ACTIVITY PATTERNS, TRANSPORT AND POLICIES FOR THE URBAN POOR IN HARARE, ZIMBABWE

FINAL COUNTRY REPORT

by
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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AEI	Access, Exchange International, Malawi
CBD	Central Business District
CIRT	Central Institute for Road Transport, India
CSIR	Council for Scientific and Industrial Research
DFID	Department for International Development
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
NCDPZ	National Council for the Disabled Persons of Zimbabwe
NMT	Non-motorised Transport
NRZ	National Railways of Zimbabwe
PPP	Public Private Partnership
PUA	Participatory Urban Appraisal
ROSEP	Rotary Organisation Southern Employment Project
SDF	Social Dimension Fund
SME	Small and Medium-scale Enterprises
ZUPCO	Zimbabwe United Passenger Company

Exchange Rate

1US$	=	Z$55 (Official)
1US$	=	Z$350 (Parallel market as of 1 June 2002)
1US$	=	Z$990 (Parallel market as of July 2002

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1 INTRODUCTION

This report presents the findings of a study conducted in Harare, Zimbabwe on **Activity Patterns, Transport and Policies for the Urban Poor**. The study, which covered two other countries, Ghana and Sri Lanka, was sponsored by the UK Department for International Development (DFID). The principal aim of the study was to ascertain the ways in which transport influences how well other sectors operate and deliver benefits which contribute to sustainable livelihoods of the urban poor. The study initially looked at three sectors, namely, health, education and employment. Following the initial investigation, the study then focused on the employment sector as the priority concern of low income urban communities. The report is divided into 5 sections. This introductory section puts the study into context by giving a background of the country and city of Harare. The second section spells out the methodology and describes the six sites studied. Section 3 briefly covers the training and capacity building that resulted from conducting the study. Study findings are presented in Section 4, which has three subsections. The first subsection looks at policies in the three sectors of health, education and employment. The second subsection briefly describes the current position regarding the provision of transport in respect of the three sectors. The last subsection discusses the findings of the research conducted. Finally, Section 5 rounds off the study by summarising the study constraints and lessons learned, drawing conclusions and the main recommendations.

1.1 Country and City Context

Zimbabwe has a population of approximately 14 million. Although three quarters of the population live in rural areas, the urban population is increasing at a much faster rate compared to the rural population. According to a Poverty Assessment Study Survey conducted in 1995, 62% of the population (72% rural and 43% urban) live below the modest poverty datum line. An adverse economic environment has compounded the situation. Currently the Zimbabwean economy is characterised by very high levels of unemployment, inflation and interest rates. Foreign currency reserves have been depleted and the Zimbabwean dollar has fallen dramatically. The unpalatable economic climate, which has been compounded by an unfavourable political situation, has created economic hardships for the people.

In respect of the study location, Harare is the capital and principal commercial and industrial centre of Zimbabwe. It has a population of approximately 1.8 million people with an annual growth rate of 6% to 8%. The city occupies an area of 872 square kilometres and a density of about 2000 people per square kilometre. There are three identifiable residential areas in the city, namely low density, medium density and high density. Low-density areas, which comprise the largest proportion in terms of area containing about 20 percent of the population, are located on the northern part of the city. The majority of households who live here are wealthy and have access to a private car. Medium density areas principally border the outskirts of the Central Business District (CBD). About 12 percent of the population live in medium density areas. The majority of people (about 70%) reside in high density areas. These areas comprise some of the poorest households in the city. The majority of people who live in high density areas do

not own a car and either rely on public transport or some form of non-motorised transport for travelling.

About 25 kilometres from Harare, is Chitungwiza, a wholly high-density area that was developed primarily as a dormitory town for Harare. Though autonomous, Chitungwiza has very few industries to provide jobs for the local population and many people commute to Harare for work.

2 METHODOLOGY

2.1 Methodological process

The aim of the project is to address ways in which transport influences how well other sectors operate in the city of Harare. The health, education and employment (formal/informal) sectors are considered to be those that constitute the highest demand from the urban population because, directly or indirectly, they provide the means with which to derive an income. Physical access to these sectors is therefore critical for maintaining a sustainable 'livelihood', but is often hindered by inadequate planning, and centralised location of services and employment opportunities, exacerbated by a legacy of unregulated transport service operations and prohibitive transport costs.

In order to inform the development of transport policies that will improve the operation and delivery of health and education services, and support the objectives of the transport, employment, health and education sectors, a research methodology was devised incorporating qualitative (participatory) and quantitative (questionnaire) surveys.

Participatory urban appraisal (PUA) methods were employed to facilitate identification of priority concerns with respect to physical access to basic services and place of work. In contrast, questionnaire surveys were used to generate comparative data that could be quantified among the six survey sites. A prerequisite of PUA exercises is that data collection and analysis are undertaken by local people, with outsiders facilitating rather than controlling. Outcomes of the participatory process were fed back to the community in a process of learning and reflection carried out by the 'Development Associates', a local NGO who undertook facilitation of the participatory exercises, and in doing so verified information that was assembled from participant groups.

In order to provide comparative baseline data among survey sites, questionnaires were adopted to identify travel patterns, income and expenditure of individuals travelling in pursuit of either formal or informal employment. Data compiled from the questionnaires allowed for consistency across survey sites, while the participatory exercises were more flexible in their application and allowed for triangulation across the sample.

The sample used in the survey encompassed a heterogeneous cross-section of each community and included taxonomic groups disaggregated by men, women, old, young and disabled. Whilst questionnaire surveys proved invaluable in collating data relating to trip characteristics, the qualitative exercises provided specific features of travel that

could not easily be captured in a formal survey. Information regarding the comfort and ease with which people travel using public transport services and constraints that vulnerable groups face in utilising such services, including abuse directed towards women and prejudice of the disabled, was established through informal dialogue. Anecdotal evidence of this nature is critical for the development of policy in both transport and other sectors. It provides a first hand account of mobility discrimination, whether it be caused by the function of the market, or a planning and design fault (as is the case with the public transport service routes and omnibus vehicles in Harare).

Lastly, the process of undertaking any research that informs the development of policies in more than one sector, should in nature be cross-cutting and promote dialogue between sectors so as to avoid conflicts of interest and to promote a *modus operandi* of optimum efficiency. Hence, time savings in travel will increase productivity at work, and reduce absenteeism by pupils, teaching and health staff; while improved vehicle design will increase equal opportunities for travel, and reduce congestion and pollution.

Clearly, (transport) policy formulation should not be undertaken in isolation of any one sector. While a comprehensive and participatory stakeholder analysis is critical in addressing the potential impacts of transport policies on the travel of the urban poor, the need for a multi-sectoral approach to service and (formal/informal) employment delivery is unquestionable. Only through a holistic approach to land-use planning will the future of human capital development (health, education, ability to labour) for the population of Harare be made sustainable and secure.

2.2 Sampling of survey areas

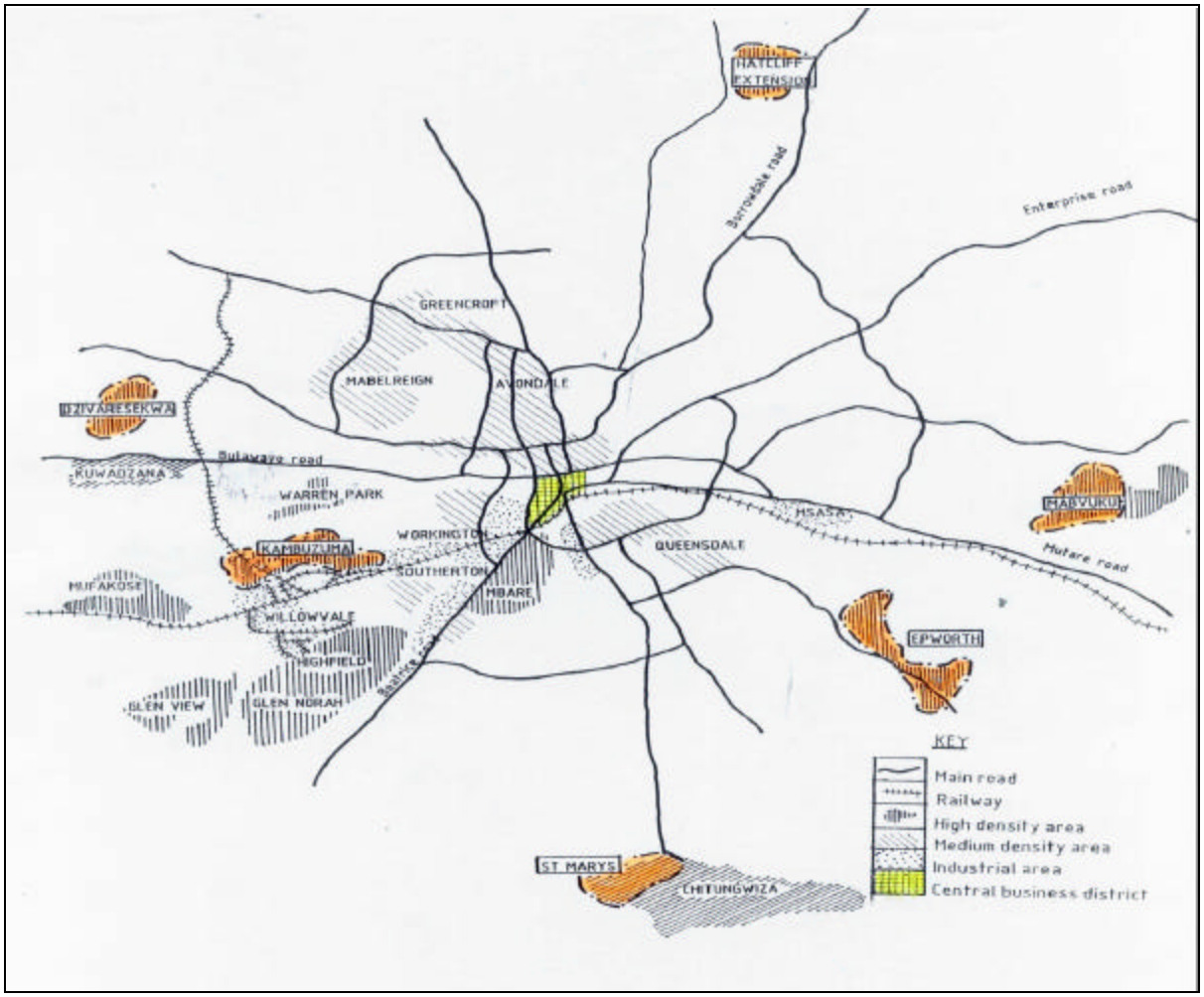
Six sites in Greater Harare were chosen for the study. All six sites are from high-density areas. Table 4 summarises the salient features of the sites while Figure 1 depicts the location of the sites.

