police and Street Hawkers Clash at Mbudzi Roundabout" and "Cops and Traders Clash in Harare CBD" are now a regular feature in our local newspapers. Even beyond the borders of Harare, we see similar stories, such as the one titled "Malawi: Lilongwe's Illegal Vendors Clash with Police" (British Broadcasting Corporation, July 15, 2012) and "Tshwane metro police attack hawkers, confiscate goods" (Mail & Guardian, August 8, 2014).

Scott (1999) asserts that noticing these lonely actors (marginalised people) and their agency is important because the result is not a static binary between cause and consequence but a complex relationship. Sand miners have found creative solutions to circumvent regulatory barriers. For example, informal traders have pooled resources to bribe officials for leniency or set up businesses in less monitored areas to avoid detection. Muchabaiwa, a sand miner, shared: "All sand miners and distributors in our network and area contribute a portion to a 'community fund' that we use to bribe officials when they come around. It is not ideal, but it keeps us in business" (Interview with Muchabaiwa, Southlea Park, 2022).

Vendors in Harare South Peri-Urban have developed various strategies to avoid losing their merchandise during peak-time raids when city authorities conduct raids and confiscate goods. One notable strategy is the use of decoys. This method showcases the vendors' resilience and ingenuity in navigating a challenging and often hostile business environment.

During the study, Mazvita, a vendor, commented:

The primary purpose of using decoys is to mitigate the risk of losing valuable merchandise during unexpected raids by city authorities. By displaying less valuable items as decoys, we can protect their more valuable stock from confiscation. We would lose all of our products in the past when the city authorities raided. Using decoys helps us not to lose all. (Interview with Mazvita, Southlea Park, 2022).

The study observed that police and city authority raids tend to occur during peak times. Vendors employ a strategic placement of decoy items at the front of their stalls to increase accessibility and visibility to authorities during raids. Meanwhile, more valuable items are either concealed or positioned in less conspicuous locations.

Another vendor Tambirai, commented on his decoy strategy:

During busy times, I drive my car and park around the Mbudzi areas. I park in different spots every day and open my car boot to display my meat products. If the authorities come, I simply close my car doors and drive off into the streets of Hopley. I know all the back roads, so they won't be able to catch up with me. Many people who work regular jobs come and join the car boot sales, but sometimes they are unfortunate because they do not know the roads as we do (Interview with Tambirai, Southlea Park, 2022).

The use of decoys is a critical survival strategy for vendors whose livelihoods depend on their ability to sell goods daily. By minimizing losses, vendors can sustain their businesses and support their families. The use of decoys does not eliminate the risk of confiscation, it significantly reduces the financial impact, allowing vendors to remain in business despite the challenges.

The use of decoys is often a collective strategy, with vendors sharing tips and coordinating their actions to protect their goods. This sense of community and mutual support strengthens social bonds and enhances resilience among vendors. It was found many women vendors take up this initiative to safeguard their network. Thuli a 19-year-old vendor described it as follows;

As a young vendor, I rely on street vending to provide for my family. The challenges are immense, especially with the constant threat of raids by the authorities. However, within our community, we support each other. We have devised a system where we display less valuable items as decoys, as these are the items most likely to be confiscated during a raid. Working in collaboration with other women vendors, we have developed a strategy to swiftly rearrange our stalls at the first sign of officials approaching. We keep our best goods carefully

hidden or ready to move at a moment's notice. It's a risky game, but it's the reality of what we must do in order to survive. I was fortunate to learn these invaluable strategies from seasoned vendors when I first joined the market. They generously shared their expertise on recognising the warning signs of an imminent raid and effectively deploying decoys. This culture of mutual support and collaboration not only fortifies us but also ensures our collective security. We extend warnings to one another and extend a helping hand to safeguard each other's wares when necessary.

This united front is not merely geared towards shielding our goods; it is about safeguarding our very means of sustenance. A raid on any one of us reverberates throughout the community. Our ability to provide for our families, pay for education, and meet essential needs hinges on the market. Through our joint efforts, we mitigate the impact on any individual when challenges arise. The profound sense of camaraderie among us is a source of immeasurable strength. Despite the obstacles, we rally around one another and persevere. The daily rigours, particularly as a young woman, can be trying, but the knowledge that a network of vendors stands in solidarity with me instils hope and resilience. While we may possess little material wealth, our mutual support is our wealth (Interview with Thuli, Southlea Park, 2022).

Thuli's description highlights the critical role of community and mutual support among vendors in Harare South Peri-Urban. Her narrative demonstrates the resilience and solidarity of women vendors who use collective strategies to navigate and survive the challenges of their environment.

The lack of political will to manage the city has empowered the rent-seekers, poor and marginalised, to make a living from illegal operations. This has led to general anarchy and disorder in Harare, tarnishing the once-celebrated city's status as a 'sunshine city'. Scott (1985) argues that while these peasants may not engage in open rebellion, they employ a variety of "everyday forms of resistance" to undermine and cope with the demands of landlords, state officials, and other authorities. These forms of resistance include foot-dragging, evasion, false compliance, pilfering, feigned ignorance, and gossip. Scott (1985) suggests that these tactics are a form of "weapons of the weak," allowing marginalised groups to assert their interests and resist exploitation without directly confronting authority, which could lead to harsh reprisals.

Commuter minibus operators in Harare South Peri-Urban, much like street vendors, have devised a range of tactics to circumvent law enforcement. These tactics mirror those employed by vendors, underscoring a mutual recognition of the necessity to navigate a difficult regulatory landscape. By

emulating the strategies of vendors, minibus operators bolster their capacity to persist in their activities despite frequent crackdowns by authorities.

