

Full Length Research Paper

Situating morality in housing debate: A case of Matapi hostels (Harare)

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For quite a long time, in the long history of urban housing in Zimbabwe, the quandary of people living in previously known as 'bachelors' hostels in various urban centres, particularly Matapi hostels in Mbare (Harare, Zimbabwe), has often been overlooked. Thousands of people from distinct backgrounds currently occupy these hostels. This has inevitably brought a number of social ills that are detrimental to human well-being. Severe health problems are emanating uncontrollably due to the hostels incapacity to accommodate ever-increasing numbers. The question of urban health is greatly being compromised by this situation. Even morality, which is firmly rooted in religious and cultural backgrounds, is a case for concern. The uncontrolled manner of moral dissipation and momentous termination of the ubuntu of the habitants warrants research. As a result, this paper elaborates, explains and analyse the living conditions of the habitants in the hostels. Though the paper is largely qualitative, some quantitative evidence to augment discussions are not totally omitted, and its photographs of the case were also used.

Key words: Housing, morality, hostel, Matapi, policy, Harare.

INTRODUCTION

To date, Matapi hostels as is the case with other old hostels, accommodates a sizeable number of households. These households live in squalid conditions not fit human survival. The state of the hostels are nothing but an odious experience to live in. However, the habitants seem not concerned about the precarious idiosyncrasy state they find themselves in. To them, it has become a normality to live in those conditions. In this age, where the word sustainable development has become a household name, one wonders how these inhabitants continue not to care about their well-being (Schlyter, 2003).

The people are caught in a difficult situation, as housing challenges in the capital is a cause for concern. One way or the other, they have to accept whatever is on offer. To them, housing has seem to be just a roof over

their heads. It is against this, this paper sifts through in order to find a footing for morality in the housing debate (UNCHS, 1998; UNHABITAT, 2003).

Overview of the accomodation crisis in Zimbabwe

Housing and accommodation challenges in Zimbabwe emerged in full force about three decades ago (Mubvami, 2001; Hall, 2001). They are a direct product of the weak policy framework implemented soon after the government took over from the white government, which had restricted laws on the movement of people from rural areas to urban areas (Chirisa and Munzwa, 2008). Zimbabweans then were left with only two mutually-exclusive options, either to be in employment to qualify to

be in the urban centres but on a semi-permanent basis, or to be in the rural areas (called 'reserves' or 'tribal trusts' land' (TTLs)) for life. This resulted in lower population living in urban centres. The takeover of the new black government led by (Mutekede and Sigauke, 2007; Mutizwa-Mangiza, 1985) Robert Mugabe ushered in a new era in terms of the movement of people in the restricted centres. People started to flock into the urban areas, exerting pressure on the already planned settlements that were solely designed for a specific number of people. Although the government tried to offer new houses for the people, its approach was rather too lackadaisical considering the magnitude of the immigration, especially in Harare, which is the capital city of the country. Chirisa and Dumba (2010) and Mutizwa-Mangiza, (1985) opine that during the first five years of attaining independence, the country's leadership overstayed in political honeymoon and forgot to address the pertinent issues affecting the country then.

In addition, it must be noted that the majority of women were found outside the bracket of those who qualified to be in the towns. Consequently, the city was a prerogative of the whites and very few African men. As for the black females, the city was for those but few who were chanced to get employment as housemaids and nannies (in the lower bracket) or those who got places to train in urban hospitals as nurses or clerks (in the higher bracket). It must be stressed that the colonial Afro-insensitive laws ascertained that the Africans were wholly tied to the rural communal tribal land that he or she could never voice for equal rights to get to parity with whites (Mubvami, 2001). Though these policies and regulations were repellent, oppressive and inhibiting, and irrationally tilted towards European interests, they assisted much to discourage 'invasion of the city' by Africans.