Table 4: Selected sites

SITE	Population (1992 census)	Number of Schools		Number of Clinics	Distance (km) from CBD	Responsible Authority
		Primary	Secondary			
Kambuzuma	40 440	4	2	1	10	City of Harare
Mabvuku	46 880	6	3	3	19	City of Harare
Dzivaresekwa	44 764	7	2	1	14	City of Harare
Epworth	62 630	6	2	2	16	Ministry of Local Govt.
Hatcliffe Extension	13 015	1	-	1	20	Ministry of Local Govt.
St Marys (Chitungwiza)	47 523	5	1	1	25	Chitungwiza Town Council

In selecting the six sites, the degree of poverty, location of site vis-a-vis the CBD and nature of settlement were taken in consideration. All the six sites represent some of the poorest residential areas in Harare. In respect of distance from the CBD, this ranges from 10 kilometres (Kambuzuma) to 25 kilometres (St Mary's). In general the sites are considerable distance from the CBD, which reflects past colonial planning policies.

Figure 1: Location of Study Sites



Three sites, Dzivaresekwa, Mabvuku and Kambuzuma are administered by the City of Harare. The first two were developed in the early sixties as a residential area for domestic workers for the Northern low-density residential areas. Kambuzuma was initially developed as a government township to cater for blacks working in the industrial area. All three residential areas have a high proportion of residents from other countries especially from Malawi.

Hatcliffe Extension and Epworth fall under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Local Government. The latter was developed as a squatter camp in 1978 during the peak of the liberation struggle. Currently Government is in the process of upgrading the area with the intention of incorporating it into the Municipality of Harare. Hatcliffe Extension

was established by Government in 1991 as a "holding camp" to accommodate squatters. It is now more than ten years since the camp was established and it is generally accepted that the place is now a permanent home for the residents. Service provision is very poor, and residents have no piped water and proper ablution facilities. St Mary's in Chitungwiza is located 25 kilometres south of Harare. It is the oldest and poorest
residental area of Chitungwiza and was established in the mid-fifties to accommodate airport workers.

2.3 Qualitative survey methods

The main qualitative methods used by the study were:

- Participatory Urban Appraisal (PUA) which were held with:
  - Community members in each of the six sites
  - School children
  - the disabled at ROSEP an organisation which endeavours to secure work for the disabled from the private sector (although work is not always guaranteed).

- Discussions with patients, clinic staff and school teachers using semi-structured interviews (see Appendix A)

- Discussions with relevant personnel of Ministry of Transport and Communications, Ministry of Local Government, Ministry of Education and Culture, Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social, City of Harare's Departments of Health and Housing and Community Services and National Council for the Disabled Persons of Zimbabwe.

In respect of PUA with members of the community, a meeting was held with randomly selected community members at each site. The point of discussion with participants was activity patterns pertaining to livelihood activities including income generation and development of human capital stocks (principally health and education), which thus formed the basis for the examination of mobility patterns of people within the study area. Participants were divided into sub-groups (sometimes disaggregated by gender where appropriate), to discuss transport and other relevant issues in relation to their main livelihood activities. A wide range of PUA tools were employed to generate the basis for livelihood analysis. These included priority ranking exercises, matrix scoring and ranking, institutional diagrams and mobility mapping (see Appendix B).

Livelihood analysis, mobility mapping and the analysis of resultant maps were undertaken in livelihood-based groups, in addition to 'plenary' discussions to cross-check and triangulate the results of sub-group activities. Travel destinations, costs, times and transport modes associated with specific livelihood activities were also explored, resulting in the production of 'spider diagrams' demonstrating issues relating to particular routes and destinations, and associated travel needs and constraints.

Focus group discussions (FGDs) for specific issues were also made use of to provide critical and considered insights around specific outcomes of group discussions. These were used in addition to plenary sessions, which were also used to explore the historical

profiles of the transport systems in each of the local areas. Elderly members of the group emerged as the key informants for the discussion on historical development of the transport system.

Community maps showing the physical and social infrastructure proved to be a major tool used to catalyse discussion on issues and perspectives on the livelihood-transport systems interface. The maps are depicted in Appendix B.

Attendance at the community meetings varied from fifteen to thirty-eight participants as illustrated in Table 1 below.

Table 1. Attendance at Community Meetings

SITE	NUMBER OF MALES	NUMBER OF FEMALES	TOTAL
Kambuzuma.	5	10	15
Dzivarasekwa.	5	12	17
Mabvuku.	5	10	15
Epworth.	14	12	26
St. Mary's.	18	16	34
Hatcliffe Extension.	18	20	38
Totals.	65.	80	145.

Managing large numbers of people did not present any difficulties the community discussions as most of the work was done in smaller livelihood-based groupings. In most cases discussions were more diverse and richer in terms of outcomes where large numbers of people were involved. Bigger groups were not constrained by the usual scenario of some participants unduly taking over discussions at the expense of others.

At each of the six sites, a school and a clinic were identified for in-depth analyses of mobility patterns and problems related to access to education and health services respectively. Access was reviewed in terms of transport modes, travel patterns, travel times, distance and associated problems with the provision of services and non-motorised interventions. In each instance, teachers, pupils, health personnel and patients were drawn into discussions to determine where there are potential difficulties in staff accessing their place of work, and users accessing health and education services. The research methods applied enabled the research team to generate a wealth of information on the subject (activity patterns and transport mobility of people) in relation to their livelihoods. Tables 2 and 3 show the number of school pupils, teachers, patients and clinic staff who participated in the exercise.

Table 2: Number of pupils and teachers who took part in discussions

SITE	TEACHERS	PUPILS	GIRLS	BOYS
Kambuzuma.	3	26	14	12
Dzivarasekwa.	4	15.	6	9.
Mabvuku.	2	40	18	22
Epworth.*	3	40	17	23
St. Mary's.	2	44	22	22
Hatcliffe Extension.**	-	-	-	-
Totals.	14	165	77	88

In all schools with the exception of Epworth, secondary school pupils took part in the discussions. In Hatcliffe Extension, there is one primary school and no secondary school. As the study team had taken a decision to conduct discussions with secondary pupils only (so as to encourage active discussion from older and more articulate pupils), no such discussions were undertaken in Hatcliffe Extension.

Table 3: Number of patients and clinic staff who took part in discussions

SITE	NUMBER OF PATIENTS	NUMBER OF STAFF MEMBERS
Kambuzuma.	14.	9.
Dzivarasekwa.	4.	1.
Mabvuku.	6	2
St. Mary's.	5	3
Totals.	27.	18.

2.4 Quantitative survey methods

Following the participatory research outlined above, access to employment emerged as the most critical issue. To this end, the quantitative methods focused in obtaining more information on this sector. Two questionnaires were used to extract information relating to formal and informal employment (see Appendix C for sample questionnaires). In view of the importance of informal sector employment (only 10 000 formal jobs are created in Zimbabwe annually – an insufficient number to absorb the 300 000 people who join the job market annually), the sample was skewed towards this sector. A total of 210 questionnaires (90 formal and 120 informal) were administered equating to 15 and 20 questionnaires for formal and informal employment in each site respectively. In order to ensure that all the people interviewed were residents of the selected sites, questionnaires for formal employment were conducted through a household survey as opposed to carrying out interviews at the work place.

3 TRAINING AND CAPACITY BUILDING

The training and capacity building of collaborating institutions and local stakeholders constitutes one of the principal outputs from the project. Surveys carried out to address the key research questions were undertaken by Development Associates in conjunction with the Department of Rural and Urban Planning of the University of Zimbabwe. The former is a Development Management Consultancy with strong conceptual and analytical skills in participatory methods of research.

The Department of Rural and Urban Planning has undertaken considerable research in transport planning and policy development, including specialist application of quantitative household and transport operator questionnaire surveys, but has only recently begun applying a Sustainable Livelihoods Approach to principles of transport planning and policy development. As a result of initial meetings with the Team Leader and other researchers, it was decided to strengthen the capacity of the department in this area. Deborah Bryceson gave a comprehensive presentation on 'Sustainable

Livelihoods in Sub-Saharan Africa' to staff and Masters students at the Department of Rural and Urban Planning that was also attended by staff from the ILO Zimbabwe office. Sustainable Livelihoods concepts and principles were also imparted to the survey team from Development Associates, and in particular the way in which the approach explicitly links to the Knowledge and Research 'Sustainable Livelihoods, Access and Mobility' project being undertaken in conjunction with Urban Activity Patterns. In this regard, the team also reviewed ways in which appropriate participatory methods can best be utilised to explore the utility of the SL approach in urban transport planning.

Capacity building was imparted as follows:

- *Prior to undertaking the community appraisal work*: Extensive discussions were held with TRL's Social Development Researcher and the research team principally on conducting participatory methods for urban appraisals. In addition, secondary participatory research literature was provided for the survey team to enhance their knowledge of participatory appraisal applications in an urban setting, including:
  - Mikkelsen, B. (1995). Methods for development work and research: a guide for practitioners. New Delhi: Sage Publications
  - Pretty, J. et al. (1995). Participatory learning and action: a trainer's guide. London: International Institute for Environment and Development
  - Theis, J. et al. (1991). Participatory rapid appraisal for community development: a training manual. London: International Institute for Environment and Development
  - Vasconcellos, E. A. (2001). Urban transport, environment and equity. London: Earthscan Publications
  - Tools to Support Participatory Urban Decision Making. Urban Governance Toolkit Series – TM PLEASE CHECK FULL REFERENCE (DO YOU HAVE A COPY OF THIS? WE CANNOT FIND IT) **I DO NOT HAVE A COPY**

- *Training of University of Zimbabwe staff:* An Interactive training session was held on participatory research methods for University of Zimbabwe staff and Masters students, two of whom were involved in the Urban Activity Patterns study. The training provided a forum in which students and researchers could learn from and provide examples of participatory research in action, including best practice and lessons learned. Training included theoretical and practical application of methods including observation, semi-structured interviews, mapping, transects, calendars, timelines, diagramming and ranking. The session also provided means for analysing qualitative data derived from participatory exercises including the use of anecdotal evidence.

- At three of the survey sites during the community appraisal sessions, City of Harare officials attended, principally to learn how to conduct participatory research. The officials, who were mainly from the districts, that is sites surveyed admitted that they were being exposed to the techniques for the first time. They found the techniques novel and interesting.

- A meeting was held with representatives from the Ministry of Transport (including the Acting Director of Policy and Planning, Chief Engineer of Construction, and

Principle Administrative Officer), to discuss ways in which the Urban Activity Patterns project can actively support the challenges facing the Ministry in developing a national transport policy in Zimbabwe. The first draft of the policy document reviews issues of socially disadvantaged groups including the mobility of children and the disabled. However, consultation between Ministries is lacking with respect to providing transport routes for access to services. Likewise, consultations with the end-users of transport interventions are carried out by the Ministry of Local Government and Department of Physical Planning and tend not to be co-ordinated between Ministries. The team advised Ministry of Transport personnel on methods of consultation including participatory approaches and how these might inform the policy development process. There are strong links between the Department of Rural and Urban Planning and the Ministry of Transport, and the findings of the research will hopefully contribute to a more integrated and holistic approach to transport policy formulation for Harare.

