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SCHOOL OF GOVERNANCE



BARRIERS TO THE PROVISION OF BASIC SANITATION IN TWO SELECTED INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS IN HARARE, ZIMBABWE

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Masters in Management of Public Policy

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Supervisor: Prof. Susan Booysen

March 2014

DECLARATION ON PLAGIARISM

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION ON PLAGIARISM 2
TABLE OF CONTENTS 3
ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS 8
ABSTRACT 9
Chapter 1 11
SANITATION IN HARARE'S INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS: INTRODUCING THE STUDY 11
1.1 Introduction 11
1.2 The water and sanitation situation in informal settlements in Zimbabwe 15
1.2.1 Zimbabwe's economic collapse and regression – 2000-2013 17
1.2.2 The political environment during the GNU period 18
1.2.3 The general sanitation situation in urban areas 21
1.3 Regulation of the water and sanitation sector in Zimbabwe 21
1.3.1 Global and local guiding policies 21
1.3.2 Institutional arrangements and reform 24
1.4 Problem statement 26
1.5 Research proposition 28
1.5.1 Research objectives 28
1.5.2 Research questions 28
1.6 Field of study 29
1.7 Conceptualisations 30
1.8 Chapter synopsis 34
Chapter 2 36
CRITICAL REVIEW OF EXTANT LITERATURE AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK ON BARRIERS TO SANITATION IN INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS 36
2.1 Introduction 36
2.2 Situating the literature review 37
2.2.1 Establishing the literature review field 38
2.2.2 Sanitation in informal settlements: the state of knowledge 38
2.2.3 Gaps in extant literature 43
2.3 Theoretical framework 44
2.3.1 Governance theory 45
2.3.2 Elite theory 45
2.3.3 Network theory 46
2.3.4 Institutional theory 46

2.3.5 Decision-making theories in formulation and management of policy 46
2.3.6 Political power 47
2.3.7 The policy process phases approach 48
2.4 Conclusion 49
Chapter 3 51
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY TO INVESTIGATE BARRIERS TO SANITATION IN SELECTED INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS IN HARARE 51
3.1 Introduction 51
3.2 Design framework 51
3.2.1 Assessing the knowledge claims 51
3.2.2 Strategy of enquiry: Applying a case study approach 52
3.3 Methods of data collection 53
3.3.1 Semi-structured interviews 54
3.3.2 Observation 55
3.3.3 Document analysis 55
3.3.4 Undertaking research in a politically charged context 56
3.3.5 Dealing with the potential threats to data collection 58
3.4 Operationalising the amended research design 59
3.4.1 Interview themes 60
3.4.2 Pilot testing and refining the interview tools 60
3.4.3 Conducting institutional interviews 61
3.4.4 Responses 62
3.4.5 Follow-up of interview responses 63
3.4.6 Conducting individual interviews 63
3.4.7 Direct observation 65
3.4.8 Document analysis 66
3.5 Data analysis 67
3.6 Reliability and validity 68
3.7 Conclusion 68
Chapter 4 70
THE WATER AND SANITATION SITUATION IN HOPLEY AND RETREAT INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS – RESEARCH RESULTS 70
4.1 Introduction 70
4.2 Location, classification and description of Hopley and Retreat settlements 71
4.3 The state of infrastructure in the two settlements 74
4.3.1 Roads 74

4.3.2 Housing profile 75
4.4 Water and sanitation in the two settlements 77
4.4.1 Toilets 78
4.4.2 Water supply 79
4.4.3 Solid waste disposal 80
4.5 Conclusion: the state of sanitation in Hopley and Retreat settlements 81
Chapter 5 84
INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS, POLITICS AND POLICY AS BARRIERS TO SANITATION IN INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS 84
5.1 Introduction 84
5.2 Institutional arrangements findings 85
5.2.1 Role of Harare City Council versus that of national government 87
5.2.2 Coordination in a crisis (2008-09 cholera outbreak) 88
5.3 Influence of political actors within institutions 91
5.4 Management of policy 93
5.5 Rules and regulations 95
5.5.1 Legal frameworks 95
5.5.2 Harare City Council bylaws and regulations 97
5.6 Interpretation of the research findings 98
5.6.1 Agenda setting 99
5.6.2 Formulation and decision-making 100
5.6.3 Implementation 100
5.6.4 Monitoring 100
5.7 Conclusion 102
Chapter 6 105
CONCLUSION 105
6.1 Introduction 105
6.2 Summary of argument and conclusions 105
6.3 Recommendations 107
REFERENCES 109
Appendix 1: Interview questionnaire 113
Appendix 2: Informal settlements individual interview schedule 115
Appendix 3: Interviewees – for protection of the interviewees, they are not referred to by name in the sections that report on the research findings 117
Appendix 4: Observation checklist 119

Figures

Figure 1: Institutional reform of the Zimbabwe water and sanitation sector 24
Figure 2: Sustainable sanitation components 32
Figure 3: Responses to interview questionnaire by gender 64
Figure 4: The sanitation service chain 74
Figure 5: Institutional coordination - Responding to the cholera outbreak in 2008-2009 89
Figure 6: The policy phases of the sanitation policy in Harare's informal settlements 99

Photographs

Photograph 1: Satellite image of Porta Farm, Harare, before Operation Murambatsvina, April 2005 13
Photograph 2: Satellite image of Porta Farm, Harare, after Murambatsvina, June 2005 14
Photograph 3: State of roads in roads in Retreat 75
Photograph 4: Illustration of housing in Retreat 76
Photograph 5: Illustration of housing units in Hopley 77
Photograph 6: Illustration of a water source in Retreat 79
Photograph 7: Refuse dumping in Hopley 81

Tables

Table 1: Historical unfolding of sanitation in Harare's informal settlements 16
Table 2: Socio-economic profiles of informal settlements in Zambia, Zimbabwe and South Africa 42
Table 3: A comparison of sanitation policy options: Examples from Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania 43
Table 4: Sequencing the research methods 54
Table 5: Changes to the research design 58
Table 6: Responses by questions (see appendix 1) 63
Table 7: Document analysis: Policies, Acts, Regulations and Reports 67
Table 8: Acts relating to sanitation in informal settlements 96

Boxes

Box 1: Guiding water and sanitation frameworks to which Zimbabwe has appended its signature .. 94

Maps

Map 1: Showing locations of informal settlements 26

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AfDB	African Development Bank
AMCOW	African Ministers Council on Water
BVIP	Blair Ventilated Improved Pit
CSO	Country Status Overview
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ECA	Economic Consulting Associates
GNU	Government of National Unity
MDC-T	Movement for Democratic Change-Tsvangirai
MAMID	Ministry of Agriculture, Mechanisation and Irrigation Development
MENRM	Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources Management
MEPD	Ministry of Energy and Power Development
MMMD	Ministry of Mines and Mining Development
MOHCW	Ministry of Health and Child Welfare
MOLGURD	Ministry of Local Government, Urban and Rural Development
MWRDM	Ministry of Water Resources Development Management
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
UN	United Nations
UN-CSD	United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development
UNICEF	United Nations Children Fund
WHO	World Health Organisation
WSP	Water Sanitation Programme
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front
ZINWA	Zimbabwe National Water Authority

ABSTRACT

Historically, Zimbabwe's urban population enjoyed high water supply and sanitation service levels and standards, having one of the highest coverage levels in Africa. However, over the last two decades, the quality of Zimbabwe's urban water supply and sanitation services has slowly been eroded. The poor, displaced and disenfranchised Zimbabweans that occupy Harare's informal urban settlements are vulnerable to challenges posed by unavailability of basic water and sanitation services. This qualitative research project, carried out between January and June 2013 in Harare's Hopley and Retreat informal settlements, investigates factors that have been preventing delivery of basic sanitation services to residents in these two settlements.

Presenting evidence from the two informal settlements of Hopley and Retreat, this research establishes that there is a complex relationship at play between policy processes, the prevailing political environment and the way in which institutions have responded to the problem of sanitation in these settlements. The study was undertaken towards the end of an era of a negotiated Government of National Unity between ZANU-PF and the Movement for Democratic Change, highlights the dominance of power and political contestation between the two parties that has spilled into policy decisions on basic service provision in the informal settlements. The deep rooted culture of political violence which characterised the political environment from 2000 onwards, with very little commitment to democratic processes, was instrumental in the development of Hopley settlement after the 2005 elections. At face value, ZANU-PF was providing displaced people with alternative accommodation. However, as Muzondidya notes, this along with other ZANU-PF strategies is '(c)onsistent with its hegemonic political culture… to engage in cosmetic political and economic reforms that will not result in further democracy or result in a loss of its historic monopoly over power…' (Muzondidya in Raftopolous, 2013, p.50).

Informal settlements are a relatively new phenomenon in Zimbabwe. However, since their inception, they have continued to grow, fuelled by ZANU-PF's strategy to allocate un-serviced residential stands in exchange for residents' allegiance to the party, with the most recent illegal residential stand allocations taking place in Chitungwiza town in 2013.

A close examination of Hopley and Retreat revealed that water and sanitation services provided in Zimbabwe's informal settlements are typically inadequate or non-existent – a situation that has the potential for severe public health impacts. The emergency actions

taken by Non-Governmental Organisations during the height of the 2008 cholera outbreak only provided short-term sanitation solutions.

The research concludes that water and sanitation services in Zimbabwe's informal urban settlements have come to this point, mainly due to the interacting forces of politics. These have influenced policy processes on decision-making, formulation and implementation of sanitation policies for informal settlements. Despite the political origins of several informal settlements, there is a notable absence of practical policies to tackle the issues posed by this development and a lack of institutions capable of instigating the plans needed for change.

Chapter 1

SANITATION IN HARARE'S INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS: INTRODUCING THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

The continued population growth in Zimbabwe due to rural-urban migration, coupled with the resettlement of people rendered homeless through what government termed Operation Murambatsvina ('Restore Order'), has led to the burgeoning of Harare's informal settlements since 2000. By 2012, 29 per cent of Zimbabweans were now living in urban areas, with urbanisation increasing at a rate of almost 4 per cent per year (ZimStats, 2012). Following the introduction of a haphazard and fast-tracked land reform programme by the ZANU-PF dominated government which began in 2000, the growth of informal settlements continued at a fast rate in the early 2000s, with the proportion of people living in these types of settlements increasing from 10 per cent in 1990 to 17 per cent in 2000 (WHO and UNICEF, 2000).

A major challenge facing these informal settlements is the lack of access to adequate sanitation in comparison to formal settlements which are serviced by local authorities (Marongwe, 2004; World Bank Service Level Benchmark Report, 2013). The explicit and implicit costs of limited or no access to sanitation in informal settlements in Harare in terms of illness are substantial, as evidenced by the 2008-2009 cholera epidemic that killed more than 4,000 people in Zimbabwe (Brocklehurst et al., 2013).

While barriers to provision of sanitation services are many, this study was motivated by the need to understand the range of impacting factors – factors with the likelihood of acting as barriers to the provision of sanitation in the selected informal settlements. The study seeks to explore and understand the policy and institutional challenges to sanitation in two selected informal settlements in Harare – Retreat and Hopley. Here the need to understand the continuously changing relationships between local and central government in decision-making processes and how politics impact these processes are important considerations for the research. Of particular interest is the impact of 'non-traditional' actors in the sector and their increasing involvement in responding to issues of service provision in informal settlements. Such actors include the United Nations Agencies, national and international NGOs and the private sector.

This chapter therefore introduces the research problem, focusing on the challenges that residents of Hopley and Retreat face in accessing sanitation services. The background in this chapter provides a summary of Zimbabwe's emerging political, socio-economic, historical and policy context from the time that informal settlements began to develop after 2000. The phase of the Government of National Unity[1] (GNU) between 2009 and 2013 is particularly important for the study.

The research objectives, research questions and the motivation for carrying out the research are also discussed in this chapter. In attempting to provide reasons for barriers to sanitation in informal settlements, this study explored emerging political and institutional barriers to sanitation in selected informal settlements in Harare since the establishment of the Government of National Unity[2] (GNU) in 2009 until June 2013 when this government was dissolved ahead of the harmonised national elections.

Retreat Farm was chosen as it is an older informal settlement which grew as a result of land invasions of the year 2000. This was meant to contrast with Hopley Farm, a more recent informal settlement that also grew out of a politically motivated exercise of resettling people to the area at the aftermath of Operation Murambatsvina in 2005. At the time of the study (between February and June 2013, just before the expiry of the GNU), Hopley, located in Harare South, was the only constituency in Harare held by ZANU-PF from in the period from March 2008 up to the 2013 elections. The rest were in MDC-T constituencies. This situation changed in the 2013 elections with ZANU-PF gaining more parliamentary seats. *Zimbabwe Election* wrote after the 2013 July elections that 'ZANU-PF had won just one seat in Harare in 2008 (Harare South), after gaining support by handing out parcels of land to poor squatters on the edge of the city. Encouraged by that success, it reprised the strategy in several more constituencies on the city fringes, winning an extra five seats…' (*Zimbabwe Election,* 8 August 2013).

This first wave of settlements through the resettlement programme was followed in 2005 by the now infamous Operation Restore Order, a nationwide campaign of mass demolition and forced eviction that resulted in hundreds of thousands civilians being rendered homeless

without access to food, water, sanitation, or health care (Tibaijuka, 2005). Tibaijuka describes the actions preceding this displacement of people. The then Chairperson of the Government-appointed Harare Commission had announced that '(a) programme to enforce bylaws to stop all forms of illegal activity' would be enforced by the Zimbabwe Republican Police (ZRP) (Tibaijuka, 2005, p.12). Over 36,000 families were affected in Harare alone, many of whom were resettled to un-serviced transit camps located on the city's outskirts, e.g. Caledonia Farm (Tibaijuka, 2005).

Photograph 1: Satellite image of Porta Farm, Harare, before Operation Murambatsvina, April 2005



Source: www.kubatana.net

Photograph 2: Satellite image of Porta Farm, Harare, after Murambatsvina, June 2005



Source: www.kubatana.net

Photograph 1 of Porta Farm, 40 km South of Harare was taken in April 2005 before Operation Murambatsvina. Photograph 2 shows Porta Farm after the demolition of houses in June 2005.

This move to demolish homes in such a manner received heavy criticism from MDC-T members of parliament. Mr Mushoriwa, an MDC-T MP who at the time described the action as 'barbaric', said that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as well as the African Charter on Human Rights, clearly stipulating the rights to shelter and accommodation of those people affected by Murambatsvina, had been violated by this action (Hansard, 12 July 2005). Mr Mushoriwa indicated that the Urban Councils Act and the Regional Town and Country Planning Act were clear on the role of local authorities on removal of persons through appropriate procedures which were not followed during the Murambatsvina exercise.

The National Water Policy recognised that growth, in terms of both the number and size of informal settlements, resulting either from government action or as a result of people resettling themselves in areas considered as informal, was troubling and set to continue given Zimbabwe's continuing economic difficulties and the rapid peri-urban growth (National Water Policy, 2012; Country Status Overview, 2010).

1.2 The water and sanitation situation in informal settlements in Zimbabwe

The water and sanitation services provided in Zimbabwe's informal settlements are typically inadequate or non-existent (Nhapi, 2009; 2012). This situation has a potentially severe impact on public health. In Epworth, one of Harare's most established informal settlements developed before Murambatsvina, up to 13 per cent of households had no fixed toilets as recent as 2004 (Makoni et al., 2004). An earlier study (roughly a decade earlier) revealed that overcrowded, unreliable and the dangerous nature of communal facilities in Mbare, prompted some residents to use plastic bags or buckets to dispose of human excreta in communal skips or open drains (Mulenga et al., 2004, p. 24). The same study noted the non-existence of storm water drainage and the lack of solid waste collection leading to indiscriminate dumping and reliance on refuse pits.

In terms of water supply, the informal settlements were rarely connected to a mains supply or supported by local authorities. Instead, many residents adopted high-risk self-supply options. Mulenga's study of Farmagrida informal settlement in Gutu Growth Point, Masvingo province, found that 80 per cent of respondents sourced water from unprotected sources contaminated with pollutants from refuse pits.

While the sanitation situation in the informal settlements was already bad prior to Murambatsvina, the degree and extent became worse thereafter, as the affected population increased. The rapid increases in household sizes associated with Operation Murambatsvina where people were allocated un-serviced stands, put extreme strain on existing urban water supply infrastructure in these areas (Country Status Overview 2010). Although most of the studies are now out of date to reflect the prevailing situation, Manase and Fawcett (2010) have provided a fairly recent description of the general sanitation situation in Zimbabwe's informal settlements in their book, *Cost recovery for sanitation services: The case of poor urban areas in Zimbabwe*. In the book, Manase and Fawcett characterised informal settlements as having high population densities, poor housing, inadequate water supplies,

poor sewage and drainage with residents normally relying on unimproved pit latrines for human waste disposal. By 2010, open defecation was rampant with up to 70 per cent of households in these settlements having no latrine facilities at all (The National Sanitation and Hygiene Strategy, 2010).

The worsening of the situation in recent times, as a result of increased populations in older informal settlements and creation of new ones, suggests that informal settlements will be transmission epicentres of future diarrheal disease outbreaks (Ministry of Water Resources, 2012). This mix of poor sanitation, contaminated and crowded water supply, scarce drainage facilities and wanting waste disposal mechanisms, was a catalyst for the fatal outbreaks of cholera in 2008 and typhoid in 2010 (Brocklehurst et al., 2013).

Table 1 provides a summary of the historical unfolding of sanitation in informal settlements in Harare.

Table 1: Historical unfolding of sanitation in Harare's informal settlements

Time period	Description	Impacts
Post-independence	Stringent sanitation standards were inherited after the country's independence in 1980. For instance, the BVIP latrine has remained the technology of choice in Zimbabwe.	- There was blocking of any other forms of innovation though bylaws governing urban developments which curtailed incremental sanitation improvements in informal settlements. - Application of the stringent sanitation standards led to uneven access to sanitation between residents of formal and informal settlements.
2000	The ZANU-PF Government introduced the land reform programme where farms falling mostly in peri-urban land were identified and turned into residential stands without conforming to the required servicing standards stipulated by the Harare City Council's bylaws	- The first real movement of people to settle informal settlements led by the urban landless occurred. This led to an increase in urban un- serviced areas and populations.
2005	Operation Murambatsvina – resettlement of more than 5,000 families on Hopley Farm with no provision of sanitation services.	- Resettled people were forced to rely on makeshift pit latrines and unprotected wells for drinking water as no servicing had been made on the allocated stands.
2005-2013	New informal settlements on private properties are encouraged by ZANU-PF political leaders.	- Settlers took advantage of changing land uses, policy environments, and land ownership patterns. - There was an increase in population not matched by urban infrastructure including housing, water supply, sanitation and waste removal.
2008-2009	Cholera and water borne disease outbreaks.	- More than 4,000 deaths occurred due to outbreaks - There were no long-term sanitation programmes for informal settlements. - Government with support of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and other players provided temporary relief to residents of informal settlements.

2009-2013	No further action undertaken to improve the situation of water and sanitation in informal settlements.	- Sewage flowed in the streets of most urban high density suburbs as well as in the informal settlements as local authority failed to move the waste water from residential dwellings. - Sporadic typhoid disease outbreaks continued to occur in most of the informal settlements.

Sources: Manase and Fawcett, 2007; Tibaijuka, 2005; CSO, 2010; Brocklehurst et al., 2013

Ownership of peri-urban settlements was never clarified with no authority wanting to regularise these settlements. On June 28, 2005, the Minister of Local government made a ministerial statement on Operation Murambatsvina and Operation Garikai. He explained that Operation Murambatsvina had been necessitated by '(p)roliferation of illegal outbuildings shacks and such other forms of unplanned and unapproved structures used as residential accommodation and business facilities throughout the residential areas' (www.kubatana.net). In his statement he announced that government had since started developing plans though Operation Garikai to provide alternative accommodation and designated areas for informal business within and around the towns and cities. According to the Minister, these places were to be provided with sufficient public conveniences such as clean water, toilets and security.

Technical departments within government and local authorities feared that allowing informal settlers access to piped water, sanitation, refuse collection and drainage would recognise and consolidate the hold that the informal settlers have on the land, and make their eviction more difficult. In addition, the challenge of the national government, local authorities and international organisations to mobilise financial resources to service poor urban areas, as well as poor cost recovery, have been identified as reasons for inadequate sanitation in informal settlements (Manase and Fawcett, 2009, p. 6).

1.2.1 Zimbabwe's economic collapse and regression – 2000-2013

Anderson (1997, p. 55) stresses the importance of socio-economic conditions as influencing any policy activity. It therefore becomes imperative to focus briefly at the historical unfolding of Zimbabwe's economy in the last decade. The crash of the Zimbabwean dollar on Friday the 14th of November 1997 is recognised as the genesis of the socio-economic and political crisis. One of the key events that led to this was the decision by the ZANU-PF government to issue huge unbudgeted gratuities to war veterans, triggering the Zimbabwean dollar to lose half of its value on a single day (ICG, 2004).

By 2007, the economic situation had deteriorated and was almost near collapse. An assessment contained in the *Africa Report* suggests that six months before the 2008

elections, Zimbabwe was at the brink of a complete economic collapse. The Africa Report attributes this situation to high inflation figures (between 7,600 per cent in terms of government figures and 13,000 per cent according to independent estimates. In 2008, the poverty levels were alarming – with four out of five of the country's population living below the poverty line and with a quarter having fled to neighbouring countries. (*Africa Report* N°13218, September 2007).

In 2008, the Zimbabwean dollar had completely lost its value. The Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe continued to print and introduce new bank notes up to the trillionth dollar. To contextualise this, by July 2008, a loaf of bread was costing nearly Z$100billion (Dore, 2009, p.18). Unofficially, citizens shifted to the use of multiple currencies including the American Dollar, South African Rand and Botswana Pula, as a way of coping with the prevailing situation. The extent of state collapse is summed up by Barclay (2010, p. 2) who at the time observed that '(e)verything is going backwards. Life expectancy is falling. National income declines every year. Roads get worse. Businesses fail. Unemployment grows. School attendance shrinks. Expectations and hopes contract'. With little access to development financing, growing arrears with international financial institutions and often violent land reforms, the loss of rule of law led to Zimbabwe's regional and international isolation.

After the 2008 elections which ushered in an inclusive government (IG), the development conditions facing the IG were complex, as inflation skyrocketed. This was compounded by low manufacturing output, accompanied by political conflicts, and the disintegration of food, and mining production (Mbeki, 2009, pp. 121-22). Once the GNU was in place, measures were implemented during its tenure from 2009 to July 31 in 2013. These measures saw the economy stabilizing with inflation remaining below 5 per cent from the highs of 231 million in 2008 (*Newsday*, 5 September 2013). According to economist John Robertson, the economy which had grown by an average of 7 per cent annually since the formation of the Government of National Unity in 2008 subsequently showed signs of decline, especially after the national election held in July 2013 (*Daily News*, 7 September 2013).

1.2.2 The political environment during the GNU period

The environment which limits and directs what policy-makers do is often impacted by the prevailing political culture (see Anderson, 1997, p. 81). The problem of inadequate

sanitation in informal settlements needs to be viewed bearing in mind Zimbabwe's political context. The following section examines Zimbabwe's political terrain during the GNU. The relevance of this examination is that the environment of political actors and the broader environment of other actors such as civil society affect the policy on sanitation in informal settlements. National political debates and contestation, politics of intergovernmental relations, community politics all have a bearing on the sanitation policy in informal settlements.

A survey conducted by Freedom House of the socio-economic and political situation in Zimbabwe makes reference to the political wars between ZANU-PF and MDC-T from the late 2000 onwards (Booysen, 2012). Despite emerging victorious in the 29 March 2008 elections, MDC-T was prevented by ZANU-PF from ascending to power leading to compromise – a Global Political Agreement between ZANU-PF, MDC-T and MDC-M. Ndlovu-Gatsheni reasons that the negotiation between the main political formations and ZANU-PF was a result of the '(s)tark political realities facing the two MDC formations. According to Ndlovu-Gatsheni, the MDC formations' support base was exposed to unprecedented and unbearable violence by ZANU-PF (Raftopoulos, 2013). The Global Political Agreement was signed on 15 September 2008 and in February 2009 the Inclusive Government was formed.

