



UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA  
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA  
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

Denkleiers • Leading Minds • Dikgopolo tša Dihlalefi

**MOBILITY AND ACCESSIBILITY IN URBAN AREAS:  
AN ASSESSMENT OF URBAN TRANSPORT AND SOCIAL  
EXCLUSION AMONG LOW-INCOME GROUPS IN HARARE**

Tadiwa Webster Chikengezha

Student Number: u15281729

Supervised by: Professor Vusi Thebe

Master of Social Science in Development Studies

Department of Anthropology and Archaeology

*A dissertation submitted to the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology, Faculty of  
Humanities at the University of Pretoria, in partial fulfilment of the award of a Master of Social  
Science in Development Studies*

*August 2020*

## **Declaration**

I declare that this dissertation, which I hereby submit to the Department of Development Studies at the University of Pretoria, is my own work and has not been previously submitted by me for a degree at another university.

---

Tadiwa Webster Chikengezha  
*The Student*

---

Date

---

Prof Vusi Thebe  
*The supervisor*

---

Date

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

This project is a huge milestone in my academic pursuit, and I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor, Professor Vusi Thebe for his constant guidance and support throughout the project. His active involvement was extremely important and valuable for the timeous completion of the project. I am also grateful to all the study participants who welcomed me into their personal and social spaces and shared their experiences and knowledge with me on my topic. A special thank you also goes to my family for being my source of inspiration and pillar of strength. My heartfelt gratitude also goes to my friends and colleagues who constantly supported me throughout this project.

## Table of Contents

<b>Declaration</b> .....	2
Acknowledgements.....	3
Table of Contents.....	4
Abstract.....	ii
List of Acronyms .....	iii
List of figures.....	iii
List of Plates .....	iii
CHAPTER 1 .....	1
INTRODUCTION .....	1
1.1 INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1.1 Contextualising the Problem.....	1
1.1.2 Background to the CoH’s transport problems .....	5
1.2 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY .....	7
1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS.....	7
1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY .....	8
1.5 STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION .....	8
CHAPTER 2 .....	9
LITERATURE REVIEW AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK.....	9
2.1 INTRODUCTION.....	9
2.2 SOCIAL EXCLUSION AND THE FACTORS INFLUENCING IT.....	10
2.2.1 Geographical exclusion.....	11
2.2.2 Economic exclusion.....	12
2.2.3 Fear-based exclusion.....	12
2.2.4 Time-based exclusion .....	13
2.2.5 Space exclusion.....	13
2.2.6 Physical exclusion.....	14
2.3 URBANISATION AND ITS ROLE IN TRANSPORT INDUCED EXCLUSION.....	14
2.3.1 The Central Business District (CBD) .....	15
2.3.2 Urban suburban area .....	16
2.3.3 Peri-urban area.....	17
2.4 ASPECTS OF TRANSPORT USAGE.....	17

2.4.1 Transport affordability .....	18
2.4.2 Transport availability .....	18
2.4.3 Transport accessibility .....	19
2.4.4 Transport acceptability.....	20
2.5 INEQUALITIES AND THEIR ROLE IN TRANSPORT RELATED SOCIAL EXCLUSION .....	20
2.5.1 Inequality of opportunities.....	21
2.5.2 Inequality of outcomes.....	23
2.6 MOBILITY AND ACCESSIBILITY .....	25
2.7 Research conceptual framework .....	26
CHAPTER 3 .....	30
RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY .....	30
3.1 INTRODUCTION.....	30
3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN .....	30
3.3 THE RESEARCH STUDY AREA .....	31
3.4 THE STUDY PARTICIPANTS .....	33
3.5 DATA COLLECTION TECHNIQUES.....	33
3.5.1. Semi-structured interviews .....	33
3.5.2 Non-participant observation.....	35
3.6 DATA ANALYSIS .....	37
3.7 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS .....	39
3.8 LIMITATIONS DURING FIELDWORK .....	40
3.8.1 Safety concerns of the researcher .....	41
3.8.2 Objectivity of the researcher .....	41
3.8.3 Inaccessibility of information .....	41
3.9 CHAPTER SUMMARY.....	42
CHAPTER 4 .....	43
PUBLIC PASSENGER TRANSPORTATION AND TRANSPORT INDUCED SOCIAL EXCLUSION IN HARARE .....	43
4.2 PLAYERS IN THE HARARE PUBLIC TRANSPORT SECTOR.....	48
4.2.1 State institutions .....	50
4.2.1.1 The Ministry of Transport and Infrastructure Development.....	50
4.2.1.2 Ministry of Local Government, Public Works and National Housing .....	52

4.2.1.3 CoH Administration.....	54
4.2.1.4 Zimbabwe Republic Police .....	55
4.2.1.5 Zimbabwe United Passenger Company .....	56
4.2.1.6 National Railways of Zimbabwe and the Freedom Train .....	57
4.2.1.7 Zimbabwe National Road Administration .....	58
4.2.1.8 The Vehicle Inspection Department .....	59
4.2.2 Private operators .....	61
4.2.2.1 Commuter omnibuses .....	61
4.2.2.2 Mushikashika ‘Emergency Taxis’ .....	65
4.3 HOW TRANSPORT PLAYERS INDUCE TRANSPORT RELATED EXCLUSION.....	67
4.3.1. The Ministry of Transport’s role in transport induced exclusion .....	69
4.3.2 The Ministry of Local Government and Transport Induced Exclusion .....	76
4.3.2.1 The sprawling city versus the allocation of resources .....	77
4.3.2.2 The Zimbabwe United Passenger Company reborn .....	79
4.4 POLITICS AND TRANSPORT INDUCED EXCLUSION.....	82
4.4.1 Challenges faced by the CoH in the provision of public transport.....	83
4.4.2 The institutionalisation of anarchy in public transport provision in Harare .....	84
4.4.2.1 Corruption among players in the transport sector.....	85
4.4.2.2 Touting as a form of institutionalized anarchy .....	87
4.4.3 The transport deprivation situation in Harare .....	88
4.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY .....	89
CHAPTER 5 .....	90
TRANSPORT EXCLUSION IN SOUTHLEA PARK.....	90
5.1 INTRODUCTION.....	90
5.2 THE KEY TRANSPORT-RELATED CHALLENGES FACED BY RESIDENTS OF SOUTHLEA PARK .....	90
5.2 1. Lack of adequate transport infrastructure .....	91
5.2.2 Un-roadworthy vehicles and congestion.....	92
5.2.3 Dangerous driving.....	95
5.2.4Traffic congestion .....	97
5.2.5 High costs of transport for commuters.....	99
5.2.6 Inaccessibility of transport by vulnerable groups .....	101

5.2.7 Personal sphere interference and lack of personal security and comfort in the public transport system .....	104
5.3 THE IMPACT OF TRANSPORT CHALLENGES ON THE SOCIAL WELL-BEING OF CITIZENS .....	106
5.4 PLANNED BEHAVIOUR IN PUBLIC TRANSPORT .....	110
5.5 OTHER INSTITUTIONS AFFECTED BY TRANSPORT CHALLENGES IN HARARE .....	113
5.5.1 The Zimbabwe Human Rights Commission.....	114
5.5.2 Fuel Service stations and garages as ranking stations .....	115
5.6 MEASURES TAKEN BY THE COH TO FIGHT TRANSPORT POVERTY IN SOUTHLEA PARK .....	117
5.6.1 Stoppage of all construction and other infrastructural developments in Harare South to allow proper planning .....	117
5.6.2 Demolition of unplanned and illegal structures .....	118
5.6.3 Provision of public transport through Zimbabwe United Passenger Company (ZUPCO).....	120
5.7 CHAPTER SUMMARY .....	121
CHAPTER 6 .....	122
CONCLUSION.....	122
6.1 INTRODUCTION.....	122
6.2 CONCEPTUAL ISSUES .....	123
6.2.1 Public Transport Challenges Faced in Harare .....	123
6.2.2 How public transport is failing the low-income earners.....	125
6.2.3 Mobility and Social Exclusion.....	126
6.3 CONCLUDING REMARKS .....	128
6.4 POLICY IMPLICATIONS .....	128
6.4.1 Public Transport Strategy .....	129
6.4.2 Transport as a social function .....	129
6.4.3 Mobility as a Service .....	130
6.4.4 Decentralisation of Power.....	130
6.4.5 De-politicization of public goods and services.....	131
6.5 CONCLUDING STATEMENT.....	131
References.....	132
Title of the study .....	150

Risks and discomforts .....	151
Confidentiality .....	151
CONSENT DECLARATION.....	152
Title of the study .....	153
Risks and discomforts .....	154
Confidentiality .....	154
CONSENT DECLARATION.....	155





## **ABSTRACT**

This study sought to unravel and explain the transport related challenges faced by low-income residents of Southlea Park in Harare, Zimbabwe, and the resultant social exclusion that these residents were facing. The study was therefore inspired by the common struggles, hurdles and challenges faced by the Southlea Park residents in their commuting life. A single case study research design focusing on the residents of Southlea Park was adopted for the research. The study was, therefore, qualitative. Key informants from the relevant line ministries and transport parastatals, including the Zimbabwe United Passenger Company, the National Railways of Zimbabwe, the Vehicle Inspection Department, and the City of Harare (CoH) were taken as the research participants. From the private sector, key informants from commuter omnibus (kombis) operators, private bus operators and the unregistered taxicab (Mushikashika) were also taken as study participants as these were key players in the provision of transport to residents of Southlea Park. Semi-structured interviews and non-participant observation were the main data collection techniques. This study revealed that the residents of Southlea Park in Harare were being socially excluded and marginalized from economic and social participation due to the numerous transport related challenges they were facing. These challenges emanated from the misuse of land and corruption in the suburb that led to the spaces meant for business activities, schools and hospitals being taken up by houses hence forcing the residents to look for these services elsewhere. The players in the provision of public transport in the city were also significantly contributing to the transport related challenges faced by residents as they themselves were failing to cope with the levels of congestion, transport shortages, lawlessness on the part of the transport providers and the commuters themselves, and the heightened transport related corruption bedeviling the city. This study had a lot of policy implications for the players in the provision of transport to this suburb, including the need for a transport strategy and an overall integrated policy and master plan for further development of Southlea Park and other residential areas in the city's fringes.

## **LIST OF ACRONYMS**

CBD - Central Business District

CoH - City of Harare

ESAP - Economic Structural Adjustment Programme

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

NRZ - National Railways of Zimbabwe

RTA - Road Traffic Act

VID - Vehicle Inspection Department

ZANU-PF - Zimbabwe African Union Patriotic Front

ZHRC - Zimbabwe Human Rights Commission

ZINARA - Zimbabwe National Roads Administration

ZRP - Zimbabwe Republic Police

ZUPCO - Zimbabwe United Passenger Company

### LIST OF FIGURES

<b>Figure</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Page</b>
Figure 2.1	Research conceptual framework	25
Figure 3.1	A visual representation of the process of grounded analysis	35
Figure 3.2	Categories of secondary data	36
Figure 4.1	Institutional relationships of road and transport sector in Zimbabwe	42

### LIST OF PLATES

<b>Plate</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Page</b>
Plate 3.1	A satellite images of Southlea Park	35
Plate 4.1	Some of the potholed roads in Southlea Park	68
Plate 4.2	Passengers boarding a ZUPCO bus	74
Plate 5.1	Traffic congestion in Harare	91
Plate 5.2	The Zimbabwe Human Rights Commission Head Office	106
Plate 5.3	A congested fuel service station in Harare	108



# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

---

### 1.1 INTRODUCTION

The burden of commuting is a crucial issue affecting the quality of urban life for many people. Venter (2009) identifies a growing interest in the subject of transport disadvantage throughout the developing world. A common trend has been that more affluent households spend less on transport, while poorer households spend a more significant proportion of their income on travel (Venter, 2009). This trend is prevalent in development studies of urban poverty as the disparities between the rich and the poor is growing. For a developing country, such as Zimbabwe, urban transport has been an area of contestation due to historical, political, and socio-economic factors. In the Zimbabwean context, the impacts of transport exclusion have been unfairly distributed, with the poor being impacted upon more significantly. In this dissertation, the aim is to highlight the synergies between transport provision and social exclusion implying that this study was inspired by the common struggles, hurdles and challenges faced by the urban residents in their commuting life.

#### 1.1.1 Contextualising the Problem

The synergies between public transport and urban development have identified that there is a gap between the public transport sector and urban planning in Zimbabwe. Transport deprivation is a reality to many, due to the geographical discrepancy between the location of low-income residents and the social and economic amenities. For instance, some people have quit their jobs that require them to travel long distances to work daily and have resorted to the informal sector where they buy and sell a variety of goods within their communities (Mbara, 2006). The gap between the location of low-income households and places of socio-economic activities has been problematic to the curbing of urban poverty in Zimbabwe and albeit in many developing countries worldwide

Existing literature has demonstrated that the deprivation of transport to low-income households result in numerous exclusions that combined, could be referred to as transport-related exclusions (Church and Frost 1999; Lucas, 2010; Hine and Mitchell 2003). These exclusions reduce the ability of these households to participate in socio-economic activities and to enjoy a reasonable standard of life (Church et al, 1999 and Lucas, 2010). In most countries worldwide today, the public transport network cannot cater for the fast-growing urban population explosions. The resultant transport related challenges have been and are being exacerbated by the lack of wholly inclusive home-grown transport policies and solutions to these challenges.

In Zimbabwe, transport related problems have been associated with the adoption of the neo-liberal Economic Adjustment Programme (ESAP) (Mlambo, 1997). Zimbabwe, like many developing states during the 1990s, received an Economic Adjustment Programme (ESAP) package after seeking aid from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB). The ESAP intended to address the economic challenges the country was facing as a condition for borrowing funds (Nhundu, 1992). The IMF/ WB reform package required the borrowing country to restructure its economy through demand management, trade liberalisation, elimination of price controls, and removal of government subsidies on goods and services (Mlambo, 1997). Other requirements for the borrowing country included reducing state investment in the economy and privatization of public corporations (Nevhutanda, 2007). In this case, it resulted in the liberalisation of a transport sector that was heavily controlled by the government.

In June 1994, the government's decision to de-regularise urban transport ended the Zimbabwe United Passenger Company (ZUPCO)'s monopoly and allowed competition by licensing other operators thereby ensuring a faster and more efficient transport system than before (Mlambo, 1997). This deregulation led to the introduction of new competition in the form of commuter omnibuses and this led to the disintegration of the ZUPCO. The disintegration of ZUPCO led to futile efforts by the government to provide equal access to transport for its citizens due to the private sector's dominance (Mbara, 2006). For instance, commuters ended up stranded after working hours as the timetable of buses did not apply to commuter omnibuses (Mbara, 2006).

Owing to this shortcoming and the lack of a concrete National Transport Policy, the ESAP model served as the policy till 2013. Today, the impacts of this ESAP model are being felt.

Another problem created by the ESAP model was that of unregulated fleet sizes of the commuter omnibuses leading to congestion and lack of government regulation in the public transport sector (Munzwa and Jonga, 2014). Due to the outcomes of the ESAP, provision of public transport was no longer a government priority (Mbara, 2006). As a result, public transport became more inefficient, leading to increased car ownership, convenient taxis, and car-sharing. Although convenient taxis and car-sharing are illegal, the law enforcement agencies turned a blind eye to the practice (Munzwa and Jonga, 2014). Consequently, in most of the country's urban areas and especially in Harare, public transport ended up being solely provided by the informal sector. Today, the transport systems in these cities are characterised by a huge number of small and old vehicles, uncourteous and dangerous driving, grid-lock congestion, slow speeds, and a generally inaccessible urban environment especially during peak hours. People, as a result, have been forced to fear public transport and the main urban areas due to the congested nature of urban centres.

Therefore, the congestion of cities, such as Harare, has reduced production time, with most of the time being spend travelling (Munzwa and Jonga, 2014). For example, travel time between household location and places of socio-economic activities is extended due to congestion; this in itself being a result of congestion owing to increased car ownership and an increased number of commuter omnibuses (Munzwa and Jonga, 2014). Low-income commuters that reside on the periphery of Harare tend to travel for long periods, thereby spending more time in commuting given that transport is not readily available and accessible. As a result, Church et al. (1999) refers to this as time exclusion based on transport deprivation. In seeking to understand the dynamics of the transport deprivation of low-income commuters, the location of the low-income families is crucial. The 2012 Zimbabwe census exercise indicated that there was a decrease in urban population from 35% of the total population to 33% (Mbiba, 2017). However, there has been a significant increase in urbanisation on the urban peripheries between 2002 and 2012. According to the survey done by Mbiba in 2017, the movement of many people to the urban periphery especially in Harare has mainly been a result of a housing shortage for low-income families in



Harare urban areas. Mbiba (2017) goes on to term the urban households in the urban periphery the 'missing urban'. The urban periphery is un-serviced by the City of Harare (CoH) authorities and is only developed under rural conditions by the rural councils *ibid*.

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 example, 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 CBD. Moreover, lack of social services, such as clinics and hospitals require people to go to built-up urban areas with such facilities. These examples present the need for accessibility to socio-economic activities by the urban populace. The lack of government services, such as roads, rail, and transport termini, has also increased the inaccessibility of the CBD by those living in the urban peripheries. The government does not provide transport, and the commuter omnibuses are not frequently available, and when available, they are expensive (Munzwa and Jonga, 2014).

Governments and transport sectors are primarily concerned with mobility rather than accessibility network (Lucas, 2010). Mobility suggests how far and how fast the transport network is while accessibility means how well the transport network connects with activity patterns. The challenge that arises from mobility focused transport is that of exclusion of some commuters. Little is known about the number of people excluded from the public transport system. Focusing on mobility as an approach to transport does not priorities the needs of some groups like the low-income earners. This study, therefore, explores transport induced exclusions of commuters to the CBD, where most economic activities are undertaken. The study focuses on low-income localities, particularly the newly formed informal settlements on Harare's urban periphery. Particular reference will be made to Southlea Park, a developing suburb on the periphery. Transport related exclusion challenges will be analysed under the lenses of inadequate transport provision and the associated consequences within the expanded urban space and the periphery.

### **1.1.2 Background to the City of Harare's transport problems**

Harare's growth has mainly been rapid for the past forty years. Since 1980, when Zimbabwe attained its independence, a combination of rural 'push' and urban 'pull' factors have witnessed increased rates of urbanisation in the country (Chirisa, et al., 2014). Such urbanisation, with its conspicuousness, was mostly experienced in major cities, Bulawayo and Harare included. Pull factors for migration into the CoH include, economic opportunities, better standards of living and education. Push factors that led some to migrate are countermands of the pull factors, such as lack of educational facilities and poor standards of living in the rural areas. The effect to this trend has been a severe strain on the physical, economic, and social fabric of the urban centres such that in virtually all of the cities and towns in the country, the rate of service delivery has been outstripped by demand much to the detriment of the urban population (Chirisa, et al., 2014).

This increased pressure on the city previously reserved for the white minority saw rapid urbanisation levels. The undesirable rapid levels of urbanisation produced adverse spill over effects, such as the mushrooming of slums and irregularly constructed buildings embedded in existing neighbourhoods (Chirisa, et al., 2014). Efforts by the government to curb these illegal settlements worsened the situation as this resulted in massive homelessness. As an example, in 2005, operation 'Murambatsvina' (Restore Order) left many people destitute and homeless as all illegal structures were destroyed by the government (Musarurwa, 2018). This reaction eventually moved many low-income families to the periphery of the city.

With a stunted economic and urban growth, the CoH is no longer the hub of income opportunities as previously known. Urban primacy is today one of the chief problems daunting the CoH and is responsible for lack of development in other areas (Chirisa, et al., 2014). A combination of a centralised economic hub and stunted economic growth has mainly been the situation in Harare since the early 2000s. The informal sector has grown significantly and now constitutes 65% of employment since the formal sector is dwindling due to the shrinking economy (Tanyanyiwa,

2016). These prevailing economic conditions have led to more dependence on transportation. Many people cannot afford to buy a vehicle for their personal use and rely on the public transport system. This overreliance on public transport has strangled this sector's ability to provide sufficient transport services to the people.

The public transport system in Harare is suffering from several imbalances in urban development, transportation, and liveability (Chirisa, et al., 2014). The city has developed unplanned, resulting in a mismatch between housing, employment, and services. Additionally, the shrinking of the economy inevitably led to the underdevelopment of the main public transport system administered by the government thereby allowing private actors to operate. The informal public transport sector has grown beyond control and is causing safety and congestion issues due to the number of vehicles, and their way of operation (Chirisa, et al., 2014). The transport situation has worsened due to lack of awareness and involvement of both the public and politicians. This has put a strain on the CBD as the sole centre of economic activity. Transportation networks for the different modes have not been able to develop properly, and today the narrow streets of the city are unable to meet the increasing demand in transport, that results in severe congestion with many negative impacts (Chirisa, et al., 2014).

The current urbanisation trajectory characterising the CoH is exerting a serious strain on its socio-economic activities and the physical environment. Clearly, a trend where the city tends to be continuously supported when all the socio-economic and sustainable development indicators are pointing downwards can best be described as parasitic (Chirisa, et al., 2014). Harare is indeed parasitizing on the informal economy or unknown forces that are yet to be captured in the lenses of policy researchers. Essential to note is that the force behind the population influx is mainly economic and may not be resolved in the near foreseeable future even if the country registers economic growth.

## **1.2 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

This study aims to bring out the transport related challenges faced by low-income residents of Southlea Park in Harare, Zimbabwe, and the resultant social exclusion that these residents are facing. The specific research aims and objectives emanating from this broader objective are as follows;

- To examine the role of transport in the social exclusion of low-income populations in Harare.
- To identify if and in what physical and social circumstances, people become vulnerable to transport and mobility problems.
- To find out the consequences of social exclusion on commuters' well-being and their key economic and social activities.
- To evaluate measures put in place by CoH authorities to mitigate transport poverty in newly settled residential areas, such as Southlea Park.

## **1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

Guided by the above main objective, the study sought to provide answers to one overarching question and four specific questions.

The overarching question is: What is the connection between public transport provision and social exclusion and how does it impact commuters in the CoH?

The specific research questions from this research were therefore as follows;

- What is the role of transport in the social exclusion of low-income populations in Harare?
- In what form is transport-related exclusion occurring for Harare's Southlea park residents?
- What are the outcomes of such problems in terms of the physical and mental well-being, of affected populations and the effect on critical economic and social activities?
- How effective have been the measures put in place by the CoH authorities to mitigate transport based social exclusion for Southlea Park residents?

#### **1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY**

Academically, no similar researches have been undertaken to date that focus on the connection between public transport provision and how this can lead to social exclusion in Southlea Park, Harare. Information derived from this study, could be used to craft strategies to mitigate the transport induced social exclusion challenges and hence assist government to realise its vision of a middle-income economy by 2030. With an inefficient transport system, it is difficult to achieve a middle-income economy for the country. This is because when public transport is not available and or inefficient; people become excluded from socio-economic activities and hence the country becomes unproductive.

#### **1.5 STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION**

This chapter introduced the study. It provided a background to the study and presented the research questions and the research objectives. The chapter also highlighted the significance of the study. Chapter 2 will review literature related to transport provision and how it contributes to transport related exclusion. The chapter also brings out the analytical framework for the research. Chapter 3 presents a discussion of the methodology adopted for this study. The study adopted a qualitative research design, and the chapter begins by looking at the research design. Thereafter, the chapter also discusses the research techniques employed by the study to collect data before looking at the ethical issues arising from the study. Chapter 4 presents the research findings but mainly focused on the players involved in the provision of transport in Harare and their contribution to the transport challenges that the city is facing and hence their role in perpetuating transport induced social exclusion for the locals. Chapter 5 reveals the challenges faced by Southlea Park residents in accessing public transport and the alternatives available to them. Finally, chapter 6 presents the study's conclusions and recommendations.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK**

---

---

#### **2.1 INTRODUCTION**

Development and population increase in the urban areas has been under the spotlight of academia since time immemorial. However, gaining more attention has been the role of public transportation in a more urbanised area. The economic and environmental performance of cities can be enhanced by connecting resources to destinations effectively and facilitating mass mobility (Bok and Kwon, 2016). The literature points to public transport being a means to an end and not an end in itself. Understanding the challenges of mobility in an urban area, the movement of people to and from socio-economic activities demonstrates the state of development in the country. Variations exist based on national development as more mobile people tend to be in developed countries while in less developed countries, numerous factors limit mobility. These factors form the framework of this chapter.

The analytical framework guiding this study draws from five main concepts. These concepts are social exclusion, urbanisation, transport affordability and availability, mobility, accessibility, and inequality. These concepts will be explained, and their connections explored next to produce the research's analytical framework.

## **2.2 SOCIAL EXCLUSION AND THE FACTORS INFLUENCING IT**

Social exclusion is one of the many ways that the urban poor are made vulnerable. Unravelling social exclusion in the context of public transport is vital in unlocking the knowledge gap between the formal operation of transport and social exclusion. Levitas et al., (2007: 9) define social exclusion as:

...the lack of or denial of resources, rights, goods and services, and the inability to participate in the normal relationship and activities, available to the majority of the people in the society, whether in economic, social, cultural, or political arenas. It affects both the quality of life of individuals and the equity and cohesion of society as a whole.

Another way of defining social exclusion is as a process that causes individuals or groups of society to refrain in taking part in the normal activities in their residential area and has significant spatial demonstration (Preston & Rajé, 2007). These definitions demonstrate that social exclusion is relational, multi-layered, and dynamic. It is important to clarify on the fact that social exclusion does not necessarily mean that an individual is poor. In this case, poverty means a lack of income and exists as a narrow version of social exclusion (Church et al., 1999). A recent study by Mackett and Thoreau in 2015 revealed that transport contributed to the nature of social exclusion by providing barriers to participation in socio-economic activities by the commuting public. Further analysis of existing literature revealed that this literature was more concerned with the outcomes of transport deprivation than with the processes leading to it (Titheridge et al., 2014).

Attempts to redefine the relationship between social exclusion and the provision of public transport are complicated by the missing link between the two concepts. In this case, transport-related social exclusion is defined as the process by which people are prevented from participating in the economic, political, and social life of the community because of reduced accessibility to opportunities, services, and social networks (Kenyon et al., 2002). Based on this definition, Kenyon's definition therefore considers individual, group dynamics and the society

at large. Church et al. (1999) opinion that while poverty implies an absolute or relative lack of access to material welfare, social exclusion refers more broadly, to the loss of ability by people to participate fully in the society. Another scholar, De Haan (1999), indicates that many different processes cause and contribute to exclusion and that this exclusion can occur at all levels of society. The complexity and multifaceted nature of social exclusion cannot be issue-specific, as there is a mutual connection. For example, Church et al. (1999) identified six types of transport-related exclusions that were; geographical exclusion, economic exclusion, fear-based exclusion, time-based exclusion, space exclusion and physical exclusion. These forms of exclusion do not originate from transport problems, but rather they contribute to transport problems. Church et al. (1999) suggest that transport challenges should not be seen in silos but rather as a consolidation of multiple factors leading to various types of exclusions. These exclusions are discussed next.

### **2.2.1 Geographical exclusion**

Geographical exclusion results from the poor spatial provision of public transport. This then decreases the accessibility of urban areas and hence an individual's mobility. Attempts to identify a formal relationship between exclusion and inaccessibility have not been firmly established (Church et al., 2000). Studies both in Britain (Campbell, 1993) and in the rest of Europe (Bartley, 1998) have cited peripherality, poor transport provision and resulting inaccessibility as factors that contribute to urban social exclusion and deprivation. In South Africa, spatial-based inaccessibility means that individuals are unlikely to be able to carry out all their activities within their locality. This is mainly due to the lack of cohesion of localities at the periphery. The case of South Africa demonstrates a typical setup of a peri-urban locality in a developing African nation. It has been argued that inaccessibility may not always have negative impacts. In the case of Athens, spatial isolation has led some local communities developing strong local informal networks that are beneficial to community cohesion (Vrychea and Golemis, 1998). Literature reveals that adaptation of geographically excluded localities is solely based on the cohesion of the society. While Athens follows a general pattern of social cohesion in Europe, in Africa, the case of South Africa represents the lack of cohesion. This nature of exclusion leads to many people residing on the periphery to depend on public transportation for socio-economic integration heavily.



### **2.2.2 Economic exclusion**

Income and transport network constraints on accessing labour market information can limit the geographical extent of job search and on work travel patterns (Church et al., 2000). Fiscal challenges impact the mobility of people in their socio-economic activities. It is increasingly accepted that, while many of the factors limiting the capacity of unemployed people to identify vacancies and secure employment stem from their lack of social networks and problems of physical access and travel costs (both monetary and temporal costs) remain (Bottomley et al., 1997). The geophysical location alone does not explain why some people regardless of proximity to opportunities, remain excluded. Economic exclusion provides that gap and usually has a hard effect on those residing at the periphery. Based on the explanation of spatial provision of public transport, the peripheral location of people reduces their ability to participate in income opportunity, and this leads to economic exclusion. The same with economic exclusion might lead to one being geographically excluded.

### **2.2.3 Fear-based exclusion**

The fear of terror, uncertainty, and the unknown influence the travel patterns of commuters. More research indicates how the nature of an individual's 'fear' in public spaces varies markedly according to social characteristics, especially gender, and strongly influence show public spaces and transport facilities are used (Church, et al., 2000). Surroundings and context influence the use of public transport. Public transport is often the site of trauma, harassment, and abuse for vulnerable groups in the society. Dickson (2008) supports the context of fear-based exclusion as the crucial distinction between disliking or distrusting public transport and experiencing symptoms of anxiety while travelling on it affect travel patterns. Both Church et al. (2000) and Dickson (2008) acknowledge that social dynamics, such as gender are an underlying factor in fear. In this case, the safer the individual, the more likely they choose a safer commuting pattern.

#### **2.2.4 Time-based exclusion**

Time is a crucial element in the commuting public. Time is a critical factor as it affects travel patterns. Church et al. (2000) is of the notion that the difficulties of organising commitments to allow adequate time for travel given network constraints affects many individuals. Furthermore, scholarly thoughts of Boulin (1993) are supported as the notions of time poverty affecting high and low-income groups in different ways are rather simplistic. Certain groups are affected more by the time factor in commuting. Boulin (1993)'s work reveals that caregivers, nursing mothers and expecting mothers are affected more by the time constraints of public transportation. A more detailed local case study of women in dual adult households in a deprived area of Sheffield (Smith, 1997) indicated that decisions to participate in the labour market were influenced by the interaction between household structure, supporting social networks, and the nature of jobs, including their location (Church et al., 2000). Time-based exclusion is affected by existential fundamental, such as geographical exclusion, economic exclusion, and fear-based exclusion

#### **2.2.5 Space exclusion**

Space exclusion refers to a situation where access to existing transport facilities is difficult due to geographical location (Dimitrov, 2010). A fine line exists between space exclusion and geographical exclusion. The difference is that geographical exclusion as mentioned before refers to the spatial provision of transport due to the peripheral locality of society and is usually without transport facilities. Space exclusion is exclusion to already existing transport infrastructure due to geographical location within a locality. For instance, in a high-density location, existing transport infrastructure may be located on the main roads and main highways and those who reside further away from the main road become geographically excluded from facilities. Space exclusion influences fear-based exclusion as geographical location, walking distance and waiting period become the deciding factor (Church et al., 2000).

### **2.2.6 Physical exclusion**

Physical exclusion occurs when the nature of the transport system and the built environment inhibit accessibility and hence certain groups of people become excluded from using the transport system because of physical and psychological difficulties (Church et al., 2000). These barriers pose as restrictions to access of services and affect children, older people, disabled people, illiterate people, and people with psychological limitations. Usually, the vulnerable groups need assistance and companionship, that in some cases lead to financial constraints. In such a case, when one cannot afford to commute, they become economically excluded. This reveals the interconnectedness of the types of exclusions that feed into social exclusion.