4 ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

4.1 Policies and Sector Organisation

The aim of this section is to review the organisation and policies that guide programmes pertaining to health, education and employment in Zimbabwe and in particular Harare.

4.1.1 Health

Since independence in 1980, the Government of Zimbabwe has made tremendous strides towards improving access to health services for the population. Government's approach was guided by "equity in health" which placed emphasis on health need rather than "ability to pay". As a result of the expansion that took place after independence, 85% of the population live within 8 kilometres of a health facility. The main areas of the activity were the rural areas where some 250 new clinics and 25 district hospitals were constructed. However, most of the achievements made in improving spatial access are now being compromised by a combination of economic hardship, illness related to HIV/AIDS and population growth. As health infrastructure has deteriorated, so also has the transport situation in the whole health sector. The City of Harare now has 8 ambulances that are operational out of a fleet of 40. The replacement of ambulances has been erratic and most of the poor sections of the community are no longer covered by emergency health services.

In respect of Harare, health provision is provided by the local authority (City of Harare), Central Government and the private sector. The City of Harare provides most of the clinics in the residential areas, which are used by the poor. The central hospitals, which are used as referral centres are run by the Ministry of Health. Private sector hospitals and clinics are mainly used by more affluent people and are clearly unaffordable by the majority of residents living in the six areas under survey.

4.1.2 Education

The great strides made in the development of health infrastructure since independence were mirrored in the development of educational infrastructure, especially in

quantitative terms. The number of both primary and secondary schools have increased at an unprecedented rate since the attainment of independence in 1980. Expansion took a number of forms and this included building new schools, running two sessions a practice commonly known as “hot sitting” and introducing more streams in existing schools. These last two practices were particularly used in urban areas such as Harare which were experiencing a huge urban influx. During the same time, Government declared free education in primary schools which also increased enrolment. The Nziramasanga Commission Report (1999) noted that the same factors that have had an adverse effect on health delivery system also negatively affected the education sector. Increasing demand has outstripped the government's ability to provide adequate resources. As an indication of the problems facing the poor sections of the community in educating their children, it is estimated that while the percentage of children who made the transition from primary to secondary education in 1995 was 82% in 1981, this had by 1995 reduced to 66% for females and 69% for males (Machingaidze, et al. 1998). Furthermore, the study established that schools that are served by poor transport links and poor housing were often shunned by teachers and hence affecting the quality of education at these schools due to absenteeism.

Government encourages pupils to enrol at the nearest schools to their homes. This used to be applied through a zoning system as a Ministry of Education policy but in an endeavour to avail choice to parents and pupils, the policy is no longer being enforced. However, this encouragement for pupils to register at nearby schools has implications on transport costs.

4.1.3 Employment

Zimbabwe has a serious unemployment problem which is currently estimated at 60%. This high unemployment level is a result of the unpalatable economic and political environment which has seen many companies closing down and employees retrenched. For example in 2000, 400 companies closed resulting in more than 10 000 redundancies. There is therefore a realisation in the country that due to limited job creation opportunities in the formal sector, employment prospects in the longer term could be improved through the promotion of self-employment and informal sector activities. Government has recognised the importance of this sector by appointing a Minister of State responsible for the informal sector.

The informal sector activities have generally suffered from the problems of lack of collateral to borrow money from financial institutions, high interest rates and a lack of knowledge about the procedures for seeking loans. In addition, the high cost of transport has been blamed for limiting the growth prospects in the sector.

More recently, economic activities, which tend to be largely informal, are now permitted and regulated by Statutory Instrument 216 of 1994 the 'Regional Town and Country Planning (Use Groups) Regulations' which mandated the carrying out of certain income generating activities at home by entrepreneurs. Since the promulgation of these regulations, however, the City of Harare's Director of Health has always observed that the rules are being abused with some full-scale industrial and trading activities taking place in residential areas. Some of the activities taking place are blamed for causing damage to the environment and for inconveniencing other members of the community.

Under the Economic Reform Programme, government introduced the Social Dimensions Fund (SDF) to mitigate the social costs of economic adjustment. The fund is administered by the Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare. It has three main thrusts, training for practical and business skills; employment creation through small and medium-scale enterprises (SME) and public works; and, subsidizing education, health and food to vulnerable groups (via soft loans). The fund also has social safety nets such as education and health assistance to those earning below a certain threshold level, and also food security. Unfortunately, the fund has had numerous problems due to a lack of financial resources resulting in failure to pay some of the service providers such as schools and hospitals.

4.2 Transport and Sector organisation

This section covers the provision of transport in respect of the three sectors of health, education and employment in Harare.

Access to health, education and employment by the urban poor in Harare is mainly undertaken by foot or some form of public transport. Public transport in Harare was deregulated in 1993 and private operators have the sole responsibility to deploy their vehicles as they see fit. To this end, provision per se does not take into account the requirements of social services such as health and education. Public transport operates on major corridors from residential areas to the Central Business District. The provision of public transport is such that there are no services linking social services such as schools and clinics within a residential area. Unless, schools and health centres happen to be along these corridors, they will not be provided with a public transport service. The major referral hospitals are however served with a few public transport vehicles only during visiting hours. Public transport is therefore controlled through the economic forces of demand and supply.

Deregulation has in the short term increased the supply of vehicles in both urban and rural areas. In urban areas, passenger waiting times have reduced significantly. However, fleet expansion has now been curtailed primarily due to the high cost of vehicle acquisition. This is compounded by cut-throat competition that has forced some long established operators to abandon operations. In urban areas, ZUPCO is now operating with a very much reduced fleet. At the time of deregulation, ZUPCO had a fleet of approximately 1 200 buses. By 1998, the fleet had reduced to about 700.

Government and the Local Authority place emphasis on transport provision for the journey to and from work and thus public transport provision is geared towards the employment sector. With a deterioration in service provision, transport problems for the journey to work characterised by long queues becomes very conspicuous. In introducing an integrated commuter peak only rail/bus service in July 2001 in Harare, the Minister of Transport and Communications argued that Government wanted the train service to benefit residents in urban areas and to reduce transport costs "especially for workers".

4.3 Activity Patterns of Transport Users – study findings

4.3.1 Health

The study ascertained that all clinics are well patronised with daily attendance at each clinic in excess of 400 patients. Due to proximity of clinics to peoples' homes, the majority of patients invariably walk. Table 5 below shows the ranges in walking times recorded from community interviews and average patient walking times recorded from individual patient interviews at the clinics in the study area:

Table 5: Average walking times to health centres

Site	Number of Clinics	Walking Time in min. (PUA)	Average Patient walking Time in min.
Dzivaresekwa	1	10-45	27
Epworth	2	25-50	35
Hatcliffe Extension	1	5-10	10
Kambuzuma	2	5-25	14
Mabvuku	3	10-30	24
St Mary's	1	5-20	10
Overall	**10**	**5-45**	**17**

The walking time ranges recorded from community discussions are consistent with the average walking time given by patients. Walking time also reflects the distribution of clinics in relation to peoples' homes. Thus, those close to the clinic take a relatively short time in comparison with those located far away. For instance, in Epworth, both clinics are located on the edges of the residential area and thus walking distances are long. The majority of patients that take longer travelling times to reach the clinic are from contiguous areas and not from within the community. For instance patients from nearby farms also access clinics in Epworth, St Mary's, Dzivaresekwa and Mabvuku and these tend to take a relatively longer walking time when compared to people living within the residential areas.

Public transport is an alternative that can be used by patients but a very negligible number of patients use it. Most patients interviewed cited the high cost of travelling a relatively short distance. The flat fare system used discourages short distance riders.

For those patients who are very sick and unable to walk, a wheelbarrow or pushcart is normally used. In cases of emergency, private vehicles are hired, albeit at high cost as ambulance services are inadequate and unreliable.

While the distribution of health centres in the poor residential areas of Harare is good, *proximity alone cannot guarantee good health*. A clinic can be physically accessible but fail to provide the required service due to lack of medicines and staff. This was summarised by a member of staff at one clinic as follows:

"Most patients walk due to the proximity of the clinics to peoples' homes. However, it is not the physical access to a clinic which is a problem, but the availability and affordability of medicines. Our clinics have no medicines and we end up giving prescriptions to patients even for basic drugs and expect them to buy these from chemists. We know very well that these won't be bought, as the people have no money to buy drugs. What therefore needs to be addressed is the provision of a health care system that is affordable and not how people reach a clinic".

The issues raised above are very pertinent and were echoed by a patient who said:

"We are poor and these local authority clinics are meant to provide us with a service. There are many private surgeries and if we were rich, we would go to private clinics. There are no medicines here and we can't afford to buy drugs from pharmacies. We have no problems getting
[Respondent from Mabvuku clinic]

The general consensus from the study was that the health sector was beset with problems. While both patients and staff acknowledged and applauded the increase in more health centres, health care service had deteriorated in the last 5 to 10 years. The following reasons were cited:

- Lack of drugs at public clinics and hospitals
- High cost of drugs
- Loss of staff due to low remuneration. One member of staff described staff shortage situation *as "frustrating"* as staff were leaving for greener pastures.
- Lack of ambulances to transport critically ill patients in case of emergency
- Long waiting times which in many cases are in excess of ninety minutes
- A generally dirty environment compounded by the shortage of trucks that carry garbage - This is an important issue that was repeatedly echoed by both staff and patients at clinics as illustrated below:

  "Regular cleaning and collecting of rubbish bins is required. There is also a big problem of people who throw litter all over. Public toilets need to be well looked after". [Female Respondent from Kambuzuma]

Improving the environment has a distinct advantage towards health and in turn reduces poverty as a clean environment reduces the incidence of diseases and hence a need to seek medical treatment.

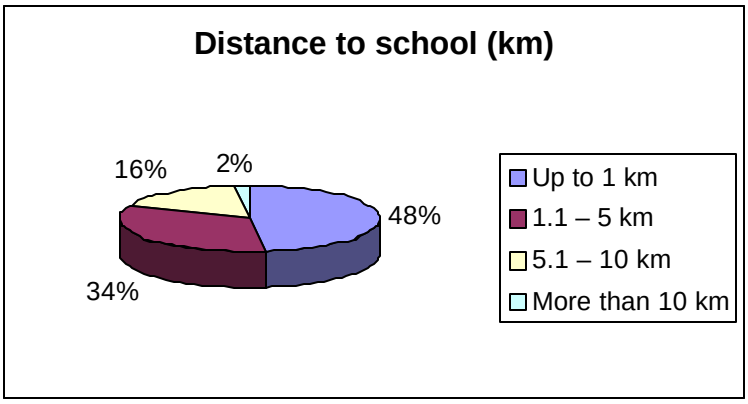
While patients generally do not experience problems to access health facilities, a significant proportion of staff travel for considerable distances to reach their places of work. There is no specific catchment area as they are located all over the city. The majority of staff use public transport. With no public transport connecting residential areas, an interchange is necessary and thus increasing transport costs. In addition, night duty necessitates night travelling by staff creating risks to personal safety.