However, in the 1970s, with the growing pressure in the rural areas of the war for independence (1966 to 1979), rural populations migrated into the urban zones because the space promised peace, security and prosperity. This trickling into urban space, at that time (especially the mid and late 1970s), was at a very diminutive rate. It was not hurried, yet indicative of the difficulties of habituating in the TTLs and the eye-catching glamour of the city (Patels and Adams, 1981). The push factors of the rural areas, levelled against the seemingly good pull factors of the city, produced a brighter atmosphere for the poor migrants. Until independence, the dual economy between whites and blacks made it conspicuously noticeable that the racial divide was not along social lines but also physical, for the European areas were too unreachably better than the African residential areas in terms of class (Cormack, 1983). Whites segregated themselves to the flashy northern and eastern suburbs whilst blacks were living to the southern regions.

Opening of the floodgates: An ushering in of disaster

The coming of the country's independence brought a new

lease of life to the black majority who were once restricted to the TTLs, and unknown realities came out clearly. The people who had formerly not known freedom now had to feel the benefits that freedom carries. The new government in power was liberal and compassionate enough to guarantee that the people reap the fruits of the promises it had made, albeit, wartime propaganda. Walls that once divided the white area and the African area (the 1930 Land Apportionment Act (replaced by the 1969 Land Tenure Act; the 1951 Land Husbandry Act; the vagrancy and pass laws) were, in a way, broken down.

Floodgates were opened as some may want to call it. That glimpsed golden future time of the promise became a close inhabitable reality. Milk and honey became drinkable realities in the likeliest of possibility. It was now not so much a matter of desire but having the means (commensurate fares for transport and wielding the highest of hopes for the city) to take anyone to the once sacred and predominantly white-only city. In this vein, there grew a huge influx of blacks in the urban areas. The few jobs in the city got packed (this has given way to the rise and expansion of the informal city, as people have had to create self-employment by informal sector means). The few houses in the black townships got fully occupied; in effect, there developed a prevalence of the lodger population than had been witnessed before in these areas.

The city, (Government of Zimbabwe, 1991a; 1991b) formerly chiefly for African men, became city for the family (as women and children became more accommodated) - what can be termed the 'familiarisation' of urban centres in Zimbabwe. Added to that, the reconciliation policy adopted by the new government also tolerated the beauty of multi-racial and multi-ethnic mix than more than in the days of colonial mastery and hegemony. What a 'melting pot position' cities and towns were placed in! It must be noted that the gendering and 'familiarisation' of the city also came with their own challenges. Personal interactions increased at a more tremendous rate relative to colonial days. These interactions, one can observe, were happening not in most spacious of places but in the over-urbanising black townships. Harare, for instance was a city created but for a small population (Zinyama et al., 1983)

That inelasticity implied that any growth would exert untold pressure on the existing resources hence a float above the carrying capacity of the city. It logically follows that crime (thefts, mugging, larceny, prostitution, to mention these few) was to grow as an opportunity cost of employment; that over-crowdedness with its indicators (slum dwelling, squatter developments and backyard developments) would make its place in lieu of conventional housing (Cormack, 1983). By way of proximate indicators, one can say that the happening of these inhuman activities in the urban territory of Zimbabwe are a reflection of the deep decadence of morals in the persons harboured in it.