## **2.3 URBANISATION AND ITS ROLE IN TRANSPORT INDUCED EXCLUSION**

Urbanisation is often used more loosely, however, it refers to a broad-based rural-to-urban transition involving population, land use, economic activity, and culture, or indeed any one of these (McGranahan, 2014). There is an emerging consensus that urbanisation is critically important to international development, but there is considerable confusion over what urbanisation is; whether it is accelerating or slowing; whether it should be encouraged or discouraged; and, more generally, what the responses to it should be (McGranahan, 2014).

Urbanisation and urban planning work are significant in coping with the rise in population in urban areas. Urban Planning is defined as the planning of the construction, growth and development of a town or urban area (McGranahan, 2014). The purpose, according to McGranahan (2014), is the technical and political process concerned with the development and design of land use and the built environment. Urban planning includes household mapping, road construction and transport networking. Together, urbanisation and urban planning affect the mobility, accessibility, and availability of resources, such as transport. To understand urbanisation in the limelight of public transport, exploring the zones that make up the city urban area is fundamental. By exploring literature covering city land uses, including the Central Business District, Urban Suburbia Area

and the Peri-urban area, the nature of urbanisation and its role in transport induced exclusion may be revealed.

### **2.3.1 The Central Business District (CBD)**

CBD is the short form of Central Business District. It was coined by E. W. Burgess, an American urban geographer, through his concentric zone model through the regional structures of a city (Yaguanga, 2011). Burgess was of the notion that a city expands from its inner core to its outer sections following the pattern of a concentric circle. The ideal CBD of modern society can be described as follows: It integrates a great deal of financial, business, culture, and service institutions, and lots of supporting facilities, such as business office buildings, hotels, and apartments, with perfect and convenient traffic, communications and other infrastructures, favourable economic development environment and convenient places for commercial activities (Yaguanga, 2011).

Burgess' view of CBD and the development of it has come under the spotlight, particularly in developing nations. Scholars, such as Mbara and Maunder (1996) reimagined the growth of the CBD to be influenced by its surroundings. By this view, the urban area surrounding the CBD, such as urban-suburban area and peri-urban areas drive the growth of the CBD as people engage in socio-economic activities. The concentric zone model remains the same according to Mbara and Maunder but only changing direction. Burgess model supports the theory of centrifugal pattern of the CBD growth and the subsequent areas around while Mbara and Maunder support centripetal force (Mbara and Maunder 1996, Burgess 1925). The differences are mainly due to historical issues and context. Burgess model was based on an American model while Mbara and Maunder base their context from an African developing state perspective. In the case of the American model, the growth of the CBD mainly influenced by the age of enlightenment while in the African context, it is influenced by a postcolonial era that was subjective in development. Cities were reserved for the minority white people while the reserves were for the black majority in colonial Zimbabwe (Mbara and Maunder, 1996).

Challenges in the CBD area have been an issue of discussion for decades. As more people move to the periphery of the cities, traffic congestion may get worse. Many people will drive their cars into the city centre to get to work since provision for public transportation may be limited or in some cases non-existent. For the CoH, this notion stands as economic activity is centralised to the CBD area (Prof Magosvongwe commented in an interview). Professor Ruby Magosvongwe a key informant who is with the University of Zimbabwe and was interviewed for this study. An influx of people to the CDB leads to congestion as more and more people need to be ferried either by private vehicles or by public vehicles. Traffic congestion stands as an existential threat to the development of the CBD.

### **2.3.2 Urban suburban area**

According to Burgess's model, the urban-suburban area is comprised of mixed land use, ranging from business to residential (Burgess 1925). Under residential use, it is subdivided into, low density, medium density, and high density. The bid-rent mechanism applies as the land value decreases with increasing distance and the highest land value is in the city centre because of keenest competition (Bugress, 1925). Therefore, this means that the high-income households are closer to the city as they are expensive to buy. High-income households normally form low-density areas of a city. In Harare, this is the case as most expensive houses are located in the North, Northwest, and Northeast parts of the city (Nyatondo, 2013). Cheaper and affordable housing is usually in high concentration and away from the low-density residential. The middle is a buffer zone between the two extremes of land use and land value.

With more people migrating from the rural areas in postcolonial Zimbabwe in search of greener pastures, the CoH has expanded (Mbara and Maunder 1996, Nyatondo 2013). The expansion led to an increase in rentals and buying of houses in all divisions of the suburbia (Mbara and Maunder, 1996). Basing on the simple economics of supply and demand, the greater the demand, the higher the price. A problem was created since low-income and poor families could not afford to stay close to their socio-economic opportunities. Some people were forced to move back to the rural areas, and many relegated on the periphery of the city as it is cheaper to buy land there (Nyatondo, 2013).

### **2.3.3 Peri-urban area**

In simple terms, the peri-urban area is an area between consolidated urban and rural regions. According to Burgess (1925), it lies beyond the continuous built-up area of the town, at the edge of the urban area and comprises of discontinuous urban settlements interspersed with recreational facilities, woodland, pastures. Burgess refers to this zone as the commuter zone. This zone is where people rely on commuting to and from the CBD for opportunities. Burgess (1925) was of the notion that the periphery was reserved for people of a higher socio-economic status who usually had higher incomes (the more affluent). These people had more professional occupations and their higher educational backgrounds forced them to look for better living environments and higher quality of life. People of the lower socio-economic status usually have lower income due to lower skills and poorer education, so they occupy some less favourable sites, e.g., the slums in the inner city or squatter areas at the edge of the inner city (Burgess, 1925).

However, this is not the case in every context. While that might have been the case with Chicago, Harare presents an opposite of the situation. Nyatondo (2013) argues that, for Harare, the periphery is reserved for the low-income and poor. Land closer to the CBD around Harare is very expensive. This has therefore pushed many poor people from the main residential areas. This is because of high rentals and unaffordable housing that the poor cannot afford. The two views represent two worlds as Burgess writes from a perspective of a foreseen developed state while Nyatondo writes from an underdeveloped state perspective. These two realities further reveal that the further one is away from the CBD or city centre, the higher the price of commuting. The difference can be traced to deposable income available to the families residing on the periphery.

## **2.4 ASPECTS OF TRANSPORT USAGE**

Land use patterns and opportunity to socio-economic activities endogenously influence the usage of public transportation. Endogenous utilisation of public transport is mainly based on affordability, availability, accessibility, and acceptability. On a broad scale, by exploring the factors mentioned above, usage patterns of transport are established. Focus on this section will be

on the endogenous factors influencing a society's commuting pattern. Transport usage, in this case, is viewed from an overarching perspective stretching from rural to urban areas.

#### **2.4.1 Transport affordability**

Gleeson and Randolph (2002) consider that transport poverty occurs when a household is forced to consume more travel cost than it can reasonably afford, especially costs relating to motor ownership and usage. Transport affordability means that people are able to purchase basic goods and have access to basic activities, such as medical care, basic shopping, education, work and socializing but still afford to meet their transport costs. In real terms, this typically means that households should spend less than 20% of budgets on transport and less than 45% on transport and housing combined (TDM, 2016). Affordability is a critical equality objective since it affects the cost burdens and opportunities available to disadvantaged people. Affordability is multidimensional, thereby leading one to break down the concepts. These aspects are accessibility, availability, and acceptability.

Transport affordability in research refers to as the financial ability to pay for and utilise transport-related goods and services, or the extent to that a user can afford to make a transport journey (Carruthers et al., 2005; Fan and Huang, 2011; Litman, 2014). Due to the diversity in contextual factors applying to different countries, and that varying definitions of affordability yield varying results, transport researchers have found it difficult to establish uniform and coordinated measures of transport affordability (Venter and Behrens, 2005).

#### **2.4.2 Transport availability**

Service access and urban public transport availability present themselves as major components in urban public transport. The need to be connected to services ranging from social functions to economic participation depends on accessibility. Therefore, the availability of goods and services affect the availability of transport. However, in transport network planning, the planned often aim for the commuter and commuter operator cost reduction rather than incorporating issues of equity and access (Murray, 2003). Issues of equal opportunities to access goods and services are set at

the backburner of public transportation planning and provision. Public transport must be available to all bearing in mind the differences of location, gender dynamics and societal norms and values (Magosvongwe commented in a interview). The availability of transport infrastructure, ease of information, reduced time and cost are imperative factors in providing an attractive public transport with door-to-door access and the long-distance travel (Jackiva and Yatskiv et al., 2017). The availability of transport is critical to the accessibility of other goods and services that people need.

### **2.4.3 Transport accessibility**

Transport accessibility is the ease with that all categories of passengers can use public transport. Accessibility is used to describe the ease of accessing the bus stop or station and also includes ease of finding out about travel possibilities (Carruthers *et al.*, 2005). Besides, the accessibility of public transport in this regard is not just the distance from the house to the bus stop but also includes safety aspects Accessibility becomes crucial for transport utilisation as it encompasses different needs for transport to be accessible. Therefore, a one size fits all approach to providing public transport services falls short of addressing crucial issues in society. It does not recognize the societal differences, such as gender needs, household income index and societal statutes (Magosvongwe commented in a interview). This explains why Lättman et al. (2016) factored the perceived accessibility of public transport as a complementary measure to conventional objective measures of transport accessibility.

Personal security while engaged in transport activity is an increasing challenge throughout the world (Pojani and Stead, 2015). In a sense, this is not a transport problem but a symptom of a much wider social problem. The inescapable need to undertake travel to pursue essential activities of life, such as work, education and health care may force people into situations where they are most vulnerable to attack, with only a limited ability to adjust activities (Pojani and Stead, 2015, Fan and Huang 2011, Carruthers et al., 2005). The accessibility of public transport is not just the availability but how secure it is for an individual to access socio-economic amenities safely. Accessibility of public transport based on personal security becomes a vital part of public transport



utilisation. In this regard and according to Lättman et al. (2016), the personal preferences of a commuter can be benchmarked using the following questions;

- Is it easy to pursue daily activities with public transport?
- If public transport were the only mode of travel, would I be able to continue living the way I want?
- Is it possible to do the activities I prefer using public transport?
- Is access to preferred activities is satisfying with public transport?

#### **2.4.4 Transport acceptability**

Transport acceptability is an essential quality of public transport and its definition depends on the expected standards of each individual traveller (Fan and Huang 2011, Luke R and Heyn G, 2013). Hence, even if a bus has met the benchmarked quality, potential travellers may be deterred by the state of the vehicles, lack of personal security on buses or trains (particularly at night), drivers' attitudes and driving style, lack of waiting facilities and other attributes of public transport travel (Carruthers *et al.*, 2005). For transport to be acceptable, it has to be available to the general community, affordable to commuters and accessible to all groups of people in the society. Acceptability of transport is quintessential to transport modal choice and intrinsically determines the travel pattern on an individual (Chirisa, 2017).

## **2.5 INEQUALITIES AND THEIR ROLE IN TRANSPORT RELATED SOCIAL EXCLUSION**

Inequality has been explained by (What Is Social Inequality in Sociology? - Definition, Effects & Causes, 2015) the existence of unequal opportunities and rewards for different social positions within a group or society. The understanding of inequality has evolved from the traditional outcome-oriented view, whereby income utilisation is a proxy for well-being to an opportunity-oriented perspective that acknowledges that circumstances at birth are essential to life outcomes and that equality of opportunity requires a fair starting point for all (UN, 2015). Inequality of outcomes and inequalities of opportunities are two emerging themes necessary to unravel inequality found in public transport. Inequality of outcomes occurs when individuals do not possess the same level of material wealth or overall living economic conditions. At the same time,

inequalities of opportunity occur when individuals cannot get a chance to maximise their potentials in terms of work, skill, living conditions and the like (UN, 2015). Although the focus is on the field of transportation, many other factors are relevant to the ability to be mobile, ranging across income level, employment status, gender, ability, and social networks (Boraine et al. 2006, Thomas 2016). The need to assess the equal opportunity to goods and services is of great importance in evaluating public transport. Inequality cannot be adequately confronted unless the inextricable links between inequality of outcomes and inequality of opportunities are considered.

### **2.5.1 Inequality of opportunities**

In a well-functioning market economy, opportunities to receive an education, have a good job and earn sufficient income should not be limited based on a person's gender, race, place of birth or parental background (EBRD, 2016). When the economy is not well-functioning, inequality to opportunities becomes frequent. Inequality to opportunities refers to situations where people living in the same society do not have access to the same opportunities (EBRD, 2016). High levels of inequality of opportunity mean that people's circumstances at birth, gender, place of birth, their ethnicity or their parental background determine to a significant degree the educational qualifications they obtain, the type of job they get and, ultimately, their level of earnings (EBRD, 2016). Inequality of opportunity is thus widely regarded as an unfair part of inequality.

Equality of opportunity does not mean eliminating all differences in terms of educational qualifications or levels of income; instead, it means that such differential achievements reflect people's differing levels of effort, and choices freely made by individuals at different stages of their lives (Roemer 1998, Fleurbaey 2017, Ferreira and Peragine 2018). Inequality restricts choice and opportunity granted to an individual, group of people and society. The net effect of restricted opportunities is the slowing down of the overall market economy.

Inequality of opportunity is inefficient as it prohibits people from utilising their skills or realising their entrepreneurial ideas. This drawback negatively affects economic growth in the long term and traps a country on a path of increasing income and wealth inequality (Marrero and Rodríguez

2013, Ferreira et al., 2018). The adverse impact of inequality of opportunity maybe even more significant where, in times of fast technological change, whole sections of the population are unable to acquire the new skills needed for and share the benefits associated with technological innovation.

Unequal access to opportunities may 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, in turn, can result in the reversal of reforms and high economic costs. More broadly, the concept of equality of opportunity is rooted in a Rawlsian philosophical tradition whereby people are expected to construct a society in such a way that they would be happy for their place in society to be determined by a random draw. Rawlsian principles state that freedom of an individual and rational persons concerned to further their own interests would accept in an initial position of equality as defining the fundamental terms of their association (Rawls, 2009). Equality is vital in unfolding the potential in society since more opportunities drive the economy.

An individual's income is determined by an array of factors: their level of effort, circumstances, such as their gender or locality, and perhaps an element of luck. Inequality of opportunity also varies substantially across the different regions, often varying between neighbouring countries. For instance, the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) has more inequalities of opportunity when compared to the European Union (EBRD, 2016). Within the SADC region differences between countries can be seen. South Africa stands as an economic power hub for Africa and has produced many opportunities for employment and investment to many Africans. In contrast, opportunities in Zimbabwe and the Democratic Republic of Congo are limited and citizens have to rely on other opportunities found in other countries and regions across the world to exploit.

Inequality of opportunities is a top-down approach in assessing inequality. This method has its advantages when analysing inequality at a macro-level. Advantages include the overall impact assessment of inequality at the national, regional, and continental level. A sector-by-sector analysis

is also important so that overall solutions can be implemented. However, the drawback of this method is that it lacks the detail of lived realities, culture, and status quo in a society (Fleurbaey, 2018). By assessing inequality from a top-down approach, blanket solutions are often implemented, and they do not take into consideration social dynamics and differences between countries and regions.

### **2.5.2 Inequality of outcomes**

Inequality of ‘outcomes’ and inequality of ‘opportunities’ have long been associated with very different views on social justice, in the literature on economic inequality. The former refers to the distribution of the joint product of the efforts of a person and the particular circumstances that effort is made (Roemer 1998). It is mostly concerned with income inequality. The later concept refers to heterogeneity in those circumstances that are control of the individual, but that nevertheless significantly affect the results of his efforts, and possibly the levels of those efforts themselves (Roemer 1998). Income inequality is immediately more visible than the inequality of opportunity.

Weatherdon (2014:3) breaks down inequality of outcome using an analogy:

Let us suppose there are two kids. Kid A has parents who make \$75,000 a year, for a pre-tax income of \$150,000, or about \$50,000 per person. Kid B has a single parent who earns \$20,000 a year, for the pre-tax income of about \$10,000 per person to cover all costs. This is scenario demonstrates the inequality of outcome. Let us imagine that their kids both attend public school, where they both participate in sports teams at school, and they both participate in the school band (someone gave kid B a clarinet to play).

Neither child receives extra tutoring outside of school. Kid A usually gets an average of 5 minutes of supervision from each parent every day when. Kid B’s parent is at work when kid A comes up from school, so his dad always makes him show his homework in the evening and helps kid B if he can.

Let us imagine that kid A and kid B both graduate high school with similar marks and extracurricular records. Then they apply to similar programs at the similar

quality of schools, obtain similarly remarkable girlfriends, and both get pretty decent jobs. Both of them earn \$75,000 a year within five years of completing university. That would be equality of opportunity, despite the highly unequal distribution of income in the previous generation (Weatherdon, 2014:3).

Given analogy describing the inequality of outcomes, a narrow margin separates inequality of opportunity and inequality of outcomes. Unequal outcomes, particularly income inequality, it is argued, play a crucial role in determining variations in human well-being (UNDP, 2015). This is made evident by the strong association between income inequality and inequalities in health, education, and nutrition (WHO, 2008). The inequality of outcomes significantly determines an individual's behaviour. Evidence shows that, beyond a certain threshold, inequality harms growth and poverty reduction, the quality of relations in public and political spheres of life and individuals' sense of fulfilment and self-worth (UNDP, 2015). More evidence presents a higher income inequality between households is systematically associated with greater inequality in non-income outcomes (UNDP, 2015).

Previously mentioned was the use of a top-down approach to the inequality of opportunity, and in the case of inequality of outcomes, the approach is bottom-up. Another critical difference between the two perspectives hinges on the direction of causality between outcomes and opportunities. Will higher incomes lead to improved opportunities or will greater opportunity lead to improved outcomes in human well-being? This, however, is a false dichotomy, since outcomes and opportunities are, in fact, highly interdependent. Equality outcomes cannot be achieved without equal opportunities, but equal opportunities cannot be achieved when households have unequal starting points.

An analysis of income inequality in this report focuses mostly on the distributions of income across two dimensions; Household income distribution and Functional income distribution. Household income distribution refers to income across households within the economy. Inequality of household income distribution can, in turn, be decomposed as follows:

i. **Primary income distribution:** The distribution of household incomes consisting of the (sometimes cumulative) different factor incomes in each household **before** taxes and subsidies, as determined by markets and market institutions. ii. **Secondary income distribution:** The distribution of household incomes **after** deduction of taxes and inclusion of transfer payments. iii. **Tertiary income distribution:** The distribution of household incomes when imputed benefits from **public expenditure** are added to household income after taxes and subsidies (Atkinson and Brandolini 2009, van der Hoeven 2019, UNDP 2015).

The functional income is the distribution refers to income between different factors of production, such as land, labour, and capital. It is typically measured as the share of wages or profits in national income. From this perspective, income inequality impacts the participation of an individual and groups in socio-economic activities. Factoring the three income distribution levels in a household predetermines the level of engagement one is ascribed.

## **2.6 MOBILITY AND ACCESSIBILITY**

Mobility and Accessibility are paramount principles driving economic and social growth. Mobility means having transport services going where and when one wants to travel; being informed about the services; knowing how to use them; being able to use them; and having the means to pay for them (Suen and Mitchell, 2000). Mobility is defined as the potential for movement, that is associated with the impedance component of accessibility (Hernandez, 2017). Mobility measures the difficulty or ease to access a destination. Mobility is a requirement for participation in “modern life” (Hernandez, 2017:119). Many travellers have mobility limitations or handicaps due to a physical, sensory, or cognitive impairment; accompanying children or baggage; a language barrier; or unfamiliarity with the local area. In most countries, some 12 to 16 per cent of the population have an impairment that limits mobility; however, 20 to 25 per cent of public transport passengers at any one time usually have mobility handicaps (Suen and Mitchell 2000).

Effect of mobility is not confined to the willingness of the commuter, according to (Ascher, 2007), “... mobility is a key condition of access to employment, housing, education, culture and leisure and family. The right to work, to have a home, to training involves the right to mobility... in a sense, this right to mobility is a precondition of the other rights” (Ascher, 2007:8). However, it is

a challenge to measure an individual's commuting patterns because it involves identifying their travel pattern. The travel pattern of an individual is composed of endogenous and exogenous factors that, in turn, inform modal choice in commute, time of commute and reasons for a commute. An efficient public transportation system has the capability of providing an adequate level of mobility in cities. Hence, the public transportation system should consider the mobility of the system along with accessibility to stops/stations and connectivity to other transportation modes (Cheng and Chen, 2015).

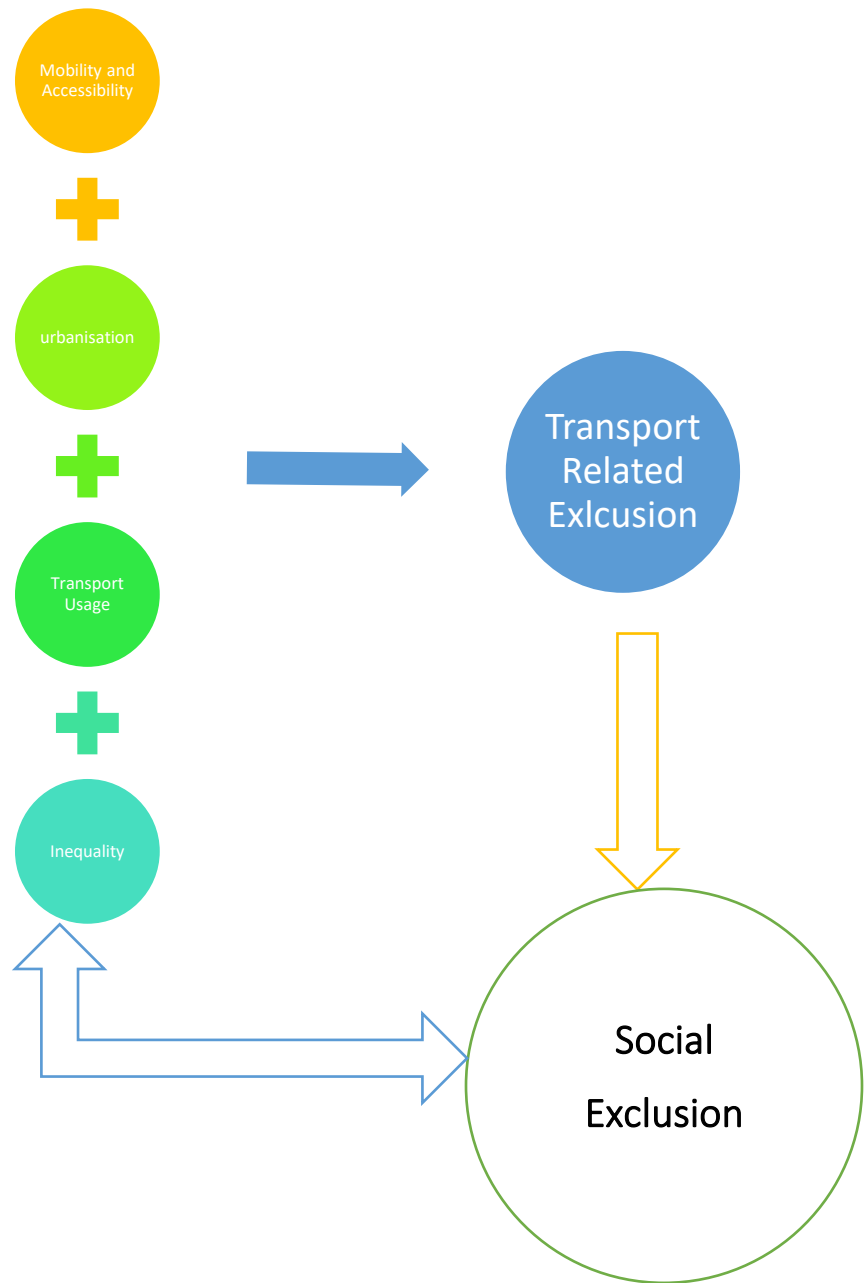
Originally looked upon as a concept closely related to mobility, accessibility has been used in planning and evaluating the transportation system through activity-based approaches, such as choice theory and travel behaviour (Axhausen and Gärling, 1992; Burns and Golob, 1976). Accessibility to public transport and the usability of public infrastructure is a necessary precondition for equal participation (GiZ, 2018). Accessible transportation is the passport to independent living for everyone (Suen and Mitchell, 2000). Everyone in all areas of life can use accessible transport: to reach the working place, to go to the theatre, and to go shopping. Complete accessibility will strengthen the economy because everyone will reach the place where s/he wants to go (GiZ, 2018). The more people can easily use public transport, the better it is for social inclusion.

## **2.7 Research conceptual framework**

This conceptual diagram presents the multi-layered and complicated nature of social exclusion. Inequality, transport affordability and availability, urbanisation, mobility, and accessibility add to what is transport related exclusion. This is a form of social exclusion and in the diagram, that is why it feeds into social exclusion. However, it is essential to know that the complex nature of social exclusion has every element of it leading to transport-related exclusion. The interconnected nature of these concepts further provides evidence that the complex nature of transport-related exclusion as an outcome of social exclusion cannot be perceived in silos. When unpacking social exclusion, therefore, it is vital to have all attributes defined to be able to resolve it.

Figure 2.1: The research conceptual framework diagram





## **2.8 Chapter Summary**

This chapter reviewed the different literature surrounding the study at hand. Social exclusion and the factors surrounding the concept paved away and linked with concepts under public transport. Literature focusing on the utilization of public transport stressed on the need to consider, availability, accessibility, acceptability, and affordability when utilizing transport. Other literature reviewed looked at the role of urbanisation in transport induced exclusion, inequalities and their role in transport related social exclusion and mobility and accessibility. The reviewed literature constructed the conceptual framework guiding this study. The concepts that emerged from the literature are social exclusion, urbanisation, inequality, and mobility. The literature in this chapter shapes the data analysed in chapter three as a response to the objective of this study.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY**

---

---

#### **3.1 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter presents information on how data to address the research problem was collected. The chapter therefore outlines and justifies the research design and the various decisions and actions that were taken in the data collection process. The methods of sampling and data collection techniques are also outlined and justified in the chapter.

#### **3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN**

According to Altinay and Parakevas (2015) the research design, is the operational framework within that any research is carried out. 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. A single case study research design was adopted for this research. A case study is a research approach that facilitates the exploration of a particular phenomenon to be conducted in more depth within its context with the use of diverse data sources (Aberdeen and Yin, 2009). Using a case study approach allows for an array of outcomes when studying the mobility and accessibility of people because peoples' dispositions are different based on variables, such as location, income, and household expenditure. Furthermore, a case study permitted various aspects of the phenomena to be revealed and understood, thereby having an overall understanding of the phenomenon under study (Aberdeen and Yin, 2009). For this study, the location of the case study was Southlea Park that is under Harare South Constituency.

This study was, therefore, qualitative. The qualitative research design allowed for an in-depth analysis of the phenomenon under study and the type of data gathered was therefore mainly non-numerical. The study was also qualitative as the key informant technique and semi structured interviews were used to collect the data. Details on these will be provided later.

### **3.3 THE RESEARCH STUDY AREA**

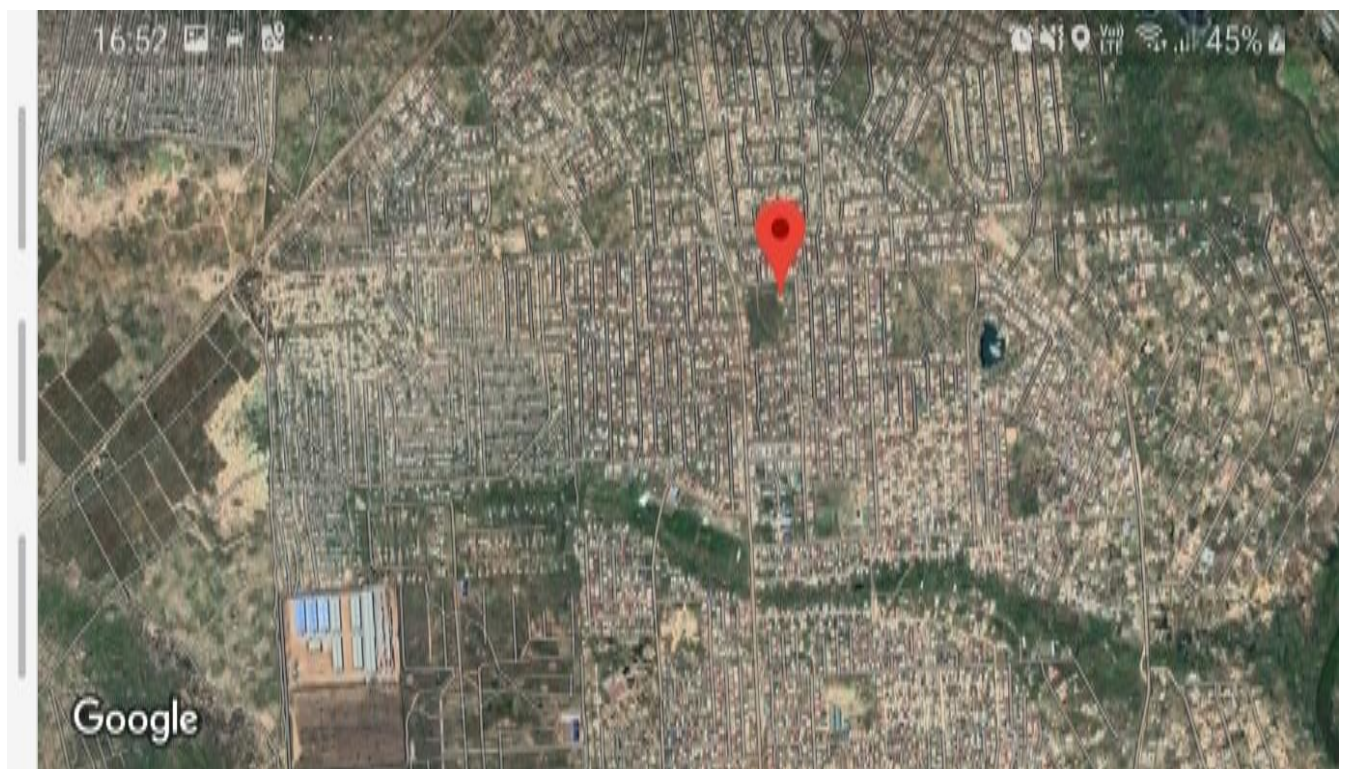
The research study area was Southlea Park, Harare. Southlea Park is located south of Harare and is generally regarded to be under Greater Harare South Residency. Southlea Park is a recently established suburb that accommodates thousands of families. The suburb is predominantly a consortium-based housing that arose from an arrangement between working-class people and their employers supported by the government's arm in urban development (Chirisa et al., 2016). The beneficiaries to this housing scheme were people who had reasonable disposable incomes to enable them to construct their own houses over the short to medium-term period *ibid*. Officially Southlea Park was supposed to have six thousand households and with a mixture of socio-economic facilities, such as schools, shopping areas and recreational parks, a Southlea Park resident detailed. However, today, the suburb has nine thousand houses, a Southlea Park resident detailed. An increase of three thousand to the effect that land previously designated for some socio-economic activities was divided into housing stands.

On multiple occasions, the residents condemned the unethical practice of the consortium management, labelling them as corrupt and stifling the development of the suburb. One of the residents had this to say on this development, "The administration has blocked companies from partnering with the residents for the construction of the roads in the area. Their reasoning has a political connotation as they believed that they were being undermined yet they have not done anything for the community in terms of road construction" a resident commented. The rift between residents and the consortium has impeded accessibility and mobility into Southlea Park. Apart from being inaccessible, development of the area and road infrastructure has halted. More so, with a shrinking economy, many people were retrenched, and construction of houses in the area has relatively slowed down. This retrenchment led to the disposal of the stands reserved for the working class and slowed down the development of the area as the community was no longer of

the working class only. Today, Southlea Park is a highly heterogeneous society with wide disparities between the haves and the have nots. With the growth of the informal sector in the country, many people found it cheaper to leave on the periphery of Harare where Southlea Park is located as the land is cheaper to buy.

