University of Zimbabwe

Faculty of Social Studies

Housing and Stewardship in Peri-urban Settlements in Zimbabwe: A Case Study of Ruwa and Epworth

Thesis submitted in Fulfilment of the Requirements of the Doctor of Philosophy Degree, Submitted for Examination, June 2012
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By Innocent Chirisa

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DEDICATION

To my wife, Halleluah,

To my daughters Shammah Tinovongaishe and Praise Isheanesu,

To my son Emmanuel Innocent (Jr),

To my mother, Salome Tarisai Chirisa, who said to me in 1984, “I want you to study and get to Form Six”. To her, at that time, this was the last stage in learning and the optimum.
ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the housing-stewardship nexus in peri-urban areas based on the case study of Ruwa and Epworth, satellite settlements of Harare, the capital city of Zimbabwe. The study seeks to establish the factors that shape peri-urban environments into better-managed and sustainable areas in which housing development is perceived as the major activity taking place. Using the Stewardship Theory or Partnership Model as the main framework and point of departure, five basic approaches to the study are noted namely the biblical-religious, business, environmental, vernacular, place-based community/grassroots approaches. The ‘mixed-methods’ approach is used to analyse sustainability issues forming the crux of stewardship. Predominantly, the qualitative-interpretative paradigm informs the study in which the case and narrative study (case narratology) are the core research design approaches. Specific data collection tools included extensive documentary analysis (newspaper articles, minutes, policy and legislative documents); household surveys (involving 291 randomly selected households, 137 from Ruwa and 154 from Epworth, in which a semi-structured questionnaire was used). Observations (using photographic aids) on operations and housing and environmental artefacts were also carried out, as were key informant interviews with purposefully selected officials (from Ruwa Town Council, Epworth Local Board, the Ministry of National Housing and Social Amenities, Environmental Management Agency and the Department of Physical Planning). Quantitative data were analysed using SPSS Version 18. On the other hand, qualitative data analysis used content, discourse, statement and textual analysis. From the study, criteria for classifying actors are central to achieving meaningful stewardship of place and creation of sustainable peri-urban environments. Often there are conflicts among the actors owing to their conflicting priorities and interests. History of the place, income levels among the peri-urban dwellers, lack of clear-cut, well-defined policies and commitment by institutions to creating sustainable settlements are the factors perpetuating these conflicts. The study recommends the application and use of technologies for remote sensing (including Geographic Information Systems) in monitoring the development of peri-urban areas, and achieving an evidence-based policy. This is an effective tool for stewardship, co-creating an institution whose focus is urban regional development and using scenario and collaborative planning methodologies to avoid chaotic peri-urbanisation.

Key Words: peri-urban housing, stewardship, sustainability, partnership, stakeholders, environment, Ruwa, Epworth, Zimbabwe
LIST OF ACRONYMS

AAPS  Association of African Planning Schools
AASCU  American Association of State Colleges and Universities
ADB  African Development Bank
ADC  Area Development Committee
AIDS  Acquired Immuno-Deficiency Syndrome
ARS  Alliance for Regional Stewardship
ASL  Above Sea Level
AUC/ECA  African Union Commission, Economic Commission for Africa
BESG  Built Environment Support Group
BMGF  Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation
BRE  Bard Real Estate
CAGOH  Community Action Group on Housing
CBO  Community-based Organisation
CDPs  Census-Designated Places
CEO  Chief Executive Officer
CFH  Civic Forum on Housing
CSD  Commission on Sustainable Development
CSO  Central Statistical Office
CUDS  Centre for Urban Development Studies
CWSA  Community Water and Sanitation Agency
DC  Developing Countries
DEAP  District Environmental Action Plans
DOE  Department of Energy
DPP  Department of Physical Planning
DSG  Department of the Surveyor-General
DUHD  Department of Urban Housing Development
DZ  Dzivaresekwa
EIA  Environmental Impact Assessment
ELB  Epworth Local Board
EMAct  Environmental Management Act
EMA  Environmental Management Agency
EPA  Environmental Protection Agency
EPAESSC  EPA Environmental Stewardship Staff Committee
ESA  Environmentally Sensitive Area
ESAP  Economic Structural Adjustment Programme
ETJ  Extra Territorial Jurisdiction
FDI  Foreign Direct Investment
FFYNDP  First Five-Year National Development Plan
FTLRP  Fast Track Land Reform Programme
GDP  Gross Domestic Product
GIS  Geographic Information Systems
GoZ  Government of Zimbabwe
GUD  Global Urban Development
GWCL  Ghana Water Company Limited
GWE  Growth with Equity
HIV  Human Immuno-deficiency Virus
HMP  Harare Metropolitan Province
HNZC  Housing New Zealand Corporation
HPZ  Housing People of Zimbabwe
HSCA  Housing Standards Control Act
ICG  International Crisis Group
ICUH  International Conference on Urban Health
IDBZ  Infrastructure Development Bank of Zimbabwe
IDRC  International Development Research Centre
IHS  Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies
ISTA  Income and Sales Tax Act
KLCD  Kintyre Lake County Development
LAA  Land Acquisition Act
LB  Local Board
LEAP  Local Environmental Action Planning
LSA  Land Survey Act
LWSC  Lusaka Water and Sewage Company
MDC  Movement for Democratic Change
MDG  Millennium Development Goal
MDP  Municipal Development Programme
MDP-ESA  Municipal Development Partnership for Eastern and Southern Africa
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MENRAM</td>
<td>Ministry Of Environment and Natural Resource Management</td>
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<tr>
<td>MERP</td>
<td>Millennial Economic Revival Programme</td>
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<tr>
<td>MERP</td>
<td>Millennium Economic Recovery Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MHCDU</td>
<td>Mutare Housing Cooperatives District Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIT</td>
<td>Massachusetts Institute of Technology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MJLPA</td>
<td>Ministry of Justice, Legal and Parliamentary Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MLGPWUD</td>
<td>Ministry of Local Government, Public Works and Urban Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MLGRUD</td>
<td>Ministry of Local Government, Rural and Urban Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MLRR</td>
<td>Ministry of Lands and Rural Resettlement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MMA</td>
<td>Mines and Minerals Act</td>
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<tr>
<td>MNCs</td>
<td>Multinational corporations</td>
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<td>MNHSA</td>
<td>Ministry of National Housing and Social Amenities</td>
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<td>MoF</td>
<td>Ministry of Finance</td>
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<tr>
<td>MoU</td>
<td>Memorandum of Understanding</td>
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<tr>
<td>MPCCNH</td>
<td>Ministry of Public Construction and National Housing</td>
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<tr>
<td>MPW</td>
<td>Ministry of Public Works</td>
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<tr>
<td>MPWCNH</td>
<td>Ministry of Public Works, Construction and National Housing</td>
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<tr>
<td>MRHSA</td>
<td>Ministry of Rural Housing and Social Amenities</td>
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<tr>
<td>NCS</td>
<td>National Conservation Strategy</td>
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<td>NEDPP</td>
<td>New Economic Development Priority Programme</td>
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<td>NEP</td>
<td>National Environmental Plan</td>
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<tr>
<td>NEPS</td>
<td>National Environmental Policies and Strategies</td>
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<td>NERP</td>
<td>New Economic Revival Programme</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-governmental Organisation</td>
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<td>NHC</td>
<td>National Housing Convention</td>
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<td>NHDP</td>
<td>National Housing Delivery Programme</td>
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<tr>
<td>NHF</td>
<td>National Housing Fund</td>
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<tr>
<td>NUST</td>
<td>National University of Science and Technology</td>
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<tr>
<td>OG/HK</td>
<td>Operation Garikayi/Hlalani Kuhle</td>
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<tr>
<td>OLSRA</td>
<td>Ordinary Last Squares Regression Analysis</td>
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<tr>
<td>OM</td>
<td>Operation Murambatsvina</td>
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<tr>
<td>ORO</td>
<td>Operation Restore Order</td>
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<tr>
<td>OSSREA</td>
<td>Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern &amp; Southern Africa</td>
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<tr>
<td>PASA</td>
<td>Practical Action Southern Africa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
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<tr>
<td>UCAZ</td>
<td>Urban Councils Association of Zimbabwe</td>
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<tr>
<td>UDCORP</td>
<td>Urban Development Corporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UMP</td>
<td>Urban Management Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNCHS</td>
<td>United Nations Centre for Human Settlements</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNFPA</td>
<td>United Nations Population Fund Activities</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNHABITAT</td>
<td>United Nations Habitat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>United States of America</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USAID</td>
<td>United States Agency for International Aid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UZ</td>
<td>University of Zimbabwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZANU PF</td>
<td>Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front</td>
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<tr>
<td>ZB</td>
<td>Zimbank (Zimbabwe Bank)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZESA</td>
<td>Zimbabwe Electricity Supply Authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZILGA</td>
<td>Zimbabwe Local Government Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZIMPREST</td>
<td>Zimbabwe Programme for Economic and Social Transformation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZIMSTAT</td>
<td>Zimbabwe National Statistical Agency</td>
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<tr>
<td>ZINWA</td>
<td>Zimbabwe National Water Authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZIRUP</td>
<td>Zimbabwe Institute for Regional and Urban Planners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZRP</td>
<td>Zimbabwe Republic Police</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZWB</td>
<td>Zimbabwe Women Bureau</td>
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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to begin by acknowledging the contribution made by my principal supervisor, Prof VN Muzvidziwa. His way of simplifying and de-mystifying things was a source of great motivation to me. It was he, who urged me on when I felt the desire to give up. “Ita chikomana. Zvinoita. Manje-manje unenge watopedza. Hausi kuona kuti wave kunyora kwazvo. (Go on, young man. It will work out. You will soon be done. Can’t you see that you are writing well?)” These were always his words to me during our supervision sessions. Ours was like a relationship between a father and a son, in which I was free to ask anything about academic and scholarly life. With Prof Muzvidziwa’s support, I was able to attend several methodology workshops in South Africa and Ethiopia.

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“When I was studying for my PhD in the USA, my friend, days went by and my colleagues were making progress while I got nowhere, being confused. One day I approached one of my professors whom I told I had been to the library and instead of making head and tail of what I intended to study, I was getting confused the more. He told me, “Don’t try taking the library into the world. Rather take the world into the library.” I followed his advice and took my bicycle around my study area. I would ride and ride and ride, observing happenings days on end until I got the gist of what I wanted to research about. After this, when I sat to write my thesis, it proved dead simple. Do the same. If it means riding a bicycle around Epworth and Ruwa, do the same. You will find it very easy to put your thesis together.”

Thanks also goes to Dr Fred Lerise of Ardhi University, Tanzania, and Prof Vanessa Watson of the University of Cape Town, South Africa. Their presentations on the use of Case Method and Narratology, which I applied to my case studies, were very stimulating. I acknowledge Prof Robert Miller (Jr.), who gave me an appreciation of the epistemology to research, the Qualitative Approach to research and re-lived Creswell’s five approaches – phenomenology, grounded theory, narrative approach, case study and ethnography. He also taught me the need for interactive research, recoding, transcribing and making meaning out of data.
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CHAPTER ONE
INCORPORATING PERI-URBAN HOUSING INTO THE STEWARDSHIP DISCOURSE

“A home is a place which ideally provides less tangible elements of well-being, such as sense of security, comfort and a pleasant environment – a sense of place and belonging.”
– Meg Huby (1998:58)

1.1 Introducing the Study

The stewardship of the environment is a multifarious and laden reality amid growing urban areas expanding largely due to increasing urbanisation. There is a distortion of meaning as one tries to put together the pieces that define human settlements and the actors that contribute to their formation. In the Vancouver Declaration on Human Settlements (1976), human settlements are defined as “…the totality of the human community – whether city, town or village – with all the social, material, organizational, spiritual and cultural elements that sustain it.” Unpacking the totality as indicated here becomes a complex reality, especially if communities are settling on ‘fluid’ territories called the peri-urban. Critical to note is that housing is a major ‘land consumer’ and this is a concern in the planning and management of the biophysical environment (cf. Savory, 1988; Alberti, 2009), which is associated with increased sand extractions, rock blasting (quarrying) and the exploitation of natural resources for livelihood support. Housing and its effect on the natural physical environment has a bearing on environmental politics. It has thus, been opined that, housing development “… has effects on the environment in terms of land-use, loss of amenity and waste production, and these are felt unevenly by different sectors of the society. However, the construction of housing – whether these are sophisticated homes for the affluent or the makeshift structures of wood, iron-zinc plates and asbestos roofing which are typical of shanty areas in many developing countries – in itself has environmental impacts. Huby (1998:67) notes that the building of homes and offices is estimated to consume between one sixth and one half of the world’s physical resources, wood, minerals, energy and water”.

The study focuses on the processes and outcomes of housing and stewardship in peri-urban settlements in Zimbabwe. Critical to note is that there are essentially two types of peri-urban settlements in Zimbabwe, namely, the suburban and the informal or semi-rural type. The first, the so-called ‘suburban type’ includes those households and families that are relatively wealthy
and have surplus income to build, maintain and afford spacious apartments away from the city centre (cf. Ruby, 2002). They are located approximately 25 to 40 kilometres from the centre. For the Harare Metropolitan area, this ‘suburban type’ is typified by such areas as Beatrice, south of Harare, Seke and Chihota to the south-east, Juru, north-east, Christon Bank (about 40 kilometres from Harare City Centre) and Ruwa (25 kilometres from Harare City Centre). Property or stand-owners or tenants in ‘suburban’ peri-urban areas are highly structured and formalised in the manner in which they are set up. At least, they can hold their municipal government accountable because they contribute to most, if not all, matters pertaining to the improvement of their larger space.

The next category of peri-urban - typically informal and semi-rural - has evolved organically, sometimes from being rural to urban. Most dwellers have accessed their land illegally (cf. Rodgerson, 1997) and tend to build very poor structures. This is a major handicap for them, since they have a ‘restrained’ and limited voice in making local government structures work for them. Moreover, they lack the capacity to improve their general livelihood and living conditions. This generally has a bearing on their housing and habitat environments. The poor household located in a peri-urban area that is poorly serviced, with the dwellings and their vicinities poorly constructed, made and maintained, is what constitutes the notion of “urban penalty” (UNCHS, 2001; Sverdlik, 2011; Kessides, 2006).