It is unfortunate that a few years into Zimbabwe's black

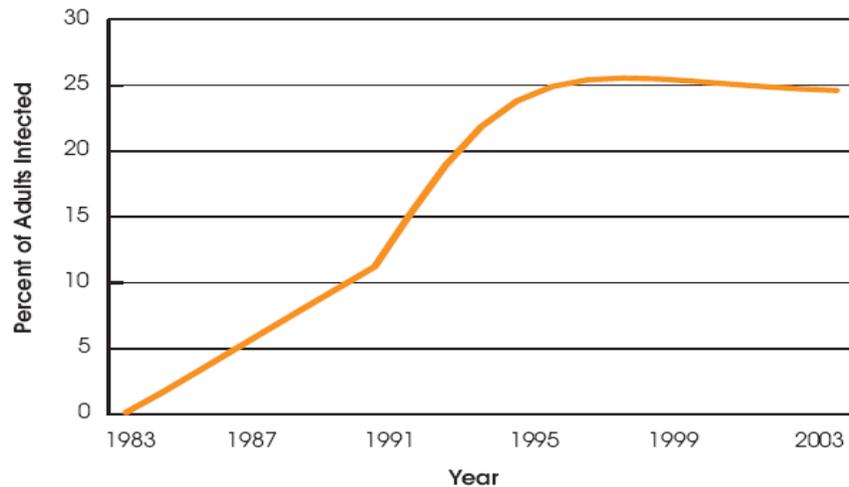


Figure 1. Estimated HIV prevalence, ages 15 to 49, 1983 to 2003

independence, the above-stated scenario got into picture—a reflection of the frustrating city. During the same time, human immune deficiency virus (HIV) and acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS) emerged on the horizon. In those 1980s and early 1990s, the majority was caught unaware by this deadly disease (Figure 1) (Ministry of Health and Child Welfare (MOHCW) and National AIDS Council (NAC), 2004). The number of people, predominantly the able-bodied, young and middle-aged men and women (Figure 2), who got affected by the deadly pandemic, grew by the day. It is gloomy to learn that during this time (when prostitution and drug abuse grew), stigmatization of victims and secretisation of HIV and AIDS were also very widespread. As such, many died; many were anathematized, detested and left to 'bear the brunt of their sexual sins.' However, innocent children died too. Yet, promiscuity continued. There was little, if any, knowledge about antiretroviral (ARV) drugs, only rumours of some traditional healers here or there who had discovered the 'medicine'—*the African potato*, 'let the infected sleep with a newly born baby', 'let them sleep with their sister or brother', to mention but a few. This was a false gospel entrenched in the culverts of misery, selfishness, debauchery, and incest.

One can blame moralists for the cost of lives that continued unabated because a 'spade was never called a spade'. People did not want to be open about the pandemic. It was more of a secret. Yet, it is also blame-worthy on the housing conditions to which the majority of African urban dwellers were subjected to (Kamete, 2006). The once sparsely distributed rural dwellers were now in concentrated enclaves of which hostels and flats, as well as the mushrooming backyards shacks, were the biggest types (Tevera and Chimhowu, 2000). The former rural free, in terms of human interactions, were now caged with increased informal interactions, especially of

opposite sexes. This is not to limit morals to sexuality alone or to attribute the astronomical rise of AIDS cases to it only, but to try to narrate how the morality hitch evolved and the epiphenomenal effects it might have brought to the social fabric we now have in urban Zimbabwe. As already alluded, the problem is largely embedded in the housing problem (Kamete, 2006; Chirisa and Munzwa, 2008).

Regarding the causal links of the morality quandary about Matapi Hostels in Mbare, many explanations are possible. These include the increase of urban interactions in confined urban space, the increase in the disposable income of some households with the father of the house keeping much to himself and then hiring out lovers (including commercial sex workers, pimping school girls, and the like), and the prevalence of many idle housewives. Nevertheless, one can see that these issues revolve around the home which element is a housing issue. Some may not see how the two issues (housing and morals) directly interlink and downplay of the debate as a topical issue, and the implications to society are large. They define the sustainability of urban centre and the subsequent health status of the population concerned (Nsiah-Gyabaah Kwasi, 2004). A city and human habitat that ignores the civic debate of life stands inevitably will not withstand stormy times (Davidson, 2007). Morality is the foundation of the civility.

There are a number of definitions to the word 'morality'. From the definitions, some 'measurement' can be derived (Robinson and Yeh, 2007). One definition is morality as responsibility. This involves acting in accordance with other people's concerns, rights and expectations. That means not only refraining from doing things that cause harm to others, but also actively pursuing their welfare - it implies the imperative to do as we say and believe. In light of this definition, one can see residents expressing mercy upon each other. This is an aspect of community