To maintain its power, ZANU-PF strategically chose the more powerful cabinet portfolios which included strategic and security ministries. Muzondidya argues that while the MDC-T was in charge of the local authorities during the GNU phase, its ability to use its leverage was restricted as ZANU-PF was not interested in any reforms that would loosen its grip on power. These views on ZANU-PF's display of power are further supported by Mazarire (in Raftopoulos, 2013, p. 88) who describes ZANU-PF as a party with the ability to lose an election and at the same time manages to stay in power.

While civil society's influence had declined between 1998 and 2008 as a result of what Chiroro (2013) terms '(r)epressive and violent nature of the ruling ZANU-PF regime', it faced contradictions during the life of the inclusive government. First there was the NGO ban in 2008 which was then lifted during the same year. At the lifting of the ban, NGOs were allowed space to respond to emergencies such as the cholera outbreak.

In the context of Zimbabwe's socio-political fragility after 2000, informal settlements increasingly became arenas where ZANU-PF and the MDC-T, bureaucrats, civil society and

citizens were embroiled in politics of decision-making at the national and local levels. From 2000, once power politics had begun to take the form of political ambition and contestation between the two main political parties in Zimbabwe (ZANU-PF and MDC-T), this situation influenced a rapid development of most of Harare's informal settlements. Using its powers, ZANU-PF allocated un-serviced housing stands to people in return for their political affiliation to the party between 2000 and 2008. In one instance after the 2000 elections, a sizeable number of illegal settlers were allowed by the ZANU-PF government to develop an unplanned settlement close to Lake Chivero, situated 40 kilometres south of Harare. This move further threatened the health of Harare's major source of potable water. Some of these settlers were removed by the government in June 2005, only to be returned two months later when the government decided to develop 9,000 residential stands in the area (Nhapi, 2006).

Political contestation regarding the informal settlements which had largely been contained when ZANU-PF still made up the majority of government in the period from 2000 to 2008 emerged thereafter. At the conclusion of a power-sharing deal between ZANU-PF and the MDC-T, after the contested 2008 elections, ZANU-PF took charge of central government, while the MDC-T controlled 29 out of 32 urban local authorities. This situation created conflicts between ZANU-PF and Harare City Council (run by the MDC-T) on the position regarding the legality of informal settlements.

Chatiza (2013, p. 13) summarised the situation: '(A) position developed where Ministry (of Local Government) viewed councils as insensitive, profligate, and generally delinquent while councils in turn regarded the minister/ministry as overzealous bullies and conformists determined to control local authorities to the point of causing asphyxia'. As a result, '(t)he ZANU-PF strategy, consistent with its hegemonic political culture, has been to engage in cosmetic political and economic reforms that will not result in further democracy or result in a loss of its historic monopoly over power…' (Muzondidya in Raftopoulos, 2013, p. 50).

The settlement of people on private property encouraged by senior members of the dominant political party in exchange for votes brought with it sanitation challenges (Chatiza, 2013, p. 34). While politics and politicians orchestrated the birth of some settlements, they rarely provided on-going support to residents and typically ignored the water and sanitation problems that are rife in these communities. The MDC-T run local government authorities tended to shirk their responsibility, providing little to no services and failing to make large-scale investments (Chatiza, 2013).

Political influence also fuelled low willingness to pay for services by the residents of informal settlements. This was encouraged by the reluctance of politicians seeking to find favour from the populace, to set realistic tariffs for water and sanitation service provision. Rather, politicians were seen to advocate for free service delivery for their constituencies even where the capacity of residents to pay existed for improved services (Manase and Fawcett, 2010, p. 117).

1.2.3 The general sanitation situation in urban areas

Estimates published by the Government of Zimbabwe indicated that from 1990 to 2008 access to urban water supply and sanitation dropped by 37 per cent and 59 per cent respectively of the national population (National Water Policy 2012). This decline occurred due to a range of factors, including political instability, economic collapse, increased population pressures, reduced institutional, community and household capacity, weak policies, poor planning, inadequate maintenance of infrastructure, uneconomically low tariffs and poor cost recovery (Brocklehurst et al., 2013; National Water Policy, 2012; CSO, 2010; Nhapi, 2009).

1.3 Regulation of the water and sanitation sector in Zimbabwe

The water and sanitation regulatory framework is a key variable for agenda setting and decision-making on the sanitation policy in informal settlements. The following section discusses the guiding regional and national water and sanitation frameworks, Acts and legal instruments as well as the institutional arrangements between the main actors in sanitation provision in Zimbabwe. It considers their influence on the sanitation policy for informal settlements.

1.3.1 Global and local guiding policies

Zimbabwe signed a number of global, regional and national frameworks and at the time of approval of the Water Policy in 2012, these had not yet been fully incorporated into relevant Acts (National Water Policy, 2012, p. 10). Under the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) General Comment No. 15 (2002), Zimbabwe committed itself to making provision to entitle everyone in Zimbabwe to '(s)ufficient, safe, physically accessible and affordable water for personal and domestic uses' (National Water Policy, 2012, p. 11).

This right to water was recognised in a wide range of other international instruments which Zimbabwe ratified. While the right to water is widely recognised as a human right, there are still discussions about a distinct right to sanitation. In making the case for sanitation as a right, a UN independent expert wrote of the benefit of investing in sanitation in her 2009 report to the Human

Rights Council: 'Recent research estimates that, for every dollar invested in sanitation, there is about a nine-dollar benefit in costs averted and productivity gained. With such a positive impact, why does the sanitation sector still suffer from such a lack of attention? The taboo surrounding sanitation is one of the biggest obstacles it faces' (Amnesty International, 2010, p.15).

There are arguments that the right to sanitation is already contained within the broad definition of 'adequate standard of living'. Pedley suggests that this may be because the right to sanitation is contained in most other thematic human rights treaties, e.g. the Convention for the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, and the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (Pedley, 2010).

Zimbabwe was part of the African Union Summit of 2008 that articulated a commitment for accelerating the achievement of water and sanitation goals in Africa. This was later followed by the Second Africa Conference on Sanitation and Hygiene AfriSan +5 2008 with a firm resolution to put sanitation and hygiene at the top of Africa's development agenda. The UN Millennium Development Goal number 7, which aims to halve by 2015, the proportion of people without access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation, is closely aligned to the African Ministers Council on Water (AMCOW) objectives to which Zimbabwe is a signatory. The AMCOW has set one of its three targets as the universal access to safe water, improved sanitation and hygiene by 2030.

These instruments which Zimbabwe committed to, were meant to guide the executive, administrative and political policies on sanitation service provision. However, the right to the provision of water and sanitation service were not applied in informal settlements. In line with De Coning's categorisation of policy levels, reference to executive policies here points to cabinet decisions or implementation policies determined by political office bearers while the political policy refers to legislation and policies of political parties. Also following on from De Coning, in this case, administrative policies relate to several aspects of policy including resource allocation for particular provision and maintenance (De Coning in Cloete, Wissink and De Coning, 2006, p. 19). Rather than addressing perceived policy issues of water and sanitation in informal settlements, these policy instruments seemed to have been largely ignored.

In March 2012, the Government of National Unity approved a new water policy in response to the deteriorating quality of surface and ground water sources (*The Herald,* 28 May 2012). A justification for a new water policy contained in the policy outlined that because of the deterioration of the water and sanitation services, there were compelling reasons for a new water

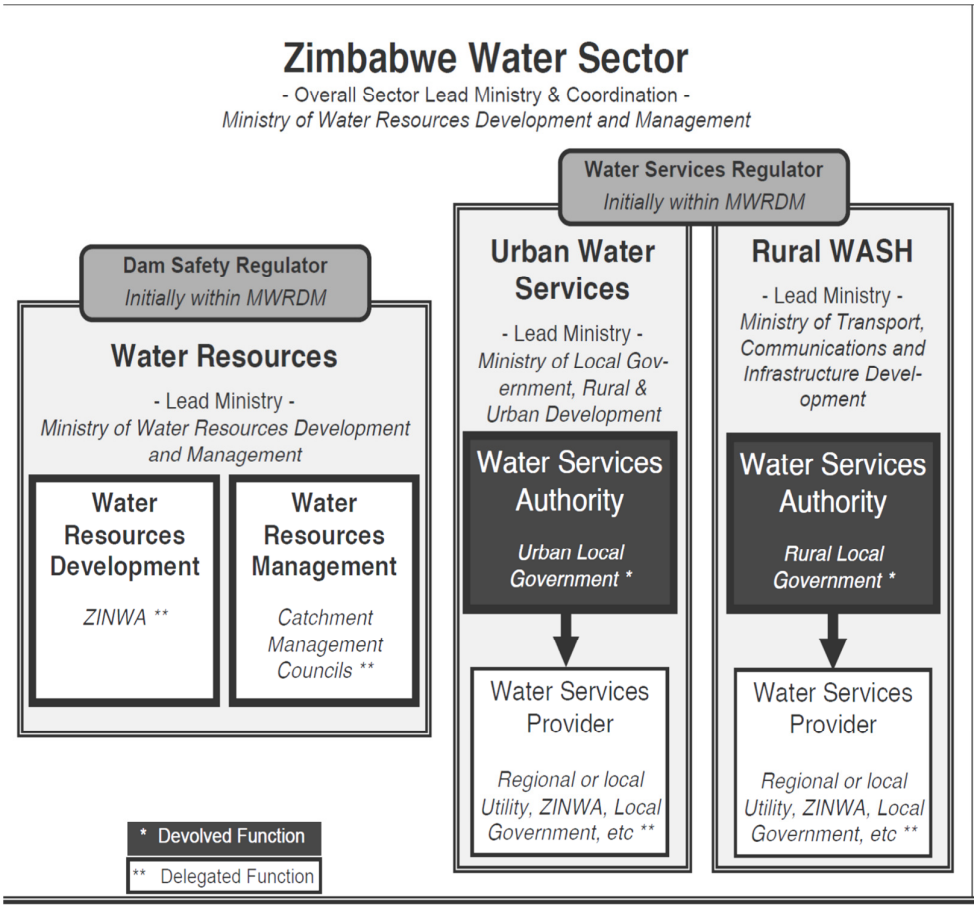
policy. The policy which was driven by an MDC-T Minister for Water Resources, Mr Sipepa Nkomo, recognised the changes that had occurred to residential settlements following the land resettlement programme. Underpinning the policy was the fact that Zimbabwe was emerging from an economic collapse during the period from 2000 to 2008 and that there was a window of opportunity for policy renewal.

In the first instance the policy environment seemed favourable for introduction of a policy to meet the needs of a recovery phase as well as that of a normalised growth phase (National Water Policy, 2012). Using Keeler's concept (1993, pp. 433-486 in Booysen, 2001), the Government of National Unity used 'micro- windows' of policy opportunity to pass this new policy which Minister Sipepa considered as having been overdue. Between 2008 and 2013 period, institutional coordination of the water and sanitation sector improved during the tenure of the inclusive government. The key Ministries for water and sanitation service provision in cities and towns (Ministry of Local Government and Ministry of Water), although headed by ministers from the two main opposition parties, found themselves having to work together on policy formulation. As the cholera outbreak of 2008 had taken centre stage affecting most Zimbabweans, an open and inclusive approach was possible to move with speed and advance the policy processes for this water policy (World Bank Infrastructure Report, 2013).

Preceding the 2012 water policy, a number of Acts already underpinned the water and sanitation services in Zimbabwe. The Public Health Act [Chapter 15:9] stated that that it is the duty of a local authority to furnish residents with water and sanitation supplies in line with health requirements. Similarly, Zimbabwe's Disaster Risk Management Bill, 2011 provided a framework for realizing sustainable development through reduction of the burden of disasters on the poor and most vulnerable, including those in informal settlements (National Water Policy, 2012).

The Public Health Act is authoritative, providing for legislation that can be enforced through the justice system. It is not certain how this Act can be implemented in light of the global frameworks presented above which rely mainly on persuasion in order to be implemented. The basic right to water and sanitation for instance, which is contained in these global arrangements cannot be enforced, and has often been ignored by policy-makers. Furthermore, the implementation of these policies is affected by what has been termed in the literature as '(o)rganisational resources, institutional settings, intergovernmental relations, pressure politics, goal consensus, goal clarity…and local discretion' (Ham and Hill, 1993, p. 152; Robertson, 2004 in Booysen, 2006(b), p. 4).

Figure 1: Institutional reform of the Zimbabwe water and sanitation sector



Source: Government of Zimbabwe, 2012

1.3.2 Institutional arrangements and reform

Figure 1 refers to the regulatory framework of the water and sanitation sector in Zimbabwe in the period 2008-2013. The CSO (2010) provided a picture of complex and fragmented institutional arrangements pre-2008 in the water sector with six government agencies expected to play leading roles in the sector, but having no clarity on their responsibilities.

Clarity on the roles and responsibilities was reached at a ministerial meeting of the four main water sector ministries in February 2010 (National Water Policy, 2012).Ministry of Water Resources Development Management (MWRDM) was now mandated with overall planning, development and management of water resources in Zimbabwe. The meeting recommended the establishment of an overall National Action Committee (NAC) to coordinate the water sector under the leadership of the MWRDM, with the support of a National Coordination Unit (NCU) situated in the same ministry.

The Ministry of Local Government Rural and Urban Development (MOLGURD) was tasked with taking the lead for urban services. Municipalities under the Ministry of Local Government were delegated through the decentralisation policy to perform regulatory functions of water and sanitation services in urban areas, a function previously transferred to the Zimbabwe National Water Authority in 2005. At the time that the study was undertaken, a number of these councils were dominated by the MDC-T an opposition party to the ruling Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU-PF).

A number of other Zimbabwe government ministries and agencies also had responsibilities for water and sanitation.The Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources Management (MENRM), through EMA, was given the responsibility for regulating environmental issues such as water pollution control, water source protection and water allocation for the environment. Ministry of Agriculture, Mechanisation and Irrigation Development (MAMID), Ministry of Energy and Power Development (MEPD), Ministry of Mines and Mining Development (MMMD), and the Ministry of Local Government, Rural and Urban Development (MOLGURD) through Urban and Rural Councils, were made responsible for water use and therefore management at consumer level.

While urban municipalities had responsibility for water and sanitation in urban areas, they fell under MOLGURD, which then was headed by a strong ZANU-PF Minister, Ignatius Chombo during the GNU (2008-2013). The politics of intergovernmental relations and concentration of power at the central levels of government became quite evident. The Minister reduced the Movement for Democratic Change-Tsvangirai (MDC-T) municipal autonomy in a number of ways. The World Bank (2012) suggested that amendment of the Urban Councils Act [Chapter 15] of 1996, gave impetus for the minister to reduce local councils' autonomy as he had authority to appoint town clerks as executive heads of the councils. This in turn gave the minister the power to approve annual municipal budgets, predominantly, as a means to control local rates and tariffs. At the time of the study it was not clear whether there would be changes to the status quo brought about by a new government which took effect in August 2013.

The quality of institutions that support the sector were regarded as weak and not adequately equipped to deal with the emerging water and sanitation challenges (ECA, 2011). The complex institutional arrangements that existed as aspects of sanitation were embedded in different Acts of parliament under different ministries (National Sanitation and Hygiene Strategy, 2010, p.6). The Water Policy recommended a priority action of synchronizing the Water Act

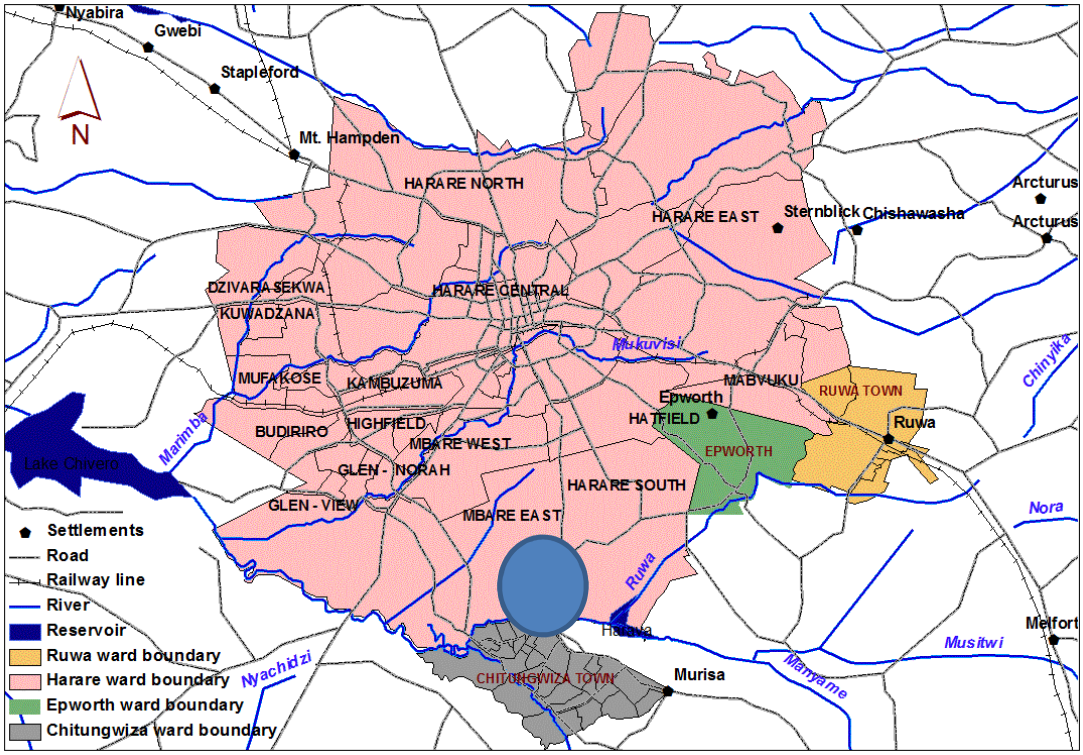
[Chapter 20:24], 1998, ZINWA Act [Chapter 20:25], 1998, EMA Act [Chapter 20: 27], 2002, Urban Councils Act [Chapter 29:15], 1996 Edition, Rural District Councils Act [Chapter 29:13], 1996 Edition, Mines and Minerals Act [Chapter 21:05] 1996 Edition and the Public Health Act [Chapter 15:09].

Since the attainment of independence in 1980 the centrality of state bureaucracy continue to influence the process of policy-making and implementation while formal and informal rules have been introduced in parallel with a bearing on the water and sanitation sector in informal settlements. At the same time a number of non-traditional institutions are functional within the sector albeit with no clear roles and responsibilities.

1.4 Problem statement

Residents of selected informal settlements in the city of Harare do not have access to adequate basic sanitation – a situation that has the potential for severe public health impacts (Marongwe, 2003). The formulation and implementation of sanitation and housing policies that to a large extent exclude informal settlements seem to provide barriers to adequate basic sanitation (The National Sanitation and Hygiene Strategy, 2010, p.18). The stringent and expensive sanitation standards as set out in the bylaws and acts prevent poor people from providing for self-help sanitation services. In turn, these standards are also too costly for government to provide them at this time, owing to the economic situation. As informal settlements are fairly recent in Harare, having mushroomed after 2000 (save for the established ones like Epworth) institutional arrangements of key stakeholders (central, local government, citizens and civil society) in the provision of sanitation services in these informal settlements remain largely undocumented.

Map 1: Showing locations of informal settlements



Source: Nhapi, 2012.

Map 1 shows the specific location of Hopley and Retreat (depicted by the shaded circle) just above Chitungwiza town.

The fragility of the economy during the period of the GNU between 2008 and 2013 can be explained by inherent political and economic uncertainties, a high debt overhang and the deteriorating infrastructure (AfDB, 2012). While the socio-economic situation of Zimbabwe improved from 2009 to 2013, since the time of the adoption of multi-currency in February 2009 to 2013 the country is still characterised by political upheavals, challenges of governance as well as lack of adequate resources to provide for basic services such as sanitation for the poor.

Local authorities have been described as 'sinkholes' by Mlalazi (2013) because of their deplorable infrastructure in the last decade. Chatiza (2013) compares local government in Zimbabwe to a 'cracked and leaking house' with Operation Murambatsvina, land reform, the 2008-09 cholera outbreaks and the July 2013 household debt cancellation policy causing the major cracks. The second set of cracks according to Chatiza resulted from the threat of political interference by central government. Councils are practically treated as entities of and under the Ministry of Local Government, rather than distinct spheres of the (whole)

government system (Chatiza, 2013). All this demonstrates a policy lag and unexplored institutional innovations to respond to challenges that have the potential for severe health and environmental impacts in informal settlements.

1.5 Research proposition

The study offers the proposition that a combination of complex but weak institutions, poor policy guidance and political interference has resulted in the situation of inadequate provision of sanitation services in informal settlements in Harare, Zimbabwe in the period between 2000 and 2013.

1.5.1 Research objectives

The study seeks to understand the issue of policy and institutional barriers to sanitation in two selected informal settlements in Harare, namely Retreat and Hopley Farms. It also seeks to contribute knowledge towards policy, understanding political influence on public policy, and institutional innovation on sanitation service provision in these informal settlements.

Specifically, the objectives of this exploratory and descriptive study are twofold:

- It aims to find out the influence of politics and contestation over policy-making and implementation of sanitation policy in two selected informal settlements in Harare, Zimbabwe; and
- It seeks to analyse the degree of dominance of formal and informal institutions (GNU, private sector and civil society), in policy coordination on matters of sanitation in the two informal settlements.

1.5.2 Research questions

The central question in this study is:

- What are the predominant forces with regard to political power, formal and informal institutions and informal settlers that constitute barriers towards sanitation provision in the two selected informal settlements in Harare?

In pursuing the main research question, the following supplementary questions guided the research:

- What barriers exist in the 'stream of policy actions' and legislation on sanitation provision in informal settlements?
- What is the state of water supply and sanitation in 2013 in the two informal settlements of Hopley and Retreat?
- What engagement is there from the central government of Zimbabwe and the Harare City Council and other formal and institutions in the provision of sanitation services in Hopley and Retreat informal settlements?
- What are the institutional arrangements concerning the provision of sanitation services between formal and informal organisations? Are informal institutions undermining formal ones?
- What is the influence of politics with regard to sanitation service provision in the selected informal settlements? In this context, what political groups exist, which ones are dominant and what are their assumed roles with regard to sanitation provision in the two selected informal settlements?
- What roles are informal settlers taking in providing for their own sanitation services in Hopley and Retreat?

1.6 Field of study

The study, with a focus on public service delivery, bridges a number of analytical and academic fields. This research is conducted within the field of public policy, thereby allowing for the examination of politics, decision-making and institutions, amongst others. The study is concerned with how policies are actually made in terms of actions taken by various people in the different stages of policy-making (see De Coning in Cloete, Wissink and De Coning, 2006, p.7). The study therefore considers the policy process phases approach to conceptualise a complex policy-making process. Although the policy phases approach to the policy process is widely viewed as oversimplified it is useful in this study to disaggregate the policy process followed in the analysis of the policy barriers to sanitation provision in informal settlements. Howlett and Ramesh's policy phases (1995) from agenda setting, formulation decision-making, implementation, evaluation and analysis are applied in the analysis of the findings.

Situating the study in this field, allows for the exploration of social reality of sanitation for the poor, as this intersects with political and public factors in the case of Zimbabwe. As the

field of policy is broad, the public policy-making process starting from the formulation, to the implementation and ending with the evaluation stages, were thus examined. In addition, the research was conducted in the broad field of governance; the reason being that governance provides the rules of the game in which the policy is implemented.

