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TOPIC

An identification and analysis of the security challenges facing women and girls in Kadoma

Main Assumption

6. There is inadequate provision of municipal and other services related to security which may expose women and girls to violence

Does inadequate provision of municipal and other services related to security expose some women and girls to violence?

Sub Assumptions

- Lack of and poor street lighting may expose some women and girls to violence.
Is the lack of and poor street lighting exposing some women and girls to violence?
- Poor provision of police services may render some women and girls susceptible to violence
Does the poor provision of police services render some women and girls susceptible to violence?
- Poor provision of local council services may render some women and girls subject to violence.
Is poor provision of local council services rendering some women and girls subject to violence?
- Intermittent supply and lack of electricity may expose some women and girls to violence.
Does the intermittent supply and lack of electricity expose some women and girls to violence?

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Executive Summary

Violence against women takes place in various forms. In Zimbabwe statistics on the ground show that 1 in 3 women experience violence in their life time. Given these statistics there is need to come to the root of the problem and address it. It is in this light that poor and or lack of service provision come in. The key question being whether inadequate provision of municipal and other services related to security expose some women and girls to violence?

Article 4 of the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa obligates State Parties to identify the causes and consequences of violence against women and take appropriate measures to prevent and eliminate such violence. By identifying poor service provision as a facilitator of violence, it will assist in appropriate measures being taken to prevent and eliminate it.

The major findings indicated that there was indeed a correlation between the violence that takes place against women and poor municipal and other related services. In terms of street lighting, their unavailability posed a serious security challenge to women. The darkness presented an opportunity for thieves to mug and even rape women. This poor street lighting coupled with intermittent supply of electricity exacerbated the prevalence of violence against women.

Domestic violence may be triggered by non provision of electricity. Due to the gender stereotypes that are there were women are then domesticated, the "failure to cook" by women due to the absence of electricity triggered violence. Women thus had to walk several kilometres at times to go and fetch firewood and this further exposed them to violence. Men would predate on these women since the areas where women fetch for wood often have tall grass and maize.

In terms of urban farming the non-regulation and criminalising of this practise resulted in no protection being afforded to women who practised this. Urban farming of maize which is the staple food is a strategy that the women were not eager to let go off because it provided them with food hence the need to regulate it and not treat it as if it does not exist.

Water was also a source of contention and often resulted in verbal or even physical abuse of women. Since the resource is scarce women end up fighting at the water sites. The cause of this scarcity as explained by council being the lack of resources, then results in women spending the greater part of their time queuing instead of doing other key tasks in their life. Women then also experience violence in the home from their intimate partners when they fail to bring enough water to cater for daily needs. The scrounging for water also permeates the home environment thereby oppressing women further.

Poor policing services exacerbate violence because women then decide not to report cases. The neighbourhood watch that is put in place to help capacitate the police "force is said to be corrupt. They allegedly tend to ask for bribes from perpetrators of violence which then defeats the whole course of justice.

There is therefore need for a Multi-Sectorial approach to ending violence. The key structures which are necessary in achieving this are the council, the police, the Zimbabwe Electricity Supply Authority and the courts who will work hand in hand with the community. There is need for a bottom up approach to ensure that the lived realities of the women in Kadoma are addressed.

1.0 Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background to the Research

Service Provision and its linkage to violence is something that has not been explored in depth in Africa. The linkages that have been made often relate to the structure of the housing and the issues of poverty which result in people experiencing and committing violent acts. At the Bergen conference¹ one of the preliminary observations was that the urban associations in Africa are a flourishing field research but there is still a dearth of studies on how central and local governments deal with urban set ups. (*Tostensen; Tvedten and Vaa ed. 2001*).

Research conducted in the United States of America has been on street lighting and the design of the buildings ; urban planning in general in relation to safety in cities as highlighted by Jane Jacobs (1961) in her theory on eyes on the street. Jacob's theorises that populated areas are less likely to have criminal activity if the criminal believes there is a greater likelihood of them being seen or caught by others. The issue of street lighting and fewer open spaces is hence discussed as a means to reduce criminal activity. By understanding how criminal activity is attracted to secluded spaces and that crime is more likely to occur when criminals believe they will not be caught, urban planners can better plan residential and commercial spaces that encourage street activity which is legal.

Poor urban planning and design which is still an integral part of this research which was highlighted by *Jacobs (1961)* is not the only challenge. The issues that have been highlighted in terms of Zimbabwe as a country have been coming up with solutions of

¹ The first conference under the auspices of the research programme *Cities, Government and Civil Society in Africa* which was convened in Bergen, Norway at the end of August 1998. The conference was entitled 'Associational Life in African Cities: Urban Governance in an Era of Change' and organised by the Nordic Africa Institute in conjunction with the Chr. Michelsen Institute.

violence against women rather than a clear Multi-Sectoral approach² in determining both the causes and the solutions.

From a personal perspective, having moved from a quiet medium density suburb in Mabelreign to a differently cultured High Density Area in Kambuzuma, I found that the issue of poor service provision whose term I did not know then; caused a lot of violence in the lives of many.

This linkage which I believe has not been explored in depth motivated me to want to research on the inadequate provision of municipal and other services in relation to the violence against women and to unearth the lived realities of the latter to ensure that feasible solutions are made.

In conducting this research I was guided by the following objectives:

- To determine whether there is a correlation between inadequate municipal and other related services and violence against women and girls.
- To examine the prevailing policies and laws in relation to the different service providers.
- To understand the different forms of violence that women and girls endure in the face of inadequate service provision.
- To come up with recommendations on the best way forward in reducing violence against women in relation to poor service provision.

I also made the following assumptions which guided this research with the first one being the major one:

- Lack of and poor street lighting may expose some women and girls to violence.
- Poor provision of police services may render some women and girls susceptible to violence

² The Multi-Sectoral Approach provides an entry point for collaboration between governments and other stakeholders to implement and monitor CEDAW and other instruments.

- Poor provision of local council services may render some women and girls subject to violence.
- Intermittent supply and lack of electricity may expose some women and girls to violence.

The assumptions resulted in the following research questions:

- Is the lack of and poor street lighting exposing some women and girls to violence?
- Does the poor provision of police services render some women and girls susceptible to violence?
- Is poor provision of local council services rendering some women and girls subject to violence?
- Does the intermittent supply and lack of electricity expose some women and girls to violence?

The research was carried out in Kadoma which is a city in Mashonaland West. We were staying at the Kadoma Ranch Hotel and the research was conducted in Kadoma central business district, Rimuka Township and Old Ngezi. The majority of the community interviews were held in Rimuka so as to properly ascertain what the realities on the ground were so as to avoid spreading the net too thin and just getting general views given the time limitation that was there.

In Rimuka there are general barracks also known as the GBs. These are two roomed “houses” built during colonial times. GBs are actually better than the single quarters or SQs which were literally one small room. The infill stands are houses that range from two to four bed roomed houses. These were built after independence by individual owners. The set up for old Ngezi is similar to that of the GBs in Rimuka. With the exception of the in-fills, the rest have communal toilets located outside.