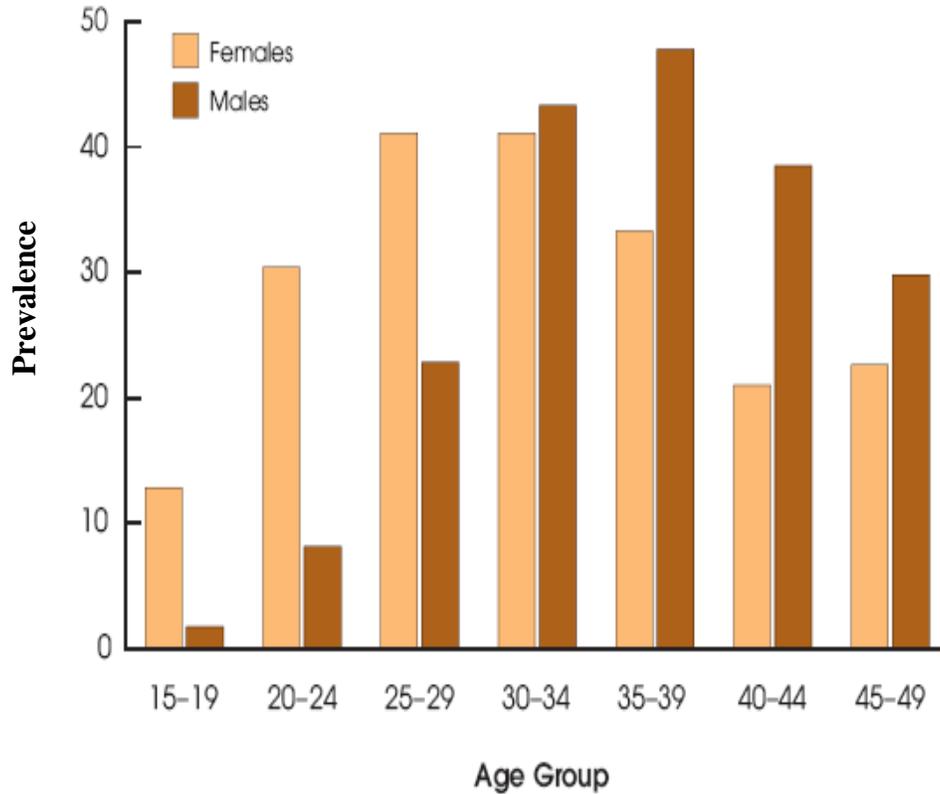


Figure 2. Age-sex distribution of infected persons 15 to 49, 2003.

reciprocity and comradeship. The local authority, the City of Harare, as the property owner has continued to accommodate these home-hungry people in its hostels. It has done so as a subsidiary and arm of government. However, such generosity has failed to address the issue of cultural and religious morality so that children are brought up in a culturally and religiously acceptable environment. Even the elderly and religious sections have taken it as the norm.

The next definition is morality as concern for others (ibid). This involves understanding how others experience a loss. It compels avoidance of imposition of a loss on another. This definition is in congruence with the first definition. It explains what happens in time of adversity, for example how households accommodated each other during the time of operation restore order (where illegal houses were brought down in 2005 in Zimbabwe). One observes how somebody must choose to be irrational and just decide to stay with others at whatever cost. In this regard, to be humane and irrational are synonymous. The third definition is morality as reason (ibid). Robins and Yeh (2007) argue that in this aspect, morals should be justifiable according to an objective set of criteria. Next, morality is viewed as consistency whereby analogous cases are treated similarly without double standards (ibid). Finally, morality is taken to mean universality (ibid). This means that same conditions must

be applied to all concerned, a kind of social justice when dealing with matters affecting community. These definitions are applied variously according to the situation at hand.

Matapi hostels stand out as a critical case for concern due to the accommodation woes in urbanity (Mubvami, 2001). It is not the only place but one exhibiting challenges of social break up due to effects of change in government policy, as well as, individual choices of the inhabitants. Matapi is a Shona term for a type of veld mice found near wet areas (*dambos*). The term is in plural form. The blocks of flats are found on the banks of Mukuvisi River. The waters of the river are heavily polluted but residents have embarked on serious stream bank cultivation. They grow also all sorts of crops and vegetables including maize, sugarcane, potatoes, tomatoes, cabbages and onions, hence greening the banks throughout the year. The allotment of this land is contrary to statutes and regulations.