The research was also conducted in the field of institutional policy analysis where an attempt was made to understand coordination, competition and complementarity of institutions as well as decision-making processes between central government, elected officials and civil society organisations. According to Gormley (1987, p. 154) institutional policy analysis is about procedural choices and the decisions made within and outside government. In this study, applying the institutional policy analysis approach was in recognition that politics, institutions and the social context have a bearing on public delivery of sanitation services in contested localities such as informal settlements(as suggested by Burnstein and Linton, 2002; McLennan, 2007 and Hill and Hupe, 2002).Similarly, March and Olsen (1984, p. 738 in Hill, 2005, p. 81) contend that '(p)olitical democracy depends not only on economic and social conditions but also on the design of political institutions'.

Whereas similar studies were previously carried out in informal settlements in Harare (Makoni et al., 2006; Practical Action, 2010; Nhapi et al., 2006), the complexity of the socio-political context was not the main theme of these researchers, hence my motivation for the study. The research intends to make a contribution to knowledge on the interrelationship between policy institutions and substantive policy during the period of the GNU when the socio-political environment is characterised by political contestation and power relations. It is anticipated that this study will suggest recommendations on relevant institutional arrangements and innovation in policy management of sanitation in informal settlements in the case of urban areas of Zimbabwe.

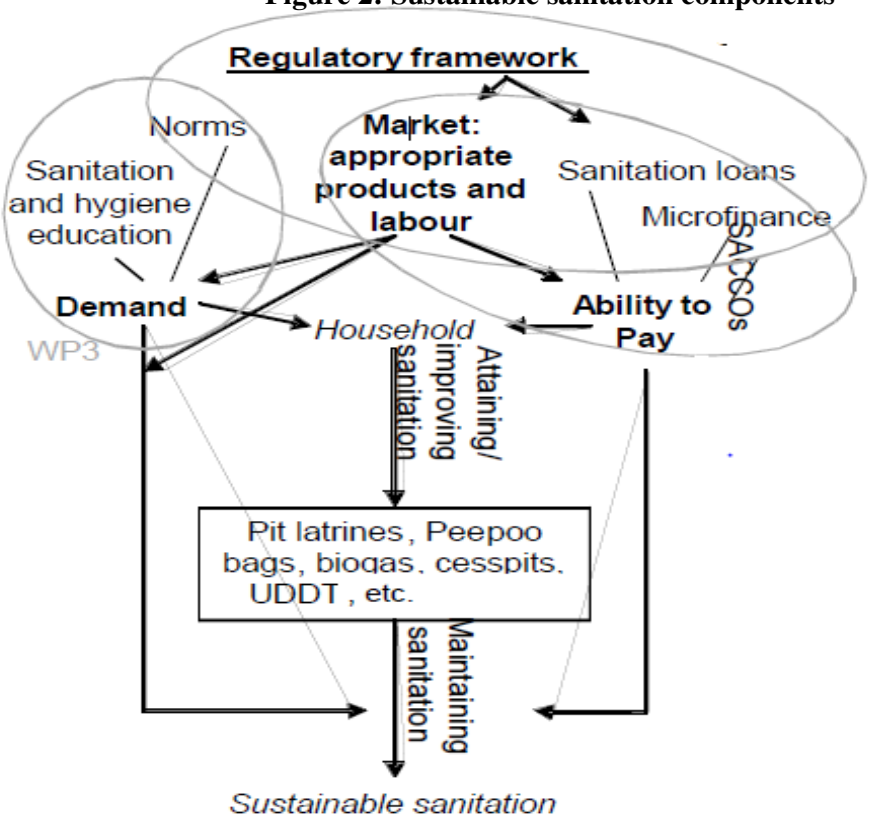
1.7 Conceptualisations

A set of core concepts were used to help define the research problem and delimit the research questions, then ultimately provide the preferred meanings for each of the core concepts. The core concepts include informal settlements, governance, policy and sanitation. The other concepts are defined within the ambit of the theoretical framework, which is elaborated in Chapter 2.

Informal settlements are settlements that have developed through the unauthorised occupation of land. The UN Commission on Sustainable Development (UN-CSD; 1996) describes informal settlements as residential areas where a group of housing units has been constructed on land to which the occupants have no legal claim, or which they occupy illegally and/or unplanned settlements and areas where housing is not in compliance with current planning and building regulations. The term 'peri urban' came into use during the 1980s in Europe, literally meaning 'around the edges or periphery of a city' (Mulenga, 2004). This definition includes informal settlements. The research considered informal settlements as urban assemblages that operate outside formal control of the state.

S***anitation barriers*** are elements that prevent residents of informal settlements from accessing infrastructure for safe disposal of sewage and solid waste. Barriers to sanitation also include the lack of access to potable drinking water. Figure 2 provides an illustration of the components that Pedley (2010) considers as sustainable sanitation components for informal settlements. The absence of a regulatory framework and inability of residents to pay for sanitation services can be barriers to sanitation provision.

Figure 2: Sustainable sanitation components



Source: Pedley, 2010

Scholarship describes ***policy*** in a number of different ways. The most simple and straight forward definition is provided by De Coning, who specifies– that it is 'a statement of intent' to meet societal goals and interests (De Coning, 2006, p. 3).

For Anderson (1994, p. 290) policy '(f)ocuses on what is actually done instead of what is only proposed or intended (and that it) is essentially a choice among competing alternatives'. His definition of policy is similar to that proposed by Dye (1978, p. 4) as '(a) kind of guide that delimits action'. Hogwood and Gunn (1984, p. 15) further discuss policy as a label for a field of activity, such as economic, social or foreign policy. They also see policy as 'desired state of affairs' as well as a process. Their definition of policy stresses the process of decision-making within policy formulation and implementation.

My conceptual synthesis of policy makes the conclusion that there is no universally accepted definition. Hence in this research, the concept of policy is a hybrid of the definitions discussed above. My approach is to take a broad definition that borrows from Hogwood and Gunn (1984, p. 24) where policy is regarded as the conduct of public affairs

guided within the framework of governmental procedures, influences and organisations. In addition to government actions, this research considers the concept of policy as a label for a field of activity, in this instance activity concerning 'sanitation'.

Public policy, another term used extensively in this research, is described as a set of decisions which have been influenced by people, groups or organisations (Hogwood and Gunn, 1984, p. 23-24). Public policy is also regarded as '(a)nything that a government chooses to do or not to do' (Dye in Howlett and Ramesh, 1995, p. 4). A similar definition on public policy is offered by Jenkins as decisions by political actors on selected goals as well as the '(m)eans of achieving them within a particular context' (Howlett and Ramesh, 1995, p. 5). Interestingly, the notion of non-decisions can also be termed as public policy. Easton (1953, p. 129) offers that public policy is '(t)he authoritative allocation of resources through the political process, of value to groups or individuals in the society.' In this study I use the sanitation policy to informal settlements to refer to the procedural policy that deals with the rules, structures and processes of government**.** While public policy in simple terms refers to what government chooses to do or not to do, the study goes further. Sanitation policy here considers the context in which policy decisions are taken especially with regard to power and the legitimacy of the political system in which the government operates (Klein and Marmor, 2006, p. 894).

Governance, considered a dimension of policy by Peters (2011, p.5) is defined by Hill and Hupe (2002, p. 13) as 'regimes of laws, administrative rules, judicial rulings and practices that constrain, prescribe and enable governmental activity'. Governance is also described as '(s)ocietal steering and a process of coordination within networks' (see Treib et al. (2007, p. 3). Scholarship definitions on governance are wide and varied and this research confines governance to practices of central and local government, including policies and instruments that have a bearing on sanitation in informal settlements.

The research considers the political environment described by Anderson (1997, p. 51) as complex and often comprising multiple layers and spheres, all with different agendas. These layers and spheres impact the sanitation policy in different ways, with the essential ingredients converging around power and politics surrounding the policy issues. According to Anderson (2007, p. 51), a political environment consists of geographical and demographic characteristics, the political culture and social structure, as well as the economic system. The political environment specific to the policy on sanitation in informal settlements in Harare is influenced by political actors, institutions and rules and regulations.

The political environment in these two case studies is made up of many layers and dimensions. Focus is on the intra-governmental circumstances and influential clusters, as well as party political context and competing civil society in this policy on sanitation in informal settlements.

Manase and Fawcett (2009, p. xii) provide a broad definition of ***sanitation*** as '(p)rinciples and practice relating to the collection, removal, and disposal of human excreta, refuse, storm water and wastewater, as they impact upon users, operators and the environment'. Sanitation in this research is more than infrastructure development. Nhapi (2009) argues that sanitation includes processes of '(p)lanning, partnership and accountability, of developing solutions which are sustainable, affordable and meet users' demands'.

1.8 Chapter synopsis

This thesis consists of six chapters. Chapter 1 introduced the research, and set the contextual background for the barriers of sanitation in Hopley and Retreat informal settlements in Harare. The context within which the informal settlements developed as well as the state of sanitation in these informal settlements was explored since their early development up until the time of the study between January and June 2013. Chapter 1 also presented the research questions guiding the research, and concluded by situating the research in the field of study.

Chapter 2 discusses the state of knowledge in the field of policy-making in informal settlements and reviews accumulated knowledge on the research questions presented earlier in Chapter 1. Chapter 2 also provides a theoretical framework with assumptions and concepts as well as forms of explanations for barriers to sanitation in informal settlements, setting the stage for this research. Having drawn parallels between existing literature and the research proposition offered in section 1.5, the chapter concludes with an identification of gaps in the literature. Chapter 3 covers the methodology applied in the research. The chapter offers the design framework and methods on how the research is operationalised. Here I narrate my field experiences in the process of executing the research. I present and interpret my findings in chapters 4 and 5. Beginning in chapter 4 I analyse the state of sanitation in Hopley and Retreat informal settlements with a focus on my position as an observer in the informal settlements. Chapter 5 then cascades into an analysis of policy challenges with regard to provision of sanitation in informal settlements in Zimbabwe. At this point findings on the impact of policy management, the political environment including institutional

arrangements are discussed in detail. Chapter 6 concludes this thesis, identifying openings for further research.

Chapter 2

CRITICAL REVIEW OF EXTANT LITERATURE AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK ON BARRIERS TO SANITATION IN INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews existing knowledge on the public delivery of water and sanitation to informal settlements in Zimbabwe. Additionally, the review makes reference to comparative sanitation studies carried out in South Africa, Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. In so doing, the chapter makes an argument on the relevance and the importance of this knowledge to the proposed research (Badenhorst, 2007, p. 43). This places my research into a broader field of research while pointing to areas of agreement and disagreements with these previous studies (see Neuman, 2011, p. 124). Chapter 2 also examines theories that are of relevance in understanding the research problem on the barriers to sanitation in Harare's informal settlements.

The studies presented here give an overall historical perspective on the topic of sanitation in informal settlements. Consequently, these previous studies support the proposition made in this research: that a combination of complex but weak institutions, poor policy guidance and political interference has resulted in the situation of inadequate provision of sanitation services in informal settlements in Harare, Zimbabwe. That said, the literature presented in this chapter also identifies knowledge gaps in this policy area (Badenhorst, 2007, p. 43), prompting the need for further research on policy management of sanitation in informal settlements. While contemporary literature is able to describe general trends and causes of barriers to sanitation service provision in informal settlements, there is a dearth of information on the key barriers to water and sanitation service provision in these Harare's settlements regarding policy-making processes and the political environment during the GNU phase (2008- 2013).

Section 2.3 of chapter 2 provides a theoretical review detailing asserted trends in selected theories, thereby providing for an understanding of the research problem (Merriam, 1997). Kerlinger (1986) defines theory as '(a) set of interrelated constructs, definitions, and propositions that present a systematic view of phenomena by specifying relations among variables, with the purpose of explaining and predicting phenomenon'. Coser (in Neuman, 2011) describes the function of theory as helping to '(o)rder experience with the help of concepts' as well as choosing relevant '(a)spects and data among the enormous multitude of facts'. Theory functions

as providing a link between variables and an explanation of how the world works (Neuman, 2011). This research draws from the constructs and propositions of other scholars to influence the methodology chosen for the study (see Creswell, 1994, 1998, 2002; Patton, 1990; Yin, 1993).

The theories presented here explain interactions, relationships and contradictions which may then be applied when examining barriers to sanitation provision in informal settlements. The analytical framework discusses the interface between politics, policy and institutions as barriers to sanitation provision in informal settlements in Harare. It is at this point that the chapter notes the complexity of theorisation of the policy on sanitation in Harare's informal settlements. What makes this theorisation complex is the multi-dimensional nature of Zimbabwe's political environment at the time of the study.

Beginning from the levels of politics, the environment includes macro politics, micro politics and subsystem politics. In his introduction of these levels of politics, Anderson (1997, p. 80) defines micro politics as '(s)pecific, differentiated and intense interest of one or few in a society of many individuals, companies and communities'. According to Anderson, micro politics participants include the president, government leaders and executive departments. He makes an important point that that these political environments are not static and that issues may move from one system to another.

2.2 Situating the literature review

Neuman (2011, p. 124) suggests that conducting a literature review is in acknowledgement that knowledge accumulates and that one may learn and build on what others have done in the past. The basis for his assertion is that a literature review '(r)ests on the principle that scientific research is a collective effort, one in which many researchers contribute and share results with one another' (Neuman, 2011, p. 124). Conducting a literature review may serve a number of purposes. According to Neuman, a literature review's aim is to demonstrate familiarity with existing knowledge and establish credibility in the process. While in another instance, reviewing literature helps to place a research project in a context, thereby demonstrating its relevance (Neuman, 2011, p.124). Although the literature review presented in this chapter serves these two aims it is, however, more inclined to the second goal suggested by Neuman. This context review shows the path of prior research and knowledge and how this research project is linked to past research.

Guided by the central question of the research on the predominant forces that constitute barriers towards sanitation provision in the two selected informal settlements in Harare, a number of sources are examined. The primary sources for this literature review are research reports, dissertations and scholarly journals focusing on informal settlements in Zimbabwe. These are contrasted with a case study research report on sanitation in Diepsloot informal settlement, South Africa. Additionally the review provides examples of sanitation policies in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda's informal settlements. Often undertaken by professional researchers these sources offer the more accurate and objective information (Neuman, 2011, p. 128). The main gap identified is that some of these reports are now dated and do not always contain information on issues considered as current at the time of this study.

Besides the research reports, this literature review uses government documents. These include policies and reports from the government of Zimbabwe. Besides these government documents, UN and World Bank reports and sponsored studies are also consulted as sources for this literature review. While acknowledging that media reports may provide semi-accurate and incomplete information, these are also a source for this literature review. Nevertheless, newspaper articles offer current information (Neuman, 2011, p. 129). For this reason, both state and independent media are consulted on the policy issue of sanitation in Harare's informal settlements.

2.2.1 Establishing the literature review field

The literature review in this chapter is confined to issues offered by the research proposition (see section 1.5). It reveals investigations that have been undertaken previously on institutional arrangements in place to manage sanitation in informal settlements. The relationships between government actors, the private sector and NGOs and their relationships is a central focus in this literature review. Furthermore the review analyses the assertions made in previous investigations on the regulatory frameworks that impact on these institutional arrangements. In addition, the political environment is anchored in the idea that politics play a significant role in shaping the policy on sanitation in these informal settlements. Therefore this is another central theme when examining available literature.

2.2.2 Sanitation in informal settlements: the state of knowledge

A large amount of development literature on the status of sanitation coverage globally draws a positive relationship in developed countries between improved sanitation coverage and a higher Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (World Bank, 2010; UNICEF 2010). There is

an assertion that this relationship breaks down across sub-Saharan Africa with political stability becoming a pivotal determinant of the sanitation sector progress (AMCOW, 2010). The biggest gains in access to water and sanitation services are found in stable low income countries (see World Bank, 2010).

Available evidence shows that between 1990 and 2008, rural water supply coverage in low-income stable countries increased by 17 percentage points, and urban water supply by 6 percentage points (*World Bank Report*, 2012). According to the same report, services in politically stable countries are also more equitable and offer a better quality of service than either low-income fragile or resource-rich countries (World Bank; WSP, 2011). Inequality in access to water and sanitation is extreme. People living in the slums of Jakarta, Manila and Nairobi pay five to ten times more per unit when compared with those in high income areas in their own cities (Green, 2008, p. 45). According to Green, this is even more than what consumers in London or New York pay for water and sanitation services.

The World Bank Report of 2004 recommends that failed states need alternative service delivery arrangements that may enhance efficiency in the provision of basic sanitation for the poor. The Bank's analytical framework on governance to provide basic services for the poor is a useful blue print for sanitation policies of communities living in informal settlements. This framework guides the categorisation of aspects for consideration when examining barriers for sanitation provision in informal settlements. These categories include but are not limited to the regulatory framework, and institutional arrangements (World Bank Report, 2004).

These reports bring to the fore the influence of politics and good governance on the quality of sanitation service provision in general. The angle of governance pursued by most of these reports points to issues of inequality between the rich and poor with regard to policies on sanitation. These issues are precisely what my research project attempts to deal with at a localised level within Hopley and Retreat informal settlements.

A widely cited study by Manase and Fawcett (2009, p. 14) details the major causes for poor sanitation as the restrictive institutional and regulatory frameworks to provide services in illegal settlements. Their study puts emphasis on the non-involvement of the urban poor in sanitation services. The study recommends implementation of demand responsive approaches as opposed to supply led approaches premised on needs, perceptions and coping strategies of the urban poor. Similarly, Green (2008, p. 46) posits that success in China, India and Lesotho is dependent on developing demand for sanitation rather than pursuing 'top down engineering solutions'. The

emphasis of these studies is on inclusive developmental approaches of empowering citizens and involving them in policy-making (Ingram and Smith, 1998, p. 3).

The recently launched Zimbabwe Water Policy (2012) paints a picture of previous uncoordinated policies, strategies and technological options on water and sanitation at the national level. The policy notes the Government of Zimbabwe's reliance on different pieces of legislation. In this regard, the policy suggests '(a) review, amendment and synchronisation of legislation and regulations that underpin the water sector and the provision of water and sanitation services to enable this policy to be implemented'. It also puts forward weak institutional support as a structural cause of inadequate sanitation for the urban poor. While these conclusions apply to the general sanitation situation at national level, sanitation challenges facing informal settlements are not discussed in detail in the National Water Policy document. However, one may draw similarities between institutional arrangements in informal settlements and the poor but legal urban locations. While this policy suggests a framework for dealing with sanitation problems in urban areas, institutional issues of power and devolution of this power to local municipalities has not been adequately dealt with in my opinion.

A study undertaken by Brocklehurst et al. (2012) on institutional arrangements regarding sanitation services for the poor in Harare recognises the rationalisation of the water and sanitation institutional framework during the cholera outbreak experienced in 2008-2009. The study provides evidence of how government coordinated the revitalisation of the sanitation sector which resulted in various structures being set up such as the National Coordination Unit and bringing 'fragmented units into a new streamlined structure' (Brocklehurst et al., 2012). In the time of crisis, governance by networks emerged, with the inclusive government incorporating UNICEF and NGOs to support provision of sanitation in informal settlements. Once the crisis was over, the government by network arrangement was also abandoned (Brocklehurst et al., 2012). The institutional innovations involving different layers of government, public and private partnerships are an interesting aspect of this study for closer examination.

The Country Status Overview undertaken by UNICEF (2010) offers reasons for the recent mushrooming of informal settlements in Harare since 2000. The overview is critical of the unplanned resettlement of residents through operation Murambatsvina to un-serviced areas as a source for water pollution, open defecation and overloading of sewer reticulation systems. The CSO emphasises the consequences of neglecting sanitation and hygiene as arguably the major factor which contributed to the cholera epidemic of 2008/2009. While this is useful background,

the CSO does not go further to analyse reasons for policy barriers to sanitation in the informal settlements.

The continued and unchecked development of informal settlements in Zimbabwe was laden with political ties since inception in the early 2000. Marongwe (2004) sees the settlements emerging as a direct result of this relationship between political ties, power and relocation of people into informal settlements. He argues that the allocation of land under the government's fast track resettlement programme was so overtly politicised that in most cases aspiring settlers were expected to be cardholders of the ruling party, ZANU-PF. He records the political decisions that resulted in the fast track land resettlements and brought about poor or no planning of settlements, making service delivery (water, sewerage, roads, electricity etc.) very difficult to provide. The random manner in which ZANU-PF facilitated occupation of land under the fast track programme resulted in a serious departure from the planning procedures 'while at the same time creating a huge demand for the servicing of the demarcated stands by the City of Harare' (Marongwe, 2003, p 21). Substantiated arguments made by Marongwe on the influence of politics when allocating residential stands was an issue for independent media reports before and after the 2013 elections. Political commentators argue that the constituency where Hopley Farm is located was won by ZANU-PF through manipulating the informal settlers (*Zimbabwe News*, October 2012).

Mulenga suggests poverty as the main cause of sanitation problems for informal settlements (Mulenga, 2004). In his study of 11 informal Zimbabwean settlements, he found that the majority of families were 'apparently living well below the globally recognised USD 1 a day poverty line'. If the Mulenga (2004) study is indicative of levels of financial insecurity of informal settlement inhabitants during the period of the study, then it is unlikely that settlers are capable of affording the high up-front costs of sanitation investments.

In summary Mulenga offers that '(t)hese socio-economic characteristics affect the level and quality of sanitation services and the effectiveness of health and hygiene education' (Mulenga, 2004, p. 18). Table 2 is a summary of Mulenga et al.'s findings from the 2004 study. The average monthly household income for informal settlers in the three countries quoted in US Dollars ranges from $55 to $105 monthly. (Mulenga et al). However, one must hasten to caution that during the period of study exchange rates in Zimbabwe were very unstable; therefore quoting financial figures in US Dollars, for comparability, introduced some inaccuracy (see Mulenga et al., 2004, p18).

Table 2: Socio-economic profiles of informal settlements in Zambia, Zimbabwe and South Africa

	Zambia	Zimbabwe	South Africa
Female respondents	60%	65%	53%
Rural origin	15%	87%	42%
Urban origin	42%	12.6%	46%
Origin from other informal settlements	43%	0.4%	12%
Average length of stay	9 years	5 years	5 years
Average age of settlements	37 years	10 years	11 years
Illiteracy (no formal education)	11%	12%	13%
Average household size	5.6 persons	4.2 persons	4.3 persons
Average monthly household income	USD$55	US$81	US$105
Unemployment	34%	Approx. 45%	36%

Source: Mulenga, Manase and Fawcett, 2004

Many informal settlements are prima facie illegal and even in settlements established as a corollary of government action (e.g. fast track resettlement) the nature of the land rights that accrue to settlers is unclear (Marongwe, 2003). Mulenga et al. 2004 also note that the questionable and potentially illegal nature of land tenure in these settlements is often a major stumbling block to improving water supply and sanitation conditions. This has dire long term impacts as 'the lack of tenure or title deeds not only discourages sanitation agencies from providing services but also discourages households from investing, themselves, in good sanitation facilities, because of their fear of being moved on to other locations' (Mulenga et al., 2004). Mulenga thus considers that having weak claims to land tenure is a major constraint to the establishment and improvement of water and sanitation services in these communities. How land tenure issues perpetuate and present as a barrier to sanitation is further explored in this study.

Mporetji's thesis (2008) holds relevance to this research. In his exploration of the perceptions of Diepsloot informal settlers in Johannesburg, South Africa he examines factors that promote citizen engagement in sanitation issues in informal settlements and concludes that community cohesion led to better environment outcomes. Mporetji scrutinises the role of the South African Government in providing services to Diepsloot informal settlement and argues that 'the major constraints leading to unresponsive interventions were the limited scale of municipal operation and their poor communication with residents' (Mporetji, 2008, p. ii). Alison (2002) identifies the concept of common interests as an important factor for sanitation improvement in informal settlements. She stresses that where interests are not identified, this has the impact of weakening governance.

Alison's research builds on the notion of values that is further pursued in this chapter on the theoretical framework of the research.

Case studies carried out in Kenya, Rwanda and Uganda on informal settlements in 2010 show differences in the regulatory environments between the three countries (see Table 3). Whereas Kampala is characterised by illegal settlements and no enforcement, Kigali has resettlement activities to remove slums. In comparison, Kisumu has legalised informal settlements in its peri-urban areas (Pedley, 2010, p. 9). One conclusion made from these case studies is that the illegal status of their tenure limits any investment on sanitation infrastructure.

