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INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSFER OF POVERTY: A CASE OF WARD 7 AND 13 IN BULAWAYO, ZIMBABWE

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ABSTRACT

This paper provides an overview of the thinking of the intergenerational transmission (IGT) of poverty. It firstly provides an analytical framework, for understanding the mechanisms by which, poverty is transmitted from one generation to another and factors which might support resilience. It then presents a synthesis of relevant empirical evidence. Finally, it identifies policy instruments that might plausibly limit transmission in different contexts. A purposive sampling method was used, to select a study sample of community organizations and the selected sample was interviewed using structured questionnaires, to obtain information regarding the sample family. The paper reveals a high participation by respondents in the informal sector, with very low average incomes of between $80-150. In addition, despite fewer years of schooling, women generally invest marginally, more than men in the study. However, while investments may prove useful, the fact that participants marry within their class, suggests a perpetual cycle in the grips of intergenerational poverty. A key recommendation is that, interventions can be designed to accommodate generations so as to stymie the reach of inherited poverty, while uplifting the plight of younger people.

KEYWORDS: Child Poverty, Education, Intergenerational Transmission of Poverty, Health, Inheritance, Resilience, Policy

INTRODUCTION

Payne (2005) classes, poverty in two forms: situational poverty, which is related to a specific incident in the life of a person or household, and generational poverty, which is a circle passing from generation to generation, with its own distinct culture and belief patterns. The literature on poverty is clear: being born and raised in a chronically poor family, gives one a 35 percent greater chance of living in poverty, for the rest of one's life (Papuan, Suryadarma, & Suryahadi, 2009). Thus, poverty is not only anti-development; it is disempowering and transferable as well.

This paper is a study of the intergenerational transmission (IGT) of poverty in Zimbabwe's second largest city, Bulawayo, in order to identify the major factors that contribute to its prevalence. Bulawayo, with an estimated population of 640,689 (ZIMSTAT 2015), broken down into the households of sizes averaging 3.9 individuals, is an interesting case in chronic poverty and its transmission. It is a classic case of poverty, that has become contagious and generational, like the popular prophetic adage on curses. Eventhough, IGT poverty is widely held to be the most persistent form of poverty (Hulme et al., 2001), studies tend to be centered around IGT poverty in the developed world, rather than in the developing world and this paper aims to address that deficiency. It is plausible to argue that, from the developed world, that there are high intergenerational correlations between education, earnings and income, showing that parental endowments affect the wellbeing of children, in later life (Quisumbing, 2008). For example, across the developed world, intergenerational correlations in educational attainment, range from 0.3 to 0.4 and in the United States, intergenerational correlations in earnings or income are 0.4 or greater (Quisumbing, 2008). In the developing world, there is limited reliable data regarding assets, inheritance, etc.We are limited in what we know. Therefore, it can only add to literature to study a society, in the developing world.

An inadequate quantity and quality of assets, is a major pathway through which poverty persists in the lifespan of the individual or household, and is transferred from generation to generation. Therefore, breaking the cycle of poverty within and between generations is a matter of access, to a higher quantity and quality of assets (Chronic Poverty Research Centre, 2007). Transfers from and investments by older generations to younger generations, are then, essential to improving the economic well-being of the younger generations (Chronic Poverty Research Centre, 2007). This is one way that can be used, to maintain economic wealth and stability amongst members of the same household, over a long period of time. The transfer of economic wealth maintains the same economic status quo, and ascertains the survival and livelihood of households, especially in the wake of current economic hardships and turmoil, experienced in a majority of Less Developed Countries.

The keys to improved economic well-being then, can be summed as:

- Building human capital through access to quality health care and education, adequate nutrition
- Access to, means to building a livelihood capable of reaching the income and consumption levels, fit to sustain base normative standards of living, a feat attained through acquiring productive capital, physical assets
- Social assets that act as shock absorbers in times of distress when other assets in possession cannot meet the needs of the moment (Chronic Poverty Research Centre, 2007).

An example of the importance of education is a widely cited study from the 1970s, the Abecedarian Project, wherein a sample of infants from poor families was randomly selected to receive access to full-time, high quality education from infancy up to age 5, while other children were placed in a control group. The children placed in full-time high quality education had higher cognitive scores and a greater likelihood of attending university and of having their first child at an older age than those in the control group. A similar study in the 1960s, the Perry Project, randomly selected poor African-American children in high-quality pre-school, and placed others in a control group, and found that over the course of their lives, the children who attended high-quality pre-school had higher incomes, more stable employment histories, and a lower rate of criminal activity, than those in the control group.