The Environmental Management Act of 2002 stipulates that no activity of cultivation should take place for some thirty metres from the river. De facto, this is breached, resulting in a number of environmental hazards. Flooding is one of the challenges in the rain season. Tall grasses also grow and they normally go uncut for more than six months. It is not unusual to come across corpses of people who have been killed by muggers. Mbare, of

which Matapi is a segment, is labelled as a place of robbers, thieves, muggers, prostitutes, con-artists, and all kinds of evil. The place is also known to harbour all types of ethnic groups especially those from Malawi, Zambia, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe. Such a picture gives a strong impression of cultural diversity and susceptibility to high morals erosion.

The blight: Matapi hostels in Mbare

Matapi flats are a creation of the colonial local government policy of having unmarried males who came to the city in search of employment be housed. The hostels were sister developments to other hostels constructed in Mbare like Matererini, Mbare, Nyenyere (Magaba) and Shawasha hostels. Each 'bachelor' was allocated one room. Toilets, bath and kitchen were designed for communal use. Illegality or informality in habitation occurs when a house designed for occupation by a single family ends up in usage by more than that intended use. After independence, the issue of lodger accommodation has increased in the wider city of Harare, let alone Matapi. Matapi hostels comprise fourteen blocks of three storey floors (Mangombe, 2005). The average number of rooms in each floor is seventy, implying that each block constitutes about two hundred and ten rooms hence the total number of habitable rooms in the area is about two thousand nine hundred and forty. However, in some blocks, the ground floor was shared (Schlyter, 2003) between accommodation rooms and shops, beer halls and gyms.

Due to viability challenges to these ventures, space have been largely converted and further partitioned for housing to accommodate excess population. Important to note is how the population in Matapi hostels has surged from a static population size. It has grown from about three thousand males in 1980 to a fluctuating population of between twenty four thousand and thirty thousand (a mixture of men, women and children) (Chirisa, 2008). This is a case of outright overpopulation (ibid). the issues of vandalisms of the housing blocks such that the majority no longer have shower tapes. Residents believe thieves have stolen these items only to sell them in the nearby markets like the former Siyaso, in Magaba.

Toilets are messy and half the time blocked. The kitchens have as well been partitioned to house more people. The squalor and compromised environments are a health and moral hazard (Nsiah-Gyabaah Kwasi, 2004). What the habitat looks like is of little doubt the greater reflection of what morals in the hostels are like. The obsolescence of the building is a direct outcome of the abuse of space by residence and the failure by the local authority (since its rented accommodation) to maintain the hostels (Figure 4a to i).

It should be noted that the Matapi hostels has never been marred by the challenge of informal settlements

(though an infinitesimal number of households can be observed on the banks of Mukuvisi River, which flows by the place). In other words, illegal occupations of the space outside hostels has never been endemic to the settlement (cohabitation and multi-habitation refer to the staying together of one or more households in the same room or prime rooms on an informal (if not illegal) basis). Nevertheless, the problem of illegal dumping also threatens the health of the hostel dwellers. Children are the most vulnerable.

Sometimes, they practice scavenging of items thrown away by different households. What kind of items are usually these? Do the children have the discretion to discriminate between dangerous and 'worth' items?. Some of the dangerous materials include both used and unused condoms, opened tin cans and the like. It is thankful that dangerous weapons like hand grenades and land mines are rare in Zimbabwe at large. This is largely to describe outdoor experiences of Matapi. Not only that, it is also widely thought that the majority of street children found in central business district of Harare originate from such places as Mbare and Epworth, where the slum conditions impel children to seek alternative better livelihood sources in the 'bright lights areas'. Yet, in those places, they engage in dangerous activities like drug abuse, prostitution, bag snatching and pick-pocketing (UMP, 2000). The indoor living is tormenting to the inhabitants. Some kind of lodging arrangements subsists in the hostels. Conventionally, this is some form of illegal tenancy. A lodger is usually a person who is accommodated in a single-family housing arrangement and lives as a separate household. He or she pays rent to the house owner or head-tenant in custodianship of the residence premises. The lodger has to live within the stipulations and conditionalities (with own eating and sleeping arrangements) that he or she receives from the owner of the house or room or the head-tenant/responsible tenant.