Table 3: A comparison of sanitation policy options: Examples from Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania

	Kisumu	Kampala	Kigali
Communities	350,000 people; 60 % living in informal settlements, which are no longer illegal; high rate of tenancy.	1.5 million people; > 60% living in informal/illegal settlements; population doubles during the day due to business.	1 million people; rapid urbanisation rate; significant work to improve slums in recent years; up to 85% estimated to live in slums [2].
Sanitation	10 % served by sewerage system. Informal settlements rely on overused and poorly maintained pit latrines (67.4%) [3]. Soak pits and septic tanks common.	<7 % served by sewerage system; 6.2 % without own toilets; 69 % use latrines (majority in informal settlements); latrines elevated which restricts access; flying toilets used.	No sewage treatment plant. Environmental degradation from poor disposal of waste. 80% of the urban population is estimated to use a pit latrine. <10% in urban areas have access to improved sanitation.
Opportunities	Subsidies available; small scale enterprises in solid waste and water; CBOs provide public toilets.	Sanitation loans, SACCOs and microfinance options are available; flower farmers use sludge as fertiliser.	Compulsory community work programmes; 25% rely on subsistence agriculture.
Challenges	Poor enforcement of policies; pit emptying is by manual labour only; high levels of poverty and food poverty in city.	Poor enforcement of policies; absentee landlords; lack of space; poor attitudes of residents and inadequate municipal services; legal status of residents; illegal dumping of waste.	Lack of artisans/ technicians; lack of implementation of policies; lack of centralised wastewater management systems to accept pump-out waste; limited access to finance

Source: Pedley, 2010

2.2.3 Gaps in extant literature

While the general causes of the water and sanitation problems in Zimbabwe's informal settlements have been canvassed in the literature, there is a paucity of specific and up to date information on key barriers to sanitation in these informal settlements. Most of the studies cited here date back to before the large scale settlement of people into what is now Hopley informal settlement. The institutional arrangements of key stakeholders (central and local government, citizens and civil society) in the provision of sanitation services in these

settlements have significantly shifted. These shifts are consequently explained by the emergence of a government of National Unity in 2008 between ZANU-PF and MDC-T. There is limited data on what impact the Government of National Unity has had on the policy-making and implementation process on water and sanitation issues in informal settlements.

Independent newspapers (*The Daily News, Newsday,* and *the Zimbabwe Independent*) have provided accounts of an increase in irregular settlements of people during the GNU period. For example, the Newsday reports that '(s)ome analysts estimate that there are more than 30 informal settlements dotted around Harare. Some of the major informal settlements include those at Hopley and Porta Farms, Whitecliff, Chimoio, Dhonoro, Jacha and Komboniyatsva in Epworth' (*Newsday*, January 16, 2013). Even though such reports provide information on the mushrooming of informal settlements, specifics on the policy process followed by government on sanitation provision during the GNU period are scant.

Additionally, the role of 'non-traditional' actors and civil society participation in responding to sanitation issues in informal settlements is not well understood. Studies conducted in Harare's informal settlements (including Makoni et al., 2006; Practical Action, 2010; Nhapi et al., 2006) have not focused on the complex socio-political context of these informal settlements and their link to provision of basic services such as sanitation. Thus this research delves into the continuously changing relationships between local and central government in decision-making processes regarding informal settlements and the role played by politics during a defined period of time.

2.3 Theoretical framework

Section 2.3 deals with the theoretical framework applied to this research. The theoretical framework provided here considers other scholars' perceptions on the issues being addressed by the study.

These are ***Governance, institutional, elite, political power and decision-making theories*** that mirror the insights of the processes by which public policy is often formulated and implemented. These selected theories provide tools for scrutinising the bureaucracies and decision-making processes, structures and functions of organisations, all which are relevant when examining barriers to sanitation in Harare's informal settlements. The theory on the impact of political influence on policy is also examined. Using a combination of these theories is useful in analysis

of the proposition that complex and weak institutions, poor policy guidance and political interference have a bearing on the situation of sanitation in informal settlements in Harare, Zimbabwe.

The theoretical framework to this research considers the policy phases approach in conceptualising the policy on sanitation in informal settlements. This approach emphasises processes as opposed to institutions, structures and personal power dynamics offered by the governance, institutional, elite, political power and decision-making theories.

2.3.1 Governance theory

The governance theory through the public value lens versus what public service is offered forms the basis of this research. While there is acknowledgement that the definition of governance is wide and varied, this research looks at it in the realm of public value. The research acknowledges that service provision is value laden and attempts to explore the values that shape service provision policy in informal settlements. Benington (2009, p. 246) describes public value as that which adds value to the public sphere. According to Benington the public sphere resembles a collection of values, rules, knowledge and cultural resources. The state in this instance has not satisfied sanitation needs of informal settlement inhabitants, as these are considered as falling outside the traditional public goods that are targeted at formal settlements in urban areas (Mulenga, 2004). The research explores the potential for forging closer links between central government and local authorities, with consumers in service delivery. The concept of values of informal settlement dwellers, and the way that it affects access to resources and influence service provision in sanitation is also pursued here through the perceptions of informal settlers.

2.3.2 Elite theory

This theory emphasises the control exercised by the bureaucratic administration in guiding the policy on provision of services. Anderson (1997, p. 19) describes the key principles of the theory as a society that is divided into socio-economic classes of those with power who have the power to define the values of the masses and the powerless masses. As a result of the elite's vested interests, policy-making and implementation is distinguished as being conservative (Hill, 2005, p. 37). This research explores the way in which local authorities and central government have maintained the service level standards that prohibit dwellers of informal settlements from seeking more affordable alternatives to sanitation provision.

2.3.3 Network theory

The network theory also known as expansive democracy embraces different institutions and their relationships in policy formulation and implementation (Garson, 2008; Hill and Hupe, 2002). Policy networks are '(o)rganised entities that consist of actors and their relations engaged in the process of collective action for joint problem solving' (Sandstorm and Carlsson, 2008). This theory is applicable to complex societies and policies where networks are contributory to the way that policies develop (Klijn and Koppenjan, 2006).

2.3.4 Institutional theory

The institutional theory is closely linked with the network theory introduced in section 2.3.3. The relevance of institutions in managing policy is recognised in this study on barriers to sanitation in Hopley and retreat informal settlements. According to Gormley (1987, p. 154) institutional policy analysis focuses on the '(p)rocedural choices, the redefinition of relationships, within government or decisions that affect the influence of outsiders on government itself. The institutional theory stems from this conceptualisation provided by Gormley. The theory emphasises the formal and legal aspects of government structure; their legal powers and their rules and procedures (Kraft and Furlong, 2004, p. 74).Of relevance to this study is the process by which power is shared between national government agencies and provincial government (local authorities in this instance).

Kumsa and Mbeche (2004, p. 840) are sceptical of institutions in developing countries, which in their view are weak as a consequence of ineffective enforcement of the rule of law, corruption as well as the absence of strong civil society organisations. Williams (2006, p. 215) argues that institutions may limit as well as enable effective action and responsibility in the policy sphere. However, the networking and institutional theories give a basis for the methodology to be applied in the research as well as insights and a more comprehensive understanding of institutions and their role or lack of it in sanitation provision in the areas of study. This theory provides a reference point when examining institutions and their relationships during the different phases of sanitation policy-making and implementation in informal settlements.

2.3.5 Decision-making theories in formulation and management of policy

Decision-making is a process leading to action; therefore it is central to a policy issue. Simon (in Ham and Hill, 1993, p. 81) defines decision-making as 'a choice between alternatives'. The decision-making stage of policy-making is described by Brewer and

Deleon (in Howlett and Ramesh, 2003, p. 163) as '(t)he choice among policy alternatives that have been generated and their likely effects on the problem estimated… It is the most overt political stage in so far as the many solutions to a given problem and must somehow be winnowed down and but one or a select few picked and readied for use. Obviously most possible choices will not be realised and deciding not to take particular action is as much a part of selection as settling on the best course'. This definition implies that different decisions may emerge from decision-making processes which are either positive or negative in altering or not altering a situation.

Decision-making theory is applied in an analysis of institutional arrangements with a focus on the authoritative and non-authoritative actors in decision-making in this study (especially between central government, local government and civil society). The study scrutinises how decision-making lies predominantly with those who occupy formal offices in government, and in the process excludes all non-state actors mostly in accordance with the legal instruments at play. In Grindle and Thomas' analytical model for understanding the role of decision makers in policy processes they refer to such a model as the 'state interest approach', whereby the interests of the government are adopted in dealing with public problems (Grindle and Thomas, 1989, p. 220).

Rational choice and incremental or garbage-can models are considered as providing perspectives on decision-making. Rational decision-making involves selecting actions that will achieve values and objectives of an individual, organisation and institution (Hill and Hupe, 2002, p. 160). For Simon (1993) decision-making is rarely rational because it is impossible to consider all alternatives during decision-making. Lindblom (in Ham and Hill, 1993, p.85) argues that a good policy is one that secures the agreement of the interests involved rather than one that attempts to maximise the decision maker's values.

This theory is criticised for its assumption that the decision maker possesses information on all possible alternatives and may determine the consequences of the decisions (Anderson, 1997). The theory falls short in that it does not embrace the complex functioning of local institutions, power dynamics and political processes that take place in informal settlements.

2.3.6 Political power

Burstein and Linton state that political organisations have a substantial impact on policy (2002, p.383). A consideration of the complexity of implementing public policy in a horizontal setting and its potential conflict with representative democracy is made.

Koppenjan, Kars and Van der Voort (2009), provide an example of the Dutch context where it is difficult for elected officials to influence activities in horizontal governance processes. This research examines this notion from the standpoint that in the current era (from 2000), electoral competition has frequently forced elected officials to enact policy that is consistent with public opinion while defying horizontal governance in order to win re-election. Wenzel (2007) makes a case that if politics dominates governance of public service delivery this may create 'rent-seeking, mismanagement and policy implementation failure'. This theory provides a framework in the study to examine the impacts of political organisations on sanitation challenges in informal settlements.

Luke's three dimensions of political power inform how the 'environment' of power relations impacts policy and this framework is used to analyse the power dimension in this research. Dahl (1957: 203 in Ham and Hill, 1993) defines power as when 'A has the power over B to the extent that he may get B to do something that B would not otherwise do'. The work of Bachrach and Baratz (1962, p. 948 in Ham and Hill, 1993, p. 67) illustrate an alternative definition beyond power being dependent on behaviour and key decisions but is exercised when 'A devotes his energies to creating and reinforcing social and political values and institutional practices that limit the scope of political process to public consideration of only those issues which are comparatively innocuous to A'. This study examines decisions which succeed and the influence of those who exercise power within the political system.

2.3.7 The policy process phases approach

The policy process-phases approach policy is considered to be linear and well defined policy-making process by a number of scholars (Ramesh and Howlett, 2003; Jenkins, 1978 in Hill, 2005, p. 20; Hogwood and Gunn, 1984 in Hill, 2005, p, 20; Anderson, 1997; Deleon in Sabatier, 1999, p. 21). It is made up of sequential and orderly steps to policy-making and assumes that actors to policy-making are rational beings. The generic demarcation of phases begins with agenda setting, followed by the formulation of policy alternatives, making decisions on the alternatives, implementation and eventual evaluation as a feedback loop for learning. A characteristic of the model is the interconnectedness of the different stages of the policy-making process (Morse & Struyk, 2006).

The policy phases approach has been chosen for application to the policy issue of sanitation in Harare's informal settlements. In this research it is used in the analysis and interpretation

of the findings in Chapter 5. This is because the model provides a helpful structuring of the policy process. For policy analysts using this model, flexibility to adopt the model should be an option. This is especially so if applied where policy-making may play out in irregular ways in fragile conditions as a result of an unstable political and economic situations.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter reviewed the accumulated knowledge that help inform the research question of 'what were the predominant forces with regard to political power, formal and informal institutions and informal settlers provide towards sanitation provision in the two selected informal settlements in Harare?' The chapter has examined theories that may be applied to this research.

My scanning of available literature for this research concludes that the depth of available literature as it relates to the research questions for this study is now depth dated. There is a lack in recent analysis of policy-making and the implementation process for sanitation issues in Harare's informal settlements. Breaking up the policy problem of sanitation in Harare's informal settlements, understanding the problems and developing solutions as suggested by Patton and Sawicki (1986, p. 5 in De Coning, p. 5) is lacking.

In addition, available research is narrow in scope on the complex socio-political context of these areas. A gap exists in knowledge on the influence that the political environment has on decision-making in these policy processes on sanitation in informal settlements since the formation of the GNU in 2008.

The theoretical framework provides basic assumptions and general concepts for my research. Governance, institutional, elite, political power and decision-making theories are linked to the research study for a better design of the research and provide clarity in the study's formulation. The institutional theory is appropriate for this study as it considers all institutions involved in public policy within the sanitation sector. When applied to the study it addresses public administration issues of government within networks of cooperation (Garson, 2008). Garson argues that institutional theory is 'perhaps the single most popular theoretical approach within public administration'. My research underscores Garson's argument with its emphasis on the role of institutions in the policy process for sanitation in Hopley and Retreat informal settlements. In my research, the theory on political power is central and is introduced to explain that institutions do not operate in a vacuum. Rather they

operate within the existing political environment. These theories are therefore central in the analysis of the research findings presented in chapters 4 and 5.

Chapter 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY TO INVESTIGATE BARRIERS TO SANITATION IN SELECTED INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS IN HARARE

3.1 Introduction

This chapter emphasises the intricacy of gathering data within a political environment largely directed by a dominant political party within Hopley and Retreat informal settlements. The research was conducted between January and June 2013, a period just before the harmonised general. In Chapter 1 (see section 1.2.2), I gave a detailed account of the unstable political environment in Zimbabwe since 2000, when the MDC-T political party had emerged for the first time to contest in national elections. This earlier discussion on Zimbabwe's political context is pursued here, this time highlighting the resulting challenges in undertaking the research within a potentially charged political context.

Chapter 3 hence presents the process of data collection and analysis that I employed in attempting to provide explanations on reasons for failure of residents in these informal settlements to access basic sanitation. Before doing so, I introduce the facets of the research design applied to my research. The use of a case study approach in this research to gain a deeper understanding of the policies and practices acting as barriers to sanitation in Hopley and Retreat informal settlements is also discussed in this chapter.

3.2 Design framework

In deciding on the research design, I considered the three elements of inquiry as suggested by Creswell (2002, p. 5). The first step was to assess existing knowledge claims that were of relevance to the study. The second step considered strategies of enquiry for application to the research. The third element involved identifying appropriate methods for data collection and analysis (Creswell, 2002, p. 5).

3.2.1 Assessing the knowledge claims

For Creswell (2002) and Neuman (2011), a knowledge claim means that researchers begin a project with certain assumptions referred to as paradigms, philosophical assumptions, epistemologies and ontologies. Creswell translates the broad philosophical ideas of these claims (post-positive knowledge, social constructed knowledge, pragmatic knowledge and

advocacy knowledge claims). This research claims knowledge through '(s)ocial constructivism' (as defined by Creswell, 2002). The assumption made is that individuals seek understanding of the world and develop subjective meanings which are numerous and varied. In keeping up with this assumption, meanings attached to this research are generated from data collection in the field.

3.2.2 Strategy of enquiry: Applying a case study approach

My view that the unit of analysis was very politicised prompted a case study approach to better understand the complexity surrounding sanitation services for these selected communities. A unit of analysis may be considered as individual people, organisation, movements, institutions, and countries (see Neuman, 2011, p. 68-69). This study refers to the unit of analysis as the state of sanitation in informal settlements. The advantage of using case studies is that they bring out participants' viewpoints through multiple sources of data (Tellis, 1997; Yin, 1994). Creswell (2002, p. 15) defines a case study as an in-depth examination of information about a small number of units or cases either confined to a single period or across multiple periods of time.

Again, Tellis (1997) and Yin (1994) point to the strengths of applying case study research in linking and reshaping theory with lived experiences, while providing in-depth learning. Yin however cautions its limitations which are also considered in this proposed research. An added advantage of the case study approach is that it may give voice to people on the ground (Neuman, 2011, p.177). This study gave residents of the informal settlements the opportunity to respond on issues of policy formulation and implementation on sanitation in their settlements.

The type of research questions posed in section 1.5.2 of this study and the degree of focus on contemporary events all justify the use of a case study approach (see Yin, 1994). The existence of 'what' questions calls for the application of a case study approach in answering the questions. For instance, the main question to be answered by the study is: 'What are the predominant forces with regard to political power, formal and informal institutions and informal settlers that constitute barriers towards sanitation provision in the two selected informal settlements in Harare?'

Yin (1994) suggests another condition for the design of case studies, applicable to my study. This is the extent and control that an investigator has over the actual behavioural events. In this study I had no control over the behavioural events occurring within the real life context

in the two informal settlements. This lack of control over the unit of analysis is discussed further in section 3.3.4.

3.3 Methods of data collection

I applied qualitative research methods of enquiry based on interpretative principles. Neuman (2011, p. 175) defines a qualitative approach as a systematic way of analysing 'socially meaningful action'. The approach does so by directly observing people and, in the case of this research, their physical environment of sanitation infrastructure – in order to derive an understanding of their social world. Neuman clarifies that qualitative research is a language of 'case and contexts' (Neuman, 2011, p. 165).

Qualitative research methods were chosen for this research based on their ability to capture complex and rich data. These methods enabled me to determine the extent to which the proposition made in Chapter 1(see section 1.5) conforms to the empirical evidence gathered. As argued by Neuman in his extensive work on research designs, using qualitative research methods, one may generate a new hypothesis and describe details of the 'causal mechanisms' (Neuman, 2011, p. 167). He also provides a distinction between qualitative and quantitative research methods which holds in this research. He makes an assertion that unlike quantitative research where there is a distinct logic of conducting research, with qualitative research the logic derives from on-going practice. Creswell (2012, p. 17) supports Neuman's assertion when he compares quantitative, qualitative and mixed methods. He argues that qualitative research methods make use of open ended questions, interviews, observations, texts and images. Whereas qualitative research will use '(p)redetermined instruments based questions, attitudes data, observational and census data' (Creswell, 2012, p. 17).

Using a policy analysis enquiry framework, I planned to employ qualitative techniques to gather evidence on policy and institutional barriers to sanitation in Hopley and Retreat informal settlements. Dror (1991, p. 3 in De Coning, 2006, p. 5) uses the term policy analysis to refer to techniques for assessing and communicating information that is useful in understanding policy actions. The elements of enquiry chosen for this study included both primary and secondary methods; document analysis, face to face interviews and observation. The basis for using multiple methods to collect the data was to triangulate evidence from multiple angles.

Triangulation is a principle of observing from multiple perspectives (Tellis, 1997, p. 9; Denzin, 1994).

Table 4: Sequencing the research methods

Document analysis	Institutional interviews	Observation	Individual interviews
Government policies, Acts, institutional reports	Policy guidance, role of agency, institutional arrangements, political influence	State of sanitation in the informal settlements , sanitation behaviours of residents	Demographic information, access to water and sanitation, service provision
→	→	→	

Table 4 summarises the series of methods that were applied to address the primary research question. I sequenced the research to begin with document analysis, followed by institutional interviews, observation and lastly conducting of individual interviews in Hopley and Retreat.

3.3.1 Semi-structured interviews

Neuman (2011, p. 449) refers to a variety of interviews – unstructured, ethnographic, open ended and informal. Semi-structured face to face interviews were chosen for gathering data from individuals residing in the informal settlements of Hopley and Retreat settlements. Moser and Kalton (in Bell, 1997, p. 135) define interviews as 'a conversation between interviewer and respondent with the purpose of eliciting certain information from the respondent'. The same method of semi-structured interviews was used to collect information from key respondents from critical government ministries, international and National NGOs as well as bilateral organisations.

I selected this method of collecting data as it had the potential for allowing for 'spontaneous, rich, specific and relevant answers from the respondents' (see Neuman, 2011, p. 339; Bell, 1997, p. 135). Face to face interviews are self-communicating and allow the establishment of a rapport with the person being interviewed (Nadier, 1977; Bell, 1987). Seidman (2006) argues that semi-structured interviews have the potential of revealing

unanticipated themes and thus enabling a better understanding of the interviewees' social realities from the interviewees' perspectives.

However, interviews in general are known to be time consuming, often costly, requiring training, travel and supervision of research assistants (Bell, 1997; Neuman, 2011). Bell adds caution to this method of data collection – the danger of bias as interviewers are human beings and their manner may have an effect on the respondents. Bell cites Gavron's suggestion that one has to be constantly aware of this potential problem and apply constant self-control. Despite these challenges, Bell concludes that interviews centred on a topic and conducted by a skilful interviewer may produce rich information.

3.3.2 Observation

Another source of evidence from the case study was to conduct observations to Hopley and Retreat. My purpose for conducting the study (see section 1.5) largely determined what was to be observed. Creswell (2002) argues that 'impressions also influence the choice of what is to be observed'. Neuman (2011, p. 4) defines selective observation as 'process of examining in a way that reinforces pre-existing thinking'. For Neuman, with selective observation one tends to focus on specific cases and events.

Using this method was meant to provide insights into the context of the selected informal settlements. Therefore data gathered using this method was meant to focus on physical settings (housing, roads, and methods of sanitation and water provision). Through the observation I also intended to observe behaviour and sanitation practices by residents (methods of refuse collection and disposal, water access), as well as sanitation services provided by institutions, including those of government. In my planning I reflected on possible difficulties as an outsider to gain entry into the informal settlements to observe (see Neuman, 2011; Yin, 1994). To counter this possibility, I considered being accompanied by those well known in the area (NGOs or Harare municipal authorities). Creswell (2002, p. 17) suggests establishing a rapport by finding common ground with those being observed in order to gain their acceptance. This assessment of the general service delivery in the informal settlements was considered an important step in establishing the barriers to sanitation in the two settlements.

3.3.3 Document analysis

A number of documents were analysed for this study. Yin (1994, p 80) suggests that the use of this method as a primary source of evidence has its advantages. Document analysis

provides ‘stable and repeated reviews existing prior to the intended research’. The analysis will identify any existing Zimbabwe legislation and policy in the following areas: urban planning and building regulations; bylaws on requirements for the design of latrines and other facilities for the disposal and use of human waste. The analysis also focuses on the duties of government for the provision and control of sanitation systems, and legal controls over the disposal of sewage.

The document analysis will include reviewing human rights at an international level, including UN resolutions, and constitutional rights to health, water, sanitation. Additionally, the document analysis will include reviewing materials concerning land tenure in informal settlements and ownership of sanitation systems.

3.3.4 Undertaking research in a politically charged context

Owing to the prevailing political environment (before a general election in June 2013), a number of direct and indirect limits on the research were encountered in initial attempts to collect data from Hopley and Retreat. This led me to change some aspects of the design framework described in section 3.2 in order to overcome these limits. Judging from past experience, I also had to consider personal safety. Although violence had shown signs of reduction since the formation of the inclusive government in 2009, Booysen (2012) warned that low intensity violence was still present in ‘(s)ufficient quantity to remind people that it may be stepped up in an instant’. There had been reprisals in the past where those regarded with suspicion by ZANU-PF ‘(u)ndoubtedly had the odds stacked massively against them, with the police, army, and CIO all arresting, torturing and assaulting.... With impunity, as have war veteran groupings, youth militia, Chipangano, and other informal arms of ZANU-PF’ (Eppel, in Raftopoulos, 2013, p. 234).

With regard to access into the two selected settlements to gather information, this basic research step almost became impossible at one point. In the first instance, the timing of the research in a general election year was one factor limiting easy access into Hopley and Retreat settlements. Through the institutional interviews conducted before the individual interviews, I was able to gather that there were informal governance structures operating in the informal settlements, and these were controlled by ZANU-PF. The existence of these structures was confirmed by a World Bank team that had attempted to undertake a benchmarking sanitation survey in Hopley between January and March 2013. The team, made up of university students and the World Bank personnel, visited Hopley settlement to

collect baseline information meant to feed into the service level benchmarking exercise for the 32 urban local authorities. During this occasion, the team found the entrance to Hopley manned by ZANU-PF party members. They were advised to return with a letter addressed to the head of the group stating the objective for the survey. Personal communication to author provided by the World Bank on 28 February 2013 suggested that that I could risk my personal safety if I attempted to access the informal settlement without seeking clearance from the informal leadership structures.