1.2 Background to the Study
Citing some selected cases from Mumbai in India, Sanyal and Mukhija (2000) have demonstrated the possibility of moving towards a culture that they call “institutional pluralism”. Institutional pluralism is the cooperation of the government and the civil society groups including the private sector, community and non-governmental organizations. The major question is how best to achieve this institutional pluralism with a minimum of conflicts to achieved a sustained future in housing delivery and urban development in general. The processes of urban development have been largely shaped by historical patterns of policy development and implementation. These processes have not only been local, but also regional and global processes. Thus, while a number of continuities, discontinuities and transformations may have occurred (both in theoretical and practical terms), their relevance - in the face of new concepts,
debates and policy considerations – remain little understood (Manjengwa, 2007; Whitelaw, 2007). Among the critical and new concepts from world and allied bodies are environmental sustainability, ecological footprint and ecological debt, governance, place stewardship and housing rights. Unfortunately, like peri-urbanity, most of these terms are quite elusive and ever shifting in terms of definition and thrusts. For instance, various actors at global, regional and local levels have embraced environmental sustainability (Marshall, 2008; Manjengwa, 2007) as a concept, with widespread euphoria and enthusiasm. How it really works at more localised levels remains quite unexplored. The same is true of housing, as a productive and reproductive space in urban and peri-urban areas. So has been the emphasis on sustainable livelihoods (cf. Pasteur, 2001; Marshall, 2008) with dwellers in a given area having to tap resources around them (natural, physical, human, and social, financial, political and spiritual) to eke an existence. In effect, housing, in terms of extractions of natural resources in the environment, is a large taker of such (Huby, 1998).

We can better understand the background of this study by analysing the global, regional and local realities of peri-urban management as it relates to housing and environmental developments.

1.2.1 Global and Regional Context

It should be highlighted, from the onset that the city margins in Africa are difficult to manage, a development that is further compounded by the housing factor manifesting there. This echoes the affirmation by ECOSANRES (2010:1) that peri-urban areas “… in most developing countries are characterised by fast population growth, a mixture of planned and un-planned settlements, inadequate service infrastructures, insecure land tenure, social tension, environmental and health problems (Rademacher, 2009). These create great problems for planners, service providers and social workers assigned to work in these areas (Christie et al, 2002). In addition, these areas often fall into a responsibility gap between rural and urban authorities, leaving them in a grey zone of unclear legalities, regulations, and general lifestyles. This confusion leads to poor policy design and implementation, and inaccurate policy/programme evaluation.”
In recent times, immense physical planning challenges associated with peri-urbanisation have been noted. The dominant physical planning challenge is urban sprawl (McElfish, 2008), which results in an ecological footprint characterised by heavy losses of biodiversity and greenfields hence ‘carbon sinks’. Loosely defined sprawl is “... dispersed and inefficient urban growth” (Hasse and Lathrop, 2003:159). Specifically, sprawl is characterised by loss of support for public facilities and public amenities, undermining the effective maintenance of existing infrastructure and societal costs for transportation. It is also marked by an undesirable consumption of resources, separation of the urban poor people from jobs, imposition of a tax on time and the degradation of water and air quality. Furthermore, the permanent alteration or destruction of habitats, creation of difficulty in maintaining community, and, offering of the promise of choice while delivering more of the same distorts the natural landscape that ideally should not be displaced but integrated into urban development practice (cf. Cerne, 2004; Thomas, 2002). The ecological footprint is a cause of concern everywhere (Abrams, 1968; Huby, 1998; Lenssen and Roodman, 1995; Taylor 2011).

During colonial times, in a number of countries (particularly in Asia, the Pacific and Africa) separate spatialised development between whites and other races was emphasised, much to the detriment of sustainable human settlement practices. This left a legacy of ‘divided’ settlement patterns, which has influenced residents’ behaviour in emergent metropolitan regions. This legacy has a strong bearing on peri-urban stewardship. In seeking to understand peri-urban settlements in Africa, one is obliged to examine the colonial and post-colonial policy thrusts, which induced spatial and temporary change in human settlements. Change must be understood as manifesting in three fundamental forms: transformation, continuity or discontinuity (Taylor, 1985). In Taylor’s terms, transformation occurs when alteration involves overhaul change, for example, from one mode of production to another; continuity is change rooted in past prescriptions in which established systems remain in place and in operation longer after they were established; and discontinuity means that certain practices are immediately stopped once a new era unfolds.

Generally and ideologically, with respect to institutions and application of standards in urban development and housing, there is a gap between the so-called western standards sometimes
labelled as colonial and ‘higher up the ladder’ and the needs, aspirations and capacities of low-income groups. This gap, which is now embedded in society, is more pronounced in peri-urban Africa, where mosaic developments constitute housing informality. It has been historically defined by colonial dynamics that were discontinued with the attainment of independence and democracy between 1957 and 1994. By way of example, colonial restrictions on the movement of Africans to cities were removed, resulting in high influx of in-migrants from the rural areas. This eventually saw the creation and spread of squatter and informal settlements around the major city cores. The problem has largely been defined as a housing problem, but has been extended to include other challenges including those of crime, unemployment, water and sanitation, energy deficit, among others.

Quite a number of low-income peri-urbanites are uncertain of their future, given that their places are not adequately serviced. Many live in fear of contracting diseases like cholera and dysentery that in certain times of the year since 2008 have been commonplace in Zimbabwe (Chenga, 2010). The observation by Parnell and Peiterse (2010:150) is that many “... urban services (e.g. water, waste management, energy) are almost by definition dependent on a larger footprint than the city boundary. Right-fulfilling settlement services, like waste removal, often depend on the differentiated roles of a multi-agency or multi-scalar state and so a sound framework of cooperative governance is necessary if urban services are to be delivered to all.” This statement, in relation to the realities obtaining in peri-urban areas reveals the considerable adverse effects resulting from weak linkages within institutional systems that, in turn, lead to poor service delivery (cf. Christie et al, 2002).

These multifarious problems have further produced a landscape and space architecture defined by dynamics, issues, trends and ideologies that are contradictory and elusive to deal with (Rademacher, 2009). Unless these dynamics, issues, trends and ideologies are fully exposed, analysed and structured, formulating peri-urban housing and stewardship policies and strategies will always be a difficult task.
1.2.2 Analysing the Local Context

Peri-urban settlements in Zimbabwe are a manifestation of the rather diametrically divergent colonial and post-colonial structural policy and ideological developments. The factors and actors that shape (and have shaped) these settlements, particularly the housing developments and management practices have not been fully analysed or conceptualised, or their effects and influences interrogated. In fact, traditional studies of housing in the country have focus on single-actor housing processes (Kamete, 1997, 1998, 1999, Auret, 1995, Mafico, 1991) leaving out multi-stakeholder processes in the housing delivery processes whose management and actual constructions transcend spatial, economic and political boundaries. Sanyal and Mukhija (2000), who describe the state as having had monopoly in housing delivery, support the idea of a single actor in housing. In the 1970s and early 1980s, the government was the almost sole provider of housing. In the 1980s, it became necessary to open up the space to other players. Sanyal and Mukhija (2000:2-3) have underscored how

“The government’s role redefined in the 1980s was to be that of “an enabler”, in contrast to that of “a provider” of housing: It was to enable market agents and civil society to perform well, and encourage cooperation between private and public sectors to meet the housing needs of the urban poor. For such cooperation to flourish, the institutional monopoly of government over the lives of the urban poor had to give away to institutional pluralism, whereby multiple institutions ranging from private firms to community groups, faith-based organizations to political parties, governmental institutions to non-governmental organizations, could operate freely pursuing varying strategies to reach the urban poor. Institutional pluralism was considered a prerequisite for not merely housing provisions but to attain the broader objective of “democratization” which had also emerged as a key theme in the 1980s’ development discourse.”

In light of the above quotation, stewardship can mean the creation of a ‘common space’ for operation hence the application of ‘institutional pluralism’. As already highlighted, the idea is of bringing together forces that would otherwise work parallel or in contrast to each other, for achieving a common purpose of functionality.

Examining the nature of peri-urban housing in Zimbabwe, one cannot fail to see the imprint of colonial history of urban development in the country. The country has 10 provinces two, of which are Metropolitan – Harare and Bulawayo (see Figure 1.1), and urbanisation in Zimbabwe,
rated at the level of 41% (GoZ/UNHABITAT, 2009). Peri-urbanisation in Zimbabwe, as elsewhere, has had a direct influence in the change of the spatial outlook of different areas. Specifically, Harare (1989:3) observes “… high potential for urban development in all smaller areas [around Harare] – Seke, Mazowe, Norton, Ruwa, Acturus and Darwendale.”

![Figure 1.1: Zimbabwe’s Provinces and Major Towns. Source: Department of the Surveyor-General, 2007](image)

Local authorities in Zimbabwe have failed to provide basic services in waste removal especially in the decade, 1997-2007 (the lost decade), informal business operations have been marked by massive tax evasions leading to ‘poverty in mutuality’ (citizens and local government sharing the negative externalities of a ‘broken interface’). This is largely explained by the fact that the
responsible authorities have failed to implement robustly local development plans against the background of an ailing economic performance. In addition, there have been illegal constructions in a bid to self-house (Mapira, 2004). The various reasons for this setback include, among other things, capacity constraints amongst local authorities in provide houses and land for housing resulting in a ballooning housing backlog. ‘Land invasions’ by households and various unsanctioned activities (including informal urban farming, squatter camping and marketing of wares and goods in undesignated sites) have also been a routine development. All these have destroyed the ideal stewardship of places and resources, posing a threat to environmental sustainability. McKinney Matthew article entitled, ‘The Realities of Regional Stewardship: From Urban Issues to Natural Landscapes’ better explains the centrality of the concept and practice of environmental stewardship (McKinney, 2008). For McKinney (2008:124), there are three pieces to his regional stewardship puzzle needing attention in policy and research,

“First, the territory of many land-use, natural resource, and environmental problems transcend the legal and geographic reach of existing jurisdictions and institutions (public, private, and other). Second, the people and institutions affected by such problems have interdependent interests, meaning that none of them have sufficient power or authority to adequately address the problems on their own. Third and finally, given that no single entity has the power or authority to address these types of trans-boundary issues, there is gap in governance, and thus a need to create either formal or informal ways to work across boundaries.”

1.3 Statement of the Problem

Matters transcending shared municipal and rural boundaries, having a ‘regional dimension’ in developing countries tend to receive little, if any, attention. Thus, compared to North America (the United States of America and Canada) developing countries cherish little in the notion and practice of place and regional stewardship. In recent times, scholars in North America have explained regional stewardship and regional collaboration, stressing the centrality of such concepts in solving metropolitan problems including housing, general infrastructure provision and managing the biophysical environment (Stoll, 2006; Mckinney et al, 2004; Zorich, 2007; Wampler, 2007). They have also stressed the need to break ‘barriers and walls’ erected along professional, ethnic, neighbourhood and municipal lines, which tend to work against regional and area-based collaborative efforts by stakeholders. Ironically, sub-Saharan Africa countries,
and Zimbabwe, in particular, are riddled with challenges at transitional zones like the peri-urban. Such problems include, but are not limited to tenure security among low-income groups, environmental degradation and conflicts over land, water and related natural resources. Collaborating stakeholders by way of creating forums and institutions could be useful in safeguarding the common good thereby avoiding ‘tragedy of the commons’ (Nguyen, 2006). Both stewardship of a place and housing are in the hands of policy actors whose intentions, interests and offices are ever changing, sometimes enhancing or cancelling past progressive efforts. Both occur in a political, social and economic environment that is sometimes volatile and less stable.

1.4 Aim of the Study

The aim of this study is to investigate peri-urban housing, in the framework of regional or place stewardship in Zimbabwe, drawing lessons from Ruwa and Epworth, two satellites of Harare City (see Harare, 1992) forming what is known as the Ruwa-Epworth District (one of the seven functional districts of Harare Metropolitan Province). The study attempts to historicise processes of housing and habitat delivery highlighting transformations, continuities and discontinuities that have emerged over the years. Stewardship of housing in peri-urban settlements is a policy and practical matter that sounds largely ambiguous and is therefore difficult to manage in many developing countries, Zimbabwe included.

1.4.1 Specific Objectives of the Study

The specific objectives of the study are to:

i. identify and classify stakeholders in housing delivery in the peri-urban zones being studied, with the view to explaining policy and practical bearings by each over time.

ii. explain differential processes and trends, if any, in the transformation and quality of the physical provision of shelter (stocks) in peri-urban settlements.

iii. relate global and regional efforts in the housing and stewardship debate and practices regarding peri-urban settlements.

iv. propose practical and policy alternatives in tackling peri-urban housing and stewardship matters at different levels of analysis (local and regional).
1.4.2 The Research Question

The study seeks to answer the question: How is the stewardship debate shaped for the sustainable provision of shelter in peri-urban settlements? Specifically the sub-questions are: Who are the key actors including facilitators, sponsors and governors? Can there be deliberate stewardship in which informal and low-income peri-urban dwellers act as informed managers (stewards) whose care for/concern for their habitat reduces problems of environmental decay so that future generations will also benefit from the same habitat?

1.5 Characterising the Study Areas

Though the overall focus of the study is peri-urban settlements in Zimbabwe, Ruwa and Epworth are taken as two case study areas from which the realities of housing and stewardship efforts have been drawn. The two areas are adjacent to each other and in the same province (Harare Metropolitan Province) – Figure 1.2. Ruwa and Epworth are part of the Greater Harare Region (Figure 1.3), a region that has become highly metropolitan in the last 50 or 60 years.