Economically, as an emerging suburb, many small businesses ranging from construction, pharmaceuticals and food and retail have been setup. It is worth noting that Southlea Park is still not adequately serviced with water and sanitation and tarred roads despite the growth in population numbers and economic activities. This limitation has prevented big retail operators from setting up businesses in Southlea Park. Southlea Park residents therefore have to find economic services elsewhere, thereby requiring residents to be mobile more often. Socially, calls for the government to assist with schools and hospitals to cater for the suburb on the urban periphery have been made but to no avail (Chirisa et al., 2016). The area has no proper schools that prompted residents to appeal to government to construct schools as their children were travelling long distances to learning institutions, while others ended up sending children to makeshift schools. Plates 1 shows a satellite image of Southlea Park residential area.

**Plate 1: A satellite view of the map of Southlea Park in Harare**



### **3.4 THE STUDY PARTICIPANTS**

The residents of Southlea Park in Harare were the study participants as these are the people whose transport related problems and the resultant social exclusion needed to be investigated. Key informants from line ministries (Ministry of Transport, the Ministry of Local Government, Public Works, and Urban Development), and transport parastatals (ZUPCO, NRZ and VID), and the Harare City Council were also taken as the study participants. From the private sector, key informants from commuter omnibus (kombis) operators, private bus operators and the unregistered taxicab (Mushikashika) were also taken as study participants as these were key players in the provision of transport to residents of Southlea Park.

### **3.5 DATA COLLECTION TECHNIQUES**

Two main techniques were used to collect data from the participants. The two were semi-structured interviews with commuters residing in Southlea Park, commuter operators and key informants and non-participant observation of the public transport operators in the city centre. This section explores the two techniques adopted by the study during the fieldwork.

#### **3.5.1. Semi-structured interviews**

Semi-structured interviews with the commuters from Southlea Park and all the key informants was the first technique used. The purpose of these interviews was to obtain personal accounts of Southlea Park commuter's experiences, habits of the commuter operators and governmental actors in the public transport domain. All thirty participants agreed to be interviewed. The use of semi-structured interviews was essential as contextualising the problem was informed by personal experiences, group dynamics, the roles of the players and the general outlook of the city. An advantage of this technique was getting information directly from the source. New ideas emerged

from the interviews and were initially missed by the researcher during the review of the literature guiding this study. The new ideas were made possible by the open-ended nature of semi-structured interviews that allowed for freedom of expression.

A thematically structured interview guide was utilised in interviewing the respondents. This format assisted in tailoring the questions to the interview context and situation to the people being interviewed. The interview guide was crafted based on the research questions of this study. It allowed the researcher to guide the conversation during the semi-structured interviews. Also, the interview guide was composed of a series of interconnected questions and allowed for follow up questions to be asked in specific scenarios. During the interviews, different lived realities brought to the surface unique issues and were explored because of the open-ended nature of the semi-structured interviews.

The fact that semi-structured interviews provide data based on participant meanings, how they perceive their world and make sense of the events proved to be useful in the fieldwork as the interviewees freely expressed themselves. The conversational nature of the interviews allowed for interviewees to interact in various ways with the interviewer, including asking questions and referrals to media sources and other commuters. Referrals also proved to be essential as more commuters and commuter operators were availed to the researcher. The advantage gained from referrals also led to mini-group interviews as groups of three to four people offered to speak out their minds. In addition, similar issues and patterns were identified, allowing for the thematic analysis of data. The referral system formed an integral part of the fieldwork as gender balance was achieved. Regarding the twenty commuters interviewed, ten were men who were core-workers at a factory. Initially, two women were interviewed at the factory, who later referred to eight other women who worked residing in Southlea Park but working at a subsidiary insurance company of the same organisation with the factory.

Permission was granted by both factory and the insurance managements to conduct interviews of the residence of Southlea Park working in their respective organisations. The length of the interviews varied according to responses given by participants and ranged between twenty minutes to forty-five minutes. This was mainly due to the organised time slots given by the companies to

all interviews. During lunchtime, group discussions were held by those interviewed already hence group dynamics emerged. The purpose of the research was outlined to the participants and the participants were given a consent form. On the consent were details of the research, the use of information and the upholding of personal information as sensitive. All participants agreed and signed the consent form allowing the researcher to ask questions. Concerning language used, Shona was mainly used as the majority were comfortable to communicate in their mother language. English was used but was not the primary language during the conversations. Sign language was also used by one of the participants but had an interpreter with him to assist.

### **3.5.2 Non-participant observation**

“Non-participant observation is a relatively unobtrusive qualitative research strategy for gathering primary data about some aspect of the social world without interacting directly with participants” (Williams, 2008:561). This research technique was useful in exploring 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 to be useful 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 extended periods of time.

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 CoH. The researcher observed the commuters, commuter operators and governmental players in public transport for two weeks. During the first week, observation of the main bus termini located in the city centre was done 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 week observation of the commuters and commuter operators included the traffic police who are the enforcers of the road



traffic regulations. Through this observation, a pattern emerged detailing the relationship between the three mentioned groups.

The two weeks were chosen to grasp the public transport environment fully. While observing the commuters, the researcher identified with the interviewees' in several incidences but also experienced a new perspective on public transportation in the CoH. The observation allowed the researcher to get an understanding how the operators addressed the challenges posed by the public transport sector in the city. During the second week, the researcher also witnessed the squabbles between the commuter operators and traffic law enforcement agencies. This experience was different from being told by another person about these squabbles.

Extended interactions with both male and female participants not only illustrated the different experiences and habits of both genders but also enabled the researcher to observe their different roles and how these influenced or were influenced by external factors. For example, the use of transport based on gender was different in a specific context. One of the contexts was that men tended to choose cheaper and yet inefficient transport such as pickup trucks while more women tend to choose slightly expensive transport yet efficient. Another example would be that; several women showed discomfort while boarding a commuter omnibus, loading passengers on the curb side of the road instead of a terminal area. Men, on the other hand, did not show any sign of hesitation. These differences would have been a challenge to grasp from an interview session as it is unrecorded data in literature that informs the interview schedule. This advantage adds more data to the already existing recorded life experiences in using public transport.

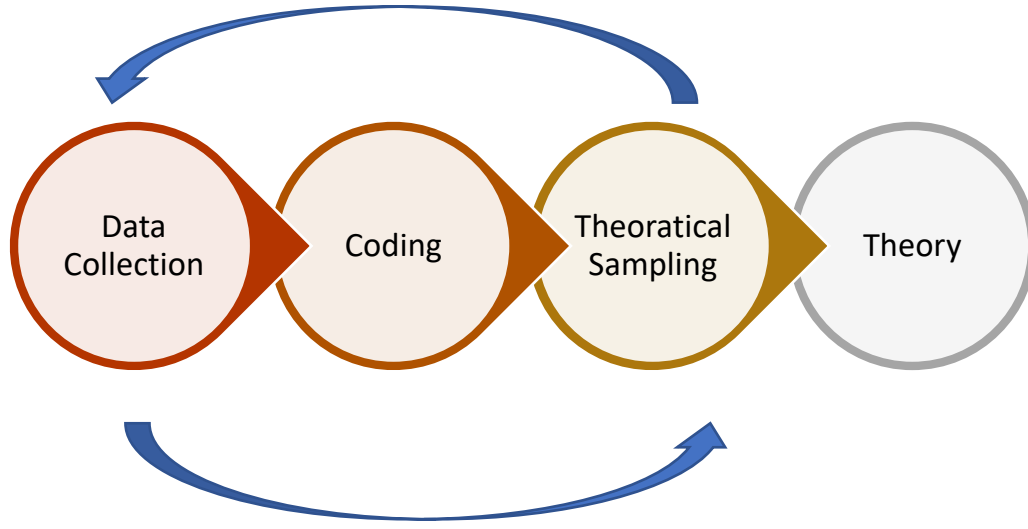
Non-participant observation illustrated the effects of different factors on an individual's practices and habits in public transport commuting. This differentiation was crucial in making the sample more representative and connecting the different external factors with the habits and experiences. Non-participant observation supplemented the lived realities as one objectively analysed each situation, thereby helping separate truth from fabrications of some realities. This did not only add to the quantity of data collected but made the information collected more reliable.

### 3.6 DATA ANALYSIS

Data Analysis refers to the process of evaluating data through the use of analytical and logical reasoning examining each component of the data, provided, such as purpose, questions, and ideas (Cresswell,1998).. This research utilised a grounded analysis approach for data analysis. This approach is a form of thematic analysis. This is simply a process used for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns within data (Cresswell,1998).. Thus, through analysing the data collected, identification the main strands in public transport perceptions, commuting patterns and interactions of public transport stakeholders became essential data to emerging themes. Two approaches can be used in data analysis and these are deductive and inductive approaches. A deductive approach is a top-down approach to that the researcher brings a set of concepts, ideas, or topics for interpreting data(Cresswell,1998). An inductive approach is a bottom-up approach that makes use of or is based on what the data collected for the study contains(Cresswell,1998).. An inductive method was adopted for this in formulating the codes and emerging themes.

Comparing and contrasting data collected; themes emerged that assisted in thematic analysis. The data collected was allocated to codes that emerged from the responses. (Strauss and Juliet, 1994). Data analysis through the grounded analysis approach was of significance in answering the research question. The diagram below visualizes the process of the grounded analysis approach.

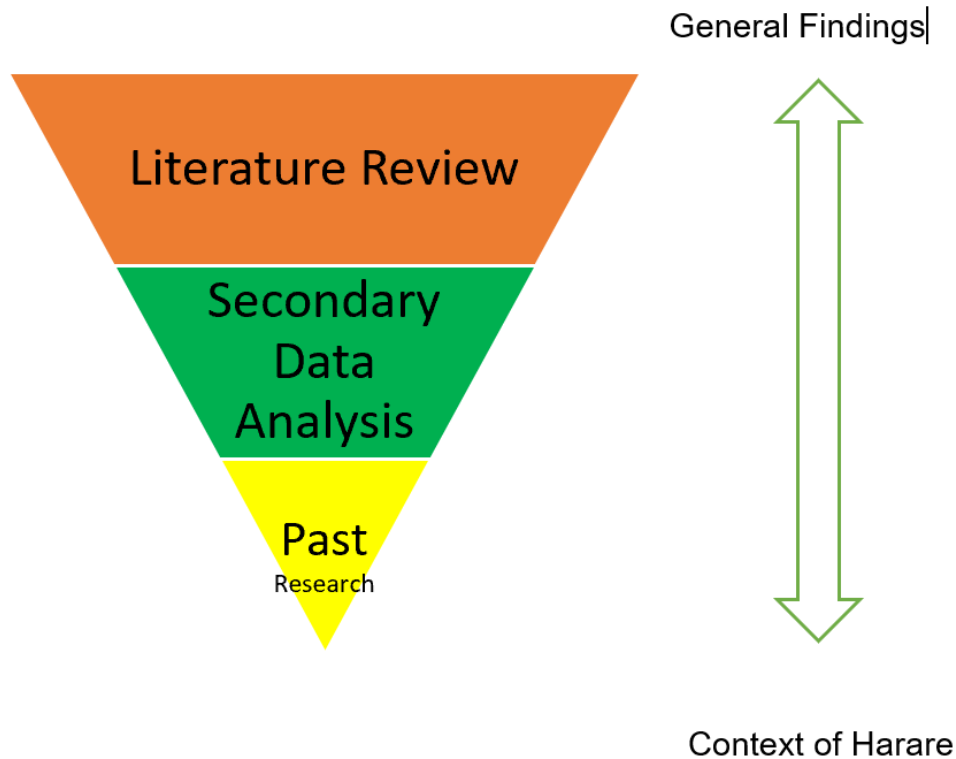
**Figure 3.1:** A visual representation of the process of grounded analysis



Source: Strauss and Juliet (1994)

A third technique through review of literature and documents was used to supplement the changes that happen in the public transport sector. This research adopted secondary data that requires a critical assessment of literature on previous work associated with the study and that of Harare. The central platform used for accessing the literature was the internet and the Merensky library at the University of Pretoria. The literature used consisted of published and unpublished journal articles, books, conference reports, electronic books, newspaper articles and dissertations already done in line with the national transport policy. The secondary data utilised fell into three broad categories, as demonstrated below;

Figure 3.2: Categories of secondary data



Source: (Berch, 2013)

### **3.7 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS**

While researching, certain ethical aspects are considered in gathering or acquiring data. Berg (2007) points out that, issues of harm, privacy, permission, consent, and confidentiality need to be considered when conducting research. First and foremost, acquiring a research permit was done through applications to the Ministry of Transport and Infrastructure Development. Secondly, the research sought permission to have interviews on the focus group that were going to be undertaken at Calundike exports, a factory with employees residing in Southlea Park and Nyaradzo Life Assurance Company also hosting employees residing in Southlea Park. Thirdly, the researcher sought permission from individuals and groups understudy for consent. A voice recorder was used during the interview sessions, that enable flow of conversation between the researcher and the participants. The participants were aware of the voice recorder and were recorded with their consent.

The principle of informed consent guided the researcher in the data-gathering process. Focus group discussants and commuter participants were informed about the research study and explained that participation was voluntary, and they had the right to opt-out when they felt so. The participants signed a consent form once they volunteered to participate. The use of pseudo names was utilised in this study for the protection of identity. Polit and Beck (2008) state that informed consent means that participants adequately inform the respondents about the nature of the research and they are capable of ‘comprehending the information and have the power of free choice, enabling them to consent voluntarily to participate in the research or decline participation’. The notes and pictures taken were stored in a password secured device and were only accessed by the researcher and, and these and only be shared with people that were critical to the study.

At the end of the interview sessions, participants were debriefed. This debriefing session was an opportunity to clarify outstanding issues that may have come up during the interview and answer any questions they had regarding the interviews of the study itself. For further information and questions, the researcher left contact details. The study was primarily welcomed as many participants sought long-lasting solutions to public transport shortcomings that have been present for many years.

### **3.8 LIMITATIONS DURING FIELDWORK**

All research carries potential drawbacks. These drawbacks stem from human interactions as the researcher is also subject to their perceptions. For this study, challenges mainly emanated from the perception of the researcher in Zimbabwe. While several researchers have been branded as informants to the government or spying for the opposition, carrying out fieldwork is made difficult by this logic. The researcher faced the same issue when initially making the first contact with commuter operators and the traffic law enforcers. The limitations that the researcher came across were mainly threefold. These were as follows;

### **3.8.1 Safety concerns of the researcher**

During the fieldwork, individuals carrying out research are perceived differently by different classes of people. In Zimbabwe, a perception exists that an individual researching is either a government informant prying on citizens or a sell-out to the 'enemies' of the state. This perception was the case in two incidences during the fieldwork. Firstly, commuter operators did not welcome the idea of being interviewed as they were sceptic of airing out their views to a stranger. Another incident involved the Zimbabwe Republic Police Traffic Officers. During the polices' restore sanity to the city operation, the police had a brawl with the illegal operating commuter operators and their associates. These associates were touts who marshalled the illegal operating commuter operators through spotting police and loading passengers into the vehicle. During one of the police operations, the researcher was doing non-participant observation and was almost caught up in the crossfire. Fortunately, a letter from the ministry was produced to clear the air, but the officers left the researcher with a warning as if it were illegal for one to research.

### **3.8.2 Objectivity of the researcher**

Objectivity was also a significant challenge since the researcher grew up using public transport in Harare. The researcher also could associate with the experiences of commuters interviewed. There were occasions when the researcher had to compartmentalize his knowledge of circumstances and the responses provided to avoid bias.

### **3.8.3 Inaccessibility of information**

During conversations with fellow researchers who have done studies in Zimbabwe, a difficulty in accessing information was confirmed. During the fieldwork, the availability of information was also a challenge. As an example, there were no documented records on transport policies for the country at the Ministry of Information and Publicity Library and the researcher had to access these at the Ministry Office. This inaccessibility of information made the use of secondary data challenging. Only recent policies were stored on individual computer devices, thereby making it a challenge to find literature supporting this study.

### **3.9 CHAPTER SUMMARY**

This chapter focused on the methodology or the research methods used to conduct the study. In the beginning, was a short introduction followed by the research design. The research design was explored concerning the composition of the qualitative study at hand. The advantages of adopting a qualitative research design and why it was well suited for this study were presented. An in-depth detailing of the techniques used to collect data for the study was also outlined. The data analysis section provided the different steps in the data analysis process and also revealed the different approaches that were used. Lastly, the ethical challenges and considerations were discussed.

## CHAPTER 4

### **PUBLIC PASSENGER TRANSPORTATION AND TRANSPORT INDUCED SOCIAL EXCLUSION IN HARARE**

---

#### **4.1 INTRODUCTION**

With rapid urban growth, the urban area expands outwards absorbing the peri-urban sphere and pushing the peri-urban into the rural space. These new urban communities, that sometimes mushroom clandestinely and are a distance from the CBD, may lack infrastructure, such as proper roads. Because of these challenges, transport connecting these communities to the CBD, where economic activities take place, becomes a significant challenge as the intervals are relatively greater, the transport costs are high, and the areas are inaccessible. This tends to exclude the residents of these areas from the dominant economy in the city's CBD.

These are the issues discussed in this dissertation and this chapter presents the context of such exclusion. The chapter covers broader data related to the stakeholders and structures governing transport operations in Zimbabwe and the resultant transport induced social exclusion of Southlea Park residents in Harare. Based on the literature in chapter 2, a gap was identified between the public transport sector and urban planning of the CoH. Social exclusion has been observed to be a hindrance to economic and social activities as an outcome of the discrepancy between public transport and urban planning. The dynamism of public transport and urban set up on the periphery of Harare posits a gap between transport provision and the distance that leads to social exclusion.

To achieve this, firstly an overview of the stakeholders involved in the provision of public transport are presented and then their roles in the transport-related social exclusion will be discussed. One of the research questions relating to how, where and when transport-related exclusion is occurring



will be answered in this section. Due to the complex nature of the transport sector and the scope of the study, only a selected few of the stakeholders will be discussed. However, the study recognizes that there are other stakeholders that are involved in the public passenger transportation sector, that will be mentioned in brief where the need arises.

#### **4.1.1 An Overview of Socio-economic Policies of Zimbabwe since 1996**

In chapter one, a review of ESAP provided a policy focused perspective on the transport induced exclusion. This section explores subsequent policies that have guided the socio-economic development of the Zimbabwe. Macro-economic policies determine how the public transport sectors perform; therefore, it is essential to have an overview of such policies. Since ESAP sparked a downward spiral in public transport through failure to implement policy reforms by the government and the Bretton Wood institutions, revisiting subsequent policies helps to evaluate government's effectiveness in boosting the performance of the public transport sector once again.

Zimbabwe Programme for Economic and Social Transformation (ZIMPREST) was expected to run from 1996 to 2000 but was only unveiled in 1998. It was introduced to tie up the loose ends of ESAP that included parastatal reforms, financial sector reform and civil service reform. The focus was to overcome the constraints of economic growth, create employment and alleviate poverty as well as facilitate both public and private sector development. It was meant to provide a firm basis for sustainable growth, greater employment, and equitable distribution of incomes (Sibanda & Makwata, 2017). In summary, ZIMPREST sought to: improve the role of the private sector in the production and distribution of goods and services by letting it be at the forefront of plans regarding economic growth and employment creation (Robertson, 2009). While the government acted only as an enabler. ZIMPREST was supposed to build on the moderate achievements of ESAP. However, this plan fared poorly, and the economy got worse. The public transport sector continued to erode as the dismantling of the Zupco monopoly led to lack of transport provision by the government to the people (Mbara, 2006). Failure by the government and the private sector to fulfill their respective roles of providing the necessary inputs for ZIMPREST, weakened the public-private partnership in the public transport sector. This failure to provide inputs was a consequence of an unstable macro-economic environment.

Between the years 2000 and 2006 the Zimbabwean government drafted three macro-economic policies to resuscitate the economy. First, there was the Millennium Economic Recovery Programme (MERP) which ran from 2001 to 2002 (Robertson, 2009). Then, National Economic Revival Programme (NERP) which ran from 2003 to 2004 and finally, the Macro Economic Policy Framework (MEPF) which ran from 2005 to 2006 *ibid*. Under MERP the government focused on tackling the sprawling inflation. The focus of NERP was for the government to respond to the ‘hostile’ external and domestic environment; ‘sanctions’ and ‘vibrant opposition politics’ (Sibanda & Makwata, 2017). By then, Inflation had escalated to more than 200% and the country was facing unprecedented foreign currency shortages (Robertson, 2009). By the end of 2003, inflation had reached 600% and the country’s GDP had declined by 7.4% *ibid*. The aim of MEPF was to reduce inflation, stabilize the economy and attract investment for economic growth. MEPF merged the goals of both MERP and NERP but, it was short lived as it was scrapped in favour of ZEDS (Sibanda & Makwata, 2017). The common failures found among these policies were: ill-implementation of the recommended policies and a budget deficit due to excessive expenditure and limited funds. Since the prior broad-based macro-economic policies were not successful, it was also difficult for the sectoral policies to be successful. All these policies were short-lived and lacked outcome and impact assessments. There was also a limited focus on public transportation in all these policies.

The primary objective of the Zimbabwe Economic Development Strategy (ZEDS) was to achieve sustainable, balanced, and robust economic growth and development that was oriented towards poverty reduction (Madise, 2009). It was basically a repackaging of previous policies that had failed. During September 2007, the government indefinitely postponed the launch of ZEDS mainly due to political upheavals and the deteriorating socio-economic conditions. Politically, during this period the ruling party Zanu-Pf, had been openly challenged by the opposition party MDC, which sparked political turmoil (Sibanda & Makwata, 2017). Provocative policies were introduced such as Public Order and Security Act (POSA) and Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA) which were repressive in nature. Economically, the world entered a recession which

resulted in worse economic conditions in Zimbabwe *ibid*. There was also an acute shortage of basic commodities such as maize meal, medical drugs, fuel, electricity, and foreign currency. Public transportation was deeply engulfed by the shortage of fuel and the soaring inflation that ramped up transport fares almost on a daily basis (Mbara, 2010). The shortages were happening as a result of unparalleled hyperinflation year after year, with a rate of 7982% in September 2007 (MDGs Report, 2009:3). Many citizens were left in destitute positions due to the deterioration of the economy, political instability, and social dysfunction. At a macro-level, all sectors of government services were close to extinction.

The Medium-Term Plan was launched in July 2011 by the Ministry of Economic Planning and Investment Promotion with a view to guide all Government plans and programmes beyond short term stabilization and build foreign exchange reserves sufficient to cover at least three months imports by 2015 (Matutu, 2014). Its theme was restoration and transformation of capacities for sustainable economic growth and development. According to Government of Zimbabwe (2010), its objectives were among other things, infrastructure development with emphasis on rehabilitation and completion of outstanding projects, employment creation, human centered development, entrepreneurship development, macroeconomic stability, ICT and science & technology development, good governance, and investment regulation. Some specific targets of the Medium-Term Plan were an average annual GDP growth rate of 7.1%, single-digit annual inflation, and interest rates that promote savings and investment (Sibanda & Makwata, 2017). MTP required approximately \$9.3 billion for full implementation which was a massive resource constraint to the country *ibid*. It lacked consistency and donor support on which the blueprint was underpinned hence it failed to meet its target between 2011 and 2012. The lack of consistency affected the drafted sectorial plans for government departments (Matutu, 2014). Transport, among other sectors, had half-baked plans and projects as a result of inconsistent policy implementation. The MTP was hastily abandoned when ZANU PF won the 2013 elections paving the way for the ZIMASSET Programme which soured all efforts and plans which had been previously crafted for different sectors under MTP.

Following the termination of the Government of National Unity (GNU), the government crafted the Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation (ZIMASSET). According to Government of Zimbabwe (2013) this economic blueprint was developed through a consultative process involving political leadership in government, the private sector, and other stakeholders (Matutu, 2014). ZIMASSET was intended to be a socialist policy where every citizen benefit from the policy, hence why it was broad based (Sibanda & Makwata, 2017). It also acknowledged its broadness and highlighted that it will implement initiatives that can yield rapid results. ZIMASSET was aimed at improved liquidity and access to credit, increased investment in infrastructure such as energy and power development, roads, rail, aviation, telecommunication, water and sanitation, easier Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) into Zimbabwe, establishment of Special Economic Zone, and continued use of the multi-currency system (Matutu, 2014). In reality, utilities and infrastructure continued to degrade. Roads, civil aviation, and railway networks across the country have not seen major improvements and modernisation due to shortage of capital and long-term investment opportunities (Sibanda & Makwata, 2017). In the urban areas, capacity challenges exacerbated by the corruption of erstwhile councillors also affected the efficient operation of councils resulting in poor road management and infrastructure maintenance *ibid*. The failure of ZIMASSET was largely due to inconsistent implementation, overambitious goals, and lack of resources to fund the project.

Government of Zimbabwe launched an economic reform programme under the name Transitional Stabilisation Programme (TSP) in October 2018. The Programme aims at stabilising the economy, attracting investment, re-integrating the country into the global economy, and laying a foundation for strong, shared, and sustained growth. The mantra ‘Zimbabwe is open for business’ has been a signature for FDIs and donor support under the TSP (Government of Zimbabwe, 2019). TSP was supposed to run between 2018 and 2020 to pave way for the Vision 2030 under the second republic led by President E.D Mnangagwa. The objectives include a Zimbabwe that is open for business, modernizing public administration and economic management systems, a citizen-centric Government, an improved business, and investment climate, zero tolerance for corruption, curbing resource leakages, and support for gender and youth empowerment, amongst others. The policy pronouncements towards the realization of Vision 2030 were initially crystallized into a short-term strategy, the Transitional Stabilization Programme (TSP) over the period 2018-2020. This was

meant to remedy and overcome existing socio-economic ills and stabilize the macro-economic environment (Government of Zimbabwe, 2019). TSP managed to support several sectors of the government which had been neglected. Under TSP, the government managed to revive Zupco by purchasing buses and partnering with the private sector to provide affordable public transport *ibid*. However, more could have been done to provide sustainable public transport operations. The full impact of TSP is yet to be reviewed since its implementation is still in progress.

TSP will be followed by the development of two five-year National Development Strategies to be implemented over the periods 2021-2030.

#### **4.2 PLAYERS IN THE HARARE PUBLIC TRANSPORT SECTOR**

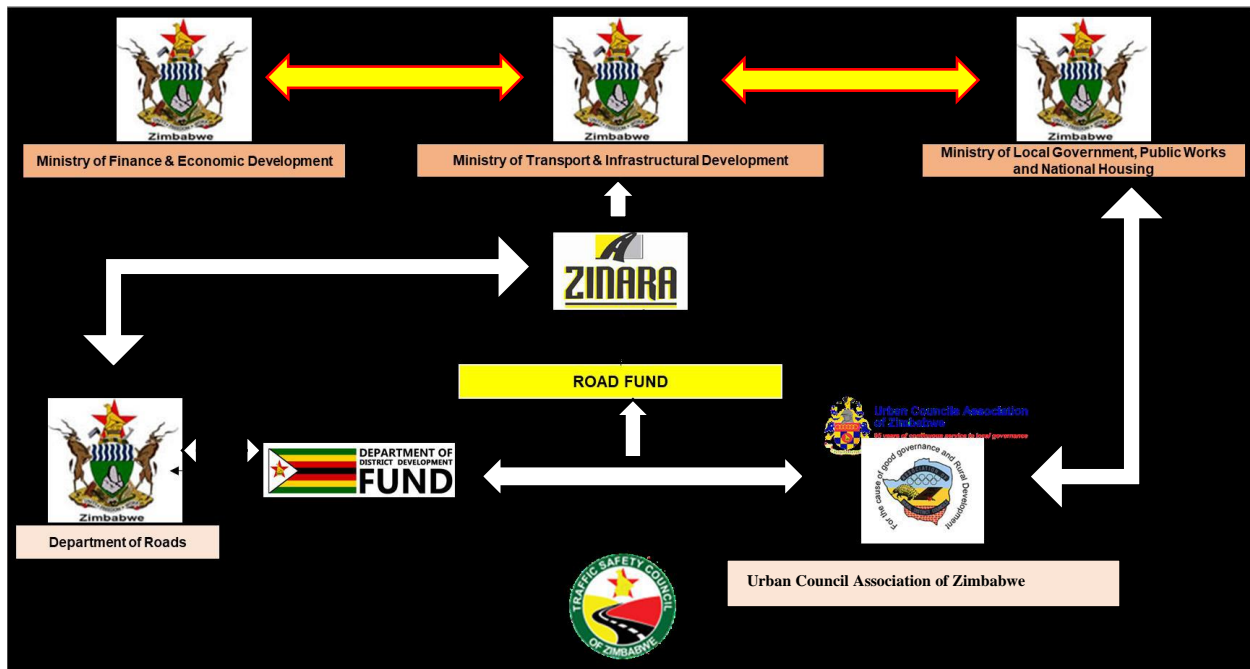
Transport based social exclusion emanates from several factors that mainly affect certain communities or population groups either directly or indirectly. In Harare, some of these factors have to do with infrastructural provision, and others have to do with service provision. Some have to do with geography, while others may relate to certain conditions affecting particular population groups, like the economic situation. Public transportation generally involves costs, and some people may be excluded because they cannot afford transport costs. This is particularly true in modern day urban Zimbabwe where the majority of the urban population is either unemployed or underemployed and cannot afford daily commuting costs. However, all of these factors imply that the transport sector involves several players.

This is particularly the issue in the CoH where a number of stakeholders are involved in public passenger transportation in different capacities, and therefore play different roles in enabling or impeding public transportation. Players in the public passenger transportation sector include formal institutions and informal players, state institutions and private institutions. However, due to the nature of this project and the scope of the study, the discussion will be limited to only those players whose roles and activities either play a facilitating or a constraining role in certain sections of the population in accessing transportation service. This is what this study defines as transport exclusion.

The study focuses on state players, including line ministries (Ministry of Transport, the Ministry of Local Government, Public Works, and Urban Development), Zimbabwe Republic Police and transport parastatals (ZUPCO, NRZ and VID), and the Harare City Council. From the private sector, the study identified the commuter omnibus (kombis) operators, private bus operators and the unregistered taxicab (Mushikashika), as key role players that require analysis. Lastly, there are the residents of Southlea Park (the subject of the study).

Although a stakeholder relationship at the level of state could be established, the private sector is not unified to establish a relationship. This is mainly due to the lack of unified representative bodies, such as taxi associations. For this reason, the study could not derive a diagram showing the public transport relationship form the private sector. The relationship between actors in the public sector is represented in Figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1: Institutional relationships for the Road and Transport sector in Zimbabwe



Source: Ministry of Transport and Infrastructure Development

### **4.2.1 State institutions**

Government line ministries have and continue to play critical roles in the transport sector as regulators and service providers. These institutional actors can either enable transport inclusion or provide barriers to access to transport services for certain population groups. In Zimbabwe, institutions have tended to provide barriers to transport provision than play an enabling role. A good example is the Ministry of Transport and Infrastructure Development, that is responsible for the development of road infrastructure and is expected to achieve this through the Zimbabwe National Roads Administration (ZINARA) that is a subsidiary of the Ministry of Transport and Infrastructure Development that is responsible for the construction and maintenance of all national roads. However, according to key informant accounts, the institution has been hamstrung in its mandate by the country's economic challenges, that have left some roads in a state of disrepair and preventing some transport operators from servicing some routes. The roles of these line ministries and how they contribute to the performance of the public passenger transport sector are discussed in the subsections that follow.