Investing in high-quality education is important for the economic well-being of children, but as 'quality-quantity transition' theory demonstrates, it is something most parents simply cannot afford to do. Education is a prerequisite in the fight against poverty, as children who are well educated have a greater chance of achieving wide economic gains in the future as compared to children who are not educated at all.

The poor face huge barriers in their quest to attain assets (Carter and Barrett, 2006) and this barrier have only risen in Bulawayo over the course of the last twenty years as the economy of Zimbabwe has collapsed. Furthermore, the developing world is characterized by highly imperfect or missing markets, and so, it is a good working theory to suppose that, inheritance plays a central role in asset accumulation in households (Quisumbing, 2008; Platteau and Baland, 2000; UN Habitat, 2006).

IGT is not merely a negative phenomenon, but, it is a combination of factors, both positive and negative, that weigh on a [i]person's chances of experiencing poverty at some point in their lifetime (Moore 2005). Adult poverty is closely linked to poverty in childhood, but the family structure, the neighborhood, one life in, welfare dependence and social isolation, though associated with economic disadvantage, can act positively upon a person's well-being (Bird 2007). Poverty is transmitted generationally through private transfers (or lack thereof) of capital and public transfers (or lack thereof) of resources (Bird 2007; Moore 2005).

It is simplistic to attempt to reduce intergenerational transfers to the land and physical assets, because this grossly understates the importance of education as a transfer of human capital investments made by parents to their children (Quisumbing et al., 2004). In Bulawayo, the two most important occasions for intergenerational transfers of assets are married, when labels paid, and the death of a parent, when property is inherited. Such bequests are highly important, and in many instances, more important than inheritance. Marriage is not only between two individuals, but between two families, and the ceremony of gift-giving during weddings, and other such instances of inter-vivo transfers, as well as bequests and inheritance, are important to our understanding.

This paper will determine the critical factors and processes which have led to IGT poverty in Bulawayo among individuals and households. Initial endowments are profoundly important, that is, an individual's assets, qualities, and freedom, but initial endowments act only as serious constraints and do not determine the behavior of the IGT poor in Bulawayo. Many households in the most severely affected wards plan and invest in the education of their children and create a supporting environment for their success. It seems then that income alone does not determine poverty, what does is the total of socioeconomic factors that a household function in and pans around to lift its children out of poverty.

The behavior of parents, by which we mean either birth or adoptive parents, or grandparents, or any adult (in the case of a legal guardian) in charge of the well-being of the child, as will be seen in a few examples, is not tied to income, and parents can and often do prioritize investment in the education and general well-being of their children, over immediate returns.

However, as 'quality-quantity transition' theory argues, in making decisions about their children, parents in poor households are, because of socio-economic pressures, forced to make decisions that reap benefits from their children as quickly as possible. It is simply not viable to defer the immediate interests and needs of the households in order to attain benefits that are far-off, for the child.

In essence, the focus of the paper is generally on IGT poverty from poor parents to poor children and given traditional family structures, and what is known as the “generational bargain”, the assumption is made that the children, once in working age, will assume the care of its parents and invest in its children, though it does happen that a generation may overspend, destroy the environment, and leave little for succeeding generations, for pensions, and welfare schemes (Collard 2000).

Background to Study

Briefly, poverty, according to a 2015 study by the Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency (ZIMSTAT) is prevalent among an estimated 37.2% of its population. In other words, over a third of its population, or about 60,000 households, consume below the Total Consumption Poverty Line (TCPL) of US$71.08/month, with the highest poverty prevalence in Ward 13[1] (43.7%) and the lowest prevalence in Ward 01[2] (23.4%), the City Center. Old high density suburbs such as Ward 13 and Makokoba[3] (Ward 07, 41.2% poverty prevalence) have the highest prevalence of poverty (ZIMSTAT 2015). 7.1% of households suffer from food poverty prevalence, with Wards 13 (9.8%) and 07 (9.7%) having the highest food poverty prevalence, and Ward 01 having the lowest (ZIMSTAT 2016).