4.3.2 Education

The initial intention was to interview primary school pupils. However, from the interviews that were conducted at the first primary school in Epworth, it was found that all the pupils walk to school. Subsequent interviews were therefore carried out with secondary school pupils who typically travel further to school because secondary schools tend to have a larger catchment area.

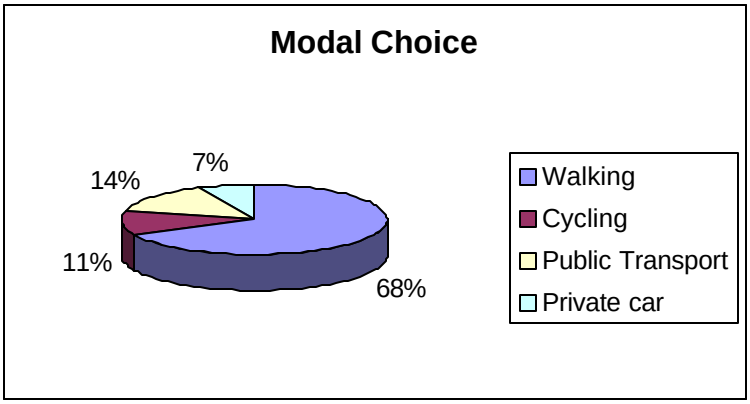
Although secondary pupils use other modes of transport, the majority walk to school because of the inflated cost of alternative transport, and because most people stay within the neighbourhood. This is illustrated by a detailed study of the origins of a class at a school in St Mary's shown in Figure 2. The origin trip patterns are typical of other secondary schools in the areas surveyed with the exception of Hatcliffe Extension where there is no secondary school located in the area.

Figure 2: Origins for school pupils in St Mary's



Eighty two percent (82%) of the pupils are within a 5 kilometre radius of the school with 48% less than one kilometre. The short distances travelled are reflected in the modes of transport used as illustrated by the modal choice pattern shown in Figure 3.

Figure 3: Modal Choice for School Pupils (St Mary's)



The majority of pupils (68%) walk to and from school. Walking time ranges from 2 to 60 minutes with the majority walking for an average of 25 minutes. With 5 pupils cycling, the percentage that use non motorised transport is approximately 80%. Those who cycle estimated that repair and maintenance costs are about Z$1000 per term. Pupils using public transport were mainly in the 5 – 10 kilometre band.

Fares for public transport ranged from Z$15 (local services within Chitungwiza) to Z$25 (Services connecting Chitungwiza to Harare) and average waiting time is approximately 10 minutes. Public transport services use fixed routes and the school is not located along these routes and thus pupils have to walk from the bus stop for about 10 minutes to reach the school.

In Mabvuku, 88% of the pupils interviewed walk while 9% and 3% use a bicycle and private car respectively. In Dzivaresekwa, 90% walk taking 5 to 30 minutes depending on distance with the remainder 10% cycling and taking about an hour to reach the school. Those using a bicycle come from outside Dzivaresekwa. In Kambuzuma, the majority of pupils reside within the community and take 5 to 15 minutes to walk to school. A few travel from other neighbouring areas and either use public transport or cycle and their travel time ranges from 30 to 60 minutes. However, those who use public transport, hastened to add that they "resort to walking when financial resources

Hatcliffe Extension has one primary school located in the area and has no secondary school. The primary school has limited capacity and some pupils are forced to travel to other distant schools. Therefore both secondary and some primary school pupils experience long travel times to access schools. Walking times to school range from 2 to 120 minutes as shown by Table 6 below.

Table 6: Access to Secondary schools in Hatcliffe Extension

School	Distance	Transport mode	Travel time in minutes	Round trip costs in Z$
Hatcliffe 1 Secondary.	3.5.	Walking.	50.	N/A.
Vainona High.	7.	Kombis.	15.	70.
Harare High (Mbare).	25.	Kombis.	90.	90.
Mt.Pleasant High.	10	Kombis	40.	70.
Malborough High.	25.	Kombis	90.	90.
Zimbiru Primary	8	Walking/bus	25	30
Calgary Primary.	7.	Walking.	120.	N/A.
Lodel Primary.	9.	Walking.	120.	N/A.
Glen Forest.	3.5.	Walking.	45.	N/A
Zambuko Primary.	Local	Walking	2-15.	N/A

Public transport is only available for those who go to schools in the city direction. Travel costs range from Z$30 to Z$90 (round trip). Lack of bus shelters, inadequate vehicles and the muddy terrain hinder the easy movement of pupils to and from school. The muddy terrain is so serious during the rainy season that pupils are forced to wear plastics on their feet as protective devices. When financial resources are finished, it is common for children to miss lessons or to walk for considerable distances.

The study also sought to ascertain the safety of pupils when travelling to school. Interestingly, notwithstanding the limited safety education lessons provided, none of the schools reported accidents involving school pupils in the last 5 years. Police assistance is given to some schools located near major roads to help children to cross busy intersections.

Just like in the case of health, teachers experience problems to access their schools as they have to travel for considerable distances. Schools do not provide accommodation for members of staff. From the six schools surveyed, only St Mary's provides accommodation for a few senior members of staff. The majority of teachers use public transport and make an interchange before reaching the school. Teachers do not have much choice in selecting a school nearer their homes as demand for school places in Harare far outstrips the availability of places. Many teachers want to move into Harare either to join their spouses or to pursue education.

There are a number of problems experienced with education and these include:

- Recklessness by commuter omnibus crews, as summarised by a teacher at Mabvuku high school:

  "Commuter omnibuses only leave when full, driving is reckless and the crew use abusive language"

- Discrimination of 'short distance travellers' during the peak hours. This is prevalent at St Mary's Secondary School where commuter omnibuses prefer passengers travelling to Harare. The problem is compounded by the fact that the school is not along the main public transport route.

- Pupils who are dependent on cycling complain about the lack of cycle tracks as they share road space with motorised transport

- Pupils who rely on public transport are charged the same fare paid by adults and this would force some to walk long distances when financial resources are exhausted

- Lack of planned pathways in Hatcliffe Extension and muddy terrain makes walking difficult and uncomfortable and forces pupils who walk to school to wear plastics as protective devices

- High cost of transport force pupils to engage in income generating activities to supplement their bus fare to the detriment of their studies.

4.3.3 Employment

The principal livelihood activities in the six areas revolve around formal and informal employment. The former has significantly declined in importance due to an adverse economic situation. Retrenchment levels from formal employment were higher for residents in the six areas studied as most people are poor and lack appropriate skills and qualifications.

In respect of formal sector employment, those in gainful employment are mainly employed as unskilled workers in the commercial sector of the CBD and industrial area. In all six areas, a high proportion of those formally employed work as security guards and domestic workers. These are low paid jobs and it is interesting to note that three of the residential areas, namely Hatcliffe Extension, Epworth and St Mary's have the lowest rental accommodation. Other common forms of employment in which residents of the six areas are employed include kombi drivers, unskilled jobs in the commercial and industrial sectors. Table 7 shows the formal sector employment travel costs and modal split for Hatcliffe residents who participated in community discussions:

Table 7: Formal sector employment travel costs and modal split

Area.	Distance	Time in minutes.	Fare in Z$ (roundtrip)	Mode of transport.
Granitesite	32	120	170.	Public transport.
Borrowdale	14	20-30	60.	Public Transport
City.	20	25, 45	70.	Public Transport
Mbare	25	55	110.	Public Transport
Local	3-27	25-130	-	Walking.
Msasa.	28	60	280.	Public transport.
Willowvale	33	60.	170.	Public Transport

Residents of Hatcliffe Extension travel to a number of locations for formal employment. With the exception of trips that are undertaken locally, all other destinations are reached by public transport, mainly commuter omnibuses. This pattern is similar to other sites. In all six participatory urban appraisals, commuter omnibuses (especially the kombis), were reported to be unsafe due to high speed. In addition, the crew was described as rough and reckless.

Informal sector trade is an important income generating activity in all six areas. The main activities undertaken are listed in Table 8:

Table 8: Main Livelihood Activities in the Study Sites

Site	Main Activities
Dzivaresekwa	Buying and selling of fruits and vegetables Buying and selling firewood, empties Agriculture – Crop Production Sewing and knitting Crocheting and trading in second hand clothing Construction –building and carpentry work General commodity trading in "tuckshops"
Epworth	Buying and selling of fruits and vegetables Agriculture – market gardening Collection of firewood for resale Brick moulding and carpentry work River and pit sand extraction for resale Trading in second hand clothing

Hatcliffe Extension	Buying and selling of fruits and vegetables Collection of firewood for resale Buying and selling animal fat and second hand clothing Agriculture –growing maize and vegetables Peanut butter and soap making Crocheting and trading in second hand clothing Poultry rearing Carpentry and furniture making
Kambuzuma	Buying and selling of fruits and vegetables Buying and selling firewood Agriculture – Crop Production Sewing and knitting and trading in second hand clothing General commodity trading in "tuckshops"
Mabvuku	Buying and selling of fruits and vegetables Buying and selling firewood Agriculture – Crop Production Crocheting and trading in second hand clothing Construction – plumbing and electrical fittings General commodity trading in "tuckshops"
St Mary's	Buying and selling of fruits and vegetables Collection of firewood for resale Buying and selling paraffin Agriculture – Crop Production General commodity trading in "tuckshops" Crocheting and trading in second hand clothing

From Table 8 above, there are diverse similarities and disparities in informal sector livelihood activities employed in the six study areas. Buying and selling of fruits and vegetables, trading in second hand clothing, crop production and the operation of "tuckshops" is practised in all the six areas. Firewood is traded in all areas, but interestingly, in Hatcliffe Extension, Epworth and St Mary's firewood is *collected* for resale while in Kambuzuma, Dzivaresekwa and Mabvuku, the commodity is *bought* for resale. Residents in the three areas in which firewood is collected are taking advantage of the "natural capital", that is adjacent surrounding farm lands where the commodity can be collected, albeit illegally. In the other three residential areas firewood is bought and at times from considerable distances entailing the hiring of a truck. The collection of firewood and extraction of river and pit sand from contiguous areas, albeit a necessary activity for survival, is causing environmental degradation as illustrated below:

"Epworth, a former property of the United Methodist Church run Mission School but invaded by desperate home seekers from Harare when Zimbabwe become independent in 1980, is a perfect example of the real dilemmas and obstacles many developing countries are facing to achieve sustainable levels. The majority of the people are unemployed, crime and environmental degradation are rampant as people devise means of survival. Sand and wood poachers have wrecked havoc in the surrounding farms ....." [The Herald, 30 May 2002].

