'Let's Build Houses': The Order of Housing Development Shaping Childhood Topography in Mafuyana, Maphisa

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Acknowledgements

Abstract

This thesis describes the physical, social and economic ordering of Mafuyana (Garikai), an urban township in Maphisa, a rural growth point in Matobo District in Matabeleland South province, Zimbabwe. It explores the ways in which this ordering informs the social construction of childhood. The township was constructed as part of Operation *Garikai/Hlalani Kuhle*, a housing program that served to rehouse victims of Operation *Murambatsvina* both of which occurred through Zimbabwe's tradition of restoring order from informal settlements for modernist planning strategies. The configuration of Operation *Garikai/Hlalani Kuhle* compares to the colonial framework of low-cost African housing that has historically been neglected by its municipal authorities. This neglect leads to infrastructure that is hazardous to infants. The evolutions of rural dwellings in southern Africa since the 19th Century and labour migration under colonialism – which characterised the scattering of peoples and the formation of new communities – were determined according to available resources, the physical nature of regions, the models of kinship and daily activities of rural life. Children in these contexts formed the basis of family construction, and also in Maphisa where parents or caregivers value them as a social investment during their ageing years. However, the introduction of urban infrastructure in rural Maphisa produces a framework that residents find challenging when performing their traditions of rural life in the process of raising children. The debilitating infrastructure in Mafuyana resulting from poor planning has caused residing families to face physical hardship in their dwelling. In order to habituate children into a harsh world, infant rituals associated to rural life ways in Matabeleland are performed by residents – some of which challenge modernist health discourses of cleanliness and orderliness. When makeshift endeavours on fragmented housing fail to meet their satisfaction, some residents resort to migrating – either within the township or beyond its boundaries in search for better dwelling. This scenario reflects that settling in such an ordered space lacks permanence, because locals struggle to 'fit' into its makes, despite their efforts. The dissertation argues that the modernist developmental ordering of the growth point's township influences the developmental ordering concerned with the children that reside in it. Furthermore, examining this developmental ordering of children gives an indication on whether the housing in which they live enhances life for the growing human being.

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Abbreviations

OMRO	**Operation Murambatsvina/ Restore Order**
OGHK	**Operation Garikai/Hlalani Kuhle**
ESAP	**Economic Structural Adjustment Programme**
ZANU-PF	**Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front**
MDC	**Movement for Democratic Change**
ZAPU	**Zimbabwe African People's Union**
ZANU	**Zimbabwe African National Union**
IMF	**International Monetary Fund**
SPT	**Solidarity Peace Trust**
UNDP	**United Nations Development Programme**
HDI	**Human Development Index**
ARDA	**Agriculture and Rural Development Authority**
TILCOR	**Tribal Trust Land Development Corporation**
SME	**Small and Medium Enterprises**
FTLRRP	**Fast Track Land Reform and Resettlement Programme**
UNICEF	**United Nations Children's Fund**
ZINWA	**Zimbabwe National Water Authority**
IMC	**Inter-Ministerial Committee**
HBC	**Home Based Care worker**

Chapter 1: Introduction

During my Honours fieldwork in winter 2014, I met Beauty who lived with her family in Garikai[1], an urban settlement in Maphisa 'growth point'[2]. This is a rural town in Matobo District, in Matabeleland South province of Zimbabwe. My research then focussed on the socio-economic impacts Tuberculosis had on early childhood (the first 1000 days of life) in rural villages surrounding Maphisa. Although Garikai was not my main fieldsite at the time, it seemed an interesting zone for enquiry on childhood and its interaction with the urban housing development. Garikai is characterised by recently built housing, with some structures complete and others fragmented or starting to debilitate, rugged roads and an unsanitary water canal as a primary water source. Beauty was one of my informants living with her husband and infant daughter as tenants in a new one-room cottage acquired through *Operation Garikai/Hlalani Kuhle* (Operation 'Live Well')[3], a developmental programme initiated by the Zimbabwe government after the Operation *Murambatsvina* (Operation 'Restore Order')[4] campaign in 2005. Kamete (2008) describes OMRO as a heavy-handed response to spatial impropriety leading to this 'clean up' campaign of mass evictions, detentions and demolitions that targeted informal housing and businesses. With Zimbabwe having a reputation of effective orthodox planning tradition and practice characterised by strict spatial policing, OMRO embodied control, criminalisation, regulation and penalisation (Kamete, 2008:1721). Following OMRO was OGHK, aimed at restoring the loss from the previous campaign, by building shelter for residential housing and businesses in urban and rural areas.

From a conversation with the Rural District Officer of Maphisa in 2014 and further reference to literature (Potts, 2006; Kamete, 2008; Benyere and Nyere, 2005; Tabaijuka, 2005; Sachikonye 2006, and others) I learnt that rural areas around Zimbabwe, whose OMRO activities were not as documented as those of urban areas, had undergone the campaign for the purposes of 'cleaning up' informal establishments, and also served as areas of establishing OGHK. Beauty described the poor house infrastructure as having the cold infiltrate between the cracks, and having poor sanitation which led to the spread of disease that ailed children. These factors made me question how caregivers performed their roles when raising infants and the connections that childhood constructs had with the government's ordering policy. This is the subject of this thesis – which suggests that early childhood wellness in Maphisa is shaped by resettlement patterns arising from urban development[5].

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[1] Later referred to as 'Mafuyana', the preferred name by its locals. The Rural District Council refers to this township as 'Hlalani Kuhle'.

[2] 'Growth point' denotes settlements which are earmarked for economic and physical development in Zimbabwe, which will later be explained.

[3] Henceforth, 'OGHK'.

[4] Henceforth, 'OMRO'.

[5] The understandings of 'development' differ and are elaborated in Chapter 3.

Fig 1: Map of Matobo District: Maphisa is located centrally in Matobo, Matabeleland South, Zimbabwe (United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, 2010)

The Landscape of 'Cleaning-Up'

OGHK was an exercise initiated as part of solving urban poverty. Potts (2006) sketches the economic and social trajectories of urban poverty in Zimbabwe by mentioning the country's economic and social security in the early 1990s: a low poverty line of 25%, a Gini coefficient of 56.83 (Deininger and Squire, 1996), adequate functioning of social services, access to potable water and electricity, a booming urban infrastructure and high levels of employment, to name a few. By September 2003, approximately 72% of urban households were defined as poor and 51% 'very poor' (Potts, 2006:274), below the poverty line – meaning that they could not afford to buy enough food and other necessities. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) provides Zimbabwe's Human Development Index (HDI) value as 0.516 in 2015, which positioned the country in the low human development category, ranking 154 out of 188 countries and territories (UNDP, 2016). In the 2000s, water and electricity supplies dwindled, urban health and education cost increased and living standards generally declined so that, by 2005, the country became unequalled to other African countries (Potts, 2006). There are several suggested reasons of this decline – namely Zimbabwe's Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) launched in 1990 (Saunders, 1996), civil unrest[6] between 1997 and 1998, Zimbabwe's intervention in the Democratic Republic of Congo's war in 1998[7] and the Land Reform Program (which became tumultuous in 2000)[8] (Munangagwa, 2009).

Zimbabwe secured loans from the IMF and international donors amounting to US$3 billion over five years to fund the ESAP, with hopes that the new investment would modernise the manufacturing sector, enabling the country to compete in international markets and earn the required currency to pay back foreign loans. Elaborated by Saunders (1996), the ESAP was meant to begin a new era of modernised, competitive and industrial-led modernisation in an economy having narrowing industrial production, a stagnant local demand for commodities and rising unemployment. Instead, ESAP reforms lodged mounting debt and erratic growth, despite the country's high-performing economy in its first decade of Independence which was in April, 1980. The primary response to the continued financial deficit was the pressure to reduce spending on public services, including the cost of government administration. Access to adequate health care and education reduced between 1994 and 1995 and public expenditure on health care reduced by 39%. Perinatal mortality rose due to the increasing incidences of unregistered expectant mothers at health facilities, births occurring before arrival at hospitals, and decreased access to prenatal consultancies, equipment and drugs. The declined

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[6] Civil rights groups protested for higher wages after the crash of the Zimbabwe Stock Market. This led to the government being forced to pay an unbudgeted money to civil servants (mostly war veterans) totalling ZWD$ 50 000 and monthly pensions of US$ 2000

[7] Zimbabwe aligned with Laurent Kabila to fight against the Tutsi rebels of the Rwandan and Burundi forces

[8] An effort for equitable land distribution between black subsistence farmers and white Zimbabweans of European ancestry. Independent critics state that the intense demand for land by blacks after the expiration of the Lancaster Agreement prompted fast-track land reform, leading to declined agricultural produce.

investment towards education brought the imposition of user fees barring easy access to schools for hundreds of thousands of students from poorer households. Notwithstanding, the ZANU-PF government[9] has associated these trajectories with an increasingly informal urban employment and 'illegal' low-income housing solutions across the urban space, and these two developments became the prime targets of OMRO, which Potts (2006) argues as ZANU-PF government's drastic campaign to ravage through the urban areas of the country from May to July 2005 to 'clean up'. This was particularly to punish the urban areas for their almost universal tendency to vote for the opposition, MDC[10] in 2000 and was followed by development by OGHK, a campaign that aimed to restore and rebuild more formalised urban infrastructure.

OMRO was a Zimbabwe State-led campaign that several researchers have studied regarding its political-economic, dispossession and displacement effects (Vambe, 2008; Tibaijuka, 2005; Sachikonye, 2011; Kamete, 2008). This exercise aimed to 'reassert the rule of law' and halt the chaos of mushrooming informal housing and businesses resulting from rapid urbanisation after Independence. The occurrence of OMRO also takes place against the backdrop of state violence dating since the late 1800s in colonial Rhodesia (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2012: 281-295; Sadomba 2011: 229; Benyera and Nyere, 2015): the First *Chimurenga* (War of Primary Resistance, 1896-1897), the Second *Chimurenga* (War of Independence, 1965-1980), *Hondo Yeminda* (land reform programme, 2000), Operation *Gukurahundi* (genocide in Matabeleland and Midlands, 1983-1984) after Independence, and Operation *Mavhotera Papi?* (violence occurring during elections, meaning 'where did you place your vote?'), in 2008. Violence has been a method of choice of regimes in power to maintain their dominance – the colonial state itself being a major source of violence (Sachikonye, 2011). During the war against the white minority state, inter-party violence also occurred and escalated in the mid-1960s between ZAPU[11] and ZANU[12] in contest for high political ground. This history of violence has bled into institutionalised violence after Independence – such as the Fifth Brigade leading the *Gukurahundi*[13], and the Central Intelligence Organization deployed to repress dissident and weaken opposition parties, as argued by critics (Sachikonye, 2011). As such, counter-violence has been a preferred option by forces such as opposition political parties (Sachikonye, 2011).

After the mushrooming of informal businesses and housing under a dwindling economy in the 2000s, the military-style violence used in OMRO led by President Robert Mugabe's regime was a sweeping operation to 'clean up dirt' of "crime, squalor and lawlessness, and rebuild and reorganize

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[9] Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front: the ruling and governing political party under President Robert Mugabe

[10] Movement for Democratic Change, the main opposition party to ZANU-PF founded in 1999 by Morgan Tsvangirai

[11] Zimbabwe African People's Union founded in 1961 by Joshua Nkomo; former vice-President of Zimbabwe

[12] Zimbabwe African National Union founded in 1963 when Ndabaningi Sithole, Makudzei Midzi, Henry Hamadziripi, Herbert Chitepo, Edgar Tekere and Leopold Takawira decided to split from ZAPU.

[13] 'Rain washing away chaff': suppression of Zimbabwean civilians, mostly supporters of Joshua Nkomo of ZAPU in the predominantly Ndebele regions of Zimbabwe during the 1980s

urban settlements, and small and medium enterprises (SMEs)", as stated by the Government of Zimbabwe (2005:15). Large cities in Zimbabwe such as Harare have held the reputation of "orderly cities", as described by Kamete (2008), with effective orthodox planning traditions characterised by strict spatial policing framed on control, criminalisation, penalisation and regulation. Kamete (2008: 1721) takes a focus on this city, whose illicit land use activities increased in the 1990s at the start of the ESAP. Ten years on, the city saw an avalanche of illegal land use activities across the city – predominantly in the city centre, suburban shopping centres and low-income residential areas, where the national government made interventions to restore order. Morreira (2010) provides an ethnographic account on the urban life in Harare post-2000, where locals rely on making a living through illegal enterprises such as vending, yet after the sweeping effects of OMRO whose 'crack down' on the informal economy led to the loss of homes and businesses.

In early 2005 – the year the OMRO campaign was implemented – over 700 000 Zimbabweans lost their homes and livelihoods. Following these losses was the need for emergency relief and resettlement through OGHK to rehouse dispossessed families such as those in Maphisa's Garikai township. The subject of OMRO and OGHK researched by Mutopo (2011), Sachikonye (2011), Vambe (2008), Tibaijuka (2005) and Potts (2006) have findings mainly discussing the operations' ruin to employment, the structural shifts in urban livelihoods and their outcomes in terms of income-generating activities, water and sanitation, nutrition and housing. Tibaijuka's (2005) findings provide statistics on children affected by OMRO: estimating 83 530 children under the age of four as directly affected by the operations – many of them orphans, disabled or having HIV. Little, however, is discussed on how this developmental ordering has influenced the constructs or shaping of early childhood.

In some conversations with Matobo District rural villagers, they expressed their belief that the prevalence of disease in their area mainly attributes to their encounters of 'dirt'[14] in urban areas when migrating there for employment prospects. Similarly, the national government carries the idea that urban areas of Zimbabwe became increasingly 'dirty' during transitions between colonialism and independence (Benyere and Nyere, 2015; Grant 1998) due to overcrowding and the mushrooming of informal enterprises, and believed that in order to rid of such dirt, OMRO was necessary for a cleaner urban area. This operation formed part of a series of 'clean-up' operations Zimbabwe has undergone over the years which were gendered towards the discrimination of women. The Solidarity Peace Trust (2010)[15] records that OMRO was fuelled by 'unaccompanied' women in urban areas that were suddenly deemed as prostitutes and were routinely arrested in another version of operation "clean up". Behera and Nyere (2015) give accounts of several operations targeting women. Using the Sexual Offenses Act to criminalise women, Operation *Chipo Chiroorwa* ('ladies, get married') of March, 2007 was initiated to encourage women to get married as the government believed that this would chasten them from

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[14] A metaphor I used in my Honours thesis referring to factors leading to the contraction of Tuberculosis (Ncube, 2015)
[15] Henceforth 'SPT'

practicing prostitution. Those criminalised were charged with loitering and accused of contravening Section 8 of the Criminal Law Act, Chapter 9:23. Although men formed the bulk of loiterers, the biased operation targeted women instead. Operation *Chinyavada* (Scorpion) launched in March, 1983 specifically aimed to detain hundreds of women found 'loitering' alone on the streets of urban areas as they were deemed prostitutes soliciting for transactional sex, thus contravening Section 8 of the Criminal Law (Codification and Reform Law) Act, Chapter 9:23. This operation, also known as Operation "clean-up" was meant to clear the streets from '*pfambi/mahure*' (prostitutes) forcing them into rural areas where they 'belonged' (Harris, 2008). Moving dispossessed people into rural areas is grounded by the government's belief that all African Zimbabweans have a rural home. The notion that "no one in Zimbabwe comes from nowhere and everybody belongs somewhere" is an affirmation police in Harare gave to journalists during the height of OMRO in 2005 (Daily Mirror, 21 June 2005). Preparations for the visit of British Queen Elizabeth II to attend the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) in 1991 also saw another operation targeted at women. Vambe (2008) and Musiyiwa (2008:65) state that the operation was initiated before the CHOGM in Harare in order to give to the Queen the impression that the country was 'clean'. Furthermore, prior to the visit of Pope John Paul II the same year, a similar 'clean up' campaign was performed. Behera and Nyere's (2015) analysis of these operations concludes that this reflects the patriarchal belief that women lack independence and require men to be valued and legitimated. Given this background of gendered violence towards women, traditionally considered the primary carers of infants in the country (Zerai, 2015), I found it fundamental to examine how this gendered context informs mothering and childhood development that is embedded in housing disparities relating to house ownership, support and resources supporting childhood rite of passage.

The SPT (2005) provides a thorough report on housing disparity after dispossession and the criterion used to select beneficiaries of OGHK. In Bulawayo (Matabeleland North) for instance, the housing demand before OMRO stood at 70 000 people, rising to 80 000 soon after demolitions began. SPT (2005) reports that at the end of the OMRO campaign in June, Bulawayo City Council promised the construction of 1 003 houses and 41 000 stands by the end of August 2005. However, only 532 stands were allocated and 200 houses roofed, but undistributed. The question on who qualifies for housing remained slightly mysterious as no houses, including the few that had been roofed, had been allocated by mid October 2005 (SPT, 2005). Furthermore, my conversation with Beauty in 2014 revealed that like many others in Garikai, she did not own the house in which she lived, but was a tenant to someone that apparently lived in another province. The 'restoration of order' claimed by the government raises questions on this particular ordering that play a role in the reconfigurations of home. The SPT (2005) also supports that the assumption that urban residents have a place and home in rural homelands is misguided because thousands were dumped in rural areas they had no genealogical connections with (SPT, 2005). Although Zimbabwe's national government made efforts to provide

shelter after umpteen losses, housing disparity also manifested around infrastructural planning. Such disparity regards the cultural attributes of life which the housing order and infrastructure overlooked, causing residents to manoeuvre around in search of fittingness when raising infants.

Endeavours for Re-housing between Colonial Rule and Black Majority Rule

Contemporary township-style housing in Zimbabwe and that which Garikai resembles has its designs rooted within a history of colonial African housing. These designs are described in Miriam Grant's (1998) account of African housing in colonial Rhodesia, referring specifically to Monomotapa Township in Gwelo[16] between 1953 and 1979, within the context of the African Housing Development project from 1890 to 1945. During this time, urban areas were an attraction to Africans when entering the cash economy. For those not formally employed, this migration led them into informal enterprise, such as beer brewing, vegetable vending and the like, which were presumably gendered by women. Grant (1998) describes shelter provision during this time as chaotic and woefully inadequate. It was the responsibility of the national government to produce social and administrative policies, but this constitution to provide adequate housing did not materialise. An ongoing struggle occurred between local authorities and the national government over the responsibility for welfare of urban Africans. The result was local authorities adopting the autonomy to manage African affairs. The neglect on the part of government on resource provision produced living conditions that were overcrowded, unhealthy and characterised by exploitation on the part of suppliers, illustrating a dire lack of commitment to social welfare. Municipalities became stressed with having to balance the demands of employers who wished direct control over African workers, and pressure from white workers paying tax, who advocated residential segregation to avoid the spread of disease from the locations to their residents. The Howman Committee[17] in 1944 found that Bulawayo's industrial areas had "conditions of indescribable squalor" (Phimister, 1988:260) with widespread incidences of bilharzia, tuberculosis, pneumonia and malnutrition. Municipal authorities avoided taking health care responsibility for Africans, but chose to evict them into rural areas. Isolation and segregation of disease was the predominant mode of intervention for Western medical practices since the Middle Ages (Zamparoni, 2015), and it could thus be argued that a prevalence of disease in esteemed urban areas made grounds for eviction of those infected. The alien nature and unhealthy living environment in Monomotapa started a trend of shared space in rooms provided. Up to 15 people shared one room having little ventilation and housing was in poor condition. There was stress and embarrassment due to the lack of privacy for intimate space. These conditions compromised aspects of cultural acceptability and social constraints, especially with the tradition of providing separate sleeping huts for girls, boys and parents in both Ndebele and Shona[18]

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[16] The administrative capital of the Midlands Province, later named 'Gweru' in 1982.
[17] Formed by senior native commissioner in the department of Native Affairs, Roger Howman to oversee the organisation of Africans in the colonial system.
[18] These are the predominant ethnic groups in Zimbabwe.

traditional homesteads (Ellert, 1984:12-16).