A nationwide, 2014 Labor Force and Child Labor Survey (LFCLS) questionnaire was undertaken and produced a Child Labor Report focusing on children 0 to 17 years old, though the findings were centered on children who were aged 5 to 14 years (ZIMSTAT 2014). 4.61% of the population of Bulawayo was found to be composed of children. 14.49% of children have one or both the parents dead. Orphan hood by way of the father, the traditional breadwinner, being dead, is the most common form, with 59.76% of orphans falling under this category. 11.79% of the time, the mother is dead and the father alive. On 28.45% of occasions, children become orphans because both parents are dead. Orphan hood, combined with poverty, has led to situations in which 0.73% of children are child laborers, 6.5% of children aged 5 to 17 years engage in unpaid caring for children under 5 years of age, 0.34% engage in unpaid care for the sick, 67.36% of children are engaged in unpaid housekeeping activities, and 24.12% of children in the city engage in 21 hours or more of some economic activity per week. In sum, child labor is a serious problem in Bulawayo. Examples of child labor are shown in this paper, and the kind of complex trade-offs that lead to households utilizing their children as labor.

Zimbabwe has undergone an economic collapse since about 1998-2000 that has devastated incomes, resulted in a general fall in living standards, led to approximately 90% of the population unemployed, diminished pensions to a paltry sum, and led to many of the best teachers leaving the country and a deep deterioration in the quality of schools. These “irreversabilities” have limited opportunities for the youth, especially given that well-to-do families can no longer pass on their previous living standards, and the assets they held have fallen drastically in value; many middle class families have fallen into poverty; and importantly, the climate has made it much harder to emerge from the cycle of poverty. Being at the heart of natural regions 4 and 5, Bulawayo is at the heart of a crisis and climate change has worsened agricultural prospects. Cattle ranching, both as an agricultural and economic activity has failed significantly over the past few years and most households have resorted to migration to neighbouring countries such as South Africa and Botswana.At present, Zimbabwe is also in the middle of a general liquidity and credit crunch, whose chief characteristics have been the lack of cash in circulation, and the difficulty of obtaining credit for mortgages, and other big ticket asset purchases, except at either/or a high rate of interest and short payment terms, which are largely beyond the reach of most Zimbabweans.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Inheritance

The accumulated physical assets (or rights thereof) of an individual or group are redistributed at key moments in

1 Composed by Mabuthweni, Pelandaba and Kelvin North. Population: 19,203. Number of Households: 5,072. Number of Poor Households: 2,218. Average Household Size: 3.8. (ZIMSTAT 2015)

2 The City Centre. Population: 11,683. Number of Households: 3,811. Number of Poor Households: 890. Average Household Size: 3.1. (ZIMSTAT 2015)

3 Population: 17,936. Number of Households: 4,778. Number of Poor Households: 1,968. Average Household Size: 3.8. (ZIMSTAT 2015)

the individual's life. Such moments include death, birth, marriage and retirement, according to cultural norms, individual preferences and other designs (Cooper 2007). These momentsmay affect one's' economic trajectories in positive or negative ways (Cooper 2007; McKay, 2009; Carter and Barrett, 2006; Carter and May, 2001). Through inheritance, one gains in economic security by adding onto existing assets of affirming rights to assets already accessed, while those excluded from inheritance may lose rights to certain assets (Cooper 2007).

Inheritance as a transfer of capital from parents to children can allow children to gain the means to secure financial independence and secure their livelihoods (Fafchamps and Quisumbing, 2005). Conversely, exclusion can further push one toward chronic poverty and the intergenerational transmission of poverty (Bird et al., 2004). Cultural norms and national laws make widowed women and orphaned children especially vulnerable to loss of rights to assets they enjoyed during the lifetime of their husbands or fathers (Rose, 2006; Oleke et al., 2005; Strickland, 2004; Drimie, 2003; Human Rights Watch, 2003; Drimie, 2002). Exclusion acts as a trigger toward economic decline and poverty traps (Bird et al, 2004; Human Rights Watch, 2003; Strickland, 2004). Consequently, it becomes important to reform statutory and customary systems to address gender discrimination in inheritance practices (Benschop and Sait, 2006; Bird et al, 2004; Davies, 2005; Mutangadura, 2004; Rose, 2006) as is occurring in many Sub-Saharan African countries, where several countries have amended their statutory laws, and efforts have been made to reduce inequalities in inheritance practice.