Figure 1.2: Location of Ruwa and Epworth in Harare Metropolitan Province - Source: Adapted from the Map by the Office of the Surveyor-General (2011)
Ruwa and Epworth have some striking contrastive qualities in terms of their origins, social stratification, economic opportunities and housing and environmental management practices. The land market in Ruwa is greatly organised and formal, while that of Epworth is predominantly haphazard and informal. Location factors considered in area characterisation include distance from the city centre of Harare, the climatic, hydrologic, geologic and ecologic (floral and faunal) features of the areas. On the other hand, the historical aspects are those to do with the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial developments of the two areas. These contextual factors have largely influenced the stewardship factor around Epworth and Ruwa and they continue to have a bearing on the responses made by the settlements dwellers to urbanisation trends that have become part of their living arrangements. After independence in 1980, were run as local boards, run by government appointees called Commissioners and both have evolved differently.

Figure 1.3: Suburbs and Peri-urban of Harare - Source: Zinyama et al (1993:85)
1.5.1 Population of Ruwa and Epworth

Population numbers in Epworth are debatable, but for Ruwa they could be close to realistic. As of 2010, the estimated population of Ruwa was 50,000 while that of Epworth was 500,000 respectively (Ruwa, 2010; Chenga, 2010). Chenga (2010) attributes these numbers to increasing peri-urbanisation, largely explained by developments in the socio-economic fabric of the shifting economy. Specifically, Chenga argues that since the late 1970s Epworth attracted a large number of poor, homeless people. Numbers have grown from about 20 000 people in 1980 to 123 250 by 2002 and presently the local board has lost count, but rough estimates put the population at around 500 000. However, the national population census held in 2012 puts the figures official at 161, 840 for Epworth and 56,333 for Ruwa (ZIMSTAT, 2012). There is thus great variance between the official statistics and statistics furnished by journalists and independent researchers. This is an indicator of the obvious ‘politics of numbers’, typical of developing countries. Nevertheless, the numbers still have a bearing on the peri-urbanisation trends surrounding human settlements in this case of Ruwa and Epworth.

1.5.2 Characterising Epworth

Epworth is located about twelve kilometres from the city centre of Harare. The settlement is easily accessible from the city centre and the eastern industrial employment nodes of Msasa and Ruwa. It lies between 1,500 and 1,600 metres in altitude. The relief consists of gently undulating ground interrupted by granite outcrops and picturesque balancing rocks, some of the most beautiful in Zimbabwe, which are very popular with tourists and were included in the encryption on the former Zimbabwean bank notes.

Epworth was founded in 1892, when the British South African Company, in trust for the indigenous blacks (Nyamvura and Brown, 1999), granted Reverend Isaac Shimmin of the Wesleyan Missions in Mashonaland 1,064 hectares Epworth Farm. In 1904, the Missions purchased adjacent Glenwood Farm (981 hectares) (ibid.). In 1908, the Missions purchased two adjoining farms, one of which was Adelaide Farm (1,564 hectares). All these areas cover what is present-day Epworth. By 1950, the settlement had about 500 families, which subscribed to the Mission values and legitimately owned 4000m2 of land each allocated by the Mission for residential and cropping purposes (Butcher, 1983). Others also settled there illegally, a
development that would conflict with the Mission business and aspirations. The growth of Epworth from 1892 has been ‘organic’. The Squatter Upgrading Scheme adopted for Epworth in the early 1980s was to remain unfinished. Overall, Epworth has a population predominantly concerned with the ‘politics of the stomach’, tending to forget the issues that go beyond the individual’s plot or household.

Between 1970 and 1980, the population in Epworth rose dramatically to about 35,000. This coincided with the liberation war in Zimbabwe (1966-1979), which saw a huge influx of people into Epworth. The majority of the new settlers were fleeing the war that was ravaging the rural areas at the time. Epworth offered itself as an easier destination for many, since there was no direct local authority that could control movement of people and development, as was the case in other urban archetypal settlements, specifically Harare and Chitungwiza (Nyamvura and Brown, 1999). It was thus a ‘natural choice’ for a destination and settlement.

The major added advantage was Epworth’s proximity to the capital city, which made it ideal for settlers seeking economic and social opportunities (Butcher, 1983). Some settlers found employment as domestic servants in the northeastern suburbs (Hatfield, Arcadia and Waterfalls). Over the years, it became the norm that people who fail to secure affordable accommodation in Harare to find their way to Epworth. It has emerged that some legal Missions tenants in Epworth rented illegally land or built shacks within their stands to desperate families. Consequently, slum conditions have become commonplace, and is sometimes associated with such vices as increased in the incidence of crime, drug abuse, illegal cultivation of land and pollution. The church soon felt that the situation was becoming out of hand and was unable to meet the demands for ‘adequate housing’ for the increasing numbers of peri-urban dwellers.

At the inception of the Local Board in 1986, Epworth had about 5,000 residential stands that were regularised in situ. For residents who had settled in areas that were deemed inhabitable, land was identified, planned and serviced and these residents were relocated. This exercise ended up creating about 6,000 residential stands for the whole of Epworth. However, a few informal homesteads sprouted around this time. The Government intervened, demolishing the illegal structures and relocating the settlers to other areas outside Epworth (ELB, 2002). Consequently,
Epworth covered about 3600 hectares in extent and was home to roughly 150,000 people by December 1997.

Administrative problems and lack of funds for the provision of infrastructure and services to the burgeoning population impelled the Mission to donate the major portion of the three farms of Epworth, Glenwood and Adelaide to the Government in 1983 (Nyamvura and Brown, 1999, Epworth, 1987a; 1987b; 2007). As if to confirm the Mission’s justification for surrendering the farms, in 1985, a cholera outbreak occurred in the area. In 1986, the Epworth, Adelaide and Glenwood farms were gazetted as an Epworth Local Government Area. The Central Government appointed the Epworth Local Board (ELB) to administer the settlement. The Zimbabwean Government, which had assumed power only six years earlier, welcomed the donation and directed a freeze of all unauthorised new developments. It took an aerial photograph of the whole settlement and undertook an ambitious programme to develop the area in situ for eventual incorporation into Harare City (Epworth, 1987b; Butcher, 1993). Even to date, the ELB runs the affairs of the settlement, including all aspects of housing delivery and environmental sanitation. The Government has set out two broad objectives for the Board within which most services in an urban set up are found; these were to regularise existing and future development in the area and to improve living conditions for Epworth residents (Epworth, 1987a). The Epworth 4 Area Development Committees (ADC) was elected for effective grassroots participation in the water and sanitation supply upgrading processes. The committees were for Muguta, Makomo, Zinyengere, and Chinamano and their extensions. In each Area Development Committee (ADC), there were ten board members.

The Local Board Chairman was to be a member appointed by the Ministry. The Chairman, Vice Secretary of each Area Committee formed an Overall Development Committee, which had twelve members. Issues raised at the grassroots level were discussed by the area development committee before they were tabled in the Board, which comprised eight appointees who were Epworth residents and four who were Government officials. To assist the Board were two sub-committees: the Lands Sub-Committee, which was responsible for processing all applications for stands in Epworth (state land) for commercial, residential, agricultural and any other use; and the Finance, Works and Planning Sub-Committee, which was responsible for approving building
plans, development permits and layout plans. In addition, the Committee oversaw all the work in progress, managing implementation problems faced by the contractor, new works, recommending the next development stages and maintenance work.

It must be underscored that when the government took over the management of Epworth in 1986, the area did not have public utilities such as water, sewer, electricity and rubbish collection (Epworth, 1987a; 1987b; 2007; Butcher, 1993). Epworth was divided into 9 administrative areas, comprising 4 original villages, each of which had its own ‘extension’ in 1997. In the same year, Housing People of Zimbabwe (HPZ) visited a number of income projects supported by the Zimbabwe Women Bureau (ZWB), which had been working already in the area. It asked ZWB to mobilise families in being involved in a housing improvement scheme (Mututu, 1999). By 1999, five housing cooperatives had been established in the area including Tangenhamo (with 15 members), Kushinga (18 members), Tichaedza (13 members), Chiremba (15 members) and Shungu (16 members). All these cooperatives had to invest in the money market through the Housing Cooperative Fund, managed by HPZ. By mid-1999, two cooperatives had invested Z$42,000, earning up to Z$1,300 interest per month. In a bid to build affordable houses, appropriate materials like the stabilised soil blocks (SSB) were recommended, and housing cooperative members were taken to an exhibition of housing in Epworth built by a local NGO, Intermediate Technology Development Group (ITDG) using SSB (Mututu, 1999). The cooperative members approved this technology, and some of these members were trained to train others. Habitat for Humanity provided finance for the purchase of windows and doorframes, roofing sheets, glazing and other materials. Local builders that had been trained by HPZ and ITDG carried out the construction work.

Upon taking over the management of the area, the government’s Department of Physical Planning (DPP) conducted a socio-economic survey and a general land-use survey. The results briefly showed that 71% of residents used unprotected wells or streams water for their domestic water consumption, 94% used pit toilets or the bush for personal sanitation. The serious risk of well water being polluted by nearby pit toilets and surface run-off was obvious. There were two primary schools, one ill-equipped clinic with one trained nurse, and one police post with four constables. Physically, much of the land in Epworth was unsuitable for building development.
Approximately 700 existing homes were situated on such unsuitable land. Compounding the difficulties of the topography, Epworth is located on the eastern side of Harare, across the city from high density/low income housing. As such, bulk supplies of water, electricity and sewer required to improve living conditions were not available in this side-stands were on the septic tank system. The median income of the residents at the time of the DPP survey was Z$90 whereas elsewhere in Harare high density, low income areas the median income was Z$194. Furthermore, 23% of the residents were entirely economically dependent on gifts and remittances from relatives, pensions or informal sector earnings (cf. Skinner, 2008).

Overall, the Zimbabwe Government’s decision not to bulldoze Epworth helped to meet the basic shelter needs of the urban poor. Town planning layouts were done by 1987, and the central government through the Ministry of Local Government Rural and Urban Development with technical and supervisory assistance from Blair Research Laboratory (BRL) (Ministry of Health) initiated an interim water supply and sanitation programme, drilling 290 protected tubewells and constructing 1000 toilets (Nyamvura and Brown, 1999). The wells were provided at a ratio of one well to ten households and were sited in future road reserves, public open spaces or next to community facilities, e.g. schools and market places. They were dug by the local people under the supervision of BRL, and fitted with Blair hand pumps. They had low capital costs and low maintenance requirements, and had to be serviced by the locals under the supervision from BRL. Blair toilets were also constructed, 8 metres of the back boundary of the stand and aligned in straight lines so that the tanker could easily drive between rows of toilets dislodging each unit as it went along. The alignment of toilets also meant it would be possible to install sewer lines in future. A number of other, miscellaneous developments were implemented: tower lighting, tarred roads and more schools. The total infrastructural investment made by the Ministry by 1988 was Z$76 million, which converted to about £5 million (Nyamvura and Brown, 1999).

Plan International was also heavily involved in the construction of market stalls, sewer, electricity, water reticulation and shopping centres (Nyamvura and Brown, 1999), tower lighting for two administrative districts, educational sponsorship for 1000 children. It also started Women’s Clubs, provided book grants for two primary schools and organised management workshops for women’s groups. World Vision did its work through the Epworth Local Board in
training management, promotion of drama groups and co-ordination of churches, concentrating in Chinamano extension. The Zimbabwe Women’s Bureau (ZWB) developed a women’s soap making co-operative. The Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies availed toilet kits for residents to construct their own toilets. Help-Age, whose target group was those 60 years and above, assisted with food grants, services, water, toilet construction and clothing.

By 2007, Epworth had a population of around 150,000 in its seven Wards with a residential base presenting three distinct characteristics. Epworth is divided into 7 wards: wards 1 and 4, Muguta-Makomo and Chinamano-Zinyengere respectively, have predominantly residents linked to the early settlers and colloquially referred to as ‘originals’. Wards 2, 3 and 5 are mainly composed of residents who moved into Epworth prior to the inception of the Local Board in 1986 but have no links with the ‘originals’ of the 1890s. Their areas are generally referred to as ‘extensions,’ for example, Muguta Extension, Makomo Extension and Chinamano Extension.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Box 1.1: Epworth - some facts</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Located about 15km east of the capital, Harare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formalised into an urban residential area in 1983</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Despite paying rates to the Epworth Local Board, the settlers are not recognised as being part of the residential area.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Methodist Church owns the land.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To access health and education facilities, the settlers have to pay property owners in Epworth for the use of their home addresses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To bury the dead, the settlers pay three-fold the normal fees charged to the other residents.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Despite Epworth having acquired local government board status in 1986, the settlement has hardly progressed beyond its squatter camp outlook.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apart from the two tarred main feeder roads much of the intricate jigsaw puzzle of hovels called Epworth are linked by makeshift, nameless dust roads and paths.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homeowners have no title deeds, electricity and access to tapped water and the spectre of displacement forever looms.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epworth is a complex humanitarian crisis driven by institutionalised poor governance, corruption and politics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epworth was established in 1890 as a Methodist Church mission station</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Chenga (2010)

Epworth has, from its birth, continued to experience a huge influx of in-migrants, the majority being from poor backgrounds. This partly explains the growth of numerous informal dwellings in the area. Despite efforts to regularise the settlement, illegal peri-urban subdivisions persist in the
area and this is to the acclaim of order, harmony and amenity as put across in the planning legislation of the land, specifically the Regional, Town and Country Planning Act and allied statutes and legal instruments (cf. Tibaijuka, 2005).