I took the definition of violence from the General Recommendation Number 19 of the *Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)*, which defined gender based violence as “*violence that is directed against a woman because she is a woman or that affects women disproportionately.*”

2.0 CHAPTER 2: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter focuses on how and why I used various methodologies in this research.

My first point of departure in both selection as well as interpretation of the data stemmed from my own personal experiences. When we moved from the comfort of the medium density suburb to a high density area, I feared walking at night as the corner at which I was dropped off by commuter minibuses was very dingy.

It had no street lighting at all which was often made worse when there was no electricity in the nearby houses. There was a lot of tall grass that shrouded the corner making it even more invisible thereby creating a little hideout for thieves. Opposite this corner especially during the rainy season, was a big open space which was filled with maize. I was once followed after I had been dropped off and I had to run as fast as I could and luckily the gate was open. This experience coupled with the many other screams that we often heard at the corner of the road helped me understand and interpret the issues in relation to inadequate service provision and how it triggers violence against women.

With the experiential data as my backdrop the women's law approach became central as it weaved all the other approaches which were the human rights based approach, grounded theory and the actors and structures methodology. As *Stang Dahl (1988)* puts it, "The methodology of women's law is cross disciplinary and pluralistic and calls for a rather free use of the available material wherever it may be found." *Stang Dahl (1988)* goes on further to say, "...from the perspective of looking upwards from below... hereinafter called the women's perspective." I went into the community to understand the lived realities of the women in relation to the violence they experienced in their lives when there was inadequate service provision if any at all. The women were quick to all state that they were happy that someone had finally come to hear what they had to say.

Hearing from the women themselves was very significant as their lived realities tied into the official context and at times they questioned the official version of what was taking

place. This approach also assisted in determining the way forward as well as the realisation of what the gaps were in terms of the laws.

I looked at the issue of state obligations in the context of what was taking place in Kadoma. The first port of call was the Universal Declaration on Human Rights in Article 25 which speaks to the right to an adequate standard of living in relation to necessary social services, housing and the right to security amongst others. This gave the basis for service provision being incorporated in international customary law thereby requiring the city of Kadoma to be compared against this mandate.

Service provision in the context of housing, sanitation water and electricity with the exception of the police falls in the category of economic, social and cultural rights. These rights in terms of the International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) have no actual urgent obligations in comparison to the civil and political rights.

In terms of the International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights in (ICESCR) Article 11(1) states that everyone has the right to an adequate standard of living for himself and his family, including adequate food and clothing and housing and to the continuous improvement of living conditions.

The limitation in terms of this convention is that in terms of Article 2 it makes the application of Article 11 and all other articles based on the maximum of available resources hence a progressive adherence to these articles.

I looked at other conventions that were not dependant on this progressive view and I also took another angle of checking to see if the city of Kadoma had used the maximum of its available resources given. I began looking at how much the city of Kadoma received as revenue and from which sources versus the expenditure. Key issues were about what they spent the revenue they received on and how much of the funds went to addressing service concerns versus the funds for salaries and other least priority matters.

I also looked for the initial report and periodic reports if any that were sent by Zimbabwe to the Council on economic, social and cultural rights. Zimbabwe last reported on the convention in 1997 and this was the first and only report that was submitted by the country and pertinent issues in the concluding observations were on the living standards of people.

In terms of the Article 24 of the African Charter on Human and People's Rights (ACHPR), everyone has the right to a generally satisfactory environment favourable to their development. This translated to questioning whether the environment that the women and girls were living in was generally satisfactory.

I also looked at Article 2 of CEDAW which calls for urgent redress of issues of discrimination against women through legislation, and all appropriate measures in all institutions. I read the article in CEDAW together with the Maputo Protocol³, Article 4 on the right to life, integrity and security of the person in (c) and (d) speaks to the identification of the causes of violence against women and the taking of measures to eliminate this through also the adoption of legislative, administrative and socio-economic measures. Through the lenses of this article, the quest then was to see if at all the various arms of government had ever ventured to identify the facilitators of violence against women in terms of poor service provision and if there were laws that were there to protect these women.

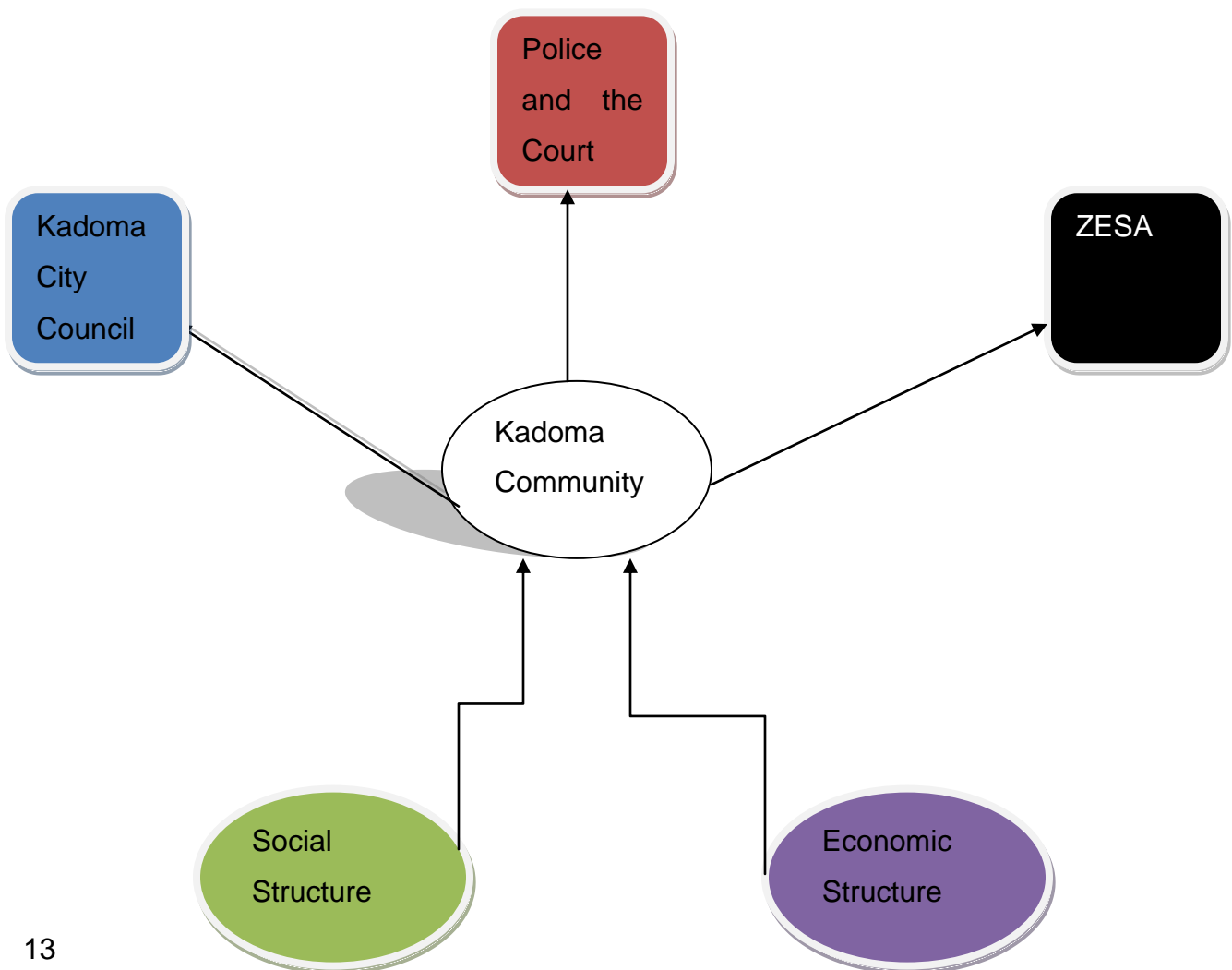
The grounded theory assisted me in reflecting and redirecting my footsteps as I theorised what was happening on the ground. In as much as I had arrived in the field with my own assumptions, through this theory I was able to openly critique and re-shift certain focuses. For instance when I first arrived in the field I had the assumption that the violence that was against women was being conducted by strangers during the course of the night or when the strangers (men of course) had gotten an opportunity during the day.

³ Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's rights on the rights of Women in Africa.

However the more that I worked with the community the more that I was then led to discover and to re-theorise around the aspect of women being violent towards each other at the waterfronts because of tension and frustration. This was an “Aha” moment for me. It was the dung beetle method where as the data are considered and the “ball of dung” was analysed and comparisons were made (Weis Benztone; etal; 1998). The new information was like the ever growing ball of dung and new leads kept emerging which I had to follow up.

The identification of the various actors and structures in the context of women’s law was very critical in the context of the research. Below is an illustration of the various structures in the lives of the community in particular the women:

Fig. 1



As can be seen in **Fig 1**, there are the Police and the courts, the city council and ZESA. The arrows are straight showing the direct relationship between the community and these structures. On the other hand below are the social and economic structures which are not formal but tend to influence the community in Kadoma. The arrows are not straight to indicate that these are impeding structured which are not recognised in the formal set up but tend to dominate the thinking and the execution of decisions.

The question was, where there other structures that led to women and girls failing to access the key actors who were supposed to provide services? For instance, in relation to intermittent supply of electricity, the women complained that they never received notice in advance from ZESA concerning the time table for the load shedding. ZESA in response stated that they provided a time table to those who came to pay and that they also had an insert from time to time in the newspaper. Therefore the economic structure of finances was the factor that made women not to have access to the key structure since a considerable number was not in a situation where they could pay for their bills on time let alone purchase a newspaper.

In terms of violence that took place at what I will term the water front's⁴, the cases never went to court because of the social structure. This meant that the women could not take each other to court. The cases often ended at the police station at the desk of the public relations officer or where vetted off by the public prosecutor and belittled as mere bickering by women fetching water.

This confirmed what was stated by *Weis Bentzon et al (1998)* that "A woman's use or non use of her legal rights and freedoms must be considered in the light of the wider socio-cultural opportunity structure she operates." Hence the social and economic structures were the wider socio-cultural opportunity institutions which the women operated in.

⁴ The place were women go to fetch water

2.2 Research Methods

I utilised various methods in collecting data. This was so as to ensure a holistic approach in data gathering. I utilised the library as starting point as well as the internet to find out if there were any available resources that could help work as the background to the research. The issues that were there especially on the internet showed, that there was a correlation between urban planning and design and violence though it was not specific to women and girls and as in-depth. The research also helped in showing the gaps of information that were there and helped in charting a way forward.

One on one interviews proved useful with reference to the officials who had time constraints to engage in a fully fledged departmental focus group discussion. The interviews were intimate and allowed for time to probe the individual and to have them relax in their own environment.

The women in the community were able to ask questions were they needed clarity. The interviews were open ended and hence allowed the interviewees to speak openly without restrictions.

I held focus group discussion (FGDs) which enabled the women who were more comfortable in numbers to actually speak out. The method helped me to get a qualitative analysis of what was happening in the lives of a considerable number of women in that particular community and assisted in my covering more ground so as not to have views but true founded insights.

I found myself surrounded by relaxed women who were free to talk about the raw issues that were affecting them and who were clear about what it was that they wanted the service providers to do. The women were also quick to acknowledge and point out the correlation between inadequate service provision and the violence which they were experiencing.

Every day that I was in the field, I had the opportunity to come back have discussions with my supervisor in a group and go to my room and type out the data and analyse it.

In the field I had a note book and the camera on my phone both of which I used to actually take what I needed to utilise in the research process.

This helped me to identify different information gaps and to chart a mini program for each day.

All the above methods greatly assisted me in the gathering of data and in leading me throughout the course of the research. However I did face certain challenges especially where there were bureaucratic institutions like the police. The suggestion that was given was for me to leave a questionnaire which I did not have though in the end I was given an opportunity to interview.

Time constraints were the major challenge and this resulted in many postponements of interviews.

The different methods provided a platform for the triangulation of data from the different interviewees as well as the participants in the focus group discussions. The methods and the overall methodologies were extremely useful and they helped build up the various findings which ensured the accomplishment of this research.

3.0 CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH FINDINGS, DISCUSSIONS AND ANALYSIS

3.1 Women and Security Risks and Triggers.

On arrival in Kadoma I discovered that there were many security risks and triggers for women and girls in relation to poor service provision. There were risk factors that women encountered when they went out of the safety of their homes. I managed to speak with a total of twenty four households; five were in Ngezi which whilst nineteen were in Rimuka. I also managed to triangulate my data by speaking to officials from the court, the police and the council.

3.1.1 Urban Farming

The women in Rimuka and Ngezi due to the different circumstances that they were facing had to resort to urban farming. They were all very much aware of the illegalities of urban farming. It turned out that there was a grave security risk for the women who farmed. The women had little plots that they demarcated for each other every year and they planted maize. The problem came when maize had fully grown because one then would not be able to see an assailant from afar. The women would often be attacked unsuspecting because of the density of the crops. These attacks took place during weeding time and more so at harvest time.

In an interview with Martha Limbani a Resident in Rimuka General barracks, she gave an account of how she and her neighbours ended up going to the field as a group because of the man who used to stay naked in the maize fields. This man would apparently wait for lone women and chase after them and try to rape them. He was

eventually caught but he had already raped and terrorised some of the women in the area.

I asked Martha if urban farming should be stopped and she immediately said:

“kwete! Vanhu vanozorarama neyi?” meaning No! How then will people survive?

The women all stated that urban farming was a vital part of their survival and that though it poses a threat to their security, they had no choice. I found though that what was different was that the women during harvest time in Old Ngezi had decided to look out for themselves instead of waiting for the police by hiring men to guard them. This was working out well for them since they said that it had been some time since they had heard of muggings during the harvesting period.