#### **4.2.1.1 The Ministry of Transport and Infrastructure Development**

The Ministry of Transport and Infrastructure Development is one of the three-line ministries involved in the transport cluster and plays a central role in the overarching issues on urban passenger transport. According to its vision, the ministry strives to be a “regional hub for world-class transport networks, logistics and services by the year 2020”, and has a mission of “facilitating, providing and managing transport infrastructure networks, logistics and services efficiently for transport users” (Anon., 2020:8). The National Transport Policy is the guiding legislation enabling the operations of the public transport sector and the National Transport Policy (NTP) of 2012 is the most recent transport policy document formulated by the Ministry of Transport and Infrastructure Development.

The policy serves to advise, regulate, and promote socioeconomic development (The Ministry of Transport and Infrastructure Development, 2012). The objectives of the policy with regards to public transportation include:

...the assurance of available and efficient transport system of adequate standards, reduce transport cost, improve reliability and efficiency of the transport and transport systems, and ensure service provision to the vulnerable groups/members of the society (children, women, elderly, people living with disabilities and the urban and rural poor (The Ministry of Transport and Infrastructure Development, 2012).

However, the objectives stated in the policy do not synchronize with the realities on the ground. While the National Transport Policy is long overdue for an update, it is essential to address historical issues that stand as a blockade to the synchronization of policy and reality. The National Transport Policy of 2012 is the first transport policy guiding the overall transport sector since independence. Before 2012, the transport sector was guided by the various government macro-economic programmes, such as the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP). As such, national transport has never been strategically outlined by its policies, that led to a mismatch between policy and reality. Ceaser Kureva, a policy researcher, stated that a National Transport Master Plan is in the formulation to curtail policy deficiencies. Another challenge that the Ministry has faced in terms of public transport policy is funding, as the country is constrained financially due to economic sanctions imposed by several Western Nations (Anon., 2020).

As a ministry, The Ministry of Transport and Infrastructure Development can be divided into eleven departments that have various roles to fulfil. These departments are Strategic Planning and Monitoring and Evaluation, Finance and Administration, Transport Development Management, Inland Water Control, Human Resources, Information Technology, Vehicle Inspection Department, Procurement and Roads Administration. For the scope of the study, the department of finance and administration and roads administration will be the focus. Discussion of the departments have been separated into a section about the parastatals. This section is after the discussion on the ministries. The Ministry of Transport and Infrastructure Development collaborates with the CoH administration in several projects. The relationship with the CoH is dynamic as the city authorities have autonomy in the management of infrastructure services in their jurisdiction, but they are subject to the National Transport Policy and the ministry can overlap



its duties into the jurisdiction of the city (AFDB, 2019). Multi-level operations in road infrastructure are coordinated between the ministry's Department of Roads and the CoH's Department of Roads. The overlap of the functions of the Department of Roads under the Ministry of Transport and Infrastructure Development depends on the scale of the project. For instance, during the road expansion from Plumtree to Mutare, construction had to pass through Harare and the ministry carried on the construction without involving the CoH (AFDB, 2019).

#### **4.2.1.2 Ministry of Local Government, Public Works and National Housing**

The Ministry of Local Government, Public Works and National Housing (MLPN) is a broad ministry that is fragmented into the respective departments. For this study, the specific roles of the MLPN in transport and urban set-up will be described. The mission of the ministry is to formulate, review and implement policies that promote sound local governance and a quality-built environment (MLPN, 2020). About functions that relate to public transport, the ministry develops and implements strategies that ensure rural and urban development (MLPN, 2020). Also, the ministry mobilizes resources for the implementation of housing and social amenities in rural and urban areas (MLPN, 2020).

It is important to note that the CoH (CoH) reports to the MLPN. According to the Urban Development Corporation Act, the ministry and the urban council form the Urban Development Corporation. It is responsible for, the assistance in the provision of housing and social facilities within development areas to encourage people to live and work therein and to create and ensure the maintenance of an attractive environment within development areas (Ministry of Local Government, 1996). To narrow down to specific departments that are in the frame of this study, the departments of Urban Local Authorities and Physical Planning will be the focus.

#### **Urban Local Authorities**

The duties of urban local authorities are to enhance sound local governance. This enhancement is achieved through improvement of efficiency in local authority service delivery and capital development. The strategy used to improve efficiency varies from locality to locality. Revenue

collection is done in various ways, including enforcement of traffic fines to traffic law violators. Vehicle licensing functions were shifted from local authorities to ZINARA through a government directive because a few local authorities were failing to account for the money due to misappropriation, that is, paying for salaries at the expense of roads (Sibanda, 2017). The urban local authorities are divided into Local Municipalities, Town Councils and Local Boards. For the focus of this study CoH municipality will explore more on the role of various department in the urban public transport sector.

### **The Department of Physical Planning**

The department of Physical Planning is responsible for spatial planning policy and standards (MLPN, 2020). This comes in through the guidance of siting and classification of human settlement and State Land layout Plans. Additionally, the department guides local authorities in land use management and the processing of applications lodged in terms of regional Town and Country Planning Act (MLPN, 2020). In relation to transport, the department formulates the Urban Transport Policy and monitors the performance of the sector. Under the Urban Transport policy, the ZUPCO parastatal finds its control under this department. Although ZUPCO is a player under the Ministry of Local Government, Public Works and National Housing, it stands on its own in terms of operations.

The department of planning among other relevant stakeholders has neglected the updating the CoH's boundaries. This has been problematic for residents living on the periphery as the distinction between rural and urban is an issue with regards to service delivery. More importantly, the allocation of land and land use patterns are sometimes not adhered to thereby leading to illegal structures and mushrooming residential areas taking the greater parts of the urban periphery. This has affected service delivery, and urban infrastructure development as land is put in use before it is appropriately planned. For instance, the greater Harare South District has exploded with many settlements, such as Hopely Farm and Saturday Retreat, that are pieces of land unplanned by settled. Importantly these two residential areas surround Southlea Park, the case study for this dissertation. Generally, Harare South suffers underdevelopment and is a highly politically contested area as the ruling party ZANU-PF predominantly has a mass following in the area.

Accusations around land distribution by ZANU-PF in Harare South has raised the rule of law. The impact of unstructured settlements has been a challenge for local authorities and by in large the national government.

#### **4.2.1.3 CoH Administration**

The CoH (CoH) is responsible for various transport-related matters in the CoH under City Traffic and Transport division in the Department of Works. “The mandate of the division includes guaranteeing public safety, convenience and amenity through the development and implementation of effective traffic monitoring and control infrastructure, planning and regulating the public transport system in the CoH and the management of outdoor advertising within the city’s influence.” (Tanyanyiwa, 2016:1). Besides, the traffic and transport function of the CoH is regulated by the by-laws. This adds the policy formulation, implementation and evaluation functions to the aspects of the CoH.

For the Rural District Councils, the District Development Fund is responsible for road development and maintenance while in urban areas, the town and city councils are responsible. (Tanyanyiwa, 2016). CoH (CoH) Traffic Enforcement section falls under the City Treasury Department. Its mission is to clear roads, encourage a free flow of traffic in the Central Business District (CBD) and controlling illegal parking of heavy vehicles in the suburban areas (Ruwende commmented in a interview). Ruwende is a city official working at the town house who provided time for an interview. Prior to attaining independence in 1980, the United Transport Group operated stage carriage services in urban areas of Zimbabwe. The agreement guaranteed that the United Transport would service a 26-kilometre radius of Harare and the CoH will have a 20% return on capital. (Mbara, 1996). Notably, during this time, long queues and long waiting time set the precedents of urban transport commuters. This soon came to an end with the adaptation of EASP decentralised the transport operations to private-public transport operators, such as the commuter omnibuses. To date, the CoH abides by the central government’s transport provision statutes.

#### **4.2.1.4 Zimbabwe Republic Police**

The ZRP National Traffic Department is responsible for enforcing the road traffic rules that are enshrined in the Road Traffic Act (RTA) 22/2001. Guiding the department is the organisational mission and vision. Its mission is, “to maintain law and order, protect and secure lives and property of people and to institute dynamic policing practices that engender effective prevention, investigation, and detection of crime” (ZRP, 2020:2). Along with the mission is the vision to be the leading Police service provider in the world by the year 2020 (ZRP, 2020). The roles of the National Traffic Department are stated in the RTA as one of the agents of road traffic rules and regulations. According to the RTA of 2002, section 72 states that a police officer can stop a vehicle from checking for regulation compliance (Road Traffic Act, 2002). In addition to stopping to check for compliance, officers of the law can fine non-compliant driver, public transport operators, and commercial vehicles (Road Traffic Act, 2002). More so, upon request of the Minister of Transport, the Traffic Department may engage in none designated operations within the confines of the Road Traffic Act.

The roles of the ZRP National Traffic Department are numerous to explore. For this study, the above-mentioned roles will be vital in understanding the relationship between urban public transport and social exclusion. Going back to the role of the police to stop and check for compliance, issues affecting public transport protrude. Pressure has continued to mount on the public transport sector with the decline of the economy as many people resort to pirating in public transport. Scrutinizing the rouge element in the public transport sector reveals the enforcement of the law regarding public transportation is not thorough. From a far-distanced look, the rogue element seems to be growing while the police legs behind in enforcement. A closer look reveals a somewhat arbitrary approach to reprimanding the rogue elements as corruption and conflict of interest spearhead law enforcement.

Furthermore, spot fines and roadblocks disrupt the flow of public transport vehicles. The disruptions come in form of delays and use of alternative routes to evade the roadblocks. These disruptions have a causality of a dual impact as one commuter is forced to commute for longer due to roadblocks and another commuter is forced to wait for a longer period to commute

(Magosvongwe commented in a interview). The spot fines reduce the revenue collected by the transport operators and that impacts cost of operations. Several operators tend to hike their fares to compensate for the revenue lost from paying spot fines. This, in turn, affects transport provision.

The enforcement of the traffic laws by the ZRP reflects a centralisation of power and authority. While the jurisdiction of the Municipality Police is curbed, revenue from spot fines within the parameters of Harare are submitted to the central government. The ZRP falls under the Ministry of Home Affairs and therefore any revenue collected by the ZRP traffic department has to be reported to the ministry. The CoH loses revenue to the central government because of this structure of authority. Nonetheless, factoring the bribes and exhortation money received by rogue traffic officers more is lost that was meant for the CoH. This among many reasons' attributes to failure of maintenance of transport infrastructure in the CoH.

#### **4.2.1.5 Zimbabwe United Passenger Company**

The Zimbabwe United Passenger Company (ZUPCO) was revived in 2019 to help ease public transport. ZUPCO is a government-owned entity that falls under the Ministry of Transport and Infrastructure Development. The company traces its history to the colonial era as it was known as the Rhodesia Bus Company. Gaining independence enabled the new government of Zimbabwe to address socio-economic discrepancies that had been characterized by the colonial era. Urban transport was regarded as one such critical economic sector as the acquisition by the government a majority shareholding of the United Passenger Company (ZUPCO). This move saw the rise of cheaper urban transport commute. Be that as it may, in the early 1990s, the ESAP vouched for market liberalisation that saw the demise of ZUPCO buses as the company lost its stronghold to new private actors in the sector. The subsequent growth of the private operators also meant the fall of ZUPCO urban buses. The downfall was attributed to mismanagement and corruption scandals from the early 2000s. Eventually, ZUPCO ceased to operate urban buses.

However, its recent revival has been monitored by the Ministry of Local Government, Public Works and National Housing. The government came up with the ZUPCO scheme in a bid to

cushion the commuting public from high transport costs, but the subsidised fares have been costing the government a fortune (Langa, V, 2020). Due to the economic downturn that the country has faced in the last two decades, the cost of providing public transport has sharply risen culminating in fare increases for the commuting public. This comes after the downturn of the economy as previously stated. Cost of operations for public transport operators had risen due to scarcity of fuel and the subsequent increase of it, thereby led to the increase of fares (Anon., 2020). The revival of ZUPCO saw the partnering of the government and the private sector to provide subsidised public transport. In the partnership, the government would provide subsidised fuel and a stimulus check to the private sector, who, in turn, provides their buses or kombis that are roadworthy (Anon., 2020). The revival of ZUPCO represents a gleam of hope in the public transport sector. This hope is because of many commuters who have been assisted during the economic hardship the country is facing. However, its implementation has mainly been criticized for its unsustainability.

#### **4.2.1.6 National Railways of Zimbabwe and the Freedom Train**

The NRZ traces its roots back into the colonial era. From 1897 to 1980, the railway company exchanged ownership several times from private to the colonial government and finally to the postcolonial government today (NRZ, 2020). Its mandate is to provide freight railway services to good and commuters. In line with reforms, the year 1997 saw the turning point in the history of the railways after the deregulation of the transport industry that allowed NRZ to operate as a commercial entity while competing with other players in the transport industry (NRZ, 2020). Deregulation of public transport saw the NRZ participating in urban commuter transport services. Accordingly:

In 2001 the National Railways of Zimbabwe introduced a commuter train service (commonly known as Freedom Trains) in Harare and Bulawayo to cushion urban commuters from rising transport costs. In Bulawayo, the commuter train service was introduced along the Luveve and Emganwini routes while in Harare, it plied the Marimba, Dzivaresekwa and Ruwa routes” (NRZ, 2020:1).

However, from a series of macroeconomic policies implemented by the government, the NRZ suffered from lack of maintenance, corruption, and vandalism of property. Efforts to revive the entity have been fruitless as the behemoth remains dormant.

According to the NRZ website, the vision is “To be a provider of world-class railway infrastructure and transport services in Zimbabwe by 2020” (NRZ, 2020:1). In reality, the vision is farfetched as the parastatal is incapacitated. With regards to passenger rail in the urban area, the NRZ has not been functional and has barely expanded after independence. Much of urban expansion and construction has revealed a lack of factoring commuter railway provision. The knock-on effect of this is more reliance on road transport commute. More so, the lack of participation in future commute services is revealed as the mapping of future railway lines cannot be found on any map. Due to the lack of service, all passenger transportation has been mainly on the roads. This led to an over-reliance on-road usage that explored more on the next sections. Since urban passenger railway transport is far from reality, there is not much to continue exploring.

#### **4.2.1.7 Zimbabwe National Road Administration**

The Zimbabwe National Road Administration (ZINARA) is a corporate body that was established in terms of the Road Act (Chapter 13:18). The body was established in 2002 in line with Government’s commitment to prioritize the enhancement of a good road network system throughout the country (ZINARA, 2020). ZINARA’s primary functions include funds mobilisation, funds disbursement and fund management. Breaking down more, fund mobilisation is executed through road toll fees, vehicle licencing, abnormal/overload fees, road transit fees, fuel levy collection, bond, loans and grant management (ZINARA, 2020). The roads administrator determines who receives the disbursed funds and tenders for road network maintenance. Under the Management function, the activities include fund audits and monitoring and evaluation of funded projects. Under the Road Act (13:18), Zinara can perform any other function that may be conferred or imposed on the Roads Administration (ZINARA, 2020).

ZINARA disburses funds each year to road authorities, including Harare (Anon, 2015). The road authorities are then responsible for the maintenance and development of their roads, but their

ability to adequately build road infrastructure depends on the size of the disbursements given to them by ZINARA (Anon, 2015). The CoH is responsible for the maintenance and repair of road infrastructure; the approval and subsequent monitoring of private projects related to road infrastructure; embarking on joint ventures in order to improve its road infrastructure; and designing and constructing roads, storm water drainage systems and bridges. The CoH is reliant on the disbursements from ZINARA to be able to complete its responsibilities within the road sector.

Zinara has had several cases of mismanagement and corruption over the past decade. This comes after lack of servicing and rehabilitation of roads throughout the country. At the national level, failure to develop transport infrastructure could cost Zimbabwe millions of dollars in potential revenue due to the emergency of alternative routes bypassing the country, transport stakeholders have warned (AllAfrica, 2020). Decades of neglect and lack of maintenance has led to the country's highways to be in a state of disaster. While efforts to revamp the popular route of Harare-Masvingo-Beitbridge highway are active, the same cannot be said about the urban area. According to Nyoka (2017), the potholed roads in Zimbabwe's capital, Harare, are an increasing hazard for drivers and are especially dangerous following heavy rains, as standing water hides some of the potholes. The state of roads in the capital city was declared a disaster, and the peril of bad roads comes along with a lack of safety for road users. ZINARA, as the national roads administrator in Zimbabwe, failed to act on its mandate of managing the roads. The failure of the national roads' administration trickles down to cities and towns across the country. Harare is affected the most, as it is epicentre of economic activity in the country. More so, as to why this has become particularly a nightmare for commuters in the section that explores the role of actors in perpetuating transport induced exclusion.

#### **4.2.1.8 The Vehicle Inspection Department**

The VID is a government department under the Ministry of Transport & Infrastructural Development and operates under the auspices of the Public Service Commission (PSC). The department's vision is to become a leader in the provision of a world class service in road safety management within the SADC region (Ministry of Transport, 2020). The mission guiding the department is to provide and facilitate an efficient, affordable high-quality service through vehicle



inspections, driver licensing, road and infrastructure preservation and road safety through effective implementation of policies, strategies, and standards (Ministry of Transport, 2020). The services offered by the V.I.D are vehicle inspection and accident evaluation, testing of aspiring drivers for learner's licence, testing of learner drivers for certificate of competency, preservation of infrastructure and road network through weighing all loaded heavy vehicles and provision of expert evidence in court cases involving disputes on vehicle inspected (Ministry of Transport, 2020).

The V.I.D and CoH do not seem to have interdependency. This is mainly due to differences in operations. However, the V.I.D does carry out commercial vehicle inspections across the CoH. During the fieldwork, the researcher observed on several occasions the V.I.D stopping commercial vehicles, such as construction vehicles, buses, and haulage trucks. The routine spot checks are obligatory to check on compliance on issues, such as the gross mass weight of the vehicle and passenger safety (Sauti commented in an interview). Sauti is an official at the ministry of transport. Nonetheless, the operations of the V.I.D have not been fruitful in insuring compliance on vehicle weight. On numerous occasions many 8-tonne-plus lorries traverse the roads with a 3-tonne weight limit. This further deteriorates the roads that are not regularly maintained. Furthermore, because there are no multilevel operations between the CoH and the V.I.D, the CoH is left with more roads to maintain and the citizens are severely wedged by the bad roads.

Additionally, cases of bribing have surfaced as the V.I.D inspectors have received bribes on vehicles that do meet the threshold of operation in the CoH. The transparency of the V.I.D has been questioned after a scandal transpired at the recently revived ZUPCO. Forty-two buses were deemed unfit to operate under the ZUPCO private-public-partnership. Inspections at the depots cover all the components of the vehicle, and the under-carriage to ensure that the vehicle is safe for use on the roads and a certificate of fitness is issued to a vehicle that meets all the requirements in terms of roadworthiness and the purpose for that the vehicle is designed to serve, particularly the Public Service Vehicle (Ministry of Transport, 2020). The certificates of fitness are brought into question as buses operating in the public transport sector of Harare were unfit but were

certified as fit. Such challenges pose as a threat towards mobility of commuters and other road users.

## **4.2.2 Private operators**

The private sector has predominantly led the public transport operation in urban areas. This was due to the collapsing of the government controlled ZUPCO public bus services. Commuter Omnibus and emergency taxis took over swiftly in the mid 90's to fill the gap left by ZUPCO buses. Fast-forward to present-day Kombis and Mushikashika has remained predominant but however the reintroduction of ZUPCO public services has brought back the competition. In this section, the roles of the kombis and mushikashika are discussed through exploring their advantages, disadvantages, and a description of the overarching public transport sector impact.

### **4.2.2.1 Commuter omnibuses**

Commuter omnibuses in Zimbabwe are popularly known as kombis. The name commuter omnibus is usually given to the eighteen-seater type of vehicles that are privately owned but used for public transport in the country. This is the most popularly known form of public transport in Zimbabwe as a result of the decline of formal city transport once dominated by government-run ZUPCO transport company. The rise of commuter omnibuses during the mid-1990s was motivated by the deregulation of the public transport industry. In chapter one of this dissertation, a background to the Economic Adjustment Program (ESAP) details the goals of the program. Introduced by the World Bank as a part of the package, the private sector was allowed to operate in public transportation.

This package led to much faster and efficient commuter omnibuses (Kombis) as the government had loosened its monopoly on public transport. This was highly debated during the '90s and the early 2000s. "Opponents of deregulation seek varying levels of control and government involvement, believing market forces may lead to increasing imperfection and imbalances in the provision of services" (Mbara, 1996: 1). Also, opponents of deregulation believed that this led to wasteful use of scarce resources with negative environmental impacts. Twenty-seven years later,

the role of the kombis has become more of a burden to the overall public transport system. The reason for this has been the lack of restrictions on the kombis, lack of bus competition, the unregistered kombis pirating and the congestion the kombis cause.

The introduction of the kombis significantly reduced the waiting period for commuters to travel from point A to point B. “The introduction of commuter omnibuses has increased both the supply and capacity of the public transport system in Harare and the level of service has improved as illustrated by the reduction in passenger waiting times” (Mbara, 1996:13). Additionally, there was an expansion of the urban public transport network as new services were introduced in some local authorities that were not serviced by public transport before deregulation. The value addition of commuter omnibuses in the public sector connected the previously excluded groups on the peri-urban and localities further from the Harare Central Business District. Comparing the introduction of kombis to the prior ZUPCO bus services shows the primary benefits a public-private run public transport.

Notwithstanding the increased service supply, the private sector did not just increase the capacity of public transport. The public was also introduced to shuttle effect in that the frequency of public transport services was more frequent and more distributed to minor service routes (Nyatondo, 2013). The effect was reduced walking distance and less waiting period. The net effect of this phenomenon brought convenience to the commuters. Commuters welcomed the convenience brought by the kombis to their day-to-day commute. Eventually, ZUPCO buses fell out of favour with the commuting public and coupled with maladministration the urban transport arm of the parastatal collapsed.

More so, the economic downturn that the country has and still facing has led to unemployment and loss of income. The public transport sector provided a haven for many families, thereby creating employment. Today, it is estimated that in Zimbabwe, there are more than 60 000 commuter omnibuses that are registered to operate (SundayMail, 2015). This means the employment of a driver and a conductor, thus creating opportunities for more than 120 000 people. Furthermore,

based on the assumption of dependency ration of 1:3, one employed person has three dependents this, in turn, would mean 360 000 people directly benefiting from the commuter omnibus industry.

The Kombis added advantage has been the ability to service areas that have underdeveloped road networks. To date, the ability of kombis to provide urban transport in areas that have underdeveloped road infrastructure. The emerging urban areas, such as Southlea Park on the periphery of Harare have remained connected to the central Harare socio-economic hub despite lack of tarred and well-structured roads. This is attributed to the tapping of private operators into new markets. A long-standing advantage of private commuter operators has been that they have managed to provide transport to the underdeveloped area. With regards to the overall economy, this is significant because kombis act as enablers of economic activities between informal traders that have exponentially increased due to declining economic activity in the country.

The continued growth of the kombis sector began to show several challenges in the transport sector. Along specific corridors, conventional services provided by ZUPCO buses have diminished, thereby constraining modal choice and left passengers increasingly dependent on kombis. The net effect of a kombi dominated public transport sector has been regulations and the informal nature of the operation (Magosvongwe commmented in a interview). Anywhere else in the world the government is responsible for the planning, implementation and monitoring of public transport. In Zimbabwe, particularly in urban areas, the presence of government-operated buses had been absent until 2019 with the rebirth of the ZUPCO urban buses. The number of Kombis in the city has increased drastically leading to serious levels of congestion especially during peak hours and at intersection points. City termini, such as Copacabana, Charge Office, Rezende, Market Square and Fourth Street ranks, have been overwhelmed by the kombis ranking there. A knock-on effect was the emergence of undesignated pickup points. Of the undesignated pickup points, the popular ones have been, Park Street, Robert Mugabe Way and Julius Nyerere Way as they have been the centre of gridlocks and congestion.

Kombis fares are not regulated by the government, and therefore, a critical element that has been a point of contestation has been the fares charged. During the fieldwork, the commuters interviewed complained about the unfair price hikes during peak hours and when it rains. "It is

hard to budget for transport these days because, at any point, the price will change” (Abel a commuter commented). The lack of fare consistency has led to commuters stranded as simple transport budgets become a nightmare. The absence of regulated prices has led to kombi operators to take advantage of the commuters. This had led to the welcoming of the reintroduced cheaper ZUPCO buses. Although this is the case, it should be said that the deteriorating economy hamstrung the operations of the kombi operators hence why they justified their ever-changing fares. “It has been hard to do business in Zimbabwe with the runaway inflation, especially with our expenses being pegged to the US dollar, not the Zimbabwean dollar” (Kombi Owner narrated in a interview). The unfortunate downturn of the economy has led to a black market-led economy, in that the ordeal of purchasing consumables for five-times the price has led to an increase in fares in the public transport sector. This development thus placed the overall urban transport system in jeopardy as more commuters get stranded. This is one of the most significant disadvantages of kombis.

The kombis’ disadvantages would not be complete without talking about the rogue elements. Along with registered kombi operators, pirating kombis also operate on the same lines. With the formal economy collapsing and high unemployment, the informal sector grew exponentially. Informal sector growth led to the rise of rogue operators in the public transport sector. It is essential to understand that to many, this is the only source of income and livelihood.

Nevertheless, the lawlessness of the rogue elements of the kombi sector has exposed commuters to dangerous driving and lack of safety. Another contributing factor to the growth of pirating kombis has been the lack of a unified taxi association to guide urban transport in Harare. Bulawayo, the second biggest city, has seen more organised taxi associations and has seen a relative more organisation in terms of kombi operations. Going back to Harare, the porous nature of operations allowed for pirating of unregistered kombis to operate parallel to the registered. For the commuter, there is no immediate distinction between the two.

#### **4.2.2.2 Mushikashika ‘Emergency Taxis’**

To begin with, the definition of Mushikashika assists in understanding the nature of these operators in the public transport sector. The word Mushikashika is derived from the Zulu word ‘Mishkashika’ meaning to hustle. The word shows how we have a resilient nature to overcome difficult situations (SundayMail, 2015). Today small hatchback vehicles are used as Mushikashika in the urban transport network. “Since the US dollarization of the economy, these small vehicles have crept up on the transport sector taking the place of the emergency taxis that existed” (Kombi Owner narrated in a interview). The concept of Mushikashika is not new but an evolution of the former emergency taxis that emerged in the 1990s when there were public transport shortages in the country. As in the name Mushikashika, the nature of the drivers and touts operating the vehicles is erratic. Mushikashika meaning to hustle can be seen in how these vehicles operate.

Customarily located near public transport terminus, such as Copacabana, Market Square, Fourth Street and Rezende, Mushikashika, dominate the roads surrounding the terminuses. In other hotspots, Mushikashika can be located on major intersections alongside pirating kombis, and these include, Robert Mugabe way, Jason Moyo Avenue, Park Street, Mbuya Nehanda and along Chinhoyi Street. Mushikashika has become famous for the inner-city commute, that was always a lack in the public transport sector. From the inner-city commuters, Mushikashika has also attached themselves to the standard routes buses and kombis operate. It ranges from inner-city commute to the suburbs to city-to-city travels. Despite that, the operations of the Mushikashika have not been welcomed by everyone, and their shortcomings outweigh their advantages. Exploring the advantages and disadvantages illuminates the nature of operation more.

When one says Mushikashika, the reciprocating advantageous feeling is the convenience of commuting. The convenience of the Mushikashika is rooted in their size. “Mushikashika gets full quickly and tend to be cheaper than a conventional metered taxi” (TaxiOperator commented during an interview). Several people have welcomed the mushikashika as sometimes people find themselves in emergencies. Another benefit centred on convenience is the shuttle service in the inner-city commute. “There is no other service that can connect you to the four corners of the CoH except the Mushikashika” (TaxiOperator commented during an interview). Mushikashika offers

cheaper inner-city commute, that neither kombis nor buses offer. The only service provider for this commute is the metered taxis that tend to be expensive. What makes it cheaper is the ride-sharing service.

Along with the above-mentioned benefits of Mushikashika, is that employment into the informal sector has increased. Mushikashika gave a form of employment to many who could not get formal jobs but had drivers' licenses. One can perceive as an advantage for the families that survive on this job. It is made more of an advantage due to the economic downturn as many formal jobs vanished, and the informal economy sector grew exponentially. Getting an actual figure of how many operators who are operating in the Mushikashika subsector is difficult. The reason is mainly due to the erratic nature and the perpetual growth with the decline of the formal sector. However, with Mushikashika, the strengths are as good as their weakness. The flaws of Mushikashika are rooted in the advantages that they provide to the commuter.

While the advantages of Mushikashika are welcomed, however, the disadvantages take more precedents. Even though they have brought convenience to the commuter, the rest of the people are negatively affected by the presence of Mushikashika. Just like pirating kombis, the Mushikashikas do not have a rank or a terminus where they can get commuters. They evade street parking and block lanes, thereby causing traffic congestion. They have notably been seen to slow down the economic activity of the CBD. Mushikashika have caused havoc in the day-to-day operations of City Parking officials and have led to a decrease in revenue collected since they evade and do not pay (Ruwende commented in a interview). The ability to curb the operations of the Mushikashika have been futile as they continue to operate. The ZRP Traffic Police unit has tried to arrest the rogue operators who have invaded public transport, but they seem to find a way to come back (Ruwende commented in a interview). The lawlessness of the Mushikashika subsector in public transport has mostly caused more harm than good in moving people from one point to another.

More so, lawlessness and the safety of commuters have not been taken into consideration by the Mushikashika operators. Lack of safety tests and vehicle roadworthy tests place commuters under unsafe and unreliable commuting conditions. These conditions include where an individual board the vehicle and the higher speed that the cars are driven. As previously mentioned, Mushikashika does not rank at a terminus but inconveniently evade driving lanes and parking spaces. Sometimes commuters are forced to board and get off in the middle of the street. This not safe considering that other vehicles are moving on the same road. When asked why they drive faster than usual, the Mushikashika drivers stated that they want to make up their profit by making many trips in a day. Reckless driving has resulted in traffic rules being ignored, further endangering the environment with pedestrians and other road users. An unfortunate circumstance has been the several hit and run reports of pedestrians. Mushikashika as a mode of transport is not conducive to the socio-economic development of the CoH and the rest of the country. A sustainable model operation can be considered for continuation of inner-city commute.

One of the more concerning disadvantages of Mushikashika is the criminal element of the subsector. Mushikashika related crimes have been reported on numerous occasions. There have been many armed robberies, cases of missing people and abuse of commuters. Criminals have taken advantage of the subsector since it is not legitimate in terms of operations. Any criminal can pose as a helping hand in the sector and eventually rob people. It has also been hard for the police to follow up with such criminal elements since there is a shortage of number plates in the country and now more unlicensed vehicles are operating the subsector (Magosvongwe commented in a interview). For a commuter, it is even harder to tell the difference between a normal Mushikashika and a criminal operated Mushikashika. Efforts by the Zimbabwe Republic Police have been made to inform people of such criminal elements and where possible avoid using Mushikashika at all.

#### **4.3 HOW TRANSPORT PLAYERS INDUCE TRANSPORT RELATED EXCLUSION**

While the roles of the different players in the transport sector provide a platform for public transport services to operate, they also contribute to shortcomings that affect commuters daily. The following section reveals the actions of the actors and how they lead to transport induced exclusion. More so, this section reveals where and when is transport-related exclusion occurring through the



actions of the actors. The public transport system in Zimbabwe lacks a strategy, that has led commuters to refer to the public transport system as a third-class service. The study also learnt that this is the reason why people prefer to use private cars or ride-sharing opportunities. Unsatisfied commuters label the system as overcrowded, unsafe, and unreliable. Overreliance on road transport alone in the urban area poses problems, such as gridlocking congestion and fast deterioration of road infrastructure. Nevertheless, a lack of key performance indicators reveals why there is the dissatisfaction of the public urban transport system in the country.