In the era of economic reforms, that is, Economic Structural Adjustment Programme, ESAP (1991-1995) (GoZ, 1991a), households faced increasing costs of living. This forced many households to find alternative sources of income as many breadwinners were retrenched (GoZ, 1991b). One coping strategy adopted by residents in the hostels was to make returns from the small space of their rooms in return for rent as income (Mangombe, 2005). As economic hardship increased from the 1990s, commoditization of rooms and increased 'lodger' recruitments has been noted. This reflects mercy and sympathy especially for victims of operation restore order. However, the squeezing of people within small space and above its carrying capacity had brought about a serious damage to the environments (in the exterior) and morals (in the internal fabric of community being). The government's ambitious and ill-focused campaign in 2005, for restoring urban Zimbabwe's to the heydays of aesthetically pleasing 'planned' cities and towns was to a

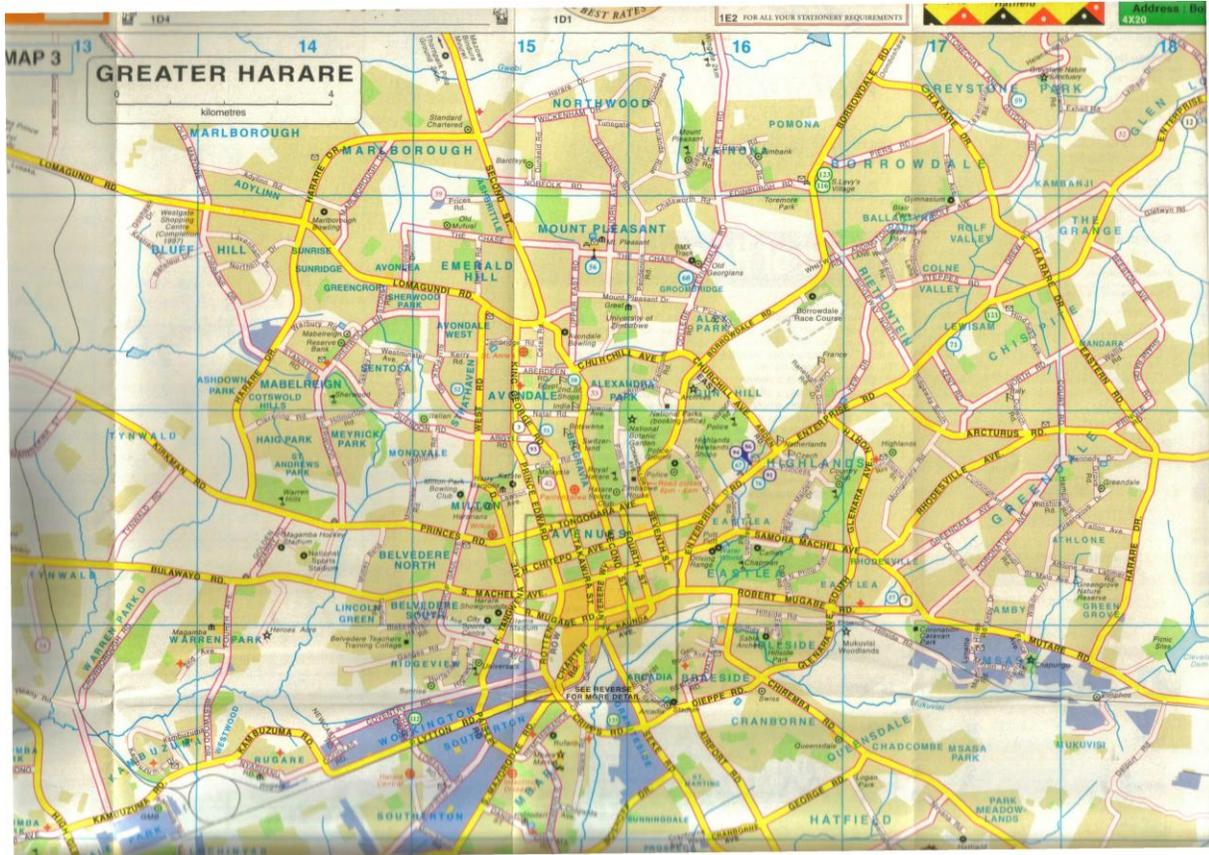


Figure 3. Map of Harare showing the different residential zones.