Poverty

Poverty is defined in different ways, with the World Bank (2004) defining it as, a condition of deprivation on the physical, and social standard of living. ZIMSTAT defines it as "not having an income or consumption sufficient to support specific normative functioning" (ZIMSTAT 2015, x). All the definitions presented on poverty in this paper, have at their base the understanding that income alone is not the sole measure of poverty. On this basis, Sen (1999) has identified poverty as a derivate of a lack of certain 'freedoms', which flourish when a person can perform given functions and has certain capabilities. In other words, poverty is not merely a matter of inadequate incomes but transpires when people are barred physically and symbolically from expressing their aspirations and values in given contexts.

Schiller (2008) presents several dichotomies on the definition of poverty, arguing that on the one hand, some seem to place poor people themselves as the cause of poverty, highlighting their lower investment in human capital. On the other hand, he argues, poverty definitions often zero in on the constraints to asset accumulation faced by the poor, namely race, sex, and class. On the other, poverty is defined by some as that poverty which is caused by maladministration on the part of the government regarding pro-poor policies. The definition one subscribes to can therefore determine the policy proposals one makes and does not take into account that poverty is caused by many things at the same time.

Standard of Poverty

ZIMSTAT (2015) in measuring poverty used the idea of a Total Consumption Poverty Line (TCPL) or Upper Line to represent the cost of a normative standard of living that one must attain to not be deemed poor. Their methodology is described as follows and motivated the focus of this paper

Poverty analysis uses pointers or indicators such as housing, education and income to measure social and economic performance of communities for comparisons with other communities. The main sources of such information are typically national surveys and censuses. Poverty mapping is a statistical method developed by the World Bank. It uses small area estimation to combine information from surveys and censuses in order to obtain disaggregated data at lower geographical levels. Small area poverty estimation requires a high quality household sample survey and census data from a comparable time period. A good measure of welfare is needed (e.g. real per capita consumption) and a number of common variables (household demographics, education levels, etc.) (ZIMSTAT 2015. 3)Intergenerational Transfer of Poverty

Corcoran (1995) summarizes material demonstrating the intergenerational transfer of poverty whilst arguing that IGT poverty could be viewed through four lenses that encompass the cultural and structural factors that contribute to poverty: a resource model, the correlated disadvantages model, the welfare culture model, and underclass model.

Moore (2005) devised an IGT poverty model that relies upon interplay of cultural and structural factors. IGT poverty is largely viewed in the literature as a failure or absence of capital transfer across generations, i.e. the transfer of human, material, social, political and natural capital is deficient or absent.

To analyse IGT poverty, we must take into account the unit of analysis, the direction of transfer, the type of capital being transferred, and lastly the level at which we determine if what we are observing is IGT poverty (Moore 2001).

There is evidence that the family unit plays a key part in IGT poverty and is it is important to remember Lewis' ideas of the “culture of poverty” and Blau and Duncan's quantitative research on social stratification, in which family at the centre of IGT poverty (Corcoran 1995), though Lewis and Blau and Duncan, differed on the causes of this phenomenon.

Child Poverty

To Moore (2001), IGT poverty is not just a characteristic but a cause of poverty, so that chronic poverty is seen mainly through the extreme duration of poverty, over lifetimes and generations. In the absence of external intervention, the chronically poor can find it impossible to escape the cycle of poverty. A bad start in life, educationally and nutritionally, can have a permanent effect on the developmental process, also, in the opposite direction; early childhood investment can result in lifelong future advantages (Annie E. Casey Foundation (2014). Evans (2004) asserts that children born into destitution have less social support, and their parents can be less responsive to their needs and more authoritarian. Consequently, children born into poverty have lower levels of educational attainment than better-off families, and are less capable of dealing with stressors in their lives (Evans & Kim 2013).

Investment in Human Capital: Education and Parental Investment on Early childhood

Schultz (1981) points out a truism of poverty scholarship: investment in human capital is the most efficient way to break the cycle of poverty, which means investing in education from infancy to adult hood is a crucial aspect in addressing poverty and other economic deficiencies within families. Family is central to improving human capital as a large part of education stems from the home (Tubman 1996; Deacon and Fire bough 1981).

This family-centred investment in human capital is essentially inclined towards all activities and resource allocations made to improve the child Hartoyo (1998). Such investment has been found to significantly improve the wellbeing of the child (Leibowitz 1982; Hartoyo 1998). It will be important then, to see how the family origins of the parents, impacts upon the parents and their children, using a capital transfer model focused on human capital transfer.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

75 families from wards 7 and 13 were purposively selected from community organizations and interviewed using structured questionnaires to obtain information regarding the sample family. This study, carried out in April 2017, is a combination of cross-sectional and retrospective study and the youngest children in the study were under five years of age, and all families resided in wards 7 and 13. The families were chosen either from a program in ward 7, which deals with over a thousand children and works to impact positively the lives of children who are in some way orphaned or who come from economically vulnerable families. The other families chosen were from ward 13.