The saying ‘What gets measured gets done’ illustrates the importance of the right things being measured and inappropriate things being left out (Margarita, 2005). If transport organisation does not measure what it values, it will end up valuing what cannot be measured. The choice of indicators will have a significant impact on the operation and direction of the Organisation, knowledge of the factors driving behaviour and influencing performance thus become crucial. In the case of Zimbabwe, the key performance indicators in the public transport sector are not known. Talk about a National Transport Master Plan has been circulating, but in reality, there is little to show a ready document.

Nevertheless, key performance indicators (KPIs) are indicators used to report progress towards the achievement of the transport provision goals and objectives (Margarita, 2005). In brief, the identification of KPIs should help to identify the root causes of problems or deficiencies. To emphasize the importance of the KPIs as a form of Public Transport Strategy below is the example of South Africa. In South Africa, KPIs were identified, and they have assisted the public transport sector to identify with the commuters (see Appendix 1).

To compare performance indicators for the transport sector between Zimbabwe and South Africa requires a separate study with ample resources. The limitations of this study, guides using the KPIs of South Africa as an example of what can be measured in public transport. Thus, KPIs form a vital component of a public transport strategy. For instance, without using figures, the average time of a commuter in Harare is longer than that of a South African commuter in the urban area.

This commuting pattern is mainly due to various modes of transport provisioned in South Africa, while in Zimbabwe it is mainly road transport. The use of Mass Transit Systems, such as urban passenger railway helps to decongest the roads, such as found in South Africa (Lucas,2010). In South Africa, the capital city of Pretoria is linked to Johannesburg via road network and more importantly, via the railway network. The connection between the two cities presents a benchmark of how urban peripheries can be integrated and connected to the leading transport network *ibid*. Achieving this is possible if a public transport strategy is initiated, that also factors in land-use patterns.

In the next section, a closer inspection of the government line ministries and their subsidiaries reveal the trickle-down effect of not having a coherent strategy venture. These include the Ministry of Transport alongside with the ZINARA, Ministry of Local Government and the departments responsible for urban planning. This relationship then extends to the CoH as it is an extension of the government. When the government lacks a strategy, the citizens fall as victims to lack of guidance.

#### **4.3.1. The Ministry of Transport's role in transport induced exclusion**

The Ministry of Transport plays an overseer's role in the transport sector of the nation of Zimbabwe (Anon., 2020). The role has brought challenges regarding transport service provider in the country. Reports of mismanagement of infrastructure development funds and lack of political will to serve the people have been at the centre of failure of government-initiated transport-related projects. The roads in Zimbabwe are in a bad state due to lack of maintenance. The lack of a strategy may be blamed for such mismanagement because there are no benchmarking standards set by a strategy. Take for instance, the fact that the Ministry had to move its road repairs funds to the cyclone Idai relief aid (Anon., 2020). It would have been understandable if funds were directed to road repairs and reconstruction. However, the case here is that the funds were moved for food and shelter relief. Moving of funds exposes the government in lacking an overall state emergency fund that does not bankrupt their other responsibilities.

The cyclone was of enormous magnitude, and the government coffers were depleted due to the aid needed by the people of Manicaland Province. Roads had to be rebuilt, and bridges had to be reconstructed, and it was not enough given the magnitude of the cyclone (Anon., 2020). While no one could ever predict the impact that Cyclone Idai had, it does not explain why the funds prior to the cyclone were not in use in cities, like Harare. The roads connecting Harare lack repairs in the longest of time and after the funds reserved for the repair and reconstruction of the roads were redirected. The question that pops into the mind would be, how long is it going to take to have the funds again? More so, how long will the roads in Harare have to continue bearing the road without adequate maintenance? This further trickle down to local municipalities and metropolitan areas as their funding for roads is jeopardized.

Poor road infrastructure exposes public transport vehicles to high wear and tear. A knock-on effect of this has been unreliable vehicles that are expensive to repair given the recent economic downturn. Unfit vehicles ferry commuters to and from their socio-economic activities. The heavy reliance on road transport to the exclusion of other modes of transport such as rail has worsened the transport woes for the commuting public, especially in Zimbabwe's major cities. The use of rail transports the country's urban areas are virtually non-existent as the National Railways of Zimbabwe is incapacitated to operate (Magosvongwe commented in a interview). An overreliance on road transport for most commuters in the country emerged due to the lack of rail services.

The informalisation of the public transport system in Harare has also induced transport-related social exclusion in the CoH. Small vehicles in use as public modes of transport in Harare have compounded the problem of congestion. Until the year 1993, public transport in the city was provided by conventional buses (Mlambo, 1997). The growth of the informal sector in Zimbabwe, that came as a result of the introduction of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP), led to the emergence of pirate taxis in the country's cities and towns (Mlambo, 1997). The Liberalisation of the economy led to the deregulation of urban passenger transport in 1993. Permission was given to private-public transport operators to operate in urban areas. The ESAP resulted in the mushrooming of commuter omnibuses, that now dominate the public transport

market in Harare. Lack of regulation of the sector has overwhelmed the sector through the increase in Kombis and Mushikashika (emergency taxis). Overcrowding on public vehicle terminuses, blocking of lanes that limits the movement of people and goods and traffic congestion became normal. These factors alone make a commuter wait too long to commute from point A to B, and more vehicles on an already lousy road infrastructure exacerbate the road conditions. Zooming out the lens reveals that there is no strategy to guide the operations of the public transport sector.

Therefore, lack of regulation by the Ministry of Transport and Infrastructure Development has placed the lives of commuters under a threat of unsafe driving and chaos on the public roads. The regulation of kombis and other private vehicles operating in the public transport sector is a policy issue. The challenge with the National Transport Policy of Zimbabwe is that it is still predominantly guided by the failed ESAP. The regulation of the public transport sector, specifically to private operators is not natural by any means. The complex nature of a liberal private sector allows for an invisible hand to control; however, the introduction of government restrictions could upset the checks and balances of the Private sector. Therefore, regulations as much as they limit the private operators, it is vital to safeguard the sector and the commuters who are dependent mainly on public transport.

#### **4.3.1.2 Ghost operations and failure of the accountability of road projects under ZINARA**

The state of the road infrastructure in Harare as already been stated as dire. In the previous section, an overview from the patron of the Transport sector, the Ministry of Transport revealed the knock-on effect of not having a public transport strategy. Under review also is the state of the roads in this section. The perspective of ZINARA lacks strategy and reveals how vast the effects of lacking a strategy can affect the management of resources.

Potholes, gullies, and untarred roads are a common sight in the city. In this section, the focus will be on lack of accountability on the roadworks and transport-related operations that did not take-off and/or took off but were never completed. Lack of accountability could occur due to a plethora of issues, but for this study, the strand of lack of a coherent public transport strategy could explain.

In this instance, the actual work done by the department of roads administration is called into scrutiny as it reveals a lack of accountability at a macro level.

The road leading to the Harare international airport, the Robert Gabriel Mugabe (RGM) International Airport is a case that reveals a ghost project. The construction on the Joshua Nkomo Expressway was supposed to start in 2007 as the tender was awarded to Augur Investments by Harare City Council without going through an open tender process (Sunday Mail, 2011). Construction started and was officially opened in 2016. However, today the project has remained abandoned. Along the timeline of the project, it changes in project management from the CoH to the Ministry of Local Government. The issue concerning Joshua Nkomo expressway 'ghost project' is the failure of accountability on infrastructure development. The Auditor General's report revealed that 52% of the funds allocated to the project were used to hire machinery (Mhlanga, 2016). The project was initially marked to be a US10 million-dollar project, but upon several investigations, the project had nearly taken US80 million dollar (Sunday Mail, 2011). This case shows the lack of accountability on public funds and infrastructure development. While the airport road expansion project can be labelled mega, the failure to account for the funds utilised this mega road project does not give hope to smaller projects. The RGM International Airport is 20km away from the city centre, and the failure of both local and national government to develop an already existing road makes one think of the untarred roads of Southlea Park if they will ever be tarred.

The question then becomes, if the government fails to account for the big projects, how about the smaller ones? Thus, in this context, failure to account for road infrastructure management and development exposes commuters to bad roads that increase the threat to human life. In addition, the airport road expansion was supposed to have a flyover bridge over the railway that crosses it. This flyover was expected to ease the traffic for those coming from the Robert Mugabe International Airport going into the city centre as the popular route of using Seke road is heavily congested (Mhlanga, 2016). This flyover is not there, and as previously stated, the project is deserted. Therefore, failure to construct a flyover has led to more traffic jams along Seke Road

and mainly at the NRZ train crossing bridge as it is narrow and heavily congested by public transport vehicles.

Another example of a project similar to the airport road is the Harare- Masvingo highway. The talk of starting operations commenced in 2002. Several newspaper headlines from different years stated that construction beginning while there was nothing on the ground. These are a few examples.

**“Harare-Beitbridge Road dualisation begins”**- 15 August 2015 (Herald, 2015)

**“\$984m game-changer: Harare-B/Bridge highway dualisation begins”**- 19 May 2017 (Chronicles, 2017)

**“Zimbabwe sets the US \$693m for Harare-Masvingo-Beitbridge highway”**- 09 November 2018 (Njoroge, 2018)

**“No funds yet for Harare-Beitbridge Road dualisation”**- 11 September 2019 (Newsday, 2019)

Given these headlines, it becomes no secret that the road will not be completed any time soon. The lack of accountability comes to question when figures, like the above, are presented put to the project. As abovementioned, in 2017 US \$984 million was set to be money to finance the project, and after a year without any construction, the government set aside the US \$693 million for the same road. Transparency over infrastructure development in Zimbabwe is a problem.

The Harare-Beitbridge was supposed to start expansion in 2002, but the contractors failed to deliver (Chronicles, 2017). The wait was finally over in 2019 when several sections of the highway started to be constructed. The tender procedures for the road have also been highly controversial as many companies were linked to top government officials and the rich (Chronicles, 2017). Thus, the interests of the people are downcast by greedy top government officials and the rich. Again, if big road projects are being mishandled in such a manner, what more of other smaller roads? The magnitude of the problem is then seen in the social exclusion of the poor.

Had the Harare Beitbridge road been successfully constructed, the residence of Harare South suburbs would not have been facing the traffic congestion problems at the Mbudzi roundabout. Southlea Park is a suburb that is profoundly affected by this roundabout along the Harare-Beitbridge highway. The Mbudzi roundabout is an informal traders' market, cross border bus terminal, hitchhikers' spot, and many more informal economic activities. Commuters must face the challenge of negotiating their way home because of the poor road network. Therefore, transport-related social exclusion is not only because of the challenges found in the transport sector but are also exacerbated by the lack of political will and lack of accountability by the government on infrastructure management.

Transport related social exclusion from this perspective does not originate in the daily challenges commuters and commuter operators face but rather from the governmental leadership. When day to day problems is faced, such as poor roads, dilapidated public transport vehicles and traffic congestion, the whole public transport system is exposed due to a governmental apathy. Failure to account for infrastructure development does not just reflect a leadership apathy but also reflects a failure of understanding the significance of infrastructure improvement to the daily users. Transport related social exclusion is happening at the government level. Commuters are paying the price and how it is occurring could be best summed up as lack of political will to serve the interest of the citizens. All this revolves back to a lack of a strategy that can be benchmarker. With that being said, 'That, that is not measured, cannot be accounted for'.

#### **4.3.1.2. The state of roads in Harare**

The impact of unaccountability does not only hinge on the unaccounted road projects but also prohibits the engagement of other road projects. In simple terms, the failure of the governing entities on both the Beitbridge road and Joshua Nkomo expressway (Airport Road) allows one to reflect on what else is unaccounted. Focusing on Harare alone paints a picture of the current state of roads across the country. The state of the roads in Harare is not befitting of the status of the capital city of Zimbabwe. Upon reflecting on this case, a lack of benchmarking of the roads in Harare is terrible, imagine other cities and town?

A key issue for the transport sector is the extent to that roads support efficient, reliable, and safe transport services for urban commuters. The state of the roads in Harare is dire. The last Road Conditions Report indicated that approximately 30% of the road network was with most of them being highly uneven and pothole. Plate 4.1 shows one of the pot-holed roads in Southlea Park in poor condition and most of the deterioration on surfaced roads have occurred on the road network in Harare, Mashonaland Central, Midlands and Bulawayo (AFDB, 2019). Potholes and uneven tarred surfaces characterize the roads in Harare.

Plate 4.1: Some of the potholed roads in Southlea Park



Source: Author

Due to the poor state of the roads transport operators have also increased their transportation fees alleging the existence of potholes that affected their vehicles (AFDB, 2019). Linda, a resident of Southlea Park, expressed her ordeal with the gullies and trenches found in the road that has led her to stop using her vehicle opting for public transport, that increases car servicing bills (Anon., 2020). The increase in transport fares directly affects commuters, thereby increasing the cost of living. Another effect of bad roads is the danger it poses to human life. In this regard, social exclusion perpetuated by transport governing structures contributes to the overall transport-related social exclusion.



### **4.3.2 The Ministry of Local Government and Transport Induced Exclusion**

While the Ministry of Transport revealed the lack of public transport strategy leads to mismanagement of road infrastructure, the Ministry of Local Government reveals more of this case. Since the ministry is responsible for local governments and national housing, it becomes clear that incoherencies exist between the two ministries. These inconsistencies are evidenced by land-use patterns and the road network infrastructure. In this section emphasize will be on the land use and the overall public transport strategy.

Daily commuting has become a daunting task due to two main factors outdated infrastructure in the CoH and a rise in the population residing in the city. Urban Growth and old structures are critical issues affecting Harare city (Tanyanyiwa, 2016). Professor Ruby Magosvongwe a key informant who is with the University of Zimbabwe stated.

Harare since 1980 has remained the same. The challenges of traffic congestion increase in urban population are rooted in the historical setup of the city. Salisbury, as Harare was previously known, was reserved for a minority of the population that was white before the nation gained independence. The failure to address colonial structures that were designed for a minority cannot naturally support the majority that now resides in the city.

The four main bus termini built in colonial times, i.e., Fourth Street, Copacabana, Rezende, Charge Office and Market Square have not been revamped to cater to the increasing urban commuters. These five had a total holding capacity of fewer than 1500 people when they were created (Tanyanyiwa, 2016). The holding capacity has been superseded 40 years after Zimbabwe gained independence. The case is not for Harare alone but other cities as well. The MLPN as an overseer of urban councils who, in turn, are responsible for local development has allowed the dilapidation of infrastructure, and thus commuters are excluded from efficient and sustainable public transport infrastructure.

Signs of a lack of strategy along with other factors such as leadership apathy reveal a lack of a cohesive plan for urban transportation. Before the country's independence, five ranks were built to service the minority, white group residing in the capital. Fast-forward forty years after independence, the ranks are still the same despite the majority having taken over the city. It seems that the leadership paid a blind eye towards infrastructure development to cater to the increasing populations in the city. The overcrowding and mushrooming of undesignated pick-up points in the city are only but symptoms of a failed urban infrastructure and transportation system. To date, no visual capacity increase of the ranks can be seen regardless of the population using the rank increases. No doubt the lack of a strategy has heavily burdened commuters in Harare.

In this context, transport induced exclusion is found in the lack of will to strategize the mobility of people in urban areas. The two ministries have shown that as custodians of the mobility of people and goods in the urban areas have been downplayed by lacking a coherent public transport strategy. The commuters are caught in a snare that requires the governing entities to emancipate them, yet the same entities are the root of the problem. In the next section, a closer look into the areas surrounding the city centre reveals how public transportation in Harare is more of an existential problem.

#### **4.3.2.1 The sprawling city versus the allocation of resources**

The city is expanding by the day while the resources barely cater for the already built-up areas. Southlea Park has already been explained to be in the peri-urban of Harare, and this section analyses this disposition with regards to transport service provision and future development. This is necessary to note because it does not only affect people in their day-to-day commute but in the long run of transport needs. According to the survey done by Mbiba (2017), the movement of many people to the urban periphery is mainly because of a housing shortage and high cost of renting for the low-income families in Harare urban areas. The peri-urban areas of Zimbabwe are growing, and yet service provision is meagre (Mbiba, 2017). Daily commuters are faced with

untarred roads, and if a lack of proper planning and development, the result will be a more social exclusion.

What is known to be an urban area in Zimbabwe is limited by definition and is static by nature. An urban area in Zimbabwe is known to be an area with the, (i) a settlement designated as urban and (ii) a compact settlement of 2,500 people or more, the majority of whom are occupied in non-farm employment (ICED, 2017). Based on this definition, challenges arise that socially exclude people. For a start, the definition is limited and rigid. Mbiba (2017), in his research, found a de-urbanisation myth where people are being reported to have increased in urban to rural migration. A challenge is posed because the initial land redistribution gave land surrounding the urban areas to people for development. These areas do not fit the definition of an urban area as they are still defined as farms. Therefore, it means that people are living in urban-like conditions on the urban peripheries who are excluded from service provision by the urban municipalities. Thus, defining an urban area needs to be revisited to accommodate these urbanites concerning the provision of transport.

An excellent public transport network is, therefore, necessary to cater to those residing on the periphery as they commute to the main city centres for socio-economic activities. In Southlea Park, this is not the reality. There are no provisions of a mass public transporting system such as a train. Due to the lack of classification Southlea Park as an urban area, cases of unplanned housing development have become rampant. A land audit was executed in Southlea Park, and the result showed a lack of political will to govern the area. According to the project's initial master plan, Southlea Park was expected to have 6 000 houses, but the results of the land audit showed that 9 000 houses had been built by 2020 (Anon., 2020) Land-use for transport-related activity is bypassed by such actions.

The urban infrastructure lacks benchmarking before people start building their houses. There seems to be a gap between what is in the policy and what is on the ground. For example, the ministry develops and implements strategies that ensure rural and urban development and one way

to achieve this is to offer efficient and sustainable urban environment infrastructure (Ministry of Local Government, 1996). Housing development without proper infrastructure exposes the residence to exclusion. Evidence is found in unplanned settlements in the Greater Harare South localities. The area is amassed with many politically associated housing cooperatives. The new and still growing areas of Hopely, Stoneridge and Southlea Park are politically engulfed without consideration of road networking and land use in Harare South. The problem, therefore, is in the bid to appease political loyalists with affordable housing schemes, the proper planning of road networks has been neglected. The effect is as already the reality a marginalized group of people since the poor road networking does not allow for public transport provision.

The lack of political will to administer Harare South reflects the government-induced exclusion. On the one hand, it seems to be a little too late to stop the development since the land has been used up. On the other hand, going forward, the lack of proper planning will inevitably be socially excluded because the lack of a planned structure means reduced mobility. Given these scenarios, it is crucial to earmark the task ahead for public transport provision. Transport demand will significantly increase while infrastructure resources will not enable mass transit. Although at first, it seems that urban sprawl and lack of resources do lead to social exclusion, the role of public transport sometimes becomes more important.

#### **4.3.2.2 The Zimbabwe United Passenger Company reborn**

As stated by the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Local Government, the ZUPCO bus hire scheme is costing Treasury \$51 million a month, that is not sustainable (Langa, V, 2020). Considering the budget allocation of the local government sector of \$638million, the allocation of ZUPCO is unsustainable. The lack of a long-term plan for the ZUPCO subsidy presents a threat to the commuters because if the operations remain the same, funding for the subsidy might be cut thereby exposing commuters to expensive transport. Also, the nature of the subsidy is problematic as a few private buses and kombis are receiving subsidies, and the majority is not receiving any form of subsidy. Tension is produced among the public transport operators as the free-market philosophy falls apart. The subsidised operators have an advantage over the private sector of public

transport. Therefore, it is not an efficient system as it was highly costly and unfairly distributed to the operators in the field.

Another challenge arising from the ZUPCO subsidy is the issue of unroadworthy vehicles being used in the programme. All our buses should be compliant with VID requirements,” said the Chief Executive Officer of ZUPCO. “Some of the defective buses are being pulled out until they are attended to. The purpose of removing un-roadworthy vehicles is that we want to ensure the maximum safety of our passengers.” (ZimEye, 2020:1). The question becomes, how were the buses included in the first case? Commuters complain about the state of the vehicles that are under the ZUPCO subsidy. From observation, the new buses that ZUPCO recently acquired, all went to the suburbs with better road infrastructure while the old and dilapidated buses were reserved for suburbs without proper road infrastructure. In this case, an example would of the ZUPCO buses going to Southlea Park being old and dilapidated because the suburb does not have roads, while buses going to Greendale are modern and comfortable. Reflecting on this, the services offered to the low-income earners being cheap and unreliable, like in Southlea Park while the well maintained and efficient buses are reserved for high-income suburbs, like Greendale. Exclusion, based on the location of commuters, has been a blind spot for the ZUPCO services. A discrepancy between the locality services to higher-income households and lower-income households can be seen.

Mismanagement and corruption have been another issue raised about the ZUPCO programme. The Zimbabwe United Passenger Company (ZUPCO) was reported to have fired 40 drivers after it had emerged that they had no driver’s licenses (Mhizha, 2020). The failure to hire well-qualified drivers places the lives of the commuters at risk. According to the ZUPCO prerequisite, a successful driver for ZUPCO should have five years of experience (Mhizha, 2020). In December 2019, 42 buses and commuter omnibuses failed a physical fitness test conducted by the Vehicle Inspection Department (Mhizha, 2020). A point of interest is that the number of fired drivers almost matched the number of buses excluded from the ZUPCO programme as previously mentioned. Accusations of contracting unlicensed drivers and unroadworthy vehicles arise.

Plate 4.2: Passengers boarding a ZUPCO bus.



Source, Author

The picture shows some of the challenge's commuters face to get cheap transport. As seen in the picture above the commuters' subject themselves to the danger of getting on board, yet the eligibility of the driver is based on trust. While the uncertainty of safety is an issue with ZUPCO buses, the commuters seem to act out of desperation to the extent that safety is negated. Suppose this was one of the buses that are unfit for public service, little concern over public safety by ZUPCO reveals that public transport is about profits more than quality of service.

#### **4.4 POLITICS AND TRANSPORT INDUCED EXCLUSION**

In the previous section, a discussion around the lack of a public transport strategy revealed how various governmental institutions are doing a disservice to the public transport sector. In this section further traversing the actions of the actors is set to reveal the politics at play and the governmental apathy. To understand the position of the transport sector's problems, it is important to delve into party politics. Public transportation in the CoH is heavily politicized more than one would believe. Unpacking the forces behind the actors in the CoH's public transport layout, the political interest and power.

Conflict arises mainly from the set-up that the ruling party, ZANU-PF constitutes the central government, while the Harare City Council is opposition MDC Alliance dominated (Magosvongwe commented in a interview). The two political institutions are at loggerheads over legitimacy and patriotism, with the MDC Alliance rejecting to recognise the ZANU-PF Government. At the same time, ZANU-PF regards the opposition as unpatriotic and a puppet of the west pursuing a regime change agenda (Kwenda, 2020). Given these contradictions and conflicted relationship, the local authority and the central government are always at loggerheads over policy and programme interventions. The city council, therefore, blames the ruling party of sabotaging council projects through central government policy intervention, while central government lays the blame on the opposition for their incapability to run public affairs (Kwenda, 2020). Thus, no one is willing to take responsibility for the traffic problems in Harare City.

The CoH police has no arresting powers, unlike other metropolitan police in the region, such as the Metropolitan Police in South Africa (Ruwende commented in a interview). The nature of the relationship between MDC Alliance and ZANU-PF is the main reason why the metropolitan and local council police do not have arresting powers. The central government, led by ZANU-PF through the Ministry of Local Government, Public Works and National Housing have the power over local governments led by the MDC Alliance. The ZANU-PF led institutions seem not to delegate power to the MDC Alliance led institutions. Ultimately impacts the day-to-day traffic and

transportation operations are more pronounced. The lawlessness, previously stated by Ruende (2020) of the unregistered vehicles pirating in the CBD and the issue of Kombis picking up commuters at undesignated points, shows the extent of prostration the city. Political squabbles coupled with a lack of political will to serve the interests of the people by the CoH authorities, has negatively affected the provision of public transport in the city.

Numerous challenges arise from the centralisation and consolidation of power by political figureheads. On many occasions, the CoH has failed to nail the rogue elements pirating in the public transport sector. The city administration has been put on a leash while the law is being broken. This exposes people in the public transport sector to a chaotic public transport sector. To understand more of this squabble, focusing on the direct consequences of that institution's face solidifies the matter.

#### **4.4.1 Challenges faced by the CoH in the provision of public transport.**

The CoH is facing several challenges regarding the rule of law and enforcement. The CoH as a municipality police which does not have any arresting powers hence a dependency on the ZRP. The CoH has therefore witnessed a significant increase in public transport lawlessness. For example, unregistered vehicles operate within a few meters of the Town House, CoH administration offices. The Mushika-Shika (Emergency Taxis) roam around pirating in the city. When caught and impounded by the city officials, they pay a liable fine and the next day they are back. The operators have taken advantage of the lack of capacity to arrest by the CoH. When it comes to Kombis, during peak hours, all major road intersections in the CDB are occupied by the kombis to pick up commuters (Ruwende commented in a interview). The commuters also are contributing to the lawlessness. The commuters know the public transport ranks, and they still go to the major intersections to get transport Ruwende commented.

A good example is the corner Robert Mugabe and Julius Nyerere Avenue. The ZRP run operations from time to time to curb the lawlessness of the kombis and the mushikashika, but the problem persists Ruwende narrated. Lawlessness has exploited a system put in place to provide a safe, smart, and sustainable public transport network.



Whatever way one may look at this scenario, the commuters pay the price as they are neglected from the improvement. The result of this squabble is pricy for the people who use public transport and also who do not. The case of disorder of kombis and mushikashika mentioned above reveals that the absence of coherent policies and political will of the governing authorities gives leeway to disorderly behaviour. The CoH is faced with an array of issues stemming from the political scores that need to be settled. The authority's priorities politics instead of serving the citizens. The net effect of this is an underdeveloped society and a stagnant economy.

Tracing back every step leading to the lawlessness presented in this chapter, it all points to politics. On one hand, the limitation of powers of the urban police authorities is used as a tool to show how the opposition party (MDC) is incapable of running the city. On the other hand, the extension powers to the urban authorities' police would mean loosening the foothold on the ZRP traffic department. Room is created for pirating players to infiltrate into the public transport sector. Lack of an effective management of the city traffic has exposed the administration of the city. Based on Ruwende's remark, the lack of arresting powers is one way the city is failing to curb lawlessness. Be that as may, alternatives to resolve the matter to serve people are still an option, yet it seems that the city administration is sabotaging. For instance, a long-term plan can be implemented with the ZRP traffic department if the effect of lawlessness matter to the actors.

For this reason, the public transport sector has collapsed due to negligence by the very institutions entrusted to provide effective and sustainable public transportation. These challenges point towards a state of general anarchy and disorder in Harare. The disorder is seen in the CoH, thereby, demeaning the sunshine city status once bestowed on the city.

#### **4.4.2 The institutionalisation of anarchy in public transport provision in Harare**

A thin line appears between anarchy and agential action. This is demonstrated in the case of public transportation in the CoH. Anarchy, in this context, refers to merely the means absence of government that, in turn, implies lawlessness (Chirisa, 2017). With the economic decline, many

have resorted to the informal sector. This simply goes in line with agential actions abovementioned as it means merely to survive. When the formal sector in Zimbabwe shrinks, the informal sector grows. For this reason, the informal sector in that public transportation in Zimbabwe is enormous; the lines between anarchy and individual actions to survive become blurry. More so, a pattern seems to emerge as the lack of public transport strategy feeds into political squabbles that open up the sector to lawlessness. In this section, an in-depth analysis of the lawlessness is explored.

#### **4.4.2.1 Corruption among players in the transport sector**

Confidence in the National Traffic Department has significantly dropped to enforce the rule of law due to corruption in the department. Particularly the traffic section has caught the purview of urban public transport. Cases of bribes and rent seeking with the traffic police officers have been recorded and reported with no avail. There are many police officers who are now commuter omnibus operators, and I can tell you that half of the commuter buses are owned by the police officers (Samukange, 2014). The saying that, ‘a house divided cannot stand’ accurately represents the enforcement of traffic law, a conflict of interest between the traffic officers and their ownership of kombis shows why corruption is present. It would not make sense for the officers to suppress their interest since they benefit more lucratively from being public transport operators. The delinquent nature of the traffic officers robs the impartiality of the public transport sector as the non-aligned commuter operators pay the price of the corrupt.

In as much as the conflict of interest thrives on, the effect spreads to the other citizens who may or may not be in the public transport sector. A twin reality of abuse of office and conflict of interest exists as numerous cases of kombis owned by police officers have taken advantage of the law even when they cause harm and damage to property. A case in point is the incident reported by Zvorwadza in 2014.

I am reliably informed that ZRP and Harare City Council officials, especially those in the traffic section own more than half of the kombis. I got this information when I was making my investigation after a kombi belonging to a senior police officer bumped into my car. The

issue was handled in a corrupt manner. The officer does not want to fix my car because he is taking advantage of his post. I was told that there is nothing I can do since the kombi belongs to an officer (Zvorwadza, 2014).

The rule of law was evaded by the very organisation tasked to enforce the law. A more excellent ploy of unencumbered policing in the public transport sector contributes to the instability of the sector. If many more incidences such as the one Zvorwadza faced are concurrently happening, surely there is no law to talk about. Officers using their positions to exploit every opportunity threatens the socio-economic development of the country. It is now apparent that it is not coincidental that the CoH, along with other councils, does not have arresting powers regarding their police departments. The capture of the national Traffic Department is made absolute with the elimination of possible countermeasures by any other policing agency. The political play of traffic law enforcement agents and the more significant societal benefit slowly fades into the shadows of corruption and conflict of interest, that are empowered by greed and self-gratification. Undoubtedly, the root of transport induced social exclusion are systemic and institutionally induced.

In this view, the form of anarchy experienced in the public transport sector starts to take shape. The continuity of the anarchy benefits those in positions of power in the government. If the order were to be restored the individuals inducing lawlessness would seize to benefit, and it is not to their advantage to see the situation go away. It is now more apparent that it is not only an action by individuals to go against the law instead it is a well-organised scheme by individuals in positions of power who structurally influence the bending of the laws by the public transport operators. Non-aligned individuals simply utilise the same structures of bribing to an operator without legal approval. Therefore, lawlessness in the public transport sector in Harare and by in large whole of Zimbabwe is systemic, and thus, transport induced exclusion is born out of the systemic induced actions.

#### **4.4.2.2 Touting as a form of institutionalized anarchy**

It may seem to appear that touting emerged as a result of the economic down turning. Individuals seeking means of survival with excessive job losses and shrinking opportunities; this explains a rise in touting in the city centre. However, a closer inspection of the nature of touting suggests a hand controlling the operations of touting. In the control of ranks (public transport terminals) a group called Chipangano linked to ZANU-PF (Zimbabwe African Nation Union-Patriotic Front), a party that fought against the whites, was allegedly organising youth into militia groups and terrorising omnibus operators (Chirisa, 2017). However, ZANU-PF has distanced itself from such behaviour (Newsday, 13 August 2012). Whether the gang is linked to the said party or not, state-like persons and groups will always seek to ‘enforce’ their will in the name of the state.

The use of the name of the state carries a risk. It is after careful and well-thought analysis one would use the name of the state and free rides knowing that no actions will be taken. The argument here simply states that, even if the ruling party ZANU-PF distances itself from the rogue element, actions should follow to solidify their rule. However, this is not the case since today; touting is still at large. It means one thing to announce a disassociation and another to act towards the disassociation. Looking at this matter without divulging much into politics, one can perceive that someone in the name of the government is orchestrating lawlessness. This is problematic because the institutions responsible for safeguarding the conduct and operation of the public transport sector is demeaned. The power of the state is called into question, even more, when more and more of rouge elements continue to exist.