Zimbabwe has since transitioned from colonial rule to black majority rule whose aim was partly to meet the demand for improved living standards. Political pressure increased during this transition for income redistribution. Black Zimbabweans' average real wage was below 10% of white wages and civilians hoped that the new black government would produce change and advancement (Central Intelligence Agency, 1982). The slow progress in this scenario elevated the demands for other bigger advances, including housing. In the backdrop of this scenario were whites who worried about their economic leverage via the nationalisation of their businesses and being replaced in the workforce by their black counterparts. Blacks on the other hand were concerned that land reform would fail its assurance and worried about the inflation dissolving the income of those that found employment (ibid.). Reflecting on this history of Rhodesia and Zimbabwe, one learns of the hopes of better development the black majority wished for. Walking through Garikai made me draw parallels between this township's infrastructure and Monomotapa's – migrants settling in Garikai mainly in search of mining prospects were met with sharing small units serving as family homes in which children are raised.

Maphisa has experienced migrations to neighbouring urban cities and in the diaspora for employment prospects (Ncube, 2015); however, the growth point has also served as the rural district's 'urban' business node of settlement for prospective labourers across the country, particularly from surrounding districts. The categorisation of Maphisa as a 'growth point' denotes that it is "a centre of economic activity, which is artificially created or stimulated in a disadvantaged region with the intention that it will eventually become a centre of economic growth" (Svotwa, 2009:507). In Zimbabwe, the concept of 'growth points' or 'growth poles' was introduced in 1978 as part of a policy document called the 'Integrated Plan for Rural Development', especially in the rural areas with aims to develop the long depressed Communal Areas (formerly called Tribal Lands, and before that, Native Reserves) (Gasper, 1988). This plan designated ten growth centres in communal areas, namely Chisumbanje, Gutu, Jerera, Maphisa, Mataga, Murewa, Mushumbi, Nkayi, Sanyati, and Wedza. The designation of these was established after Independence, as part of the government's policy that embodied equitable growth, as it was felt that for general economic development to succeed at a national scale, regional inequalities had to be drastically reduced. Rambanapasi (1990), Mlalazi and Conyers (2001), and Heath (1978) agree that the theory of the growth centre strategy in Zimbabwe was adopted as a regional planning policy aimed at correcting colonial imbalances through the provision of infrastructure to the disadvantaged communal sector. Growth in these centres has however been retarded, except from Gokwe and Sanyati located in areas having high agricultural output, creating a market for secondary goods and services (Svotwa, 2009). The others remained small service centres comprising only government offices, a few shops and a health care facility. Due to high unemployment in recent years, growth points in Zimbabwe have characterised labour migration and the resultant shrinkage of market for existing businesses as well as those aspiring to establish new investment ventures (Svotwa, 2009).

Svotwa (2009) adds that causing this was a lack of a strong economic base, low investment levels, lack of title deeds and financial incentives.

Migrating into this urban space was Gugu and her husband, Bright[19], who originated from their rural villages in Plumtree[20] and Cross Dete[21] respectively moved to this urban centre for employment – they arrived here initially for mining prospects, but with intermittent returns, Bright, who was the family's breadwinner, decided to seek for employment with better income as a construction worker in Bulawayo. After he moved, Gugu decided to try her luck as a miner in Maphisa. Beauty hailed from Balagwe[22] and her husband from Tshelanyemba[23], who also settled for mining prospects. The attractions for most settlers are mining prospects and informal entrepreneurship. Situated in close proximity to the South Africa and Botswana borders, retail owners and vendors import goods from these countries and Bulawayo to stock their grocery and hardware stores. Some of those that faced health related (encounters of 'dirt') or employment hardship in the cities also return to Maphisa (Ncube, 2015) to craft some form of living for themselves and families. Owing to this, Maphisa and its district's population has grown in recent years. In light of this, and the populations disposed during the OMRO campaign requiring homes, the national government planned to deliver decent low-cost housing, adequate vending stalls, factories and small-medium business units, particularly to address the needs of the OMRO victims in 2005.

Fieldsite Interest: 'An African Town in an African Area'

Being the area that my grandfather and father grew up in, I have known Maphisa since my childhood. As a child, my late grandmother told me stories of her past, one of them being an early memory of white settlers that once landed by aircraft on an airstrip, which could now be where Maphisa's Omadu Motel is situated or around the early white farming area which is now the Agriculture Rural Development Authority (ARDA)[24]. Having been raised in Bulawayo, my interest in Maphisa was far from avid until I started postgraduate studies. Most of the social science literature I came across on Southern Africa's childhood focussed largely on areas in South Africa. That which came from Zimbabwe was mainly fixed on urban areas and a few rural – with little from rural Matabeleland. With recent urban development in Maphisa, this transition potentially tells different stories on the constructs of childhood in this rural area, making Maphisa a valuable addition to social science studies.

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[19] Participants of this research
[20] In Mangwe District, 124 km north-west of Maphisa
[21] In Hwange District, 447 km north-west of Maphisa
[22] In Kezi District, 20 km north of Maphisa
[23] In Matobo District, 34 km south of Maphisa
[24] This is a farming parastatal of 21 estates in Zimbabwe which serve to ensure food security countrywide. It was preceded by Sabi Limpopo Authority (SLA), Tribal Trust Land Development Corporation (TILCOR) and the Agricultural Development Authority (ADA), a merger of three pre-Independence organisations (ARDA [AUD],n.d.).

In Rhodesia, 18 million hectares of land were reserved for Africans in the Tribal Trust Lands, within which subsistence farming prevailed. On the contrary, Europeans practiced commercial farming with a rapid produce of cash crops in various estates – Antelope Estate being established adjacent to the Maphisa area. By an Act of Parliament in 1968, the Tribal Trust Land Development Corporation (TILCOR) was mandated to carry out development in the Tribal Trust Lands, to assist the transition from subsistence of tribesmen to a cash economy (Scoones, 2016). As part of the TILCOR initiative, Maphisa was established in the 1970s as part of the attempt to create 'African' towns in 'African areas', with the goal of reducing overwhelmed spaces in urban areas and maintaining a dual economy and racial separation while encouraging economic growth in 'African' areas. I learnt more of its history through a conversation with an old resident that owned a tavern in the growth point:

> Long ago around the early 1970s, I was part of the crew that cleared this area which was all bush. It was all just bush for grazing land. Where Omadu Motel currently stands, was a landing strip for the white settlers that wanted land on which to farm. Antelope Dam served as a source for irrigation on the new farms of TILCOR estate, which required labour from our people. We cleared the area to build shops, including mine, until it became this growth point.

-Themba, bar owner, Maphisa

During post-Independence in Zimbabwe rural areas were aimed at economic and physical advancement, producing two types of growth points distinguished by Wekwete (1988). The first is a 'high potential centre' having a wide range of low order and high order services that encompass strong administrative infrastructure, as seen in Murewa, Mutoko, Gokwe, Chisumbanje, Gutu-Mupandawana and Sanyati[25]. Maphisa characterises the second which he defines as a 'low potential centre' whose roles have been elevated by their post-1980 designation and whose future depends on continued public sector investment support. Maphisa benefits very little from decentralised urban-based services as high potential centres do. Most early growth points mentioned by Gasper (1998) were incorporated into the wider spatial planning approach for mixed development. The Antelope Estate run by TILCOR became known as ARDA, and Maphisa became intimately linked to the estate for several decades after. Using 150 hectares of the irrigation scheme, ARDA created opportunities for outgrowers[26] each having plots approximately one to two hectares. Infrastructure in Maphisa in the 1980s was developed by ARDA, including housing for workers and some general dealer shops. The local government also constructed some administrative offices for government departments, and later built OGHK. The ARDA irrigation scheme became central to the economy of Maphisa, employing 8 000 people in the 1990s during the cotton boom (Scoones, 2016). Through this period, Maphisa remained reliant on ARDA and other

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[25] The Mashonaland East, Manicaland and Midlands provinces in the north-eastern portion of Zimbabwe have a greater number of 'high potential centres' than provinces in the south-west.

[26] Contract farming schemes, broadly defined as binding arrangements through which a firm ensures its supply of agricultural products by individual or groups of farmers (Felgenhauer & Wolter: OECD Development Centre, 2008)

white-owned large-scale commercial farms. These farms were predominantly large ranches supplying beef to the Cold Storage Company (CSC)[27] in Bulawayo. The farming area also comprised commercial gold mines such as Antelope Mine near Maphisa. The impact of white-owned farming-mining economy declined with the Fast Track Land Reform and Resettlement Programme (FTLRRP)[28], when most farms were repossessed and allocated to resettlement land. The ARDA estate production dwindled, profits declined and employees were laid off. As a result, Maphisa changed from an estate-enclave town, whose development primarily depended on the estate, to one depending on an emerging range of new businesses in the wider area. The earned income of labourers vanished in the decline of ARDA, but he landscape became livelier in 2015 when a new investment partnership was agreed with a local company, Trek Petroleum, which invested in pivot irrigation systems and mechanised operation. Although this mechanisation created less employment as before, the revived irrigation scheme has been a positive contribution to the economy (Scoones, 2016).

Livelihood Strategies of Artisanal Mining

Mabhena (2012) states that land reform in Zimbabwe has been ongoing since Independence based on the Lancaster Agreement which stipulated that land redistribution should be done on a willing seller, willing buyer basis – this allowed the Zimbabwe government between 1980 and 1998 to purchase 3.5 billion hectares of land from white commercial farms. When the State adopted the ESAP in the 1990s that emphasised an open market economy, this placed the urgent land question aside, resulting in the dissatisfaction of the rural population on the delay of land redistribution. In his ethnography, Mabhena (2012) found that the majority of those acquiring land in Matabeleland South from 2005 to 2008 were ZANU-PF card carrying members, thus the majority of those resettled came from other provinces with ZANU-PF stronghold. Also, locals in the region preferred a resettlement model that emphasized on livestock rearing as opposed to crop cultivation which the land reform policy supported. Artisanal mining and migration became the alternative means of livelihood in Matabeleland South due to the mitigating impacts of the land reform program. The rise of gold panning across Zimbabwe was most rapid after the implementation of ESAP in the 1990s which saw a decline in formal employment (Mabhena, 2012). In Matabeleland, this was coupled with the uncertainty of crop farming due to climate change and drought. Gold panning in 1992 had been legalised along the country's riverbanks, provided that panners obtained the required permit and traded with the Reserve Bank or its agencies (Mabhena, 2012). The state later regarded gold panning illegal as panners who were accused of trading minerals to lack market dealers locally and across borders. Due to the conditions elaborated by Mabhena (2012),

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[27]Company engaging in procuring, processing and marketing beef, lamb, goat and other produce in Zimbabwe.
[28] A strategy that the national government adopted to address Zimbabwe's land question, that characterized violent evictions of white commercial farm owners for the purposes of redistributing land to poor rural population (Mabhena, 2012).

artisanal mining in Maphisa has become popular for *otsheketsha*[29] that comprise locals and settlers from across different provinces. Garikai township is associated by locals with *ukutsheketsha* as it is located adjacent to the mining area and houses the majority of Maphisa's *otsheketsha*.

The occurrence of OMRO and OGHK is placed on this historical landscape of land reform and livelihood strategies. This area offers a fertile ground for the formulation of new theories or reformulation of the existing ones and the development of complementary approaches and perspectives to early childhood. Relative to its surrounds, Garikai stands out from Maphisa's urban area with different characteristics – it is the newest residential establishment initiated by the national government since the previously established housing in the 1980s developed by ARDA housing the majority of its residents associated with artisanal mining, an occupation considered inferior to outsiders of the township because of its cumbersome labour and unpredictable wage. From my interactions with Maphisa locals, one establishes the locals' understanding of Garikai as having unique ways of life from the rest of Maphisa. Principally, the processes producing life in Garikai are important to stakeholders in academic and practical fields concerned with childhood research and residential service delivery.

Intervention in the lives of children in crises in this country has been made by organisations such as the UNICEF which reports that their provision of the Health Transition Fund in Zimbabwe has managed to mobilise resources to revitalise the health sector and increase access to care through impact and cost effective maternal, newborn and child health interventions and health system strengthening (UNICEF, 2013). By creating available posts to health professionals, the number of doctors at district level has increased from 70 in 2011 to 126 in 2013, and practicing midwives from 500 in 2011 to 1500 in 2013 countrywide. To address undernutrition and stunting, UNICEF supported the scale up of maternal iron and folate supplementation, early initiation of breastfeeding and exclusive breastfeeding for the first six months. Following 3 042 new child reported cases nationwide in 2016 in 65 districts regarding child neglect, physical violence, psychological stress and sexual violence, UNICEF has since focussed on strengthening emergency response and sensitising government actors and civil society on the child protection risks children currently face due to drought, and particularly the physical and sexual violence increasing in growth points and mining areas, as evidence in Harare and Matabeleland South suggests these as salient issues (UNICEF, 2016). Being one of the districts served by UNICEF, Matobo District makes a valuable study area when observing how children cope in areas such as Mafuyana. Smc/00006086872

Mafuyana is situated on the northern periphery of Maphisa growth point, adjacent to the Maphisa District Hospital. A long water irrigation canal runs past these two landmarks from Antelope Dam in the west to ARDA farm fields in the east – separating it from the rest of Maphisa. This is the primary

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[29] The locals' term for artisanal miners or gold panners. This comes from the verb *ukutsheketsha*, meaning to gold pan/ gold panning/ artisanal mining.

source of water for residents unable to afford installing clean water piping into their homes. Residents seek daily services from the Maphisa growth point that has a large Spar Supermarket, a post office, a vegetable market, several bars, some hardware stores and other small enterprises. Located on the opposite, southern periphery of Maphisa is a hill where Minda Mission rests, nestling Minda High School for girls, Sikhethimpilo Organisation and St Monica Catholic Church. Population statistics of Garikai area were unavailable at the Social Welfare office because of the intermittent influx and exit of people. Local municipality had not established solid population figures for this area specifically because many of its residents relied on gold panning (whose mineral stores were undetermined) in nearby shallow mines for income – when some felt unlucky to finding gold, they would migrate for someplace else (Fieldnotes: Ncube, 2015), creating fluctuating numbers in the settlement. However, population statistics of Matobo District[30] stood at 93 940 in 2012 (Zimstats, 2012). Its population pyramid is wide at the bottom, and narrows sharply upward with age – denoting a high birth rate and low life expectancy. A focus group discussion revealed that other sources of income in this area were *ukuthengisa*[31] by women, especially at night. This characteristic was said to be common in mining towns, as sex workers perceived that mine workers reaped earnings from work for which they could transact. Garikai's association with *ukuthengisa* earned its name '*Gad'ufe*'[32] from outsiders that despised the township. Although Garikai is located in the same district as other rural villages I visited in 2014, locals classified it as 'urban', differentiating its social and physical configurations from those of its rural neighbours.

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[30] Matobo District encompasses Maphisa and all villages surrounding it.
[31] This means "to sell" or "selling": locals' term used when referring to sex work.
[32] A derogatory Ndebele term meaning 'ride and die' – to imply that clients looking to hire sex workers from the area have high chances of contracting life threatening sexually transmitted infections. (Ncube, 2015)

Fig 2. Wide aerial view of Maphisa and its surrounds – showing Antelope Dam (A) in the north-west; ARDA (F) in the east (Google Earth, 2017):
A – Antelope Dam; B – Garikai/Mafuyana township; C – Maphisa District Hospital; D – ZINWA water canal; E – Maphisa growth point; F – ARDA irrigation scheme; G- rural homelands

Sketch 1: Walking and drawing: sketch map showing landmarks I came across during my walks around Maphisa

14

Developmental Ordering

Examining the urban spaces of Harare during the occurrence of OMRO, Kamete (2008) maps the patterns of official hostile responses to the daily illegal activities carried out by the youth which entail the disregard of the spatial planning framework supported by regulatory and legal controls. His analysis reveals the urban planning and management system's dependence on the use of force and violence implemented by the State's repressive chain of command. Before the ESAP, Harare's illicit land use activity was minimal, but this increased in the 1990s when ESAP was implemented. Ten years on, the city saw a cascade of illegal land use activities that the local authority reacted to with an urban planning system heavily endorsed by central government agencies for the purposes of restoring order and ensuring submissiveness. The framework of analysis in this thesis's argument regards the implementation of spatial policies inherited by Africa's post-colonial planning which embodies colonial regime organisation. Yiftachel (1998:395) describes planning as a "rational professional activity aimed at producing a 'public good' of one kind or another", whose purpose manages spatial aspects of life. Although such spatial planning is implemented to eliminate 'unruliness', I would suggest that this planning carries complexities that become broader in socially developing realms.

The dominant argument on planning explained by Kamete (2008) emphasises its rational modernist dimensions. It is conceived based on the experience of the western city during the Industrial Revolution which embodies the idea that if disregarded, citizens would exist in spatial chaos which would bleed into the social, environmental, economic and political arenas. Kamete (2009:898) defines planning as "the production and ordering of space; concerned with the formulation, content and implementation of spatial policies". In order to accomplish 'desirable' outcomes of a 'good city', planning develops controlled and guided systems that pursue the creation of places conforming to abstract models – producing an 'abstract space' that is appropriately approved by city or town councils when binding them. It is this framework of planning embodied by OMRO and OGHK experienced in both urban and rural areas.

When considering the planning of rural dwelling is Southern Africa, Frescura (1985), Murray (1981) and Wekwete (1988) contribute that the occurrence of the Mfecane[33] between 1822 and 1837, labour migration in the 1970s and the development of rural growth points in Zimbabwe after Independence represent a recognisable coalescence of communities and state of architecture. Rural dwellings in this region have evolved, following warfare, the scattering of peoples and famine (Frescura, 1985). The semi-permanent styling of dwelling emerging from the settling of people was dependent upon kinship, climate and natural resources available in the region. In the advent of

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[33] Mfecane means 'crushing' and was used by the Nguni to refer to the wars that occurred between 1820 and 1835 that segregated Central and Southern Africa. The explosion of the population among the Nguni resulted in warfare contributing to the Mfecane. There was competition for cultivable and grazing land which later led to battle. This fighting led to the formation of larger political units such as the Zulu and Swazi states (Mensah, 2015)

colonialism, households became more permanent during the introduction of labour in designated urban areas. In the study of South African rural households, Murray (1981) states that rural households were shaped by erratic industrial earnings from labour migration, and the urge to use rural homes as 'safety nets' in the accumulation of livestock. Besides the rural household being formed on the basis of kinship, it was consolidated around resources. Households made significance to the material dimensions of domestic life and the ways that livestock and other artefacts were exchanged (Murray, 1981). According to Frescura (1985), the homestead comprised several huts facing an enclosed central courtyard, each having a particular function. The dwelling unit in rural Southern Africa has been a structure built predominantly out of timbers, clay, grass and cattle dung. Being natural habitats, these have tended to provide home to a variety of insects, lizards and other small fauna. This dwelling forms an environmental balance when humans that inhabit it perform various activities enabling this stability. Rural residents have traditionally built fires in their dwellings for both cooking and heating, but this also served as a fumigating process when smoke from these fires is allowed to rise and percolate through the thatched roof, discouraging vermin infestation. In the ecology of this rural habitat, rural ways of life around it comprised other activities and patterns that functioned suitably around this space. For instance, storing harvested grain *esiphaleni*[34], was made possible in a small thatched hut standing on stilts above the ground whose aerated design kept *isiphala* dry enough for food storage. During the autumn harvest, my maternal grandmother used *isiphala* to store her mealie grain in compartments built into this structure, which kept the food cool and dry. The artefacts accumulated in her household such as livestock were accumulated from the earnings received from industrial labour.