Kombi drivers frequently employ decoy routes to evade police checkpoints and roadblocks. They initially appear to follow common routes and then divert to less monitored side streets. Peter, a driver who plies the Southlea Park-Machipisa and Southlea Park-City Centre routes, said that

We always have a few backup routes planned. We take the back streets when we hear about a roadblock on the main road. It's a bit longer but saves us from fines and impounding. Sometimes, when we know the officer in charge of the roadblock, we can determine if it is approachable or not. For example, if Sergeant Ngana (Pseudo Name) is on the roadblock, we can pass by giving a token (monetary). In such scenarios, we prefer to have a good relationship with the ZRP on duty on some routes (Interview with Peter, Harare, 2022).

Like street vendors warn each other of approaching authorities, kombi operators use informal communication networks to share real-time information about police locations. This network often includes fellow drivers, street vendors, and residents. By staying informed about police locations through these informal networks, kombi operators can adjust their routes and operations to avoid potential conflicts or disruptions.

Simba, a bus conductor, gave insight into communication on the road:

We inform each other about approaching authorities as minibus taxi operators use informal communication networks to share real-time information about police locations. This network often involves fellow drivers, conductors, street vendors, and residents. We utilize hand signals, whistle codes, headlight flashing techniques, and phone calls. This system is effective because it is broad-based, allowing operators who may not know each other to communicate effectively (Interview with Simba, Harare, 2022).

The real-time exchange of information is paramount for optimizing routes and minimizing downtime resulting from encounters with law enforcement, thereby enhancing the overall efficiency of kombi operations. The communication network is critical for mitigating financial losses associated with fines or confiscation. By remaining well-informed, operators can circumvent penalties and sustain their daily income, which is imperative for their economic viability.

The utilization of decoys and informal communication networks by vendors and kombi operators in Harare South Peri-Urban signifies a broader demonstration of resilience and adaptability in response to a challenging regulatory environment. Both groups employ innovative strategies to mitigate the risks associated with law enforcement actions, such as raids and fines, threatening their livelihoods. Vendors implement decoys to safeguard their valuable goods from confiscation, while kombi operators depend on various communication methods, including hand signals, whistle codes, and mobile phones, to circumvent police checkpoints. These tactics underscore a collective understanding among community members of the imperative to navigate and thrive amid a frequently adversarial regulatory framework. The collaborative strategies and mutual support systems nurtured by these practices bolster social cohesion and fortify the community's resilience. Through their concerted efforts, vendors and kombi operators establish a safety net that safeguards their economic activities and ensures their continued operation despite regulatory challenges.

7.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY

The chapter introduces the concept of how political and social factors impact spatial inclusion and socio-economic access in the peri-urban areas of Harare South. It suggests that spatial inclusion goes beyond physical infrastructure and is closely tied to governance and societal systems. These governance systems also contribute to the recurring impacts of adverse incorporation and social exclusion.

The marginalisation of less powerful groups due to political patronage and the centralisation of power leads to inconsistent implementation of laws and policies. The fragmented approach to urban planning, influenced by the dual governance system and hierarchical power structures, undermines the effectiveness of local authorities. Additionally, political patronage distorts resource allocation and policy implementation, perpetuating inequalities and hindering effective urban management.

Ambiguous and selectively enforced regulations create a hostile environment for small businesses and informal traders, who often lack the resources to navigate these complexities. This selective

enforcement fosters inequality and deepens socio-economic divides, calling for a more coherent and fair regulatory approach.

The lack of predictability in regulatory frameworks impedes economic development by deterring investment and constraining entrepreneurial endeavours. Consequently, this hampers economic growth and has repercussions on local development initiatives and employment prospects, underscoring the necessity for stable and transparent regulations. Furthermore, gender discrimination within the regulatory sphere exacerbates socioeconomic disparities and curtails women's economic agency. Mitigating these biases is imperative for fostering comprehensive economic growth and ensuring the full participation of women in the economy.

Residents feel excluded from important decision-making processes, which fosters disempowerment and distrust in local governance. This exclusion undermines the effectiveness of development projects and reduces community cohesion. When residents feel alienated, it hampers the relevance and success of development initiatives. Ensuring inclusive and participatory governance is crucial to restoring trust and promoting a sense of ownership and responsibility among community members.

The community has developed adaptive strategies as a practical response to governance failures. Tactics such as employing decoys during raids and utilising informal communication networks showcase the community's resourcefulness in sustaining their livelihoods amidst challenges. While these coping mechanisms facilitate survival, they also underscore the immediate necessity for systemic reforms to establish a more supportive and inclusive environment for all residents.

The chapter's conclusion posits that political and social dynamics significantly influence spatial inclusion and socio-economic access in the peri-urban areas of Harare South. The interplay of governance structures, regulatory environments, and community resilience shapes residents' everyday experiences. Tackling these intricate dynamics necessitates transparent, accountable governance and equitable policies to counteract corruption, foster inclusivity, and uphold sustainable development. Although the community's resilience and agency underscore the potential for adaptive strategies, systemic changes are imperative for long-term solutions.

CHAPTER 8

DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

8.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter concludes the thesis by revisiting the research objectives, synthesising the findings, and discussing their implications within the theoretical framework. It aims to align the research objectives outlined in Chapter 1 with the findings and interpretations presented throughout the thesis. Additionally, the chapter emphasises the broader implications for urban development policy and planning in Harare.