1.5.3 Characterising Ruwa

Ruwa (once a growth point but acquired the status of a town in 2009) is situated 23 km east of the city of Harare along the Mutare Road. It was established as a growth point in 1986 in terms of the Income and Sales Tax Act (ISTA). The Ruwa Local Board was appointed by government in 1991 to manage the township according to section 14 of the Urban Councils Act. Before 1991, the Goromonzi Rural District Council (GRDC) and the Urban Development Corporation (UDCORP) jointly administered Ruwa. Box 5 provides some facts about the establishment, growth and expansion of Ruwa. Before 1986, the town came under different rural local authorities, one of them being the Goromonzi Rural District Council.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Box 1.2: Ruwa - Some Facts</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Ruwa Town is located 25 kilometres from Harare.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The town falls under the Ruwa-Epworth District of the Harare Metropolitan Province.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• With effect from the 3rd of January 2003, Ruwa fell under the Harare Metropolitan Province through Statutory Instrument 15D and E of 2003. Before that, it was under Mashonaland East Province. However, politically, Ruwa still falls under Goromonzi in Mashonaland East.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Growth Point was established in terms of the Income and Sales Tax Act in 1986. It was through Proclamation 16 of 1990 and Statutory Instrument 204 of the same year that the Ruwa Growth Point area underwent an excision from the Bromley Ruwa Rural Council and powers conferred to it as a Growth Point.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Ruwa Local Board was upgraded to a Town Council in terms of section 14(1) of the Urban Councils Act as per the letter dated 27 February 2008 from the then Ministry of Local Government, Public Works and Urban Development. This was conditional to addressing issues to do with setting a boundary of the town for the incorporation of more state land; settling the issue of the town centre on Lot A of Oaks; realigning the organogram to reflect a linear structure and with proper staff grading system; and strengthening the management system.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Administrative authority has been divided into four phases: the first being the settlement being governed under Bromley Ruwa Rural Council; the second, under the Urban Development Corporation, from 1988-1990; the third being the Ruwa Local Board, from 1990 to 2008, the last, Ruwa Town Council.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The Ruwa Local Board was established through a series of warrants, which conferred powers, privileges, and duties to it. These five warrants were Warrant 1 of 12 October 1990; Warrant 2 of 21 February 1992; Warrant 3 of 11 April 1997; Warrant 4 of 26 November 1997 and Warrant 5 of 17 September 1999.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• It terms of land area, Ruwa town was initial plus or minus 796.58 ha. As at June 2010, it was 3188 ha after incorporation from Goromonzi Rural District Council Area. An additional plus or minus 20,142 ha have been earmarked for incorporation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• There are nine wards in Ruwa.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: RTC (2010)
Today, there are different categories of residential units in Ruwa: low density e.g. Windsor and Sunway, which are still under development; medium-density such as Damofalls, and high-density such as Ruwa. The provision of infrastructure in Ruwa is mainly private sector driven. This is particularly true in one of the consortia in the town, where private landowners have been seeking approval to subdivide their land. The housing backlog in the town has been growing over the year. In 2007, Ruwa had a waiting list of more than 5,000 housing applicants following the last allocation in 1995 (RLB, 2007). The RLB records indicate that the number of serviced stands is around 10,000. Of this, only 0.5% are council-owned or on state land. Operation Garikayi/Hlalani Kuhle (OGHK) scheme benefited 110 households based on the recommendations made by the local ward councillors. Thus, under OGHK, the Government of Zimbabwe provided funding for the development of the superstructures but without the requisite infrastructure (RLB, 2007).

Since the Ruwa Local Board faced difficulties such as the shortage of plant and equipment, financial resources and skilled workers in providing the servicing of adequate infrastructure, it has established a partnership with the consortium, group of private companies for the provision of the needed infrastructure. All prospective developers in Ruwa were required to contribute a development charge for the installation of off-site infrastructure such as roads, water and power. In Ruwa’s up-market residential estate of ZIMRE Park, largely serviced by the Zimbabwe Reinsurance Corporation, the local board issued its developer, the National Real Estate, with a planning permission to develop 2,500 medium density residential stands. The developer was also obliged to provide water and upgrade the pump station. In addition, the developer paid the Board Z$19 million endowment fund (Odero, 2003).

Today, Ruwa has become a town whose vision is to become “...a leading investment destination with a high quality way of life and first choice town to live in” (Ruwa, 2010). This vision is driven by the town’s mission statement, which is “[t]o administer the Town Council Area and facilitate the provision and maintenance of quality social services to residents, investors and other stakeholders.” From the outset, it can be said that the settlement has strived to follow a formal tracking and in keeping with the stages of growth, perhaps according to the
developmentalist paradigm of modernisation. The 1990s had a strong impact on the growth, given the economic reforms set by the Government. Ruwa ‘gained’ due to this policy of liberalisation as it managed to attract massive investments. Housing development projects like the development of ZIMRE Park emerged in this period (Odero, 2003). In succinct terms, Odero (2003:5) observes that, between 1992 and 1999, “...the population of Ruwa grew at an average of 173 percent per year, rising from 1,447 to about 19,000. This growth led to astronomical increases in demand for property development. The greatest beneficiaries of this have been private landowners who subdivided the properties and later sold the lots at a profit.

While the Ruwa draws levies and rates on developed properties, such developments tend to put pressure on its resources as demand for water, sewer and solid waste disposal services increases. In fact, this has had the effect of forcing the local authority to adopt an almost all-out service-oriented strategy.” It has pointed out that the Ruwa is “…fast developing into an urban centre, housing and employing thousands of people. District industrial, commercial and residential land-uses have been developed with considerable supportive infrastructure.... The idea behind its establishment was to encourage industrial development in the area, and such industries would provide employment for disabled persons mainly ex-combatants who would have received some training at the Ruwa Rehabilitation Centre (RHC). Its proximity to Harare, which has a large consumer market and the relatively cheaper development compared to Harare, make Ruwa an attractive centre for industrial development (Ruwa, 1997: 2). Furthermore, its proximity to the Harare International Airport is, indeed, an attractive feature for export- and import-related enterprises (ibid.). Inherent in Ruwa Town Council is the capacity to control population size, and the place has little, if any, invasions on housing land (cf. Times, 2008). Indeed, the Ruwa residents have some latent power to hold their municipal government accountable, to enforce the set standards and to set barriers to uncontrolled population ‘entry’ into its territory.

1.6 Research Methodology and Design
The following section outlines the research approach and design adopted for this study on housing and stewardship in peri-urban settlements in Zimbabwe. Described are the population studied and the sampling approach and units of analysis, particularly the households and institutions visited. Furthermore, there is an indication of data gathering methods and techniques
employed including how recording of information was done. This is followed by a discussion of how data were organised and analysed. Critical ethical considerations with respect to interaction with respondents, handling of information and presentation and usage are also explained.

Data were organised and presented in keeping with the order: describe, apply and learn (Schwarz, 1996; Glass, 2005; Early, 2007; Sert and Seedhouse, 2011). Description of the method is about outlining theoretically how a certain method and technique is used. Application revolves around exactly how, as a researcher, I made it fit my study situations in the field and in data analysis. Lastly, learning is about the lessons I drew using the methods that I applied even suggesting how researchers on the same can best apply the methods. Indeed, and upon reflection, I have realised that conventional wisdom around the method does not always jigsaw fit in every situation. A method has to be ‘tailor-made’ to fit and practical application with produce variants to that method.

1.6.1 Insights into the Research Paradigm

I designed my study of housing and stewardship with a great inclination towards qualitative methodology founded on the principles of the concept of verstehen and therefore limited in positivism. Knowledge and philosophy are central to answering any subject including the stewardship question in peri-urban housing and development. There are conceptual, technical and ethical issues in implementing a framework that achieves ‘unity in diversity’, as advanced in the collective responsibility ideas by such scholars as Ferguson (2007), Taylor (2011), (Novicevic et al (2007), Gehani and Gehani (2007), De Kort (2009), Beately (2011), to name but a few. Research is there to created knowledge. However, knowledge creation is based on a given paradigm or set of knowledge and the process entails gathering data or facts. The gathered data and fact is processed to become information, and information becomes knowledge. The chain of process leads from knowledge to theory, from theory to wisdom, and, from wisdom to truth (Zins, 2007).

Shared knowledge, in a given period, constitutes a paradigm. As postulated by Kuhn (1962:43):

“Close historical investigation of a given specialty at a given time discloses a set of recurrent and quasi-standard illustrations of various theories in their
conceptual, observational, and instrumental applications. These are the community’s paradigms, revealed in its textbooks, lectures, and laboratory exercises. By studying them and by practicing with them, the members of the corresponding community learn their trade. The historian, of course, will discover in addition a penumbral area occupied by achievements whose status is still in doubt, but the core of solved problems and techniques will usually be clear. Despite occasional ambiguities, the paradigms of a mature scientific community can be determined with relative ease.”

From this observation by Kuhn, it can be noted that knowledge is never static and it evolves through processes of changing thinking patterns. Such is what describes a paradigm shift. The notion of paradigm by Kuhn corresponds to that of Hegel, who spoke of thesis, antithesis and synthesis (Khorshidi and Soltanolkottabi, 2010; Franceschi, 2003). Specifically, Franceschi (2003:1) elaborates the Hegelian dialecticism by pointing that,

“According to Hegel, every thesis presents then an inherently incomplete and partial nature, which gives then birth to its contrary, the antithesis. From Hegel's standpoint, the contraries present, beyond the contradiction underlying them, an indissociable nature. This last property allows thus to make their final union, at a thought level which places itself beyond the one where the contradiction manifests itself. The contraries present thus by essence a genuine unity, from which it is worth grasping the fecund principle, allowing thus to reach, at a higher level, a genuine knowledge.”

For Flyvbjerg (2001) three types of knowledge, based on Greek terms exist. These are:

- **episteme** (scientific knowledge, based on general analytical rationality and from which concepts of "epistemology" and "epistemic are" derived),
- **techne** (referring to craft and art, being oriented toward production and based on practical instrumental rationality governed by a conscious goal; from this we derive terms like "technique," technical," and "technology"), and
- **phronesis** (whose thrust is on ethics being deliberation about values with reference to praxis).
That there are two competing or rather contrasting research paradigms (the quantitative built on the positivist philosophies and the qualitative school of thought) is well known in research literature (Popper, 1961; Oakley, 1999). The latter, according to Oakley (1999:252) is simply “…too unsystematic, too masonic in nature, too cavalier about appeals to ‘triangulation’ and/or analysis using computerised software packages, to establish serious credentials for being trustworthy.” It is, in effect structured along Popper’s (1961) notion of historicism, a social science paradigm aimed at historical prediction by discovering the ‘rhythms’, or the ‘patterns’, the ‘laws’ or the ‘trends’ that underlie the evolution of history.

The concept of verstehen, has been described by Glass (2005:1) as “…a method of scientific inquiry [which] uses an “empathic understanding” of another to generate information and understanding about that other… It has been characterised as an “interpretive” or qualitative method of inquiry.” Glass argues that this method, though largely attributed to Max Weber by many sociologists, was developed by a German philosopher, Wilhem Dilthey, a contemporary of Weber’s. The verstehen follows four steps by which “one can arrive at a “felt” or visceral understanding that can reveal much about oneself and about others” (Glass, 2005:3). Following such steps can be “…quite a revealing experience and could very well be overwhelming, depending upon the subject matter…” The four steps are given as imagination, abiding, discovery, and expression. In practice, these steps are not as linear as they appear but iterative. Glass (2005:4) underscores that, “Although stated linearly, and seemingly chronological, they are much more synergistic when actually employed. They are, however, as simple as they sound. One imagines, one abides in that imagination, one discovers what that imagining has to offer, and then one expresses it.”

Chew-Graham et al (2001:285) have underscored that “…the principal claim of qualitative researchers is that such techniques offer a means of understanding the authentic perceptions, sentiments and understandings of subjects in such studies.” In my study, I had to employ verstehen techniques given the circumstances surrounding some of my respondents. Some expressed their poverty and the tragedies that had befallen them. I had just to be human to understand and share their ‘experiences, for example, the old woman raising her grand children
in Magada, Epworth. Her grand children were not going to school, as she could not afford paying their fees.

1.6.2 The Research Design

Studies, according to Mouton (2009:57), can be empirical, using primary data (for example, surveys, experiments, case studies, programme evaluation or ethnographic studies) or non-empirical (for example, philosophical analysis, conceptual analysis, theory building and literature reviews). Mouton (2009) further elaborates that the non-empirical studies can further entail analysing existing data. This data can be text data (which may involve discourse analysis, content analysis, textual criticism and historical studies) or numeric data (involving secondary data analysis and statistical modelling. Creswell’s five approaches to qualitative studies - phenomenology, grounded theory, narrative approach, case study and ethnography – can also be taken as research design approaches (Creswell, 2005; 2007a; 2007b).

My study was largely case study, focusing on Ruwa and Epworth. Nevertheless, within the case study, I applied a survey of households as well as fieldwork to observe landscape realities on the ground regarding activities and land-use by households in the study areas. Whitelaw (2005), in his study on the role of environmental movement organisations in land-use planning in Canada, used a somewhat similar approach and used case studies of the Niagara Escarpment and Oak Ridges Moraine processes. Social reality is “perceived and exists through experience” (Whitelaw, 2005:52). Indeed place stewardship is a social reality that transforms places of which housing is the primary developmental experience of different communities anywhere. As an exploratory study, literature review has been used as the main evoker of experiences, insights and thoughts regarding how communities in the peri-urban areas respond to urbanisation processes hence peri-urbanisation.

Given the complexity of the phenomena examined (housing as a process and occurring in a peri-urban zone with stewardship as a concept of key reference), the study was principally three things: exploratory, descriptive and explanatory. It was exploratory in that new experiences and practices by the peri-urban dwellers in their endeavours for livelihood, shelter provision and environmental management were explored. Information on this was generally minimal regarding
understanding of the subject matter. It was descriptive in that it tried as much as possible to garner evidence from global and regional experiences so that issues to do with the three concepts of the study (housing, stewardship and peri-urbanity) were understood and then applied to the case study areas of Ruwa and Epworth. Basing on the descriptions, an attempt was then made to proffer explanations of the practice of stewardship in the two study areas.

1.6.3 Population and Sampling

There is a distinction between the target population and the study population. A population describes the units of analysis in a research (Barreiro and Albandoz, 2001). Specifically, a study population is “... the group of individuals or units to which we can legitimately apply our conclusions. Unfortunately the target population is not always readily accessible and we can only study that part of it that is available” (Kazerooni, 2001:993). A target population, then, is “... the whole group of [individuals] to which we are interested in applying our conclusions” (Kazerooni, 2001:993).