Transport is critical to the pursuit of livelihood activities of the poor in Harare. Most of the commodities traded are bought from Mbare (5 kilometres from the CBD) where the largest fruit and vegetable wholesale and retail markets are located. Traders in all the six sites acquire their fruits and vegetable products from Mbare.

Five sites have a direct public transport link with Mbare and the only residential area without a direct link is Hatcliffe Extension. Table 9 shows the costs involved in travelling to the market in Mbare.

Table 9: Cost involved in travelling to Mbare Market (Z$)

Site	Mode used	Distance (km)	Fare (return trip)	Push cart charge*	Goods fee	Total Daily Travel Costs
Dzivaresekwa	Bus	12	$60	$20-$150	$15	$95-$225
Epworth	Bus/kombi	18	$60	$20-$150	$20	$100-$230
Hatcliffe Extension	Kombi	24	$110	$20-$150	$20	$150-$280
Kambuzuma	Bus/kombi	9	$50	$20-$150	$20	$90-$220
Mabvuku	Bus	20	$70	$20-$150	$20	$110-$240
St Mary's	Bus	22	$70	$20-$150	$20	$110-$240

*Lower charge is for hired labour while upper charge is for hired push cart

With an average frequency of three trips per week, weekly expenditure ranges from Z$270 to Z$840.

In all the six sites, the journeys start very early, between 0330 and 0400 hours. There are also long waiting times as there will be very few public transport vehicles moving during the early hours. The return trip to and from Mbare ranges from 4 to 7 hours.

While Mbare remains the main trading focus by those engaged in the informal sector, it is important to note that trades such as sourcing of planks for furniture making, paraffin, grocery for tuckshops and old clothes do not have specific predictable destinations. Thus, traders involved can spend long periods travelling. The situation is compounded by the general shortages of some commodities on the market such as cooking oil, maize meal, and sugar.

A trader in Mabvuku remarked:

"We spend long hours looking for commodities for resale. The shortage of some commodities has meant that one can spend the whole day travelling. Our customers have to understand the high prices we charge ... "

The participatory appraisals have revealed the following problems in respect of employment:

- **High transport costs:** Both formal and informal employment in all the six sites, residents lamented the unprecedented high cost of transport. A Mabvuku male resident puts it succinctly:

  "We need to be frank with each other. I am not talking politics but what we are experiencing today is something which we never witnessed before. The cost of living, food, clothing, health, education, housing and transport continue to increase on a daily basis and is now getting out of reach of the ordinary man".

- **Inadequate public transport services** characterised by long waiting times

- **Absences of shelters:** There are no bus shelters at termini and bus stops. Passengers therefore experience severe problems during adverse weather conditions.

- **Safety:** Kombis are unsafe and therefore easily involved in accidents due to their high speed, especially when they are filled beyond passenger and weight capacity. In addition, drivers and conductors are not courteous and always use abusive language when talking to passengers.

- **Lack of a feeder service to the commuter rail:** Some employees in the formal sector in Dzivaresekwa, Kambuzuma and Mabvuku make use of the commuter train. Commuter trains, which use the existing rail infrastructure were introduced in July 2001. Residents have welcomed the lower fares charged but lament the lack of a good feeder service.

- **Infrequent commuter rail services**: Commuter train services are inadequate as only one round trip service is offered per working day and service provision is synchronised with formal employment starting and finishing times and therefore clearly, not ideal for the self employed in the informal sector.

- **Absence of a direct link to Mbare:** Of the six residential areas, Hatcliffe is the only one that has no direct link with Mbare and consequently, travel costs are high as an interchange is necessary.

4.4 Activity Patterns and Transport for the "Disabled"

Livelihood activity patterns and transport use for people with "disabilities" or the "physically impaired" is a grey area as very little is known about the problems experienced by people who are incapacitated in some way.

Livelihood activities for the physically challenged are constrained by many factors. In an economy characterised by high levels of retrenchment, the disabled are very much disadvantaged and cannot easily secure jobs. They are either involved in self-employment or formally employed in organisations that specifically employ the disabled. There are two such organisations in Harare including the Rotary Organisation Southern Employment Project (ROSEP) where participatory research was conducted.

By and large, disabled persons spend longer periods travelling and also pay a considerable amount of their disposable income on travel. Table 10 illustrates the travelling patterns of formally employed disabled persons at ROSEP.

Table 10: Travel time taken by formally employed disabled persons

Residential area	Distance (km)	Mode	Travel Time	Fare paid
Mbare	5	Wheelchair	Time taken 90 min	Nil
Mufakose	10	Bicycle	Time taken 60 min	Nil
Mufakose	10	Bus	Walking to bus stop 10 min In-vehicle (bus) 30 min Walking to final dest. 10 min	Z$25 (Z$50 round trip)
Kuwadzana	14	Bus and kombi	Walking to bus stop 25min In-vehicle (bus) 40 min Walking to final dest. 12 min	$30 ($60 round trip)
Mbare	5	Kombi	Walking to bus stop 5min In-vehicle (bus) 12 min Walking to final dest. 8 min	$30 ($60 round trip)
Chitungwiza	25	Bus and kombi	Walking to bus stop 15min In-vehicle (bus) 40 min Waiting time 15 min In-vehicle travel time 15 min Walking to final dest. 10 min	$35+$25 ($120 round trip)
Epworth	20	Bus	Walking to bus stop 15min In-vehicle (bus) 30 min Waiting time 20 min In-vehicle travel time 20 min Walking to final dest.10 min	$30+$25 ($110 round trip)
Highfield	8	Kombi	Walking to bus stop 5min In-vehicle (bus) 15 min Walking to final dest.12 min	$25 (50 round trip)

From Table 10 above, 6 people (all female) use public transport while 2 (both male) use a wheelchair and bicycle to travel to work. The two men emphatically pointed out the high cost of transport as the main reason of using non-motorised forms of transport. It takes longer to travel but there are cost savings on bus fares. Employees of ROSEP are each paid Z$3 900 per month. Thus the average monthly expenditure of travel would equate to approximately 25%. This percentage only takes into account travel to and from work and does not include social journeys that may be undertaken after work or during the weekend.

Even those that are not formally employed experience severe transport problems as illustrated in Box 1 below which describes the activity patterns and transport use of one self employed disabled person.

Box 1: Activity patterns and transport use for a self employed disabled person

Lilian is a 27 year old disabled widow staying with three children. She stays in Budiriro, 20 kilometres from the city centre. She lives in rented accommodation. She buys material in the city centre for sewing and reselling. Lilian pays $60 (round trip) and travels to the city centre three to four times a week. On average she gets about $4 000 per month and her transport costs come to about $1 200 including material transport

charges.

Lilian laments that public transport is not ideal for her. She cannot keep her leg straight as there is no adequate leg room for people with artificial legs. Within the city centre, there is no provision for access on pavements. There are no guard rails at major intersection crossing points. The journey takes a long period comprising:

Walking time to bus stop	20 minutes
Waiting time	50 minutes
In-vehicle travel time	45 minutes

Waiting time is excessively long as some drivers are reluctant to carry the disabled in their vehicles.

The physically challenged cannot access most buildings notwithstanding the fact that it is mandatory that all public premises must be accessible by people with a mobility handicap. Ironically, Town House (a local authority building) is not accessible by people with a mobility handicap and yet it is the local authority that has to ensure that plans submitted for approval comply with the requirement. Other places specifically mentioned were public toilets, hair salons and a number of commercial and industrial premises.

In respect of education, there are three boarding schools for the disabled in Harare and consequently, most pupils with disability do not have to travel long distances to go to school. However, the biggest problem confronting the disabled in accessing educational and health services is the high cost charge for these services. A National Council of the Disabled Persons of Zimbabwe (NCDPZ) leader pointed out:

"They cannot afford to pay medical expenses and some are resorting to traditional medicines

The cost of appliances has also increased rapidly. For instance, the cost of a wheelchair has increased from $7 000 in 1998 to $18 000 in 1999 and $35 000 by 2000. Although the disabled are entitled to have part of their educational and health expenses paid by the Social Dimension Fund inadequate funds has compelled these people to look for their own financial resources to cover their expenses.

The problems expressed by disabled are summarised hereafter:

- Reluctance to carry disabled persons in public transport. A disabled person at ROSEP succinctly puts it:

  "When a driver spots a disabled person especially those with wheel chairs, they do not stop at all even in situations where there is space available in the vehicle"

- No priority given to the disabled persons when boarding public transport
- Expensive public transport
- Drivers and conductors are very rough and before the disabled people get seated, they drive off

- High cost of equipment used by the disabled
- Inaccessible buildings notwithstanding that there is legislation that requires all public buildings to be accessible
- Inaccessible public toilets by people with a mobility handicap
- Need to improve the design of public transport vehicles to enable the disabled ease of boarding and alighting. The commuter train introduced by Government in July 2001 with very steep steps was specifically mentioned as not being ideal for people with a mobility handicap. Therefore, disabled persons cannot take advantage of its cheaper fares.
- High fees paid by disabled persons at clinics and hospitals which is the same as the one paid by the able bodied

The disabled persons came up with the following solutions to alleviate their problems:

- Change in attitude by members of the public to realise that a disabled person is not different from others
- Concessionary fares, to allow the disabled persons to board public transport at a reduced fare
- End discrimination at work places both in terms of equal opportunities in employment as well as equal pay for the same job
- Affirmative action to empower the disabled in owning their own houses instead of relying on rented accommodation

4.5 Detailed Account of Transport Influence of the Employment Sector

4.5.1 Introduction

There was a general consensus from the participatory exercises undertaken in all the six sites that the employment sector (both formal and informal) presented the greatest challenge as far as transport was concerned. A quantitative survey (described in Section 2.4) through the use of questionnaires was conducted to ascertain travel patterns and problems in this sector. The characteristics of the 20 informal and 15 formal employees interviewed at each site are shown in Table 11 and 12.

Table 11: Characteristics of Informal Sector Employees

Site	Percentage Male	Average age	Percentage Female	Average Age
Dzivaresekwa	70%	27	30%	32
Epworth	60%	33	40%	32
Hatcliffe Extension	55%	28	45%	31
Kambuzuma	55%	37	45%	33
Mabvuku	40%	32	60%	36
St Mary's	45%	28	55%	33
Overall	**54%**	**31**	**46%**	**33**

Table 12: Characteristics of formal Sector Employees

Site	Percentage	Average age	Percentage	Average Age

	Male		Female	
Dzivaresekwa	50%	32	50%	31
Epworth	67%	35	33%	29
Hatcliffe Extension	53%	31	47%	31
Kambuzuma	60%	31	40%	30
Mabvuku	80%	30	20%	39
St Mary's	60%	31	40%	27
Overall	**62%**	**32**	**38%**	**31**

In both cases, more males were interviewed. The percentage differences to some extent reflect the higher participation of females in the informal sector than the formal sector. Average ages are similar with a slightly higher age for females engaged in the informal sector.