This thesis primarily aimed to examine how adverse incorporation and social exclusion influence the living conditions of peri-urban residents in Harare South (Southlea Park and Hopely), particularly regarding mobility and accessibility. The research specifically investigated the effects of these factors on access to dependable transportation, essential services like healthcare and education, and income-generating opportunities. By analysing the experiences of low-income communities in Harare's southern suburbs, the study sought to deliver a thorough understanding of the socioeconomic dynamics that sustain marginalisation and poverty. The thesis articulated the following research inquiries:

1. What are the various forms of adverse incorporation affecting the residents of Harare South Peri-Urban?
2. How does adverse incorporation impact social trends and cohesion in the Harare South Peri-Urban Region?
3. Do spatial differences in Harare dictate access to opportunities and socio-economic activities?
4. How do political and social circumstances affect people's spatial inclusion and access to socio-economic activities in terms of incorporation?

In this chapter, I present the conclusions derived from the answers to the previous questions. I also developed an argument for a new urban development narrative based on the research findings. Lastly, I explore the implications of my findings for future research.

8.2 SYNTHESIS OF FINDINGS

The findings of this study address the research objectives by providing a detailed account of the challenges faced by peri-urban residents in Harare. These findings are organised around three core themes:

8.2.1 Mobility and Accessibility

Mobility and accessibility are fundamental to the socio-economic well-being of peri-urban residents, serving as a critical link to employment, education, and essential services. The study revealed that residents face profound challenges in accessing affordable and reliable transportation. Public transport options dominate the landscape, primarily informal systems such as kombis and mushikashika. While these systems fill a critical gap left by inadequate formal services, they are often expensive, unreliable, and exploitative, disproportionately affecting low-income groups.

The inadequacy of formal transport infrastructure compounds these issues. Poorly maintained roads and a lack of investment in peri-urban transport infrastructure result in long travel times and high transport costs. Many peri-urban residents must spend a significant portion of their income on transportation, which reduces their ability to meet other essential needs, such as food and healthcare. These conditions reinforce cycles of poverty and deepen the marginalisation of peri-urban communities.

Urban transport planning in Harare has historically prioritised affluent areas, leaving peri-urban regions under-served. This systemic neglect is evident in the limited development of transport routes and infrastructure that connect these communities to the city's economic centres. This exclusion is not merely a logistical issue but a structural one rooted in policies that fail to prioritise equity and inclusion in urban development.

The study emphasises the vital importance of mobility in enabling socio-economic opportunities and stresses the necessity for targeted interventions. Suggested actions involve creating public transport systems that are affordable, dependable, and accessible, designed

explicitly for peri-urban communities. Improving road infrastructure and incorporating peri-urban transport systems into wider urban planning frameworks are crucial measures to tackle these issues.

8.2.2 Adverse Incorporation and Social Exclusion

Adverse incorporation and social exclusion emerged as central themes in understanding the lived realities of peri-urban residents in Harare. These concepts capture the dual processes of integration into urban systems under exploitative terms and systemic exclusion from decision-making and resource allocation.

The study highlighted how political elites and land barons exploit vulnerable peri-urban residents through fraudulent land sales and inflated housing costs. Many residents live in informal settlements without secure tenure, facing constant threats of eviction. This precarious situation is exacerbated by the lack of formal recognition for these areas, leaving them outside the scope of urban development policies and investments.

Social exclusion is deeply embedded in the spatial organisation of Harare's southern suburbs. Informal settlements receive minimal investment in infrastructure and services, resulting in conditions that more closely resemble rural areas than urban ones. Residents lack access to basic amenities such as clean water, electricity, and sanitation. This exclusion is not accidental but a result of urban planning practices that systematically marginalise low-income groups.

Adverse incorporation is also evident in the reliance on informal economic systems. While these systems provide essential livelihoods for many residents, they are characterised by insecurity and exploitation.

8.2.3 Urban Policy and Infrastructure

Urban policy and infrastructure deficits are significant barriers to improving the living conditions of peri-urban residents in Harare. The study found that the absence of coherent urban planning policies has led to unregulated urban expansion, resulting in overcrowded informal settlements and inadequate infrastructure. This unplanned growth has created a disconnect

between peri-urban areas and the broader urban framework, perpetuating socio-economic disparities.

The legacy of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) has further complicated urban development. While the FTLRP aimed to address historical injustices in land ownership, its implementation disrupted agricultural livelihoods and contributed to land tenure insecurity. Many peri-urban areas now consist of redistributed land that lacks clear ownership, discouraging investment in infrastructure and services.

Environmental challenges exacerbate these issues. Peri-urban residents face water scarcity, flooding, and improper waste management, intensified by inadequate infrastructure. The study revealed that residents often rely on community-led initiatives, such as borehole drilling and resource pooling, to address these gaps. While these initiatives demonstrate resilience, they are not sustainable solutions to systemic problems.

Policy fragmentation and weak governance further hinder urban development. Multiple government agencies and local authorities operate with little coordination, resulting in inconsistent and ineffective interventions. This fragmentation is evident in the inadequate provision of essential water, electricity, and sanitation services.

8.2.4 Livelihoods in Harare South Peri-Urban Areas

A complex interplay of socio-economic, spatial, and political factors shapes livelihoods in peri-urban areas of Harare. The study revealed that the informal economy serves as the primary source of income for many residents, encompassing activities such as small-scale trading, artisanal work, and informal transport services. These activities provide critical income streams but are often characterised by instability and vulnerability.