1.6.3.1 Determining the Study Population

I made use of the sample frame to define the population or units of analysis for this study. As already implied, the population included households, institutions (state and non-state), sites of construction-related productions and marketing, and artefacts that were being made by both households and institutions.

A sample frame is simply, “the source of the sample” and it must be noted it can be “… a list, or a set of procedures that could generate a list if needed” (Harison, 2006:2). It can be a list of addresses or a directory of telephone numbers (Esslemont et al, 1992). In other words, it is a list or rule defining the population. The sample frame is indispensable for probability sampling, although can be defined for non-probability sampling as well. Usual instruments employed included telephone book, voter list (Foster, 1993), random digit dialling (Turner, 2003; Iannacchione et al, 2007). Turner (2003:3) observes that in household surveys “… an area sampling frame comprises the geographical units of a country in a hierarchical arrangement. The units are variously labelled, administratively, from one country to another but typically include such terms, in descending order, as province or county; district; tract; ward and village (rural
areas) or block (urban areas).” For listing, recent censuses carried out tend to provide scope for defining the study or target population. The three most important qualities of a good sampling frame are completeness, accuracy and currency (Turner, 2003). However, as Esslemont et al (1992:33) puts it a sampling frame results in “… three major sources of bias: exclusion of non-telephone households, exclusion of telephone numbers that are issued after the publication of the telephone directory, and exclusion of unlisted numbers.” Bearing this in mind sources of bias, my critical reference of my sample frame was the 2002 Census Report as a starting point to get a picture of the households. This was a bit outdated but was useful.

I triangulated the Census data with records from the two local authorities, Ruwa Town Council and Epworth Local Board. For Ruwa, it was not much of a problem given that the wards and blocks of residents as shown on the layout maps were quite defined and distinct. For Epworth, being largely squatter and informal, I referred to the data from Dialogue on Shelter and Practical Action, organisations that have, in recent years, been working on different programmes relating to shelter and settlement upgrading. The information was augmented by that from community leaders, who had some records on the number of households in the wards and operation areas.

The information enabled me to estimate that Epworth could have about 20,000 households, while Ruwa could have some 7,000 households, though it turned out to be 44,603 and 13,807 according to 2012 Census Preliminary Report (ZIMSTAT, 2012). With respect to organizations, I purposively listed all organisations dealing with land, environment, land development including building societies, banks, community groups, non-governmental organisations that have had stake in the two settlements. About possible sites of visitation and examination, I made use of the areas that I recorded during the transect walks. Of course, I cannot rule out possible interesting sites that may have been left out due to human error of selection. For Epworth, such sites could have been identified by use of images from earth observation as other researchers (for example, Stasolla and Gamba, 2007; Odunuga, 2009) have used elsewhere. Nevertheless, I found resolutions from Google Earth too obscured to be useful for my study (see Figure 1.4).
1.6.3.2 Sampling Procedure

A multi-stage and a multi-site sampling technique were employed in selecting the areas for the survey as well as fieldwork respondents. In the first stage, two peri-urban settlements (Ruwa and Epworth) were identified and selected purposively. The primary reason for choosing these two particular peri-urban settlements as case study areas was to try to have a deeper understanding of the housing-stewardship problem as well as the situation on the ground, based on the different qualities and histories of the two towns. In the second place, and within each settlement, ‘area-based’ techniques (spatial sampling) were conducted.

In Ruwa, the following areas - Windsor Park, Sunway City, Ruwa (Central), Zimre Park, Damofalls, Chipukutu (Riverside), Fairview, and Springvale (Intermarket) were selected. In Epworth, the following areas were selected: Domboramwari, Chinamano, Overspill, Stopover, Makomo, Magada and Chiremba. These areas or locations can be divided according to the density criterion of low-density, medium-density and high-density residential areas. In the third stage, finding different respondents on diverse locations was placed at the core of the research on site-specific processes. This was predicated on the idea that specific areas within the peri-urban
settlements provide different experiences on the subjects – that human beings are a product of their environment, in which they try to adapt and ‘co-exist’ with fellow human beings (Creswell, 2005; 2007a; 2007b).

a) Selecting Specific Sites (Fieldwork)

The essence of multi-sited research and procedures is “… to follow people, connections, associations, and relationships across space (because they are substantially continuous but spatially non-contiguous. Research design proceeds by a series of juxtapositions in which the global is collapsed into and made an integral part of parallel, related local situations, rather than something monolithic or external to them. In terms of method, multi-sited ethnography involves a spatially-dispersed field through which the ethnographer moves – actually, via sojourns in two or more places, or conceptually, by means of techniques of juxtaposition of data” (Falzon, 2009:1-2). With respect to fieldwork, the study adopted a multi-sites approach, in keeping with Falzon’s philosophy of multi-sited research and procedures. Studying artefacts and features like wetlands and vleis involved in making strategic choices of what to observe and probe.

The transect walks enabled me to select areas to capture the dynamics occurring in all places in the study areas. Initially, random selection of sites applied. Once I had established the processes happening in a place, I would ask my immediate interviewees to tell me where similar or contrastive processes were taking place. One interviewee in Domboramwari told me, “If you seriously want to see how sand extractions are degrading rivers and streams, just go to Cell 7. There you will see trucks and trucks picking up sand and leaving serious scars on the ground”. In such a case, it became snowballing (Mouton, 2009). I did not know Cell 7. Upon being given directions, I walked to that place and found out the obtaining realities there. In the two settlements of study, I saw more than 60 sites in which construction-related processes including clearing land for housing, brick moulding, quarrying were taking place.

b) Selecting Specific Plots (Stands) and Households on Plots

The study provided an equal chance of selection of property owners, tenants, lodgers and squatters who I defined as the steward. Community survey respondents in the study included 291 households (154 from Ruwa and 137 from Epworth). Stratified random sampling applied in
Ruwa, being a more organised space with defined layouts. In Epworth, on the other hand, simply random sampling applied. However, as I have already highlighted, Epworth was a bit difficult, given its level of housing informality in the area. There were no clearly defined blocks of houses and streets as typify planned settlements. For the purpose of my study, I defined a steward on plot as anyone who has the overall caretakership of the plot. Thus, on coming to an identified plot, I would ask if the property owner was available. In certain instances, this ‘owner’ was available, even in squatter areas of Epworth. When the owner was not there, I would ask for the person acting as the ‘owner’s fiduciary. In such cases, all sorts of people emerged, ranging from head leasee to caretaker, from child to friend and from ‘senior lodger’ to recent settlers (having acquired the property from a slumlord, etc). Once I established who was responsible for the property, I would administer my questionnaire to that person. Such a respondent would provide information relating to do with other households on that plot. The details entailed household numbers and headship, types of housing and land artefacts on plot (since I needed their record to determine the quality of houses). In certain instances, they provided me with leads as to where to find the real owner of the property in case I needed to probe further on issues of particular interest and relevance to my study.

c) Selecting Household Interviewees and Key Informants

Palys (2008) has argued that the adoption of purposive sampling signifies that one sees sampling as a series of strategic choices about: With whom? Where? How does one research? Palys goes further to elaborate that “…who a person is and where that person is located within a group is important, unlike other forms of research where people are viewed as essentially interchangeable” (Palys, 2008:2). Interviewees, as opposed to questionnaire respondents of the survey, were selected by two major methods – snowballing (for those in field sites) and purposively, for those in offices. Snowballing applied in cases where I was referred to those people purported to have been on sites longer than those I saw first. Such people enabled me to gain deeper insights into what may have occurred at the place and the site historically. It was also possible to be referred to ‘property owners’ during the questionnaire survey, as some details about interesting prima facie observations made were said to be the privy to the person behind those developments, who might be a ‘landlord’ or slumlord. It emerged that beyond what is
observed *prima facie*, there are explanations and ‘truths’ which may only be accessed by further probing and reaching out to the population that provides fuller detail.

### 1.6.4 Data Collection Methods

As already explained, the study attempts to historicise processes of housing and habitat delivery highlighting transformations, continuities and discontinuities that have emerged over the years. This aim justifies why documents consulted in this study were necessary. The objectives-methodology nexus is therefore provided in the matrix in Table 1.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>Approach</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i. To identify and classify stakeholders in housing delivery in the peri-urban zones with a view to explaining policy and practical bearings by each over time</td>
<td>Stakeholder identification and mapping required a number of instruments including those historical and current, those visible and invisible, those stated in interviews and those observed in action. Through interviews, observations and documents (by phenomenological inquiry) it was possible to locate and describe a number of actors and stakeholders in peri-urban housing and stewardship.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii. To explain differential processes and trends, if any, in the transformation and quality of the physical provision of shelter (stocks) in peri-urban settlements</td>
<td>Housing and place management in peri-urban settlements entails a number of processes including migration, extraction of materials, construction, and disposal of household waste, street vending, energy sourcing and others. Through interviews, documentary analysis, photography and literature review, these phenomena were brought to light. Households and institutions are all involved in these endeavours.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii. To relate global and regional efforts in the housing and stewardship debate and practices relating to peri-urban settlements</td>
<td>Literature review was the principal instrument in finding out the regional and global practices and discourse surrounding the stewardship of peri-urban settlements. In particular, the definition of the term <em>peri-urban</em> tended to differ from country to country.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv. To propose practical and policy alternatives in tackling peri-urban housing and stewardship matters at different levels of analysis (local and regional).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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</table>

*Table 1.3: Research Objective-Design-and-Methods Matrix*

The study has made use of both quantitative and qualitative methods of data gathering. For primary data collection, I used a household survey in which the questionnaire was the tool. I also used several qualitative techniques given the phenomenological aspects in the study for example photography, aided by photography and interviewing. For secondary data collection, I did literature review and document analysis. The triangulation of methods allowed me to examine the issues squarely from several angles, the idea being trying as much as possible to get to a better picture of the truth of the housing and stewardship phenomena. Before I get into the details
of the methods and techniques that I used for data collection, I will restate the aim and objectives of my study. The aim is to demonstrate the rationale of using these methods and techniques.

Having linked my study objectives to the research techniques that I applied, I now explain these different research methods and techniques in detail, showing exactly the philosophies underlying each, how I used them and the lessons that can be drawn from them.

1.6.4.1 Primary Data

As already indicated, I used interviewing, questionnaire and field observations as primary data collection methods for my study. In the next few paragraphs, I discuss these techniques and methods.

a) Interviewing

Interviews have a long history of usage and application in research (Kvale, 1983; Gubrium and Holstein eds, 2002; Opdenakker, 2006; Creswell and Tashakkori, 2007; Creswell et al, 2007). They are particularly helpful in getting the story behind a participant’s experiences or as a follow-up to certain respondents to questionnaires, for instance in a bid to further investigate their responses. As Opdenakker (2006:3) has put it, the “… nature of the information one wants to obtain, especially the importance of social cues. … When the interviewer interviews an expert about things or persons that have nothing to do with the expert, then social cues become less important.” This means that the researcher has to check the extent to which a choice of method will enhance or deter getting the information required. One also has to distinguish between the types of informants to determine whether an expert with social connections with the interviewer or expert with just knowledge of the subject matter. Expert interviewing is a form of interviewing. In this study, I interacted with a number of experts including those in housing, local government and environmental management. Given the complexity of the issue of housing and stewardship in peri-urban areas, it was necessary to gather the views of these experts through interviews.

The semi-structured interview is usually conducted in a face-to-face setting, allowing the researcher to seek new insights, ask questions, and assess phenomena in different perspectives.
The method is used primarily when written records or published documents are limited or non-existent, when there is need for information from different perspectives, and when there are key informants who are reachable and have in-depth knowledge about a situation or event. However, some researchers have expressed scepticism on the quality and nature of information generated through key informant interviews. In particular Kumar (1989) links this to the relative lack of care invested in the selection of the key informants, inadequate preparation of the interview guides, inapt wording and asking of the questions, and the lack of precision in analysing the data. Too often, “…this potentially useful and versatile method of data collection becomes a poorly planned activity generating information of dubious value and low credibility” (Kumar, 1989:4).

In my interviewing of the key informants (Appendix 1), I found the issues of introducing questions, follow-up questions, probing questions, specifying questions, direct questions, indirect questions, structuring questions, silence and interpreting questions quite critical (Kvale, 1996:133-135). It had to be as interactive as possible. Sturges and Hanrahan (2004) assert that qualitative researchers normally rely on face-to-face interviewing when conducting semi-structured and in-depth interviews. Further on, they point out that conducting an interview by telephone “…typically is seen as appropriate only for short, structured interviews or in very specific situations” (Sturges and Hanrahan, 2004:110). Oral interviews are part of the interviewing approaches involving narratives. Ringelheim et al (2007:vi) describe the oral history interview as “…an attempt to provide a place for the interviewee to tell his or her life story as he or she remembers it, and for the interviewer to ask questions that stimulate memory.” The purpose of the questions is that of stimulating memory. It is imperative to study the person’s life. This constitutes the vesterhen method.

Ringelheim et al (2007: vi) observe that, “…the interaction between interviewee and interviewer can create a bond between the two people that even ill-conceived questions cannot destroy. It is within that bond that questions and answers flow, and that history is revealed. Defining an oral history interview in this way creates a broad mandate. It assumes that there is no single correct interview technique or mode, and that different styles of interviewing are acceptable. This concept of different styles can be clarified by comparing the interview process with musical interpretation.”
By the end of the interview sessions, I found that I had ‘bonded’ with my interviewee. This bond was critical in inducing a ‘feeling’ of trust between us such that, what could have begun as a tenuous and suspicious conservation, then eased and we ‘flowed’ together. I realised that probing combined with freely allowing the key informant to speak with a minimum interruption ‘made them feel dignified’. In interviewing, the key informants must feel respected and honoured. Probing sometimes induces them with this feeling as they explain and clarify and points.