According to the police there was a problem in Rimuka mostly during the harvesting period. There were more reports of theft and muggings in the maize fields and in most cases, the thieves actually wanted the maize. Mr X said that he had not heard of cases of rape and this could be because he had only been at the station for about six months which means Mrs. K’s case had happened before his arrival.

In relation to urban farming the council; according to the acting director had a housing policy that is in draft form and is yet to be approved. This draft housing policy has provisions for the legalising of urban farming. However the urban farming will be limited to the planting of legumes only and not crops like maize as these provide a security risk to residents. When asked how effective this was, she said they would most probably face challenges since the residents wanted to plant maize.

She also stated that they are in the process of coming up with a gender action plan which would be worked on by the District Gender Action Committee. The committee is headed by her as the gender focal person for council and it incorporates the police, social welfare, education and other departments of government. The action plan is meant to also assist in the corroboration of data amongst these different departments and to also come up with statistics of gender based violence and its prevalence in different areas, the reasons for such prevalence and the tentative solutions.

3.1.2 Long grass and bad foot paths in open spaces

Women were also exposed to violence when they left their homes with the intention to go into town, to the hospital and for the young girls, going to school. The foot paths that were there had a lot of long grass. These big open spaces were either undesignated land or land meant for residential stands.

In Ngezi The women all agreed that the tall grass along foot paths posed a serious security risk to them; a risk in the sense of muggings, rapes and robbery. In an interview with Mai Wallace she said

“Inini ndinototy kufamba ndega” meaning I am literally afraid to walk alone.

This statement of fear reverberated the risk to personal security which had become a common phenomenon. I observed how she literally shook her head and held herself tightly around her chest to show the emphasis and the real fear that was in her.

According to the women, it is better at times in summer when some people burn the grass in the open spaces. In Rimuka there are the famous Rimuka Infills which are close to the school. This is a place with modern houses but just behind these houses there is a big space which is meant for more stands but no development has taken place. This open space has a lot of long grass and is also used for farming. There are many incidences of violence against women as they use the foot path to walk to town especially for families who cannot afford to commute.

In one of the interviews that I held with Mai Vimbai she said that they often heard screams especially since her house was right at the end of the street where the open space with tall grass and maize begun.

She then gave an account of how during the day, she had seen a man in the open space playing with his penis. When I probed further she said that the man had been

masturbating and she ran as fast as she could. She said the open space was very dangerous and that she now avoided walking in it alone.

The violence that women experienced and its potential threat was exacerbated by the tall grass and it was even worse when there was maize in the field. The need for the clearing of these open spaces coupled with a solution for urban farming seemed inevitable.

On the issue of grass cutting, the council said that grass was only cut in commonage areas such as the high way, at intersections for the purposes of visibility for the motorist and in open spaces that were used daily by people. This however contradicted what I had seen with my own two eyes in Rimuka at the In-fills where the big open space that is used by people every day to get into town and to go to the hospital had tall grass and visibility was difficult.

There seemed to be a lot of elusiveness about the subject matter as to who really was responsible for what since the issue of grass cutting seats under the department of housing and partially under the department of health and the environment.

Financial constraints once again came at the centre of the discussion as it was highlighted that council cannot afford to cut grass sporadically especially during the rainy season. It was further pointed out that in some areas especially at the in-fills, one would find that there was tall grass in areas that now look like open spaces but are actually residential stands that have been left idle. The question then came as to whose responsibility it was to follow up on these open spaces and this was pushed onto the citizen.

The police pointed out that bad foot paths were a subject of concern and pointed out the open space between Rimuka and the CBD as a famous hotspot for criminal activity. This was because of the tall grass and they said that they had even gone as far as to speak to the city council to cut the grass as it exacerbates crimes. The issues of rape of young girls came to light especially when they are on their way to school since some parents cannot afford in terms of finances to have their children commuting to and from school. The police as a result of the high prevalence of the "foot paths" crime were conducting monthly awareness raising campaigns where they warned people not to use certain foot paths but still people kept using them.

3.1.3 Poor lighting and intermittent electricity

In terms of lighting, just from mere observation the few street lights that were in Rimuka were broken and had cords hanging out. The key question then was whether this unavailability of street lighting had any relation to violence?

All the nineteen women agreed that there was no street lighting and that this affected their personal security in terms of muggings. The street lights according to them had not been working for years and there was one tower light which was not working at the time of the discussion. This made the situation even worse and the women literally felt unsafe. This was in the Single quarters and the General Barracks.

As a result there were no go areas especially the Chipazi area. At 7 pm during summer time the women stopped walking after that time and as early as 5pm in winter. This was due to the longer days and short nights in summer and vice versa in relation to winter.

Five women spoke vehemently about a notorious gang which terrorised the Chipazi Area. The gang mugged, robbed and at times raped the women. Inadequate street lighting proved a major risk for the women and in Old Ngezi the situation was a bit different. Old Ngezi has three tower lights though at times not all the sides of this work. However, the presence of these tower lights seemed to comfort the women and they said that when all the lights were working, they could walk till around midnight.

On the Officials side, electricity and street lighting are dealt with by different actors in the city of Kadoma. ZESA in terms of the Electricity Act is the one which provides the everyday household power. The street lighting is done by Kadoma City Council in terms of Section 217 of the Urban Councils Act⁵. In 1987 ZESA was unbundled and they handed over the issue of street lighting to the council.

⁵ Section 217 of the UCAZ

Subject to the Electricity Act [*Chapter 13:05*] a council may place, erect, install, provide, maintain and operate street lighting inside or outside the council area, either—

(a) on its own behalf; or

(b) on behalf of any other local authority or other person on such terms and conditions as may be mutually agreed upon; and supply electricity thereto and do all such things as are incidental to the foregoing

The issue of intermittent electricity was said to be a national issue that did not only affect Kadoma. The non payment of bills was said to be affecting proper servicing of areas and vandalism was said to be rife. Also the theft of copper cables resulted in there being intermittent supply of electricity.

The new prepaid system was said to be solving the crisis of electricity woes and the more the prepaid meters that were made available the better the service since this system allowed for a capital influx. It seems that ZESA was on top of its game in relation to solutions for the intermittent supply of electricity. They are apparently now making aluminium cables in place of copper cables since aluminium is not on demand on the market and takes longer to sell.

The official version of lack of electricity seemed to tally with what the women were experiencing on the ground. However, there was a serious communication gap on the time tables for load shedding and the officials at ZESA said that because of resources they could not go down into the community to advertise these.

In terms of street lighting which is the duty of the city council, there were some contradictions that came in from the department of engineering which is responsible for this service. At first I was informed that there were new street lights that were being erected but on speaking to another engineer T, he openly stated that council was in a quandary and they had not erected a single street light in the past 5 years.