It is inevitable that the economic activity which emerged in these rural spaces introduced some infrastructural shifts from decentralised urban services, including the infrastructural planning produced by OMRO and OGHK. These activities produce ordered spaces forged by spatial policies. Apart from geographical shift, these policies affecting rural residents made emphasis on physical designs of new dwelling. Most residents such as my research participants in Garikai moved into the township from other rural districts and this transition from rural housing and life ways into an urban atmosphere had influence on the ways of caring for infants and kinship associated with the community and space. Considering the history of Matabeleland, 'developmental ordering' in this context is concerned with how modernist planning produces re-ordered living spaces that nestle residents under a systematised framework into which their traditional life ways shift. Garikai embodies a planned order where childhoods become constructed to suit its design, as the thesis principally illustrates. Residents here who primarily come from other rural districts practice activities from rural forms of life such as building fires close to their houses. As urban planning is necessarily interventionist established on the augmentation that change requires management in the 'public interest' for the continuing good of all residents, Kamete (2008) points out that such planning is obsessed with managing change that it

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[34] A Ndebele term meaning 'in the granary' (*isiphala* is 'a granary' or 'the granary')

neglects the lived experiences already inscribed in everyday practices and ways of life. The everyday practices of Garikai residents are thus shaped under this planning umbrella, and their childhood constructs are therefore informed by the change produced from OGHK.

Background of Childhood Studies

The social worlds of children have been of anthropological interest since the ethnographic work of Margaret Mead on the Manus children of New Guinea (1930). Cross-cultural comparative work on children and their caregivers have proven vital in the conceptualisation of childhood (Levine, 2008; Gottlieb, 2004; Reynolds, 1989; Whiting, 1975). However, infants below two years old have not featured notably in anthropology despite the wealth of knowledge from their experience. Gottlieb (2004) suggests more academic emphasis be placed on infants and care givers via the founding of the "anthropology of infants", by discussing reasons why infants may have been absent from anthropological discussions. Among these is the question of agency or dependency of infants, their lack of advanced communication, perceived low levels of rationality and the researcher's subjective position. Another relates to the association of infants to other care givers besides their mothers. My interest in childhood studies also stems from Kesby, Gwanzura-Ottemoller and Chizororo (2006) on their work on "Theorising other, 'other childhoods'". They argue that universal models[35] of childhood must be unpacked in order to reveal diversity of alternative childhoods in the global south – local understandings of childhood require deconstruction. Garikai is a newly ordered urban space in Maphisa whose unique childhood constructs would contribute valuably to deconstructed understandings on childhood. Childhood in Zimbabwe has historically been a discrete category of experience, even before colonisation (Kesby et al, 2006). The pre-colonial Shona[36], for instance, conceptualised childhood is a definite 'stage' in life, despite not having markers of ritual initiations to mark transition to adulthood. Spiritually, children occupied the lowest social rung in a hierarchical system structured by ancestral worship. Despite this position, children were and still are pivotal to adults' relationships such as marriage, when children make part of the family unit. It could be argued that children's historical hierarchical position in spirituality manifests in the manner development is carried out by governing authority, which configures the making of childhood.

Aitken (2001) provides nuanced studies on the geographical study of children tracing back to the 1970s by explaining that the increasing quantification of Geography in the search for scientific theory led to Bill Bunge's (1973; 1975 and 1979) geographical expeditions in Toronto and Detroit which

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[35] UNICEF's conceptualisation of early childhood begins from conception through birth to eight years of age. However, village locals of Maphisa consider this stage to begin after child birth – once the community physically sees the child (Ncube, 2015).

[36] A Bantu ethnic group native to Zimbabwe existing before colonialism, as early as 1000AD.

focussed on the spatial oppression of children. This work places children as the ultimate victims of the political, social and economic forces that contrive the geography of the built environment. He geographically approaches the study of spatial structure and interaction on the theme of children's oppression. Using the virtue of science which evoked Darwinism as a corollary to the importance of childcare, he draws attention to what he thought was a moral crisis in society and this reflected in the plight of children. He argues that the pressure of the environment on the young is crucial to any surviving species. Just as canaries in coalmines in the 1970s, children served as a means to measure the wellness of society and spatial statistics revealed the patterns of illness. In one example, Bunge (1975) uses the relationship between high-rise buildings and children to suggest that with their lack of space to play, these vertical edifices of mechanised architecture forced children onto the hazardous machine spaces of city streets. He used the metaphor "children caged and buried in the sky" as an evocative, emotive depiction of the confined spaces they were afforded to play. In contemporary ethnography, these measures of childhood and architectures around them can be used to assess efficacies around the constructs of childhood and familial wellness in developing areas such as Garikai. Reflecting on the series of infrastructure in Zimbabwe gives insight to the wellbeing of children.

The Need for Ethnographic Engagement

Beauty's story presents the potential peculiarity[37] mothering and childhood have when embedded in a post-violent developmental space. Of importance, is the question of whether infants are considered in development and policy making, as there is a need for empirical research on their experiences in order to contribute towards improving the lives of children and reducing their mortality. Save the Children's[38] (2015) data from the Urban Child Survival Gap Scorecard[39] shows that Zimbabwe is one of eleven countries whose poor children are three to five times as likely to die as their most affluent peers. Out of 179 countries globally, Zimbabwe is ranked 133 on Mothers' Index Rankings[40]. Matabeleland South province has patterns of high infant mortality[41], declining to the lowest level in age group 5 – 9 years and 10 – 14 years. Measured by the infant mortality rate (IMR)[42] deaths in the first year of life constitute the largest proportion of the total deaths. Zimstats (2012) shows that rural areas

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[37] Associated with gender and other multiple ways maternal bodies are influenced by social and cultural processes which in turn bleed into the norms of childhood (Longhurst, 2008)

[38] This is the world's largest independent development and rights based organisation for children, represented in over 120 countries worldwide upholding the rights of children and promoting their potential (Save the Children, 2015)

[39] This examines child death rates for the richest and poorest urban children and finds that in most countries the poorest children are at least twice as likely to die as the richest children before they reach five years of age

[40] The indicators for this ranking are: the lifetime risk of maternal death; children's well-being as measured by their under-5 mortality rate; educational status, as measured by children's expected years of formal schooling; economic status, as measured by gross national income per capita; and political status, measured by women's participation in national government.

[41] Number of deaths in the first year of life.

[42] Number of children dying before they celebrate their first birthday out of 1000 born alive.

in Matabeleland South have 17% more infant mortalities than urban areas. In 2012, the IMR for Matobo District stood at 85 per 1000 infants. In terms of orphanhood in Matabeleland South province in 2012, 199 549 children had fathers dying, while 62 518 had mothers dying. 85 895 had both parents dying in that year (Zimstats, 2012).

Assata Zerai (2014) and Charmaz & Paterniti (1997) approach the study of maternal and child health in Zimbabwe from a sociological perspective of health and illness. Charmaz and Paterniti (1997) emphasise that understanding health and illness requires more than biological knowledge and that health, illness and healing occur within social, political, cultural and economic structures. Zerai (2014) uses an African feminist[43] lens to address the social context of health and illness among women and children in Zimbabwe and unveils the underlying social structures within which health, illness and healing occur from the colonial period through 2010. Through her analysis, she argues that militarism (in particular, state violence) and hyper-masculinity[44] in Zimbabwe have detrimental effects on family well-being in general, and especially on maternal and child health – mortality, malnutrition, and physical and emotional health. Zerai (2014) builds upon the works of African feminist researchers such as Rudo Gaidzanwa, Patricia McFadden, Amina Mama, Ayesha Imam, Micere Mugo and others alike by exploring a framework that considers the ways that nation, class, race, gender, sexuality, globalisation and other dimensions of oppression intersect to impact on the experiences and agency of individuals and groups attempting to access health care and social support in Zimbabwe. Her Africana feminist framework considers how spheres of oppression affect African women and children simultaneously. It explores the understanding of the ways these forces operate, better revealing the underlying structures of society. This intersectional perspective sheds light on communities in crisis and places the phenomenon of maternal and child health in Zimbabwe in relevant political, social, economic and cultural context. It enquires how spheres of nation, race, gender, ethnicity and sexuality operate simultaneously and proposes relationships among these various spheres. Furthermore, a government embodying state violence and hypermasculinity, presenting itself through the discrimination of women as embodied by the 'clean up' campaigns discussed by Behera and Nyere (2015), are detrimental to childhood development. This Africana feminist approach offers anthropology the coalescence of intersectional factors that are important to consider when understanding early childhood. In this case factors regarding housing order, people's traditions and their socio-economic background are paramount in shaping the trajectories of childhood.

The experience of dwelling and the significance of the home is a universal human experience.

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[43] Africana Feminisms is an intellectual project grounded in the experiences of working people: labouring women raising their children and provide for their families, struggling to pursue education and organising in their communities for social change.

[44] Zerai (2014) uses this term to refer to the political and cultural dynamics that determine maternal and child health, more precisely a patriarchal context that discriminates against women.

Citing various philosophers and writers (Bachelard, 1958; Jung, 1963; Heidegger; 1971; Tognoli, 1987; Hayward, 1977; Seamon, 1978 and others), Smith (1994) determines empirically the essential qualities for a house to be experienced as a home. Despite a wide variety of contributions on home environmental studies, Tognoli (1987) recommends more empirical research on the subject, suggesting researchers attempt to find the distinction existing between a house and a home. He proposes in his literature five general attributes of centrality that differentiate a house from a 'home' – these being continuity, privacy, self-expression, personal identity and social relationships. Having a review of the research into home organised under these umbrellas, this thesis contributes further to these by suggesting that the state of home infrastructure which influences childhood construction could be an attribute determining a home, because children form a central basis to homemaking in Garikai and are a life investment for their parents during ageing years. The attributes that Tognoli (1987) discusses are represented as universals; however, when considered anthropologically, they have different valences in different contexts.

Development psychology emphasises the impact housing characteristics matter to children and families' well-being. Leventhal and Newman (2010) postulate that among various possibilities tested, poor housing quality was the strongest and most consistent predicator of emotional and behavioural issues in low-income children. Leventhal and Newman (2010) identify various aspects of housing thought to be associated with childhood development. This literature shows that substandard housing presenting, for instance, exposed wiring, pealing lead paint, and rodent infestation among others, may deposit physiological stress in children, resulting in inhibited emotional stability and learning. Furthermore, residential instability may interfere with peer and school relationships, falling short on behavioural and academic success. Unaffordable high cost of housing limits families' investments in other valuables, such as extracurricular activities and other basics such as food and medical care all of which contribute to healthy development. Children form the basis of family constructs and investment in Garikai, as this thesis elaborates. Therefore, ethnographic engagement on the relationship early childhood has with housing in this township is necessary in determining the efficacy of Maphisa's urban housing project.

In view of Garikai's locale, the histories that shape it and the theories providing the basis of housing and childhood, this thesis discusses the relationship that house 'ordering' making the township has with the formations of 'home' and children that are considered a fundamental base of family making. As such, the efficacy of housing is paramount in determining the survival of children in Matabeleland South, as this thesis illustrates. Although state violence has undermined child health in Zimbabwe (Zerai, 2015) which is reflected in the mortality rates mentioned earlier, housing is a contributing factor which caregivers have worked hard in modifying in order to provide health to their children in their presenting topography. In so doing, caregivers also consider finding other better dwelling in order to ensure their children's and families' health.

Chapter outline

This chapter has provided the background of Matabeleland South and the framework of OGHK, childhood development and housing predicaments in Zimbabwe, which emphasise the implications that housing has on a developing infant. The main argument which rests on 'developmental ordering', is that the social constructs of children are influenced by the infrastructure or topography around them, and that studying these topographies provides insight on the efficacy of the housing that nestles them. Housing constructs and infancy should not be considered mutually exclusive, but aspects that overlap. As such, research on housing and infancy is imperative for the future of infrastructural plan.

Chapter 2 charts my journey into Maphisa and Garikai, describing its social and geographical landscape. The chapter introduces the research participants and the houses in which they lived represented by 'house emotion' maps. Considering the unique nature of the field, this informed the methodology used to gather data, such as 'baby body mapping' and 'house mapping'. The house maps gave an indication on how residents perceived and felt in different areas around their house; and the baby body map discussed in Chapter 4 provided a topographical description of childhood in Garikai which encouraged more discussion on early childhood experience in the township.

Housing in Garikai is characterized by its grey walls forming its fragmented housing around which people perform their ways of life. Chapter 3 provides a rich description on the daily life of Garikai residents and describes the framework implemented to build their houses. Local government initiated this housing project primarily to rehouse dispossessed residents from OMRO. However, house allocation shifted from those intended to benefit from housing to unlisted civil servants. The resulting scenario is housing belonging to richer candidates, leasing it to poorer tenants. There are huge disparities between what local government and residents perceive as homes: local government's concern is 'shelter' provision, whereas, locals aspire for 'homes', which are places that enhance life.

Living in the fragments of Garikai is a challenge for residents, particularly to young infant lives. The visual methodology technique in Chapter 4 describes Garikai's environment which informs the topography of its infants. While residents consider the 'dirt' in their township as hazardous to their babies, it is also a medium to initiate babies into the world they face. Having children is the fundamental basis of home making, thus caregivers work hard for their survival. When makeshift work done on babies and houses are unsatisfactory for home-making, residents move to different houses in search for a better-fit home.

Chapter 2: Constructing the 'Field'

Promenades into Places with People

> *Today was my first walk from Sikhethimpilo to Garikai, to spend an afternoon chatting with Beauty on identifying main participants. I met her at the corner of Garikai, just after the hospital. On our way to her home, we rode along the dusty road, meandering on many bumps and turns. The air had the same ambiance as my last visit in 2014 – a tropical dry heat bearing the haze of fuelwood smoke from fires dotted here and there, and the echoing sound of radios from random houses. Beauty seemed unsure of her community's willingness to meet me for research, as she emphasised their reluctance to opening up to outsiders. Stigmatisation of Garikai residents by others living outside their boundary was commonplace and she said because of her community's awareness of this, many would spitefully act stubborn to outsiders in response to this stigma.* (Fieldnotes: Week 1 (2016))

Garikai was a peculiar amalgam of ways of life, with sketchy dwellings nestled in a mixed rural and urban township ambience. This blended atmosphere was different from the rural villages' in which I spent during my Honours fieldwork. This rural space was homespun with unsophisticated mud huts being predominant – some homes having small houses built from bricks. Furthermore, it was devoid of running water with the exception of boreholes. No electrical power was used, apart from solar energy being popular. On the contrary, Maphisa growth point including its older residential area locally referred to as "Roads"[45] was served with electrical power and running water from the municipality. Garikai was Maphisa's newest urban project, but with this characterisation, it was unserved with these amenities and formal graded roads like the rest of urban Maphisa. It comprised varied housing – some resembling Bulawayo's middle income suburban structures[46] and other, low income housing[47] first established as the township's trademark design. All, except a few suburban houses were structurally incomplete. During my fieldwork, I stayed with a family at the staff residence of Sikhethimpilo, a non-governmental organization for orphans nestled as part of Minda Mission, situated at the most southern part of Maphisa. This was the quietest part of the growth point, and considered by locals as 'upmarket' because of its privacy and upkeep by the adjacent Catholic Church. I gracefully became acquainted to Garikai's caregivers when Beauty called some for a meeting at her house to introduce the research. Despite Beauty's perception of the residents as potentially reluctant to participate in research, they seemed more enthusiastic than expected and I eventually formed meaningful relationships. Garikai was about 800 meters from where I lived and this proximity gave me easy access. Both locations were at opposite

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[45] A residential area that developed around the Ministry of Roads office build on the west end of Maphisa.
[46] Such housing falls under the second phase of OGHK and comprises on average two or three bedrooms, a lounge, a kitchen and a bathroom on a 235 – 250 m² plot
[47] Such housing falls under the first phase of OGHK and comprises two roomed units, commonly shared between two families.

poles of the growth point, and within the confines of Maphisa, affording the experiential feel of the growth point. This was my first time living in Maphisa for a prolonged period, since our rural village home in Mahetshe was my place of residence during times I would visit. The walk to Garikai took me past the local post office, vegetable market, various grocery and hardware enterprises and eventually over ARDA's water canal, which was bridged by a flat steel bar and a concrete chunk at different points along the canal. These were makeshift objects residents placed, given that they lacked a proper bridge over which to cross. Crossing this canal was a fiddly exercise requiring careful stepping and balance, and I imagined this crossing precarious for the elderly and toddlers. There was, otherwise, an old road further west towards the police station turning into Garikai that vehicles used – but the pedestrian makeshift bridges were preferred by most over this distant route.

Fig 3. Arial view of Maphisa Growth Point (Google Earth, 2017): *A – Garikai/Mafuyana; B – Maphisa District Hospital; C – Maphisa Police Station; D – Municipal Housing; E – Rural District Office; F – Omadu Motel; G – business enterprises; H – bus terminus; I – post office; J – Minda Kindergarten and Primary School; K – St Monica Catholic Church; L – Sikhethimpilo Centre; M – Minda High School; O – ARDA-Trek Petroleum Irrigation Scheme; 'R' – older municipal housing ('Roads')*

When I first met Beauty in 2014, her narrative inspired the theme of this thesis. Back then, she lived in a portion of a two-room unit in Garikai with her husband and two daughters – the younger being only three months old. Inadequate shelter, murky waters, food insecurity, unemployment, and other related issues formed the poignant story of her life and others living around her. When I returned to Maphisa for further fieldwork, she had moved to a larger house in the eastern section of Garikai known

by its locals as *ezindlini*[48] (considered by locals as the better side of the township) that she and her husband started to build – a house she subsequently moved out of later in 2016 on her journey to find a more suitable home. *Egarikai*[49] was the northern section of the township considered by locals as inferior, housing the majority of poorer tenants unable to secure electricity and potable water, who lived along neat rows of small shabby housing blatantly displaying the status of their poverty. As we sat on the sofa chatting, Beauty appeared more vibrant and gratified with her new dwelling, as opposed to her previous smaller unit. In her description of life in Garikai since I left in 2014, she made a distinguishable difference between the two portions Garikai comprised – her present place of residence having improved from the initial – with more space inside the house and a small yard outside with a washing line, all surrounded by a fence and gate. Essentially, her move from *eGarikai* to *ezindlini* was an observable upgrade to her and those around her. Collectively, both sections comprised what locals named *Mafuyana*, a Ndebele name derived from Johanna "Mama MaFuyana" Fuyana, the wife of the late Joshua Nkomo. Residents there were predominantly Ndebele speakers that preferred using this name over the Shona term 'Garikai', mostly due to political-ethnic differences of the past[50]. Henceforth, this thesis will refer to the township as Mafuyana, and *eGarikai* and *ezindlini*, its sections. Multiple movements were a common trend among *Mafuyana* residents because of their fragmented shelters that bore the need for better fulfilment. Having known Maphisa since my childhood, the developing Garikai township had stories and areas unique to my knowledge, because of my physical disconnection from this part of Maphisa. Beauty's experience in raising her baby were more complex in 2014 because of the basics her household lacked *eGarikai* and this brought to question the influence infrastructural orderings in *Mafuyana* had on the making of childhood.

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[48] This term means "at the houses", signifying that this area was considered by its locals to have proper housing; "e" is the preposition for "at", "in", "to" and "of".

[49] The name "Garikai" was disliked by locals as it carried negative connotations of living. 'EGarikai' means "in Garikai", the section having smaller and inferior housing; "e" is the preposition for "in", "for", "to" and "of".