As in the case of ZRP corruption and capture of the traffic sector, a connection forms with the touting. Understanding that the ZRP National Traffic department is responsible for enforcing the Road Traffic Act, any misdemeanour perpetrated in contradiction of the act should be arrested or fined. If this is the case, why have not the cases of touting reduced? Anarchy is institutionalized, and it is the source of the daily ordeals faced by commuters and even those who do not use public

transport. The instability experienced in the public transport sector runs through the veins of anarchy, political squabbles, and lack of strategies.

#### **4.4.3 The transport deprivation situation in Harare**

The deprivation of transport services in Harare appears to be a result of the cumulative actions of the different players involved in public transport provision in Harare. The ZRP officials are corrupt. Another case is the institutionalization of touting, that disrupts the flow of operations in the transport sector. This has led the city to bleed in terms of revenue. Appendix 2 is a conversation detailed by Chirisa in 2017.

Regarding the relations between the touts and the commuter operators, it is difficult to establish lines between the rogue elements and the conductors who are genuine. Nevertheless, attention is on the figures mentioned in the conversation. Six hundred dollars is given to the touts despite having paid route permits and operation licences to the Ministry of Transport and CoH. Aligning to the argument in the previous section, the monetary value of institutionalizing the touts becomes more apparent. Suppose now that there are ten touts at the Copacabana ranks that translates into USD\$1800. Now given that there are five ‘official’ ranks in Harare CBD, assuming there is an average of ten touts collecting USD\$180 that would mean combined that is USD\$9000. This is only for a month! In a year that is over USD\$100 000. It is just only Harare, and one wonders combined with the rest of the ranks in the country how much money goes to touting.

Evidence supporting the institutionalization of touting becomes stronger as individual action does not collectively mastermind the touting operations. Combine this with the amount of revenue lost through bribing of the traffic officers, and a city certainly bleeds revenue to anarchy. Given that on average, operators are robbed off USD\$100 000 by touts while the government does not curb the operations, one tends to benefit from such actions. If one supposes the government was collecting the same amount through the use of rank marshals, development of ranks would be possible. It is important to note that the numbers of touts given in the example are conservative because if they were few, it would be easy to handle them.

The parameters of money allocation, in this case, would follow a chain of command, with the top brass getting more and the bottom quartile having less. On the ground it seems as if it is just individuals trying to make ends meet, but in reality, the evidence is showing that the lawlessness is purposefully driven to meet a particular agenda. In the end, it is the commuter who pays the price by being excluded from socio-economic activities.

#### **4.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY**

The role of the stakeholders in the exclusion of citizens from safe, reliable, and efficient public transport cannot be downplayed. In this chapter, the discovery of measures put in place by city authorities to mitigate transport poverty has been mostly futile. More so, the identification of physical and social circumstances people become vulnerable to transport, and mobility problems have also been discussed. The stakeholder analysis provided details of stakeholder activities and how they have contributed to transport-related exclusion. Lack of a cohesive public transport strategy has allowed irregularities to pop up from time to time. Another hurdle affecting public transportation is the general unwillingness to serve the people as the governing authorities are caught up in political squabbles. Anarchy is a result of both lack of strategy and governmental apathy as individuals have utilised the name of the state to achieve their selfish ends.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **TRANSPORT EXCLUSION IN SOUTHLEA PARK**

---

---

#### **5.1 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter presents the problems of a fragmented urban public transport system in the day to day lives of the commuters in Southlea Park. To understand the perspective of the commuters in this area, the residence of Southlea Park shared their struggles and how they navigated around them. Thus, this chapter explores the role of transport in the social exclusion of Southlea Park residents and how these affect the commuters' wellbeing and their key economic and social activities. The measures put in place by city authorities to mitigate transport poverty in this area are also discussed.

#### **5.2 THE KEY TRANSPORT-RELATED CHALLENGES FACED BY RESIDENTS OF SOUTHLEA PARK**

Living in the urban periphery of Harare does not suggest that one is poor. However, the majority of the low-income households are indeed located at the peripheries. Some of the challenges of living at the periphery of a city are the underdeveloped infrastructure and remote access to socio-economic activities. Church (1999) is of the notion that by residing at the periphery, one is socially excluded because the periphery is generally not built up, like other areas of the city. For this reason, it is beyond an individual that their residence is further away from crucial socio-economic activities. In such cases, mobility becomes paramount to the inclusion of people into socio-economic activities. The role of an excellent public transport system becomes more significant. It is also apparent that while the immobility of residents affects both low-income and high-income households living at the periphery, the latter are better placed to overcome these challenges. This leaves the poor categories, who may need access to the economic hub more, excluded and further

impoverished. This section discusses the transport-related challenges affecting residents in Southlea Park.

### **5.2 1. Lack of adequate transport infrastructure**

Transport infrastructure is part of the more exceptional urban infrastructure. The infrastructure referred to comprises of tarred roads, railway lines, bus stops, other public transport termini, pedestrian crossing points, and traffic regulators such as traffic circles and traffic lights (Phahlane, 2018). For a residential area in the periphery of Harare in a context of a national economic crisis, that has affected basic service delivery, it is not a surprise that commuters have been forced to live without such structures that enhance their mobility. The dire situation faced by residents is captured by Peter, a carpenter who works at Calundike Exports and resides in Southlea Park:

I get out of the house at 0445hrs to go to work that starts at 0730hrs. I walk between 15 to 20 minutes to the bus stop. I stay at the far end of Southlea Park, and due to the poor road network; no commuter operator wants to risk their vehicles for us. It is attributed to a bad road network in Southlea Park, and the drivers must navigate the gullies in the road. So, it takes time for the vehicles to reach the tarred Masvingo highway. During the rainy season, it is even worse because the roads are not maintained. I started staying in Southlea Park in 2012, and it has been the same since I started staying in Southlea Park. Similarly, in the evening, my time of getting home is not certain. It depends on the transport of the day. If you want to wait for cheap transport, you arrive home late. If you want to see your children, you must pay for expensive transport. When you bring a gift home, your children want to see you giving them the gift since it has a personal touch other than for them to see it the next day when I am not even at home.

From the above excerpt, lack of road infrastructure was leading to extended time for commuters on the road. The extended time spent by Peter on the road could be essential for rest or personal development. A considerable lack of roads, bus stops, terminal and pedestrian crossings in the periphery constitutes geographical exclusion. Church (1999) describes this phenomenon as the



peripheral and spatial provision of transport. In the case of Peter, who works 40km away from his residence, transport is an enabling factor for his socio-economic activities.

In total, Peter commutes 80km to work and back home. In chapter four, it was revealed that the actions of the transport stakeholders at governmental level exposed the commuters to exclusion. Here, in this case, Peter has to spend more time travelling because the road network is poorly developed. Not much can be done by Peter to fully participate in socio-economic activities because he has to spend more time travelling and considering his occupation is at the lower end of the pay scale, a car is a distant thought.

Transport in Peter's predicament of a long-distance commuter to work should have transport enabling him to get to work in a decent and reasonably safe and efficient manner. The role of transport is also significant in the ability to perform one's tasks related to one's socio-economic activities. Peter is a carpenter, and the understanding of carpentry to be a physical task is crucial in understanding the nature of exclusion induced by transport. Peter starts his commute at 0445hrs and starts work at 0730hrs. The time spent travelling is two hours and forty-five minutes just to commute to work, and it has had its knock-on effect on Peter's performance on his socio-economic activities.

### **5.2.2 Un-roadworthy vehicles and congestion**

Coincidentally, the presence of the un-roadworthy vehicles is made conducive in the purview of lack of road infrastructure to support public transportation. The unpalatable manner in that urban transport diffuse to the periphery shows the inequality of services based on locality. In simple terms, the further one moves away from the CBD, the further the drop in quality of public transport service based on factors such as road infrastructure and distance from the CBD. Thus, the presence of the un-roadworthy vehicles on the periphery suits the narrative above. Be that as it may, the combination of lack of transport infrastructure and un-roadworthy vehicles operating predominantly at the periphery of the city shows the inequality of commuting opportunity when compared to other localities. On the basis of this understanding, a contextual and coherent

understanding of the transport infrastructure and the existence of unroadworthy vehicles could give an overarching understanding of the lived realities of the transport related issues faced by the Southlea Park community.

Chapter 4 revealed that 42 vehicles that were operating under the private-public partnership that allows private operators to have their vehicles under the ZUPCO subsidy program had failed the fitness tests required for them to be on the roads (Mhizha, 2020). Thus, these vehicles were unroadworthy. Given this scenario, the residents wondered how many more un-roadworthy vehicles were on the roads providing commuters with services. During the fieldwork, the stakeholders could not give a figure as to how many un-roadworthy vehicles were operating in the public transport sector. One of the reasons why it was difficult to extrapolate on this was because the Zimbabwean economy has now primarily grown more informal and to find out how many vehicles operate in the public transport sector would be a difficult task as there are many individuals with their private vehicles operating, consistently and inconsistently (Magosvongwe commented in a interview). The International Monetary Fund (IMF) figures show that Zimbabwe has the second-largest informal economy as a percentage of its total economy in the world at 60, 6 per cent (Musarurwa, 2018). A highly informal economy highlights how transport is also characterised by many informal vehicles on the road.

This study also revealed that Southlea Park commuters were being subjected to unsafe, unreliable, and unlicensed vehicles. Previously, issues of the lawlessness by Kombis and Mushikashika operators was highlighted by one of the city authorities as a contributor to the gridlock congestion experienced in Harare. Apart from causing instability to the overall public transport sector, the lack of restrictions on who operates in public transport was a cost to a commuter. Abel a 42- year-old male employed as a company driver has this to say:

We are at risk because we get into a vehicle that is not certified to carry passengers. Yesterday we were in a car that did not have lights, and it was raining. The visibility was poor. One of the passengers had to wipe the mist off the screen so that the driver could continue driving with visibility. It was even cheap, only costing \$Z5 (Zimbabwean dollars). In comparison Kombis, we are charging twice or three times the amount.

The need for both affordability and convenience is demonstrated in Abel's example. Abel, as a company driver informed the researcher that he was well informed of the quality checks for vehicle safety and regulations. Nevertheless, after work, his knowledge and expertise were not applicable when he finds himself in an unworthy road car. The nature of exclusion in this case relating to transport was not just exclusion from safe and roadworthy vehicles but also highlighted a shift from a high standard job and low standard transportation. In short, Abel is used to driving a well-maintained vehicle during the day, and at night he is a passenger in an un-roadworthy vehicle. This twin reality showcases the gap between the formal sector and the informal sector in public transport provision.

Contextualising the use of road unworthy vehicles in Southlea Park is significant. Remember for Southlea Park, the presence of an underdeveloped road network was forcing commuter operators not to subject their vehicles to suburbs without proper road networks. The commuter operators who were interviewed shared the same sentiments. As it were, some routes were not popular with mainstream operators due to various reasons, as one of the operators shared. "We consider road networks, population density, and proximity to economic activities" (commuter commented in an interview). What this implies is that operators are often reluctant to provide transport services to places, like Southlea Park, because they are not profitable and cause damage to vehicles.

The already dire situation of staying at the periphery is made complex by a lack of roadworthy public transportation. From this perspective, transport induced social exclusion comes from already pre-existing conditions. Transport related social exclusion is yet another blow to an already socially and economically disconnected people who rely on public transportation to participate in the economy and the social functions of the society. Apart from Abel's lived reality, un-roadworthy vehicles operating in the public transport domain threatens safety on the road.

The Vehicle Inspection Department (V.I.D) under the Ministry of Transport tests vehicles for fitness before issuing them with fitness certificates. With the increase in the rogue operators in public transportation, this suggests that the law is not being followed. Two factors emerge from

this vein. One of them could be that the rogue players know too well that they can operate without any hesitation to the rule of law, thereby discrediting the governing authorities. Another suggests that there is a governing apathy because the public transport sector is deteriorating day by day as the rogue elements feast on the revenue reserved for the legally operating operators. In simple terms, the former reveals that the rogue elements are too powerful to control while the latter the government is weak in acting towards law enforcement. All this reverts to the discussion in chapter 4, in particular, the analysis of a lack of public transport strategy. In this regard, the actions of the actors in the public transport sector have a corresponding effect on the daily commute of people.

### **5.2.3 Dangerous driving**

At the time of this research, the police and the commuter drivers were sometimes involved in high-speed chases with the later trying to evade arrest. The researcher, while observing the operation in motion, witnessed the erratic driving, and it was not safe as commuters were on board and the bystanders such as the researcher as lives were risked. One kombi's windscreen was smashed by a police button stick that forced the driver to stop because his vision was now limited. The nature of lawlessness was witnessed as the kombis, and mushikashika returned to their undesignated pick-up points after the police had moved away. There is a need for a lasting solution to curb blocking of intersections by kombis picking up commuters.

Traffic congestion reaches gridlock stages when it rains because there are inadequate drainage systems in Harare, that leads to kombis and mushikashika encroaching into the first lane of the double lane roads (Magosvongwe commented in a interview). By encroaching the middle of the road, the commuter operators will be avoiding the usually flooded curb side of the road. In Harare, transport induced social exclusion does not affect only the low-income earners due to congestion, but it affects everyone. Slowing down of business operations and other economic activities is a direct effect of this shortcoming. The profitability of the economic activities is compromised severely as the work has to be prolonged due to congestion and bad driving.

Furthermore, of these unregistered operators, the kombis and mushikashika, their drivers in many of the cases do not qualify for driving a public vehicle. In numerous cases, those caught driving the pirating kombis and mushikashika have been unlicensed and when licensed were under the age of twenty-five since the law states that a public vehicle driver should be of twenty-five years and above. Again, the rule of law is called into question. Nevertheless, most interviewees expressed their concerns over young drivers who continuously break the law while transport people. A focus on commuter operators routines, it suggests that they are more concerned with maximizing their profits over a descent quality service towards their customers. Therefore, the private sector has run public transportation and has shown that the operators' profitability has outweighed the quality of the service. Ultimately, this robs the community of a decent means to socio-economic participation.

A necessary safety precaution in the public transport vehicle is the carrying capacity of the vehicles used in public transportation. Every vehicle has manufacturer stipulated regulations concerning total load a vehicle can take. Gross Vehicle Mass (GVM) is the maximum allowable vehicle weight, including all occupants, accessories, and luggage (TJM, 2020). The popular vehicle used as a kombi in Zimbabwe has a GVM of 2800kg. The short-wheelbase Hiace has a gross vehicle weight of 2800kg, while the long-wheelbase model has a gross vehicle weight of 3000kg. It means both panel vans will carry at least a ton.

While this refers to the volume of a panel van when seats are added and the shape of the human body, that space quickly becomes small. All the interviewees reported that there was overcrowding in the kombis during peak hours. Both commuters and kombi operators are packed in one vehicle that at times was risky to vehicle stability. According to one of the authorities at the City Council, the law stated that a kombi should have a maximum of sixteen passengers, yet kombis can have up to twenty or twenty-two people (Ruwende commented in a interview). Safety is not considered under the dangerous driving that the drivers usually engage. The lack of law enforcement on what should and what should not be allowed in kombi operations remains neglected. Commuters are exposed to an unsafe environment, usually with overcrowding combined with unsafe driving.

Mushikashika also falls under the same predicament as most operators maximize their profits by carrying more passengers. A mushikashika vehicle is like any other small vehicle with a usual capacity of five people. During the fieldwork, the mushikashikas were observed to be carrying up to seven people occupying the seats. In more dangerous scenarios, mushikashika had touts who were seating at the back of the hatchbacks. The vehicle stability was jeopardized since these vehicles do carry more weight than intended. What made the situation worsen was the fact that people continued to use them as they were cheaper and faster to get from one place to another. In this regard, the safety standards in commuting by both commuters and the operators were compromised.

#### **5.2.4 Traffic congestion**

The above scenario adds to traffic congestion in the CBD and the areas surrounding the city centre. With more public transport vehicles on the road, legal or illegal, the result has been traffic congestion to the levels of gridlock. Apart from un-roadworthy vehicles causing the influx of vehicles, other factors also contribute to the congestion of the city. Two overarching factors contribute to the congestion of the CoH, dependence on road transport and dangerous driving.

In chapter four it was established that Harare has an overreliance on road transport network since the railway network is dilapidated. In addition to this challenge, ZUPCO urban transport system crumbled, thereby leaving a vacancy for kombis to dominate urban public transport. Now with pirating kombis and mushikashika also wanting to grab something out of the public transport sector, the traffic congestion has become a hindrance to the smooth movement of people and goods. Inevitably this has impacted negatively on the socio-economic development of the country.

Congestion in the CoH has had a massive impact on the ease of movement of people and traffic. The rule of law is not being observed to as the CoH as before-hand stated does not have arresting powers, Ruwende detailed in a interview. Major road intersections in the city continue to be

blocked during peak hours. Additionally, the rate of personal vehicle ownership increased, and this further exacerbated the problem. Plate 5.1 shows the congestion in the city.

Plate 5.1: Traffic congestion in Harare



Plate 2: Source; Author

The congestion level in Harare during peak hours comes to a grinding halt some days. The slow movement of people and goods socially exclude people because they must spend more time on the road than working or at home resting. Time- Based exclusion is explained by Church (1999) as a situation where transport provision is limited or when the individual's time is constrained. The leading cause for the gridlocks is impatient Kombi drivers and Mushika-Shika drivers (Kwenda, 2020).

An effect on people is revealed as they now have to travel for a more extended time period than expected. The commuters have to bear the burden of traffic congestion due to lack of proactive will by the actors to resolve public transport inefficiencies. During the rainy days, it becomes worse as the nature of driving is unbecoming. The case for Southlea Park residence is made worse due to the locality of Southlea Park. Getting out

### **5.2.5 High costs of transport for commuters**

A critical component of public transportation is the price the commuter pays. Given the economic downturn in Zimbabwe, the cost of living has been rising (Magosvongwe commented in an interview). Low-income workers have felt the downturn in the public transport sector. Based on the interviews done, the following are some of the lived experiences of the low-income commuters; Kumbirai, a carpenter aged 35 had this to say on this issue:

Looking at my expenditure, if I want to pay \$7 zwl one way and, in some cases, it gets to \$15 zwl, and you soon realise that it is not sustainable. Transport is taking almost half of my salary.

Jessica, a 46-year-old factory worker, gave her lived reality of the financial burden posed by transport also had this to say on this matter; “Kombis are expensive. In the morning its sometimes \$8 and in the evening, they have known that you want to go home so they can charge even \$12 or \$15. At this point, there will be no solution but to hike lorries.

Clement, a student on an internship, stated that he used \$30 zwl daily for transport. He said, “I work 22 days a month, and that translates into \$660zwl per month for work. In total, I need \$900 zwl to be on the safe side, and that is if the price is not hiked again. This takes priority of my budget”.

Tonderai a 42-year-old resident indicated that transport was taking 2/3 of his salary and was, therefore, surviving on the remaining third.

Mary, a canteen worker, said she required \$Z10 to town. She said, “If I miss the staff bus, I must use another \$10. So, at times might use \$40 zwl per day. You cannot budget because by mid-week prices would have changed. I also have dependents who require public transport. One of my siblings is at Women University, and another is at a local school.



Based on the examples above, the reality of most commuters is as stated, expensive transport. The earlier conclusion to the phenomenon at hand could be that high transport costs were excluding people from undertaking other socio-economic activities or limiting an individual's capacity to spend on their income reasonably. However, a more in-depth understanding is required to understand the impact of the high cost of transport on the lives of people in Southlea Park.

One way of revealing the impact of the high cost of public transport is to compare it to incomes. The government instituted a minimum wage of \$Z2 549 for all workers who fall under the broad categories of domestic and agricultural employment (Vinga, 2020). This amount translates to US\$62.50 (United States Dollar) when exchanged to the parallel currency. From the fieldwork, the average cost of transport for commuters who at least uses public transport twice a day is \$Z25. Considering that there are five working days in a week, it means that twenty days a month are spent at work. An individual can use a minimum of \$Z500 for transport per month. This is only for one person, and it neglects foreseeable price hikes. If a commuter has dependents who also use public transport such as the case with Tonderai, who has a wife also daily commuting, the cost doubles up.

Carefully considering the minimum wage set up, domestic workers do not fall into this bracket. The government announced the minimum wage for domestic workers and helpers. According to the Statutory Instrument 37 of 2020, the minimum wage for a gardener in Zimbabwe is now Z\$160 per month, and a minimum wage for a cook and housekeeper (informally referred to as a maid) is now Z\$168.48 per month (Vinga, 2020). Therefore, the comparison of income and public transport costs shows how expensive transport is. Based on the figures alone, a domestic worker cannot afford to use public transport every day working on the premise of the minimum wage. The question then becomes, is public transport expenses or wages are too low?

Related to this issue of transport costs, Southlea Park residents also lamented the unavailability of cash to pay for transport. Craig one of the residents had this to say on this issue:

When we are paid our salaries into bank accounts, getting cash is difficult. I have to either ask my wife to go to the bank when I am at work since I leave home early. That is an extra cost. She can only withdraw the daily restricted limit of \$100zwl. An alternative is for me to go to the black market. The exchange rates are so steep that I must spend more to get less. This is what we go through. When transacting from my bank account to Ecocash, I incur bank charges plus Ecocash charges. Now getting an agent to give you cash, the mark up even goes up to 50% of the amount you want. To get \$50 zwl, you need to send the agent \$100 from your account. So, paying for transport becomes very expensive.

Thus, the reality of exclusion in the public transport sector of Zimbabwe draws from the economic climate prevailing in the country. The role of transport cannot be overemphasized because it functions as an enabler of socio-economic activities and governs the participation of people in economic and social development.

#### **5.2.6 Inaccessibility of transport by vulnerable groups**

While public transport remains an impediment to socio-economic low-income earners, it also remains an impediment to the vulnerable groups who also use public transport. For this study, vulnerable groups are defined as people with physical limitations to mobility. In this category, women, nursing mothers, pregnant women, the elderly, children, the physically disabled, and the mentally ill and limited people. Unlike the working group commuting for work every day, the situation is different for the vulnerable groups. As previously mentioned, the employed group of people commutes using the cheapest mode of transport, that, in turn, compromised on reasonable comfort and safety. For the vulnerable groups such as nursing mothers, they were finding themselves unable to board open pickup trucks or overloaded buses. Due to these difficulties, most vulnerable groups were, therefore, opting not to travel and only travelled when it was indispensable.

Most of the women interviewed reported that it was hard to commute with other groups when escorting a child to school. The difficulty arose when commuting with other active groups of people since the pressure to commute is high during peak hours. Besides the complexity of

commuting early hours, commuting in a kombi tends to be better than a bus or a pickup truck as both are cheap and overcrowded. Due to this circumstance on the vulnerable school children being exposed to the inefficient transport system, many parents resorted to financially onerous solutions. An interview with Tariro, an accounting clerk revealed how she and the other eight families had resolved the issue of their children going to school:

My husband and I go to work every day, and from Monday to Friday our children go to school. Just between my husband and myself, we spend a minimum of Z\$24 a day and five times a week. That is Z\$120 a week and Z\$480 a month minimum. Transport is taking all my salary in light of the figures I shared with you. We end up hitchhiking pickup trucks. One of my kids is learning in Waterfalls. I pay a monthly fee for someone to do the school run for me. I pay US\$20 a month. US\$20 at the time of the interview was an equivalent of Z\$440. So, in total, they spend north of Z\$920.

Tariro has had to put the safety and comfort of her children first because they are susceptible to the dire urban public transport. Among the interviewees, the concern of having an inefficient public transport system in Harare impacts everyone and with more effects for people who reside at the periphery of the city. School children were more at risk of using current public transport. The cost of ensuring transport for schoolchildren and the rate of inflation will quickly wipe out the salaries of the low-income workers. For the Southlea Park residents, the transport woes for the school children were being exacerbated by the fact that unplanned settlements in Southlea Park and areas surrounding had taken designated land for schools and other socio-economic functions.

On the one hand, the children cannot use cheap transport as it is over-crowded and not safe. On the other hand, resorting to normal kombis is also problematic as the fares are not regulated. Her option to pay a shuttle that bites into her income, but she does this to ensure that her child goes to school and comes back home safely. This option, when considered is not sustainable either. Tariro earns in the local bond note currency, that weakens every day compared to the US\$, that the shuttle service requires. Suppose the situation continues to worsen, Tariro will be forced to go back to the

public transport she had avoided before. Tariro's case is not too different from other methods employed by other families for their vulnerable groups. So, as long the economy weakens, the more the chances of them reverting to the unreliable public transport found at the periphery.

Notwithstanding the vulnerability of children in the public transport domain, the cost for the physical disabled tends to double as they travel with aids. Commuter operators seek to make profits and do not exempt the physically disabled from paying. While interviewing the group of carpenters, Jethro, a deaf interviewee who was part of the group expressed his ordeal as follows:

Some challenges I have faced in transport are not common to other commuters. I need an aid who can assist me with communication with the commuter operators. In the case of going to work and coming back home, I try to be in companion with my fellow workmates that stay close to me. If I do not have anyone to assist, I might find myself in a situation that I get on to the kombi going in a direction I am not. In other cases, I am forced to travel with someone to assist me with translating sign language. This could be when I am going to the bank or any other socio-economic activities. Long-distance buses have identification tags that show that a person is physically challenged. For the local routes coming out of the CBD, they do not work. It is a challenge then to voice your concerns. Transport is taking a third of my income. I have a child who goes to school using public transport. So that third of my income, half of it use used by my child. My wife goes to the Ecocash agent and gets coins or cash, but it is expensive as the agent fees, and the exchange rate is high. On top of it my child spends more than I do because it is not just transported money, she needs but for other things.

From the excerpt, a reality of Jethro's commuting situation is similar to those who have physical disabilities. The cost of having to commute with an aid without a subsidy or rebate becomes a mammoth task. Considering that commuting to and from the periphery cost more than any other areas with short proximity to the CBD, the challenge of paying double that which is already pricey becomes daunting. The urban public transport providers have neglected the needs of the physically challenged as they, in some cases, have to pay more. The famous phrase, 'disability does not mean

inability' is not considered when it comes to public transport commuting. Where public transport is supposed to enable the phrase by allowing the physically challenged to participate in the economy, it hinders they commute.

According to Jethro, some disabled people have had to just stay at home as the cost of commuting for them exceeds their potential revenue. "Disabled people are just normal people, like you, who also want to work the way everyone would like to provide for their families. Unfortunately, disability mobility is expensive for anyone who would want to work since we tend to pay double the price of transport when we travel with our helpers" (Jethro elaborated). When observing the impact of high, unsustainable transport costs, disabled members of the community have been excluded from participating in the economy. The impact of this exclusion means the excluded will be dependents on those who are non-disabled. Given the state of the country's economy, the burden increases for those who can provide for their households. Therefore, transport induced exclusion can be argued to be hindering economic progress for the lives of people residing in Southlea Park and albeit in other urban fringes around Harare.

Jethro has a lived reality as previously stated made more difficult by the lack of response from the urban authorities to mitigate and assist the disabled people. The contrast between long-distance commuter operators and urban operators is the ability to priorities the needs of the physically challenged.

### **5.2.7 Personal sphere interference and lack of personal security and comfort in the public transport system**

One's personal sphere of influence, level of comfort, and personal security are critical factors when it comes to moving from point a to point b. Most of the Southlea Park women interviewed for this research reported that these were lacking especially for them in the existing transport system in Zimbabwe. Hanna a general hand worker narrated this as follows:

If you get into the bus, the conductors make sure that the bus is full. They say to maximize the space so others can fit in. This means standing so close to each other that our bodies rub against each other. It is terrible when there is a man at the back and another at the front of you. They also say that ‘there are no relationships’ when you are on the bus. This is to show that it does not matter if the man tightly squeezes with us ladies because we are not related. We do not even know how to stand. Some ladies prefer pickup trucks or mushikashika because they are cheaper and less crowded at times.

Jessica, a factory worker, shared that, “vulgar language is a common language when you travel with men. You cannot restrain people from talking that way because you do not know them. It seems that they do not respect your presence, and some try to have a small talk with you in such a conversation. This is highly disrespectful and demeaning. The only thing is to hope that you might not meet them tomorrow” (Jessica commented).

Dorothy, who also is a general hand worker, said, “Rowdy touts and conductors make women feel uncomfortable. Sometimes they undress us as we walk. Sometimes you want to say something, but you just realise that you do not have anyone to complain towards. You say if we get to our destination that my goal. My child walks me to the bus stop to be safe. This is mainly in winter when the sunrise is late. I get home around 19.30, and they pick me up” (Dorothy commented).

Hanna, Jessica, and Dorothy reveal the experiences of women in Harare's urban public transport. A common trend is that safety is not guaranteed for women to commute. The violation of women in public transport is a common issue among women, and it has been normalized. This unfortunate reality shows that women are vulnerable to men in public transport. A common trend that has taken precedence is on men overpowering women to get on to ZUPCO buses that are cheap (Dorothy commented). The reality of women and that of men in public transport is not the same. The silencing of public transport insecurity by women is unfair as their concerns are valid and need to be urgently addressed. For Hanna, Jessica, and Dorothy, they also said that they had daughters

who use public transport. They expressed their worry over the safety of the girl child in public transport. Economic hardships should not be an excuse for the suppression of women in public transport by men.

### **5.3 THE IMPACT OF TRANSPORT CHALLENGES ON THE SOCIAL WELL-BEING OF CITIZENS**

The transport challenges highlighted in this section of this dissertation were significantly contributing to transport induced socio-economic exclusion and was negatively affecting the social well-being of Southlea Park residents in various ways.

Most commuters from Southlea Park felt physically and mentally exhausted and fatigued by the time they got to work and also by the time they got back home. This, therefore, lowered their productivity both at home and at work. These challenges were also making them anti-social to the families and their significant others as they lacked social interaction with them. One commuter by the name Kuda had this to say on this issue:

I get out of the house at 0450hrs to get to work before 0730hrs. You need to factor in delay times, so that is why I wake up early. Usually, I get home around 1930hrs after work if I use efficient transport. If I am late it after 2100hrs. So, I get home when my children are sleeping. It depends on the mode of transport of the day if I can see my family or not. It is painful. Saving a dollar brings us joy because it is tough to get one. Our objective is to save every dollar wherever possible. When I use buses and pick-up trucks, they are slow, and at times you would just wish if you could go faster. Sometimes I question the worthiness of what I am doing.

From the above excerpt, families in Southlea Park have less time together that potentially leads to dysfunctional families. Apart from Kuda having limited social time with his family, another outcome of being excluded due to expensive transport, the family does not travel to meet the

transport budget reserved for Kuda. Southlea Park, as described in chapter two, does not have proper social facilities such as schools and shopping centres that are in other suburbs. It is incumbent on the residents to live with what is in their community as the commute for socio-economic activities has reduced. On the one hand, this excluded Southlea Park from the rest of urban society. This form of exclusion reveals how far suburbs emerging on the periphery of the CoH are underdeveloped and disconnected from the city's main economic activity.

On the other hand, this has created opportunities for peripheral economic activities that can thrive in both the rural and urban setups. An example is the growing number of stores in Southlea Park that offer what any other store in the urban area offers and also carries with them slightly higher prices due to proximity from the economic hub and the bad roads. Stepping out this reality, an unusual dynamic has been created where the residents of the periphery are stretched between urban development and rural inclusion. Thus, social exclusion has had a more negative impact as a lack of inclusion on the main economic hubs of the urban areas had restricted lives to the periphery.