Secondly, gaining permission to go into the informal settlements in order to carry out direct observations and conduct a total of 50 interviews in the two informal settlements, as originally planned, proved to be almost impossible. Advice was given by senior staff at the Department of Local Government in the MOLGURD for me to approach the District Administrator for Harare South with a letter of request to undertake the research. Upon delivery of the letter to the District Administrator's office on 15 February 2013, I was informed that I had to wait for clearance before starting the research.

The uncertainty of access also impacted on the original plan to make use of two female students from the University of Zimbabwe's Department of Civil Engineering in data collection in the informal settlements. Due to the delays encountered, the two students communicated to author that they were no longer available to conduct the research in February 2013. Another explanation for their unavailability may have arisen from the fears of entering what they considered as politically charged terrain. One of the students resides in Hatcliffe Extension where an informal settlement developed after operation Murambatsvina and had knowledge of potential risks.

Initially the individual questionnaire was meant to be administered to a total of 50 informal settlement residents, 25 in each of the settlements. It was felt that a total of fifty interviews was a considerable number to interview from the population figures of the two settlements. However, access into the informal settlements in the pre-general election period proved very difficult for me to follow a predefined sampling frame. The challenges of gaining access to the residents meant that using the research as an opportunity for residents to air their views could not be as fully realised as had earlier been foreseen.

The case study approach, while providing in-depth learning (Yin, 1994), in the case of this Harare study did not allow for generalisation of the findings to other informal settlements. Literature is quite explicit about the fact that case studies may only offer generalisation

potential in very specific circumstances (see Tellis, 1997). One such other Zimbabwean settlement is Epworth which had grown out of a different context from the ones covered in this study, and whose dynamics of providing sanitation services are different.

3.3.5 Dealing with the potential threats to data collection

The result was that I had to be strategic and devise an alternative research strategy to conduct the interviews and observations in Hopley and Retreat. Firstly, to minimise risk, I commenced the research fieldwork in early 2013 ahead of the elections scheduled for the second half of the year. My assumption was that closer to the elections, these informal governance structures could take any opportunity to cause trouble.

After waiting for two weeks for a response from the Harare South DA, I approached the World Bank team leader for the Service Level Benchmarking exercise for advice on how to proceed without this clearance letter. He advised me to use informal channels to seek interviews with respondents from the informal settlements rather than rely on the clearance from the district administrator. This proved to be the best approach as formal clearance was never granted up to the time of concluding data collection in May 2013. In the end I had to balance between obtaining official permission and the pursuit of knowledge and the potential benefits of improving decision-making where overt observation was impossible. As I was not able to get official clearance from government officials, I had to engage in discrete observation of the two informal settlements.

Upon a discussion with my thesis supervisor, Professor Susan Booysen, on challenges of accessing the 50 respondents from Hopley and Retreat according to the initial plan, she proposed that I use the snowballing approach, a non-probability sampling technique. Snowball sampling, a multi-stage technique, begins with a few people and spreads out based on links to the initial people (Neuman, 2011, p. 269). Subjects for this sampling were found via referrals, that is, colleagues referred a small number of people residing in the informal settlements to the researchers. The identified people were then able to recommend other people that could be interviewed. Using this approach, 10 people were interviewed. This number is thus much lower than the originally proposed number of 50 residents in the two settlements. These challenges and their impacts on the findings are discussed in section 3.8.

Table 5: Changes to the research design

Research action	Original plan	Amended plan	Reasons for changes
Timing of interviews	Conduct research in May and June 2013	Conduct interviews in February and March 2013	Avoid potential personal risk which would have been heightened during the run up to the national elections held in June 2013
Access into Hopley and Retreat	Seek permission from DA for Harare South	Use informal methods to interview residents	Request for permission not granted by the DA. Earlier World Bank experiences made it prudent to seek alternative interviewing methods
Data collection	Use of two University of Zimbabwe research assistants	Use an Australian graduate	Due to the uncertainty in timing as well as expressed concerns by the UZ students on their safety
Sample size	50 residents from Hopley and Retreat	10 residents selected through snowballing	Difficult to openly sample and interview resident Advised by supervisor for my research to consider selection through snowballing

Table 5 discussed the changes made to the research design and the reasons for effecting those changes.

3.4 Operationalising the amended research design

In attempting to answer the research questions posed in section 1.4 on the influence of politics, policy and institutions in accessing basic sanitation services by residents of the two selected informal settlements, I maintained the range of methods all which had been planned for in the original research design (see section 3.2). These included interviews, observation and document analysis. While the research largely relied on the original choice of data collection methods (see section 3.2 and Table 4), challenges mainly resulting from limited access to the informal settlements necessitated adjustments to the methodology (see Table 5).

To implement the in-depth research interviews, open-ended flexible interview schedules (see Creswell, 2002) were developed for informal settlement respondents and key respondents from selected institutions, respectively. These two open-ended interview tools required unstructured and free responses on the delivery of policy and policy needs, institutional arrangements and influence of politics as barrier to the delivery of sanitation services in the informal settlements. Rather than being rigidly tied to the progression of the interview schedules (see Bell, 2005), the emphasis of the interviews varied based on the experiences and expertise of the subject being interviewed at the time. This was necessary

to take into account the diversity of interview subjects (e.g. government employees, researchers and independent consultants). The individual interview schedule for residents of informal settlements was constructed in a manner meant to allow research participants to reflect on opinions, experiences and behaviours on the situation of sanitation provision in their settlements.

3.4.1 Interview themes

The interview schedule for institutions contained questions on the policy process for sanitation in informal settlements (see appendix 1). According to Howlett and Ramesh (1995) policy phases consist of agenda setting, formulation decision-making, implementation, evaluation and analysis (see section 2.3.7). Although the phases approach to the policy process is widely viewed as oversimplified it was used here too disaggregate the policy process. The themes also included exploration of the political environment and its impact on the delivery of sanitation in informal settlements. The other theme pursued in these interviews was on the prevailing institutional arrangements between government, NGOs and multi-lateral organisations. Institutions are described as organisations and rules that are used to determine who makes decisions and what actions are permissible and constrained (see Garson, 2008; Ostrom, 199, in Kraft and Furlong, 2004, p. 74). The interviews took this approach to gather information on how the different institutions influenced public policy on sanitation in Harare's informal settlements.

Individual interview schedules for residents of the informal settlements contained questions on general demographics, access to water and sanitation in the areas where they live, as well as the perceived roles and responsibilities of government and other institutions in service provision of water and sanitation (see appendix 2).

3.4.2 Pilot testing and refining the interview tools

A small pilot run to test the validity and reliability of the two interview schedules was undertaken with three water and sanitation specialists working in Harare. These were chosen on the basis of their many years of experience in the water and sanitation sector in Zimbabwe, and having worked on infrastructure rehabilitation, as well as on policy issues. The pilot study uncovered aspects of the research needing refinement with the specialists critiquing aspects of the two interview schedules and proposing additional variables to help answer the research questions. For instance, variables such as type of water facility, distance to nearest water point as well as frequency of use were added. The specialists suggested

shortening of the individual interview schedule which originally had twenty questions. In the end the all interview schedules were streamlined to focus on high value questions that could be asked in the shortest time.

Once the piloting of the interview schedules was complete, the next step was to refine the interview tools. On both instruments, a confidentiality note was inserted to assure respondents of the protection their identities.

3.4.3 Conducting institutional interviews

A list was drawn up of the possible institutions that could be interviewed, mainly relying on my knowledge of the water sector in Zimbabwe (see appendix 3). Through my work as a Senior Programme Manager for Water and Sanitation with the Australian Aid Programme I have regular interactions with key ministries and stakeholders in the Water and Sanitation Sector on urban water and sanitation policy issues since 2011. Therefore I was able to map the key institutions to be considered as 'key informants'. The final list included key informants from three ministries of the Zimbabwean government, namely MOLGURD, MWRDM and MOHCW (see appendix 3). The list also comprised respondents from NGOs, UNICEF and the World Bank. The ministries were chosen on the basis of being part of the water and sanitation regulatory framework developed in 2010 while NGOs and the UN agencies working in the settlements were chosen. At ministerial level the interview was targeted at directors while for NGOs a mixture of directors and technical persons were selected. Directors of ministries are departmental heads reporting to the permanent secretaries while directors of NGOs head the organisations. A reason for selecting directors was that they would be able to articulate ministerial policies.

At the institutional level, a total of 10 interviews were conducted in the period from March to May 2013. An Australian law and engineering graduate assisted with this leg of the data collection. The assistant was fully briefed on the research problem, his role in this special research process and the need to exercise political sensitivity during data collection. The assistant researcher, an outsider with less of a personal involvement in domestic politics was neutral and thus suited to asking the politically pointed questions.

Organising interviews with key ministries was relatively easy due to my association with them on a regular basis through my work as a senior Programme Manager for the Australian Aid water and sanitation programmes in Zimbabwe. As this was a partly mailed and partly in-depth interview, institutional interview schedules were sent out at least one week prior to

the interview and then followed up with another email a day before the actual interview. This approach was adopted to provide interview subjects with enough time to familiarise themselves with the interview questions in advance of the interview. The interview schedule was sent to seven out of the possible 10 that had indicated having working emails before the interviews. Of these, only three managed to fill out the interview schedule ahead of the interview. Neuman (2011) cautions against the use of mail administered interviews citing a low response rate, and lack of control over the conditions under which the interview schedule is completed. The chances of someone not intended to provide answers actually doing so could not be overruled. However to minimise this possibility, the same questions were asked again verbally during the in-person interview.

3.4.4 Responses

This section is an integral part in obtaining the intended type of information and to ensure validity in the sense that respondents had full familiarity with the topic. The full list of institutional respondents is referred to in appendix 3. Appendix 3 lists many more interviewees than the total of 10 mentioned in this chapter. This is because is some cases there were more than 3 respondents for an institution/organization. In such cases the respondents were referred to as #1a, #1b, etc.

To begin with, attempts were made to garner the cooperation of respondents by trying to build a rapport with them that reduced suspicion as to the motive of the research. This was particularly important when questions relating to the influence of politics were raised and even more pronounced when government officials, who were more likely to be politically affiliated and under political pressure, were interviewed.

The interview process revealed that six out of the 10 respondents were not familiar with the Hopley and Retreat settlements. However their data could be used to support evidence that sanitation in informal settlements is a neglected issue. Out of the four respondents that did answer the question on the state of sanitation in the two settlements, two provided answers that were general in nature and based on the respondents' experience with or knowledge of similar settlements. Only respondents #2 and #10 were able to comment specifically on the status of sanitation in the two settlements. In some cases respondents who struggled to answer specific questions would move away from the topic at hand in an attempt to sway the interview to more familiar territory. Generally respondents were allowed to discuss

topics that were not directly addressing the research questions, but would then be brought back to the specifics of the interview schedule.

Table 6: Responses by questions (see appendix 1)

	Fully answered	Partially answered	Not answered
Question 1	7	3	0
Question 2	5	3	2
Question 3	5	2	3
Question 4	3	4	2
Question 5	0	3	7

Table 6 shows that most full responses were recorded on question 1, pertaining to policy guidance, while question 5 relating to the state of sanitation in the two informal settlements was largely not answered. Question 5 on the state of sanitation was not answered by 7 out of the ten respondents. At least 3 out of the ten respondents only partially answered all five questions.

The recording of information was relatively easy as I took up the role of questioning while the assistant researcher recorded the answers. However, difficulty was still encountered as I had had to piece together responses that were at times lengthy and unstructured.

3.4.5 Follow-up of interview responses

It was important to follow through with getting confirmation of the content of the interviews. After the interviews a preliminary summary of each interview was written out within 2-3 days of conducting the interview. The names of the respondents were omitted from the summaries to ensure confidentiality. Undertaking to compile the summaries in the shortest time possible helped to minimise data loss as noted by Bell (2005) and made the final summary easier to construct. Compilation of each summary did not take more than an hour. The main benefits of the summaries were twofold: confirmation from the respondents once they received the summaries strengthened the legitimacy of the interviews and improved the project methodology. Furthermore, the summaries provided an opportunity for the interview responses to be altered.

3.4.6 Conducting individual interviews

Information on barriers to sanitation in informal settlements was collected through individual semi-structured interviews. The interview explored the state of sanitation, the roles of different institutions in providing sanitation services, as well as on the perceptions

of residents on policies relating to sanitation provision in the two informal settlements. Individual interviews were conducted in Retreat and Hopley settlements between March and May 2013. To maintain confidentiality, the interviewees' identities are not given in Appendix 3.

Out of the 10 residents that were interviewed seven were women who in comparison to the male counterparts seemed more willing to provide information (Figure 3). The interviews were carried out over a period of two days, and were done away from the settlements between April and May 2013. Arrangements were made using cell phones to communicate where to meet with the respondents once their relatives (known to me) had communicated my desire to interview them. These measures were necessary given the volatile and fearful political environment. Booysen (2010) writes that even though respondents to a Freedom House study reported higher levels of freedom, there was still fear, because at the time, state violence had not yet dissipated and could still be instilled.

Figure 3: Responses to interview questionnaire by gender

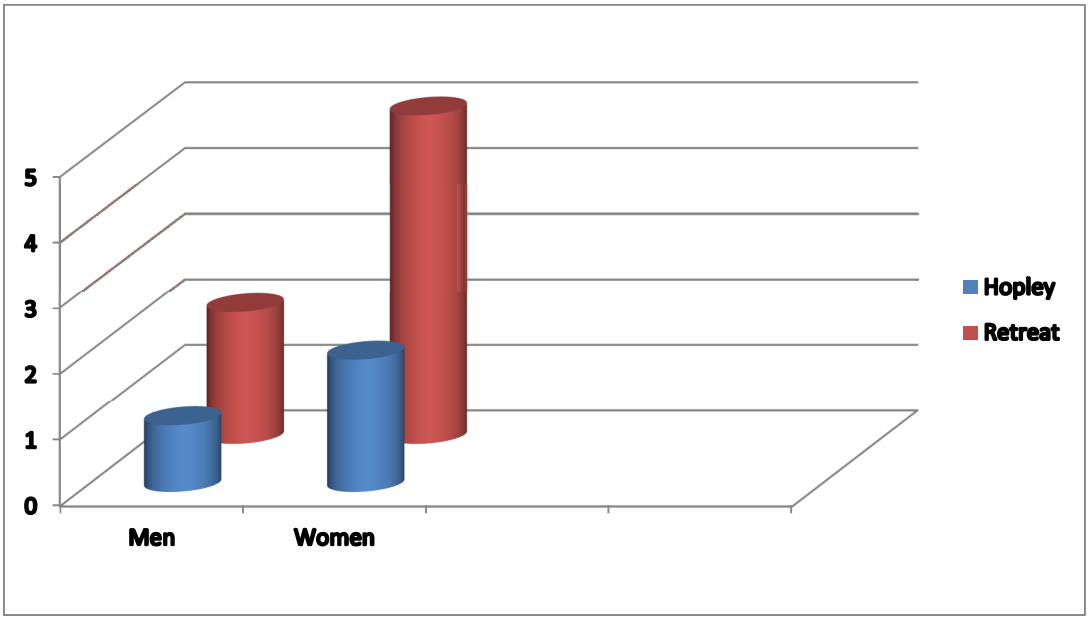


Figure 3 shows the responses to interview questionnaires by gender in the two informal settlements. The figure shows that in both Hopley and Retreat there were more women respondents than men. It was more difficult to get respondents from Hopley settlement and the three interviews carried out there involved a married couple and one other woman. In contrast, in Retreat a total of seven residents were interviewed comprising of two men and five women.

I had to constantly share the background to the research with the interviewees, reassuring them that this was a Master's study which was in no way associated with any NGO. This was to establish trust and encourage respondents to open up, especially on issues considered sensitive.

There was a sense that respondents from Hopley may have misrepresented events to protect themselves as they were not sure what would be done with the information that they would provide. Paramount was protecting confidentiality of the respondents as most of them expressed fear of being harmed once discovered that they had participated in the research. The respondents were given assurances that information provided would be used solely for the purpose of an academic research. In order to establish a friendly conversation, I began each of the interviews by reiterating the confidentiality of the research before asking descriptive questions to explore their residential settings and the state of sanitation in these settings. Not all questions were answered fully due to either lack of knowledge or embarrassment as to the state of sanitation.

3.4.7 Direct observation

My form of observation was a variation on the practice of participant observation. This kind was far more intermittent, with short visits to the two informal settlements. Participant observation entails being involved for an extended period of time in the daily lives of people (or social groups) under study (Singleton, Straits and Straits 1993). Participant observation allows researchers to share the same experiences as those being observed. Observation has its shortfalls: It is time consuming while also posing challenges of representativeness (Bell, 2005).

Direct observation of Hopley and Retreat was conducted over a period of two weeks in April 2013. One observation visit to Hopley and two to Retreat were undertaken. The observation visit to Hopley took place on the 5th of April 2013 and lasted for at least 45 minutes. During this visit, and the subsequent visit to Retreat, I was accompanied by a graduate engineer. The two visits to Retreat were much longer, as I felt much safer. They took up to an hour each. The observation visits were undertaken in order to survey the physical settings of the water and sanitation infrastructure in the two settlements. Sanitation behaviour practices of residents were observed (methods of refuse collection and disposal, water access) as well as sanitation services provided by institutions and government while driving through the settlements. We drove at a fair speed, not so slow that we would attract

undue attention, and tried not to ask for directions. We pretended to be familiar with the settings, bearing in mind the political context.

On the two visits to Retreat Settlement, pictures were taken for later examination. In the course of driving around to observe sanitation conditions we noted that we as outsiders were being observed by curious residents, something which could have had repercussions for us as observers in politically sensitive areas. The initial idea of getting someone from an NGO that had done some work in the settlements previously to accompany us was not successful, as such people they feared for their security. A few weeks earlier the NGO had been asked to abandon a proposed project on voter education that they intended to carry out in Hopley through a directive from the District Administrator's office.

3.4.8 Document analysis

Information from policy documents including the new National Constitution (2013), the Water Policy (2012), relevant Acts and study reports was used check on and potentially corroborate evidence gathered from interviews and observation. The documents presented in Table 1 were examined for issues of why and how policies and programmes provided opportunities and barriers to sanitation in informal settlements.

The document analysis (Table 7) began with a scanning of existing policies on sanitation. Thereafter related policies were reviewed against the provisions of the Zimbabwe national constitution. Once this had been concluded an examination of the supporting acts and regulations was undertaken. Lastly the document analysis focused on current and recent reports on sanitation in the informal settlements. The documentary analysis pointed towards out-dated acts and regulations and sometimes non-alignment between the policies and the acts and regulations.

Table 7: Document analysis: Policies, Acts, Regulations and Reports

Policies	Acts and regulations	Reports
•National Constitution 2013 •Ministerial Statements •Water Policy 2012 •Housing Policy •Urban Planning policies •NGO guiding policies on human rights	•Regional Town and Country Planning Act [Chapter 29:12] •Water Act [Chapter 20:24] •Urban Councils Act [Chapter 29:15] •Public Health Act [Chapter 15:09] •Environmental Management Act [Chapter 20:27]	•NGO field Reports •Independent Consultants' evaluation reports •Murambatsvina Report, 2005

3.5 Data analysis

The process of data analysis, described by Neuman (2011) as a way of systematically organising, integrating and examining data to search for patterns and relationships, was undertaken once data had been collected from the key documents, observations and interviews. The analysis followed the framework on analysis outlined by Rackman (1980); the analytical process begins with consideration of the subject as a whole, and then is divided into components as determined by the proposition to the study. This process then evaluates each part and makes a comparison between the parts and ends with an interpretation of the findings. In the case of this study analysis involved firstly sorting data and classifying it into emerging themes. The themes included institutional arrangements, policy and political variables offered by the proposition in section 1.7. Once this was done successive approximation, a process involving making repeated iterations, was applied in analysing and interpreting the data (Neuman, 2011).

In attempting to discover the causal factors to barriers to sanitation in informal settlements, I used the method of analytical comparison (Neuman, 2011, p.522), a technique that contrasts between agreement and difference. Analysis of the data showed more than one explanation regarding the barriers to sanitation in informal settlements and revealed complex relationships existing in the settlements between the community members and the informal and formal governance structures and relationships between the water and sanitation service providers.

Research with respondents from institutions had its own challenges. The first one was the danger of reflexivity (described by Neuman, 2011 p. 36 as self-aware and value oriented knowledge) from some of the interviewees as a result of the familiarity between them and me (especially the respondents from the three government ministries). To minimise this occurrence, I did a substantial amount of documentary and observation research besides the institutional interviews.

3.6 Reliability and validity

There has been substantial debate on whether qualitative studies may apply the concept of validity. Some qualitative researchers that reject the concept of validity, which suggests truthfulness, does not make sense to be concerned with the truth if the truth is based on interpretation and description (see Winter, 2000; Creswell, 1998). This qualitative research applies validity as a measure for credibility of the research. It does so by ensuring that the findings capture what is really there (Merriam, 1997). Reliability as noted by Merriam is when a study is '(c)onsistent, reasonably stable over time and across researcher methods' while validity suggests truthfulness of the data (Neuman, 2011, p. 208).

This study used triangulation. The credibility or confirmability of this research is strengthened by the triangulation through comparing a number of data sources. For instance, the research used a combination of observation, document analysis and interviews. Added to this was the continual awareness as to my own biases and potential subjectivity (as discussed by Neuman, 2011).

3.7 Conclusion

Chapter 3 provided details of the research process, as well as the associated challenges. In particular it focussed on the methods used to collate a diverse data set via conducting interviews, conducting direct observation and undertaking document analysis. While the chosen methods for data collection remained the same as described in section 3.3, I had to amend the original methodology and style of implementing the field work. Table 5 summarises the actions and the changes made to the methodology.

The timing of the research became an important factor in achieving the outcomes. However, I was constantly aware of the direct limits and potential dangers of political issues on the research given that it could impact the quality, reliability and validity of the data. In this regard, the issue of subjectivity and the context had to be considered in evaluating the credibility of the data gathered.

Chapter 4

THE WATER AND SANITATION SITUATION IN HOPLEY AND RETREAT INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS – RESEARCH RESULTS

4.1 Introduction

Before 1980, urban water and sanitation services in Zimbabwe were built to a high standard. By the late 1990s, the services had achieved a high level of coverage (NAC, 2011). However, since 2000, there has been a steady decline in the quality of water and sanitation services. Urban households are generally finding it difficult to maintain functioning toilets without a reliable source of water, and the sewer system as a whole suffers from frequent blockages, thereby creating overflows (World Bank Policy Note, 2013). While the situation has deteriorated in Zimbabwe's urban areas in the period 2000-2008, it is worse in the informal settlements (Nhapi, 2013).

This chapter primarily searches for answers to a number of the research questions posed in section 1.5 of Chapter 1. The chapter begins by addressing the research question on the state of sanitation in Hopley and Retreat settlements. Answering this research question is a first step in seeking understanding of policy and institutional barriers to sanitation in two selected informal settlements in Harare, Retreat and Hopley. Interviews carried out with residents of Retreat and Hopley provided answers on the role of government and other players in sanitation service provision observed during visits to the two settlements. While the perceptions of residents of Hopley and Retreat were sought to answer this research question in this chapter, this question is further pursued in Chapter 5 through findings from institutional interviews. In addition, Chapter 5 looks at the questions on political influences, policy actions and regulations as barriers to sanitation in informal settlements.

Chapter 4 presents the research findings beginning with the historical background of the two settlements and then provides an account of the state of sanitation in the two informal settlements at the time that this research was undertaken. The researcher relied on an analysis of institutional reports, media accounts and government documents to gather information regarding the historical formation of Hopley and. To triangulate findings from document analysis, more information was gathered through observation and interviews with selected residents from the two settlements which were done in April and June 2013. The

evidence presented here is supplemented by data gathered from key informants drawn from government Ministries, independent consultants, the United Nations and NGOs.