[50] After Independence in 1980, Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo's ideological differences were grounds for distrust between the two leaders of ZANU and ZAPU respectively. Mugabe unleashed the Fifth Brigade, comprising Zimbabwean soldiers drawn from 3500 ex-ZANLA troops to massacre at least 20 000 Ndebele civilians in Matabeleland in Operation Gukurahundi.
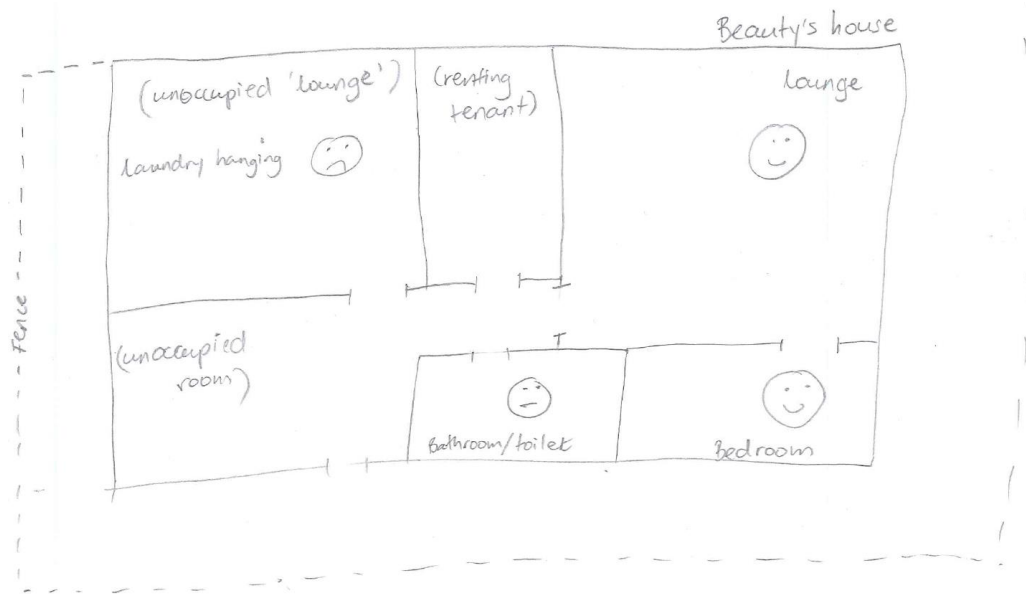
Sketch 2: Beauty's house, *ezindlini*

Apart from Beauty, another participant I grew to know well was Nomsa. She lived *eGarikai* with her husband and three children, Nathi being the youngest boy. Her affection for me created an intimate space of sharing some of her most intense experiences, and sometimes, I doing the same. Her home was a single room house of a two room unit. Having moved *eGarikai* with her husband in search for employment, her story represents the harsh endeavours of mothers engaged in mining to support their children. My relationship with her, Tahana and Precious gave insights into the intersections formed between motherhood, infancy and employment – theme discussed in Chapter 3.
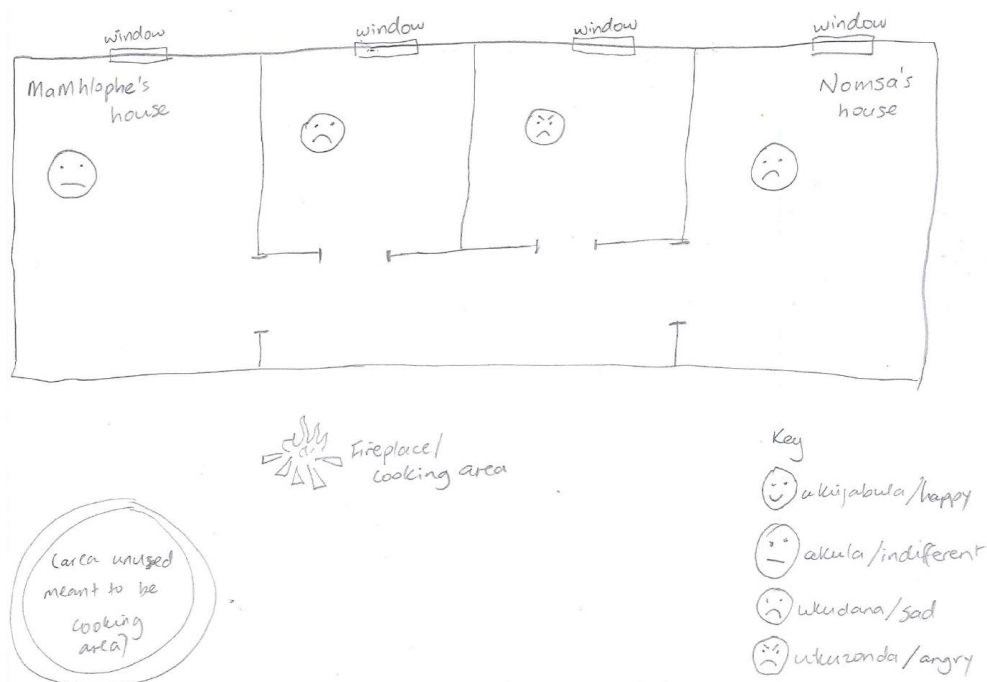
Sketch 3: Nomsa's house, *eGarikai*

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Tahana was a cheery mother of six, despite her history of sour relationships with the fathers of her children. She lived with Silingiwe, her eldest daughter, who also had a baby, Tahana's grandson. Tahana's youngest child was five month old Jabu and Silingiwe's son was eight month old Nda. The house in which they lived in central Garikai was meant to comprise a lounge, two bedrooms, a toilet, a bathroom and a kitchen. They, however, made use of the larger bedroom for sleeping and the kitchen for lounging, especially on hot days. Their welcoming spirit led me to spending meal times at their home, speaking almost endlessly about work and the shifts in personal relationships that define a house or a home.
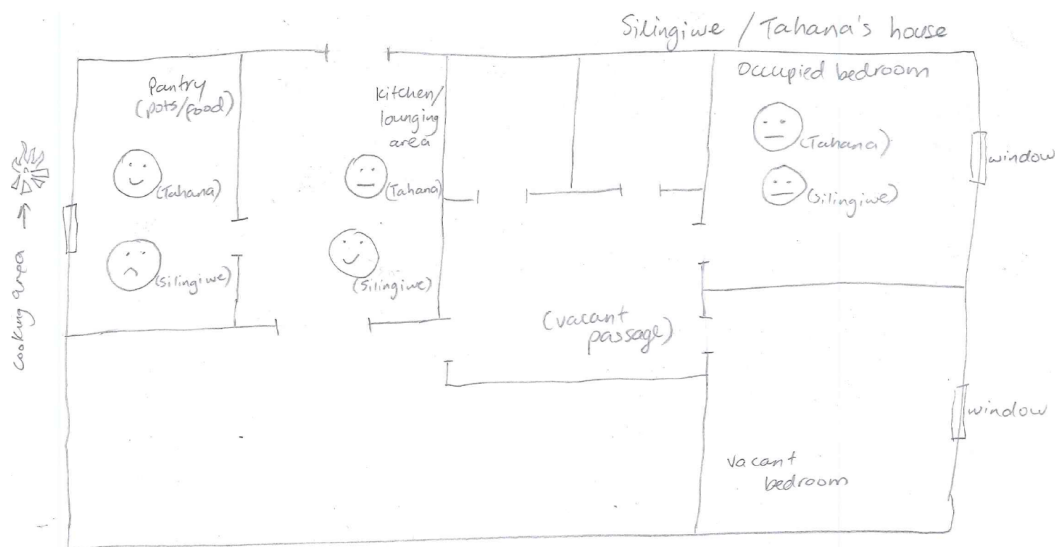
Sketch 4: Tahana and Silingiwe's house, *eGarikai*

Directly opposite Tahana's house lived Memory, her sweet-tempered neighbour. She was almost always home nursing her six month twin daughters, and kept watch of her two older sons running around in play. She lived in a single room of a two room unit with all her children. When we first met and during the course of fieldwork, her husband had recently been detained on apparent charges of rape of their twins. As a result, her breadwinner became her religious mother, Sihle, since Memory had the obligation to care for her children. Unlike all other participants who preferred spending time outside their houses, the shame of her incarcerated husband made her one-room house the safest haven away from a spiteful world that judged her from time to time. Twins were a rare occurrence in Mafuyana[51], so Memory's narrative gave insight into the unique constructions formed around twin babies.

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[51] Multiple births among African societies have traditionally caused apprehension. Although this perception has changed since the introduction of biomedicine, twins were considered problematic and unnatural. Some societies perceived twins as some kind of misfortune, as it was believed that their existence was a threat to the entire community if they were not removed. Midwives were permitted to kill twins upon their arrival, and buried then secretly on a river bank (Nyathi, 2005)
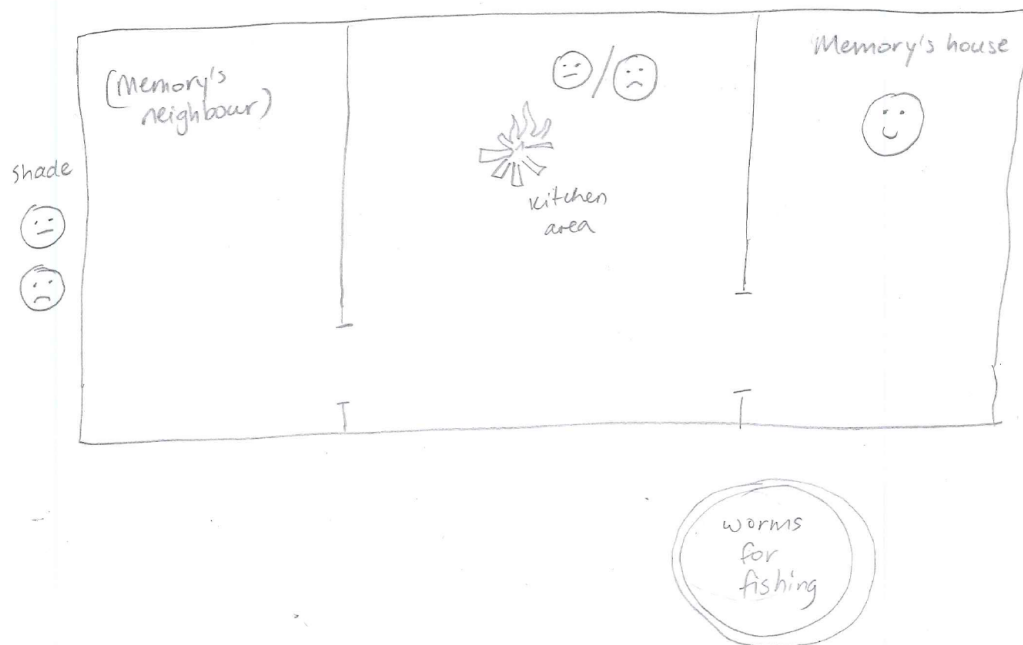
Sketch 5: Memory's house, *eGarikai*

Forming some relationships with participants was cumbersome. One such relationship was with Faith, a mother of five who lived with her children and husband. Her house was on the eastern side of Mafuyana, close to the Maphisa District Hospital boundary, which was a room within an incomplete structure meant to have a lounge, three bedrooms, a bathroom and kitchen. Our conversations were often uneasy, since she was edgy about sharing personal stories that she feared would get published. For half the time, she would evade our meetings she promised to have with me. However, moments spent with her and another resident, Gugu, provided insight into the residents' relationship in medical care regarding infants with the Maphisa District Hospital, their neighbouring institution.
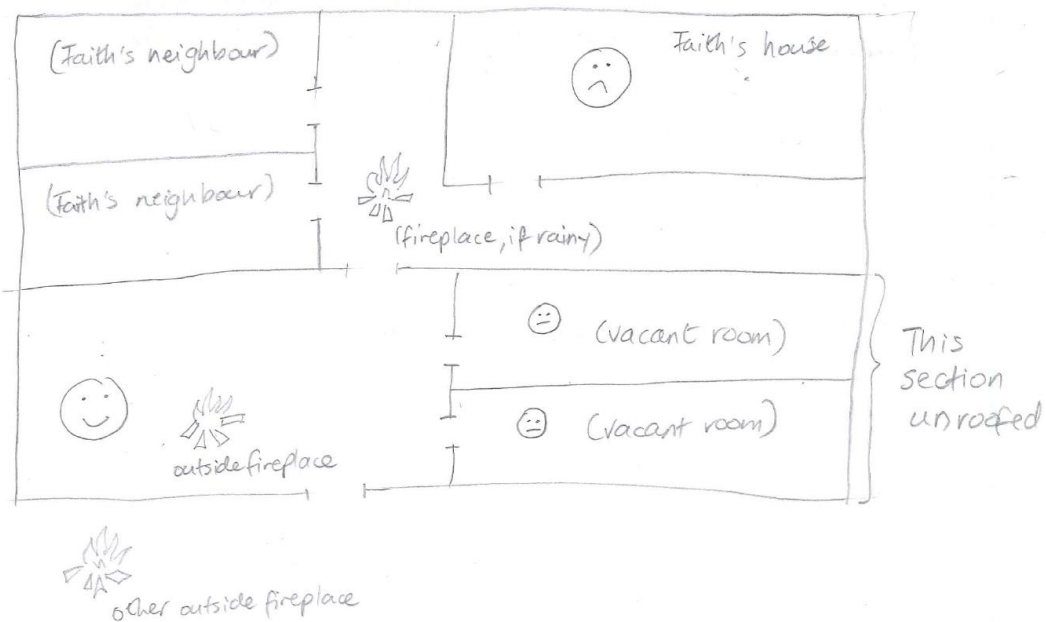
Sketch 6: Faith's house, *eGarikai*

Gugu was Nomsa's best friend and co-worker, as they both worked at the mines. Gugu mothered four children whose youngest was eight months old. Their infants formed part of their working lives since they both carried them to work every morning (while the older ones stayed at home to play), and sometimes at night when they needed to have their ore ground at the grinding mill. Gugu's husband was a construction worker in the city of Bulawayo who visited intermittently to see his family and pay rental costs. She and her children also lived *eGarikai* in a single room of a double room unit.
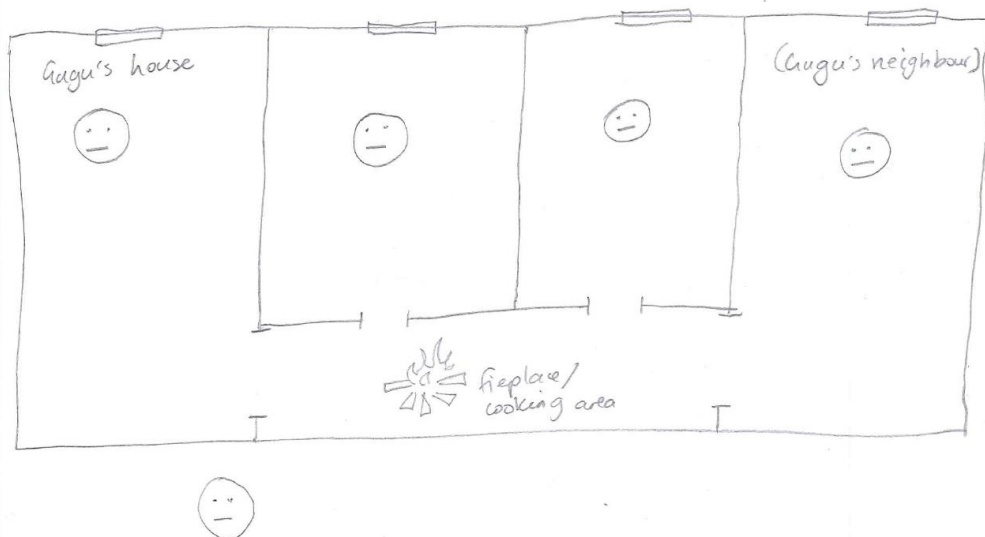
Sketch 7: Gugu's house, *eGarikai*

Thobeka was Nomsa's neighbour that lived in a single room of a double unit across the trail from

her with her husband and granddaughter. Thobeka was my eldest participant, whom unlike the others, was a grandmother caring for her two year old granddaughter with the help of her husband. *EGarikai* was too bustling for her, establishing her dislike for living there during her ageing years, as she wished to live conventionally in a rural homestead, where could rear livestock and have space to cultivate.
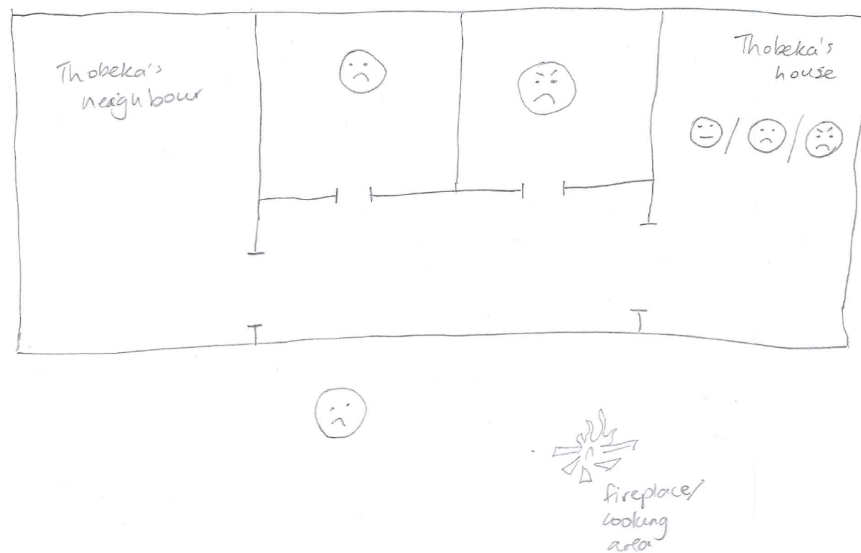
Sketch 8: Thobeka's house, *eGarikai*

On the western periphery of Garikai lived Precious, her three children and husband in a single room of a double room unit of an old building established before OGHK. During fieldwork, they moved into this dwelling located next to the police station, from their room in central *eGarikai*. Migration from house to house is commonplace in Mafuyana – a characteristic Precious and Beauty shared. Precious moved here from *eGarikai* because of the community's stigmatisation and poor housing in which she lived. Her new house was just outside Mafuyana on the western side of the police station.
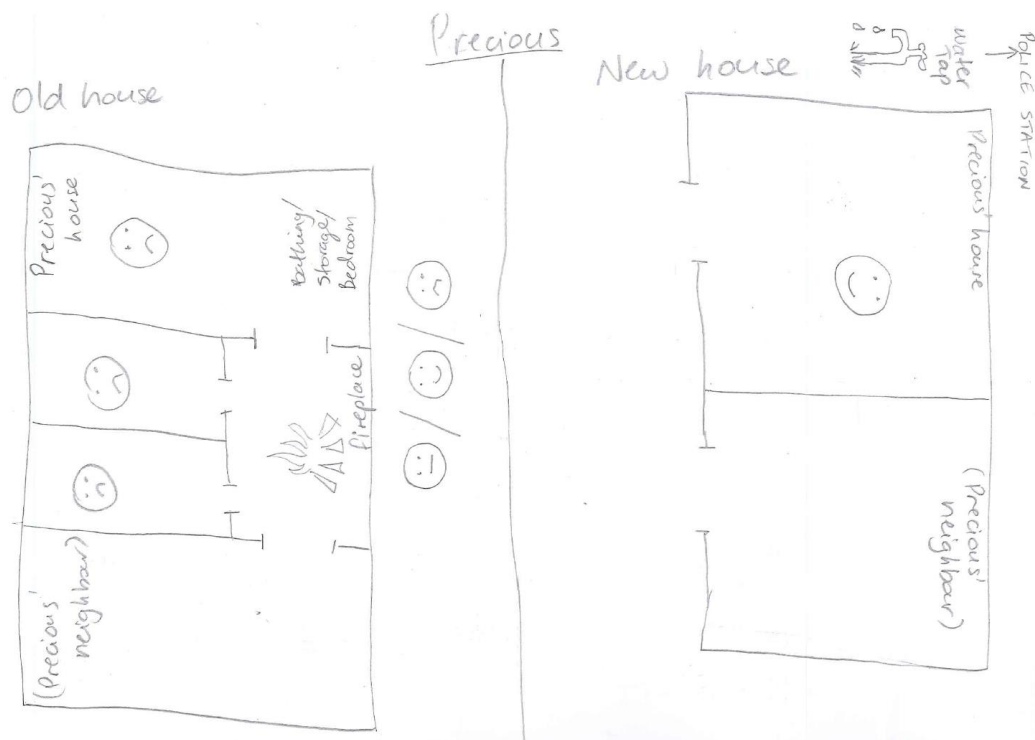
Sketch 9: Precious's houses, *eGarikai*

Sketch 10: Map of Mafuyana showing where participants lived relative to each other

After having been acquainted will all the participants, I became aware that their houses were sites evoking various feelings of those living in them. Caregivers had aspirations of an ideal space to raise their children and their house space comprised different areas most and least preferred by its tenants. For instance, all participants except Memory and Beauty preferred spending time outside their houses because their house interior was less desired. Memory was uncomfortable with the malicious rumours making the rounds about her husband's suspected crime, so she preferred closing herself indoors. Beauty's new house was better manicured, more airy and comfortable than her previous house, which made her prefer being indoors. These house sketches were drawn with each caregiver, who expressed various feelings in certain spaces around the house where emoticons were drawn. This encouraged more dialogue regarding their experience living around the township's infrastructure.