Vandalism was found to be a challenge and it did explain to me why I had noticed those electric cords dangling as well as the broken lantern. When I questioned the engineers if they had thought of putting cages around the tower lights and the street lights, I was met with an “aha” look which was then quickly disguised to show “familiarity” with such a solution. Only tower lights can have cages since they are higher than ordinary street lights which cannot be caged. Funds were pointed out as a limiting factor and the deindustrialization of Kadoma was pointed to as a major limiting factor for improvement.

According to Engineer T:

“ Pandakawuya kuno ana David Whitehead vanga vavhara asi ndakudzwa nevaivapo zvichakanaka kuti paibhadhara David Whitehead mari yemarates pamwe chete neyimwe mine, vanhu vaibva vatambira vese masalary avo akakwana including bonus

kana iri December. Marate payers edzimba ayinge asina dhiri and hupenyu hwaifamba. Manje izvezvi tava kuita pikerere nevanhu mudzimba dzavo. Meaning; he was told that long back before David Whitehead closed, life was good. The day that this company together with another paid their rates, everyone in the council was paid their salary in full including their bonus but now council has to clamp down on ordinary citizens since the closure of those industries.

The council is under budgeted to an extent that it finds it difficult to cope up with the demand for streetlights. This demand usually results in the lighting of half the street lights in a given area where they fix the first light and skip the next in that pattern so as to spread the resources and to try and ensure that there is at least a bit of decent lighting in any given area. There is a high default rate amongst rate payers. In Rimuka and Ngezi the default rate is over 70% and this further enhances the difficulty in harnessing funds for street lighting coupled with additional or reserve funds that are required for vandals.

Another reason for poor lighting is the lack of prioritization. This came in the discussion when one of the engineers pointed out that the only street light in Kadoma has not been functioning for the past five years. This according to him was because the traffic light was not a priority. The cost to repair the light was \$8 000 and the cost to get a new solar lighting system was \$14 000. However, the issue of political mileage by other individuals in the council led to the de-prioritization of the traffic light. This was the same for things like street lights.

According to the Sergeant Kuimba of Rimuka Police Station violence against women because of no lighting or power supply was prevalent. He said that there were many incidents of theft when it was dark and the most prevalent form was that of theft by fishing. He also acknowledged the issue of vandalism which he suspected to be carried out by thieves who know that their activities prosper under pitch black circumstances. This once again made a facilitation link between the crime and the lack of adequate service provision.

3.2 Meeting needs

3.2.1 Water and Sanitation

Water in Rimuka is a scarce resource and this goes for Ngezi as well. The taps at different homesteads are dry and women have to wake up early in the morning to look for places to get water. This unavailability of water at one's homestead which is a basic service provision results in violence taking place.

In the infill area one interviewee Mrs. R said that the challenge was that there was a woman who had her own well which she dug and she assisted the community with water. The problem would arise in October when the water table decreases.

Mrs. R said that:

“ tinoto shaudhirana mvura yake kana ati vharira gedhi. Tototukanirana mugodhi wake iwowo. Ndaida kutomurovawo” meaning; “We actually shout at her for her well, when she closes the gate. We verbally abuse her and I even wanted to beat her up as well.

This was echoed by the women in the single quarters all seven of them during a focus group discussion. One of the women Mai Roy said:

“ kudhara zvainge zvisina kumbodayi. Munhu nemunhu ainge anemvura yake nepombi yake. Hapana aitaura nemumwe. Manje kwava nehondo yega yega” meaning; long back things were good, everyone had their own tap for water and there was no violence. Now all we experience is war.

This remark that all the women present agreed with showed that the women believed that if water was made available they would not have to go fetch water at different sites and therefore not experience any violence. This was corroborated by one of the officials but I will come to that later.

The women also explained how there was an increase in domestic violence because of the issue of service provision.

Anonymous Q rubber stamped this by saying:

“ unonzwa uchinzi wangauripi, sei usina kubika? Zvoita kunge wanga uchitamba zuva rese iwe wanga wakamira muraini remvura” meaning, one's husband will arrive home

and question your whereabouts when they do not find food ready and make it seem as if you were playing yet you were standing in water queue the whole day.

The issue of inadequate sanitation also produces a serious security challenge given that the toilets in the general barracks as well as the single quarters were communal. The fact that these toilets were outside instead of built in resulted in women being afraid to go outside at night and therefore resorting to the bucket system.

The women in the single quarters spoke of an experience they had last year where a mentally disturbed man started staying in one of the female toilets. This man used to stay in the toilets naked and women were scared to use them. He was finally chased away by the residents but he had already psychologically abused the women by having them see nakedness which they did not want to see.

The council stated that it has been doing its best to revive the treatment works but inadequate resources have been a major challenge.

To date, the council ensures that between 5am and 11am every day, the residents in Rimuka and Ngezi have water. This was contrary to what the residents were saying and upon confrontation of the version of the residents, the engineer H stated that there were times when the water did not come at all but he quickly said that these occasions were rare. I observed this as somewhat a half truth given the first contradiction.

Water is also only brought through when power is available hence when there is no electricity at the plants; the residents might not receive water on that particular day.

The acting director of housing clearly stated that:

“The single Quarters are not going anywhere and they are here to stay and council cannot do anything about the toilets that are outside since it does not have the resources.”

This statement showed a negative attitude from the council and no hope for the women and girls living in the single quarters.

The Area Public Prosecutor (Area PP) Muchemwa said that there was also the issue of women reporting on each other and experiencing violence at the water front or where

they go to collect water from. The issues that came out are that women verbally and physically assault each other. These cases did not see the light of day in court during the vetting process.

This official version thus proved that what the women in the community were experiencing was real and true but patriarchal ignorance was failing to address the root problem in order to reduce the prevalence of the crime.

The police in Rimuka also confirmed the issue of violence at the water sites but they said that they had seen a decrease in the cases and this they owed to the increased flow of water which meant less frustrations amongst the women.

This was the biggest “AHA” moment for me in this research since an official had made a direct link between the availability of water and a decrease in the violence against women at water sites.

There were also cases of domestic violence in the context of the home with regards to the water and electricity.

3.2.2 Wood

Electricity is another scarce resource in both Rimuka and Ngezi. There is load shedding that takes place on a daily basis and at night the whole street becomes pitch black. Electricity goes randomly and without warning. Three of the women interviewed in Rimuka since cooking is a daily need, the women end up going to fetch firewood in plots and open spaces.

One of the women an 83 year old woman Mrs. K told a horrific story of how she was almost raped by a young man when she had gone to fetch firewood. The following is Mrs. K's ordeal:

It was in June last year and electricity had gone. My grandchildren were busy with other chores. One of them had gone to look for water so I decided to go and fetch firewood from the plot where we usually plant our maize. I picked up a big log and placed it on top of my head and just when I was about to leave, my face was met with a heavy fist and I fell to ground.