The poverty status of the family of the husband or male caregiver[4] was determined and classed as either poor or non-poor, and the same was done for the wife or female caregiver's family. Then, the investment behaviour in the husband's human capital was determined, along with the perception by the grandparents on the value of children. Lastly, the receipt of a bequest from the death of the grandparents or throughout their lives was assessed. The same was done for the wife and her family. This stage depended largely on the truthfulness of the husband and wife as in nearly all cases it was impossible to interview the grandparents. From there, the study proceeded to make the same determinations of the sample family, whom their poverty status was predetermined by the research in advance.

Six indicators were used from Family Life History Method (FLH) developed by Bottema et al. (2009), to measure the poverty-status of the family of the grandparents: income stability that based on parents job information (stable=1, unstable=0), house ownership (private ownership=1, rent or other=0), house condition in comparison with other families in the ward (better or same=1, worse=0), land ownership (own=1, not=0), cattle ownership (own=1, not=0), and parents literacy ability (able=1, not=0), measuring this at the time of the birth of the children. The total of this was used to ascertain the poverty status of the family, with a composite score < 4: poor; and composite score >=4: not poor.

The poverty status was then compared to the sample family poverty status to determine if there was a change in status as a way to determining IGT poverty. This dynamic status is classed into four groups: “always poor”; “never poor”; “out from poverty” if the family of the grandparents was poor but the sample family is not poor and “move into poverty” if the family of the grandparents was “not poor” but that of the sample family was “poor”. IGT poverty occurs when both families, that of the grandparents and the sample family, classed as poor.

Education of the husband and wife is defined in terms of number of years spent at school. Parental investment behaviour was determined using 20 self-constructed questions (α-Cronbach=0.849), divided into 30 parents' time allocation and 30 parents' money allocation for their child (wife and husband) with respondents answering “always” (sore=3), “sometimes” (score=2), and never (score=1) with the composite used to determine parental investment behaviour as either: low (20-35), moderate (36-48), or high (49-60).

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

Family Characteristics

Young adults in the study were classified as anyone of the age of 18-40 years old, with the mean age of husband

4 From now on, for the sake of simplicity, we will refer to the husband or male caregiver as simply the husband the same will be done for the wife or female caregiver, who will be referred to as the wife. Their parents will be referred to as the grandparents.

(M=35.7 years, sd=6.6 years) higher than the mean age of the wife (M=32 years; sd=5.7 years) and statistically different ($p<0.01$). Reflective of national trends, 91.7% of parents interviewed work in the informal sector, while 4% work in the formal sector in factories in the industrial heartland of the city, or in shops in surrounding areas or the central business district, or as maids or gardeners in the more affluent parts of Bulawayo; 1percent live on a pension and the remaining 3.2% have no source of income.

The sample size of the families follows the numbers given above from ZIMSTAT (2015) even across generations.

The average monthly income of the sample families was found to range between $80-150/month.

Parental Investment toward Husband and wife

Table 1 shows how the sample is distributed based on a score on parental investment behavior in childhood and poverty status today. Generally, the husband's parental investment score is lower than the wife's; by a statistically significant sum of ($p<0.01$). The proportion of parental score category relating to parental investment behavior is moderate category for both parents. Lastly, the means of parental investment score of both parents from the not poor category is higher than the mean score of the poor husband and wife's parent ($p<0.01$).

Table 1: Sample Distribution Based on Score Category of Parental Investment Behavior and their Poverty status today

Score Category of Parental Investment Behaviour	Poor		Not Poor		Total	
	N	%	n	%	n	%
Husband (in childhood)						
Low	14	31.9	1	3.2	15	20
Moderate	28	63.6	25	80.6	53	70.7
High	2	4.5	5	16.1	7	9.3
Total	44	100	31	100	75	100
Average						
Sd						
Wife (in her childhood)						
Low	1	2.3	1	3.1	2	2.6
Moderate	41	95.3	24	75	65	86.7
High	1	2.3	7	21.9	8	10.7
Total	43	100	32	100	75	100

Parents Years of Schooling

The sample husband is likely to have attained more years of education than the sample wife, with the sample husband having spent a mean number of 9.7 years (sd=3.1 years), which is higher than the wife's mean of 8.4 years (sd=2.7 years). Comparing, the poor and not poor group, both parents from the not poor group stay longer in school ($p<0.01$). This is shown in Table 2.