Beginning with a general description of the two settlements, the chapter proceeds to provide an analysis of the state of sanitation. Data is presented in a number of ways in this chapter. Firstly, it is presented visually to make the 'evidence clear and arguments more visible' as noted by Merrian (1997). During the observation, photographs that illustrate the state of sanitation (toilets, solid waste disposal, housing, and roads) were taken and these highlight the issues of sanitation in the two informal settlements. A comparison of time-lines and contexts (see Neuman, 2011; Merriam, 1997) between the Hopley and Retreat is made in presenting historical data. The chapter concludes that the barriers to proper sanitation in Hopley and Retreat lie in the lack of decision-making in informal settlements.

4.2 Location, classification and description of Hopley and Retreat settlements

This section relays details on the location and immediate physical characteristics of Hopley and Retreat settlements observed during visits to the settlements between February and April 2013. The use of the term 'informal settlements' to refer to Hopley and Retreat was contested by some respondents. During one of the institutional interviews, respondent #1 from the Ministry of Local Government argued that an informal settlement is one where people are settled with no pre-existing planning layout, in accordance with the Regional Town and Country Planning Act [Chapter 29:12], Revised Edition of 1996 (RTCPA).

The UN Commission on Sustainable Development (1996) defines an informal settlement as a '(r)esidential area where housing units are constructed on land, to which the occupants have no legal claim, or which the occupants illegally occupy and/or the settlements are unplanned and housing is not in compliance with current planning and building regulations'. To back her standpoint, Respondent #1 argued that if applying this UN definition, an approved layout for residential development exists, thus both settlements cannot be categorised as informal.

Respondents #7 and #6 from MWRDM and MOHCW did not hold the same opinion as that of respondent #1; specifically that Hopley and Retreat were not informal settlements. They argued that while residents may have legal claim, as long as they are not in compliance with

planning and building regulations stipulated in Regional Town and Country Planning Act [Chapter 29:12], this makes their settlement informal.

In the end, I decided that the two settlements be referred to as informal in this research, basing this on arguments from Respondents #6 and #7a as well as the UN definition. The observation also confirmed the unplanned nature of the settlements, especially with regard to the self-supply of sanitation services and housing structures.

Hopley and Retreat are both located in the south of Harare, on the edge of the city and fall into peri-urban classification (see Map 1). At the time of observation, Hopley was barely visible though the high maize crops and grass from the road to Chitungwiza Town, giving it a distinctly rural appearance. Hopley borders semi-residential and industrial areas and is off the Harare-Masvingo Highway.

In comparison, Retreat settlement had a more urban feel, directly opposite the neighbouring Waterfalls suburb, an established medium-density residential area. Retreat is located off the highway to Chitungwiza, a satellite town of Harare. Dense and widespread housing was visible from the roadside leading into Retreat settlement. While driving through Retreat it was apparent that dwellings did not cover the whole area, rather they were broken into separate sections in between which grass and crops grew. In comparison, Retreat was much bigger than Hopley in terms of the area covered by housing units.

Hopley settlement once belonged to the Harare City Council, with a portion of the farm having been donated to the Child Survival Foundation organisation for street children (Practical Action, 2006). By the time that settlers were moved to Hopley, the Child Survival Foundation had not undertaken any developments (Practical Action, 2006). On 25 May 2005, Government embarked on a 'clean up' operation of its cities called Murambatsvina. This was a demolition and eviction campaign led by the military and police which resulted in an estimated 700,000 people across the country who lost homes and livelihood source, and indirectly affected 2, 4 million people (Tibaijuka, 2005, p. 85). Most of the people settled at Hopley were displaced from Porta Farm (*Zimbabwe Independent*, August 19, 2005).

While the settlement at Hopley was evidently sanctioned by the ZANU-PF-led government, the case is less clear on the role played by the government in the development of Retreat. The most likely account is from Marongwe (2003) who suggests that the key motivation for settlement in Retreat may have been of people in search of affordable accommodation.

Marongwe's study (2003, p. 16) offers an account of the historical unfolding of Retreat as a former farm where commercial crops, including citrus fruits and tobacco, were grown. According to Marongwe most of the settlers from high density residential areas of nearby Sunningdale, Epworth, Hatfield and Waterfalls, settled at Retreat in the year 2000, following the land reform exercise reintroduced during the same year. Based on Marongwe's account, this movement was largely instigated by liberation war veterans (Marongwe, 2003). At the time of settlement, most were unemployed or self-employed low-income earners.

Marongwe narrates how once they had taken up occupancy in 2000, war veterans took charge of land allocation. Each incomer was allocated 900 square metres of land. Each individual was expected to make a payment of 9,000 Zimbabwe dollars to cover for land survey, water reticulation and road infrastructure costs (Marongwe, 2003, p. 16). Between 2000 and 2005, housing cooperatives, which included Hatidzokere Shure and Chenjerai Hunzvi, continued with the distribution of stands. Urban Landmark's criticism of cooperatives applies here; that cooperatives which in essence represent the poor, 'suffer from broad governance crises characterised by weak institutional mechanisms that are incapable of promoting transparency and accountability' (Urban Land Mark News, October 2011).

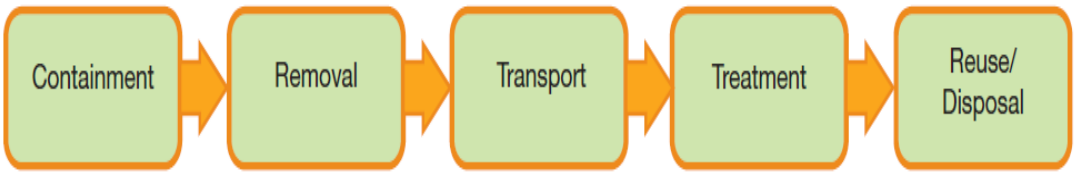
Population figures provided by Marongwe in his study of 250 families settled at Retreat settlement are outdated as the number of residents has increased in number in the past 10 years. At the time that the observation took place, a number of houses were under construction, an indication of this population expansion. The 2012 census figures provide a population figure of 113,000 for a combined Harare South constituency which includes Hopley and Retreat settlements (ZimStats, 2012).

Indications of the general socio-economic profiles of residents were gathered from the interviews with the 10 respondents from the two settlements, relating both their own well-being and information on those around them. The information from the three Hopley respondents showed that they could be classified as 'coping poor', mainly depending on petty trading for their livelihood. Most of the residents found menial jobs in Mbare and Glen Norah informal markets. In contrast, the Retreat residents interviewed may be categorised as vulnerable non-poor -- five out of the seven indicated that they were self-employed, however with low wages and susceptible to financial shocks.

4.3 The state of infrastructure in the two settlements

The next few sections discuss the findings from the observations, individual and institutional interviews. While the main focus was on water and sanitation, an analysis of the general infrastructure of Hopley and Retreat settlement was undertaken, because the infrastructure provides the direct setting for the provision of services.

Figure 4: The sanitation service chain



Source: WSP, 2013

Figure 4 shows the sanitation service chain required for improved sanitation. Faecal matter needs to be contained, removed from residential areas, transported and treated in a safe manner to avoid contamination of water sources. According to WSP, a good road network, adequate water supplies, proper disposal facilities are required for this sanitation chain to work effectively.

This section explores the state of the road networks and housing facilities and how these are linked with service delivery of water and sanitation infrastructure in these two informal settlements.

4.3.1 Roads

Road infrastructure has a bearing on the delivery of sanitation services. The collection of solid waste is only possible where a good network of roads exists. Added to this the state of the roads is an important consideration for sanitation, especially proper drainage of water from runoff. The state of the roads was the most evident feature during observation in Retreat and Hopley. Roads in both settlements were gravel and often extremely undulating. Because of this, the roads in the two settlements served as reservoirs for pooled rainwater and other runoff. Once off the main entrance in Hopley, roads became one-way streets with cramped housing on both sides. In contrast, Retreat had a large road network in both extent and width. There were no formal storm water runoff facilities in either settlement. As a result, rivulets had developed in several places.

There are a number of risks associated with this kind of infrastructure in both Hopley and Retreat. Sediment pollution is swept into receiving waterways in the absence of proper storm water drainage. Storm water drains are necessary for protecting public health and environmental hygiene (see COHRE, WaterAid, SDC and UN-HABITAT, 2008, p. 69). The absence of storm water drains expose humans to danger and heightens the risk of housing damage due to flooding resulting from poor drainage. There are health hazards associated with pooling and stagnant water resulting from rains. Again there is the risk of flooding water invading pit latrines, unprotected toilets and mixing with drinking water supplies. All this has the potential for mosquito breeding, as well as the spread of water-borne diseases. Photograph 3 shows a road in Retreat. Observation happened during the rainy season and hence most of the roads had pools of stagnant water.

Photograph 3: State of roads in roads in Retreat



Photograph of April 2013

4.3.2 Housing profile

From the observations carried out on the 20th and 30th of April there was more structure and permanency to housing structures in Retreat compared to Hopley. Here the type and quality of houses in the study sites ranged from very good brick-and-tile houses to small rectangular brick structures. There was some uniformity in the housing layout. Behind each house, there were open areas for cooking and congregating, with garden plots on either side of the houses. This layout was mirrored on the other side so that all toilets in one block were

located in a line through the middle, with wells and houses located close to the road sides. Photograph 4 below shows a typical housing unit in Retreat.

Photograph 4: Illustration of housing in Retreat



Photograph of April 2013

Compared with Retreat, the size of housing in Hopley was much smaller, consisting of small rectangular brick structures close to each other. According to Hopley respondents the average size of houses is 50 square metres. Respondents #14 and #16 cited that because of the small yard space, there were few possibilities for house extensions in Hopley. Judging from the closeness of the houses in Hopley, the population densities were much higher than that of Retreat. In Hopley there were a few areas where housing was regular in orientation and spacing, but in most areas, development looked like it had progressed in a more haphazard fashion.

The older houses in Hopley were provided through a government scheme in 2005. After the first houses were provided to initial settlers, those that followed had to build their own housing structures. Similarly Retreat residents built their own houses, with most making financial savings to build through cooperatives. All ten interviewees from Hopley and

Retreat responded that they did not have title deeds to the properties that they were currently residing (see question 7, appendix 2).

Photograph 5: Illustration of housing units in Hopley



Photograph of March 2014

Photograph 5 shows a typical layout of housing in Hopley. In front of the houses in the picture, an unprotected communal well is visible.

A major significance of high population densities, a characteristic of the two informal settlements is that there is more likelihood for sufficient space to cover and safely abandon a full latrine pit and construct a new one elsewhere, as may be done in lower density areas (WSP, 2013).

4.4 Water and sanitation in the two settlements

Section 1.3.2 in Chapter 1 introduced the concept of the right to water and sanitation for all. The reality of realising this right was examined by observing the physical settings of water and sanitation infrastructure and hygiene behaviours of residents in the two settlements and

how these translate into water and sanitation access. The analysis on the state of infrastructure, primarily guided by an observation checklist (see Appendix 4), included observing the kind of toilet facilities, methods for refuse collection and disposal, as well as means of accessing safe water. Residents' views on the state of sanitation and the role of government and other players in service provision in Hopley and Retreat are also discussed.

4.4.1 Toilets

In Hopley, toilets were often located very close to housing (often within 5 metres). Most of the observed toilets were constructed with grass, reeds with timber frames and most often had no roofs. All three respondents from Hopley indicated that they used pit latrines during the interviews. According to the three respondents, most residents get water from communal boreholes usually located at the end of rows of houses in Hopley. An advantage for most of the residents was therefore that most of the toilets in Hopley were located a distance away from water supplies.

Retreat, on the other hand, had toilets that were typically close to houses and water sources. Hence the chances for contamination of drinking water were far higher in Retreat than Hopley due to the close proximity of most of the toilets to water sources. This posed a considerable health risk, especially due to risk of flooding and groundwater pollution of wells as suggested by Nhapi (2009) and Manase et al. (2009). They recommended that the facilities must be built far enough from any water source so that contamination may be avoided. All 10 individual respondents were aware of these possible dangers, with respondent #14 highlighting that these dangers were heightened by the practice of open defecation close to the water sources when toilets became full. In both settlements, the interviews revealed that none of the houses were connected to a sewer network.

The residents from both Hopley and Retreat complained about their toilet facilities. Firstly, the three Hopley residents interviewed were not satisfied with the poor quality construction material used during was set up. The smell and filth as well as the presence of rodents and insects were considered as unhygienic. Faecal sludge and liquid effluents from the residents' on-site systems were often poorly managed. Interviewee #18 offered that most of the faecal sludge was buried in the backyards of houses once toilets were filled up. Coupled with these unhygienic conditions, was the lack of lighting at night, making the neighbourhood unsafe and inappropriate for children to visit the toilet on their own at night.

4.4.2 Water supply

In Hopley, few household wells were visible during the observation. The interviews confirmed that people either used protected or unprotected wells, while those without their own wells depended on communal boreholes constructed mainly through UNICEF during the cholera outbreak. According to the respondents from Hopley, residents also relied on buying water from informal water traders at water kiosks. During the Hopley observation, people, mostly women, could be seen queuing for water at two communal boreholes. It was difficult from observation to assess how many families shared these facilities. According to the residents, it was not unusual to have more than 100 people drawing water from the boreholes on a single day.

In comparison, Retreat residents were self-supplying depending on wells located within their yards. The type of wells observed differed – some were properly constructed with brick and cement while the rest were low quality wells (with no edging, dirt walls up to the surface and poor covers such as tin or plastic placed over the top of the wells) could be observed. Toilet structures were often located very close to wells (within 5-20m).

Photograph 6: Illustration of a water source in Retreat



Photograph of April 2013

Photograph 6 shows an example of an unprotected well in Retreat. The well is covered by asbestos and tin sheeting. Asbestos use is recognised as an occupational health and safety hazard and a general health risk.

Because of the self-supply of water, Retreat residents thus had better access to water when compared with Hopley. Retreat residents were closer to their water sources. In contrast, Hopley residents who largely depended on shared water sources located away from their homes had to walk longer distances in order to access water. Although having better access, Retreat residents were more at risk to contaminated drinking water as from observation, their toilets were located close to drinking water sources.

4.4.3 Solid waste disposal

From observation, there was no evidence of systematic waste collection at either settlement (e.g. communal bins/skips or private bins). It was clear that even if some form of solid waste collection had existed, poor access into the settlements would make it difficult for collection. In Hopley, several piles of solid waste (plastic, paper and rotting plant matter, infested with flies) could be seen along the edge of the road (see photograph 7). Nonetheless, in Retreat there was little evidence of such dumping; only one relatively small patch of waste was seen during the observation on 20th and 30th of April 2013.

Photograph 7: Refuse dumping in Hopley



Photograph of March 2014

Photograph 7 which was taken in Hopley shows refuse that was dumped in an open space with water running through the dump. The presence of open dumping of waste at both sites (although less so in Retreat) was evidence of the informal and un-serviced nature of these settlements. The presence of this waste creates a health threat should it contaminate water supplies.

4.5 Conclusion: the state of sanitation in Hopley and Retreat settlements

With reference to the research question on the state of sanitation in informal settlements, evidence from observation and interviews with residents of informal settlements confirmed existence of poor infrastructure in Hopley and Retreat. Evidence on the functionality of a functional sanitation chain was scant during observations and from interviews with residents. There were a number of problems in both settlements. Roads and drainage facilities were assessed as poor and not conducive to adequate sanitation. Further evidence pointed to poor sanitation in both settlements, although this differed in levels for the two settlements.

As discussed early on in Chapter 1 the general state of sanitation in Zimbabwe's towns had already started to deteriorate in 2000 as a result of the economic downtown (see 1.2.1). It may therefore be argued that chances of government channelling resources to improve sanitation in informal settlements were slim, and that the situation was not peculiar to informal settlements.

A large number of households were using sanitation not meeting high standards on urban sanitation as set out in Harare's bylaws. Residents resorted to using a wide range of on-site alternative solutions in order to overcome their challenges to inadequate sanitation. The absence of effective urban planning was evident. Observation of the two settlements by the researcher demonstrated that development had occurred and continued to occur in a haphazard manner, with residents depending on self-supply of sanitation. One example of this haphazard planning was seen in the siting of toilets in close proximity to drinking water sources was one such case. In Hopley, households were forced to rely on improvised facilities, often temporary in nature, heightening the practice of open-space defecation as mentioned by one of the respondents. In general, Harare is an example of an African city where urban planning defining distribution and allocation of service functions was applied during its early development (Nhapi, 2012). From document analysis of the historical development of Hopley and Retreat, urban planning was regarded as a political process where central government took over the role of planning for the settlements, and determining who got what, how and when.

Urban planning, an instrument of urban governance, was made a highly political and contentious process for Hopley and Retreat. In the case of Hopley, according to the historical accounts provided in literature, people were moved involuntarily from their original dwellings following Operation Murambatsvina. Government set up a ministerial reconstruction committee whose objectives included provision of basic services to Hopley (*Government ministerial statement*, 2005). The resettlement which Government termed 'Operation Garikai' led by MOLGURD took place while issues such as the provision of water and sanitation for residents were not dealt with at the time of settlement and were left to be addressed later. The result was that in both Hopley and Retreat settlements, people settled there before water and sanitation infrastructure could be constructed. With no options provided by Harare City Council, people were pushed into self-supply of water and sanitation services, a situation similar to practice in Zimbabwe's rural settings. As

respondents #4 and #6 observed, this situation makes service delivery very difficult to provide in future without disrupting the existing housing infrastructure.

In both Hopley and Retreat, the two settlements are '*prima facie'* illegal. Even if the settlements were established as a corollary of government action (through fast track resettlement), the nature of the land rights accruing was never clear for the residents. The lack of tenure was identified as a major challenge to sanitation. Having no title deeds discouraged residents in Retreat from investing in long lasting sanitation facilities, because of their fear of being moved on to other locations. Hence, weak claims to land tenure may be a major constraint to the establishment and improvement of water and sanitation services by residents of Hopley and Retreat.

However, despite their informal nature, arguments put forward by NGO respondents, UNICEF and World Bank favour the intervention of government and provide a strong case for improving the sanitation situation in the informal settlements, considering the negative health impacts that may result in inadequate sanitation provision. The challenges of inadequate access point to violations of the right to adequate water and sanitation for Hopley and Retreat residents. For instance, while residents in Hopley might have some access to water, if the water source is located over 100 metres from a household, it is unlikely that it will be possible for a household to collect more than 20 litres of water per person per day, and consequently not all health concerns will be met.

The sanitation situation prevailing in Hopley and Retreat has been directed by a process of non- decision on the part of government (see Lukes, 1993, p. 57). Decision-making processes of governments in general are normally responsive to the preference of citizens in exchange for re-election. Following Lukes' argument the state has promoted '(s)elective perception and articulation of social problems' (Crenson in Lukes, 1993, p. 58). This is a case in which political leaders have exercised control '(o)ver what people choose to care about and how forcefully they articulate their cares' (Lukes, 1993, p. 58).

The chapter has established that in an attempt to implement what is now regarded as a political policy by government (where government purported to provide accommodation for people affected by Operation Murambatsvina) resulted in the growth of the two informal settlements. These two settlements demonstrated that the state of sanitation was never developed at the beginning and is inadequate for the residents of Hopley and Retreat. Chapter 5 now explores the reasons that may have caused this state of sanitation.

Chapter 5

INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS, POLITICS AND POLICY AS BARRIERS TO SANITATION IN INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS

5.1 Introduction

Chapter 5 presents research findings premised on an analysis of the policy environment of sanitation in informal settlements in Zimbabwe. Anderson (1997) stresses the importance of the context or environment in any policy-making process. According to Anderson, the environment '(b)oth limits and directs what policy-makers may effectively do' (see Anderson, 1997, p. 51). This observation is an important aspect of this chapter.

This chapter addresses the key research question posed in Chapter 1, section 1.5: 'What are the predominant forces with regard to political power, formal and informal institutions and informal settlers that constitute barriers towards sanitation provision in the two selected informal settlements in Harare'. The chapter therefore examines stakeholder roles, within the policy arena on sanitation in Hopley and Retreat since 2005. Here the role of government, civil society and multilateral institutions in sanitation service provision is interrogated. The essential ingredients of policy-making and their convergence around power and political influence with specific reference to the centrality of state bureaucracy and senior politicians in the core policy functions of implementation are discussed (see Booysen, 2006, p. 2).

These findings were informed by semi-structured interviews undertaken with key informants from government ministries, selected NGOs, UNICEF and the World Bank (see appendix 1). Through these interviews I explored the generation and implementation of policy on sanitation in informal settlements since early settlement of people in Hopley and Retreat in the early 2000s. The first part of the interview schedule explored internal and external policies guiding respondents' institutions on the policy process for sanitation in informal settlements. In this first part of the interview, respondents were furthermore asked to comment on what they considered to be the strengths and weaknesses of these policies.

Another question for institutional respondents (Appendix 1) focused on the role of government institutions, NGOs, World Bank and the United Nations organisations in relation to sanitation service provision in informal settlements. Here the formal and informal arrangements and relationships between the government Ministries, the UN and

NGOs were explored. Of special interest, was the local authority -central government nexus of policy implementation of sanitation in informal settlements. Respondents also provided their views on the political environment and the influence of this environment on the policy process of sanitation in the informal settlements. The dominance of central policy actors both from an individual and institutional perspective was central in this exploration for answers.

Interviews with selected informal settlements residents and respondents from government ministries, selected NGOs and multilateral organisations were held in the period before the 2013 general elections and in the final months of the GNU. While the timing may have impacted the research findings, especially in magnifying the role and influence of politics in creating barriers to sanitation provision in Hopley and Retreat settlements, the research took every precaution (Chapter 3) to ensure the reliability and validity of the data. Based on on-going checks in the process of fieldwork implementation, the researcher is satisfied that the broader issues regarding the interface of politics and service provision remain consistent and that the research findings presented in this chapter have enduring relevance.

5.2 Institutional arrangements findings

The following section looks at the institutional arrangements and related policy practices with regard to the provision of basic sanitation to Hopley and Retreat informal settlements. Although the classification of sanitation and division of institutional roles between the main government ministries (see section 1.3.2) suggest a neat institutional design where the state, civil society and the market are part of the sanitation regulatory framework at the national level, the reality is rather complex. This reality reveals contradictory and parallel institutional processes at play. The reasons for this conclusion are discussed in the following sections.

Chapter 4 provided answers to the research question on the state of sanitation in Hopley and Retreat. Though providing safe water and sanitation services for basic needs is considered a basic human right in Zimbabwe (as stated in the Zimbabwe 2012 *National Water Policy)*, the evidence showed that Hopley and Retreat were not provided with sanitation services at the time of the research. Residents depended on self-supply for water and solid waste and sewage disposal.

Eight out of 10 interview respondents from across government ministries, multilateral and NGOs stressed that responsibility for providing informal settlements with drinking water and sewage and solid waste services lies with central government through MOLGURD and Harare City Council. Respondent #7a[3] stated that provision of water and sanitation to informal settlements is an expected government role, it being a function of government to authoritatively regulate and enforce public policy on sanitation service provision for residents. Respondent #7a referred to existing legal instruments and policy guidance on institutional arrangements and the centrality of government in implementing sanitation policies in Zimbabwe's towns and cities.

When asked what role their institutions were currently playing in providing any form of sanitation service in informal settlements, respondents from MOHCW, MOLGURD and MWRDM said that prior to and after the cholera response of 2008-2009, their ministries were not involved in sanitation provision in the two settlements (including refuse collection, sewer reticulation, emptying of septic tanks and water provision). Respondents #3a and #3b, from Christian Care, a local non-governmental organisation, explained that their role in the informal settlements had been prominent during the cholera outbreak. Thereafter, Christian Care withdrew from providing emergency sanitation services (primarily delivering water in tankers and building ecosan toilets for Hopley Residents).