As I looked up from the ground I saw standing right before me a young man who had started unzipping his trousers. He started beating me up with his fists and then he tried to put my legs on his shoulders whilst unzipping the rest of his zipper. I fought him and eventually pulled his balls

which led to him yelping in pain and raping me... I mean not raping me. She said that “ *ndange ndakapfeka madhende akawanda mwanangu. Madhende ndo akandibatsira. Mwari ndiyewo akandibatsira nekuti ndakawana simba rinoshamisa*” meaning that, had it not been for the many rags she was wearing to keep herself warm, she would have been raped and that the Lord gave her strength to overcome.

The perpetrator was eventually caught and was sentenced to 9 years in prison he had apparently raped three other elderly women who had also gone to fetch wood. The lack of electricity exposed Mrs. K and three other elderly women to violence in the form of rape.

Mrs. K felt traumatised by the whole incident and when I asked her as to whether she was going to go to that place where the crime had occurred she told me she would have to go because there was no other means of survival.

“*ko ndingaite seiko mwanangu iyo mhuri ichida kudya?*” literally meaning, what can I do since the family needs to eat?

I discovered also that because women have no electricity they are now walking several kilometres to fetch firewood and though they face arrest they do it for survival. The women go in groups so as to avoid being attacked. They can spend up to seven hours of the day going to and from the plots where they get firewood. This showed an informal organisation in order for them to overcome the problem they faced, something that African women have become known for (*Malombe, 1996*).

3.3 Policing

From the discussions that were held it seemed that the capacity of the police officers at night is very weak. This led to one sometimes finding the police station empty when they wanted to report a case at night. Sometimes the police officers were said to be of no help at all.

There was the case of the woman who had had her ear slashed and she went to report the crime of theft but when she got to the police station she was told that she should go

and get the perpetrators herself. This according to the women discouraged the community to put their trust in the police and made them less likely to believe that the police will protect them.

As I probed further I discovered that the police that were being complained about mostly turned out to be the neighbourhood watch police⁶. These are ordinary citizens who volunteer to protect their communities.

A lady called Rachel whom I interviewed bluntly said:

“munhu unotogona kurohwa pamberi pemaneighbourhood (sic) acho asi anongomira achiwona”. Maneighbourhood akuda zvemari aya”. She literally said; “One can actually be beaten in front of the neighbourhood watch whilst they stand by and watch. The neighbourhood watch only want money.”

The issue of poor policing came out really strongly in Old Ngezi as well. The reasoning behind this which I later discovered is that Old Ngezi does not have an actual police station but a base which is mostly manned by the neighbourhood watch. Mai Mwenye a resident was especially annoyed by this. She said that the neighbourhood watch was very corrupt as they were not salaried. They were often abusive to victims of violence.

She lamented on how it was better when there were regular police during the day. However, the regular police left the base at 4.30 and this then made it difficult to report cases at night since the neighbourhood watch would now be manning the station. She alluded to the issue of corruption thus supporting what had been stated in Rimuka.

This lack of capacity of the police, the corruption of the neighbourhood watch translated in essence to poor policing services which meant that the woman had to endure in the violent set up that they constantly found themselves in.

The police stated that the station was always open to all citizens. I pointed out the issue of unavailability of police at some stations and this was vehemently denied.

⁶ I made a follow up in Harare to find out about the neighbourhood watch given the time constraints in Kadoma and the unavailability of a clear answer. I was informed that the neighbourhood watch are an arm of the police force. They are volunteers in the community who go with their names to the public relation office of their local police station. They also bring a police clearance and they do not need to be literate. They are then trained by the local police and they get enlisted to serve people at base stations.

On the issue of corruption, the police said it had never been brought to their attention that the neighbourhood watch personnel were being corrupt. The police said that if this came to their attention they would definitely attend to it speedily. Since policing services are linked with information that goes to a prosecutor I received information that showed that the dockets from the police actually revealed the linkage between poor service provision and violence against women.

According to Mr. Muchemwa most cases that related to violence against women in terms of robbery, theft, and rape include a scene setting which is described as the circumstances of the case in the relevant docket for that case. Most settings show that the area where the women are mugged or raped would have been dark, with poor or no lighting at all and the perpetrator would have been hiding in the tall grass or the maize field.

Apparently there are monthly meetings that are held with the office of the prosecutor, the courts, the police, the prison service, social services and the hospital. In these meetings they discuss pertinent issues as well as crimes that have been on the increase and they try to find out how best to sort these out. They also look at mostly the probation officers reports and they critique them as well as the medical reports, the dockets that are sent through by the police etcetera. It seems that most of the meetings discuss administrative issues and the other issues that then come in from time to time are the police who will be asking for stiffer penalties. One of the issues that have been discussed to length is that of jail sentences for unlicensed drivers.

I asked the Mr Muchemwa whether another group or department can be called in to sit in that meeting and he said yes. He said that any department could be called for example the council so that they understand the issues that will be taking place and help resolve a problem that will be directly dealing with them. I asked him whether the council had ever been called to any of these meetings and he said that they had never called the council as they had never thought of it since they had not made a linkage between high crime rate and the scenery.

Charity R. Hodzi R135187Q

From meeting women's needs to the triggers of violence, it was very clear to me that there indeed was a major problem in terms of service provision which did facilitate violence against women in Kadoma.

CHAPTER 4: Discussions and Conclusions

4.1 Feminist critique of service provision

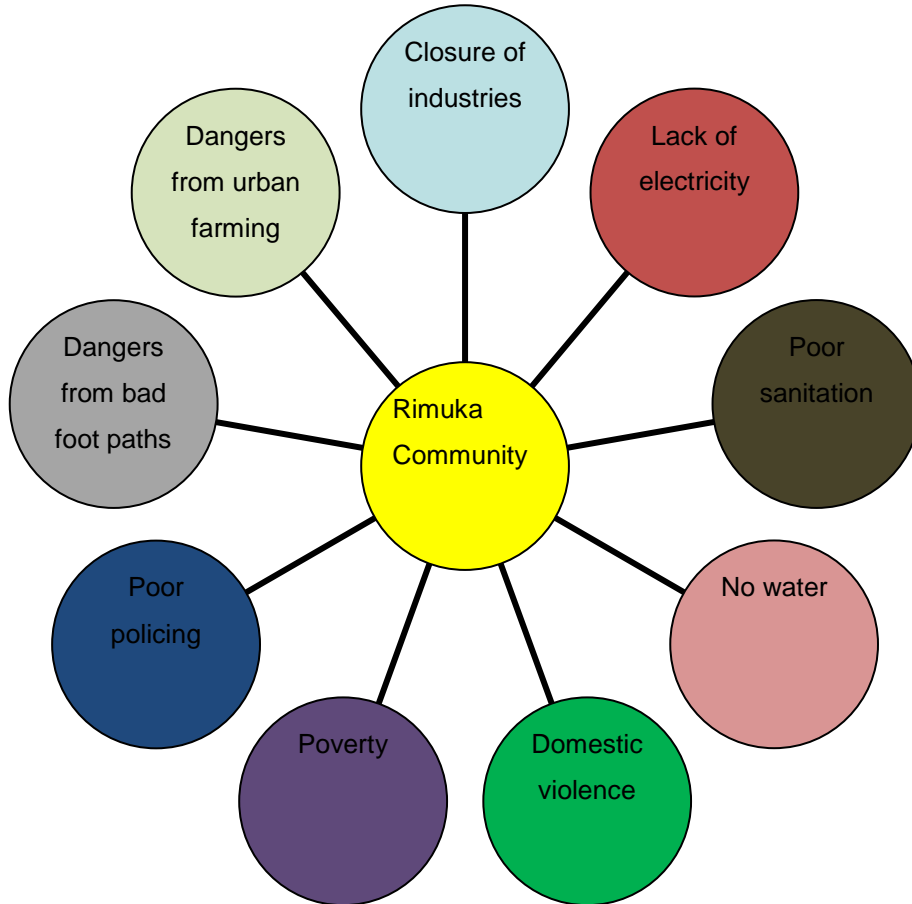
The service provision in Kadoma proved to be poor and hence attributed to the violence that women in Kadoma were facing. The severity of the poor service provision varied in different areas. I had the opportunity to have a few interviews in Waverly and also observed the housing set ups to determine the extent to which service provision was inadequate. Below is the table outlining these variations ;