Maps have historically been used in graphic representation or scale models of spatial concepts. They have universally been used for communication to convey geographic information. Merriam (1996) provides that maps incorporate the portrait understanding of an idea and a selection of concepts from a changing geographic space. Cartography in Africa has been concerned with the implementation of colonial rule associated with imperialism. Although this historical mapping science occurred alongside 19th Century ethnology which represents analytical generalisations about human culture, mapping can be transformative when used in contemporary ethnographic studies to complement other fieldwork methods limited in nature, such as interviewing in Mafuyana. When conversation failed to reach the heart of knowledge sought, this visual technique became a less directive interviewing style, bridging the gap to unearth discussion on the spatial configurations of infancy.

Power and Reflexivity

Digging into my earliest childhood memories, I recall standing at the centre of our rural homestead in Mahetshe on a hot day with a lady whom I think was my aunt. I must have been around the age of three or four, my pre-schooling years. My family would visit Mahetshe time and again – on holidays or weekends. I never quite understood the reason for these visits in this scorching, dusty area but the elders appeared more serene about this place than I felt. I gazed up to my aunt as she spoke to me to say, *"...kulapha esidabuka khona*", which in literal terms means "the place where we break/crack/tear" as I first understood it to mean – probably because of the hot sun, that caused our skin to dry and crack. I later learnt this referring to, "our place of origin, which birthed our forefathers". Growing up in Bulawayo, I could hardly grasp this as my real home as our elders would tell us, notwithstanding the countless relatives I have met in the area with whom I share kinship – many of whom I forget because of my physical disconnection to the place. Being anthropologist had notable complexities: on one hand, my elder relatives there regarded me as an 'insider' with an appropriate familiarity with the place that I would correctly represent in my writing. However, I regarded my

kinship here more unfamiliar than they perceived: I could hardly make my way around the haphazard paths, I remembered a few faces and had no close friends. Approximately five kilometres north of Mahetshe was the more vibrant Maphisa growth point which has sluggishly grown over the past years two decades I have known it. Mafuyana was the newest development I came to know since 2014, a housing project that many locals frowned upon for myriad reasons. My kinship was more distant with the residents there, many of which hailed from other districts and were probably unrelated to me. Although my participants understood my 'roots' to be in Mahetshe, they considered me foreign to the district because I studied and lived in Cape Town. I was sometimes labelled 'white' because I spoke 'good' English and held a university degree. Essentially, these connections in Maphisa and a lack thereof positioned me as 'insider' because of my 'roots' and outsider because I lacked tangible kinship with the area and its people.

On positionality, reflexivity and citizen anthropology, Becker et al (2005) reflect that none of their fieldwork 'subjects' belonged to the same cultural area as theirs, and that none of them study their own cultures from a position of intimate affinity as native researchers are perceived to do, regardless of having a very familiar fieldsite near their place of residence as in Joy Owen's case, who conducted research at a settlement near her parental home in Muizenberg, Cape Town, where a large population of refugees and foreign nationals lived. As a South African native and Capetonian, she would study the space of the 'other', non-native refugee in her home space. Her citizenship earned her the access to formal employment and freedom from restrictions, enabling her to access this informal space more easily than if she were a stranger in the country. This seemed like a powerful position as she 'hunted' for participants, but this was later challenged by a male local who asserted his dominance through a derogatory abusive comment he made to her. On one hand, Owen's citizenship awarded her the power to conduct research in a foreign place close to her home, but became vulnerable when male confrontations, derived from the stereotype of gregarious Kinshasa (DRC) men who moved her from her position of power. Being considered a 'white' black researcher placed me at a powerful position too, which opened avenues and consent that Beauty never imagined was possible. Participants were mostly ready to listen and respond to questions, but this power was disadvantageous when respondents saw the need to provide responses that they expected me to validate. For instance, in my conversation with Tahana regarding breastfeeding and infant nutrition, she tentatively shared her baby's eating habits, and asked whether her feeding style was correct – something I could not in my capacity confirm.

Being the "Chronic Illness Researcher"

> *You see, ikhaya (a homestead) is more welcoming than inkomponi (compound/township). I'm sure you can feel the difference. It's more unsettled and chaotic here than there, more especially for someone as old as me.*
> -Thobeka's differentiation of eGarikai and the rural villages

Some other complexity I encountered eGarikai was shared with Thobeka, an ageing resident of Garikai. My Honours fieldwork in the surrounding rural villages felt more welcomed in the homes that I visited. People's hospitality and welcome there was easily earned from the moment I started interviews. This could partly have been because for each village ward I visited, I had a Home Based Care volunteering worker (HBC) from Sikhethimpilo as my escort emphasising that I was a researching student. This time, my point of entry was my relationship with Beauty who was now employed as an administrator at a municipal office. Initially, she was a HBC *eGarikai* during my Honours fieldwork, but decided to leave that position, given her employment – deterring her from being my escort. Furthermore, given the fieldwork experience in 2014, she and I believed that I could navigate the space alone and form purely unbiased relationships independent on a local escort. Walking alone attracted more attention among Mafuyana residents who were fascinated by my presence, while some were slightly edgy or uncomfortable with my 'curiosity' on childhood development, as gossiping residents spread word that my mission there was to conduct HIV/AIDS research on residents infected by this. Given the township's capacity of sex workers, this posed a high risk of STI transmission in the community; as such, the local district office would hold HIV/AIDS awareness campaigns there time and again. My presence there was conveniently assumed a part of this intervention strategy. Therefore, while I was considered a researching student, my interaction was also assumed to primarily involve individuals that were chronically ill, resulting in some residents' discomfort with my association, given the stigma around HIV/AIDS. Some interactions with residents warmed up eventually with frequent visitations. Some residents' willingness to be a part of my research stemmed from their perception that I was there to intervene in the difficult circumstances their children faced. I reiterated often to them that the primary reason for my stay in Maphisa was to understand the constructs of childhood – which would add to the social science discourse on the subject and could potentially, but not definitely, be used for future developmental programs.

Being "Field-Worthy"

Having been slightly avoided by some residents, I began to wonder how I could 'blend in' with the locals – how I could be 'field-worthy' to them and what would make an area 'field-worthy' for research. My 'field-worthiness' refers to my being perceived as less foreign and more inclusive to the community, despite my differences. Questions on bodily experience, duration in the field and methods of gathering data frequently came up. Hastrup and Hervit (1994) assert that one requires being present

in the field and that long distance communication is unsatisfactory. While physical presence in the field is paramount for research, mobile technology has later enabled researchers to reach informants with ease. Writing about the meanings of place and involvement in the field, Norman (2000) shares that she remains engaged in the lives of her 'informants' through phone calls, as part of ongoing fieldwork which comprised many short visits over several years. Phoning the field while away "keeps fieldwork alive" Norman (2000: 121), bridges the geographical distance and maintains emotional closeness. Most of my research participants had mobile phones with early Operating System versions; with the exception of Beauty who had an Android device allowing WhatsApp communication. The lack of electrical power made the usage of phones among the participants minimal, and keeping contact with them after the duration of fieldwork was difficult, with the exception of Beauty. This scenario posed the challenge of maintaining closeness after my departure.

Regarding physical presence, Hastrup and Hervik (1994) refer to Judith Okely's (1996; 1994) account of her use of vicarious and sensual knowledge in order to understand the past and present of the rural French elderly. This actual physical presence in their world was paramount to access their lived experience. The process of knowing others through the bodily instrument of the fieldworker involves deconstructing the body as a cultural, biographical construct through the interactive lived encounter with others' constructed ways of life and bodily experience (Okely, 2007:77). Okely (1996) speaks on her experience in the skills recognized through the labouring body and the importance of the ethnographer's body used to learn the habits of others. Many anthropologists learn through participation in skilled labour. Although the researcher does not become competent at the required skills, the recognition of the anthropologists' incompetence encourages participants realise the importance of their labour. The ethnographer's participation and them seen to be trying can, although not always, enhance the hosts' sense of value, opening avenues for communication. During the time I spent with Nomsa working on an open-cast mine, I joined them in shovelling their ore into piles which were later transported to the grinding mill. Although my inept shovelling expertise made me the source of much humour among the workers, my participation encouraged more conversation. This physical engagement and sensation absorbed by the body has been reclaimed by the humanities for intellectual inquiry (Howes, 2003). Tasting, smell and other senses are argued by Stroller (1989) as important for fieldwork as they create a cerebral interconnection with labour and vision. *Amakhomane*[52] and roasted maize were common meals I shared with participants, foods which when savoured after the duration of fieldwork ignited the memory of narratives shared and feelings exchanged around the houses and children I researched. My encounter with smells of smoke reminded me of the rural-urban ambiance of Mafuyana.

Also critical to fieldwork is duration (Okely, 1992). Longer periods of immersion through fieldwork which demand the researcher's intellectual, physical, emotional, political and intuitive inputs

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[52] The Ndebele term for 'cow pumpkin' (*Citrillus vulgaris*), an edible gourd (Gomez, 1988)

produces better understanding of the field than bounded or shorter periods (Okely, 1992:8). Time and experience was a factor I considered throughout my fieldwork. During the first week, my awareness of time as a parameter of research brought the uncertainty of how long enough I should stay in the area in order to understand my participants' life experiences. The theme of time and experience is stressed by Bourdieu (1977) in the notion of 'habitus', which explains that the dispositions and current practices shaped by past events and structures are reproduced in our ways of life. I spent eight weeks learning the space in Mafuyana, and although this duration may be argued too short a time to understand the lived experience of Mafuyana residence, it was sufficient in becoming familiar with their daily patterns that form their lives.

Ethical Considerations

With the politicised nature of OGHK, collecting data on the lived experiences of residents in this government-initiated township was complicated. OGHK has received backlash from several critics stating the project's failure to provide adequate and habitable houses which were furthermore allocated to people unaffected by OMRO. In a press release following investigation on the restoration of human rights, Amnesty International (2006) made such a critique which responsible authorities dismissed. The sharing of information potentially degrading to the national government or ZANU PF, its ruling political party, was potentially harmful to me and participants. Although Zimbabwe's Constitution guarantees freedom of expression, citizens and journalists are subject to arbitrary arrest and intimidation when staging a protest or expressing information potentially defaming the image of ZANU PF (Human Rights Watch, 2017). Investigative individuals have in the past been threatened by police authorities while documenting the lives of residents under the care of a structurally violent national government as portrayed in *Zimbabwe's Forgotten Children*, a documentary by Sithole and Neumann (2010) on the wretched social lives of three children living in Mashonaland province. In order to blur this predicament and avoid spurring unwarranted suspicion, I ensured to present this fieldwork as a learning project by a young woman grasping the life stories of childhood experiences in the care of other knowing women. This warm approach created a comfortable space for participants to share their stories without anxiety or fear.

In this research, the guidelines and principles of Anthropology Southern Africa's (2005) Conduct for Anthropologists informed the ethical considerations. Prior to commencing fieldwork in Mafuyana, the Maphisa Rural District Office provided written consent allowing the conduct of fieldwork. This consent was granted on the basis of elaborating the intentions of the research and its possible outcomes. During the first week of fieldwork, Beauty called a meeting at her house, with potentially consenting caregivers and mothers (primary carers) of children within their first 1000 days of age. Due to past

incidences of public violence or intimidation, social gatherings in Mafuyana were usually surveilled by police in order to maintain composure. One of the twenty mothers present at the meeting was a police officer ensuring that the meeting ran smoothly. Despite my concerns on finding unconsenting participants for fieldwork, everyone present volunteered as participant by signing their initials and contactable mobile phone numbers on the consent forms, after discussing the research purpose and its ethics. Seven in the meeting became the main participants, given their availability at home allowing me to make home visits and the close relationships we forged. At the start of each interview, I reminded participants about the intention of the research and reassured them of anonymity. I allowed them the option to choose a pseudonym for themselves[53] which I would use in when writing this thesis. I informed all participants on their freedom to withdraw from the research at any point they felt necessary.

Methodology

Interviews

The interviewing concept used during fieldwork was 'unstructured', adopted from Bernard (2006:212) who states that this method allows people to open up and express themselves in their own terms. He adds that this interviewing style is mainly used during long term fieldwork, where the researcher is able to interview people on many separate occasions. Given the varied participants, their backgrounds and duration comprising this research, this method was most suitable in allowing participants to respond comfortably and could explore other avenues of gathering data. On some occasions, interviewing presented limitations when respondents felt uncomfortable sharing personal narratives. One occasion was with Faith whom I paid my first visit *eGarikai*. Our first meeting, like all others with participants, was informal and served to determine the interactive style she preferred during the fieldwork. She expressed the anxiety of her experience on raising her children being publicised. I assured all participants on confidentiality from their chosen pseudonyms. Faith's apprehension made me consider other avenues she was comfortable for expression. Her discomfort was probably related to the locals' assumption of my position the "chronic illness researcher", which she feared could cause stigmatisation by the community from my visits. A series of interviews were the first I conducted for all participants at their homes which were easy going, but the curt responses to open-ended questions made me sense some anxiety with the sharing of narratives. Additionally, some terms got lost in translation:

> Me: *Manje, Faith, nxa umuntu ekhuluma ngebala elithi 'development' kumbe ukwakheka –*
> *angazi kumbe yilelo bala lesiNdebele – kutshoni kuwe njengomama okhulisa umntwana*

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[53] In the past when I chose pseudonyms for research participants, I happened to coincidentally pick a second name of one of my participants, which compromised their anonymity. Hence, I allowed them the option to choose a pseudonym divorced from their identity.

omncane?
So, Faith, when one speaks of the concept/ the term 'development' or progress – I'm not sure whether that's the correct Ndebele term – what does it mean to your motherhood when raising a baby?

F: *Kungani angizwisi ukuthi utshoni.*
I don't understand what you mean.

Me: *Uyabe ufuna kube lani ukuze kube le'ntuthuko'?*
What does 'development' comprise in your view?

F: *Utsho ukusincedisa nje empilweni? ... Kuyabe kulungile.*
You mean just receiving assistance in life? … That would be good.

This extract from my interview with Faith illustrates one of many translation barriers I experienced using the interviewing method. My aim was to understand what 'development' meant in Faith's context, but my uncertainty of what this term was in isiNdebele lead to a misunderstanding of what I communicated. Her resulting response was that receiving assistant in life would be good for anyone – which was divorced from the point of my intended question.

Baby Body Mapping and Focus Group Discussion

The limitations the interviewing schedule had in obtaining narratives made me consider using visual tools to encourage more expression by participants. Each time I visited them, they treated me as their special guest. When a guest arrived, they were offered the best mat or stool on which to sit. If I arrived at a home to find a man on a stool, he would offer it to me and sit on the floor, despite the tradition of seats belonging to men. Sometimes, if the area around was untidy, it would be swept prior to sitting. This made me wonder about my position in all my interactions during our interactions. Initially, I took advantage of my paternal connection to this rural area – I was black, and had a familial association with Maphisa which I assumed would earn my 'insider' status. Being a woman with participants that were women also brought the assumption that this created a 'sisterhood' bond enhancing trust and openness ideal for research. I later realised that such a connection was hardly established. This is a feeling shared by Youngwha Kee from Korea, when interviewing people of her own culture also living in the United States (US) (Merriam et al., 2001:407). Studying the reasons Koreans in the US were not participating in adult education, she perceived that she shared a mutual homogeneity creating a sense of community, enhancing the same openness I envisioned in the research process. In comparison, her respondents came from a lower economic status than her with lower levels of education. Sitting on that chair made me realise the distance created conversationally. Participants tended to perceive me as a 'teacher' possessing knowledge they needed to acquire about caring for their babies. Additionally, they felt the need to respond 'correctly', tailoring responses they feared would be

opposed by my position. As a motherless woman, I constantly reminded them that I was there to learn about their experience. I decided to use visual methods to gain more of the knowledge I sought. This was through a baby body drawing exercise I carried out in a focus group, and house-emotion mapping carried out in each household. Merging the mapping exercise in a focus group was useful for exploring people's knowledge and experience and when examining their thoughts. Kitzinger (1995) adds that this focus groups have processes that help participants to clarify their views that would be limited in individual interviews. Participatory visual methods are attractive approaches when promoting innovative research which engages informants in collaborative ways. For the researcher, drawing provokes a different kind of understanding of the "field", as well as new forms of social interaction more communicative for researchers and participants (Ramos, 2016). Chapter 4 explores the baby body mapping technique that describes the topography surrounding the infant, primarily showing a conflict the community had on the bodies of babies.

Sensory Spatial Mapping

Establishing precisely where each participant lived in Mafuyana sometimes proved futile for the first four weeks. This is because the irregular road sequence was difficult to conceptualise linearly, as other roads I was accustomed to. During her time in The Park, Ross (2010:57) details a similar experience with her local acquaintance, Ponkies. Mapping seemed relatively simple at one end of the Park, but as they drew closer to Ponkies' house, things looked complicated, following episodes of fire and the influx of people that changed Ross' visual memory of the place she once visited: some homes had become visibly prosperous, while others shrunk. With this picture, she lost track of her location in relation to her drawn map. Ross (2010:58) states that the sense of disorientation with a place is beyond the visual relation with the landscape and is an embodied experience (Ross, 2010:58). Her incident speaks of changes in emotional and intersubjective experience over time. She suggests that ethnographers pay attention to the roles and effects of emotion and recognition in finding one's way around a place. I resorted to identifying landmarks that distinguished the points at which I was meant to turn or how further along I needed to walk before reaching my destination. For instance, reaching Faith's house the first time was easy, having Thobeka escort me. I became lost by taking the wrong path the second time I was alone, because of a row of similar houses situated before reaching her house. I later discovered that Faith's house was the one behind the only painted house along one linear row. Nomsa's house came after the one that frequently played loud music; Gugu's house was the third from the northern end of Garikai, and the front of Tholakele's house had the least sandy ground under my shoes because of how frequently she swept and cleaned her yard. Essentially, finding my way around Garikai was reliant on visual and other sensory depictions of the space.

The fieldwork experience in Mafuyana played a role in determining the methodologies used.

Although I have paternal ties to this district, my citizenship status in the area felt compromised because of my physical disconnection to the place, which limited the information shared by caregivers. As a result, the visual techniques I adopted facilitated better dialogue in the life of Mafuyana. The following chapters provide a rich description on the life in the township, showing the relationship this had with early childhood. The complex landscape that Mafuyana presents warranted a qualitative study in order to unearth the humanistic depth, attitudes, relationships, feelings and behaviours associated with urban shifts – aspects which research hardly covers in discussions regarding ordered housing in Zimbabwe.

Objectives and Research Questions

As these preceding chapters have detailed, this thesis is concerned with urban development in a rural growth point, Maphisa, whose ordering influences the constructs of early childhood. To illustrate this, the thesis pays attention to the following questions:

1. *How to the locals' ways of life interact with the developmental framework of their township?*

2. *How does the physical and social geography of the township determine infant topographies?*

3. *What can be gleaned from spatial policies' impact on early childhood?*

4. *How can early childhood studies inform researchers on the efficacy of dwelling?*

Chapter 3: Colours within the Grey Walls

Introduction

Mafuyana's landscape was painted with grey-walled structures, a visible indication of the government's aim of construction. Watching my steps, I kept my head low during my walks along the roads and only looked up to greet people that bypassed me. This was not just because of the scorching sun when it was midday, despite the hat on my head, but because the paths were littered, uneven and winding, with deep trenches along the way showing signs of unfulfilled dreams of house foundations meant to be filled. These trenches flooded and their edges became slippery whenever the heavens burst with rain. In that case, one had to be extra cautious not to slip and fall. Despite this landscape, children were always out playing, either hide-and-seek between the fragmentary walls or building sand and mud castles – an irony of the snail-paced construction of their township. Just as the gaps of trenches in the ground, so were the 'gaps' of their houses in which they lived. When first moving into a house, it was commonplace moving into one without any windows and doors installed, or roofing completed – whoever moved in bore the brunt of handling these fittings. It had been about a decade since the beginning to provide decent shelter to needy citizens by the governing authorities.