The absence of formal employment opportunities in peri-urban areas has forced residents to depend on precarious livelihoods. Informal workers frequently operate without legal protections, leaving them susceptible to exploitation, unfair wages, and poor working conditions. Moreover, the lack of access to credit and formal financial services limits their

ability to expand businesses or invest in more stable income-generating activities. This financial exclusion perpetuates cycles of poverty and reinforces economic insecurity.

Spatial and infrastructural challenges also impact livelihoods. Poor road networks and unreliable public transport increase costs and reduce access to markets and job opportunities. Additionally, the limited availability of electricity and water constrains small-scale manufacturing and other enterprises that rely on these essential services. These barriers create a challenging economic growth and diversification environment in peri-urban areas.

Despite these challenges, the study found evidence of resilience and innovation among peri-urban residents. Community-led savings groups, informal cooperatives, and resource-sharing initiatives have emerged as vital coping mechanisms. These initiatives not only provide financial support but also foster social cohesion and collective action, enabling communities to address shared challenges.

8.2.6 Final Reflections

The findings of this study paint a complex and challenging picture of peri-urban life in Zimbabwe, particularly within the context of Harare's southern suburbs. Through an in-depth examination of socio-economic marginalisation, spatial segregation, and the impact of the government's shortcomings in urban expansion policy, this research highlights the distinct and multifaceted struggles residents face in these areas.

At the core of these challenges lies a fundamental disconnect between the needs of peri-urban populations and the state's ability—or willingness—to meet those needs. The lack of a coherent urban expansion policy has exacerbated the disintegration of peri-urban areas, leading to the proliferation of informal settlements, inadequate infrastructure, and limited access to essential services such as healthcare, education, and sanitation. This policy vacuum, coupled with the disruptive legacy of the land reform programme, has left these areas in perpetual marginalisation, where systemic neglect and governance failures negate the anticipated benefits of urban proximity.

The findings also reveal the resilience and adaptability of peri-urban communities, who have developed various grassroots strategies to cope with their challenging environment. While these community-led initiatives provide some relief, they are not substitutes for the comprehensive urban planning and service delivery that is urgently needed. The reliance on informal economies and self-help projects underscores the vulnerability of these communities, who remain largely excluded from formal economic and social structures.

In comparison to the general peri-urban narrative seen in other global contexts, the Zimbabwean experience is marked by disintegration rather than integration, fragmentation rather than cohesion. This divergence highlights the critical need for policy reform that addresses the historical and structural inequities embedded in land ownership and urban development and ensures that peri-urban areas are fully integrated into the urban economy and infrastructure networks.

Ultimately, the study underscores the importance of a coordinated approach to urban planning that considers Zimbabwe's unique historical, economic, and political realities. Without such an approach, the disintegration of peri-urban areas will likely continue, deepening the socio-economic divides and perpetuating cycles of poverty and exclusion. Moving forward, policymakers must recognise the urgent need for integrated land and urban development policies to bridge the gap between rural and urban, formal and informal, and ensure a more inclusive and sustainable future for all Zimbabweans.

8.3 POLICY IMPLICATION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The study consistently elicits pertinent policy inquiries concerning the intricacies of transportation and their impact on distinct communities within the urban landscape. This section serves as a platform for dissecting the evolving policy concerns and proposing alternative courses of action.

The findings of this study underscore the urgent need for a comprehensive and coherent urban policy framework in Zimbabwe. The lack of such a policy has not only exacerbated the challenges facing peri-urban areas but has also highlighted deeper issues of governance and

policy-making that have persisted since independence. This section outlines the key policy implications and offers recommendations to address these challenges effectively.

8.3.1 The Need for a Coherent Urban Expansion Policy

The study reveals that the absence of a clear urban expansion policy in Zimbabwe has been a significant factor in the disintegration of peri-urban areas. This disintegration is manifested in the proliferation of informal settlements, inadequate services, and widening spatial inequalities. The parallels with the failures of the land reform process highlight the critical need for a coordinated and strategic approach to urban development.

Develop and Implement a Comprehensive Urban Expansion Policy: The Zimbabwean government urgently needs to formulate and implement a coherent urban expansion policy that integrates peri-urban areas into the broader urban economy. This policy should focus on creating sustainable and inclusive urban environments, ensuring that peri-urban areas are not marginalized but rather developed as integral parts of the city. The policy must include provisions for regularising land tenure, improving infrastructure, and providing essential services such as healthcare, education, and sanitation.

8.3.2 Addressing Governance and Coordination Issues

The study highlights the fragmented nature of urban governance in Zimbabwe. Various government departments and local authorities operate with little coordination, leading to inconsistent and often contradictory development outcomes. This fragmentation has perpetuated the spatial inequalities that plague peri-urban areas.

Establish Coordinated Governance Structures: Effective urban development requires strong, coordinated governance structures that ensure all stakeholders work towards the same objectives. The government should establish a central coordinating body responsible for overseeing urban expansion and ensuring policies are implemented consistently across different regions and sectors. This body should facilitate collaboration between national and local authorities, private sector actors, and community organisations to achieve cohesive urban development.

8.3.3 Learning from Past Policy Failures

The study draws parallels between the failures of the land reform process and the challenges facing urban expansion in Zimbabwe. Both have been marked by ad-hoc and fragmented strategies that have failed to produce sustainable and equitable outcomes. These past policy failures offer valuable lessons for future urban planning.