The positive impact is the perpetual growth of the economy on the periphery with many economic activities mushrooming due to the limited mobility of commuters. Tariro who is an accounting clerk also had this to say:

I am fatigued when I come to work, but I must make ends meet. A person just like me from my neighbourhood is already tired before we even go to work. I get into town on time. It is only in case of emergencies that we use our cars. Apart from emergencies owning a car is even expensive due to high fuel prices and high cost for servicing vehicles. Considering we do not have proper roads in Southlea Park, our cars need frequent servicing, that is why we are now parked and using public transport. Even though the government introduced the ZUPCO buses, us who wake up early to go to work, we do not use them. In my case, I have to be in the CBD at least by 7 am. That the same time when the first ZUPCOs come. I am forced to use whatever vehicle that comes early enough for me to go to work. The commuter operators have taken advantage of the bad road infrastructure to charge more. You get to the



Admin offices, and almost all kombis and buses end there. Some operators offer us to take us close to our houses for another fee. So sometimes you just say to yourself let me walk. What is funny is you pay so much yet the vehicles are in a dire state that they would not pass roadworthiness test. Every operator states the economy is bad when asked about their vehicle maintenance. Our lives are at risk with these unworthy road vehicles.

Tariro highlights that she is already tired before she goes to work. Public transport in this regard is causing mental fatigue due to the inconsistent service provision, lack of targeting of some groups of people, and the quality of vehicles not matching price paid. Optimum performance at work is reduced in the case of Tariro. She is already tired before her work; were as she should be fresh to start her daily task. It is also significant that transport alone might not be the only factor that can be attributed to the mental fatigue mentioned. Tariro mentioned having to pay more for poor transport services. A knock-on effect of this was people not being able to pursue their socio-economic tasks optimally due to physical and mental fatigue.

Due to the highly expensive and sometimes unavailable formal public transport, most residents were resorting to alternative forms of transport. Most of the interviewees stated that they usually went for cheaper transport that comprised of privately-owned vehicles, mushikashika, pickup trucks, and lorries. The commuters gave details as to how the non-conventional public transport they resorted to operated and the conditions under which they operated.

Simba, a 37-year-old carpenter, stated that “during rainy days, the general feeling was that if I can get a ZUPCO to transport me, it will be cheaper and convenient. That is not always the case because there are long queues and overcrowding on the buses. At other times we get into open trucks, so in such a case we are subject to the cold temperatures and the rain itself. It is painful, but it is cheaper. Sometimes get off looking dirty and scruffy because of the overloading of people in a small place. Once in a while, I use kombis that are more reliable, and I get home before my children sleep” (Simba commented in an interview).

The reality for Simba who from time-to-time cuts cost buy using pickup trucks is vulnerable to contracting illnesses such as a fever or flue. In closed vehicles such as a bus and kombi, the temperature is regulated whereas, in the open truck, the wind blows directly into passengers. Thus, in a bid to balance financial expenditure by using cheaper and road unworthy vehicles, commuters further put themselves at risk of unguaranteed safety and insurance. Therefore, transport induced social exclusion to low-income workers presents a threat to a reasonable urban life where public goods and services are provided.

The study of Southlea Park established that transport unavailability and high transport costs were a challenge to the residents of Southlea Park. It emerged that the transport was costly yet widely unavailable. Public transport was the scarcest resource during peak hours of the day. Stranded commuters then resort to using other means of transport to get home. The fares they paid in these forms of transport did not match the quality of service provided. Transport is a means to an end; thereby, the limitation of this means equally limits the end activity. In a commuter's life this means, a limitation in public transport mobility means limitation to rest and quality time with family or other activities after work.

The lifestyle of Zimbabweans has been stressful due to the economic downturn. An effect of this has been slow economic growth that affects business distribution. Many people to get groceries and other shopping essentials commute to the CBD. Tariro laments on the harassment of women and children in public transportation. Pairing that to the high cost of transportation it is a double-edged sword piercing her commute. The lack of guaranteed security for women and children put them under the vulnerability of harassing men in the public transport sector. The result is the suppressing of voices in the public transport sector. Suppressed vulnerable group voices and male dominance in public transport were being normalized because nothing has been done to change the situation.

The effect that results from the normalization is the acceptance of the established roles in public transport. Women are now known for being vulnerable and silent, while men are known for being

imposing and dominant. The equality of public transportation is called into attention. Transport related exclusion impact on society has exposed the commuters to differences in personal security based on gender. The equality of opportunity between men and women in public transportation is not the same. Thus, lived experiences in public transport are dependent on gender as revealed by the personal safety concerns of women.

#### **5.4 PLANNED BEHAVIOUR IN PUBLIC TRANSPORT**

While carrying out the fieldwork, a pattern was observed as to how people commute from the CBD. When observing the designated and undesignated pickup spots across the CBD of Harare, a trend emerged. In particular, the factors influencing where one gets their transport, why they get it there and what circumstances inform their decisions. Understanding the behaviour of the commuters is essential to understand the underlying social wellbeing of the commuters as they travel. More so, by understanding the behaviour of the commuters determines if their actions perpetuate the problems in public transport or do, they provide a solution to the challenges.

The Theory of Planned Behaviour (TPB) postulates that the travel intentions or behaviours of an individual are affected, also, by factors outside of the control of the concerned individual (Singleton, 2013). Travel choices are influenced by many factors outside the control of the individual, including intra- and inter-household interactions, the built and natural environments, capability constraints and (while travelling) the decisions of other travellers (ibid). Contextualising this theory into the case of Harare reveals a travel choice pattern that is predominantly exogenous to the commuter. In short, travel choice in Harare is mainly influenced by the external factors surrounding an individual.

For instance, most interviewees stated that they usually commute together with people they work with or they are acquainted with. Mary, a tailor, alluded that, “we walk together, travel together. We have security in our numbers. So sometimes we prevent ourselves from getting into suspicious cars as we hitchhike. There have been many complaints on robberies from unmarked vehicles

faking to help people when they want to rob them; hence we have security in numbers” (Mary commented).

In this case, travel choice is determined by the external environment. Firstly, it has been established that road transport is the only way to commute. Secondly, evidence has revealed that the public transport sector is in shambles, having long queuing and pressure on public vehicles. Mary describes that her travel pattern has adapted to the environment as she states to have found security in an unsafe transport environment. Group level decisions determine her travel pattern. Therefore, the dire state of public transportation in Harare has robbed off many of the wills to determine their travel plan.

Fundamentally, freedom of movement subsides from an individual level to group level. However, this given case has shown how vulnerable groups have adapted to fighting their vulnerability as they use their numbers as safety. It is important to note that this is one of the small groups using this method while as previously mentioned, many vulnerable women are still subject to unscrupulous behaviour of men dominating public transport.

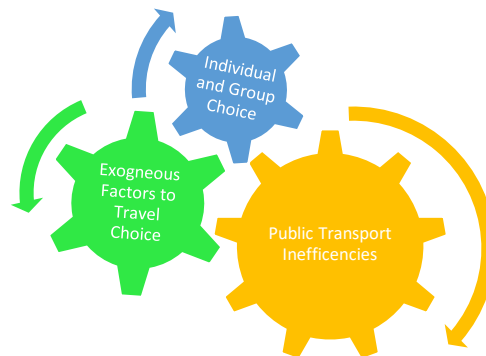
In another scenario, travel choice in Harare is largely exogenous than endogenous to the individual. Substantiating this causality is rooted in the public transport system in the city. As already detailed, the forming of undesignated pickup points is fuelled by actual commuters using those pickup points. To understand why this is the case is a convergence of two forces. On the one hand the pressure from the commuter operators through touting, while on the other hand it merely following others. For instance, some commuters said in the *Daily News* of 15 January 2014, ‘We use those ranks because that is where many people are. *Makombi anokurumidza Kuzara ikoko* (the kombis have a short waiting time). This scenario just shows that on the one hand, people use the undesignated pickup points because others are using it.

On the other hand, the short waiting time is attributed to touting, that is a way of marketing or pitching why one should get on board. The researcher has had a fair share of this real experience

and curved into their pitch. Put simply, through the reviving of the kombis, pseudo passengers, loud music and pitching touts that is how they draw people to get on board of the kombis. When compared to an ordinary rank, it is less likely to find the same scenario as they are orderly ranked.

This phenomenon is unusual in many ways as it shapes public perception of public transport. It can be deduced that the prevailing situation in public transport is also as a result of the commuters. While it seems as if they are victims of the long commutes, traffic congestion and the unsafe driving environment, they too have played a part. Suppose all commuters decide to go to the designated ranks, congestion and gridlocks would reduce. Be that as may, it has been revealed that exogenous factors guiding the travel choice are rooted in the public transport sector inefficiencies caused by the actors. The pattern completes the cycle. Grasping every detail, a cycle emerges to show why people make their travel patterns that are illustrated in figure 4.2.

**Figure 5.2: Travel choice patterns in Harare**



The determination of the social wellbeing of a commuter is complex as there are external and internal factors under constant consideration. The coherence of public transport inefficiencies is geared by individual actions, group actions and actors' decisions. Moving a notch higher, a reflection of the socio-economic dynamics at the national level as both actors and individuals have contributed to the inefficiencies of surrounding the development of the country. The role of transport does not just impact the social wellbeing of society but also contribute either as a solution or impediment to social exclusion.

## **5.5 OTHER INSTITUTIONS AFFECTED BY TRANSPORT CHALLENGES IN HARARE**

While the actions of the actors have led to transport challenges to commuters, other institutions have been affected as well. The researcher identified the Zimbabwe Human Rights Commission and fuel service stations in Harare to be among institutions affected by undesignated pickup points operated by pirating kombis and mushikashika. During a tour of the CoH, many undesignated pickup points inconvenienced many business activities, and they blocked movement of both people and vehicles. Traffic congestion is created and slows down the movement of people and the general flow of business.

### 5.5.1 The Zimbabwe Human Rights Commission

Plate 5.2: The Zimbabwe Human Rights Commission Head Office



The building in the background of the picture is the headquarters of the Zimbabwe Human Rights Commission (ZHRC). Barriers were placed to stop kombis from picking up people in front of the offices. The barriers present an everyday ignorance of the human needs for adequate mobility. These barriers were put in place to block the kombis that were taking up their parking space and blocking the entrance. This has forced the pirating kombis to take up one lane of the dual lane along the busy Samora Machel Avenue. Exposure is unavoidable for commuters in unsafe loading spaces and also inconveniences the ZHRC from operating in an orderly environment. It incumbent upon the ZHRC to lobby for change when there is no upholding of human rights and issues around human rights.

Although transport is not a human right, the issues around it does concern human rights. For instance, the right to an adequate standard of living is included for example in article 25 of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, Article 11 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and article 27 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child. The article speaks on non- discriminatory mobility of people stating a need for the provision of transportation as an enabler to socioeconomic activities (United Nations, 2020). The ZHRC is usually concerned

with headlining human rights violations such as when January 2019 stays away that happened nationwide and many atrocities were reported. Rather this does not discredit the work the ZHRC does instead a reflection on what more could be done by starting from their surroundings. Understandably, the ZHRC is not a transport stakeholder, but the safeguarding lives of people do matter in this case. Inevitably the ZHRC is drawn into issues of public commuting.

The mandate of the ZHRC is to promote, protect and enforce human rights and fundamental freedoms in Zimbabwe, and its establishment and functions are elaborated in Sections 232, 233, 242 and 243 of the Constitution of Zimbabwe (ZHRC, 2020). In this view, the ZHRC seems to ignore human right issues in front of their offices. From the picture above, it is essential to note that the undesignated pickup point is along Samora Machel Avenue, that is one of the busiest roads in the city. Therefore, it is not safe for commuters to board transport there. Barriers restricting the kombis from blocking the offices of the ZHRC are from the observation of the researcher ignorance to a greater need for mobility by the humans. Thus, the ignorance and lack of awareness of institutions who can make a difference show how social exclusion at an institutional level exploits the commuters.

### **5.5.2 Fuel Service stations and garages as ranking stations**

Plate 5.3: A congested fuel service station in Harare





Source: Author

It is common to get fuel from a service station around the world. However, it is uncommon to have service stations being loading areas for commuters. It is a sight too common across several service stations in Harare. The picture above is of a Total Service Station, that is located corner Park Street and Kwame Nkrumah. The commotion in the picture is attributed to fuel queues blocking one of the two lanes along Kwame Nkrumah Avenue, Kombis ranked in and hard to distinguish mushikashika from any other private vehicle. During the fieldwork, the researcher observed the Total service station that is found corner Park Street and Kwame Nkrumah Avenue in the Central Business District (CBD) where during peak hours kombis and mushikashika shuttle service cars ranked just in front of the service station even blocking entry and exit into and out of the service station. The service stations present a hazard to both humans and vehicles as fuel is highly flammable, and there are no proper barriers and distance between the fuel pumps and the ranked kombis and mushikashika.

In case a fire breaks out, a severe disaster awaits both commuters and operators. Health and safety precautions are compromised when tend to be service stations are being used as ranking stations. Efforts to speak with a representative of the service stations were futile as all matters were referred to managers who were not present on sight. However, it should be noted that the kombis and

Mushikashika rank without consent as these areas are not designated ranking areas. A highlight of another feature of the lawlessness found in the public transport sector is demonstrated. Several service stations across the CBD were having similar conditions.

Exclusion from descent ranking areas, that provide adequate safety and health was another problem that commuters faced. Due to the nature of peak-hour movement, kombis and mushikashika tended to block one lane of the two-way lane of Kwame Nkrumah Avenue, thereby causing traffic congestion. This type of congestion was not affecting commuters of Southlea Park, but it affected another group of low-income earners who reside in the northern suburbs such as Hatcliff and Domboshava that are on the northern periphery of Harare. Indirectly, service stations contributed to the problem of transport-related social exclusion as they were not designed to be ranking stations that present a potential hazard to both humans and vehicles in case of a fire. Failure to provide safe and sustainable ranking stations in Harare was therefore exposing commuters to unprecedented dangers as above mentioned and many more (Magosvongwe, 2020). As this affects all commuters, it hard hits the low-income earners who usually reside further away from the city as their movements are curtailed.

## **5.6 MEASURES TAKEN BY THE COH TO FIGHT TRANSPORT POVERTY IN SOUTHLEA PARK**

This research revealed that the CoH had taken several steps to mitigate the transport exclusion issues affecting residents of Southlea Park. These efforts are analysed in this section.

### **5.6.1 Stoppage of all construction and other infrastructural developments in Harare South to allow proper planning**

Karengwezeka, (2019) in his report in the Herald Newspaper of the 17th of October reported that the CoH had issued a notice, instructing all residents of Harare urban fringes including Southlea Park to stop all construction in these areas immediately. The issuance of this notice was

necessitated by the mushrooming of developments on unplanned areas that included wetlands, institutional stands, commercial sites, roads, open spaces, and buffer areas, among others.

The lack of political will to administer and supervise infrastructural developments in Harare South and notably Southlea Park was evidence of government-induced social exclusion in this area. Residents voiced that it seemed a little too late to stop the developments since the land had already been used up. The residents wondered why the CoH had allowed people to reside in the area in the first place without proper planning. This reveals that residents of this area had already deprived of equal opportunity to public goods and services as there was no proper urban development as done when other suburbs such as Warren Park were initially established.

### **5.6.2 Demolition of unplanned and illegal structures**

During the fieldwork, the city authorities interviewed about the state of Southlea Park road network and infrastructural developments were already underway to restore order in the greater Harare South area. This operation involved the demolition of illegal structures and unplanned housing. The challenge was arising from this operation was that it was leaving many people homeless and destitute. A similar operation but on a nation-wide scale called the operation ‘Muramba tsvina’ (Operation Restore Order) was implemented in 2005 and let many people impoverished and homeless. Following the evictions back then in 2005, more than 100,000 according to the UN67 were left with no alternative but to move to the rural areas, often with traumatic consequences since these areas offered few employment opportunities and were faced with acute food shortages (Human Rights Watch (HRW), 2005). Besides, many of those forced to the rural areas had no relatives there. This was particularly the case amongst Zimbabweans of foreign origin that were either brought up on farms or grew up in the urban areas (HRW, 2005). Several people in this category told Human Rights Watch that they had no place to go to other than the urban areas (HRW, 2005).

The residents indicated that history was repeating itself concerning what was happening now in Southlea Park. While the government was promising alternative housing for those affected in the

long run, in the short-term people have remained homeless. Because the operation is mostly aimed at low-income citizens, they tend not to have a fallback plan after the loss of their properties.

Therefore, while the CoH had stopped the construction of houses in Southlea Park and was demolishing illegal structures, this was not guaranteeing the construction of roads and other transport infrastructure. The question that residents asked was that if the government could not construct urban infrastructure when new stands were allocated to people to build initially, what hope was there then that they will construct when houses have already been built. The residents opined that it was now even more challenging to move construction vehicles into built-up areas as the room to manoeuvre the vehicles were reduced.

According to one official (2020) at the CoH, the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP) was running operations from time to time to curb the lawlessness of the kombis and the mushikashika, but the problem was persisting. The cat and mouse relationship between the ZRP and the kombis and mushikashika had led to commuters getting entangled in the raids and ambushes. During the researcher's fieldwork and through observation during the peak hours, the ZRP was engaged in the traffic clearance operation. In this operation, the researcher saw the police chasing the kombis and mushikashika cars, smashing windows, and road blocking their routes. Most of the vehicles targeted by the police were un-roadworthy according to the official.

The commuters from Southlea Park also admitted that they were contributing to the transport problems and resultant social exclusion they were facing. In this case, the commuters were disregarding their designated pick-up points that were bus termini. Therefore, lawlessness was not only on the part of the commuter omnibus operators but of the commuters as well. Social exclusion induced by transport was, therefore, also a result of commuter negligence.

Upon further investigation, it dawned on the researcher that many factors were contributing to the upsurge in the number of people opting to un-roadworthy vehicles, including the fact that these were relatively cheaper. To get rid of these un-roadworthy vehicles, the Zimbabwe Republic Police

(ZRP) increased the number of roadblocks to impound them. Southlea Park commuters reported that in its initial stages, this operation seemed to be successful until claims of corruption arose. One commuter said, “While we understand that police have a duty to ensure safety on the roads, roadblocks lose essence when they become synonymous with fundraising and extortion.”

Residents implored the government to handsomely pay police officers through the fiscus so that they do not generate money through extortion. The residents also lamented the fact that the revenue collected each day was never adequately accounted for. Some are fattening individual pockets. Eventually was leading to the presence of even more un-roadworthy vehicles operating even in the heavy presence of the police.

### **5.6.3 Provision of public transport through Zimbabwe United Passenger Company (ZUPCO)**

In an economy that wakes up worse than the previous day, the ZUPCO urban buses were hugely welcome by the residents of Southlea Park. Their role in reducing the cost of living had helped most of the residents. However, residents condemned this management by crises approach and implored the government to be more pro-active in dealing with the transport issues in the city and the resultant social exclusion. The ZUPCO service was being criticized for the lack of effective scheduling. A frequent commuter Tonderai who resides in Southlea Park shared his ordeal about ZUPCO:

The government introduced ZUPCO buses to relieve pressure and financial burdens that are associated with the Kombis. We do not use the ZUPCOs because they are not available to us early commuters in the morning and late commuters in the evening. The time we reach the CBD we are caught up with those who finish late at work and transport is not available in such a time. If only the government could target the buses for such people, like us. The roads are poor and close to non-existence, and that is why I walk 40 minutes to the bus stop.

The Southlea Park residents reported that ZUPCO buses were not available early morning before 6 o'clock thereby excluding the many people who commuted to work early. The majority of the people who commuted to work early were low-income earners, and they were having to pay for expensive transport or use unregulated vehicles such as pickup trucks and lorries.

## **5.7 CHAPTER SUMMARY**

In this chapter, transport-related challenges, and the resultant social exclusion that commuters are residing in Southlea Park were facing. The challenges highlighted included the lack of transport infrastructure, unworthy road vehicles, and the endangered safety of commuters. For the residence of Southlea Park, the cost of and the availability of transport was forcing many families to take drastic measures that ranged from limiting travelling to one person per household to the outsourcing of unsafe and unreliable shuttle cars for their school children. The most vulnerable groups affected by these challenges were mostly nursing mothers, disabled people, and children. This chapter revealed that these challenges had both physical and mental impact on the commuters aside their participation in socio-economic activities. This chapter also revealed that the responses to these challenges by both government and The CoH were ineffective. Residents condemned the management by crises adopted by these two bodies and implored them to be more pro-active rather than always act in retrospect.

## CHAPTER 6

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

---

---

#### 6.1 INTRODUCTION

This study started with an investigation of transport provision and access in rapidly urbanising communities in a context of neo-liberal privatisation and economic collapse in Zimbabwe. Using a case study of Southlea Park residents, a peri-urban residential area on the peripheries of the CoH, it explored the dynamics of transport exclusion by focusing on the challenges they face in accessing public transport services and also analysed the options available to them.

This led to the central objective of this dissertation – exploring the dynamics of urban transport in Harare and its link to social exclusion of populations on the city’s peripheries. It asked key questions, that I have argued in this dissertation: What is the connection between public transport provision and social exclusion and how does it impact commuters in the CoH? The specific research questions asked were:

1. What is the role of transport in the social exclusion of low-income populations in Harare?
2. How, where and when is transport-related exclusion occurring?
3. What are the outcomes of such problems, in terms of the physical and mental well-being, of affected populations and the effect on critical economic and social activities?
4. What are the measures put in place by the city authorities to mitigate transport based social exclusion?

To answer these, the study followed two steps: Firstly, it traced the challenges in public passenger transportation to the 1990s when ESAP was introduced as an economic recovery plan. From this long history, commuters have been subjected to unstable commuting conditions after the collapse of the public ZUPCO service, that provided an efficient service at affordable rates. However, the

collapse of ZUPCO, the dominance of private transport providers together with an enduring economic crisis, that constrained service delivery, left many people with restricted access to socio-economic activities in the city. Secondly, it had to understand transportation dynamics, particularly the different actors and their roles in the transport sector. Lastly, it explored sourced to transport-induced social exclusion in Southlea. This conclusion attempts to pull these issues together in a discussion and to assess policy options.

## **6.2 CONCEPTUAL ISSUES**

A general consensus states that people who reside on the periphery of the city are excluded from main social and economic activities. Be that as it may, the consensus varies by factors such as income, gender, occupation, and city environment. This section is a discussion of key thematic areas guiding the study. While the themes have been grouped broadly into three, the discussion combines subthemes into one broad theme.

### **6.2.1 Public Transport Challenges Faced in Harare**

In chapter four, the actions of the key players in urban transport sector including Harare were factored to be part of the problem in the public transport sector. It was also revealed that a general lack of coherent public transport was the leading cause of public transport inefficiencies. A lack of policies to mitigate the public transport problem was a result of governmental apathy and lawlessness by some private actors in the transport sector. As a result, the symptoms of the actions of the actors prove that the actors' actions did more harm than good to the commuters. Issues of over-dependency on one mode of transport, poor road infrastructure and traffic congestion have crippled public transportation in Harare. These among many other factors have been the challenges in public transport in Harare.

An over-dependence on road transport as the only form of transport has been an overarching challenge in public transportation. Without the railway services operating, the CoH has had to rely on road transport, and the road network quickly became overwhelmed. The failure of the National Railways of Zimbabwe to offer public transport services in the CoH is mainly attributed to



governmental apathy that is fuelled by a lack of strategy. More so, over-reliance on road transport and dominance of the private operators eliminated the chances for any governmental service to take charge in public transportation. In this regard, the challenges of public transportation in Harare are a series of bad decisions, coupled with a lack of strategy to serve the people.

A direct result of over-relying on road transport has been the poor maintenance of the road infrastructure and further development. As stated in chapter four and five, the condition of the road network in Harare is dire. In peri-urban areas, the road infrastructure hardly exists. This state of roads has contributed to the damage of vehicles, road accidents and discomfort for commuters. Safety on the roads of Harare is not a guarantee, and the city authorities along with the central government have failed to reassure members of the public safety on the roads. For residents residing on the periphery, it is made worse as they have to endure the long distance of commuting in poorly maintained roads. More worrying is the fact that the city is expanding from the periphery and yet the road network is still as bad.

Additionally, worrying is that the roads have not been upgraded since before the country attained independence. Forty years after Zimbabwe gaining independence, the CoH infrastructure is still designed to cater for the minority who used to reside in the city. The root of this tragedy is the lack of policies that are future-minded and inclusive. It is a challenge to have such policies if the government is not willing to serve the interest of the people. Ironically, the CoH is called the sunshine city, but the movement of people can be described as gloomy. City officials are continually trying to go back to the basics of the 'sunshine city' yet the days when a minority occupied the city are over. It is challenging to implement future-focused solutions when the policymakers continuously think of a past reality that was subjective.

For these reasons, challenges in the public transport sector of Harare are deeply engraved in historical legacies and governmental apathy. These factors permeate policy formulation, will serve and the stability of public transportation, that contributes to the lack of socio-economic

development of the country. Therefore, the role of public transportation is a critical caveat to state development in political, social, and economic domains.

### **6.2.2 How public transport is failing the low-income earners**

It has already been highlighted that poor people rely more on public transport as they do not have the option or the money to purchase a personal vehicle. The transport problems that are mentioned above are more likely to impact the poor people the most as they are already in a vulnerable situation whereby, they lack access to public services. Affordable, accessible, and safe transport could make a difference to the poverty-stricken households as they will have the mobility to access better services and better economic opportunities that they have not been able to reach before.

The accessibility of public transport has been an issue of concern. Failure of access to transport has been established to be a factor restricting people from participating in social activities and economic duties. It has also been reported that when available, public transport is either cheaper and overcrowded or expensive and not offering the quality of service. This double edge impact on public transportation is failing low-income earners as they do not have reasonable alternatives. From the finding of this study, many low-income earners resorted to hitchhiking private cars, lorries, and pickup trucks as they offer cheap fares and convenience. The failure of the public transport system goes beyond failing commuters. Through inaccessibility, revenue is lost to non-public transport operators. The loss of revenue then also affects commuters as the sector ranking stations are not maintained, and service delivery is not up to standard. A vicious cycle looms in the public transport sector and this will negatively affect the mobility of the people in Harare.

Affordability of public transport is another critical issue failing low-income earners. When public transport is accessible, it is often at a high price for low-income households. This is because as described in the study, low-income households are usually located at the edge of the city. Southlea Park low-income households are a case in point as they lack adequate access to transport. The intersectionality of inaccessible transport, peripheral locality and unaffordable public transport exposes some residence of Harare to social exclusion. Influencing affordability also is the general economic climate in Zimbabwe. Another economic downturn was experienced in Zimbabwe in

2016 as the cost of living was significantly higher than income. Instead of transport becoming an enabler of economic activity, it soon became an impediment since many could not afford to travel. In this regard, unaffordability of public transport has failed low-income earners in incorporating them into main economic activities.

The findings of the study have established a general acceptance of lived realities in public transportation. The acceptance of conditions prevailing in public transportation has been a constant reality among the commuters interviewed in Harare. This unfortunate reality represents a worn and fatigued group of people in Harare. The public transportation system of Harare has failed its commuters in insuring improvement of services. The acceptance of reality can deduce giving up any sign of hope in public transport. Failing to improve the quality of services has led to commuters to be subjected to inferior, unsafe, and unsustainable public transport. From this perspective, the moral fabric of the commuters is discarded by public transport stakeholders. The question going forward is will the needs of specific groups of commuters be ever met given the suppression of voices?

The public transport system has jeopardized the mobility of the Harare community. Leading the challenges faced by commuters are the institutions that are supposed to provide solutions. Commuters are forced to live with conditions not only of their own making but of the very city and state that is to put their needs first. The failure of public transportation to provide a reasonable means to an end represent a series of other key institutions failing to uphold nation development.

### **6.2.3 Mobility and Social Exclusion**

This study has presented the measure of mobility in Harare and particularly for low-income earners. The relationship between mobility and social exclusion hinges on several factors. These factors are responsible for either inclusion or exclusion of groups of people in socio-economic activities. Such factors include land use policy measures, adaptability of public transportation and targeting strategy. Exploring these factors establishes a mutual connection between mobility and social exclusion.

Under land-use policy measures, the intention is to build sustainable mobility into the patterns of urban form and layouts, that, in turn, may lead to a switch to green modes of transport (Banister and Hickman, 2006). However, this has not been the case in the CoH. Sprouting communities, on the peri-urban areas of the city poses a threat to the overall land use in the city. A considerable gap in exists between land use and the mobility of people in Harare South. Illegal houses have been erected and in some cases with the knowledge of both local and central governments. Space for business activities, schools and hospitals are taken up by houses not following a land-use map. Southlea Park, for instance, does not have proper schooling facilities due to misuse of land and corruption. This problem has pushed residence to find alternative schooling away from the suburb. Future wise a community of more than nine thousand homes is at risk of outsourcing schooling and business to other areas. Therefore, this means that as already happening, residents of Southlea Park rely on public transport mobility to be integrated into socio-economic activities of the city. The danger of a dysfunctional society is looming, considering the previously stated problems encountered in the CoH.

In the case of the CoH, by allowing people to build without proper planning and considerations of the future road networks, a mobility challenge has already been set in motion. The city authorities are faced with a dilemma. On the one hand, removing illegal structures without proper resettlement could mean another illegal settlement. On the other hand, restructuring land use with already built infrastructure could permanently exclude other communities from socio-economic activities. Thus, land-use patterns are essential in avoiding social exclusion.

Combatting social exclusion requires a set of strategies that blend adaptability and targeting. In Harare, this is severely lacking. Having established that the peri-urban dwellers in Harare are marginalized from economic and social participation, the main reason has been a lack of adaptability of services and targeting. The recently revived ZUPCO service is a case that represents a lack of strategies. Working-class residing in Southlea Park reported that they were not using the ZUPCO buses as they only started operating after they have left for work. By lacking a targeted approach to the working class, the public transport sector remains as a means of exclusion of services to low-income earners. The workforce misses out on the subsidised buses during the

morning and misses out in the evening due to long queues. This demonstrates that the revival of ZUPCO buses was rushed and not carefully researched to be inclusive to all.

The impact of lack of strategy has been more severe to the vulnerable groups in society. Evidence points to a blanket plan on public transportation, yet some groups have legitimate concerns to be factored in. The disabled people, for instance, are still a minority with needs that should cater to their inclusion into mainstream economic and social activities. A male-dominated solution to public transportation supersedes the concerns of women and children. As a result, although vulnerable groups continue to use public transport, they are at risk to the inefficiencies of the system, thereby making them susceptible to more exclusion.

### **6.3 CONCLUDING REMARKS**

This study aimed to investigate the critical anxieties found in public transport that led to social exclusion. A case study of Southlea Park suburb on the periphery of Harare indicated the disadvantages of low-income earners have in their mobility. The discussion was centred on the mobility of low-income earners for social and economic activities in Harare. Themes such as public transport challenges, failure of the public transport system towards the poor and transport induced exclusion of the vulnerable members of the society were the main focus. On a global theoretical perspective, social exclusion is recognized as chief among the causes of urban poverty. Where public transport and mobility was supposed to fill the gap caused by social exclusion, urban poverty has been exacerbated. The development discourse faces urban poverty as an existential threat to human life because governments in many developing countries are reluctant to impose changes that alleviate urban poverty. In line with this notion, Zimbabwe presents a clear example of such reluctance.

### **6.4 POLICY IMPLICATIONS**

This study has consistently raised policy questions on the transport dynamics and specific communities in the city. This section is a discussion of the emerging policy issues and what may have been done differently.

### **6.4.1 Public Transport Strategy**

A central cause to the destabilization of the public transport sector in Harare has been lack of a strategy. A solution for this is adopting a public transport strategy. Factors that need to be prioritised are key performance indicators and optimizing transport as a social function. Key performance indicators allow for objectives to be measured and benchmarked onto desirable outcomes. A public transport strategy is one of the attempts to classify the effects of the decisions taken on the sphere of transport on the economy, society, and the environment. However, it requires greater consistency and should be more detailed. To ensure the adaptation of a strategy, aspects of transport performance are critical. These are but not limited to, travel time and expense, logistics processing time and expense, reliability of schedule, access to intermodal facilities, interconnections and time, day, and seasonal variations in the above factors. By adopting a public transport strategy, categorization of services based on social dynamics is enabled.