SERVICE PROVISION	Old Ngezi	Waverly	Rimuka GBs and SQs	Rimuka In-fills
Street lighting	Good	Good	Very Poor	None
Electricity	Very Poor	Poor	Very Poor	Very Poor
Long grass	Poor	Poor	Very Poor	None
Urban Farming	Very Poor	Good	Very Poor	Poor
Water	Very Poor	Good	Very Poor	Poor
Sanitation	Very Poor	Good	Very Poor	Good
Policing	Very Poor	Good	Poor	Poor

The state in Rimuka Township from the above table shows that overallly the service provision is very poor. The in-fills do not even have any street lighting and the grass is never cut. The situation in Old Ngezi is slightly different. Overallly service provision is very poor although they have good street lighting. The policing services are also very poor since they have a base station and not a police station as is the case in Rimuka. Waverly generally receives better service provision. From the above table it seems that the high density areas are receiving the shorter end of the stick. This could be because of the high percentage rate in defaults in Rimuka and Old Ngezi. This differential

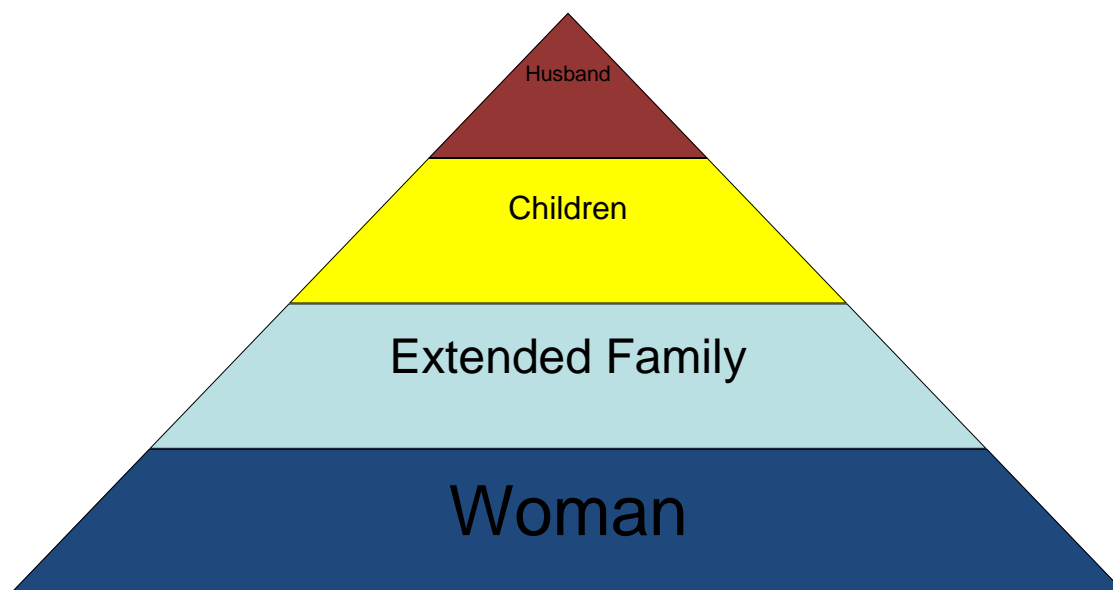
treatment needs to be urgently addressed as it is detrimental to the lives of the women and girls in Rimuka and Old Ngezi and the community as a whole. Poor service provision affects the lives of women and men differently. Municipal services touch the domestic aspect of life which traditionally is given to women. Hence if there is no electricity because of the domestication of woman, she will have to go and fetch firewood. If there is no water, she will have to look for it. If there is a small plot that needs to be farmed on she will have to go and farm on it.

The women in Kadoma especially in Rimuka had various Intersectionalities that lead to them being oppressed in society. As a result women further exposed themselves to violence. In as much as Mrs. K and Martha know that urban farming and fetching for firewood are dangerous to their personal security, they are going to keep at it because of poverty. Mrs. K will continue looking for wood because there is no electricity.



The diagram above depicts the various interlocking oppressions that the women in Rimuka experience.

The women in Ngezi are different from those in Rimuka because Ngezi is more organised than Rimuka even in terms of the majority of the households. There is need to therefore not treat these women as a homogenous group but to address their problems in terms of what they are facing.



The women in both Rimuka and Ngezi put their families first before themselves. There were a considerable number of statements that were made in relation to children, husbands and relatives. Women whom I interviewed tended to be sacrificial and identified themselves through their children. This supports the notions made by Becker (1999) that women tend to be relational and they put others first before themselves. This is also supported by *Miles* (2001), in that women's roles as mothers inspire them to adapt to harsh conditions in the city for the sake of their children and families.

Their husband was the main priority followed by their children and then their extended family. They lined up at the water sites for their families even in the face of potential violence and they will continue fetching wood because their family needs to eat even if they might get killed or raped. This element of sacrificing needs to be taken into consideration when drafting a way forward. Policies need thus to be family centred and should be consultative of women in the grass roots in order to be effective.

The instinctive plan that women seemed to carry out when faced with the crisis of poor service provision or lack of electricity etcetera was to try and negotiate so that they

could get what they needed. In terms of electricity, the women tried to negotiate with ZESA. Apparently there was a time when ZESA asked those who wanted to have their bills slashed by half to pay \$22 and the majority of women whom I interviewed did this but to their surprise their bills were not halved. The women also attended the meetings that were called on by council during budgeting time to negotiate their issues into the budget and to have their voices heard for purposes of determination of rates. They had suggested that they could pay \$10 but council insisted on \$21. This too had failed.

Nego feminism in relation to the women in Kadoma where service provision was concerned failed and the constant stone walling actually resulted in apathy.