The government must learn from the mistakes of the land reform process and apply these lessons to urban development. This includes recognising the importance of clear policy frameworks, adequate financial resources, and the need for long-term planning. Future urban expansion policies should be designed with a focus on sustainability, equity, and inclusivity, ensuring that the needs of all urban residents, particularly those in peri-urban areas, are met.

8.3.4 A Reconstruction of Peri-Urban Perspective According to the Findings

While addressing urban challenges in Harare's peri-urban areas is undeniable, there is a need to shift from traditional urban development models focusing on infrastructure and economic activities. The evidence from peri-urban communities highlights that social services, including healthcare, education, and sanitation, are as crucial as transportation infrastructure. These services remain critical even for communities that are not fully integrated into the urban economy. Despite their marginal location, households in peri-urban areas continue to seek better access to these essential services to improve their quality of life.

It has been shown that low-income households continue to face significant challenges in accessing basic social services in the peri-urban regions due to a lack of alternatives. The lack of adequate healthcare facilities, educational resources, and proper sanitation services exacerbates their vulnerabilities, perpetuating cycles of poverty and social exclusion. These households often travel long distances to access these services, a journey that is both time-consuming and costly, further complicating their already precarious situation. This creates a reliance on other parts of the city, which limits the self-sustainability of peri-urban areas.

Emerging evidence challenges the assumptions that have long guided urban development policies, often geared towards maintaining a rigid land use system and zoning. The assumption that improved transportation alone can alleviate urban poverty does not reflect the multifaceted

reality of peri-urban life. Access to quality healthcare, education, and sanitation is equally important and must be integrated into urban planning strategies.

In the case of Harare, these assumptions about peri-urban areas and low-income households do not align with empirical realities. As illustrated by the findings, the challenges faced by peri-urban residents are not just about physical infrastructure but also about the accessibility and quality of essential social services. The distinction between ‘urban’ and ‘peri-urban’ is blurred by the social and economic interdependencies created by historical and contemporary policies.

The notion of available resources and services to all urban dwellers remains an illusion. Harare South and the peri-urban households face acute shortages of basic services due to systemic neglect and inadequate planning. Most of the households rely on informal means to access healthcare, education, and sanitation, reflecting a broader failure of formal systems to meet their needs.

The idea that improving physical infrastructure alone will solve these issues is equally problematic. Effective service provision depends on various factors, including adequate funding, skilled personnel, and proactive governance. In Harare’s peri-urban areas, these factors are often lacking, leading to a reliance on informal solutions that are neither sustainable nor adequate. The governing entities often play catch-up to the realities of fast-paced peri-urban growth.

Based on the evidence, it is clear that demands for better services should not be seen merely as demands for basic amenities but as integral to the livelihoods and well-being of peri-urban households. Despite these challenges, the resilience of these communities is evident. Households continue to find ways to cope, but this resilience should not excuse the lack of formal support and infrastructure.

This study strongly suggests a new peri-urban development narrative for Harare. This narrative should move away from models based on infrastructure and economic activity assumptions alone to one focused on peri-urban residents’ actual lived experiences and needs. Such a

narrative should incorporate the provision of quality social services as central to any urban development strategy. By acknowledging and addressing the multifaceted challenges faced by peri-urban households, policymakers can develop more inclusive and effective urban planning processes that enhance the quality of life for all residents.

8.4 CONTRIBUTIONS AND AREAS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This section discusses the study's contributions to the academic field, policy implications, and potential areas for future research. By exploring the unique dynamics of peri-urban spaces in Zimbabwe, this research provides valuable insights that extend beyond the immediate context of Harare's southern suburbs.

8.4.1 Contributions of the Study

This study makes several noteworthy contributions to the understanding of peri-urban spaces, particularly in the context of Zimbabwe's socio-political and economic landscape.

Advancing Peri-Urban Theory: The study challenges the dominant narratives of peri-urbanisation, which often focus on integration and gradual improvement. Instead, it highlights a trajectory of disintegration and marginalisation in Zimbabwe's peri-urban areas, driven by historical legacies, political instability, and economic decline. This shift in focus broadens the theoretical understanding of peri-urbanisation in the Global South.

Case Study of Harare's Southern Suburbs: Through extensive fieldwork, the study provides detailed empirical data on residents' lived experiences in Harare's peri-urban areas. It sheds light on these communities' daily challenges, including accessing essential services, securing livelihoods, and navigating socio-economic marginalisation. This empirical evidence enriches the knowledge on urban poverty and exclusion in Zimbabwe.

Policy-Relevant Insights: The study's findings significantly affect urban policy and planning. By highlighting the failures of current urban expansion policies and advocating for integrated, coherent strategies, the research provides actionable recommendations that are both practical and contextually relevant.

8.4.2 Areas for Future Research

While this study offers a comprehensive analysis of peri-urban spaces in Zimbabwe, it also opens up several avenues for future research that can further enhance understanding and inform policy.

One critical area for future research is the effectiveness of urban governance in managing service delivery in peri-urban areas. The study highlighted the fragmented and often inadequate provision of essential services such as water, sanitation, education, and healthcare in Harare's peri-urban regions. Future research should examine the governance structures involved, exploring how local authorities, community organisations, and informal networks interact to deliver these services and how governance can be improved to better meet the needs of peri-urban populations.

The informal economy plays a crucial role in the survival of peri-urban communities, but its dynamics require further exploration. Future studies could delve into the relationship between formal and informal sectors, the challenges faced by informal workers, and the potential for policy interventions to support and formalise these activities.

Investigating the effectiveness of governance models in managing urban growth and delivering services in peri-urban areas is another critical area for future research. Such studies could assess the capacity of local authorities to implement urban policies, identify barriers to successful urban planning, and compare governance practices across different cities within Zimbabwe or other similar contexts.