In a ministerial statement issued in 2005, the minister of MOLGURD set up a ministerial reconstruction committee to deal with resettlement of Hopley residents (Ministerial Statement, June 28 2005). The committee was made up of a total of 18 ministries, resident governors and the Harare mayor's office. Key functions of the committee were to provide shelter, water, food, basic health facilities and other necessary logistical support to persons affected by the clean-up campaign. In the end, this committee did not function in accordance to the terms of reference set out because until the cholera outbreak in 2008, residents of Hopley were providing for their own sanitation needs (respondent #5).

Respondents #8, 3a, 1, 6 and 7 offered that that after the cholera crisis was considered to be over in 2009, civil society withdrew its support to the informal settlements. All respondents from government ministries, Christian Care, Practical Action and UNICEF did not have information on the state of sanitation in the two settlements at the time that the study was undertaken.

[3]Respondents from the same organization are referred to by the same number and distinguished by letters (i.e. #7a, #7b etc.)

5.2.1 Role of Harare City Council versus that of national government

According to the Urban Councils Act [Chapter 29:15], urban councils are mandated with carrying of functions for sewerage and drainage, refuse collection, and water services in towns and cities. The new Constitution of Zimbabwe No. 20 of 2013 provides for a new dispensation for local governance, bringing devolution of power in particular to provincial, metropolitan councils and local authorities to undertake service delivery of basic services. The constitution implies that those local authorities have the authority to run urban affairs.

Key informants from the three Government Ministries, the NGOs, University of Zimbabwe and UNICEF viewed Harare City Council as the appointed officials to implement sanitation policy in informal settlements. Beginning from the premise that the planning department in the municipality is in charge of approving planning layouts for any structure, including housing units, they made the conclusion that issues to do with sanitation in the informal settlements naturally falls within this planning department.

Respondent #8 offered that it is a right for residents of informal settlements to have access to safe drinking water and that ways be devised to move solid waste out of Hopley and Retreat, regardless of the legality of their settlement status. Respondent #1, from the MOLGURD, argued that that since people were already settled in Hopley, according to plan, Harare City Council should now take full regulatory responsibility for providing sanitation services to Hopley and Retreat residents.

Respondent #9 from Harare City Council maintained that the municipality's position on this policy issue was that informal settlements have no legal backing as residents had irregularly settled in Hopley and Retreat. Therefore, it was not the intention of the Municipality to support unplanned development in these two settlements. The respondent felt that the situation of informal settlements had been created to serve interests of political leaders within central government; hence central government should 'devise other means to be the provider of basic services, including water and sanitation, to the informal settlements'.

There were disagreements on the role of different ministries in providing sanitation services to Harare residents in general. Respondent #1 argued that MWRDM has no mandate to directly provide water and sanitation services in rural and urban areas through the Zimbabwe National Water Authority (ZINWA); rather it should be engaged with broader strategic policy issues such as the making of policy for the water and sanitation sector. For

respondent #1, while the Ministry of Water is in charge of the overall coordination of the water sector, the responsibility for water reticulation in urban areas should solely lie with the city and town councils under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Local Government. While this reasoning aligns with the regulatory framework discussed in section 1.3, further probing revealed an issue of wanting to maintain control and influence over local councils by the MOLGURD and in the process, side-lining the MWRDM, even in towns where ZINWA still has the full responsibility for providing water and sanitation services.

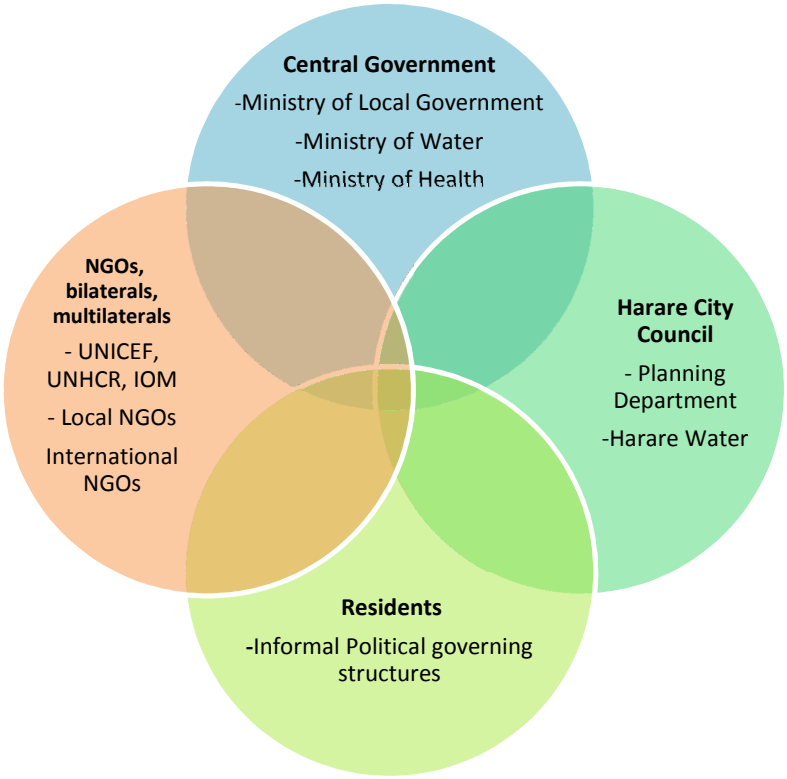
5.2.2 Coordination in a crisis (2008-09 cholera outbreak)

As discussed briefly in section 5.1 the outbreak of cholera in the urban areas provided an opportunity for a unique partnership to be formed between government, NGOs, UN agencies and local authorities (Brocklehurst, 2013). Practical Action and Christian Care narrated that initially, when NGOs tried to provide services at the height of the cholera epidemic, their access to the settlements was limited. This was because in 2008 Government had banned NGOs involved in humanitarian operations and instructed them to suspend their field operations using the Private Voluntary Organisations Act [Chapter 17:05] (PVO Act). The NGOs were accused of breaching the terms and conditions of the registration as enshrined in section 5 of the PVO Act, as well as the provisions of the Code of Procedures for the Registration and Operations of Non-Governmental Organisations in Zimbabwe (General Notice 99 of 2007). According to respondent #3a once government recognised that it could not deal with the cholera crisis on its own, it sought the support of cooperating partners and from then on their access into Hopley and Retreat was granted.

An analysis of a UNICEF commissioned report shows that the cholera outbreak called for a response that went beyond emergency. However, it did not require full scale development interventions, but a '(m)iddle path' which required pragmatism and rationalisation of the institutional framework (Brocklehurst et al., 2013). Brocklehurst says that the state made the decision to empower a network of institutions to implement service provision in the informal settlements to curb further outbreaks. The interventions included drilling of boreholes, temporary clinics and schools. Respondent #5 from Practical Action recounted how institutions had demonstrated cooperation and coordination during the 2008 cholera outbreak when they jointly provided sanitation services to residents in the two informal settlements.

Figure 5 illustrates the institutional arrangements in 2008 which Karmark (2007) refers to as 'government by network'. This government by network had the potential to innovate new ways of working together and drew government, NGOs and multi-lateral organisation partners into unusual roles and shaped decision-making in uncommon ways (Brocklehurst, 2013).

Figure 5: Institutional coordination - Responding to the cholera outbreak in 2008-2009



Interviews with NGOs exposed fluid relationships between the NGOs and government ministries, depending on political considerations and expediency at that particular time. Respondents #3a, 3b and 3c described how their organisation had created strong government links during the cholera outbreak, especially with the Ministry of Health and the local municipality. Christian Care mobilised informal settlement communities and constructed toilets, trained residents in health and hygiene. The agency also assisted in the creation of water point committees while community health promoters monitored disease prevalence and responded to any threats. Another NGO, Practical Action, constructed deep wells, trained communities on the management of the water points and promoted waste management techniques through training and facilitating formation of waste management

groups. Both NGOs also introduced alternative sanitation technologies such as the Ecosan toilet.

Respondents from both Christian Care and Practical Action claimed that the training was effective and hence only two cholera deaths were experienced in both settlements during the height of the cholera outbreak. However, lack of permanency of the interventions provided by cooperating partners was considered a serious weakness, especially by respondent #1 who felt that these partners mostly provided temporary measures to arrest the crisis, while the situation had demanded permanency.

Respondent #5 argued that while the burden of infrastructure and service provision in un-serviced areas at one point fell on NGOs and local communities, a situation that worked to deal with the cholera emergency, this proved problematic. The roles and responsibilities of NGOs working in these areas were poorly defined and as such their ability to provide assistance was limited. Central government, the duty bearer, created the situation where informal settlements were allowed to mushroom and only allowed the intervention of NGOs during a crisis. Once the crisis was over the NGOs were forced to cease further support.

According to respondent #3a, a number of institutions provided sanitation support to Hopley and Retreat between 2008 and 2009. MOHCW, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Labour, Harare City Council and local development committees were all involved in the cholera respondent #3a, cited challenges during implementation of sanitation programmes. For instance the lack of financial resources by local NGOs was a major challenge. The relationship between government of Zimbabwe and the donor community which had deteriorated since 2000 had resulted in a reduction in donor assistance and therefore Christian Care struggled to provide the required sanitation services to the informal settlements.

The relationships between NGOs and the District Administrator were also challenging. According to Christian Care and Practical Action, both organizations had had to sign a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with the District Administrator for Harare South to be able to operate in Hopley and Retreat in 2008 and 2009. Another MOU had to be signed with the line Ministry of urban development, in this case the MOLGURD. Here there was sometimes deliberate lack of cooperation on the part of government departments to grant the necessary clearances on time and this resulted in delays in implementation of sanitation programmes.

An analysis of the institutional arrangements during the time of the cholera epidemic points to government institutions that were too weak in terms of financial resources and human capacity to meet basic sanitation service delivery standards (Brocklehurst et al., 2012). The economic situation of the country greatly restricted the capacity of the government, councils and individuals to improve water and sanitation systems in the urban areas in general. Zimbabwe's economy greatly shrunk between 2000 and 2008. The fragility of the economy during this time may be explained by inherent political and economic uncertainties, a high debt overhang and the deteriorating infrastructure (AfDB, 2012).

While government by network is often a powerful method to deal with complex problems requiring innovation (see Karmark, 2007, p. 120), the study findings demonstrated that the absence of unity between the government departments and NGOs affected the implementation of long term transformational policies for sanitation in the informal settlements.

5.3 Influence of political actors within institutions

Many of Zimbabwe's informal settlements have had political ties since their existence and the study confirmed a manipulation of policy development processes by powerful groups to secure their own interests. Section 1.3 discussed the complex networks between political institutions of law and government with the operating environment posing risks to the implementation of programmes in politically charged areas such as Hopley and Retreat. An interpretation of the interviews uncovered complex socio-economic and political issues. It defined the nature of service delivery or lack of it in the two informal settlements which in part contributed to the existing barriers in provision of sanitation in the two selected informal settlements.

In this context, views were sought from institutional respondents and individual consultants, on the extent to which political interference influenced the provision of water and sanitation in informal settlements. Respondent #7b explained how politicians in 'high offices' offered people un-serviced residential land in exchange for votes, especially in Retreat. Thereafter these politicians did not play a role in the provision of sanitation; rather they allowed the settlement to grow without basic service provision. Once this happened it was now difficult for municipal authorities to demolish 'illegal structures'.

At the time of the research, MWRDM had an MDC-T minister, while MOLGURD was headed by a ZANU-PF minister. The evidence from the majority of those that were interviewed shows that power politics in the form of political ambition and contestation between the two main political parties in Zimbabwe (ZANU-PF and MDC-T) has had an influence in the sanitation policy, or lack of it, in relation to informal settlements. According to interviewee #5, the history of the development of the two informal settlements has influenced the policies for provision of water and sanitation services. He observed that these settlements were created with the intention that they would be temporary. However, they have been unable to grow out of this temporary nature. As such the two informal settlements developed their own standards that did not fit with the urban or rural classification in terms of the RTCPA.

The Harare South constituency was won by ZANU-PF by manipulating poor and homeless residents living on settlements such as Hopley (*Zimbabwean*, November 2103). The then Minister of MOLGURD promised Hopley residents that all settlements existing between the Boka Tobacco Floors where Hopley is located and Manyame Bridge along New Chitungwiza Road would have their welfare taken care of by government, promising that proper houses were being planned (*Zimbabwean*, November 2012). The interference of ZANU-PF in NGO implementation of humanitarian and development programmes was highlighted by respondent #5 as a major barrier to sanitation service provision in informal settlements.

Being the custodian of local authorities, those in high authority within the Ministry of Local Government '(p)rovided opportunities and resources to fuel ZANU-PF accumulation and patronage… deepening the capacity of the local state to act as a vehicle for accumulation, and for partisan distribution of local state allocated goods' (Mcgregor in Raftopoulos, 2013, p. xvi.). Interviews with the residents revealed that they are often reminded of the favour of being settled in these areas and therefore owe something via this political process of settlement and this makes them susceptible to political manipulation.

The prevailing political power was described by respondent #5 as pointing to 'a system that protects small empires within the informal settlements where the poor are simply manipulated and pressured into supporting these empires'. With the formation of the settlements, informal governance structures led by ZANU-PF also emerged, a situation

which rendered the national public policy institutions as no longer constituting the sole organizing centre for policy.

One respondent from Hopley stated that the involvement of the community via water and sanitation committees formed during the cholera crisis, for instance, was problematic. Depending on the committee participants and agendas, politics were woven into the fabric of these committees and those wanting to benefit from the communal facilities had to owe allegiance to very powerful people in order to get access to water and sanitation services. Residents interviewed stated that a lot of cooperation was then staged and in the long term residents have become conditioned to behave in certain ways to avoid confrontation with political elites in the settlements. This inhibits any form of growth as people in these settlements want to conform to the political power.

At the national level, the influence of political power was demonstrated by the way that the state disrupted NGO activities in 2008. There was a global ban restricting some NGOs from carrying out developmental activities in the informal settlements. Respondent #3b argued that politics continues to play a role, especially in Hopley. Being perceived as an NGO created a negative perception of the NGO and this resulted in their limited access to respond to sanitation challenges in the informal settlements thereby putting the sustainability of sanitation programmes at risk.

5.4 Management of policy

Zimbabwe ratified a number of international instruments which guide policies on sanitation service provision (see Box 1). However, these do not seem to have been implemented in informal settlements. The UN Millennium Development Goal Number 7 aims to halve, by 2015, the proportion of people without access to safe drinking water and basic sanitation. In addition, the Public Health Act [Chapter 15:9] states that it is the duty of a local authority to furnish water and sanitation supplies in line with health requirements. The Zimbabwe's Disaster Risk Management Policy provides a framework for realising sustainable development through reduction of the burden of disasters on the poor and most vulnerable, including those in informal settlements.

Box 1: Guiding water and sanitation frameworks to which Zimbabwe has appended its signature

- The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) General Comment No. 15 (2002) on the human right to water.
- UN Millennium Development Goals (.
- The African Union Summit of 2008 and the Africa Conference on Sanitation and Hygiene AfriSan +5 2008 with a firm resolution to put sanitation and hygiene at the top of Africa's development Agenda
- The Public Health Act [*Chapter 15*]. Section 9 that clearly states that it is the duty of a local authority to furnish water supplies in line with health requirements.
- Zimbabwe's Disaster Risk Management policy provides a framework for realizing sustainable development through reduction of the burden of disasters on the environment, the poor and most vulnerable
- The SADC Regional Water policy of 2005

There are a number of weaknesses with the current policies. To start with, settlements like Hopley and Retreat have many labels (e.g. informal, illegal, unplanned etc.) with no recognition that they are formalising themselves by implementing their own structures and systems. By ignoring these settlements the government creates an informal governance structure that hinders formal interventions that are intended to make improvements.

The recently launched Water and Sanitation Policy (2012), the Housing Policy, urban planning policies and associated standards and bylaws have been analysed to identify gaps that are resulting in barriers to sanitation provision in Hopley and Retreat informal settlements. The Water and Sanitation Policy states: '(f)or all urban residents the normal high service standards will be temporarily relaxed during the recovery period. The relaxation will include permitting certain onsite sanitation technologies for plots of a minimum prescribed size to allow housing delivery to recover. This will be followed by a full resumption of high standards once the situation is normalised. The policy seeks to temporarily lower the technical standards during the recovery phase and upgrade them to the current standards during the normal development phase'. Evidence gathered over the past decade indicated that, given current economic conditions in Zimbabwe, it would not be possible to simultaneously maintain high standards of sanitation delivery and universal access (World Bank Policy Note, April 2013, p. 1).

While there is existing legislation and policies, the major issue is that of non-implementation of these policies at times or non-compliance and enforcement of the acts, regulation and bylaws (respondent #2). Rather, it was a case of policy of non-engagement and turning a blind eye by those responsible for implementation and enforcement of laws in the informal settlements. Respondent #6 noted that the policy of non-involvement and non-engagement by policy-makers and implementers often tends to create own standards and in the process new development criteria emerge. According to respondent #6, the cooperative movement of housing provision in largely peri-urban areas usually ends up translating into the notion of self-supply for basic services. Self-supply therefore emerged in the two settlements because although the government wanted compliance with the high standards it had set, it did not want to be responsible for service provision.

Asked if the policies were adequate, respondent #1 from Ministry of Local Government indicated that it was difficult to devise new policies to deal with the current problems when the future was uncertain, such as at the time preceding the elections of July 2013.

5.5 Rules and regulations

A number of rules and procedures govern the provision of sanitation in Zimbabwe's urban areas. These are discussed in the following section.

5.5.1 Legal frameworks

The provision of water and sanitation is dealt with in a number of Government of Zimbabwe Acts. By virtue of falling within the urban areas, the informal settlements are subject to the local bylaws over and above any legislation that is applicable to urban area service provision. Table 8 is a summary this study's documentary analysis of the existing Acts.

Table 8: Acts relating to sanitation in informal settlements

Act	Content	Analysis
Regional Town and Country Planning Act [Chapter 29:12] (RTCPA)	This act regulates all issues of special planning, layouts including certificate of occupation. Any dwelling occupied without a certificate of occupation is deemed to be an informal settlement.	Most of the houses in Hopley and Retreat do not meet the required standards to be awarded a certificate of occupation by virtue of them not having water reticulation and flush systems, a requirement for urban houses. However some exceptions have been made. For instance in Epworth, government responded by re-planning the area and legalised the illegal by providing water and sanitation services after houses had already been built.
Water Act – [Chapter 20:25]	This Act essentially looks at two things; equity and sustainability for present and future generations. The Act specifically gives key functions of the Minister responsible for water 'to ensure the availability of water to all citizens for primary purposes and to ensure the equitable and efficient allocation of the available water resources'.	The Act does not take into account the growing demand for water as population grows and also as people's standard of living increases. In terms of access to underprivileged population, including informal settlers, the Act is not very clear on how the Minister of Water resources is supposed to do that, especially in urban areas where water provision lies with the urban councils under a Minister of Local Government. In practice however, the Minister of Local Government has taken charge of securing 'the provision of affordable water to consumers in underprivileged communities' even though this is not specifically directed in the Urban Councils Act [Chapter 29:15].
The Urban Councils Act [Chapter 29:15]	The Urban Councils Act states the arrangements and power sharing between local government and the local authorities. Under the Urban Councils Act, the Harare City Council has the mandate to supply water to households and industries. The Act covers public accountability and community involvement in policy formulation and decision-making, delivering municipal water and sanitation services.	The Act does not cater for provision of sanitation services in unplanned or informal settlements.
Public Health Act [Chapter 15:09]	The Public Health Act, together with the Urban Councils Act, compels owners of properties within the local authority area to be connected to the municipal system. According to the Act a municipality recognised as the water and sewerage authority for the area under its jurisdiction.	The informal settlements are not connected to the municipal system and it will be difficult to regularise this as connections should have happened before the structures were built. While it is the jurisdiction of the local authority to provide water and sanitation in the entire area under its authority, this is not the case with informal settlements.
Environment Management Act [Chapter 20:27]	The Environmental Management Act, which is administered by the Minister of Environment and Tourism, recommends minimum water quality standards for different uses including drinking water.	

The various Acts dealing with water and sanitation in Zimbabwe are not synchronised. While the Urban Councils Act [Chapter 29:15], 1996 allocates responsibilities to Urban

Councils, it is not specific on duties and responsibilities of local authorities to ensure availability, access and affordability of services (National Water Policy, 2012).

There is a notable absence of practical policies to tackle the issues posed by these challenges of inadequate sanitation in informal settlement and a lack of institutions capable of instigating the plans needed for change. Respondent # argued that the main barriers to sanitation lay in government's bureaucratically acceptable policy of non-involvement in locations considered informal settlements. The general feeling was that the existing housing policy requiring housing stands to be fully serviced before any human settlement had to be complied with. According to respondent #1, when Hopley and Retreat were developed, the Government did not have financial resources for local authorities to service the residential stands. Therefore, because of its incapacity government promoted and perpetuated the non-classification of these areas while trying to shift responsibility to different actors in the sector.

5.5.2 Harare City Council bylaws and regulations

Respondent #1 argued that in Zimbabwe no space is truly 'informal', all land falls under either the 'rural' or 'urban' classification. In the rural sphere a specific range and type of standards apply, different from those that must be complied with in the urban sphere. In the case of Hopley, there was an attempt to place it outside of the scope of the 'urban' classification, it was pushed into a grey zone where it fell under neither category and therefore remained undefined. As a result, attempts to promote compliance with provisions of the Public Health Act [Chapter 15:09] and Regional Town and Country Planning Act [Chapter 29:12] provisions were not followed through. .

In Zimbabwe's towns and cities, there is an urban culture whereby residents have to meet the set high urban standards (respondent #2). For instance the government standard in urban areas is the toilet flush systems but this is costly. According to the Urban Councils Act, unimproved pit latrines of any kind are not allowed in the urban areas (Manase and Fawcett, 2004). Respondent #2 suggested that temporary measures be considered while the ability to apply better standards develops with those involved willing to consider the 'next best alternative'. Accepting lower standards could help to build confidence to accept these standards while adequate time for pooling of resources for improved sanitation services (respondent #2).

Respondent #2 argued that NGOs made a mistake when they introduced ecological sanitation. Demonstrations of the innovation were confined to poor areas. Respondent #5 noted that demonstrations of such innovations should have also been conducted in more affluent residential areas. This may have increased buy in of cost effective sanitation options residents in informal settlements. . The same respondent gave another example of Epworth which was treated as a test laboratory. Even if the piloting of ecosan toilets were a success, uptake outside the testing location was difficult. Hence, ecological sanitation failed to be widely adopted. The respondent recommended that while it was good to research in these areas, the innovation must be shown to work across areas and apply elsewhere.