great extent, a misfired shooting. The crusade was code-named operation restore order or Operation Murambatsvina (Tibajuka, 2005). It left many urbanites homeless. It was targeted at 'unsanctioned' housing developments, slums and informal micro-enterprises.

The subsequent campaign effort, after the 'clean up' crusade, was termed Operation Garikayi/Hlalani Kuhle, meaning 'live well' and it aimed at relocating the adversely affected populations by the earlier campaign (Operation Murambatsvina) into public built houses mainly constructed in identified peri-urban areas. Only very few houses were built relative to the now increased homeless population.

Those who could not find the government-constructed accommodation could return back to rural settlements. This could have been for opportunistic or ethnic reasons because they may have been Mozambicans, Malawians or Zambians. They found themselves either streaming to the settlements created by Operation Garikai in areas like Hopley farm and Whitecliff or 'finding a place to lay their heads' in the same high density residential areas they had been staying in like Mbare, Highfield, Glen Norah, Mufakose, Kambuzuma and Budiriro (Figure 3).

Those who remained in Matapi Hostels, as in any other places of the city, had no other options but to constrict in

the small room space available. The outcome was such that most rooms now accommodated between eight and ten occupants (and an average of three households, a household being a group of persons who partake from the same pot and have collective sleeping arrangements). The post-Murambatsvina accommodation arrangement in the hostels has been worse than ever before. The situation constitutes a housing crisis. The households which found refuge in LDRAs should be better off, at least morally than those who remained in the hostels, however they now face the greater challenge of raising rent in foreign currency (with a room being charged between fifty South African rand and three hundred rand). If the pressure continues to mount the chances of these households, coming back to high-density areas or proceeding to rural areas are very high. In effect, it is generally now agreeable that life in the rural areas (or in the rural-urban fringe) has become better, cheaper and more moral than that offered by the town. Perhaps history is just repeating itself in Zimbabwe so much so that the population is turning *homo ruralis*. From an intentionalist point of view, this is by no means by choice or design but by the pressure exerted by the vagaries of urban living, particularly housing challenges. As pressure mounts humankind groans, meditates,



Figure 4. Matapi Habitat, Hostel Buildings and Lifestyle of the Dwellers in 2008. (a) An informal dumpsite in Matapi area. A child is seen sitting on the dump. (b) A child at the entrance of one of the hostel blocks. The hostel is in a messy state. (c) Hostel dwellers use washing lines in commonality. Cases of stolen clothes are many. (d) Another dumpsite just behind hostel block. The ablution area of the block is the worst vandalized. The responsible authorities (City of Harare) has cited financial and fuel problems for failure to discharge the waste collection service. (e) Children play on the dumpsite. See satellite antennae hanging on the walls. The dwellers may be poor in other respects but they thrive to be information-rich. But what is also the challenge of the media. (f) A building in a worst state of deterioration. As residents share the communal ablutions, they quarrel, gossip, preach the gospel one to another and share the latest news. What an admixture of activity and involvement! (g) See the parked cars and the road - full of potholes with water. (h) A less child-friendly environment (i) Compare with (c).

devises and optimizes. Overall, it is morals which have been the worst shredded due to this negative development. Table 1 shows a summary matrix of objectively defined morals according to Matapi residents. It shows the disjunction of the reality and the actual arrangements on the ground. As can be noted the negatives outweigh the positives. This shows how the principles of morality are

difficult to follow and adhere to, especially where motley of people of different beliefs, backgrounds and standing are forced, by circumstances beyond their control, to stay together.