With the rapid expansion of informal settlements, there is a growing need to study environmental sustainability in peri-urban areas. Research could focus on the environmental impacts of unplanned urban expansion, such as deforestation, water scarcity, and waste management, as well as the strategies that peri-urban communities use to adapt to these challenges. Additionally, the role of sustainable urban planning in mitigating these impacts could be explored.

The impact of climate change on peri-urban livelihoods represents another pressing area for future research. While this study touched on environmental challenges, a more focused investigation is necessary to understand how climate change is affecting peri-urban communities, especially those characterized by informal settlements and vulnerable infrastructure.



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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Semi Structured Interview Guide-Key Informants



SEMI STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE – KEY INFORMANTS

1. **Name?**
2. **Organisation?**
3. **Can you explain to me what organisation you work for, and what work that it does?**
 - I. What is your function within this organisation? Can you give me a description of your work?
4. **Regarding the urban space, how effective, effective and sustainable city design?**
5. **What function(s) does the City of Harare offer to the public? Is it social or economic?**
 - I. If so, how are they balanced?
6. **In your experience, how well are low-income communities integrated to the centres of socio-economic activities in Harare?**
 - I. How well connected are low-income households to social amenities?
 - II. Is public transport targeted towards those in the low-income bracket?
 - III. Based on distance, is public transport the same for higher income households closer to the City Centre and the low-income household on the periphery of the city?

- 7. Can you describe what, in your experience, are common problems in the design of the low-income household areas**
- I. What has caused these problems, in your view?
 - II. Are the problems faced in Southlea Park the same as to other suburbs?
 - III. To your knowledge, is there any solutions that have implemented or in the pipeline?
- 8. Can you discuss common features of the city infrastructure and how they relate to public transport efficiency?**
- I. Have there been changes in recent decades in this regard?
- 9. Is it common for people residing in the periphery to access socioeconomic activities that are far from their residency? (These include hospital, schools, entertainment areas, businesses etc)**
- 10. Are public housing, places of socioeconomic activities and public transport planned together more frequently given the transport challenges faced in newly formed suburbs on the periphery?**
- I. If so, how come there are some problems in some areas?
 - II. To what extent are local authorities and relevant ministries prepared to tackle transport related exclusion?
- 11. Does location determine access to social and economic opportunities in the City of Harare?**
- I. If so, what impact does it have on the livelihood of the low-income communities?
 - II. If based price per distance, are the low-income household residing at the periphery subsidised?
- 12. Can you say something about the duration of the time period most commuters residing in Southlea Park to travel to the city centre? Do you think most commuters travel as far as the city centre and to services beyond the city centre?**
- 13. How easy or difficult is it for residence of Southlea Park both low income and high income to access the city?**
- 14. What are future plans on the spatial planning pertaining to mobility and accessibility of the expanding city of Harare?**



Appendix 2: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE – Residents/Community

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE – Residents/Community

Initial identification of potential participants:

1. Are you over 18 years old (yes/no)?
2. Are you a student(yes/no)?
3. Are you self-employed or formally employed (yes/no)?
4. Do you commute at least four days a week (yes/no)?

Follow-up questions when someone has been identified as a suitable participant:

1. Gender?
2. Age?
3. What is your occupation?
4. How would you describe Southlea Park?
5. When did you move to Southlea Park?
 - I. What caused you to start staying in Southlea Park?
 - II. How long have you been residing in Southlea Park?
6. What types of problems do you experience with Southlea Park's location with regards to access to opportunities?

- I. How do you resolve the problems?
- II. Does the government play a part in addressing the problems?
- 7. How accessible are places of socio-economic activities?**
 - I. How long does it take you to get to there?
 - II. How far are these places?
 - III. What mode of transport do you use?
- 8. How does access to the city fare for someone living in Southlea Park?**
 - I. How is it like during the morning and during the evening?
 - II. Where do people travel to the most and why?
 - III. What modes are available and accessible to residents of Southlea Park?
- 9. Considering the distance, you travel, how does it make you feel?**
 - I. Is there any physical fatigue after a trip?
 - II. Is there any mental fatigue after you travel?
 - III. Does the distance you travel affect your performance in your daily routine?
 - IV. If so, what is it like and how do you overcome it?
- 10. How often do you reach your destination on time for the activities you travel for?**
 - I. Are you always on time for your intended activities?
 - II. When done with your activities, how easy is it to go back to your home?
 - III. Describe how the journey home is after your activities are done compared when you come in for your activities?
- 11. Are economic opportunities easily available for residents of Southlea Park?**
 - I. If so, what kind of opportunities are available?
 - II. How are they distributed?
- 12. What is income you get against the expense?**
 - I. What is the household income?
 - II. How many people work?
 - III. How many people go to school?
 - IV. How many people travel to access economic and social amenities?
- 13. How safe is Southlea Park?**
 - I. Regarding the movement of people?
 - II. Is it walkable and can you ride a bicycle?
 - III. Regarding the public transport?
- 14. How liveable is Southlea Park?**
 - I. Are basic services accessible? (refuse collection, storm water drainage, footpaths, street lighting)
 - II. If SO, how well distributed are the services?
 - III. If not, how do you assess basic services?
 - IV. How is the sanitation of the area?
- 15. Do you have an alternative way of accessing your socio-economic activities?**
 - I. Do you have car?
 - II. Do you have a bicycle, scooter, motor bike?