I had to approach them with a “Tell me…” approach (refer to Appendix 2a) so that they could tell their stories freely and with a minimum of interruptions. This approach opens one up to telling their story continuously thus allows the storyteller to go on and on with having to provide short answers as in the questionnaire interview. Some of the stories were so long that I had to endure listening while keeping the storytellers motivated to tell. Some storytellers allowed me to use my phone or camera to record them. Others were cautious and were more comfortable with me taking down notes. They complained about some journalists writing stories about their situations, sometimes without even listening to them. I engaged informants designated as officials with a view to getting their policy thrusts and practices on the ground regarding peri-urban environmental stewardship and housing (refer to Appendix 1). EMA officials, for example, told me part of the story and practice, yet referred me to a whole set of statutory instruments that they administer, examples being:

- Statutory Instrument 7 of 2007 (general guide to environmental management),
- Statutory Instrument 6 of 2007 (water and effluent, solid waste and industrial and mining waste),
- Statutory Instrument 10 of 2007 (hazardous substances),
- Statutory Instrument 12 of 2007 (hazardous substances like fuels and chemicals),
- Statutory Instrument 72 of 2009 (air pollution), and
- Statutory Instrument 3 or 5 of 2011 (adding value to Statutory Instrument 7).

EMA referred me to Print Flow (formerly Government Printers) to purchase these statutory instruments. With some, I tried using the short message service (sms), but some officials could not accommodate me all the time in their offices, owing to their tight commitments to work. This
method was useful in reminding them about possible times for meeting or the information required. With the ZIMRE General Manager, I sent several of such sms. Nonetheless, he never responded to despite the fact that he once was my supervisor as I was on attachment in 2002 at Bard Real Estate, a real estate firm in Harare. On the contrary, from the interviews I did with the peri-urban dwellers, my thrust was to get their views, their reactions, knowledge attitudes and practices (experiences with their habitats). I applied the *vesterhen*, having sometimes to empathise with them.

\[ b) \textit{Questionnaire Survey} \]

Household surveys are commonly designed to produce “…estimates of population totals, population means, or simple ratios of totals or means” (Chromy and Abeyasekera, 2005:3). In this study, a semi-structured questionnaire was administered to 291 households. Part of planning involved the weeklong training of 20 research assistants drawn from my classes BSc Honours classes. We went through question-by-question, first in English and then in Shona. The use of such a big number of enumerators was first to ensure maximum coverage of places simultaneously.

In other surveys, I realised that the interviewed groups (those interviewed first) tend to influence those not yet interviewed either to refuse answering the questions or outright chasing away researchers given the political polarity in the country at the time of the study. Secondly, a group of five for each section was assigned to a section of each study area at a time such that four of the areas were covered each time. Thirdly, my students were willing to participate in the study as most had had no opportunity to do fieldwork as Honours students in Rural and Urban Planning given the economic constraints, faced the country at the time as well as all other sectors in the economy. I remember, from what the students were observing; a number also came up with their own dissertation topics for the BSc programme. To me, that was a sign that they had learnt something and wanted to investigate other related issues in peri-urban settlements.

Household surveys lasted one month, mid-July to mid-August 2010, since we only went into the field on Thursdays and Fridays when they did not have classes. Areas surveyed by settlement (Ruwa and Epworth) were Domboramwari, Chiremba, Stopover, Overspill, Magada, Makomo
and Chinamano for Epworth. For Ruwa, on the other hand, these areas included Zimre Park, Chipukuto, Riverside, Damofalls, Ruwa Township, Windsor Park, Sunway City, Springvale (Intermarket) and Fairview. The 291 respondents were distributed as follows: 137 from Epworth, 40.15% of whom were males and 59.85% females. In Ruwa, of the 154 respondents 48% were males while 52% were females. In both cases, the number of interviewees with whom the researcher interacted in their homes was mainly skewed in favour of female respondents. The reason for this is partly explained by the fact that the survey was conducted during weekdays, when most men were away at work – whether formal or informal. This may also be an indication of the tendency within peri-urban communities to have women should be in the homes or closer to home to attend to household obligations (cf. Sithole-Fundire, Zhou, Larsson and Schlyter eds. 1995; Sithole-Fundire, 1995). A normal distribution pattern of the age aspect of the respondents in both settlements emerged. The (20-29) age range is the predominant component in the graph (39%). With respect to housing and habitat issues, age is very critical in showing the manner in which indoor and outdoor spaces are used. Children, for example have special interests in the outdoor space.

Information was solicited through the enumerators interviewing and recording data on the questionnaires. Selection of the households was possible through randomisation. We used random tables, with outcomes of randomised numbers drawn. We tried to make use of Google Earth images to locate the places but there were great limitations in that the images were few and less visible. For this reason, we had to make use of the street maps for Ruwa and to Epworth maps of the different zones of the settlement. Before getting into the field, we already knew the places and plots that each enumerator was going to administer questionnaires hence interviewing respondents.

c) Field Observations and Photography

Field observations are part of ethno-methodology, which is a method that people use to create and understand their daily lives, that is, the way in which they go about seeing, explaining, and describing order in the world they live. The phenomena may sometimes be studied with the assistance of photography. Photography has been used as a technique in exploring society (Becker, 1974). In this study, particularly the fieldwork, I took 200 shots using my digital
camera. The photos served two basic purposes: to remind me of the places, artefacts and the people I had interacted with, and to tell the story of those selected. As Sontag (1977) postulates, the picture taken was an event in itself. In this aspect, research assistants served as photographers. Sometimes they had to take pictures of me with research participants in the field survey or I had to take ones of them with certain respondents and artefacts. In other instances, we had no option but to take pictures from a distance, as photojournalists would do, without asking for permission. This applied to impersonal aspects on the ground such as polluted grounds. In the latter case, we made sure that the faces of the research participants were not easily identifiable, for ethical reasons. Where the research participants allowed us to do so and were at short distances, we made sure this was done with informed consent. Others wanted their pictures to be “on the cover page of the book that will come out of this study,” (one Munyaradzi we met on the Domboramwari, Dwala). In certain instances, those people who did not have pictures taken would call the participating members to demand some payment from us, assuming that we would make huge sums of money from the pictures we were taking.

Observations were made on the state of the natural and built environment, particularly climatic, hydrological, geological and vegetative conditions, the quality and state of the housing and attendant infrastructure. Objects in the areas of study, apart from houses, like polluted points, areas used by households for waste dumping, spots where certain operations were being conducted like sand mining and quarrying, were all selected randomly locals of the areas in which such operations were taking place. Based on this information, site visits were done to such areas. The study benefited mainly from the use of photography, anecdotes, institutional analysis, history, and mapping. Visual observations provided an opportunity to collect data on a wide range of behaviours, to capture a great variety of interactions, and explore issues leading to a holistic perspective of the same. In both areas – namely Ruwa and Epworth – under study, a digital camera was used to capture images of the quality of housing, the physical environment. This was found to be useful and reliable in showing aspects of the environment. It also showed how people in the two areas interact with their environment. We soon found out in Epworth that a number of plots had some numbers, contrary to conventional wisdom that there are totally no street addresses.
Four critical lessons can be drawn from the photographs. First is that the researcher must ensure that his or her camera is ready for the purpose. One of the days, we had to go back and fix our camera after it had developed a technical fault. Secondly, in terms of the event of picture taking, the researcher must secure the informed consent of the interviewees. There are those who will demand their pictures to appear “in the book”. The researcher must be in a position to explain that everything will depend on certain critical criteria. Otherwise, agreeing to such demands may bring trouble to other researchers. Moreso, it also depends on whether or not they will be able to access the final copy of “the book”. Thirdly, when dealing with a sample within a group, while also trying to capture the natural setting, the researcher must be poised to deal with the mob psychology, so that the willing research participants are dissuaded from going ahead with the process of research.

Finally, in selecting and processing pictures, ethical considerations are critical. Some pictures are just useful for recall and reflection; others really tell a story. Overall, photography was a very useful tool in this study. The study of phenomena in peri-urban housing and stewardship would not be complete without pictures. Prudence is a critical requisite in managing the whole process from picture taking to selection through to publicity. Sometimes, hiring a professional photographer will help. The impressionistic power of photography was maximised on, even in writing and relating elements obtained in during fieldwork.

1.6.4.2 Secondary Data

Literature review and review of documents including media reports, national, provincial and district plans and reports were used as sources of secondary data.

a) Review of Documentary Evidence

Documents come in different forms and types. They can be “…a written document, a painting, a monument, a map, a photograph, a statistical table, a film or video, etc. Anything from the past that helps us to learn what happened, and why, is a document.” (Bélanger, 2006:2). A whole range of documents can include “…annual reports, letters, company forms, accounts or human resources data, flow charts, policy literature, legislation, cartoons, photographs, minutes, memos, procedures and policies, speeches, time sheets, newspapers, magazine articles, film and other
media and graffiti” (Hutchins, 1977:17; cf. Morrell, 2004; Mogalakwe, 2006). Bélanger (2006:2) stresses that it “is especially appropriate for the written documents.” Document analysis is a technique essentially germane to all types of documents. The advantages of document analysis include its unobtrusiveness and non-reactivity; its use as a basis for triangulation, comparison or contrast given data, its support for ingenuity, and consideration for longitudinal aspects ‘given’ data. The method is said to be even more cost effective than social surveys, in-depth interviews or participant observation (Mogalakwe, 2006:221). Disadvantages include its non-influence on methods or methodology, the difficulty in the identification of author(s), problems with selection and constraints of access explained by ethical considerations (Mogalakwe, 2006:221).

Documentary review is two-fold: external and internal analysis (Bélanger, 2006). In external analysis, focus is placed on the introduction of the document by the author in terms of identity, motive or purpose of writing the document and biases or assumptions. Furthermore, it deals with the degree of familiarity with the subject discussed in the document, whether or not the author was a direct observer of the event/issue, personal involvement in the events/issues described hence the analyst’s believability on the credibility of the author and subject discussed by the author. In internal analysis, documentary analysis examines the main body of the document, that is, the content, the believability of the document. Bélanger (2006:6) asserts that it is “…in the conclusion that you really show that you have mastered the art of document analysis.” In this study, reference was made to a number of documents, which included legislations and statutory instruments governing housing and environment.

I also examined reports and plans drafted by relevant institutions under study. In addition, I managed to get some maps and minutes by Epworth Local Board. For Ruwa, I had access to a number of reports and some of this information was available on its website. Some other information was also found in the local newspapers (the Herald and the Sunday Mail) in the form of articles by journalists, commentators and, local government notices letters to the editor. Others were articles from local magazines including the Business Week. This information was useful in writing about the history, peri-urban dwellers’ experiences and issues in the two settlements.
The continuum between credibility and non-credibility of the sources can be drawn. Minutes and reports indicated the experiences of the people on the ground as quite being or next to the reality of them. The plans and statutory documents reflected the normative side of the institutions in charge of the areas under study. Some of the plans were tantamount to ‘wishful thinking’, for example the Harare Metropolitan Province, which I believe is an institution created more for political reasons than for solving the planning and stewardship motifs of what a metropolitan government should champion.

The statutory instruments on the other hand repeated the same old problems of ‘suggesting the way forward without pointing to the pool of resources or at least means of generating such’ (cf. Mosse, 20042). Of newspaper articles, especially letters to the editor, some of the opinions raised by the writers were ‘too subjective and opinionated to be credible’ (Dearing, 1995; Maier, 2005; Rieh and Danielson, 20073). Some of the articles were rather satirical, though pointing to the deeper realities of the meanings of the state as well as the possible future of the phenomena being studied. I had to proceed with caution in the use of all these different documents. Perhaps for a researcher, the major aspect is not that the documents are ‘not telling the truth’ but that certain messages, feelings, perceptions and attitudes are being conveyed by different stakeholders. To me this was very critical in trying to expose the myths and realities of peri-urban housing and stewardship in Ruwa and Epworth.

1.6.5 Analysis of the Data
In this study of housing and stewardship in peri-urban settlements in Zimbabwe, my data analysis was focused on the information drawn from documents including reports, plan documents and newspapers; the information obtained from survey and fieldwork interviewees in Epworth and Ruwa, as well as that obtained from key informant stations in various offices – public, private or voluntary.

a) Analysing Qualitative and Textual Data
It is from the key informants that understanding the realities of these interviewees mattered most. Different people interpret reality, environments, and processes therein differently. According to
Kvale (1996), there are six critical steps of analysis. These are namely the researcher living the reality of the research, discovery of new relationships and their meanings with the informants, condensing of meanings and conveying the message, transcribing and clarifying the meanings, re-interviewing, where possible, action by the interviewees (Kvale, 1996).

However, this process is not as straightforward as laid out by Kvale. For instance, I tried recording my interviews with the deputy director of the Department of Physical Planning, transcribed and brought him the transcript, as suggested by Dr. Fred Lerise in the Case Method Workshop I attended in Johannesburg in May 2010. When I brought him the transcript of what he had said earlier and wanted him to clarify and even add more information, he became perplexed about what he had said in the 2-hour interview of the previous day. He began to suggest that we edit, change, or even remove certain sections. This would result in the omission of what information deemed to be answering research questions of the study. He was trying to make a trade-off between his honest opinion about how his department runs and protecting his job as he discovered that perhaps what he had revealed ran contrary to how he should conduct himself according to the Official Secrets Act. While verification is critical, caution must be taken in ensuring that a true story is told. Otherwise, a falsified picture will be painted.