### **6.4.2 Transport as a social function**

Transportation has always played an essential role in influencing the formation of urban societies. Although other facilities, like availability of food and water, play a significant role, the contribution of transportation can be seen clearly from the formation, size and pattern, and the development of societies, especially urban centres. The major problem with public transportation has been the valuation of intangible losses, such as sadness, suffering, quality of life and human life itself, for that there is no market price. Approaching transport as a social function does not suggest negating the economic function of transport. On the contrary, it suggests refocusing transport from an end in itself as a service but to be a means to end. Adopting this strategy allows for the redress of social values that do not have a market value. Transport as a social function enables society to have a greater sense of cohesion since, from a social function, cultural norms and values are adhered to. Furthermore, transport as a social function cultivates the localization attractiveness as the society draws its socio-economic activities from its locality. From this vein, economic activity is boosted due to the adoption of social aspects that improve quality of life.

### **6.4.3 Mobility as a Service**

MaaS is the integration of, and access to, different transport services (such as public transport, ridesharing, car-sharing, bike-sharing, scooter-sharing, taxi, car rental, ride-hailing and so on) in one single digital mobility offer, with active mobility and an efficient public transport system as its basis. This tailor-made service suggests the most suitable solutions based on the user's travel needs (APT, 2019). MaaS is available anytime and offers integrated planning, booking and payment, and en-route information to provide easy mobility and enable a life without having to own a car. The urban mobility landscape is evolving fast, and new solutions are being offered to citizens all over the world. The number of mobility services is growing rapidly, yet for the user, it can be challenging being confronted by all these options when choosing the best way to travel. This is where the Mobility as a Service (MaaS) concept steps in. MaaS is about taking away the hassle of finding the most suitable mobility option.

### **6.4.4 Decentralisation of Power**

The concentration of power in the public transport sector is top-heavy. The central government should consider decentralising some of its functions to ensure optimum and sustainable service delivery. ZUPCO can be decentralised to the municipality level. Instead of the ZUPCO buses being run from a central position of power, diffusing will cater for community-specific needs that are otherwise overshadowed by the one size fits all policy. This, therefore, means that subsidies can be targeted based on local socio-economic activity. The localities that need more subsidies can be easily identified. Decentralisation of traffic enforcement can be a possible solution. Allowing local municipalities to enforce the Road Traffic Act through their policing department means that any fine collected goes to the municipality rather than the central government. It is not known if the central government re-allocate fund collected by the ZRP traffic departments to the specific municipalities. Also, decentralising policing powers promotes checks and balances to the use of power by both policing departments.

#### **6.4.5 De-politicization of public goods and services**

Allocation and use of land should be done from a consented plan of use. This limits the role of political ambitions and favours since the power rests in the drafted policy. However, this needs additional measures to be put in places such as a roadmap of land-use, future transport lines and city expansion. While legislation reveals that no favoritism and nepotism should be a deciding factor, on several occasion, government officials on different levels have been caught in cases of corruption. Depoliticization of public goods and services unlocks healthy competition, thereby stimulating economic growth and development. All this could be possible if the political and economic climate is stabilized.

#### **6.5 CONCLUDING STATEMENT**

The conclusion made in this chapter is the conclusion for the study. Conclusions on research objectives were highlighted to inform the research findings. The chapter also included the proposed recommendations to the academia, government of Zimbabwe and the CoH.



## REFERENCES

- AFDB, 2019. *Zimbabwe Infrastructure Report 2019*, Harare: African Development Bank.
- AllAfrica, 2020. *Zimbabwe: Transporters Caution Govt Over State of Roads*. [Online] Available at: <https://allafrica.com/stories/202001210905.html>
- Altinay, L., Paraskevas, A. and Jang, S.S., 2015. *Planning research in hospitality and tourism*. Routledge.
- Aberdeen, T., 2013. Yin, RK. Case study research: Design and methods. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. *The Canadian Journal of Action Research*, 14(1), pp.69-71.
- Ascher, F., 2007. Section 2: Landscapes of Capital-Multimorbidity, Multispeed Cities. *Places*, 19(1).
- Atkinson, A.B. and Brandolini, A., 2009. On data: a case study of the evolution of income inequality across time and across countries. *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 33(3), pp.381-404.
- Axhausen, K.W. and T. Gärling 1992 Activity-based approaches to travel analysis: Conceptual frameworks, models, and research problems. *Transport Reviews*, 12(4),323-341
- Bartley, B., 1998. Exclusion, Disability, and the Neighborhood in West Dublin. In: Madanipour, A., Cars, G., Allen, J. (Eds.). *Social Exclusion in European Cities*, Jessica Kingsley, London, pp. 131-156.
- Berg, B. L. 2007. *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences*. San Francisco: Pearson Education, Inc
- Bok, J. and Kwon, Y., 2016. Comparable measures of accessibility to public transport using the general transit feed specification. *Sustainability*, 8(3), p.224.
- Boraine, A., Crankshaw, O., Engelbrecht, C., Gotz, G., Mbanga, S., Narsoo, M. and Parnell, S., 2006. The state of South African cities a decade after democracy. *Urban studies*, 43(2), pp.259-284.
- Bottomley, D., McKay, S., Walker, R., 1997. Unemployment and Jobseek-ing: A National Survey in 1995. Research Report 62, Department of Social Security, London
- Boulin, J., 1993. The social organisation of time. *Futures* June, 511-520.
- Burgess, E. a. P. R., 1925. *The City*. 1 ed. London: University of Chicago.

Burns, L.D. and Golob, T.F., 1976. The role of accessibility in basic transportation choice behavior. *Transportation*, 5(2), pp.175-198.

Campbell, B., 1993. *Goliath, Britain's Dangerous Places*, Methuen, London

Carruthers, R., Dick, M. and Saurkar, A., 2005. Affordability of public transport in developing countries.

Cheng, Y.H. and Chen, S.Y., 2015. Perceived accessibility, mobility, and connectivity of public transportation systems. *Transportation Research Part A: Policy and Practice*, 77, pp.386-403.

Chirisa, I. and Gaza, M. and Bamako, E., 2014. *Housing Cooperatives and the Politics of Local Organisation and Representation in Peri-Urban Harare, Zimbabwe*. *African Studies Quarterly*. 15. 37-68.

Chirisa, I., 2017. Touts and the Control of Facilities in 'Bleeding' Harare: A Theoretical Explanation of the Dynamics of Corruption in an African City'. *Social Change*, 47(2), p. 264–280.

Chronicles, 2017. *Chronicles*. [Online]  
Available at: <https://www.chronicle.co.zw/984m-game-changer-harare-bbridge-highway-dualisation-begins/>

Church, A., Frost, M., & Sullivan, K. 2000. Transport and social exclusion in London. *Transport Policy*, 7, 195-205.

Cresswell, J., 1998. *Qualitative inquiry and research design: choosing among five traditions*. 1st ed. University of California: Sage Publications.

Dickson, E., 2008. The inclusion and exclusion of students with disability related problem behaviour: the contrasting approaches of Australia and the United States of America. *Austl. & NZJL & Educ.*, 13, p.49.

Dimitrov, L., 2010. *The Effects of Social Exclusion and Transport In South Africa*. Pretoria, Document Transformation Technologies.

Dixon, 2018. *Bustle*. [Online]  
Available at: <https://www.bustle.com/p/7-signs-your-anxiety-on-public-transport-is-actually-part-of-something-more-serious-9709605>

[Accessed 20 June, 2020].

Dumba, S., 2010. *An analysis on institutional preparedness to bus tendering in the context of a fragmented liberalized market: Case Study of Harare, Zimbabwe*. 1st ed. Johannesburg: University of Zimbabwe

EBRD, 2016. *Transition Report 2016-2017*, London: European Bank of Reconstruction and Development.

Fan, Y. and Huang, A., 2011. How affordable is transportation? A context-sensitive framework.

Ferreira, F.H. and Peragine, V., 2016. Individual responsibility and equality of opportunity. In *the Oxford handbook of well-being and public policy*

Fleurbaey, M., Peragine, V. and Ramos, X., 2017. Ex post inequality of opportunity comparisons. *Social Choice and Welfare*, 49(3-4), pp.577-603.

Graham Currie, Alexa Delbosc, 2011, Transport Disadvantage: A Review, in Graham Currie (ed.) *New Perspectives and Methods in Transport and Social Exclusion Research*. Sydney, Institute of Transport and Logistic Studies, pp.15 – 25.

Gleeson, Brendan and Randolph, Bill. 2002. Social Disadvantage and Planning in the Sydney Context. *Urban Policy and Research*. 20. 101-107.

GiZ, (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit) 2018. Accessible Urban Mobility. Sustainable Urban Transport Project. Eschborn, Germany

Government of Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe, 1996. Programme For Economic and Social Transformation (ZIMPREST), 1996-2000, Harare Jongwe Printers.

Government of Zimbabwe 2013. Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation (ZIMASSET). Government Printer.

Government of Zimbabwe 2019. *TRANSITIONAL STABILISATION PROGRAMME (TSP) 2018-202* (Vol. 1, Rep.). Harare: GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF ZIMBABWE.

Haan, Arjan. 1999. Social Exclusion: Enriching the Understanding of Deprivation. *Studies in Social and Political Thought*. 2.

Herald, 2015. *Harare Beitbridge Road Dualisation Begins*. [Online] Available at: <https://www.herald.co.zw/harare-beitbridge-road-dualisation-begins/>

Hernandez, D. 2017. Uneven mobilities, uneven opportunities: Social distribution of public transport accessibility to jobs and education in Montevideo. *Journal of Transport Geography*. 67, pp. 119-125.

Hine, J. and Mitchell, F. 2003. *Transport Disadvantage and Social Exclusion*. London: Routledge, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315235677>

HRW, 2005. *Mass Evictions and Demolitions in Zimbabwe: Background*. [Online] Available at: <https://www.hrw.org/legacy/backgrounder/africa/zimbabwe0905/zimbabwe0905.pdf>

ICED, 2017. *Briefing: Zimbabwe's changing urban landscape*. [Online] Available at: [https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/59521681e5274a0a5900004a/ICED\\_Evidence\\_Brief\\_-\\_Zimbabwe\\_Urban\\_Trends\\_-\\_Final.pdf](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/59521681e5274a0a5900004a/ICED_Evidence_Brief_-_Zimbabwe_Urban_Trends_-_Final.pdf)

(Jackiva) Yatskiv, I., (Budiloviča) Budilovich, E., Gromule, V. 2017. Accessibility to Riga Public Transport Services for Transit Passengers. *Procedia Engineering*. 187, pp. 82–88. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.proeng.2017.04.353>

Karengwezeka, Y, 2019. *Stop developments in Harare South — Govt*. [Online] Available at: <https://www.herald.co.zw/stop-developments-in-harare-south-govt/>

Kenyon, Susan & Lyons, Glenn & Rafferty, Jackie. (2002). Transport and social exclusion: Investigating the possibility of promoting inclusion through virtual mobility. *Journal of Transport Geography*. 10. 207-219. 10.1016/S0966-6923(02)00012-1.

Kwenda, N., 2020. *Traffic Congestion in Harare*. [Online] Available at: <https://hrt.org.zw/2020/02/14/traffic-congestion-in-harare/>

Langa, V, 2020. *ZUPCO subsidy gobbles \$51m monthly*. [Online] Available at: <https://www.newsday.co.zw/2019/12/ZUPCO-subsidy-gobbles-51m-monthly/>

Lättman, K., Friman, M., Olsson, L. E. (2016). Perceived Accessibility of Public Transport as a Potential Indicator of Social Inclusion. *Social Inclusion*. 4(3), pp. 36-45.

<https://doi.org/10.17645/si.v4i3.481>

Levitas, Ruth & Pantazis, Christina & Fahmy, Eldin & Gordon, David & Lloyd, Eva & Patsios, Demi. 2007. *The Multi-Dimensional Analysis of Social Exclusion*.

Linda, 2020. *Southlea Park Commuter Interview*. [Sound Recording].

- Ling Suen, S. and Mitchell, C.B. 2017. *Accessibility Transportation and Mobility*. Committee on Accessible Transportation and Mobility in the New Millennium. Cranford, UK
- Litman, T. 2014. *Transportation Affordability: Evaluation and Improvement Strategies*. [Online]. Available: <http://www.vtpi.org/affordability.pdf> [2020, May 27].
- Lucas, Karen 2002. *Transport and social exclusion: the UK perspective*. (Paper presented to the Cities on the Move Transport Seminar. Paris, France.
- Lucas, Karen. 2010. *The role of transport in the social exclusion of low-income populations in South Africa: a scoping study*.
- Madise, K. M. 2009. An Appraisal of Zimbabwe's economic performance: Issues, problems, and prospects. [Online] Available from: <http://marshalmadise.blogspot.com/2009/11/appraisal-of-zimbabwes-economic.html>
- Magarita, I., 2005. *Analysis of transport performance indicators, Transport*. Lithuania: Taylor and Francis.
- Matutu, V. 2014. Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation (ZIMASSET 2013-2018) A Pipeline Dream or Reality. A Reflective Analysis of The Prospects of The Economic Blueprint. *Research Journal of Public Policy*,1(1), pp. 1-10.
- Maunder, D. and Mbara, T., 1996. *Liberalisation of urban public transport, services: What are the implications?* *Indian Journal of Transport Management*, 20, (2).
- Mbara, T. C. a. D. A. C. M., 1996. *TRANSPORT RESEARCH LABORATORY TITLE by The initial effects of introducing commuter omnibus services in Harare, Zimbabwe*. New Delhi, University of Zimbabwe, pp. 1-16.
- Mbara, T, 2006. *Coping with demand for urban passenger transport in Zimbabwe: Challenges and options*, *Southern Africa Transport Conference*, (25), pp. 121-130.
- Mbiba, Beacon., 2017. *Missing Urbanisation in Zimbabwe on the Periphery*. Africa Research Institute, pp. 1-22.
- McGranahan, G., 2014. *urbanisation concepts and trends*. 1st ed. London: iied.
- Merriam-Webster, 1828. *Dictionary*. Newyork: Merriam-Webster Incorporated.

- Mhizha, V., 2020. *ZUPCO accidents: 40 unqualified drivers fired*. [Online] Available at: <https://zimmorningpost.com/ZUPCO-fires-40-drivers/>
- Mhlanga, B., 2016. *Airport Road scandal exposed*. [Online] Available at: <https://www.thestandard.co.zw/2016/05/08/airport-road-scandal-exposed/>
- Ministry of Local Government, 1996. *URBAN DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION ACT*, Harare: Government Gazzette.
- Ministry of Transport, 2020. *Ministry of Transport and Infrastructure Development*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.transcom.gov.zw/>
- Mlambo, A., 1997. *The Economic Structural Adjustment Programme; The Case for Zimbabwe*. Harare: University of Zimbabwe Publications.
- MLPN, 2020. *Ministry of Local Government, Public Works and National Housing*. [Online] Available at: <http://www.mlg.gov.zw/>
- Moffitt, K. 2012. Definition of Social Inequality. Available at: <http://study.com/academy/lesson/what-is-social-inequality-in-sociology-definition-effects-causes.html#transcriptHeader>. Accessed on: 10/06/2019.
- Munzwa, K. and Jonga, W., 2014. Urban Development in Zimbabwe: A Human Settlement Perspective. *Theoretical and Empirical Researches in Urban Management*, 1(1), pp.120–148.
- Murray, L., Ipsos MORI (2006). Sport, Exercise and Physical Activity: Public Participation, Barriers and Attitudes. Scottish Executive Social Research website. [Online] Available from: <http://www.gov.scot/Resource/Doc/932/0041468.pdf> [Accessed: 27th May 2020]
- Musarurwa, T., 2018. *Zim has the second-largest informal economy* *Zim has second largest informal economy*. [Online] Available at: <https://www.sundaymail.co.zw/zim-has-second-largest-informal-economy>
- Nevhutanda, A. 2007. Impact of Rapid Urbanisation of South African Cities on Their Transport Policies: A theoretical perspective.

Newsday, 2019. *No Funds yet for Harare- Beitbridge Road Dualisation*. [Online] Available at: <https://www.newsday.co.zw/2019/09/no-funds-yet-for-harare-beitbridge-road-dualisation/>

Nhundu, T.J. 1992. 'A decade of Educational Expansion in Zimbabwe; Causes, Consequences and Policy Contradictions'. *Journal of Negro Education* 61 (1) 78-98.

Njoroge, T., 2018. *Zimbabwe sets US \$693m for Harare-Masvingo-Beitbridge Highway*. [Online] Available at: <https://constructionreviewonline.com/2018/11/zimbabwe-sets-us-693m-for-harare-masvingo-beitbridge-highway/>

NRZ, 2020. *National Railways of Zimbabwe*. [Online] Available at: <https://nrz.co.zw/>

Nyatondo, T., 2013. *Determinants Of The Supply Of Urban Public Transport Services In Harare, Zimbabwe*. Capetown: University of Capetown.

Nyoka, S., 2017. *Why Zimbabwe has declared Harare's roads to be a disaster*. [Online] Available at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/av/world-africa-39116532/why-zimbabwe-has-declared-harare-s-roads-to-be-a-disaster>

Online TDM Encyclopaedia. 2016. Strategies to Increase Transportation Affordability. [ONLINE] Available at: <https://www.vtpi.org/tdm/tdm106.htm>. [Accessed 14 June 2019].

Parker, 2018. *Toyota Hiace dimensions (1983-2012)*. [Online] Available at: <https://www.parkers.co.uk/vans-pickups/toyota/hiace/1983-dimensions/>

Pengjun Zhao and Shengxiao Li, 2016. *Restraining transport inequality in growing cities: Can spatial planning play a role?* *International Journal of Sustainable Transportation*, 10:10, 947-959,

Phahlane, H., 2018. *Transport infrastructure remains a chief vehicle for economic growth*. [Online] Available at: <https://www.bizcommunity.com/Article/196/582/182681.html>

Polit, D.F. and Beck, C.T., 2008. *Nursing research: Generating and assessing evidence for nursing practice*. Lippincott Williams & Wilkins.

Pojani, D. and Stead, D., 2015. Sustainable urban transport in the developing world: beyond megacities. *Sustainability*, 7(6), pp.7784-7805.

Potts, Deborah, 2012. “Challenging the myths of urban dynamics in Sub-Saharan Africa: the experience of Nigeria”, *World Development* 40(7).

Rawls, J., 2009. *A theory of justice*. Harvard university press.

Road Traffic Act, 2002. *Road Traffic Act*, Harare: Zimbabwean Government.

Robertson, J. (2009). Zimbabwe-An economy on the edge, since 1980 [Online] Available from: [http://www.economic.co.zw/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=1185:Zimbabwe--an-economy-on-the-edge-since-1980&catid=111:Zimbabwe-history &Itemid=557](http://www.economic.co.zw/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1185:Zimbabwe--an-economy-on-the-edge-since-1980&catid=111:Zimbabwe-history &Itemid=557)

Roemer, J., & Trannoy, A. 2016. Equality of Opportunity: Theory and Measurement. *Journal of Economic Literature*, 54(4), 1288-1332. Retrieved January 19, 2021, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26303161>

Samukange, T., 2014. *Cops own 50% of Kombis*, Harare: Newsday.

Strauss, A., Juliet, C. 1994. *Grounded Theory Methodology: An Overview*. In Denzin and Lincoln Handbook of Qualitative Research. 1st ed. pp 273-284.

Shumba, 2018. *Breaking: School Children in fatal Crash... Harare Southlea Park Kombi accident today*. [Online]

Available at: <https://www.google.com/amp/s/zwnews.com/pic-school-kids-dead-in-horror-road-accident-in-harare-southlea-park-today/amp/>

Sibanda, P., 2017. *CHALLENGES OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES SERVICE DELIVERY: A CASE STUDY OF BULAWAYO CITY COUNCIL (BCC)*. [Online]

Available at: <http://ir.msu.ac.zw:8080/jspui/bitstream/11408/3014/1/final%20draft%203.pdf>

Sibanda, V & Makwata, R. (2017). Zimbabwe Post Independence Economic Policies: A Critical Review.

Smith, Y., 1997. Women, the household, and social exclusion. *Urban Studies* 34 (4), 1159-1177

Suen, S.L., Mitchell, C.G.B., 2000. Accessible Transportation and Mobility.

Transportation in the New Millennium. <http://onlinepubs.trb.org/onlinepubs/millennium/00001.pdf>.

Sunday Mail, 2011. *Shock as Airport Road gobbles up US\$80m*. [Online]

Available at: <https://www.sundaymail.co.zw/bank-of-americas-8-5-billion-mortgage-settlement-challenged-by-bondholders/amp>



SundayMail, 2015. *Kombi ban: The pros and cons.* [Online] Available at: <https://www.sundaymail.co.zw/kombi-ban-the-pros-and-cons/amp>

Tanyanyiwa, V., 2016. Environment friendly and sustainable transportation in Harare: is a functional transportation tool box model the answer?. *UPLanD – Journal of Urban Planning, Landscape and environmental Design*, pp. 37-46.

Titheridge, Helena & Mackett, Roger & Christie, Nicola & Oviedo Hernandez, Daniel & Ye, R. (2014). Transport and poverty: a review of the evidence.

The Ministry of Transport and Infrastructure Development, 2012. *National Transport Policy*, Harare: The Ministry of Transport and Infrastructure Development.

The Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency (ZIMSTAT), 2012. *Population Census National Report 2012*, p.25

Thomas, D.P., 2016. Public transportation in South Africa: Challenges and opportunities. *World*, 3(3).

TJM, 2020. *Vehicle Weight Capacities.* [Online] Available at: <https://www.tjmproducts.com/files/media/original/69e/be9/cf6/Vehicle%20Weight%20Capacity%20-%20No%20acc.pdf>

UNDP, 2015. *Inequality between whom?*, New York: United Nations Development Fund.

United Nations, 2020. *International Norms and Standards Relating to Disability.* [Online] Available at: <https://www.un.org/esa/socdev/enable/comp402.htm#2.5.3>

United National Development Programme. 2015. The impacts of social AND economic inequality on economic development in South Africa. Available at: [http://www.za.undp.org/content/dam/south\\_africa/docs/Reports/UNDP%20Inequality%20South%20Africa.pdf](http://www.za.undp.org/content/dam/south_africa/docs/Reports/UNDP%20Inequality%20South%20Africa.pdf). Accessed on: 10/06/2018.

van der Hoeven, R., 2019. Income Inequality in Developing Countries, Past and Present. In *the Palgrave Handbook of Development Economics* pp. 335-376. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.

Venter, C. & Behrens, R. 2005. *Transport Expenditure: Is the 10% policy benchmark appropriate?* Proceedings of the 24th Southern African Transport Conference, SATC. 12 July, Pretoria.

Venter C. 2009 'Transport Expenditure of Elderly, Disabled and Poor Travelers: The Cost of Being Mobile' Proceeding of the Transport Research Board 88th Annual Meeting Washington D.C. 11th-15th January 2009.

Venter, C., 2011. *Transport expenditure and affordability: The cost of being mobile*. [Online] Available at: <http://microdata.worldbank.org/index.php/citations/5442>

Vinga, A., 2020. *Government Sets Private Sector Minimum Wage At \$2 500*. [Online] Available at: <https://www.newzimbabwe.com/government-sets-private-sector-minimum-wage-at-2-500/>

Vrychea, A., Golemis, C., 1998. Spatial Segregation and Social Exclusion in a Peripheral Greek Neighborhood. In: Madanipour, A., Cars, G., Allen, J. (Eds.). *Social Exclusion in European Cities*, Jessica Kingsley, London.

Weatherdon, N., 2014. *Research Gate*. [Online] Available at: [https://www.researchgate.net/post/Can anyone explain the difference between inequality of outcome and opportunities and also the measures to estimate inequality of opportunity](https://www.researchgate.net/post/Can_anyone_explain_the_difference_between_inequality_of_outcome_and_opportunities_and_also_the_measures_to_estimate_inequality_of_opportunity) [Accessed 20 June 2020].

Wekwete, K. H. 1994. *Urbanisation, Urban Development and Management in Zimbabwe*, in Wekwete KH and CO Rambanepasi eds. *Planning Urban Economies in Southern and Eastern Africa*, Avebury, Belmont

What Is Social Inequality in Sociology? - Definition, Effects & Causes. (2015, February 6). Retrieved from <https://study.com/academy/lesson/what-is-social-inequality-in-sociology-definition-effects-causes.html>.

Williams, J., 2008. Nonparticipant Observation. *Inbook*, 01 January, pp. 561-562.

World Development Report, *Entering the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, 2000

World Bank, 2019. *Cairo Traffic Congestion Study*. [Online] Available at: <https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/egypt/publication/cairo-traffic-congestion-study-executive-note>

Yaguanga, S., 2011. Development and characteristics of central business district under the philosophy of health. *SciVerse Science Direct*, 1(21), pp. 258-266.

Zaba, F., 2017. *Roadblocks used as means of extortion.* [Online]  
Available at: <https://www.theindependent.co.zw/2017/06/23/roadblocks-used-means-extortion/>

ZHRC, 2020. *Functions of the Commission.* [Online]  
Available at: <https://www.zhrc.org.zw/our-functions/>

ZimEye, 2020. *ZUPCO Withdraws 42 “Unroadworthy” Buses.* [Online]  
Available at: <https://www.zimeye.net/2019/12/13/ZUPCO-withdraws-42-unroadworthy-buses/>

ZINARA, 2020. *History of ZINARA.* [Online]  
Available at: <https://www.zinara.co.zw/about/about-us/history/>

ZRP, 2020. *About the Zimbabwe Republic Police.* [Online]  
Available

at: [http://www.zrp.gov.zw/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=114&Itemid=723](http://www.zrp.gov.zw/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=114&Itemid=723)

Zvorwadza, 2014. *Cops own 50% of the Kombis*, Harare: Newsday.

## APPENDICES

### Appendix 1: Key Performance Indicators

Table.1

No.	KPI	Target	% not within the target	Number not within a target.
1	Travel time to work	Less than 1 hour	24% of all commuters	686 000 commuters
2	Travel time for work trips by public transport	Less than 1 hour	9% of train commuters 39% of bus commuters & 30% taxi commuters	191 000 train commuters. 64 000 bus commuters & 271 taxi commuters
3	Travel time for educational trips	Not specified (suggested less than 31 minutes)	32% longer than 30 minutes and 8% longer than 60 minutes	760 000 longer than 30 minutes and 194 000 longer than 60 minutes
4	Metropolitan and urban walking times to public transport	15 min (about 1 km)	15% of urban and metropolitan households	424 000 households
5	Rural walking times to public transport	32 minutes	33% of rural households	15 000 households do not have access within 30 minutes
6	Percentage of household spending more than 10% of income on public transport	A maximum of 10% was suggested	32% of households	845 000 households

Source: Department of Transport, 2006: 44

### Appendix 2: Conversation

**Conductor:** Indeed, it is a war about us and the touts. We are relieved because they are no longer there. We are no longer paying them for doing anything. Just imagine, paying someone for nothing save for causing us pain and confusion!

**Researcher:** What do you mean, for nothing? Aren't they your friends?

**Driver:** Friends? What friends? Do you call someone who traumatises you, a friend?

**Another passenger (male):** But you were cooperating with the touts? What we have observed is that you were in some kind of partnership.

**Conductor:** No, no, no. We were not in any partnership. Those people were just overpowering us. They were abusing us. They would just decide whether your bus should load or not. In terms of the amount that we cash to the owner of the *kombi*, I do not think their removal has changed anything.

**Driver:** I think there is a difference!

**Conductor:** Aaah, not much. Remember, for the six trips [on average] we had to do daily, and we would give to them [the touts] only USD\$6.

**Another passenger:** So, you think USD\$6 is nothing?

**Researcher:** Let us put it this way: Suppose you are on the road for 30 days of the month, how much is USD\$6 per day over 30 days?

**Conductor:** Ummm, umm. . .

**Another passenger:** That is USD\$180

**Driver:** USD\$180! Just imagine \$180 to give to someone who has not added value to your work. That is ridiculous. The army must ensure that these touts do not come back to torment us.

**Researcher:** Okay. Moreover, suppose the city council comes, don't you think it is going to collect the same amount of money if not higher?

**Conductor:** But we already pay for a disk. We pay USD\$100 per three months.

**Another passenger:** So, you have been paying USD\$100 to the 'owner' of the rank and USD\$180 per month to the touts. You, people, have money to throw away.

**A passenger (female):** Yes. The guys are friendly with the touts. They have money to waste.

**Driver:** It is because you do not understand how powerful those touts are. I just pray that the army and police continue to chase them away. They are a menace to

us. From just our rank, Copacabana, touts were collecting money to the tune of \$600. Just imagine! (Chirisa, 2017).

## *Appendix 3: Interview Guide*

### ***SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE – Commuters***

#### **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. When did you move to Southlea Park?**

- I. What caused you to move from where you used to stay

**5. How much do you pay for transport?**

- I. What is the estimated cost of your household on transport?

- II. Is transport a top priority on your budget?

**6. Do you have a spouse and/or dependent who use public transport?**

- I. If so, do they travel with you on public transport?

- II. If they travel at a different time is it better than your current time of travel?

**7. What types of problems do you experience with public transport?**

- I. Is there lack of available transport, access onto the transport system, the cost of travel

II. If so, how do you resolve the problems.

**8. How far is the nearest bus top?**

I. How long does it take you to get to the bus top?

II. In the case you are aboard public transport, how long does it take you to take for it to be full of passengers?

III. How many stops does the bus or commuter omnibus make before making your final destination?

**9. How long does it take you to reach your final destination?**

I. How is it like during the morning and during the evening?

**10. 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?

**11. 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?

**12. Is there anything that has been put in place by authorities to mitigate the challenges you face?**

I. If so, has it been enough?



II. With regards of the roads are they accessible for public transport vehicles and how frequent are they serviced?

13. How safe is the driving?

14. How safe is the accessibility to your transport?

*Appendix 4: 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 public transport, how effective, effective, and sustainable is public transport?**

**5. What function(s) does transport offer to the public? Is it social or economic?**

I. If so, how are they balanced?

**6. In your experience, do low-income households utilise public transport?**

I. If so, do how much do you think they spend?

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 public transport for the low-income household areas**

I. What has caused these problems, in your view?

II. Are the problems faced 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 reasons for people not to use public transport?**

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 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. Is there a pricing model for public transport?**

I. If so, is it price per distance?

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 public transport?**

**14. What are future plans on public transport pertaining to mobility and accessibility of the expanding CoH?**

## Appendix 5: Consent Form



### Informed Consent - Community

You are hereby invited for to participate in a research study by Tadiwa Webster Chikengezha, an MSocSci in Development Studies student in the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology at the University of Pretoria. The study seeks to assess the connection between transport deprivation and social exclusion in the CoH. Please take time to read through this letter as it gives information on the study and your rights as a participant. If you would prefer me to read the leader, I will read it in a language that you prefer.

#### TITLE OF THE STUDY

Mobility and Accessibility in Urban Areas: An assessment of urban transport and social exclusion among low-income groups in Harare

#### 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 dissertation 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](mailto: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

## Appendix 6: Consent Form



### Informed Consent – Key Informants

You are hereby invited for to participate in a research study by Tadiwa Webster Chikengezha, an MSocSci in Development Studies student in the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology at the University of Pretoria. The study seeks to assess the connection between transport deprivation and social exclusion in the CoH. Please take time to read through this letter as it gives information on the study and your rights as a participant. If you would prefer me to read the leader, I will read it in a language that you prefer.

#### TITLE OF THE STUDY

Mobility and Accessibility in Urban Areas: An assessment of urban transport and social exclusion among low-income groups in Harare

#### 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 dissertation 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](mailto: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