Table: 2

Years of Formal Schooling	Poor		Not Poor		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Husband						
<=7	8	18.2	4	12.9	12	16
8-9	32	72.7	5	16.1	37	49.3
10-12	4	9.1	18	58.1	22	29.3
>12	0	0	4	12.9	4	5.3

Table 2 Condt						
Total	44	100	31	100	75	100
Mean	8		11,4		9,7	
Wife						
<=7	12	27.9	2	6.3	14	18.7
8-9	30	69.8	7	21.9	37	49.3
10-12	1	2.3	18	56.3	19	25.3
>12	0	0	5	15.6	5	6.7
Total	43	100	32	100	75	100
Mean	7,5		9,3		8,4	

Income Stability of Grandparents

The majority of the poor sample families were born into families with low but stable incomes (92% for the husbands and 90% for the women). Those from not poor families expressed a universal belief their incomes were stable in the past.

House Ownership

Grandparents were found to all live in their own homes. However, those from poor homes felt their homes were worse than those in the surrounding neighborhood whilst those from not poor families felt their homes were in similar or better condition than those in neighborhood homes.

Land Ownership

Given traditional dynamics, all respondents had claim to a rural homestead and all grandparents' families owned land. The pattern shifted when discussing the urban areas, where 27% of the sample of poor families expressed that they did not own any land.

Cattle Ownership

Cattle are a traditional symbol of wealth, and all grandparents owned cattle at some point, according to respondents. In the sample of families; the not so poor families generally were more likely to own cattle than the poor families, wherein poor families few owned any few cattle.

Literacy Ability

Literacy was universal across all generations. Such universal literacy levels are consistent with the widely recognized literacy of the Zimbabwean population cited by others researchers (Shizha & Kariwo, 2011) and the government.

Poverty Dynamics

38 husbands were born and raised in poor families, while 37 husbands were born into not poor families and a similar pattern showed for women, demonstrating a shift toward greater levels of poverty, with 35 women born into poor families, the rest born into not poor families. 80 children from these families sampled as poor, many being orphaned in one form or another and under the care of their grandparent or a relative.

CONCLUSIONS

The sample husband and wife tend to be of the same poverty status as when they were born. This shows that IGT poverty exists in Bulawayo and that poor families are struggling to break the cycle of poverty. IGT poverty in Bulawayo seems to center around two factors, namely, parental investment during childhood and education attainment. With a more representative sample and larger number of people, it would be possible to test these claims further.

A general economic decline can explain the collapse in fortunes of so many and this coupled with a stalling in educational attainment, given declining parental investment, may explain why so many families have always been poor.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In the United States, the Annie E. Casey Foundation (AECF) piloted a concept called the two-generation approach, aiming to give young children access to high-quality, early-childhood education while at the same time helping parents secure stable jobs and build high-functioning families (AECF 2014). The approach integrates the needs of the child with those of the parent, and has been found to be highly effective in lifting parents out of poverty, or, as the pilot project's report stated, "This two-generation approach aims to create opportunities for families by simultaneously equipping parents and kids with tools they need to thrive while removing the obstacles in their way," (AECF 2014, 3). An example of this approach in action is the AECF's Dunbar Learning Complex in Atlanta's poor neighbourhood of Mechanicsville. In that case, children get access to free schooling, from infancy to pre-K, when their parents register with a career-development centre to improve their job skills.

The complex houses a public elementary school and a pre-school which takes in children as young as six weeks old. The pre-school is of the highest standard, is run according to the Reggio approach to learning, and each class accommodates just 8 students at a time, with focus on the quality interactions between the pupil and teacher.

The Higher life Foundation works across Bulawayo to provide children who are orphaned or impoverished with access to education through the use of apps and tablets designed to teach the school curriculum. This programme is recognised as a part of the Ruzivo programme, approved by the Ministry of Primary and Secondary School Education for use in Zimbabwe, and has enabled children in the programme to get grades better than those in the formal school programme.

Thus, a solution that presents itself is a union of both ideas, so that a Ruzivo like programme could co-exist with a two-generation approach, working to educate children whilst empowering parents and upgrading their skills, to help them escape the cycle of poverty.

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