Following the operation clean-up exercise leaving hundreds of thousands homeless countrywide, the government established the ambitious OGHK initiative nationwide – 'Garikai' township being a part. Loosely translated, "*Garikai*"/"*Hlalani Kuhle*" means 'live well' – the inspired ideal of shelter provision that governing authorities expressed at the time of its inception. In Maphisa, several structures in the growth point which were deemed 'informal' were removed by governing authorities. However, the mission to rebuild shelter was faced with unsurmountable challenges by housing cooperatives. This state-initiated and funded programme aimed at transforming Zimbabwean cities, towns and growth points by reducing the housing backlog, but this initiative came at a stage when the country was in the midst of an unprecedented economic predicament with a dire lack of resources to fund national development projects; local mining, agricultural and manufacturing industries which were dwindling. As the national government became internationally isolated, this housing vision became lifelessly "still born".

During my visits to Mafuyana, this grey hued terrain characterised an ordered arrangement: small rectangular shaped units placed symmetrically along straight lines. In their uniformity, however, lived families whose intricate lives were more multifaceted than their shelters appeared as this chapter principally illustrates in three parts. The first part provides a description on the everyday of Mafuyana located in this greyness; the second part discusses the framework that places the ordered housing plan of Mafuyana, and the third part illustrates how this configuration mismatches the residents' aspirations of 'home'. This chapter is based on my participant observation in Mafuyana, interviews and home visits

made to residents in the area, before the baby body mapping exercise (presented in the subsequent chapter). This chapter's conclusion emphasises that residents' lives struggle to fit neatly into the housing framework of OGHK. Despite these obsevations, there was still more on infancy I sought to know beyond the physical and economic aspect of their lives – a theme I explore in Chapter 4.

Living around the Everyday

The morning came to consciousness when women whipped their reed brooms from side to side awakening the dust. It was almost seven o'clock when people would shuffle out of their rooms to take a breath of fresh air to awaken themselves. Some men preferred a quick smoke from their cigarette stubs whose smog blended with the morning fires starting to kindle on the small swept verandas. This marked the beginning of breakfast comprising bread with tea, the usual meal for most. Following this were household chores such as laundering, tidying up the house and dumping or burning refuse in shallow pits or along the foundation trenches where houses did not stand. Some caregivers such as Faith, Thobeka, Memory and Tholakele all stayed at home for childcare while their husbands went to off to work – except during my visit, when Memory's husband was held at the police station for suspected sexual violence. Other labourers such as Nomsa, Gugu, Tahana and Precious would leave home for work before having a meal, then later have a tea break around ten o'clock before resuming work.

I arrived at Nomsa's house on this daybreak and I found her tossing her waistcoat on for work. She secured her sixteen month old son, Nathi onto her back, after having packed a plastic bag with bread and tea in preparation to depart for the mines where I would accompany her. Nomsa came from Matankeni, a village located east of Maphisa; and her husband, Njabu, from Tjehondo in the west. She once worked as a cotton-picker between 1996 and 1999 during ARDA's cotton boom and later became a miner after her marriage to Njabu in the 2000s. The first order of her day was going to work, after which she would return *emini* (in the afternoon, soon after midday) to perform her household chores. Nomsa lived in her single room shared with her husband and two children, Nathi and nineteen year old Phila. The room was dim, with no curtains nor light, but a small window covered with weathered cardboard speckled with holes that allowed sharp rays of light to pierce through the dimness. Even after the veranda fire had been long extinguished the previous night, the smoky smell lingered on fabrics, furniture and all other objects around, hanging heavily onto the air ready to greet whomever entered the doorway. Being their entire house, it measured approximately ten square meters, crammed with a double bed, a chipped wooden wardrobe, and a kitchen unit.

Nomsa's room formed part of a larger housing block designed to comprise a toilet and kitchen at the centre, and a bedroom on either side – these were the structures forming *eGarikai* that were devoid of both electrical power and running water. With the high demand for housing, renting out an entire

block was too costly that most families resorted to turning one room costing US$40 per month into a home. Her neighbour, Mhlophe, lived with her husband and son in the second room opposite hers, and both families shared a cooking space on the veranda between them. The housing interiors varied according to their tenants' means to renovate them. Nomsa could only afford minimal makeshift work, such as a second hand door on her meagre income which was spread over costs such as childcare, rentals and groceries; this was despite her working husband, Njabu's income which he used recreationally and never for household needs. The floor was cemented concrete, uneven, unrefined and dusty. Waiting as she hurried, I stood over its imperfections which felt related to the vigorous sweeping I had just witnessed outside that could make a feeble floor crumble further. Once she was ready, we left her house for the mine.

We walked briskly north eastwards through the maze of thorny acacia and mopane bush for approximately thirty minutes for what seemed to be three kilometres. On most occasions, Nomsa would walk to work with Gugu who also carried her eight month old daughter with her. Nomsa navigated the landscape well, despite the absence of trails. We had been acquainted for a week, but only then during our walk did she converse more on her motherhood, marriage, housing experience and childcare that gave me an indication of the complexity infancy had in Mafuyana than I initially perceived[54]. On our way, we passed several abandoned deep vertical shaft gold mines before we arrived at the shallow open cast mine pits where she worked with two other women and three men as artisanal miners at their *s'tofu*[55], extracting ore with picks and shovels. She sat Nathi down in the shade before starting to toil, digging the rocky earth on one side and piling it on the other. Nathi laid under a tree in the shade a few meters from the pit. When he became irritable from the noise or dust, Nomsa breastfed him. During the night, the men in the group used dynamite to blast rock up to 20 metres beneath the earth. Then at daytime, one of them was lowered to the bottom in a large bucket tied onto a pulley to retrieve the fragmented ore which formed a rocky hill on which the women would dig at the surface. The process was a repetitive cycle: once the ore was crumbled with picks, the women tossed the rocky soil with shovels onto a smoother pile as more chunks of rock emerged from the clunking echoes of digging in the underground passage. The smoother pile was still to be transported two kilometres to the crushing mill near Mafuyana, where it would be mixed with water and mercury to segregate the gold from the ore. A local man owned a truck who charged mining groups US$50 to deliver each load to the mill, and another US$10 for loading this mass onto the truck. Thereafter, the owners running the mill charged almost one third of the earnings of gold sold to the Reserve Bank. The rest of the earnings were shared equally by group members of the *s'tofu*. During unfortunate occasions, groups earned nothing from the little gold extracted, as they needed to settle these logistic costs. On better days, group members would each earn between US$50 and US$100, which varied according to mineral deposits excavated. Mining

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[54] A complexity elaborated in Chapter 4, provided by the baby body map.
[55] A term used my locals referring to the portion of land they excavated from

was a cumbersome and hazardous process dominated by males. Nonetheless, the lack of employment and need for self-empowerment were reasons causing women in the area to increasingly become part of this activity:

> *When we first arrived here, my husband was the breadwinner of the home and all I did was care for the children. A few months later, he stopped supporting us. He works at his own s'tofu to mine and earns more than I do, but I never know where that money goes.We don't get along so he sleeps on the floor, and I on the bed with my son because he comes home early in the morning after nights of drinking. I found out after the arrival of our last born child that he actually has eight other children outside our marriage – perhaps that's where he uses some of his earnings apart from drinking, which means I need to work in order to keep the house afloat.*

-Nomsa, caregiver.

> *I used to mine a year ago but I stopped. Mining is like 'lotto', you're either lucky to score points from your work or nothing at all. My husband was struggling to earn enough so I felt the need to help him there. I stopped because the conditions were dangerous and very difficult. That's why I stay at home.*

-Tholakele, caregiver.

> *Since my husband is away in Bulawayo for work, I need to supplement living costs on occasions that he doesn't visit or send money, especially now that we have a new baby in the family. Mining can be dangerous because of the shafts and need to keep watching that my baby doesn't crawl anywhere dangerous or too close to the dust and pits. I can't always have her on my back when I dig so I need to place her down.*

-Gugu, caregiver.

These were some of the reasons that made mining necessary to the lives of caregivers from disadvantaged economic and social backgrounds. Women in other parts of Zimbabwe have joined the male-dominated mining sector. Irin News (2013) gives a report on women engaged in mining in Mashonaland Central province where the lack of employment and high cost of living led to women forming mining syndicates in districts such as Bindura, Shamva and Madziwa. Where caregivers were 'single' mothers because of support lacking from a partner or where household costs required more subsidising, these factors encouraged women to engage in mining. Having no one to care for their infants at home for Nomsa and Gugu meant that they needed to take their children to work despite the physical risk it posed.

Fig 4. Nomsa's house with a grey door, and an empty 'storage' room adjacent to it

Fig 5. Nomsa at work with Nathi at their s'tofu

Fig 6. Nomsa breastfeeding Nathi

With other household responsibilities on their shoulders, the mining women in Mafuyana knocked-off *emini*, while the men worked throughout the day. We returned to Mafuyana around 1300hrs when Nomsa needed to cook for her family, do the laundry and tidy up her house. For every visit I made to each participants' house, there was a strain between the structure of their housing and the functions that each house comprised. This configuration regarded the physical and economic characteristics shaping this household which was small-sized, shabby and lacked basic household amenities. The lack of space made it challenging to live as family unit, as sleeping arrangements were congested and the room was laden with myriad functions: lounging, bathing, sleeping and storage. The gaps between the walls and roofing was an invitation for rodents entering the house, a common threat for stored food and small children especially at night. On the first day I paid Memory a visit, she had become accustomed to the common pests in the area, but expressed concern on her house being open to them:

> *Please don't be scared, they (rodents) won't bite. It's because we're sitting outside, and when they notice the room is quite, they storm in. I'm quite used to them but they disturb my twin girls at night when hunting around for food.*

-Memory, caregiver

With the fragmented nature of housing, residents made makeshift patching on their structures once occupying it, however, when such work proved ineffective, the structure was prone to pest invasion as illustrated above. There were no door nor window panes when Tholakele and her family first rented their house, which required them to use temporary material until they could afford fitting these items:

> *I feel better having someone visit me after we managed to get a door and windows. When we first moved in without a door we used an old sack to cover the doorway that only had a door frame. If you wanted to lock your house, you'd just tie a small chain and padlock through a hole in the sack and around the door frame, and placed bricks at the bottom so that pets don't come in. We also used cardboard for the windows until we afforded proper things.*

-Tholakele, caregiver

Chores requiring clean water made it more complicated *eGarikai* because of its scarcity. Houseowners *ezindlini* such as Beauty were better-off and afforded installing water reticulation into their homes. When I last visited in 2014, the only water easily accessible flowed down the canal from Antelope Dam to ARDA, which was scooped by residents into jerry cans and buckets for cooking, drinking, laundering and bathing. Larger volumes were sourced by those renovating or starting to construct new homes *ezindlini*. The dam was administered by the Zimbabwe National Water Authority

(ZINWA)[56] whose water was purchased by ARDA for irrigation purposes. With the excessive usage of this water in Mafuyana for construction and household use, ARDA bore heavy costs for water being usurped in the township along its way to ARDA. As a result, ZINWA closed off the canal's water valve during daylight in order to eliminate water usage paid for by ARDA:

> *The water people source from the canal is done illegally. ARDA has arrangements with ZINWA to provide irrigation water. So they have to close the canal, giving people a challenge. It's a challenge if you look at the water and sanitation aspect. So we had to construct a communal public toilet serving about 200 housed residents. We remain responsible for the upkeep of the toilet which is a cumbersome job – it gets dirty soon after it's been cleaned. Because there isn't a secure water source, the community sources its water from the toilet's tap for drinking, washing and even building their own houses. The demand for water was too high with people filling tanks and water trucks especially at night, causing us to incur high water bills. As a result, the tap has restricted hours – open in the morning and closed in the evening.*

-Nkiwane, Rural District Office staff

Concurrently, the district office had constructed and managed on the eastern end of the township, the first public ablution block with four toilets and a cleansing tap that residents used. With such scarcity for water, residents excessively used water from this tap for household use and construction – unrestrained use that overwhelmed the district office's water bills. Thereupon, the office restricted this water supply for day time use because most of the water was being drawn at night. Essentially, residents sourced water from the ablution block (depending on whether it had been cleaned by district staff) during the day and the canal at night:

> *The only people fortunate to have cleaner water are those living ezindlini because they can afford having the service installed for themselves. We (eGarikai) use canal water for washing – which was for drinking and cooking initially – but after the toilet was built, we can get some water there when the district office opens it*

-Tholakele, caregiver

In the late afternoon, Phila arrived alongside his co-workers from the mines. He had dropped out of high school because of a lack of finance and joined his parents in mining. As they drew closer home, a fight started between him and another man who appeared drunk, demanding that Phila return his money. The squabble worsened between both men as they hurled bricks and bottles at each other. As a small crowd of spectators drew nearer to watch the tension unfold, neighbours tried to break the fight which eventually settled, leaving shrapnel and rocks strewn across the dust. With the absence of refuse collection in the township, the edges of the minimally graded road and jagged sidewalks were scattered with garbage and the detritus of animals between the scrubby tufts of withered grass. Notwithstanding, this area is where children obliviously played around throughout the day until evening.

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[56] A Zimbabwe government owned entity tasked with managing the country's water resources.

The air became colder when the last sun rays of the day became dimmer, making all familiar things a shade of grey. The paths became more occupied with workers returning from work to their homes and caregivers huddled their children around the veranda fires that provided warmth while cooking. The greys faded into blackness which signified the time to sleep. Sleeping arrangements varied according to family size and age: usually, children younger than ten years of age shared a bed with their parents, while older children slept on the floor or in a separate empty room. Nomsa, Njabu and Nathi shared the main room for sleeping, while Phila crammed into the open 'storage' room adjacent to it. For more sociable characters, late evenings were time to fill up taverns in Maphisa until pockets were empty from festive drinking and socialising. These daily patterns in Mafuyana were situated in this modernist housing plan in Maphisa growth point, whose ordering framework contradicted the social demands of its residents.

The Ordering of Home: "Let's Build Houses"

The everyday life in Mafuyana occurred within the modernist infrastructural framework of OMRO and OGHK, which have predominantly been presented as urban planning crises associated with urban areas. Little is spoken of OMRO in rural areas such as Maphisa that embodied 'cleaning up' of 'informal' infrastructure, and later became zones of resettling victims of OMRO from surrounding districts. During an interview with a former staff member of the Maphisa's district office in 2014, I learnt of OMRO's association with rural Matabeleland:

> *'Hlalani Kuhle' is a new establishment which is meant to benefit victims of Murambatsvina that come from this district and surrounding districts. Murambatsvina was also done here: do you remember that hut which stood next to those clothing shops? It belonged to an old man who used it for a small enterprise but Government removed it saying it was 'informal'. But we've known that hut for decades and was considered a formal structure to the community, but Government still removed it and said he must build a new structure. What is problematic is that the beneficiaries themselves did not benefit from OGHK because the members of the army involved with the construction primarily benefitted, and other civil servants not included on our list of people we identified in the rural homesteads and around Maphisa.*

-Randy, former staff member of Rural District Office, personal interview, 2014

Apart from serving the dispossessed people from OMRO, the OGHK housing project in Mafuyana was extended to serve those whose rural homesteads were debilitated from age (Nkiwane, 2016). The housing project aimed to provide low cost housing and create an enabling space for small and medium scale businesses to thrive. The central government gave instruction to provincial and district authorities to ensure the program benefitted OMRO victims and those not having ownership to a house. These local governments identified such beneficiaries who were listed as candidates for formal urban housing. As rural councils had no definitive say on these recipients – this resided with the Inter-

Ministerial Committees (IMCs), all of which are headed by senior army officials[57] receiving recommendations on beneficiaries. When I spoke to a former District Office staff member (Randy, 2014), he stated that Matobo District's local government identified homeless individuals in the district affected by OMRO and those whose rural homesteads were debilitated needing new houses, whom would benefit from new housing and stands form the housing project. With the IMC having the final say on the housing scheme's progress, they also oversaw the building mechanics, sourcing materials and labour, the speed with which targets are met, ensuring houses are served with water and sewerage systems and the decisions regarding the allocation of housing. By October 2005 the IMC decided to hand over the house project scheme to district offices that had no resources for completion when these targets failed. The SPT (2006) and Mufema (2007) state that this authority resulted in gross allocation irregularities after insufficient funding failed to complete housing construction. Mpofu (2011) adds that people flooded to councils for house registrations, including individuals that already owned houses, many of whom had affiliations with governing authorities that favoured them. The result was that the dispossessed poor and homeless were left out in the house distribution process, while the richer acquired housing:

> *Most of these houses people rent from belong to civil servants, such as teachers and soldiers. I don't know anyone around that owns a house eGarikai. We are the poorer and homeless ones, yet we still don't own houses.*
> -Thobeka, caregiver, personal interview, 2016

In effect, the objective to rehouse the homeless from the OMRO campaign was unmet and the OGHK discrepancies resulted in the poor renting from housing that was initially planned for them.

The housing project was funded by the Ministry of Local Government, Public Works and Urban Development and this body determined housing design for potential residents. The main discourse by the national government was envisaged on providing a targeted number of dwellings, regardless of the life patterns associated with potential families or residents housed, whose narratives reflected discomfort in such infrastructure. I interviewed a member of staff at the district office to learn more on the District Office's role in planning the township:

> *The issue of Hlanani Kuhle, formally known as Garikai came about as a result of government's sporadic planning before 2007. There was no proper planning when government went on a countrywide 'spree', taking land from the urban areas to use it to help the underprivileged, especially women, the informal traders, even if the area was not serviced (in terms of roads, water and sewerage) that is not there even up to now. But, even so, government just said, "let's build houses". So government sourced building material – in some situations sourcing it from local holdings. During that period I was working in the Mzingwane District[58] Office. We had a*

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[57] In post-colonial Africa, the military was instrumental in attaining freedom. In Zimbabwe, however, the political trends represent a scenario of the army perpetuating violence against its own citizens (such as the OMRO events), with decisions made in state institutions determined by military powers.

[58] Located east of Bulawayo and north-east of Matobo District

brick moulding project, and almost 20 000 bricks were taken at no cost – these bricks were taken to Insiza District[59] to build houses there, some at Esigodini[60]. Immediately that project collapsed and workers were laid off. The same situation prevailed this side (Maphisa), where land was used: the army and community were recruited to construct those homes. There was no water; it had to be sourced elsewhere for this construction. Ministry of Rural Development was in charge, in collaboration with Public Works, responsible for the construction. Rural Housing was responsible for planning the project and providing the material for Public Works.

-Nkiwane, District Office staff, personal interview (2016).

The excerpt from this interview shows a muddled plan executed to provide housing to the homeless which contributed to the erection of fragmented housing. The SPT (2006) reports on the implementation of OGHK, stating that this large housing scheme was hastily made to obscure the cruelty of demolitions displaced over half a million during the core of winter. Minister Ignatious Chombo[61] gave a bold promise of 250 000 houses being constructed each year until 2008. This unbudgeted undertaking of Z$3 trillion[62] for the scheme yielded only 10% of this amount, and with hyperinflation, this reduced to less than 5% in a few months after the demolitions. With this financial deficit, shabby dwelling were produced that residents were obliged to patch up. In Matabeleland North, Mpofu (2011) writes that the OGHK construction sites in Bulawayo where houses were erected had solid bedrock beneath it, making it too costly and time consuming for planners to install water and sewerage piping. With such financial constraints, this resulted in poorly constructed housing in the OGHK project. The fragmented nature of housing *eGarikai* was the result of funding deficit. From a distance, the housing landscape in Mafuyana appeared potentially growing, but a much closer glimpse showed the contrary, that this growth was obsolete – apart from misallocated housing, walls were either cracking apart or half-done and neglected with makeshift material covering the gaps or filling the cracks, and there was no sanitation, water and reticulation groundwork.

It also appeared that the primary target of the IMC was to construct a certain number of houses, whose lack of amenities, sanitation and water reticulation systems were later considered when houses had been misallocated:

There was one common design supposed to be two or three room structures for the underprivileged. In terms of development, Garikai's project here is developmentally progressive overall, because the obligation to provide shelter was achieved, though in an unplanned manner. What is critical is that people have roof over their heads. Houses are mainly for the workers around there coming from various rural villages. What is left for us, rural authorities is to formalise that structure so that it's completely habitable, by providing water systems, electricity and roads.
-Nkiwane, Rural District Office staff member, personal interview (2016).