Sourcing and selling of commodities are the main activities engaged by informal sector employees. Sourcing of commodities takes on average 2 to 4 hours and selling 5 to 11 hours. The main products traded are fruit, vegetables, groceries, old clothes, vehicle parts, firewood, and paraffin. The female members of the household mainly undertake trading in fruit, vegetables and old clothes. Other activities include furniture making, sand sales, which are invariably carried out by males. The survey revealed that 52% of products are sourced from Mbare market, 23% from city centre, 20% locally and 5% elsewhere. The proportion of products sourced locally is increasing as a way of saving on transport costs. As one trader remarked:

"We are increasingly buying our goods from the local market in order to save the cost of transport to travel to Mbare or city centre. The goods are expensive and this obviously reduces our profits"

4.5.2 Modes used and trip patterns

Modes used for travel in pursuit of formal and informal sector activities are summarised in Table 13 and 14 below.

Table 13: Percentage Modal Split for Informal Sector Activities

	Walk	Minibus	Conventional Bus	Car	Lorry / Pick up	Push cart
Dzivaresekwa	16	24	37	6	4	17
Epworth	26	24	38	6	1	4
Hatcliffe Extn.	30	62	-	-	1	8
Kambuzuma	29	38	12	14	4	4
Mabvuku	15	25	38	-	-	23
St Mary's	24	13	44	4	-	14
Overall	**23**	**31**	**28**	**5**	**2**	**12**

Table 14: Percentage Modal Split for Formal Sector Activities

	Walk	Minibus	Conventional Bus	Car	Train	Bicycle	Pick up
Dzivaresekwa	36	36	18	-	10	-	-

Epworth	46	19	17	-	-	5	13
Hatcliffe Extn.	22	50	21	5	-	2	-
Kambuzuma	12	65	4	-	-	20	-
Mabvuku	38	29	24	-	4	-	5
St Mary's	26	36	34	-	-	4	-
Overall	**30**	**40**	**20**	**1**	**2**	**5**	**3**

The predominant mode used in both formal and informal sector employment is public transport. Conventional buses account for 28% and 20% for informal and formal sector travel respectively. Most of the informal sector employees interviewed preferred conventional buses because of the availability of space for their goods. Minibuses, due to their superior speed have a higher market share (40%) in comparison to conventional buses (20%) for those employed in the formal sector.

A high proportion of residents in the surveyed areas walk (30% formal and 23% informal). The latter is relatively lower than the former as headloading creates a burden. Kambuzuma has the lowest percentage (12%) of those employed in the formal sector who walk. Clearly, people have taken advantage of the proximity of the residential area to the city centre (10 kilomtres) by cycling as the bicycle mode constitutes 20% of the market share. In addition a very high proportion of residents in Kambuzuma also use minibuses. Of the six areas, the Kambuzuma-City route has the lowest fare charged and this explains a significant use of minibuses.

For informal sector activities, a push cart is an important intermediate mode of transport that is used to transport goods from the market to public transport boarding places. Some traders hire these push carts for considerably long distances. Push carts are significantly cheaper than pick ups and lorries. However, the price is not fixed and varies with demand and the negotiating skills of the trader.

4.5.3 Travel Time and fare paid

Table 15 illustrates the average travel time, waiting time and fares paid by formal and informal sector employees in the six sites surveyed.

Table 15: Average travelling time, waiting time and fare paid

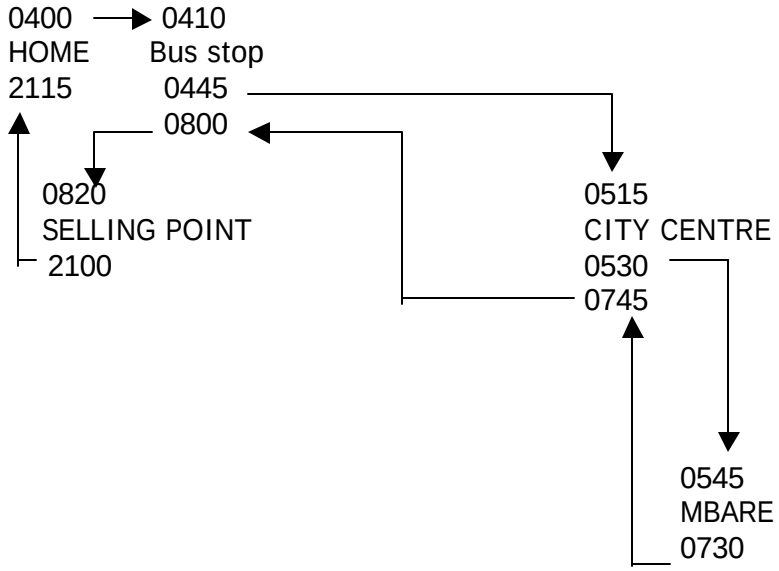
	Average Travel Time (min)	**Average Wait Time (min)**	**Average Fare Paid (Z$)**	**Goods Charges (Z$)**
Dzivaresekwa	24 (16)	34 (18)	30 (30)	434
Epworth	29 (22)	27 (14)	33 (35)	420
Hatcliffe Extension	32 (20)	47 (19)	35 (32)	180
Kambuzuma	17 (10)	11 (27)	28 (25)	206
Mabvuku	30 (18)	23 (22)	34 (34)	246
St Mary's	26 (19)	26 (26)	35 (30)	265
Overall	**26 (18)**	**28 (21)**	**33 (31)**	**292**

Figures in brackets are for formal employment

Overall, those involved in informal sector activities, take an average travelling time of 26 minutes. Formal sector employees take relatively less travelling time (18 minutes). Informal sector employees also have a relatively longer waiting time than formal sector employees. There are several reasons to explain this disparity. Firstly, journeys for those involved in informal employment start very early in the morning when the frequency of public transport services is very low resulting in long waiting times. Secondly, delays are also caused by heavy goods carried on the return journey. Thirdly, most informal sector journeys involve an interchange as traders may be forced to travel to several destinations looking for scarce commodities. Figures 4 and 5 illustrate typical informal and formal trip patterns.

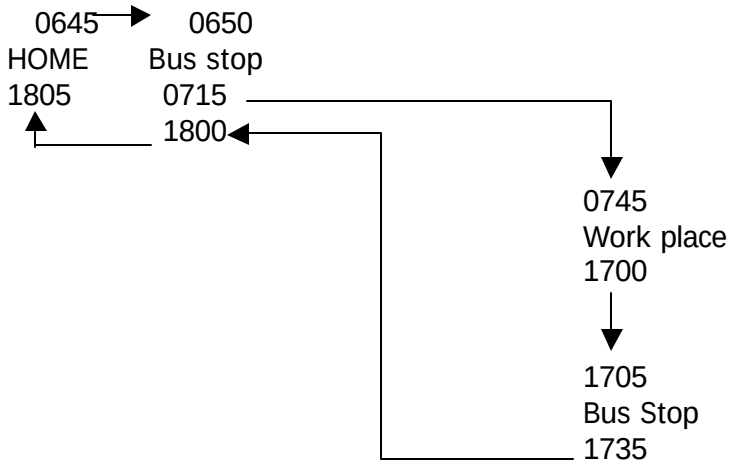
The average one way fare paid is $32. Although flat fares are charged, average fares paid are consistent with distance of the residential area from destination. The cost of transporting goods varies from Z$180 to Z$434 with an average of Z$292. This is a major component which at times forces some traders to procure goods locally.

Figure 4: Typical Trip Pattern for informal sector employee [Hatcliffe Extension Trader]



[The trader leaves residence as early as 0400 hours and takes about 10 minutes to walk to the bus stop. There is a fairly long period of waiting time of about 35 minutes. The trader makes an interchange in the city centre and by the time he returns back to his trading base, he will have spent 4 hours 20 minutes]

Figure 5: Typical Trip Pattern for formal sector employee [Dzivaresekwa]

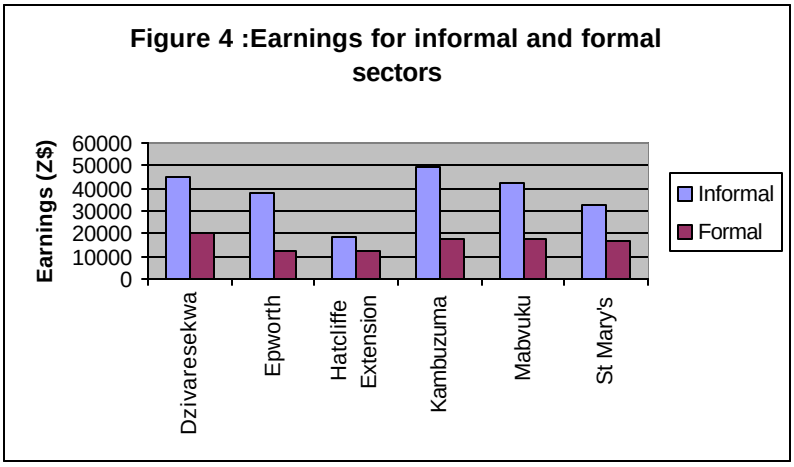


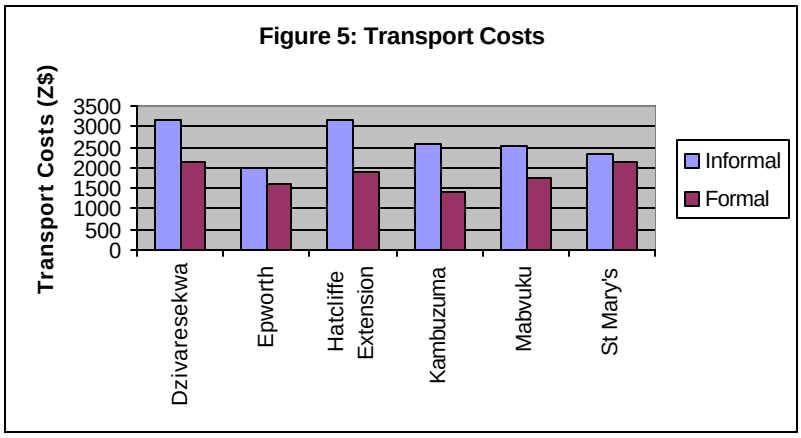
[The employee leaves his home at 0645 and takes 5 minutes to walk to the bus stop. After waiting for 25 minutes, he spends 30 minutes travelling. He spends the whole day at work in the city centre and arrives back home at 1805]

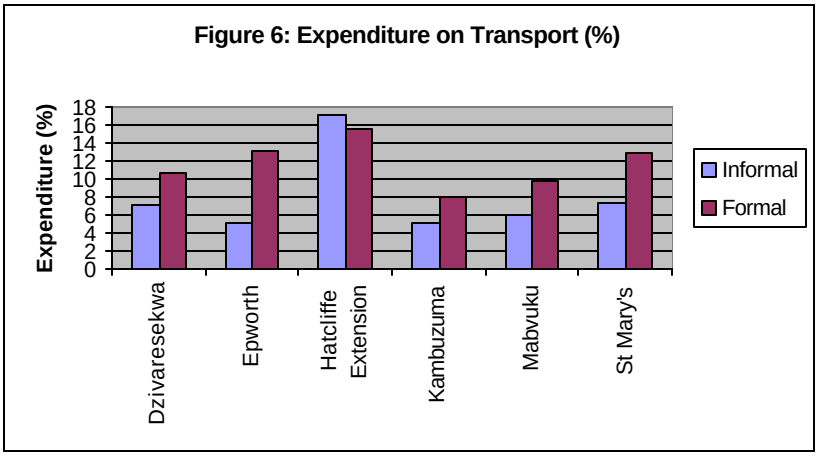
4.5.4 Earnings and Travel Costs

Figures 4 to 6 illustrate the informal and formal sector earnings, transport costs and the percentage of earnings spend on travel respectively.