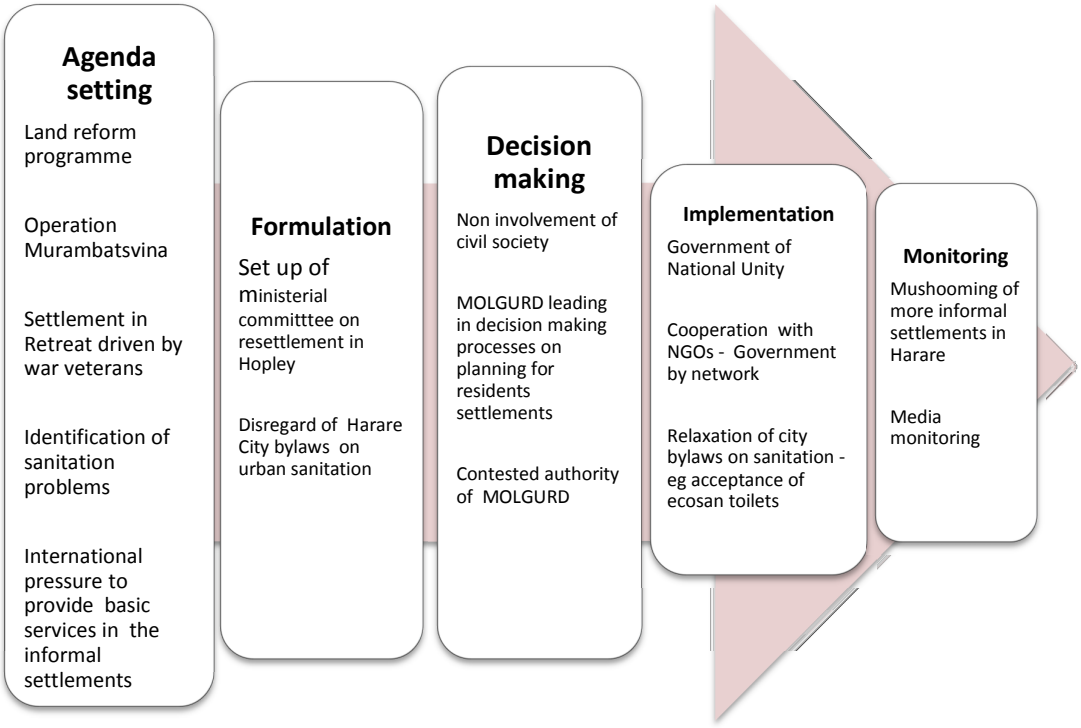
Existing regulations, if implemented accordingly, are sufficient to ensure that residents of these settlements have access to safe water and sanitation, according to respondent #1. In her argument, the developer-based method for house construction is good as the developer is obliged to provide standard services before any settlement occurs, including water and sanitation services.

5.6 Interpretation of the research findings

The interpretation presented through the phase approach below are based on the on the previously presented research results in chapters 4 and 5. These findings demonstrate a complex terrain with a range of interactive complexes of policy actors. These policy actors include key government ministries, NGOs and multilateral organisations. Some clusters are more powerful than others.

Although the phases approach to the policy process is sometimes viewed as oversimplified, the study found it to be a useful analytical tool, specifically with a view to disaggregating the policy process. Howlett and Ramesh's policy phases (1995), from agenda setting, formulation, decision-making, implementation, evaluation and analysis, were applied in the analysis of the findings (see Figure 6). This approach helps alert policy-makers to the rigours of managing policy from its inception right up to the realisation of policy objectives.

Figure 6: The policy phases of the sanitation policy in Harare's informal settlements



In applying the different stages suggested by Howlett and Ramesh, policy ambiguity and policy conflicts emerged as central themes in this study of sanitation delivery to informal settlements in Harare. This was a result of a changing political environment in Zimbabwe between 2005 until 2013, when the study was undertaken. Modifications in policy reflect particular political influences.

5.6.1 Agenda setting

Dunn offers that through agenda setting a problem and its causes may be identified (Dunn, 1994, p. 17). Responding to world pressure, agenda setting of the policy on sanitation in Hopley and Retreat began after Operation Murambatsvina in June 2005 (Tibaijuka, 2005). Once people had been resettled in a haphazard fashion in both Retreat and Hopley, the government realised that it had to provide sanitation services. The arena for agenda setting, led by the Minister of MOLGURD largely excluded civil society in the reconstruction committee set up to deal with the issues of sanitation in the informal settlements (respondents #3 and #5).

5.6.2 Formulation and decision-making

Once government had settled people in Hopley and encouraged settlement in Retreat through war veterans and cooperatives, it issued a Ministerial statement in June 2005. This statement announced the setting up of an ad hoc ministerial reconstruction committee made up of government ministries, resident governors and the Harare mayor's office (Zimbabwe Government ministerial statement, June 2005). An interagency operational committee was set up for the reconstruction programme. There was no enforcement of minimum sanitation standards according to Harare's bylaws. People took advantage of this and constructed their water points and toilets at their homes.

5.6.3 Implementation

According to the research findings presented in chapter 5, central government through MOLGURD forced councillors and councils to turn a blind eye into disorganised urban planning when unplanned housing in these informal settlements continued to sprout. The partisan political element affected town planning, with planners becoming powerless. The efficacy of planning as a profession was queried by Harare City Council which insisted on being guided by regulations and restrictive planning laws which deemed informal settlements as illegal. The cholera outbreak of 2008 and 2009 forced government to look at other actors to assist with delivering sanitation options to Hopley and Retreat.

5.6.4 Monitoring

The demolition of houses that took place in 2005 started once more after the July 2013 national general elections. Media reported that government had started demolitions in Ruwa and Damofalls. ZANU-PF supporters who had benefitted from the illegal land deals engineered by party leaders said that demolitions constituted an abuse of human rights (https://newsday.co.zw). Crisis International was critical of government's stance during implementation of the policy on sanitation in informal settlements – as a government that created problems from other problems. The demolitions would create more informal settlements which in turn would have the same problems of sanitation. Crisis International wrote: 'The inconsistency between central and the local government is worrying. Lessons should have been drawn from the adverse effects of the 2005 operation. It is important to point out that the same Minister who is spearheading this is the very same minister who was in charge in 2005... It is everyone's expectation that the government should be at the forefront of providing such basic services to its people than wait for them to devise their

means of survival, only to turn against them and claim that they are staying in undesignated areas' (Crisis Report, 2013).

Applying the policy process questions the innovation and creativeness of these policies in response to the emerging sanitation needs in Hopley and Retreat settlements. Looking back at the policy process, policy-makers and implementers needed to consider 'implementation checks' as part of the policy process. This could have brought relevance to their actions as it became clear that the informal settlements would not go away in the short term. Some respondents felt that the stringent rules and outdated statutes on the provision of sanitation in urban areas created the biggest barriers to sanitation provision in the research locations and that considerations be made to change and suit the prevailing context with regard to informal settlements.

An interpretation of the findings points to general ingredients of informality that increasingly penetrated the development of urban development in Zimbabwe. However, unlike the experience of East and West Africa, the state and its regulatory framework have remained present and visible in Zimbabwe's informal settlements (Urban Landmark E News, October 2011). The notion of informality and the inability to discuss the sanitation challenges among policy-makers are obvious.

Though political interference was a major barrier to the provision of sanitation according to the residents interviewed, all government respondents were guarded in their responses on the role of politics in the non-provision of sanitation services in the two settlements. Political influence was more pronounced for Hopley, given the process by which development of the settlement took place.

The planning process for settlement in Hopley was short-circuited. The eviction of people from illegal structures resulted in a large number of people being resettled before the infrastructure planned for the Hopley and Retreat areas could be developed. The general view is that placement of displaced people was politically motivated; displaced people were allowed to settle in the Hopley/Retreat areas because this was a political quick fix for the problems resulting from destruction of illegal structures in Harare. Despite the Urban Councils Act stating that a certificate of occupancy will not be issued if a resident does not satisfy sanitation conditions, after the 2005 operation Murambatsvina government directed that people be settled in Hopley. This solution was short sighted, as it only considered land

allocation while neglecting the other infrastructural needs, especially water and sanitation for the new settlers.

Additionally, the research findings demonstrate political influence of central government delivered through political ZANU-PF actors in the formulation and implementation of sanitation and housing policies in informal settlements. This case study confirms ZANU-PF's arbitrary exercise of power, firstly in allocating un-serviced residential stands and then taking charge through a parallel governance structure of the day-to-day administration of the Hopley and Retreat settlements. This has in turn created a situation where these informal settlements have become difficult to access for organisations with the potential to assist with sanitation provision. The power contestation between a ZANU-PF controlled central government and the MDC-T run municipality are demonstrated here.

5.7 Conclusion

The problem of sanitation in informal settlements continues to grow with the mushrooming of new informal settlements in 2013 in Harare. The residents of the two informal settlements that were interviewed for this study described the sanitation situation as far from ideal when compared with residents in established residential locations in Harare. The general view was that the residents expected government to intervene by providing sanitation solutions to minimise potential health risks from unsafe sanitation practices.

Zimbabwe's policy on informal settlements was fluid at the time that this study was carried out. The most powerful policy generation cluster centred on the MOLGURD. Regardless of its capacity weaknesses, central government through this ministry exercised and enforced its power through rules and regulations that in some cases are now too outdated to respond to the situation in the informal settlements. The government's unwillingness to relax standards for sanitation in urban areas illustrates this point.

While rules and regulations on informal settlements exist on paper, the research findings demonstrated noncompliance with these rules, making policy intentions different from policy outputs. The official documents including government acts and regulations analysed in the study and assessed in this chapter were outdated allow for government and other actors to lower standards for e basic service provision to informal settlements. At most times, these rules were ignored, as happened when Hopley and Retreat were established.

The decision by political figures in local government to support the development of informal settlements without prior provision of sanitation services was in contrast to existing legislation. The implementers of policy, in this case the local authority, were reluctant to provide sanitation services to the informal settlements, citing the regulations and policies that prohibit them from doing so.

There were emerging innovative and informal institutional arrangements in the absence of appropriate government support when Zimbabwe suffered from the cholera outbreak of in 2008-2009. However, once the crisis was over, the influence of NGOs was minimised. Whereas NGOs felt that they had relevance for action to protect human rights in the face of a crisis by providing humanitarian support in settlements, policy influence of civil society subsequently became relatively weak thereafter.

The findings demonstrate the political influence of the ruling party on the decisions made regarding the delivery of sanitation services in Hopley and Retreat. The continuously changing relationships between local and central government in decision-making processes regarding informal settlements, as well as the authoritarian nature of the state, are evident here. Applying the institutional approach to the design of institutions responsible for sanitation in Harare showed how the design was now dependent on the political actors within these institutions.

By being the custodian of local authorities, actors with authority in the MOLGURD defined their own interests; their responsibilities towards sanitation in informal settlements, as well as their relationship to other actors (see Hill, 2005, p. 81). The allocation of un-serviced land to potential voters was allowed by the Minister of Local Government using his ministerial powers. At the local level, ZANU-PF's controlling cooperatives in Retreat hip structures in Retreat have become tools for political struggle between rival political parties and interest groups.

The research findings point at political contestation between local and central government and the lack of autonomy of local government through the devolution of power. This could explain why the City of Harare council demonstrated resistance and non-commitment to responding to sanitation needs of informal settlements. This is in contrast to the regulations and rules, which specify that people must be allocated stands only when they have been serviced for water and sanitation.

This nature of the policy of non-involvement therefore pushed people into self-service of water supply and sanitation. This situation has links with what occurs in the rural sector and the cooperative movement of housing provision in largely peri-urban areas. Self-supply emerged in these areas because although the government would want compliance with the high standards it sets, it does not have the will or wherewithal to make this possible.

Chapter 6

CONCLUSION

6.1 Introduction

The problem of inadequate sanitation in informal settlements is a growing phenomenon affecting urban environmental health. This study carried out in two of Harare's informal settlements examined factors with the likelihood of acting as barriers to the provision of sanitation in the two informal settlements. Central to the study were the principles and practices of public policy-making and its management. This research on the barriers to sanitation in selected informal settlements in Zimbabwe is an example of the realities of policy in practice (see Peters in Pierre, 2002, p. 223).

6.2 Summary of argument and conclusions

Chapter 1 set out the problem of sanitation in Harare's informal settlements of Hopley and Retreat. The literature review and the theorisation in chapter 2 provided a framework for scrutinising the institutions and decision-making processes relevant when examining barriers to sanitation in Harare's informal settlements. Chapters 4 and 5 discussed the research findings confirming challenges of inadequate sanitation in Hopley and Retreat. These chapters also discussed the research findings in light of the regulatory framework, the political and bureaucratic power relations that have a bearing on service provision of sanitation in informal settlements. In conclusion, this chapter revisits the study's central proposition; that a combination of complex but weak institutions, poor policy guidance and political interference has resulted in the situation of inadequate provision of sanitation services in informal settlements in Harare, Zimbabwe.

An analysis of the policy process of sanitation in the two settlements of Hopley and Retreat revealed the complexities in the different stages of policy-making and implementation. The parameters set out in the proposition (weak institutions, poor policy guidance and political interference) were encountered at every stage of the policy process, albeit impacting the policy in various degrees. The context and environment within which the policy on sanitation is managed demonstrated existence of multiple layers and dimensions, between the different institutions. A conclusion is made that the structural set up of local authorities is adequate to

give effect to a policy that supports provision of sanitation services to inhabitants of informal settlements. However, the study identified that political power agendas between central and local government resulted in sanitation barriers for informal settlements.

Local and central government's incapacity to coordinate and integrate roles and responsibilities was evident in the institutions' failure to meet expectations on performance and delivery of basic services, including water and sanitation in these informal settlements. The capacity weaknesses of the MOLGURD as well as the Harare City Council over time created inefficiencies in institutions, resulting in their failure to maintain existing urban sanitation infrastructure. Zimbabwe's economic crisis discussed in section 1.2.1 of chapter 1 was a central consideration in decision-making on the course of action on sanitation in informal settlements. This lack of resources, while obvious, formed the epicentre of the barriers to sanitation in informal settlements.

Added to the issue of government capacity, contestation between central government and the local authority in determining the course of policy on sanitation in informal settlements was evident in this research. The centralisation of policy generation and the tensions created between central government and the Harare municipal authority resulted in increasingly unresponsive policy towards the sanitation for informal settlements. At the time the study was undertaken, the Harare City Council was treated as an entity of the Ministry of Local Government rather than a distinct sphere of the (whole) government system in line with the decentralisation of local authorities policy as contained in the Urban Councils Act [Chapter 29:15].

The Harare City Council responded by delaying, avoiding and even hindering the provision of water and sanitation services in these areas due to concerns that (a) by acknowledging the problem (i.e. that the ad hoc development of large scale settlements was in breach of legislative standards), the council also feared to be perceived to be taking responsibility for the problem's resolution; and (b) because any action or investment would give legitimacy and permanency to informal settlements that were intended to be temporary. At times, politicians within the ZANU-PF government were seen to support policies deterring the provision of sanitation services to informal settlements, and at other times the same politicians encouraged the creation of the same informal settlements for political benefit.

Initially, the policies on sanitation were guided by government legislation and official acts that mostly did not support the provision of sanitation in areas considered as illegal. Over time, a mix of instruments was used in the policy process, and the design increasingly reflected the political context in which the policy was being made. In this regard, the state formulated and pursued policies that were not reflective of the sanitation requirements of informal settlement residents. At the same time, enforcing regulations by Harare City Council suffered while urban planning became nearly impossible, emphasising ad hoc and reactive as opposed to grounded and systematic forward planning.

The absence of a strong functioning civil society and private sector in policy-making and implementation appeared to be a strong reason for the failure to provide lasting solutions to the challenge of sanitation in the informal settlements. The cholera outbreak in 2008-2009 provided 'macro-windows of opportunity' for other players outside government to respond (see Booysen, 2006. p. 4). At that point, a network of new institutions emerged. These institutions responded by providing emergency sanitation support to the two informal settlements, creating intergovernmental relations between these players and the state. Once the crisis was over, Government institutions at central government level tended to continue on the same path as a sole ZANU-PF government.

The research reveals that the delivery of sanitation services is not a politically neutral process. This was demonstrated by the interference of political parties in these two settlements. In response to the changing political climate and the new development dictates which saw the emergence of a strong opposition political party (MDC-T), the post-2000 period saw government seemingly promoting the development of informal settlements. Bratton and Masunungure (2006, p. 21) posit that one of the aims of Operation Murambatsvina was 'to stifle independent … political activity in the country's urban areas'. This in turn resulted in the mushrooming of informal settlements such as Hopley.

6.3 Recommendations

This study suggests the following to deal with the barriers to sanitation in Hopley and Retreat settlements. In order to respond to a situation that has already been created - that of unsafe sanitation practices, a more contextual approach is required. The fact that on the one side the bureaucrats in local government have tried to maintain standards and keep to the rules, while on the other, almost ignoring the need for more political understanding of

service delivery, needs some consideration. While the majority of Hopley and Retreat residents have access to on-site sanitation facilities, the conditions are largely unsatisfactory. The City of Harare' planners will need to consider innovative approaches to sanitation that involve the residents of the two settlements. The approach may in the short to medium-term, require the high sanitation standards in urban areas to be relaxed. This measure is proposed in the National Water Policy on urban sanitation and should be seriously considered by government.

In addition, institutional reforms are required to improve the capacity of the state to effectively deliver basic services, including sanitation to informal settlements. To begin with, there must be a creation of accountable and credible institutions in order to achieve good governance that realises the rights of residents of informal settlements to access sanitation services. To achieve more accountable and credible institutions, formal rules may be changed to address the societal problem of barriers to sanitation in informal settlements

This research demonstrated the perspective that politics and the political environment affect public policy processes. Institutions may need to deconstruct the political environment to understand it and be able to formulate and implement policy that responds to policy needs. The problem brought by centralisation of most policy functions related to urban planning will need be addressed through the provisions of the new 2013 Constitution of Zimbabwe.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Interview questionnaire

Important Notes

1. The information provided in this interview will be used as part of a Masters Research project at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.
2. Please answer all questions, try to be as specific as possible and focus answers on the Hopley/Retreat settlements where possible (or specify otherwise).

Part One: Policy guidance

In relation to the provision of water supply and sanitation services in the Hopley and Retreat settlements…

1. What internal policies guide your organisation/ministry/agency?
2. What external policies guide your organisation/ministry/agency?
3. What are the strengths of these policies?
4. What are the weaknesses of these policies?
5. Are there any gaps/shortcomings in these policies that need to be addressed?

Part Two: The role of organisation/agency/ministry

In relation to the provision of water supply and sanitation services in the Hopley and Retreat settlements…

1. What role does your organisation/ministry/agency play?
2. What are the strengths of your organisation/ministry/agency?
3. What are the weaknesses of your organisation/ministry/agency?

Part Three: The role of institutions

1. Please list the institutions that your organisation/ministry/agency interacts with when providing water supply and sanitation services in the Hopley and Retreat settlements?
2. What role do these institutions play in the provision of water supply and sanitation services in the Hopley and Retreat settlements?
3. What informal or formal arrangements does your organisation/ministry/agency have with these institutions?
4. What are the strengths of these institutions?

5. What are the weaknesses of these institutions?
6. Do any of these institutions undermine your organisation/ministry/agency's efforts to improve water supply and sanitation services in the Hopley and Retreat settlements? If so, how?

Part Four: The influence of politics

1. To what extent, if at all, has political interference influenced the provision of water supply and sanitation services in the Hopley and Retreat settlements?
2. What type of political interference was or is there?
3. Was the influence of politics immediate or delayed?
4. Did this influence have a long-term or short-term impact?

Part Five: The current state of water supply/sanitation and the role of new inhabitants

In relation to the Hopley and Retreat settlements…

1. What is the current state of water supply in?
   - Hopley:
   - Retreat:
2. What are new inhabitants in these areas doing to assist or hinder the supply of water in?
   - Hopley:
   - Retreat:
3. What is the current state of sanitation services in?
   - Hopley:
   - Retreat:
4. What are new inhabitants in these areas doing to assist or hinder the improved sanitation services in?
   - Hopley:
   - Retreat:

Appendix 2: Informal settlements individual interview schedule

Location: Hopley/Retreat
Sub Area Name: …….
Interview schedule – Informal settlements Questionnaire Number ……/ ……

The interview is conducted to gather information regarding barriers to provision of basic water and sanitation services in selected informal settlements in Harare. This is a research study for a Master's Degree in Public Policy with the University of Witwatersrand. The interview will take approximately 15 minutes.

General information

1. Gender of respondent	Male/Female	2. Age of respondent (#)	
3. Family Size (#)		4. Length of stay at dwelling (years)	
5. Head of family	Father/ Mother/ Grandparent/ Child/ Relative	6. Size of dwelling (sq. m)	
7. Ownership Status	Owned/Rented	8. Main Source(s) of Income	

Access to water

9.Type of water facility:		
House connection	Yes/No	
Standpipe	Yes/No	
Borehole	Yes/No	
Protected well	Yes/No	
Open well	Yes/No	
Rainwater tank	Yes/No	
Other (include tanker services and vendor)	Yes/No	

10. Describe any water service providers (by category below) and their services, if any:

Category 1: (for supplies within the home- own supply)

How did you get this supply?

Category 2: (for point source supplies outside- communal boreholes/ wells/ standpipes, etc.)

How did this come about? Who initiated it? Who manages it?

Category 3: (external suppliers, e.g. vendors and tankers)

How did this come about? Who initiated it? Who manages it? What are the obligations of users?

11. Describe any challenges regarding access to water

Access to sanitation

12. What sanitation facilities are you using?

Type of Toilet:	
Pit with plastic or substandard superstructure	
Pit with brick or standard superstructure	
Single VIP	
Multi-compartment VIP	
Other	

13. How did you get this toilet?

14. Describe any challenges regarding access to sanitation.

Roles played by other actors

15. Are there any residents' associations / groups that represent residents?

16. If so, describe any actions they have taken on water and sanitation issues.

17. Describe any government actions on water and sanitation.

18. Are there any other players that you are aware of that play any role in the provision of sanitation services?

Appendix 3: Interviewees – for protection of the interviewees, they are not referred to by name in the sections that report on the research findings

No	Interviewee	Date of interview	Designation	Organisation	Place
1	Mrs P. Mudzinge	01/02/2013	Director of Urban and Rural Planning	Ministry of Local Government	Ministry of Local Government offices
2	Mr N. Mudenge	25/04/2013		World Bank	Bottom Drawer Restaurant
3a	Mr R. Makoni	25/04/13	WASH Officer	Christian Care	Christian Care offices, Hatfield Harare
3b	Stan	25/04/13	National Director	Christian Care	Christian Care Offices, Hatfield Harare
3c	Godfrey	25/04/13	Finance Officer	Christian Care	Christian Care Offices, Hatfield, Harare
4	Ms M. Jarawaza	04/05/13	GRM International	Independent consultant	GRM International Office, Natal road, Harare
5	Mr H. Zheke	09/05/13	Program Manager	Practical Action	Telephone interview
6	Mr R. Goso	09/05/13	Deputy Director	Ministry of Health	Ministry of Health office, Mukwati building, Fourth street, Harare
7a	Mr T. Choga	04/02/2013	Acting Principal Director	Ministry of Water Resources Development Management	Charter House, Samora Machel Avenue, Harare
7b	Mr Mwale	04/02/2013	Engineer	Ministry of Water Resources Development Management	Charter House, Samora Machel Avenue, Harare
8	Mr S. Mudhuviwa	3/05/2013	WASH Officer	UNICEF	UNICEF Offices, Fairbridge Road, Harare
9	Engineer. C Zvobvo	03/05/13	City Engineer	Harare Municipality	Crowne Plaza Hotel,
10	Professor I. Nhapi	03/05/13	Researcher	University of Zimbabwe	Australian Embassy, Green Close, Harare

11	Interviewee A	Retreat	Individual respondent	Harare Gardens, Harare
12	Interviewee B	Retreat	Individual respondent	Harare Gardens, Harare
13	Interviewee C	Retreat	Individual respondent	Zindoga Shopping Centre, Waterfalls
14	Interviewee D	Hopley	Individual respondent	Parktown Shopping Centre, Waterfalls
15	Interviewee E	Hopley	Individual respondent	Zindoga Shopping Centre, Waterfalls
16	Interviewee F	Hopley	Individual respondent	Harare Gardens, Harare City Centre
17	Interviewee G	Retreat	Individual respondent	Harare Gardens, Harare City Centre
18	Interviewee H	Retreat	Individual respondent	Africa Unity Square Gardens, Nelson Mandela Way, Harare
19	Interviewee I	Retreat	Individual respondent	Parktown Shopping Centre, Waterfalls, Harare
20	Interviewee J	Retreat	Individual respondent	Zindoga Shopping Centre, Waterfalls, Harare

Appendix 4: Observation checklist

Access to water	Type and state of water supply (wells, boreholes, piped water, water purchased through kiosks)
	Location and distance of water of water supply to dwellings
Access to sanitation	State of shared and household toilets
	Proximity of toilets to water sources
	Waste water management methods
Solid waste	Refuse handling and disposal (proximity to dwellings)
	Type of rubbish
Road infrastructure	Type and state of roads
	State of storm water drainage
Housing	Type and quality of housing
	Settlement density