There is need for possibly a more radical approach by the women since negotiations are not working. However in as much as this failed it did prove Nnaemeka's (2004) point that African women are not confrontational but are negotiators. Nego feminism as a point of departure could be used then by council through them building on the indigenous. The indigenous being the women in the community and working with what the women on the ground have and broadening it from there.

The clear failure to adequately provide municipal and policing services to women left women more vulnerable to the burden of care in the homes. The lack of electricity increased the burden of unpaid care work as women ended up having to go into the different plots to look for firewood thereby increasing the time they spend doing this work that is not recognised. The same goes for the fetching of water and the planting of maize.

The city council needs to understand that by not providing adequate services they are actually adding more to the burden that women have to bare. As they refine their housing policy there is need to understand this phenomenon. This must be made in line with the human rights obligations of ensuring non-discrimination towards women in all aspects of their lives.

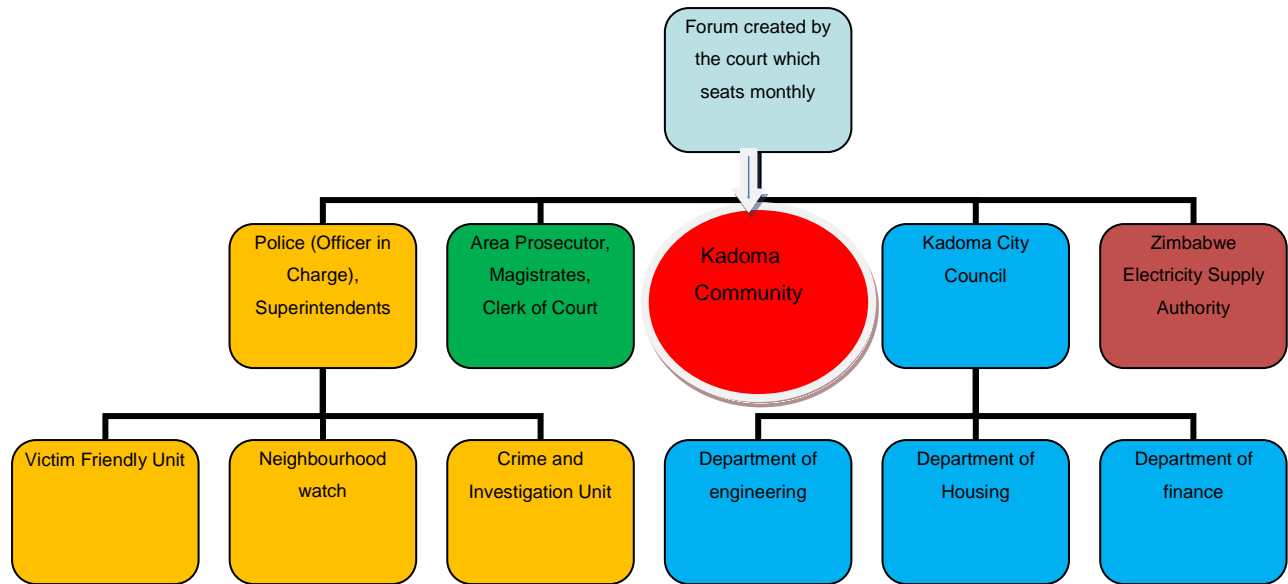
4.2 Way Forward

The challenges that the women and girls in Kadoma are facing in relation to inadequate service provision need a holistic approach in order for the situation to change. In terms of a holistic approach there is need to engage with the Multi-Sectoral Approach.

This approach is supported by the SADC Protocol on Gender in Article 25 which calls for integrated approaches, including institutional cross sector structures with the aim of reducing current levels of gender based violence, by half by 2015. An integrated approach means looking at the different sectors and coming up with a holistic framework that addresses the needs of the community in all spheres.

The key issue is to build on already existing platforms and not to try and reinvent the wheel. Since there has already been a forum where the police meet together with the court officials, this can be the starting basis for the Multi-Sectoral Approach. The forum that is already there can invite the departments from the city council and from ZESA to chart a way forward on service provision and to enlighten each other on how best to tackle this challenge. The women and the girls and also the men should not be left out of this process.

As shown in the organogram there is need for a bottom up approach which is why the community members are at the centre. It will not help anyone if the “gurus” just meet on their own and then go on to regurgitate what they would have decided in the absence of those who are very key to whatever resolutions are made.



The starting point in looking at this integrated approach is the new Constitution. In the national objectives section 13, there is reference to the bringing about of a balance in the development of both rural and urban areas and section 73 which looks at the right to a healthy environment read together with section 77 the right to water and food.

Since the issues of resources were a major setback in the reasoning behind a lack of action, the department of finance for council as well as for the police will be very central. The information about rate payers is central *vis a vis* how much the council is earning and what percentage is going to salaries. The key question in relation to human rights is whether there is maximum use of available resources in relation to the achievement of the progressive rights of an adequate standard of living. This is in line with Section 28 of the new Constitution which gives the right to adequate shelter within the limits of the resources that are available. Kadoma cannot have a situation where by salaries constitute a big percentage of the budget at the expense of the development of the city. At the same time a balance must be struck to avoid a situation of brain drain which will result in the loss of capacity to execute development.

The budget planning process has to incorporate the voice of the citizens of Kadoma and not the elite few. This means a conscious approach to listening and taking note and respecting that even those who pay a dollar have the right to be heard. Gender budgeting should be central and instead of having projects that deal with “women’s

issues” there is need to have all the various departments presenting the issues that will address the gender dimensions which they should have discussed first with the rights holders through a participatory approach. This is in line with the Constitution amendment Bill section 13, which states that all the measures taken to ensure equitable development should involve people in the formulation and implementation of such programmes that affect them. These measures should protect and enhance the right of the people to equal opportunities in development.

Law reform is vital in terms of the regularising of urban farming as has been done by the Bulawayo city council. This regularising has not affected the planting of maize since council has come up with designated land for such crops which is offered for a rental fee to some whilst it also looks at those who are vulnerable and offers it to them for free. Such reform will be working in line with the right to water and food given in Section 77 of the new constitution. Regularising of urban farming would insure that women and girls have access to sufficient food. Also, such regularising would enable the police to patrol a legal activity and step in to assist in the security of those who farm in the urban areas.

4.3 Conclusion

Given the theoretical insights linking with the lived realities of women in Rimuka and Ngezi, the adoption of more gender sensitive policies is not an end in itself but a means to an end. There is need to constantly engage and re-engage with the women on the ground and to take them seriously if real change is to take place. Kadoma city council and the police need to move outside of their boxes and have an open minded approach to women’s issues which do affect the overall economic structure of the city as well as the nation.

Women’s traditional role in the domestic arena should be central in these considerations. As pointed out, women are domesticated and municipal services are touching this arena. The multi-sectoral approach is a holistic tool which would assist the municipality, the police and the community in addressing the violence that women experience when service provision is inadequate.

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