Figure 4 :Earnings for informal and formal sectors







It is interesting to note from the above figures that the self-employed earn much more than those who are formally employed. A significantly high proportion of unskilled and domestic workers in these residential areas tend to depress formal sector average incomes. Overall average earnings for informal and formal sector employees for all six sites are about Z$38 000 and Z$16 000 respectively. Transport costs (in monetary terms) are higher for informal sector activities and range from approximately Z$2000 (Epworth) to Z$3 000 (Hatcliffe Extension) while those for the formal sector range from about Z$1400 to Z$2000. This is expected as persons travelling in pursuit of informal earning activities also carry goods which are charged. Percentage expenditure on transport is higher for formal sector employees. For instance the overall average expenditure on travel for formal employees is approximately 12% compared to 8% in the informal sector. Hatcliffe Extension has the highest expenditure on transport of 17% for informal sector activity. Hatcliffe Extension is the only residential area out of the six, which is not directly linked to Mbare market. Average percentage expenditures on transport particularly for the formally employed constitutes a very high proportion, considering that there are other basic necessities to be met by households such as food, education, health and housing all of which are increasing more rapidly than transport.

4.5.5 Choice of residence

The main factor that influences choice of where people live is availability of housing. Both formal and non formal sector employees cited this as the most important factor. The second most important reason cited by five residential areas (except Epworth) was cost of getting to work. Residents of Epworth sited low rental accommodation as the second most important factor. This is not surprising as Epworth has the lowest rents in Harare. Proximity to school is not considered an important factor at all. Clearly, people have to think of shelter first before they can think of how they get to work.

4.5.6 Transport Problems and Solutions

In respect of transport problems, all the six residential areas presented similar problems and solutions. The major problems cited were:

Formal sector:

- High cost of commuting
- Inadequate public transport
- Long waiting times during peak periods
- Long queues during peak periods
- No direct link to Msasa Industrial area [cited by residents of Dzivaresekwa]
- No priority for long distance commuters
- Route cutting by commuter omnibuses (kombis) during peak periods
- Overspeeding by commuter omnibuses
- Discomfort in commuter omnibuses (kombis)
- Lack of public relations and rude behaviour by kombi drivers and conductors
- Lack of cycle tracks for those who want to cycle
- High cost of buying a bicycle

Informal sector:

- Inadequate public transport during the early hours of the morning
- Long waiting times on return journeys
- No direct link to Mbare [Hatcliffe Extension residents]
- High cost of hiring trucks and push carts
- Inability of buses and kombis to carry timber leading to hiring of trucks at a high cost
- No direct link to Jaggers wholesalers [All sites with the exception of Mabvuku]
- Inappropriately located bus stops leading to long walking distances when interchanging
- Shortage of transport to Mbare in early mornings
- Fluctuating charges for push carts
- No fixed charges for goods in kombis
- Shortages of commodities e.g. sugar, paraffin resulting in some trips not accomplishing anything
- Trans-shipment of goods results in breakages

5 STUDY CONSTRAINTS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Study Constraints and lessons learned

- **A tense politico-economic environment**, which made focused discussions difficult with some communities as political overtones and the overwhelming economic hardships affecting participants' energy levels. The economic problems and the general decline in social services as evidenced by shortage of drugs in clinics for instance, made it difficult to focus discussion on transport issues as the latter has now become a luxury. Holding meetings was also difficult as at times they were misconstrued as political devices. The study team explained the purpose and objectives of the study from the outset to dispel any concerns about our intentions.

- **Logistics of inviting people and keeping them interested**; this initially was a problem coupled with the fact that participants expected something substantial in return. A common expression used was "zvinechibhanzi here?" literally to mean "what is in it for me?" The strategy had to change from buying light refreshments to giving substantial financial incentives to captivate interest for the duration of the exercise

- **High Expectations**; Some participants wanted to know the benefits that they would derive from the study. Others were sceptical and referred to the numerous studies that have been undertaken in their communities without any changes taking place

- **Venues for meetings;** these were not always available as some of the meetings were held during weekends to accommodate working community members. Spaces/rooms for the convenient holding of discussions were not readily available and as such some of the meetings were held in the open

- **Interfering with pupil's learning timetable:** Although headmasters were very co-operative, the sessions undertaken in November and December coincided with examinations at two schools. The behaviour of pupils closely related to the timings of the sessions with non-exam sessions benefiting from "sober" participation while exam sessions were at times characterised by over-excited pupils speaking at the top of their voices and at times inaudibly

5.2 Conclusion

The main issues arising from the study can be summarised as follows:

- The Participatory Urban Appraisal (PUA) approach, which in essence engaged members of the community into dialogue was very successful in providing the required information for the study, notwithstanding some difficulties mainly emanating from the socio-political situation.

- Access to social services such as health and education was found not to be a serious problem in Harare as most trips are undertaken on foot because of the proximity of these services to peoples' homes. There are however transport problems for a few pupils who reside far away from schools and for emergency health cases.

- In as much as a lot has been done in the health and education sectors to provide services that are easily and physically accessible to the people, quality of service remains the most serious problem that affects access to these two sectors. The problem is characterised by shortages and high costs to procure drugs and medicines at health centres, and textbooks at schools.

- Livelihood activities provide the premise upon which people travel. With the decline in formal employment, many residents have devised coping strategies by engaging in self-employment activities in the informal sector. Evidence from the study has shown that more trips are made in respect of informal sector activities in comparison with the formal sector. However, the informal sector generates significantly more income than formal employment.

- Transport related problems for the employment sector include high transport costs, inadequate public transport services resulting in long waiting times, lack of direct services to desired destinations and unruly behaviour by kombi drivers and conductors inter alia. High transport costs has compelled some people to devise coping strategies. These include selling of sweets by school pupils to earn money for transport, procuring goods locally on the part of vendors, and resorting to walking instead of using public transport, in addition to a reduction in the frequency of travel particularly on non-essential trips. A complementary study on Sustainable Livelihoods, Access and Mobility in the Harare-Bindura Corridor of Zimbabwe established that some residents of high density areas of Harare were relocating to Mbare because of its proximity to the CBD and the Industrial area.

- While public transport is the predominant mode used by both formal and informal sector employees, non-motorised transport (walking and cycling) also has a sizeable market share. The latter's share is being constrained by the cost of a bicycle which has increased from an average of about Z$6 000 in January 2001 to approximately Z$35 000 by May 2002.

- The physically challenged experience severe problems in accessing jobs, buildings, public transport vehicles and equipment needed to ease their movement among others. This remains an unknown quantity, with trip-making and activity patterns unrecorded. Clearly, further investigation is required in this regard.

5.3 Policy Recommendations

The improvement of livelihood transport related services is an important and challenging policy issue. Solutions need to be both creative and appropriate. The following recommendations emanating from the findings of the study are as follows:

- **Provision of direct links:** The study noted that in a number of cases, there are no direct transport links between residential areas and social and economic service areas such as schools, health centres and markets. Consequently, some members of the community such as teachers, health workers, industrial workers and vendors have to make an interchange, thus increasing both travel time and costs. Some of the critical issues that emerged from the participatory community discussions include vehicle scheduling and routing and residential connectivity. The extent to which the opening up of the urban transport sector to private sector operators is regulated in the interests of an efficient transport system is not evident from a commuter point of view. Clearly, such a recommendation may be difficult to implement in a deregulated environment where market forces determine the level of service to be provided.

- **Non-transport interventions:** Enhancing accessibility does not necessarily entail increased mobility. The criteria for increased accessibility is to minimise travelling by reducing both frequency and distance travelled. As Edmonds (1998) remarks, transport involves the movement of goods and people (mobility and access involves the ability and ease of reaching various destinations - 'physical proximity'). Thus, the implementation of non-transport solutions such as locating services and facilities nearer to the end user would minimise travel and in turn solve the transport problem. While the economic significance of Mbare market cannot be overemphasised, the cost and need of travel can be reduced by decentralising activities from Mbare to other residential areas. In respect of health and education, concerted efforts to improve the quality of service are required.

- **Integrated transport land use planning:** Distances travelled to places of formal employment are excessively long. The local authority can assist in reducing the distance by implementing land use planning policies that integrate residential and employment land use. Such strategies would significantly reduce transport costs and improve livelihood aspirations for the urban poor. The policy already taken by Government to allow some livelihood activities to take place in the home greatly empowers the poor as they save on both transport and rental costs. However, such a policy requires close monitoring to ensure that activities undertaken do not adversely affect the environment.

- **Creation of an enabling environment for non-motorised transport use:** Non motorised transport (NMT) comprises walking and cycling. Walking is an important mode which planners take for granted and in most cases do not give it adequate consideration in the planning process. With high cost of transport, many people are walking to and from work. There is need to provide safe walking pavements and crossing points to reduce pedestrian-vehicular conflict. Unpaved pathways make walking difficult and unpleasant for pedestrians because of dust and mud during the dry and wet seasons respectively.

  While cycling increased following the rise in fuel costs and bus fares in July 2001, (Mbara 2001), current evidence is pointing to a declining trend in the number of bicycles that are being bought. The loss in value of the Zimbabwean dollar has meant an increase in the price of bicycles and there is need for Government to completely remove the duty on bicycles, which was reduced from 40% to 20% in

November 2000. In addition, companies should be given incentives to institute bicycle procurement schemes in order to assist the workers. It is also important to create public awareness on the benefits of cycling and for the City of Harare to provide appropriate infrastructure such as cycle lanes to enable bicycle users to cycle in a safe environment. Such measures to make cycling cheaper and affordable would economically empower the poor. In addition, any significant transfer from motorised public transport to "benign" modes such as cycling would promote environmental objectives.