- III. If yes how often do you use it and for what purposes.
16. How often do you miss opportunities due to lack of access or transport?

17. What has been the impact of Covid-19 on:

- I. Daily routine for work/school
- II. How has it been to commute
- III. How you feel about using transport



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Appendix 3: Informed Consent - Community

Informed Consent - Community

You are hereby invited to participate in a research study by Tadiwa Webster Chikengezha, a PhD candidate in Development Studies student in the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology at the University of Pretoria. The study seeks to assess the connection between Urban space design and Adverse Incorporation and Social Exclusion. This letter as it gives information on the study and your rights as a participant. If you would prefer me to read the letter, I will read it in a language that you prefer.

Title of the study

Adverse Incorporation and Social Exclusion in Harare: An analysis of Spatial Design
Mobility and Accessibility of low-income groups residing in Harare's Southern Suburbs.

What will happen in the study?

The study will involve interviews with you on information and views on aspects that the study is interested in understanding. The interview will take about an hour of your time

and with your permission, may be voice recorded so that I do not miss any important information that you share. You can choose to have the interview session in English or in Shona.

Risks and discomforts

There will be no danger to you or your household or to your institution. It may however be difficult for you to share some information, and you will be free not to answer any questions that may make you feel uncomfortable. If you experience some level of discomfort after joining the study, and you would like to stop participation, please be free to let me know. You will be allowed to stop participation without any prejudice and the data already collected will be discarded.

Are there any benefits for joining the study?

You will not receive any money or gifts for your participation. Your contributions will assist me in developing a thesis for my qualification, but it may also benefit the community and organisation indirectly through findings that may assist in finding better ways of doing things.

Confidentiality

Apart from me as the researcher, the data will be shared with my supervisor, Prof. Vusi Thebe of the University of Pretoria. Every effort will be made to ensure that the information you share is not linked to you or your household. Your identity and that of your household will not be revealed and you will be identified through pseudonyms. The data will be stored in a password protected computer during fieldwork, and in the Department of

Anthropology and Archaeology, for a period of 15 years for archiving purposes. If the data is used during this period, it will only be for research purposes.

The results will be produced in the form of a dissertation or scientific paper or may be presented at both local and international forums like workshops and conferences. The voice recordings of the interviews will not be broadcasted on radio, television, internet or on social media but will be utilised to make findings for the study.

Any questions?

If you have any questions or would want me to explain anything further, you are welcome to phone or text me on +263772427263/ +27794316585. You can also send me an email on the following address:

U15281729@tuks.co.za

CONSENT DECLARATION

I _____ (write your name) hereby agree to participate in this study done by Tadiwa Chikengezha (Student Number 15281729).

Signature of Participant

Date

Signature of Researcher

Date



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Lefapha la Bomotheo



Appendix 4: Survey Questionnaire: Urban Development and Accessibility in Harare's Southern Suburbs

Purpose: This survey aims to understand the challenges related to spatial design, mobility, accessibility, and water supply in Harare's southern suburbs, with a particular focus on low-income households.

Section 1: Demographic Information

Age:

18-24

25-34

35-44

45-54

55 and above

Gender:

Male

Female

Prefer not to say

Household size:

1-2

3-4

5-6

7 or more

Employment status:

Employed full-time

Employed part-time

Self-employed

Unemployed

How long have you lived in Southlea Park or other southern suburbs of Harare?

Less than 1 year

1-3 years

4-6 years

More than 6 years

Section 2: Mobility and Accessibility

How do you usually commute to work or school?

Private car

Public bus

Walking

Bicycle

Motorcycle

Other (Please specify): _____

How far is your home from the nearest public transport stop?

Less than 1 km

1-2 km

3-4 km

5 km or more

How much time do you spend commuting to the city centre or work daily?

Less than 30 minutes

30-60 minutes

1-2 hours

More than 2 hours

How do transport costs affect your household budget?

Minor impact

Moderate impact

Significant impact

Major challenge

Are there any mobility challenges you face regularly (e.g., road conditions, traffic, availability of transport)?

Yes

No

If yes, please specify: _____

Section 3: Access to Basic Services (Water, Healthcare, etc.)

How would you rate your access to clean drinking water in your area?

Very good

Good

Poor

Very poor

How often do you experience water shortages in your household?

Rarely (once a month or less)

Occasionally (once a week)

Frequently (several times a week)

Constantly (daily)

If you experience water shortages, how do you cope with them? (You can choose more than one option)

Buy water from private vendors

Collect water from boreholes

Rely on rainwater collection

Use stored water

Other (Please specify): _____

Do you have access to reliable healthcare services in your neighborhood?

Yes

No

If no, how far do you travel to access healthcare services?

Less than 5 km

5-10 km

More than 10 km

Section 4: Housing and Livelihood

How would you describe your current housing situation?

Formal house (legally owned/rented)

Informal housing (not legally owned/rented)

Temporary shelter

What is the primary source of your household income?

Formal employment

Informal employment (e.g., vending, small-scale trade)

Agriculture

Remittances

Other (Please specify): _____

How has the decline in agricultural productivity due to changing rainfall patterns impacted your household?

No impact

Minor impact

Significant impact

Major impact

Section 5: Community Involvement and Challenges

Are you involved in any community initiatives or groups aimed at improving access to services (e.g., water, transport, etc.)?

Yes

No

If yes, please specify: _____

What do you believe are the biggest challenges facing your neighborhood in terms of urban development?

Poor infrastructure (roads, electricity, etc.)