Specifically, qualitative data analysis for this study involved, in keeping with Creswell (2005):

- going through all the transcripts and making notes to get a general feel of the study. Note taking assists in recording information and aiding reflection (Boch and Piolat, 2005).
- going through the interviews and trying to get meaning of the described phenomena.
- listing all topics and grouping them.
- comparing the listed topics with the data and ‘coding’ with appropriate text.
- identifying appropriate descriptive wording for the topics and turning them into classes and relating these topics.
- putting together the grouped data and conducting preliminary analyses.
- finding an agreeable position on the coded data, to ensure a common thread of argument.

b) Analysing Quantitative and Statistical Data
The traditional scientific inquiry consists of four interrelated stages namely problem definition, data gathering, data analysis and data interpretation (Scanlan, 2001). Statistics are used in the data analysis and interpretation stages of an inquiry. The general purpose of statistical analysis is to provide meaning to what otherwise would be a collection of numbers and/or values. The "meaningfulness" depends on the clarity and specification of the problem or questions being asked and the precision with which relevant information is gathered. Statistical procedures fall loosely into three general groups namely descriptive, associative, and inferential (Bracken, 1981; Scanlan, 2001). Descriptive statistics represent individuals or events in terms of some predefined characteristics. To identify meaningful interrelationships between or among data, associative statistics apply. On the other hand, to assess the characteristics of a sample in order to make general statements about the ‘parent’ population or the relationship between different samples or populations, inferential statistics is applied.

Since the questionnaires administered were semi-structured (see Appendix 2b), my first task was to code the answers using SPSS version 16. I had to pull out open-ended responses, as they constituted qualitative data. At least 60 variables and sub-variables were created under the following headings: introduction, demographic characteristics of the household, housing and living conditions, labour, energy and power, migration history, land and environment, community facilities and overall remarks. Some of the variables were adapted from the national census enumerator’s manual (CSO, 2002). The adapted variables included those in the demographic profile of the respondent (sex, age, education, employment, etc) and those of tenure status of the household (categorisation as owner/purchaser, tenant, lodger, tied accommodation and other); and the type of dwelling (detached, semi-detached, shack) (see Appendix 1). Using the inputted SPSS dataset, it was possible to do cross-tabulations and graphs. As well, using the SPSS result patterns, it was possible to draw some comparable statistics about the study areas. Not so versed with associative and inferential statistics, I relied more on descriptive statistics hence I call my study to be rooted in the qualitative domain.

1.6.6 Ethical Considerations

In all research that involves humans, it is the paramount responsibility of the researcher to ensure that the people involved in an interview study are protected. This is because informants have a
right to make an informed decision about whether or not to participate in a particular project, to receive considerate treatment during the research process, and to have their personal responses and identity kept confidential throughout (Brener (2006:361). Qualitative interviews involve special considerations, as some personal relationships are established with informants before, during and after the interviews (cf. Ventegodt et al, 2003:1008). Generally, the researcher should avoid research sites where informants may feel coerced to participate in the research. The informants' privacy is critical.

Communication is required about the expected time of completion of an interview process. The researcher must protect the informant's identity so that the information collected does not embarrass or otherwise harm them. Respect of the informants involves seeking their cooperation throughout the research process. The research or interview process must be viewed as a ‘contract’, where the terms of the agreement are clear. Honesty and integrity are critical, especially that the report and findings must be a true reflection of the reality on the ground (Bracken, 1981; Brener, 2006; Ventegodt et al, 2003:1008).

In this study, all efforts were made to ensure that these aspects were observed throughout. To protect informants, pseudonyms were used in the presentation of the results. In picture taking, the requisite permission was sought. One of them wished his picture could be part of my report as he thought the same could enhance publicity of his work. He said, “If I must be seen in the book, please make sure, I am right on the cover”. Overall, the study was mooted, with a view to understanding peri-urban dynamics with respect to housing and peri-urban management (the styles, practices and experiences) so that one would understand these better and so be able to inform policy and practice. The inquiry was not meant to in any way to inflict pain to the peri-urban dwellers by suggesting policies and regulations that could result in them being evicted or having their livelihood coping strategies (like vending) proscribed. It was purely for academic purposes and planning professional practice even enhancing peri-urban stewardship through suggesting monitoring mechanisms like use of geographic information systems (GIS) (Wilmersdorf, 2010) and related modern tools for urban management.
Furthermore, in the course of the fieldwork and research, respect for the informants was expressed in various forms. One of them, as mentioned before, was to seek informed consent, using recording equipment only when permission to do so was granted and keeping the encounters completely private and confidential (refer to Appendices 3 and 4). It was also through telling the interviewees that being a student; I did not know anything unless I was told “by them, the people who actually live the life”. In most cases, they first doubted this, since they associated that someone from the university had all “knowledge in the world”. I had to tell them that they should expect more of these researches, where upon a number expressed ‘research fatigue’ particularly in Epworth where government, non-governmental organisations, other development agencies and universities are always researching. The informants always asked the enumerators and myself how the study would help their situation. I told them of the aspects affected the possible outcomes, highlighting that change always comes through research, which then informs what actions work or do not work in a particular contexts.

Institutions asked me to ‘swear’ that I would not abuse the information that they were giving me. Some ‘demanded’ to see the final copy of my findings/report. This, I promised to honour and I will honour. Given the political polarisation in the country during the time of the study, I hid behind the name of my University that “…as you might be aware, the university is politically neutral as it works with and for everybody.” Overall, it was the observance of research ethics that made this study possible.

1.6.7 Limitations of the Study
Theoretically and practically, the study, though benefiting from a combination of methods and techniques, had aspects that were beyond my control. Some potential interviewees were unreachable. For example, I wanted to discuss issues with the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Local Government, Rural and Urban Development who, at the Victoria Falls National Housing Convention in October 2009, had indicated that I was welcome to see him “anytime”. Upon arrival at his office, even with an approval stamp by his office, he could not find time to speak to me.
Overall, bureaucracy was a ‘necessary evil’. Its necessity was in legitimising my presence in the study areas and in the offices of key informants. As the media was speculating on the holding of elections, the research areas were essentially ‘politically charged’. To overcome the political problem, the approval letter eased the tension for me and my enumerators. Knowing that language and expressions may pose problems, especially in household surveys, I pre-tested the questionnaire so that ambiguities were ironed out, and the terminology was simplified for the ordinary person in community. Essentially, triangulation of methods was a way of getting closer to the picture of describing and explaining the meaning of stewardship in peri-urban settlements. It is quite difficult to generalise the finding from Epworth and Ruwa to all peri-urban settlements in Zimbabwe and perhaps the region. Yet, I am convinced that these two cases help, in a way, in the understanding of some of the dimensions and issues in peri-urban settlements.

1.7 Organisation of the Study
The thesis is organised in eight chapters with the following headings:

- Chapter 1: Incorporating Peri-Urban Housing in the Stewardship Discourse
- Chapter 3: The Context of Housing and Stewardship in Zimbabwe
- Chapter 4: Housing and Stewardship Realities in Ruwa
- Chapter 5: Housing and Stewardship Realities in Epworth
- Chapter 6: State Institutions and the Shaping of Stewardship in Zimbabwe: Departmentalism versus Collaboration
- Chapter 7: The Concessionary Model in Peri-Urban Housing Delivery in Zimbabwe: Scope, Limits and Prospects
- Chapter 8: Conclusions, Lessons, Policy Implications and Recommendations

1.8 Summary
This chapter has laid down the context, purpose and the methodological issues that characterised my study and how these were assessed to fit into a framework that assisted me in generating sufficient data for my thesis. Overall, the chapter has shown the approach to the whole research design, data collection and the units of analysis (population and sampling), data analysis, and
ethical considerations for the study. I have also infused a number of aspects relating to my considerations for strengths and limitations involved with each of these aspects of the research methodology. In the next chapter, I focus on the literature review.
CHAPTER TWO
THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL ISSUES IN HOUSING AND PERI-URBAN STEWARDSHIP: A CRITICAL REVIEW

“...frameworks help to identify elements; theories help to specify relevant components for specific questions; models clarify assumptions regarding variables.” – John Monaghan (2009: 16)

2.1 Introduction to the literature of housing and stewardship

Overall, the concepts of housing, stewardship, peri-urbanisation and peri-urbanity are complex. Day (2005:2) asserts that suburbanisation or peri-urbanisation “…has always been with us” and are synonymous with urban sprawl. Peri-urbanisation (also referred to as peri-urban growth or “suburban expansion” (Torres, 2008:3), is typified by housing development. The physical house (shelter) and accompanying infrastructure make up a habitat. Housing is, thus, a collection of many elements (Bourne, 1981) that include aspects of transport and circulation (Ozaki and Uršic, 2005), and health and sanitation (Hardoy et al, 1990; McElfish, 2008; Light, 2004; cf. Walt, 1994; Marshall, 4 December 2008; Siyeni, 2008). It also entails the development of social classification (Duany et al, 2003) and administration and governance structures and processes (Kamete, Ndubiwa and Sidambe, 2001; Kamete, 2002a).

This chapter seeks to review literature in light of the following four objectives of this study on housing and peri-urban stewardship. I restate these objectives of the study as to:

- identify and classify stakeholders in housing delivery in the peri-urban zones with a view to explaining policy and practical bearings by each over time,
- explain differential processes and trends, if any, in the transformation and quality of the physical provision of shelter (stocks) in peri-urban settlements,
- relate global and regional efforts in the housing and stewardship debate and practices regarding peri-urban settlements, and,
- propose practical and policy alternatives in tackling peri-urban housing and stewardship matters at different levels of analysis (local and regional).
In light of these objectives, this chapter focuses on the following topics: sustainability in peri-urban human settlements (cf. Mobile Lives Forum, 2012), theories and approaches to stewardship, instruments and mechanisms for peri-urban sustainability. The other topics are stewardship and collaboration of actors, classification of actors in the shaping of peri-urban settlements, processes in peri-urban housing, global and regional practices in peri-urban housing and stewardship and continuity and change – urban and peri-urban settlement policies in Zimbabwe. The overall aim of the chapter is to answer theoretically the questions: How, and by what standards, is stewardship a sustainability factor in housing and environmental processes of peri-urban habitats? Who and by what instruments do actors demonstrate this stewardship of place?

2.2 Stewardship and Peri-urban Processes and Development: A Refocus

Human settlements, in general, portray certain critical patterns that reveal that communities not only depend on their environments (Huby, 1998). In the process, resources are exploited sometimes to the effect of degrading the environment, leaving huge scars and eyesores on it. Certainly, there is profound dependency on the natural environment by the peri-urban dwellers and such is an issue in usus, habitation and usufruct in land legislation (Urimah, 2010). Usus means the legal right one has to use the other’s property; habitation refers to the right to occupy a dwelling; and, usufruct is the right to enjoy the fruits that result within the space and domain or space that one has access to (Green, 2008). In place stewardship, it is critical to see the link between rights, access and use to space and what it provides to inhabitants (cf. Mobile Lives Forum, 2012).

Most peri-urban dwellers operate on the off-plot space around them for different purposes: farming, extractions, dumping (Allen, 2003; Mobile Lives Forum, 2012). As the study shall demonstrate, in the two settlements under study – Ruwa and Epworth – public common spaces have become the new places of work especially by the poor households. Overall, the common spaces are important elements as natural and physical capital in space. Place stewardship and housing are critical in endeavours to understand peri-urban development. In Zimbabwe, urban sprawl, which is generally explained by massive shelter developments on the horizontal plane, is a cause of concern in urban environmental management debates and circles (Mutanga, 1997;
McElfish, 2008). Place stewardship implies stakeholders being in the forefront of determining their own destiny (McKinney, et al., 2004). Thus, the notion has generational implications. Failure to acknowledge the views, aspirations, interests and values expressed by various peri-urban stakeholders means futility in the creation of sustainable peri-urban human settlements.

Peri-urban areas being zones of transition imply that their sustainable management is a concern for many groups, including planners and inhabitants. Spatially, the dwelling conditions especially for the poor and low-income inhabitants, the peri-urban produce complex realities relating, for example, to issues of transactions in land, land degradation and sanitary living (Ball, 2003; MacAuslan, 2002; Cumming, 1993; Davidson and Payne, 1983; de Sherbinin and Martine, 2007; Davila et al, 1999). The sustainable development of peri-urban settlements is difficult and complex, given an array of factors militating against it; it largely tends to happen in a haphazard manner (Oram, 1965; Irurah, 2003; Muzvidziwa, 2005; Chirisa, 2008). The environment is a key component in production, consumption and recreational patterns governing housing and place stewardship (BHP, 2006). Overall, the subject of sustainability is not only about continuity but also about dialogue and the creation of forums and contracts that shape places and the people that dwell there.

Sustainability of ‘precarious’ places such as the peri-urban is complicated by the fact that the areas are fluid and unstable. In this view, Mobile Lives Forum (2012:1) acknowledges that “…this space is in fact much more complex and diverse, giving rise to a number of concepts in an attempt to better grasp it: alter-urban, suburban, rings, périurbain, péri-urbain, citta diffusa, Zwischenstadt, etc. This could be another way for modern societies to spatialise themselves, not necessarily in conflict with compact cities but in coexistence and complementarity.” Stewardship revolves around finding solutions for better management and environmental sustainability (Conforth, 2004; Pastoriza and Arino, 2008). Apparently, environmental sustainability is essentially about striking a balance between three factors: economy (market), ecology and equity (society) (Habitat Platform, 2002; Nnkya, 2008; Beatley, 2011). These factors are the three concerns of prosperity, planet and people, respectively (Ansell and van Blerk, 2004; Kamete, 2002; cf. Savory, 1988). It is therefore imperative to outline the conceptual and operational meanings of terms discussed in this thesis.
2.3 Conceptual and Operational Meanings of Key Terms

In most developing countries, many major cities are ‘spilling-over’ their populations into the adjacent smaller settlements, whose populations also continue to grow by leaps and bounce (Briggs and Mwamfupe, 2000; Briggs and Yeboah, 2001). Thus, behind the whole process of peri-urbanisation is urbanisation itself (see Figure 2.1). Symptomatic of this peri-urbanisation is the increasing number of housing units in areas found at the city-edge (Johnson, 1990; Allen, 2003). This has led to a novel kind of ‘housing question’, given the wide array of challenges associated with it in this rather ‘fragile zone’. Among the challenges noted with respect to peri-urban dwelling units is their immodest character in terms of the construction technologies employed. In addition, incremental modes of delivery are applied; over time, they tend to produce a mosaic of discordant townscapes. Furthermore, insecurity with regard to the tenure status of the citizens (cf. MacAuslan, 2002) is a critical factor of concern. There is general over-reliance by the builders on the immediate biophysical environment as a source of building materials leading sometimes to intense land degradation. Inadequacies in water and sanitation delivery (cf. Mukuka, 2001; Shah, 2007) are rife. Above all, the general inconsistencies in policy relating to peri-urban areas pose difficulties in finding lasting solutions to the management of this environment and the human habitats themselves.