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[59] Located east of Mzingwane District
[60] Village in Mzingwane District
[61] Minister of Local Government, Public Works and Urban Development, from 2000 to 2015
[62] This amounted to US$300 million. The first Zimbabwean Dollar exchange rate to the US dollar in March 2005 was 10 000:1

From this interview excerpt with Nkiwane, one draws that much emphasis of development as envisioned by the IMC and local government was centred on the quantity of shelter provided – delivering a certain number of houses uniform in design and size, then later, sanitation and water reticulation systems were considered after the housing project was handed over to rural district offices. This focus disregarded the social fabric made from the residents' family needs and daily patterns. Their large families and activities were ensconced in diminutive space most of which they lacked ownership.

Locals' aspirations for family development were divorced from local governments' mission as locals conceptualised home as housing that they owned where they could perform daily activities and nurture children comfortably.

Fig 7. Aerial view of Mafuyana Township: *A – eGarikai; B – ezindlini; C – Police Station; D – ZINWA water canal to irrigation scheme from Antelope Dam; E – Maphisa District Hospital; F – mining area*

Fig 8. *Mafuyana's housing configuration, eGarikai*

With this framework, authorities expected residents to fashion their daily patterns around this township's configuration. Patterns here were different form rural life ways: kinship networks, permanence and other social attributes that residents transitioned into.

'*Okwenza Ikhaya*': Home Aspirations

The discussions I had with caregivers regarding housing made reference to *okwenza ikhaya*, meaning, "what constitutes a home". Rakoff's (1977) theory on houses contributes that houses are 'cultural' objects, which are understood according to people's ways of life and ethos. As part of an ordered human world, houses are used to demarcate spaces and within these are feelings, social processes and ways of thinking that are expressed. The narratives of the residents proved that houses are not merely mechanical constructions, but enclose this range of components that influence the meanings people associate with houses. The families I became acquainted with in Mafuyana had varied household and community relationships in the midst of the orderliness of housing. Residents shared their aspirations of home which included their need for house ownership, kinship and permanence. The majority of residents were tenants that did not own a home and occasionally migrated to different houses in search for a better dwelling. Having children was the basis of homemaking, and a child's wellbeing in a house determined the suitability of a home.

The social relations formed between residents around their physical and social environment

determined residents' satisfaction with their dwelling as I reflect on my talk with Precious:

This township is worse than my former rural homestead. I don't feel at home eGarikai because my house is in shambles: with rats and poor structure. I live with my husband and three children in our room which we rent. Financially, it's a strain supporting my children, particularly the youngest who is 19 months old. She comes to work with me when selling vegetables in Maphisa and when she's sick, having her treated is difficult when paying the hospital. My marriage became tumultuous when I found out I'm HIV positive. When I told him (husband) to also get tested, he scolded me and stopped contributing towards the household, which put a bigger strain on me. People around here know that I'm ill because they see me at the hospital for my pills, and because of that, people shame me for it. That doesn't make this place comfortable.

-Precious, caregiver

'Living well' for Precious meant having a satisfying social relationship in her dwelling and the community, both of which she lacked. During the interview, she expressed that she felt uncomfortable sitting outside with me[63] because she associated the area outside her house with hostility. Stigma towards her marred her kinship ties between her and the community, which compromised her house as a 'home'.

In a different scenario, Thobeka associated home ownership as a factor for a suitable home:

I'm getting old and for someone my age I need my own home, or my own house. This is inkomponi (a coumpoud), and it's loud, rowdy and undesirable to raise my granddaughter. It's crowded, hard to breathe and dirty. Under ideal circumstances, I need ikhaya (a rural home) where I have my own cattle, goats and chicken, not this tiny living space. My granddaughter will grow up not knowing things of home, like chickens and goats.

-Thobeka, caregiver, personal interview, 2016

In the history of urban segregation, compounds were spaced around for single labouring men, whose families lived in rural areas, and married people who might have appropriate rights to settle in urban areas. These building finishes were minimal, with no false ceilings for heat insulation under corrugated iron roofing. Compounds were characterised by mechanical planning, alienation, crowdedness and the rapid spread of disease (Home, 2000). Thobeka's reference to Mafuyana as a compound indicated that she perceived this township undesirable with the residents' disconnection from their better-off homesteads, the risk of disease and its alienation from the rest of Maphisa. Rural homesteads in Southern Africa were fashioned as 'safety nets' in the advent of migrant labour and were shaped by the earnings of industrial labour. Livestock formed most of this investment and was exchanged as currency for rural subsistence. Thus, Thobeka aspired having *ikhaya* that comprised this structure and security she could pass on to her granddaughter.

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[63] This is also because some members of the community assumed that my research in Mafuyana was concerned with chronically ill patients, and thus some residents felt discomfort interacting with me as they felt that observers would stigmatise them

Beauty's home *ezindlini* was more spacious than her previous home. In 2014, her husband was a gold-panner while she was a HBC[64] worker of the township. One of the rooms was a lounge, while the other was a bedroom. The kitchen and bathroom in between were unoccupied, but used as store rooms for fuelwood, extra home furnishings and hardware tools. Having found employment at a municipal office enabled her to start a new home, which was still unfinished with several empty rooms paved unevenly. She took me to one portion of her house comprising a furnished 'living room' and tiny bedroom adjacent to it. She remarked that her living room was actually designed to be the main bedroom, and her current tiny bedroom, the bathroom *en suite*. Completing the construction of a new house was a cumbersome, slow exercise, given her financial constraints. As a result, she had to turn two of the eight rooms of her house into a temporary home until necessary construction was complete. Her cooking was done on a gas stove stationed in the largest room, originally designed as a lounge which was empty, except having an old bed and couch accumulating dust from misuse. Above these ran a washing line from where to hang clothing indoors if ever it rained. Beauty seemed happier of her new house, but during our conversation she described her township as *indawo yokungcola* (a place of dirt)[65], a place that was shunned.

> *We moved here a few months ago to rent this house. We pay our rent to the owner whom we have never met – we just have his account details and phone number. A few people around here actually own their own house. It isn't so nice renting a house from someone else, especially after having refurbished it yourself with your own means and not being sure of your permanence.*

> -Beauty, participant, personal communication (2014)

> *Living ezindlini is better but not the best. Although I live in a better house and have running water and more space, outsiders still perceive me as living eGarikai, which is not the same as where I am now. With that association, I don't feel comfortable enough to feel at home ezindlini.*

> -Beauty, caregiver, personal interview (2016)

Her move to *ezindlini* closer to Maphisa's reticulation network made it easier for her to source running water, but despite this, Beauty's new house felt trivialised because of outsiders still associating her home with *eGarikai*. She had not yet managed to secure electrical power, but in the Mafuyana township, Beauty was considered privileged by township locals because she owned her house, large in size despite its fragmentations. On the contrary, residents such as Nomsa *eGarikai* could only afford renting one room from OGHK's housing project. This space served a myriad functions – bathing, lounging, sleeping, storage and other household functions. In a slightly better position, Tholakele could

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[64] Home Based Care workers (HBCs) were volunteering social support individuals working under Sikhethimpilo, that offered
[65] An aspect discussed in Chapter 4

afford renting the entire building – two rooms of the house – one being a bedroom for her family, the other a living room.

However, in these three different settings of dwelling, none of these participants felt satisfied in the buildings that housed their families, making the result of the local government's mission to build houses appear convoluted. First, residents faced infrastructural deficiency lacking sufficient space and structural integrity. Second, lacking ownership of one's dwelling brought insecurity on one's permanence. Third, having succeeded or not in purchasing a stand upon which to construct your own dwelling, residents faced discrimination for living within the boundaries of Mafuyana, a township painted as 'dirty' by its neighbours. The lack of house ownership was the obstacle Beauty narrated of her neighbours who she considered deserving beneficiaries that rented their dwelling acquired by civil servants outside the beneficiary bracket. Despite the infrastructure lacking structural integrity, landlords still charged high rental fees with the expectation that tenants would make necessary completions to the house.

In these constructs, children were fundamental for completing the basis of family life, and having a house was essential to participants for establishing anchoredness and continuity:

> *But what I know and observed is that even if those structures were constructed, they did not benefit directly the intended beneficiaries – instead, even the bourgeoisie have the stands – the guys from the army. Up to today, since I came here in 2014, there are still houses whose owners we don't even know, and those people are supposed to pay rates to council. These houses were simply allocated without following council's waiting list – some were in the army who never pitched. For the past two years, what we have faced is the responsibility as council authorities to nurture the housing project, after government handed us the project and told us to start servicing the land. It's a paradox of having a mission meant to progress in our hands, while we lack the funds to facilitate that.*
>
> -Nkiwane, District Office staff member, personal interview (2016)

> *I may be renting both my rooms in the house we live, but it's not the ideal setting I wished for. You go to bed every night with one eye open, because you never know what plans the owner will have for his house. He could kick us out at any stage he prefers. The insecurity is much worse when you also have to worry about your safety without doors and windows. We were lucky that our landlord fitted these a year after we started living here. But even so, the mere fact that the house isn't ours makes us feel unsettled.If I had a wish, it would be to own a house having three bedrooms – one for the parents and the other two for boys and girls. A house beautifully and safely built; a house with love that one can return to after a long day's work. I'd also like a wall around my house so that people stay out of my business.*
>
> -Tholakele, caregiver, personal interview (2016)

From these dialogues, one deduces that house ownership was paramount for residents to establish anchoredness in their township, and a lack thereof caused insecurity. Theorists' discourses on homes

emphasise that anchoredness and rootedness is an attribute found to be essential in a home, being described as a base of activity, a physical centre for departure and return of participants studied (Tognoli, 1987; Hayward, 1977; Fried, 1963; and Churchman, 1986). Participants in these literatures expressed a preference to returning to their homes in order to mark their belonging and rootedness there. Using this philosophical frame, the instability of rootedness and potential to move from one place to the other[66], either because of financial constraints, the inability to express one's ways of life fully[67] or the insecurities of lacking house ownership by Mafuyana's residents denigrates their dwellings from being experienced as holistically homes. Tognoli (1987) makes differentiation between homes from houses by emphasising that lacking such rootedness from a place disrupts feelings of continuity, stability and permanence. This suggests the importance of continuity to differentiate homes from houses. The participants on Hayward's (1977) study reported feelings of stability from continuity associated with a home environment. Fried (1963) furthermore describes that the continuity is lost when low-income residents are forcibly relocated. Having a loss of stability from forced removals of OMRO or possible evictions from landlords deprives residents the experience of home. A home characterising permanence and security rewards its occupants with serenity (Churchman, 1986). With the need to construct family life, home ownership is an aspiration Mafuyana participants shared.

Conclusion

Ideology in the construction of reality in everyday life is concerned with the relationship between people's perception on houses, and the social and cultural institutions which construct both houses and their meanings. This is something discussed by Rakoff (1977:86) in his argument that the house plays a symbolic role that reflects ambiguous meanings that people attach to the private sphere. It is within the home that people try to manage their relationships that the home symbolises and the ambiguities of private space. Rakoff (1977) argues that the house is a crucial commodity for research which carries, beyond its materialistic worth, cultural artefacts meaningful to people, and its meanings are both privately experienced and collectively determined. Upon conceptualising the content of these meanings that people ascribe to houses, we learn of their shared meanings central to their ways of life and what constitutes a sound home for a developing infant.

Home ownership and permanence were fundamental to residents requiring shelter for the children and families. Having shelter is a fundamental basic for human life, but these shelters brought to question their role to enhance life, particularly because the majority of these households nurtured the growth of

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[66] This movement/migration is discussed on in Chapter 5
[67] When a house does not reflect the individuality of its owner, residents move to a different house – a theme discussed in the fifth chapter.

infants. The basis of family for Mafuyana residents was having children in the home, who were considered an investment for parents in the future. The United Nations (2015) states that sustainable urbanisation is one of the pressing challenges facing the global community in the 21ˢᵗ Century. Towns and cities, mostly in developing countries, shantytown dwellers account for 50% of the population with little or no access to shelter, water and sanitation. With this deficit, poor dwelling poses tremendous risk on the lives of children whose death rate is higher in such developing settings. The disparity that laid between the housing aspirations, distribution and planning of the local government and that of the Mafuyana residents was reasonably distinct. Beyond infrastructural numbers and provisions, residents envisioned development to entail their community's inclusion in Maphisa, house ownership, satisfactory social relationships in their homes, easy access to crèches and schools, and morally sound community with lesser levels of prostitution. These were sentiments that came from all participants. In actuality, homes were not just mere dwellings, but places bearing household relationships, places to retire after a hard day at work, places storing personal belongings – both tangible and intangible and places to perform baby rituals, among other things.

OGHK's housing model was unsuitable for the residents' aspirations for 'living well'. Unsuitable dwelling was supported by caregivers earning a low income and were met with tumultuous relationships. With mining labourers dominating the housing landscape, this image resembled the African township compounds constructed by the Rhodesia municipalities (Grant, 1998) in Monomotapa. *EGarikai* in particular, the grey match-box style dwellings were built along straight lines. It was just as imperative in Mafuyana to house a large dispossessed population economically on limited space as it was in Monomotapa. Just as African dwellers in the compounds of Monomotapa, residents in Garikai were regarded by local government as members of a rural society that resided temporarily in this urban setting for the purposes of work, having residual rural homes they considered permanent. This different perception on residents' permanence was convoluted, given that the OGHK strategy was primarily to house homeless families in the aftermath of OMRO that required permanently serviced homes. The local government's shift in the perception of residents' permanence created a system of minimal accommodation provided for those that were considered working around Maphisa.

Hillier (1984) and colleagues from University College London make a valuable contribution to the development of a sociology of space, which is the structuration theory that makes interconnections between the built environment and social organisation – both of which are important in the social sciences. The basis of the structuration theory is power, which enables individuals to exercise social control through the dominion of people and material objects, as Foucault (1977) argues. The exertion of power can be enacted through the production of buildings. Giving the example on space and power in the townships of apartheid South Africa, Mills (1989) argues that buildings and urban spaces are filled with power because they "contain both resources and the capacity for people to manipulate patterns of production, reproduction and social interaction" (Mills, 1989:65), and that spatial relations

are the basis of space syntax which create power relations in society. Any building makes a domain of knowledge that embodies a spatial ordering of categories and a domain of control. The South African example shows that the form of knowledge was shaped by white minority. When looking at OGHK, it can be argued that political control was exerted through the manner of housing constructed. Residents occupying this ordered space had to find means to confine their life ways according to this infrastructure. The following Chapter further elaborates how this ordered space played a role in the developmental orderings of early childhood.

Chapter 4: The Infant Topography

Introduction

Narratives on housing experience were widely shared during most of my fieldwork in Mafuyana during interviews and home visits. From these interactions, I had established that the ordered fashion of housing was complicated infrastructure that residents were struggling manage and in which babies were interweaved. The little shared on early childhood was mainly on the economic and infrastructural factors of the township that affected the financial means of care for infants. Considering that the core of my research was on early childhood, I needed to know much more on how this landscape played a role on infants themselves who lacked the agency to speak for themselves. I considered using alternative methods of gathering more of the knowledge I sought on infants. I once spent the entire afternoon at Tahana and Silingiwe's house where I arrived at midday just before they had prepared lunch comprising boiled *amakhomane* served with Steri-Milk[68], and roasted cobs of maize. In the lounging area, Silingiwe placed a small wooden bench against the wall for me to sit before she sat opposite me on a reed mat spread across the floor next to where her baby was sound asleep.

The conversation that ran between me and both mothers regarded the interaction between the economic and physical nature of Mafuyana and childcare. As we ate lunch, we talked about food and the nutrition of infants which both mothers tentatively spoke of, casually asking me to confirm whether their feeding patterns were appropriate for their infants. I felt somewhat placed in an advisory position, aside from being a researcher. Apart from the rumours that I was primarily concerned with participants affected by HIV/AIDS, being asked for advice on feeding infants made me assume a superior position because of the level of my education, which I feared hindered participants from sharing the life experiences of their babies. I believed that the space in Mafuyana offered much more knowledge on infant constructs and in order to learn of this, I needed to communicate alternatively to encourage more dialogue. This chapter explores a visual method I implemented at a later stage of fieldwork that yielded a better and more complex understanding of infant topographies in Mafuyana. Using the descriptions detailed on the baby body map, the chapter illustrates the interactions that occur between a fragmented urban township and the babies embedded there. Caregivers highlighted *ingcekeza*[69] as the dominant factor presiding on their babies' topography, represented in physical and metaphysical forms. Furthermore, dirt has the dual role of being a risk factor and a protective ingredient believed to be efficacious by caregivers, which challenges public health and hygiene standards. The urban environment in which babies are raised presents various forms of that babies interact with.

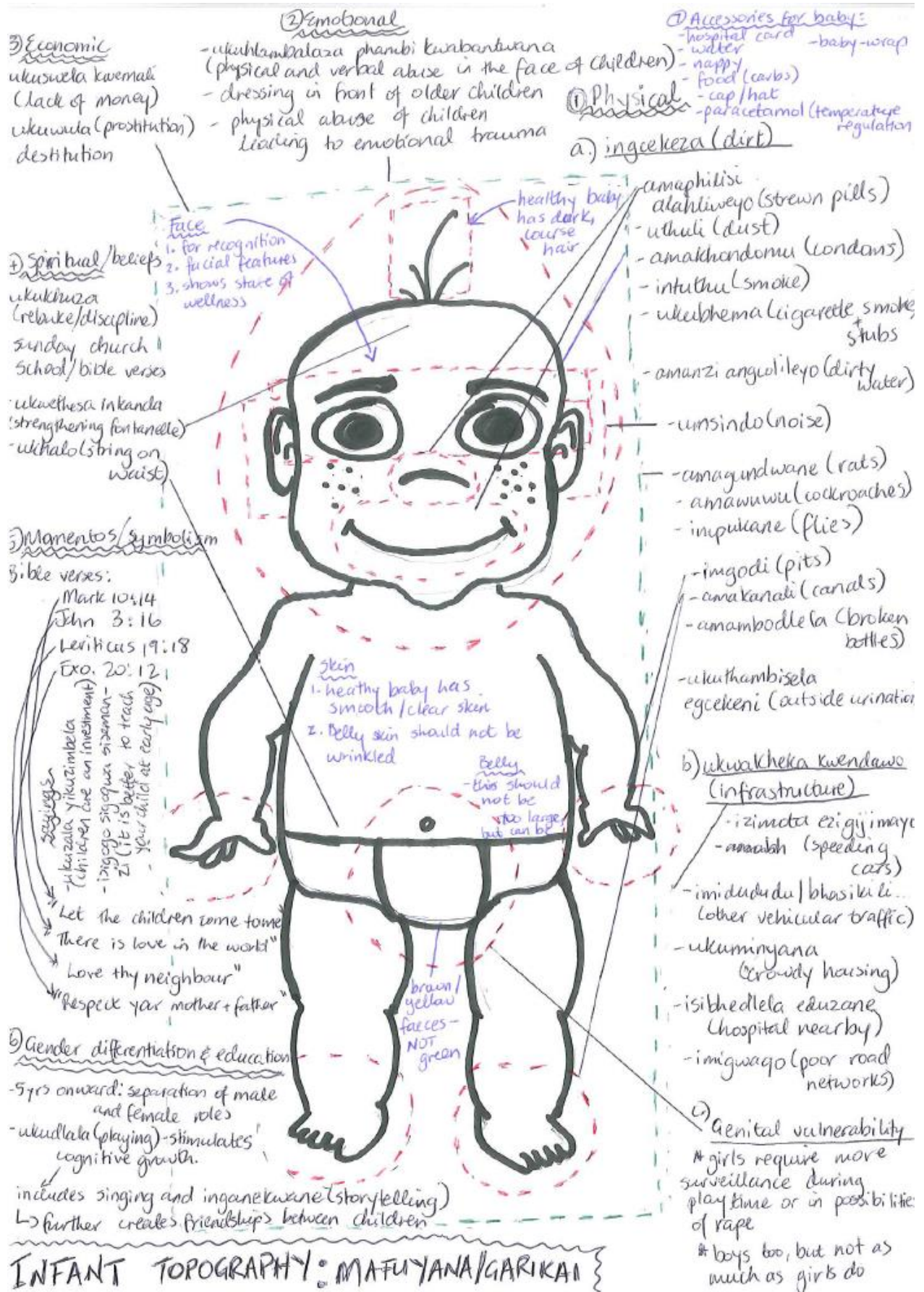[68]Locally sold brand of sterilised milk
[69] Ndebele term for 'dirt' and 'pollution' which locals used

'Infant Topography' and Mapping the Baby

Bunge's (1973; 1975 and 1979) work on spatial oppression of children emphasises that the pressure of the environment on the young is crucial to any surviving species. This idea contributes the understanding on the efficacy of housing to children. Apart from examining the infrastructural make of housing and its surrounds, it was worthy how this formed a relationship with infants' bodies. The baby body mapping method was useful when connecting the understandings of biological and social processes of the infant's body. Researching in Mazvihwa, a rural area in Zimbabwe, Cornwall (1992; 2002) uses body mapping to examine women's knowledge about reproduction and their interpretations of non-indigenous contraception. This technique bridged the gap between the local and biomedical understandings of the female reproductive anatomy. MacGregor (2008) analyses the use of body mapping as an educational tool in Khayelitsha, South Africa, that promotes the understanding of social and political aspects of HIV and AIDS. I considered mapping an infant to further understand the interaction between the township's physical environment and babies embedded there, with consideration to Gottlieb (2000) who asks, if infants cannot communicate their views in ways that social scientists feel proficient in interpreting, how can these humans contribute to the domain of culture?