- **Public transport fares policy:** The structure and level of fares discourages short distance riders. Sick patients travelling for less than two kilometres are forced to walk to clinics as they are made to pay the same fare as passengers travelling 15 kilometres. A fares policy that accounts for distance travelled is required.

- **Need to improve the image of kombi services:** Customer care is an issue, which the majority of users complained about. The issue manifests itself in terms of the actual conduct of the crew; use of abusive language, route cutting during peak periods and fare hiking with changing circumstances. An incident which occurred on 8 July 2002, which resulted in the death of a passenger after being pushed by a kombi conductor, illustrates the unruly behaviour of the crew. It is important for kombi operators to realise that the *raison d'etre* of their existence is its customers. Kombi operators in conjunction with the local authority need to institute training programmes that would improve the crews' public relations. In addition and as proposed by residents of Mabvuku who participated at the PUA, there is merit in increasing the minimum age of drivers allowed to drive public transport vehicles from 21 years to 25 years.

- **Provision of public transport infrastructure:** Since the deregulation of urban passenger transport, the provision of bus shelters has been neglected. There is need for the local authority to provide bus shelters at major termini and selected intermediate stops to protect passengers against adverse weather conditions. This is an area where public private partnerships (PPP) can be encouraged.

- **Policies to promote the informal sector:** This study has clearly shown the importance of the informal sector in sustaining peoples' livelihoods. There is need to come up with clear policies to promote the informal sector. One important area that needs to be addressed is access to capital. Insistence on collateral by financial institutions creates an entry barrier into this sector. The poor are marginalised from accessing credit because they do not own property or land with which to use as collateral.

- **Development of alternative transport for the poor:** In July 2001, Government introduced an integrated commuter train/bus service dubbed "the freedom train" in Harare using existing rail infrastructure. The train service serves three sites covered by this study, namely Dzivaresekwa, Mabvuku and Kambuzuma. In both participatory community research and questionnaire survey, the importance of the integrated bus/train service (which is 40% cheaper than commuter omnibus services

[Mabvuku Resident – The Herald, 18 May 2002]

> While passengers are benefiting from the cheaper train service, its sustainability has been questioned. Some analysts saw the introduction of the commuter train as a "political gimmick" and a ploy to woo urban voters for the presidential election held in March 2002. Government insists the introduction of commuter trains was "driven more on the need to alleviate poverty and puts the interests of the workers first". Both the National Railways of Zimbabwe (NRZ) and the Zimbabwe United Passenger Company (ZUPCO) who are responsible for operating the service have admitted the cost of providing the service was higher than the returns. It is beyond the scope of this study to question the viability of the project but rather to acknowledge the existence of the service introduced to alleviate the transport problems of the poor, and in turn improve their livelihood.

5.4 Recommendations for Further Research

There are some grey areas that need to be investigated further. Little is known about the livelihood activities and transport patterns of the disabled. TRL, in association with CSIR, CIRT and AEI, is currently undertaking a Knowledge and Research project funded by DFID, exploring 'Enhanced Accessibility for People with Disabilities Living in Urban Areas' (DEAP) in South Africa, Malawi, Mozambique and India. Research in this area needs to redefine disability to include non-disabled persons who maybe temporarily impaired and thus find it difficult to access existing public transport. There are many in this category, including those carrying excessive goods, the chronically ill and the elderly.

There is also a need to further investigate how cycling can be promoted. A bicycle plays an important role in sustaining the livelihood needs of the urban poor. It can be used to travel to work or to carry goods for income generation. Apart from economic factors pertaining to the cost of a bicycle and the need to provide the requisite infrastructure, it is also important to examine social and cultural factors that may constitute barriers to cycling.

Finally, transport land-use integration is one area that can greatly assist the poor by reducing travel costs as well as bringing services closer to them. Residential location is dictated by the availability of land. Thus, most residential areas in Harare for low income people continue to be located further away from areas of potential employment. Even for those involved in self-employment, their costs will increase as the markets where they source goods become more remote. There is therefore a need to concretely document the benefits of an integrated transport land-use policy to guide future planning.

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ANNEX 1

Report on Country Workshop

ACTIVITY PATTERNS, TRANSPORT AND POLICIES FOR THE URBAN POOR IN HARARE

COUNTRY WORKSHOP – ZIMBABWE

BRONTE HOTEL
3 OCTOBER 2002

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Thirty (30) people representing the organisations listed hereunder, attended the feedback workshop on Activity Patterns, Transport and Policies for the Urban Poor in Harare:

- Department of Physical Planning
- Ministry of Transport and Communications
- Ministry of Education
- Ministry of Health
- City of Harare Health Department
- National Railways of Zimbabwe (NRZ)
- Zimbabwe United Passenger Company (ZUPCO}
- Scientific, Industrial Research and Development Council (SIRDC)

- Confederation of Zimbabwe Commuter Omnibus Services (COZCOS)
- University of Zimbabwe
- Development Associates
- Members of the Community of the sites surveyed

[NB: Representatives of the National Council for the Disabled Persons in Zimbabwe failed to turn up and consequently discussions on transport problems and needs for the physically challenged were not covered]

The workshop, main objectives were to:

- Present research findings in order to get feedback
- Participants to suggest additional problems and solutions in respect of the three areas of health, education and employment
- Participants to suggest survival and empowerment strategies for the poor in accessing health, education and employment services

The half-day programme was as shown in Box 1 below:

Box 1: Workshop Programme

0845 - 0900	Welcome and Introductions
0900 – 0915	Background to the study
0915 – 0930	Study Methodology
0930 – 1000	Research findings
1000 – 1030	Tea Break
1030 – 1100	Research Findings (cont.)
1100 – 1120	Plenary
1120 – 1215	Group Work
1215 – 1315	Group presentation followed by plenary
1315 – 1430	Lunch and Departure

The first presentation was on the background to the study, which covered funding of the study, research collaborators and the wider context in terms of other countries where the same study was being conducted as well as the relationship of the study with two others also funded by DFID, namely Sustainable Livelihoods, Mobility and Access Needs and Partnership to Improve Access and quality of Public Transport. In addition, a conceptual framework was

provided as part of the study background. The conceptual framework dwelt on the nature of urban travel in respect of the poor.

Following an outline of the two main methods employed in the study, Participatory Urban Appraisal (PUA) and Questionnaire survey, research findings were presented. It is not important to capture the presentation as this was a regurgitation of the country report.

PLENARY

In the ensuing plenary, discussion was clouded by constant reference to the increasingly deteriorating public transport situation in Harare. Notwithstanding, this constant diversion, participants raised/noted the following:

- There was a general consensus with the findings of the study with the rider that public transport provision had seriously deteriorated since the study was conducted. Participants agreed that access to employment was the biggest problem. Access to employment should cover both the availability of jobs (which have drastically decreased due to adverse economic fundamentals) and the physical movement to reach the place of employment (accessibility).
- The definition of the “poor” which was based on residential location was queried, as within high-density areas, there are some households who could be relatively rich. Participants were also informed that this definition was consistent with the other two studies being conducted in Accra and Colombo
- Walking and cycling were major problems which needed to be addressed as planning authorities do not consider them to be important modes of transport. These are the two modes that are mainly used by the poor
- While the study found out that there were no major accidents that involved school pupils at the schools surveyed, safety of school children is

an issue of major concern. Participants were able to cite examples where school pupils were hit by vehicles while trying to cross roads in the vicinity of their schools

- In order to alleviate the transport problems experienced by teachers, the Ministry of Education had recommended that teachers should teach as near as possible to their places of residence. It is not possible for every teacher to be deployed at a nearby school but such a policy would greatly help to alleviate the transport problems that are currently being experienced
- The main cause of transport problems was cited as being the lack of a policy framework. It was further noted that the Ministry of Transport and Communications was drafting a National Transport Policy, which should incorporate urban transport. Participants recognised the need for all relevant stakeholders to be consulted.
- Entry into the transport sector should be controlled to uphold quality of service offered. Lack of control has led to lawlessness and poor quality of service being offered to commuters. A public awareness campaign should be carried out to make the public aware of what is expected of both commuters and service providers
- Customer care is disregarded by commuter omnibus operators because of their monopolistic advantages in the sector. Assigned routes are not adhered to by these operators thereby creating accessibility problems for the commuters.
- Apart from the harassment of commuters by commuter omnibus crew, rank marshals who are very powerful in their own right also harass commuters
- The cost of public transport particularly for those that interchange is now a serious problem for the poor as transport costs exceed earnings. Consequently, some are voluntarily resigning from their jobs and opting to stay at their rural homes. An example of a security guard who quit his

job to go and stay at his rural home was cited as his transport costs had surpassed his earnings. Clearly, it would not make any economic sense for the security guard to continue working.

GROUP WORK

Participants were divided into three groups to deliberate on the urban poor's access to health, education and employment. Specifically, they were required to:

- Identify any other transport problems and solutions in addition to the ones presented and already discussed in the plenary
- Survival strategies that have or can be instituted to enable the poor to cope with the situation
- Make any other recommendations as seen fit

There was very little new information that came out of group work.

Health:

The Group identified the problems of lack of direct links from clinics to hospitals and inadequate public ambulances. In respect of solutions the group suggested the provision of staff buses by employers. Survival strategies included walking which was burdensome and hiring of private transport in cases of emergency which was very expensive.

Education:

The group identified the problems of safety, the need to interchange, and high fares for school children who may be forced to walk. Suggested solutions were:

- Need for public awareness campaign and law enforcement in terms of safety for commuters.
- Provision of contract service for school pupils and to expand the capacity of schools in order to reduce walking distances
- Need to subsidise fares for children in order to make them affordable.
- Need for a substantial increase of transport allowances for teachers

Survival strategies included selling sweets, pop corn and the related stuff in order to supplement income.

Employment:

Problems identified:

- No assistance by the employer in providing transport to the employer.
- Lack of public transport infrastructure.

Solutions:

- Introduction of travelling allowances for al employees. Apart from providing employees with money, schemes such as assistance in the purchase of a bicycle need to be put in place
- Integration of existing rail service with road transport systems. The existing rail/bus commuter service is in theory integrated. ZUPCO has failed to provide the requisite feeder service. The emphasis need not be with ZUPCO buses only, but other operators should be included
- Need to create citizen awareness and to challenge the combi operators improve public relations. Passengers are by and large not aware of their rights.
- Need to make customer care courses mandatory for public transport crew. Before a driver or conductor can be employed in public transport industry, the incumbent should have completed a recognised customer care and public relations programme.