Lack of access to water

Inadequate transport services

Lack of healthcare services

Limited economic opportunities

Other (Please specify): _____

Section 6: Policy and Governance

Do you feel your community is adequately represented in local governance and urban planning decisions?

Yes

No

What improvements would you recommend for the development of southern suburbs in Harare?

Focus Group Discussion Guide: Spatial Design, Mobility, and Social Exclusion in Harare's Southern Suburbs

Objective:

The purpose of this discussion is to explore the experiences of residents in Harare's southern suburbs (such as Southlea Park) regarding challenges related to spatial design, mobility, accessibility to services, and water shortages. We are particularly interested in how these factors contribute to adverse incorporation and social exclusion among low-income groups.

Introduction:

Welcome participants and introduce the purpose of the FGD.

Explain the importance of their views in understanding challenges related to urban planning and access to services.

Assure participants of confidentiality and encourage open sharing of experiences.

Section 1: General Living Conditions and Spatial Design

Q1: How would you describe the general living conditions in your neighborhood? (Probe on infrastructure such as roads, electricity, and housing quality)

Q2: How does the spatial design of your area (e.g., distance from the city centre, lack of public spaces) affect your daily life? (Prompt for impacts on work, accessing services, etc.)

Q3: Do you feel that the design of your neighborhood makes you feel isolated or excluded from other parts of the city? Why or why not?

Section 2: Mobility and Transportation

Q4: How do you typically travel within Harare? (Probe about the modes of transport used and distance to transport hubs)

Q5: What challenges do you face when commuting to work, school, or accessing healthcare? (Prompt for issues such as transport costs, time spent commuting, and poor road infrastructure)

Q6: How do transportation challenges affect your access to opportunities, such as jobs or education, located outside your suburb?

Section 3: Water Access and Availability

Q7: How would you describe the water supply in your area? (Prompt for frequency of access, reliability, and quality of water)

Q8: How do water shortages affect your household and daily routines? (Explore impacts on hygiene, food preparation, and coping mechanisms like buying water from vendors)

Q9: Do you feel that your community is receiving equal access to water compared to other parts of Harare? Why or why not?

Section 4: Social Exclusion and Adverse Incorporation

Q10: In what ways do you feel excluded from economic or social life in Harare due to where you live? (Prompt for social services, job opportunities, or community participation)

Q11: How has the design and infrastructure of your suburb contributed to feelings of social or economic exclusion? (Ask about isolation from economic centres, limited access to services, etc.)

Q12: What specific groups in your community (e.g., women, children, elderly, disabled) do you think are most affected by these challenges, and how? (Discuss gendered or vulnerable group experiences)

Section 5: Coping Strategies and Solutions

Q13: How do you and your neighbors cope with the challenges of mobility, poor infrastructure, and water shortages? (Probe for informal solutions like community transport, boreholes, or sharing resources)

Q14: What community-based initiatives have been undertaken to address these issues? Are they effective?

Q15: How can the local government or other organizations better support communities like yours in terms of infrastructure development, transport, and water provision?

Section 6: Recommendations for Policy and Development

Q16: What changes in spatial design, transport, or water infrastructure would improve life in your neighborhood?

Q17: What role do you think local authorities, planners, and developers should play in addressing the needs of low-income residents in Harare's southern suburbs?

Q18: Do you feel your community is adequately represented in local governance or urban planning decisions? If not, what would you recommend to improve this?

Conclusion:

Thank the participants for their contributions and insights.

Summarize key points from the discussion.

Inform the participants how the information will be used in the study and ensure that their voices will contribute to advocating for better urban development policies in Harare.

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Appendix 5: Research Permit



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 HUMAN CAPITAL DIRECTOR

17 March 2022

Universite Van Pretoria
Pretoria

Dear Tadiwa Chikengezha

RE: AUTHORITY TO UNDERTAKE RESEARCH: TADIWA CHIKENGEZHA

This letter serves as authority for Tadiwa Chikengezha to undertake a research survey on the topic: **“ADVERSE INCORPORATION AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION IN HARARE: AN ANALYSIS OF MOBILITY AND ACCESSIBILITY OF LOW-INCOME GROUPS IN HARARE’S SOUTHERN SUBURBS”**.

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 soft and hard 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 the study purpose specified.

Yours faithfully


MR. B. MATENGARUFU
ACTING HUMAN CAPITAL DIRECTOR

Harare to achieve a **WORLD CLASS CITY STATUS** by 2025

Appendix 6: Ethical Clearance



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Lefapha la Bomotho



30 May 2022

Dear Mr TW Chikengezha,

Project Title: Adverse Incorporation and Social Exclusion in Harare: An Analysis of Spatial Design
Mobility and Accessibility of low-income groups residing in Harare's Southern Suburbs
Researcher: Mr TW Chikengezha
Supervisor(s): Prof V Thebe
Department: Anthropology, Archaeology and Development Studies
Reference number: 15281729 (HUM002/1121 Line 1) (Amendment)
Degree: Doctoral

Thank you for the application to amend the existing protocol that was previously approved by the Committee.

The revised / additional documents were reviewed and **approved** on 30 May 2022 along these guidelines, further data collection may therefore commence (where necessary).

Please note that this approval is based on the assumption that the research will be carried out along the lines laid out in the amended proposal. Should your actual research depart significantly from the proposed research, it will be necessary to apply for a new research approval and ethical clearance.

We wish you success with the project.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Karen Harris'.

Prof Karen Harris
Chair: Research Ethics Committee
Faculty of Humanities
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
e-mail: tracey.andrew@up.ac.za



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