During the last week of fieldwork, I organised a focus group lunch meeting with all research participants. This was in a fragmentary house *ezindlini* that belonged to Beauty's friend. We sat on mats and crates in what appeared to be the lounge. After all the meals and snacks participants had shared with me during my visits, I felt it necessary to return this gesture by bringing two large pots with white rice, and a sugar bean *bredie*[70] which I prepared at my residence that we would all share during the meeting. I brought a large drawing of a baby on A3 sized chart that I hoped would spark stimulating conversations. As we gazed at the chart mounted on the wall, each participant brainstormed their thoughts on a specific body part of the baby, until we produced an image resembling a map of a baby – a 'baby body map' depicting their babies' topography. Brownell and colleagues (2010) introduce baby 'topography', a term referring to babies' self-awareness of their shape and spatial configuration. Brownell et al (2010) state that neonates begin learning about their own bodies as newborns and can determine whether the hand caressing their cheek is someone else's or their own. With age, self-awareness of one's topography increases. Using a mapping technique, this thesis contributes to this concept other aspects that caregivers described – regarding the physical, economic, emotional, social and spiritual that interact with children's lives – portraying a more complex insight to the geographies of children. The baby body map exercise in Mafuyana shows that the understanding on the infant's 'topography' can be extended to these areas concerning infants. Given the limitations faced during interviews, baby body mapping unearthed people's own classifications through visual descriptions that were used as a basis for discussion.

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[70] A South African recipe I learnt in Cape Town comprising sugar beans, onion, tomato, garlic, oil and seasoning.

③ Economic

ukuswela kwemali
(lack of money)
ukuwula (prostitution)
destitution

② Emotional
- ukuhlambalaza phambi kwabantwana
(physical and verbal abuse in the face of children)
- dressing in front of older children
- physical abuse of children
leading to emotional trauma

① Accessories for baby:
- hospital card   - baby-wrap
- water
- nappy
- food (carbs)
- cap/hat
- paracetamol (temperature regulation)

① Physical

a.) ingcekeza (dirt)

- amaphilisi alahliweyo (strewn pills)
- uthuli (dust)
- amakhandomu (condoms)
- intuthu (smoke)
- ukubhema (cigarette smoke + stubs)
- amanzi angcolileyo (dirty water)
- umsindo (noise)
- amagundwane (rats)
- amawuwu (cockroaches)
- impukane (flies)
- imigodi (pits)
- amakanali (canals)
- amambodlela (broken bottles)
- ukuthambisela egcekeni (outside urination)

④ Spiritual/beliefs
ukukhuza
(rebuke/discipline)
sunday church
school/bible verses

- ukwethesa inkanda
(strengthening fontanelle)
- ukhalo (string on waist)

Face
1. for recognition
2. facial features
3. shows state of wellness

healthy baby has dark, course hair

⑤ Mementos/symbolism

Bible verses:
  Mark 10:14
  John 3:16
  Leviticus 19:18
  Exo. 20:12

Sayings:
- "ukuzala yikuzimbela (children are an investment)
- "ingago sigaqwa sisemanzi (it is better to teach your child at early age)

"Let the children come to me"
"There is love in the world"
"Love thy neighbour"
"Respect your mother + father"

skin
1. healthy baby has smooth/clear skin
2. belly skin should not be wrinkled

Belly
- this should not be too large, but can be

brown/yellow faeces - NOT green

b) ukwakheka kwendawo (infrastructure)

- izimota ezigijimayo
- amaloli (speeding cars)
- imidududu / bhasikili... (other vehicular traffic)
- ukuminyana (crowdy housing)
- isibhedlela eduzane (hospital nearby)
- imigwaqo (poor road networks)

⑥ Gender differentiation & education

- 5yrs onward: separation of male and female roles
- ukudlala (playing) - stimulates cognitive growth.

includes singing and inganekwane (storytelling)
↳ further creates friendships between children

c) Genital vulnerability

* girls require more surveillance during play time or in possibilities of rape
* boys too, but not as much as girls do

INFANT TOPOGRAPHY: MAFUYANA/GARIKAI

Sketch 11: The Baby Body Map

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Interactions of Infancy and *Ingcekeza*

We are young, but we see a lotta things in Maphisa. Yah, you should visit Garikai. That place is so dirty I think you will find TB breeds there. Everything there is just, just dirty.

–Dumi (18), Senzo (20) and Jason (19) – male focus group discussion (Ncube, 2014)

The theme that emerged consistently as we compiled the baby body map referred to 'dirt'. The point of reference when I first heard of Mafuyana in 2014 was 'dirt', as shown in the above excerpt from a male focus group. As we constructed the baby body map, participants reflected on this characteristic, listing all 'dirty things' in their community contributing to the topographies of their children. It was commonplace to find children playing outside – running, building mud houses from scraps of rubbish on the ground, playing hide-and-seek and other games. *Ingcekeza* existed in tangible and intangible forms, for which caregivers expressed huge concern that risked infants' wellbeing.

Caregivers drew connections between the baby's body parts and the forms of *ingcekeza* associated with them. For instance, strewn pills, dirty water, dust, cigarette stubs, broken bottles and other litter had risky associations with babies' hands and mouths during the process children learnt about their surroundings through picking objects and tasting them. During interviews, the caregivers mentioned that their dwellings had a flimsy divide between the indoors and outdoors, because *ingcekeza* from outside easily seeped into their houses. 'Pollution' oozed into their dwellings through the cracks or gaps in their walls or through the thin surfaces of the door. Mapping revealed that infrastructural *ngcekeza* which was initially referred only to housing and exposures to mining also included the adjacent Maphisa District Hospital, motor cars and motor bikes that littered the water canal, and produced noise and dust on their dusty roads. Although the hospital was their pinnacle for healthcare, it was also perceived a producer of *ingcekeza*, when discharged patients tossed used and infected material (band aids, cotton wool, cotton buds, needles and the like) into the water canal and along the path on their way out, increasing further concern for this non-potable water. As opposed to the spacious rural homesteads, the amount of strewn litter was much higher because of crowdedness and the township's close proximity to the commercial growth point.

Caregivers also made reference to physical and emotional abuse they occasionally experienced from their partners in the face of children which had repercussions on them from observing it. Apart from having physical injury from unintentional trauma, infants were sometimes inconsolable and irritable. Other township behaviour or habits considered immoral or inappropriate to have around developing children were smoking, *ukuthengisa* and drunkenness. These all comprised metaphysical dirt regarded harmful to infants. In their emphasis of *ingcekeza* being harmful to the wellbeing of their infants, caregivers however raised a positive contribution that 'dirt' had when raising infants. This was when some forms of 'dirt' were used to perform traditional infant rituals that served to strengthen babies

in a harsh world. In this scenario, the ingredients for these rituals ceased to be considered 'dirty'.

Underlying this topography were economic challenges that caregivers faced with erratic income from employment or a lack thereof. In the previous chapter, Thobeka emphasised the importance of having livestock and household capital which she could not accumulate in the confines of Mafuyana. The advantage of owning these artefacts gave rural residents the ability to trade them for necessary health care fees or have provision for household food. Zimbabwe's history of land reform and economic strategies has its orderings filtered to the tangible and intangible spaces that babies are placed.

Conquering *Ingcekeza*: Baby Rituals

During illness, residents sought health care from the Maphisa District Hospital but I learnt that their experiences at the facility reduced their willingness in seeking healthcare. For instance, Faith's baby had an ear infection during fieldwork, but she abstained from visiting the hospital because the nursing staff were often rude to her and stigmatised her on the basis of her HIV status and living *eGarikai*. Additionally, if health professionals decided that a baby required admission, a mother was also required to stay overnight beside her child until the child was discharged, meaning that caregivers would miss work. For this reason, caregivers disliked the hospital, thus Faith decided to nurse her baby at home.

The baby body map showed the importance of recognising the infant's features when determining wellness, as caregivers described. For instance, a healthy baby had thick, course hair, smooth skin and dark coloured stool. On the contrary, a belly too large or thinning hair indicated illness that arose from an overexposure of *ingcekeza*. From my previous interviews with caregivers, I had the perception that all dirt was a risk factor during early childhood, but the mapping exercise revealed that some 'dirt' played a significant protective role. Baby rituals were significant for the purposes of strengthening children for the world they would face. Some forms of dirt available in their vicinity were believed to be useful on babies' bodies as a medium for improving their development. Although some locals believed 'dirt' to be efficacious in avoiding illness, this perception challenges biomedical and public health standards which lean against the interactions of 'dirt' with developing infants.

Ukwethesa Inkanda (Strengthening the Fontanelle)

In the Ndebele community, neonates are traditionally believed to be vulnerable and required to gain strength from interacting with an organism that embodies it. When the umbilical cord falls off, this ceremony serves to protect the baby from any evil that she or he encounters when introduced to the

world. This practice serves to strengthen the upper portion of the head to avoid it sinking or depressing[71]. This tradition originally entails wafting herbal smoke over the child, or using the parts of animals believed to embody great strength, such as the honey badger or elephant (Nyathi, 2001). My paternal grandmother who was raised in rural Matabeleland South believed it necessary to perform this ritual on newborns as she believed it could provide resilience to their development. With wild animal parts being inaccessible in a more segregated and urbanising region, caregivers have modified this practice with material available in the township. For instance, Nomsa bathed her baby in water having soil scooped from a public area, with the belief that this would acclimatise him to the world and cleanse the vulnerability off. Another custom was attaching *ukhalo*, a cord tied around a baby's waist that had been blessed by a church pastor. Tahana performed this on all her children and remarked on its dual function to provide protection and gauge her infant's growth. When the cord remained loose for a long time, it indicated slow or retarded growth. When the string tightened, it indicated positive growth, for which a longer string was used.

Ukubhuqa Emlotheni (Rolling in Ashes)

During my visit at Memory's house, her twin baby girls cried concurrently, interrupting our conversation. Her neighbour advised her to roll them in the ash pit behind her house in order to calm their bouts of excessive cries. In comparison to singletons, twins were perceived more problematic. This practice entails stripping clothing off the twins, rolling them in ashes and redressing them. The ash was to remain on their bodies the entire day, even when clothed, until they bathed the next day. The foundation trenches were empty with the stagnant construction *eGarikai* in which residents used when burning or discarding any swept or household garbage. While *ingcekeza* was a harmful risk to infants and although national policy seeks to protect children from preventable disease and death, these rituals involving forms of 'dirt' challenged these perceptions and this goal.

Conclusion

I found that mapping enabled me to plot the complex relationships between babies and their place and how these two are mutually inclusive. Initially stories were being told individually, but around each story were many others, all of which were connected. In situations where interviews created a tense atmosphere for the sharing of information, this visual technique elaborated on already shared knowledge and unravelled more that was not initially discussed. This complex landscape incorporated components

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[71] In biomedical discourse the fontanelle depression would be caused by dehydration, kwashiorkor, failure to thrive, toxic megacolon and diabetes insipidus (Nelson & Hostetler, 2003).

that interacted directly and indirectly with the baby's body comprising its parts. The metaphysical components that emerged included emotional encounter, spiritual belief and symbolism, and upbringing according to gender, singletons or twins. These included emotional abuse that infants could be exposed to. Spiritual beliefs of caregivers were necessary when overcoming hardship resulting from physical and emotional trauma, and avoiding unhealthy or immoral habits. The physical component made reference to strewn garbage, smoke, dust pests, human and animal detritus, housing infrastructure and genital vulnerability. The map also showed the roles body and facial features played in determining the wellness of a baby.

The constructs of childhood embedded in the transition from rural life ways into this fragmented urban configuration reorders the formations of childhood and care provided to infants. In architectural studies, Frescura (1985) discusses that the rural dwelling unit made from naturally occurring material has the ability to maintain an environmental balance when activities such as building fires are done around the house to rid of excess pests through fumigation. He states that if the rural dweller was to replace the thatch roofing for zinc sheeting, this would compromise the ecology of the homestead. With the making of fires, and performance of baby rituals, Mafuyana reflects the practice of rural life ways within the transition to urban housing; however, its fragmented nature challenges its prevention from 'dirt' as described in this chapter, despite implementing rural lifestyles. Having access to more land space in the past enabled residents to access more material required in the household. With limited resources in Mafuyana, township residents improvise with what is available in order to perform their preferred ways of living. When this improvisation is not satisfactory for caregivers, moving to a different house is considered a solution, as illustrated by Beauty and Precious' movements in the previous chapter.

Although residents emphasised protecting their children from preventable disease or death, caregivers spoke of the need to protect their children from metaphysical and social dangers in their township. Such dangers and their efforts to protect children in a context underpinned by economic hardship and limited opportunity suggest that local understandings of wellbeing go beyond physical wellness. The baby body map unearthed underlying perspectives regarding *ingcekeza* in the area. Initially, I perceived 'dirt' as being a negative factor in the raising of children, but the performance of baby rituals using soil and ash challenged this perception. Although children should be protected from dirt, dust and ash, it was a necessary part of exposing the child gradually to the dangers of the world and in so doing, offering protection and a sense of belonging in a context of discrimination. Baby body mapping presents the potential of examining babies when determining the effectiveness of developing urban infrastructure. On the other hand, one is able to determine the role urban orderings have on the social constructs of babies.

Chapter 5: The Significance of Infancy in Developmental Studies

Since the colonial period, the method of reorganising living spaces has been done through violence as embodied by OMRO and OGHK. Housing in rural Southern Africa which was designed according to available material in the natural environment after the ethnic warfare was met with modernist traditions of urbanisation introduced by colonialism that reorganised the home space. This ultimately transformed kinship, ways of life and the constructs of human life. In post-colonial Zimbabwe, the aggressive 'clean-up' towards modern urban infrastructure occurred in the midst of economic decay, where governing authorities had a budget deficit for the completion of low-cost housing, and residing occupants faced the challenge of employment and insecure income. Housing and childhood development are interrelated dynamics in a transitioning district such as Matobo. The urban ordering in this rural area impacts the developmental ordering of infants as illustrated in the previous chapter. When assessing the outcome of OGHK in Maphisa, I conclude in this section that examining the lives of infants gives an indication on the housing's efficacy and that this indication can be used to restructure housing that promotes life.

In the process of organising living spaces, children are placed as victims of the political, social and economic forces that comprise the built environment, as Aitkens (2001) suggests. Understanding the wellbeing of children in the social sciences thus requires more than biological knowledge because health and illness occur within wider forces, as argued by Charmaz and Paternitti (1997). In the context of OMRO and OGHK, this configuration of wellbeing lies in the modernised urban ordering of infrastructure, whose fragmentations reflect poor economic status producing the vulnerability of children in the environment, as elaborated in the previous chapter. Reference to Kamete (2008) provides a specific framework in which urban orderings were carried out in Zimbabwe's rural and urban areas. This change resulted in the restructuring of kinship and life patterns which influence the social constructions of childhood.

The urban fragmentations of Mafuyana nestle rural dwellers that perform traditional life ways as part of forming makeshift work on their shelter. While cracks in between walls are filled with recycled material, fires are also made around their dwellings as part of residents' tradition, apart from the lack of electric power in the area. Children that form the basis of family are embedded in scenarios that present various types of *ingcekeza* in this urban community and within the fragmented housing. Some rural traditions in Matabeleland comprise baby rituals that serve to protect babies that are welcomed into a harsh world. Such rituals are reordered in Mafuyana according to available material, which includes soil and ashes. Caregivers provide such care to their infants that is believed to limit the risk of physical and metaphysical danger that the community may present. It is important to consider that OGHK's resultant infrastructure and some of the strategies performed by residents to promote infant

life challenge biomedical and public health discourse which provides daunting statistics on infant mortality in Matabeleland South. This scenario presented is worth considering by stakeholders concerned with health and urban development.

Upon examining the baby body map and the descriptions of the township, one can establish that infants and their environments are interrelated. The township's characteristics merge into the infant topography, and this topography not only reflects the traditions of ordered violence perpetuated by Zimbabwe's governing authorities but can determine the efficacy of the infrastructure nestling the infant. This provides evidence to OGHK's discrepancy in providing mere shelter that does not promote life. This illustrates that the examination of infants may provide an indication on the state of social environments and whether these are potentially life-giving. Examining infant topographies has the potential for future stakeholders to design housing that promotes life, encompassing residents' economic, physical and social ways of life.

Considerations for Future Research

The aspect of this thesis concerning the alternative means of healthcare sought by caregivers for their infants bears broader questions on gender inequality or marginalisation which could potentially affect health behaviour patterns of maternal and infant health. In the context of eastern and southern Africa, gender inequality in families and communities has a direct impact on women and children's health, as highlighted by the UNICEF (2016). These inequalities marginalise maternal and infant health, contributing annually to 80 000 deaths of women during pregnancy and childbirth, and 440 000 infants who do not survive their first month after birth. During Zimbabwe's in near collapse of the health delivery system between 2000 and 2009, this exacerbated child health and mortality. Although not analysed in this thesis, some stories shared during individual interviews spoke of expectant mothers' marginalisation and ill-treatment at district hospitals during and after childbirth which could possibly have impacted their health seeking decisions for their infants. For instance, Faith expressed her fear of taking her 17 month old daughter to the local hospital to treat a severe ear infection. She spoke of the mistreatment by the health care staff when her baby was ill, and this indicated that it may have been related to her HIV status. Gugu had a traumatic account during birth under the care of an unskilled midwife who performed an episiotomy which damaged her anal sphincter. Realising this mistake, the midwife pressured her to not to report this incident. Consequently, Gugu feared making future hospital visits for treatment. With gender inequality and HIV/AIDS related stigma, maternal and infant health care is marginalised in health settings with patient's experiences never heard by hospital authorities. It is important to note such experiences in maternal and infant health to unearth overlooked perspectives. With the relationship between health care experience and health seeking behaviour, the baby body map

revealed, for instance, that caregivers in Mafuyana performed infant rituals serving to protect children from 'evil' or illness when these arise thus sometimes avoiding hospital visits. Assata Zerai (2014) and Charmaz & Paterniti (1997) situate maternal and child health in Zimbabwe's structures of militarism and hyper-masculinity which pose discrimination on women, as embodied by the 'clean-up' campaigns. Their approach offers anthropology gender-centred factors to consider when conceptualising maternal and infant health experience at state-led institutions, and the health choices influenced thereafter. I propose further questions on maternal and infant health experience which potentially impact health behavioural patterns during pregnancy, childbirth, puerperium and the first few years of childhood.

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