Due to these constraints, the majority of the home-seekers are left with no option but to 'adapt, adhere, and accord' to the confines and prisons of the enclaves of the

Table 1. Summary matrix of objectively-defined morals according to Matapi residents.

Criterion for morality (de jure arrangement)	What is on the ground? (de facto arrangement)
Residents should greet each other when they meet each other in the corridors, the bath, and the streets. Elders should set a good example so that the youth may learn and do the same	Greetings one another is confined to those who are known to each other. Sometimes there are more quarrels than harmony in the communal places. Not all elders are good examples to follow in conduct. Some are known for bad practices including drunkenness and witchcraft.
Residents should not practice promiscuity and adulterous behaviour	The youth are highly promiscuous. 'Kubika mapoto', which is having, some spare 'housewife is commoner than rare. A new version to this is the 'small house' [arrangement. This is a new form of kubika mapoto, whereby a husband has an informal conjugal arrangement with a woman or many and may stay for weeks or months to the home of the formal marriage. Unlike the 'kubika mapoto' arrangement, the extra-marital relationships are usually intra-urban or inter-urban. This is tantamount to 'conventionally known' prostitution. We can call it prostitution in close proximity with home. The chief reason cited for the engagement is increased affluence or too many resources (normally cash, groceries and other flash commodities like cars) to cater for two or more houses with sexism as the battering price
Residents should shun stealing and robbery and try to leave by means of own sweat	Some households thrive on stealing, mugging and larceny. They may avoid practising it within Matapi but they are seen doing these malpractices in the CBD, or other places of the city – good within community but bad elsewhere
Residents should shun use of vulgar and obscene language	Vulgar language is very common in the corridors and communal areas. Most walls of the communal areas are scribbled with words of obscenity. Pomography is rampant
Children should respect elders	The majority do not even respect their parents how much more with strangers
Everyone is entitled to practice his or her self chosen religion	This happens, to a great extent
Residents should be peaceful	This is not always true of the place. Violence intensifies in election times as well as public holidays
Residents must keep public toilets and baths clean	This is a mammoth task. These places are used by a multiplicity of actors – children, adults and elders. Control and monitoring are not easy
Grievances must be brought to the hostels' tribunals so that no one takes the law into his or her own hands	This is sometimes done. Some of the cases are not civil in nature (but criminal) and they are handled by the police
Other: Residents should not dump garbage everywhere. Children should not scavenge. Residents should avoid noise (from TVs, radios) and other anthropogenic sources	The true opposite of this posits usually happens

Source: Field Interviews, 2008.

slum environments, like Matapi. These areas are usually nothing but places of immense moral decadence and drifting into the unknown dungeons of social depravity.

CONCLUSIONS

Accommodation remains one great challenge that urbanity and civilisation has produced to humanity. With more of reactive planning than proactive and pre-active planning, it continues to daunt urban centres with no clear light about its resolution at the end of the tunnel. For Harare, the problem is worsened by the primacy the city has.

Many people view the city as the only place to be. For Matapi, in particular, morals have continued to nose-dive into the dungeon of misery and helplessness. It is not easy to prescribe for social behaviour but a stewardship approach can form the basis for habitability of Matapi. The principle involves stakeholders seeing the problem with the same lenses, debating towards consensus about it, and agreeing on the panacea package. This is not easy but it is practically possible at community level.

The government should strive to engage efforts in finding suitable land for relocating residents, financing or seeking finance partners to the housing development projects, encouraging

households to do self-help housing and revise its housing policy so that crosscutting issues of gender, HIV and AIDS, environment, and morals are clearly defined for implementation. Yet mainstreaming morals into policy seems more abstract than pragmatic. The local authority should also thrive to monitor its properties and make strict controls in the usage of the hostels. Comprehensive renewal of the buildings may not be easy, especially in difficult times such as the country is going through. Indeed, hostel accommodation in Matapi is greatly problematic. Practical solutions are always there if there is political will, community commitment and shared visioning.

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