In the following paragraphs, I attempt to define concepts central to this study. Within this nomenclature are terms including peri-urban area, housing, peri-urban housing, stewardship, environmental stewardship, stewardship and community building. Figure 2.1 is the conceptual framework adopted in this study. The processes begin with rapid urbanisation that has become phenomenal in recent times in Africa and the developing world at large (Shildo, 1990). At the centre of focus becomes the peri-urban interface, as it works for both the environmental resources and space for housing in most cases leading to the increase in ecological footprint (cf. Mobile Lives Forum, 2012). Place stewardship and planning are the critical panacea to correct the ills of and tendency towards degradation and to moving towards sustainability in human settlements.
2.3.1 Peri-Urban, Peri-urbanisation and Peri-urbanity: An Analysis

Peri-urban interfaces are also defined as areas outside formal urban boundaries and jurisdictions that are in a process of urbanisation (Government of Swaziland, 1997; cf. Douglas, 2006). They progressively assume many of the characteristics of urban areas and sometimes they are also defined as suburban. Small and Witherick (1986:238) define a suburb as “…the outer or peripheral, mainly residential, parts of a town or city largely dependent upon services and employment concentrated in its central business district” (ibid.). The process has demographic insinuations. Originally the word suburb meant “…the territory immediately outside the walls of a town or city (often occupied by craftsmen seeking to escape guild regulations)” (ibid.). A peri-urban area is, thus, “…not only a zone of direct impact experiencing the immediate impacts of land demands from urban growth and pollution, but is also a wider market-related zone of influence that is recognizable in terms of the handling of agricultural and natural resource
products …” (PU-GEC, 2009:1). Explicitly, there are strong ties between the centre and the periphery, especially the most immediate and proximity, in terms of location, the peri-urban zone. Beyond the peri-urban zone is the ‘exurban zone’ which, largely, is largely rural (Fishman and Gechter, 2004; Stoian, 2003; Clark, 2006).

In this study, a peri-urban area is taken to mean the area immediately behind the de facto boundaries of the city, and, is often treated as either suburban or ‘pre-urban’ (cf. Mobile Lives Forum, 2012). It is prudent (i.e. worthwhile) to see how others have conceptualised the peri-urban. A peri-urban zone (also referred to as the ‘urban margin’) “…begins just beyond the contiguous built-up urban area and sometimes extends as far as 150 km from the core city, or as in the Chinese case as far as 300 km. [It is marked by] changing mosaic of both traditional and modern land-use.” (Webster, 2002:6). Bourne et al (2003:251) observe that the peri-urban region is a “contested ground” where “processes of urban growth and development intersect with the pressures for rural preservation”. Peri-urban housing is a major contributor to environmental degradation (Huby, 1998; Nkambwe, 2006).

Managing peri-urban areas has administrative overtones, given the financial stress and inadequate staffing for peri-urban research and development characterising in most developing countries (Nkambwe, 2006; Allen, 2011; UNFPA, 2007; Home, 2001; Nguyen, 2006). Consequently, most peri-urban habitats are in a state of flux resulting in unsustainable development (Patel et al, 2001; Aristizabal and Gomez, 2002; Armitage, 2000; Eisenstein, 1999; Laurent et al, 2009) Most peri-urban dwellers have ‘a wait and see approach’ as they lack in full information about what is happening to them (Murowe and Chirisa, 2006).

The peri-urban zone is especially synonymous with landuse conflicts and uncertainty (Butterworth et al, 2007; Dube, 2004; Jenkins, 2006; Larsson and Schylder, 1995). Thus living in the peri-urban is largely precarious, especially for the low-income groups within society (Hansen, 2007; Chirisa, 2010). There are different actors in the peri-urban. Choy et al (2008:5) identify the following:

- the *seekers* who are defined by their lifestyle, including religious communities and those seeking alternative life styles,
- the *survivors*, including do-it-yourself (DIY) home builders and those keeping horses, who thrive on adaptive life.
- the *speculators*, “... including farm stays and retreats, the pet industry, boutique farmers, recreational providers, landscape suppliers, the equine industry and developers and real estate agents”, and,
- the *strugglers*, “characterised by the ‘holding-on’ farmers.”

Such taxonomy is critical in the identification of the processes and patterns of development in the peri-urban some of which, in effect, define the lifestyles by the peri-urban dwellers (Mobile Lives Forum, 2012). Though these actors are acting at a much-localised level, it must be borne in mind that there is a whole range of ‘hidden’ and as well ‘distant’ actors who sporadically cause changes in the local place. A good number of the actors identified by Choy *et al* (2008) live in precariousness, being uncertain of their future circumstance, yet how they act or react to impending urban development leaves a long-term imprint on the environment. Most peri-urban dwellers live informally; they are not formally recognised by the authorities (Murowe and Chirisa, 2006). In certain circumstances, they have a ‘rural footing’ yet striving to lead ‘urban lives’ (Grant, 1991). Jacobs (1965:461) highlights the symbiotic relationship between the city and the countryside, especially in the rural-urban fringe, indicating that,

> “Big cities and countrysides can get along well together. Big cities need real countryside close by. And countryside – from man’s point of view – needs big cities, with all their diverse opportunities and productivity, so human beings can be in a position to appreciate the rest of the natural world instead of to curse it.”

Most of peri-urban settlements enjoy “… relatively lower population densities, mixed land-uses and rapid land-use change, land speculation and uncertain land tenure, fast-growing population and infrastructure requirements, mix of newcomers and long-established dwellers, heterogeneous and changing social and economic structures, diversified livelihood strategies, and a fragmented institutional landscape, made worse by rapid change and unclear boundaries, jurisdictions and competencies” (Sanchez-Cuenca, 2011:1). They are not exactly uniform in their typologies. The typologies of peri-urban by Iaquinta and Drescher (2000) and their habitats by Ward and Peters (2007) demonstrate the fact of their non-uniformity.
2.3.1.1 Typologising Peri-urbanisation (Zasada, et al, (2011))

There are different types of peri-urbanisation: displaced-urbanisation, ex-urbanisation, anti-urbanisation and hidden-urbanisation (Zasada et al, 2011). In Zasada, et al (2011) terms,

- Ex-urbanisation is characterised by wealthy urbanites moving into the countryside.
- Displaced-urbanisation happens in response factors of employment, living costs and housing availability.
- Anti-urbanisation is associated with a self-sufficient lifestyle with preference for smaller communities, amenity-driven retirement migration.
- Hidden urbanisation, by extension, is characterised by the engagement by households and communities in non-agricultural activities; farmsteads are converted to accommodate these. Households commute to access other land-use zones.

Each variant of urbanisation is associated with a different type of impact. As noted by PU-GEC (2009:1), peri-urbanisation is “…both as a driver and an effecter of global environmental changes”. It is a clear indicator of the urbanisation trend (cf. Castells, 1978). By checking on land-use and land cover change over time, one can conclude the effects of the peri-urbanisation process. One major and obvious impact of peri-urbanisation is that it transforms the environmental character of a place. The major manifestation is that the natural environment will be displaced and replaced by a built environment (Stren, 1992; McElfish, 2008; Gordon and Richardson, 1997).

2.3.1.2 Typologising Peri-urban (Iaquinta and Drescher, 2000)

Iaquinta and Drescher (2000) identify five different types of peri-urban areas, which are influenced by the relationship that the peri-urban areas share with the urban areas.

- The first type is what Iaquinta and Drescher (2000) call village peri-urban, which is countryside that is non-proximate to the city either geographically or in travel time. It derives from circulation and migration and embodies a network-induced institutional context wherein change is effected through diffusion or induction while institutions remain stable and traditional in orientation (cf. Benjamin, 2008). This scenario has led to a ‘chaotic urbanisation’ process in Malawi, for example, where chiefs in some peri-urban
areas continue to distribute land irrespective of planning principles (Kawonga, 1996; Chikhwenda, 2002).

- The second type is the diffuse peri-urban, which is a geographically urban fringe that derives from multiple-source point in-migration. It embodies an amalgamated institutional context, where there is a high demand for negotiating novel institutional forms of addressing conflicting traditions and world urban views.

- The third type, according to Iaquinta and Drescher (2000) is called the *chain peri-urban*. This is also a geographically urban fringe, which derives primarily from chain migration. Traditions and institutions are transplanted with some modification from donors, who come in with institutional needs, analyse the situation and may offer some capacity building programmes.

- Fourthly, there is *place peri-urban area*, which is geographically close to the city urban fringe and derives from in-place urbanisation, natural increase and migration (cf. Thornton, 2008).

- Finally, there is *absorbed peri-urban*, which, geographically, is within the city, having been absorbed and derives from displacement of traditional structures. The roots of social arrangements lie in the traditions of a previously resident culture group. The traditions are then maintained through ‘ritualism’.

It is important to note that the taxonomy of peri-urban by Iaquinta and Drescher (2000) is largely spatial and perhaps does not tell much about the physical products and artefacts, specifically housing types, associated with each typology.

### 2.3.1.3 Typologising Peri-urban habitats and housing (Ward and Peters, 2007)

Ward and Peters (2007) identify seven typologies of self-help or self-managed housing developments in the peri-urban interface. These are classic border *colonias*, non-border peri-urban informal subdivisions, semi-urban or rural housing subdivisions, recreational subdivisions, retirement subdivisions, mobile home communities and trailer parks.

- The classic border *colonias* are located “…mostly in the border region, almost always beyond the city limits and buried in the rural hinterland” (Ward and Peters, 2007:16). The very low-income Mexican or Mexican origin populations occupy the classic border *colonias*. 
• The non-border peri-urban informal subdivisions are “…low density, larger individual lots, idiosyncratic dwelling arrangements and placement on lots, unpaved streets, and, when seen from above, from the numerous “lozenge-shaped trailer home roofs.” Occupiers are of “mixed ethnicity” (Ward and Peters, 2007:16).

• Semi-urban or rural housing subdivisions are the third typology and are marked by low-density settlement. The settlements have similar physical dwelling structures with severe servicing deficiencies. The occupiers are mainly widows or widowers.

• The fourth type, which exists in various shapes, sizes and types is what Ward and Peters refer to as recreational subdivisions. These are the most preferred by the better-off working class “whose hobbies or preferences are for outdoor life (keeping horses for example), as well as those wishing to have an affordable second home residence for weekends and vacations, even if this is a trailer or mobile home-type unit”. Levels of servicing are very low.

• The fifth typology, Ward and Peters (2007) call retirement subdivisions. In physical outlook, they resemble the recreation subdivisions while providing “relatively low-cost options to so-called downsizers - parents whose children have left home and who are now living on modest or limited savings and pensions” (Ward and Peters, 2007:16). Provision of amenities to residents is minimal.

• The next category are “manufactured homes not involving self-help and which are located in formal subdivisions, usually within city jurisdictions rather than in the peri-urban (rural) area.” These are the mobile home communities and trailer parks. The former are an alternative for those who cannot access conventional mortgage finance or state insured housing (cf. Roth, 2008). The houses are built within the code yet occupy low-cost peripheral locations. They are in the form of modular homes and the occupiers are usually homeowners.

• The trailer parks, on the other hand, are located within city limits or what Ward and Peters refer to as ‘extra territorial jurisdiction (ETJ)’ (Ward and Peters, 2007).

The foregoing conceptualisations of the peri-urban show the complexity of issues inherent in this environment especially with respect to urban development. The suburban zone is a place that offers a better appreciation of rural and urban interactions (rural-urban linkages) including the
aspect of urbanism whereby peri-urban dwellers assume urban living styles and fashions (cf. Kamete, Sidambe and Ndubiwa, 2001; Cavailhès et al, 2004; Ruby, 2002).

2.2.2 Housing and Peri-urban housing

This study adopts the broader definition of housing, namely that it is ‘many aspects at one go’. This coincides with the definition of housing by Gbadeyan (2011:105), as “…a bundle of services such as neighbourhood services (parks, schools); a location (accessibility to jobs and amenities) and proximity of certain types of neighbours (a social environment). It embraces more than shelter or lodging for human habitation.” Housing is thus a process, an experience, basic need, a human right, a commodity of value, an investment, and shelter plus habitat, to name but these few. It is therefore viewed as a process (Kamete, 1998, 2001a; 2001c; Munzwa, 1999). A process is an activity that “…takes place over time and which has a precise aim regarding the result to be achieved” (Muller, 2008:1). It is hierarchical. This means that it [process] may consist of a partially ordered set of sub-processes.

A process is usually seen as an abstracted way of working. It can be characterised by “… attributes of purpose (what is to be achieved and why); structure (how will the goal be achieved); rationale (what is the reasoning behind this process). [In addition, there are] roles (which roles are present, which responsibilities are associated, which incentives are present and what are the criteria for these roles); and, ordering (which phasing or sequence is applied)” (Muller, 2008:1). A process is thus a collection of purpose, structure, rationale, structure, roles and ordering. All these aspects are entailed in ‘housing as a process’ includes. Alexander et al (1973:1) assert that “…a house is not just a shell for habitation; it is also an unfolding of our experience. A house is not an act or a series of acts; it is not an object but an experience; it is not a commodity to be bought and sold but an activity essential to life. Instead of being the unfolding of our existence and the expression of our freedom, our houses have become the imprisonment of our existence, the denial of our lives.”

Part of a process is the experience. This interesting dimension is housing development whereby the process of housing is observed to be wide and complex, partly due to the complexity of procedures and stakeholders involved. The chief mechanism through which new units of housing
are created from the existing stock, or the size of existing units altered in the short term (GoZ, 1996; Jenkins, 2005; Seyama, 2006) involve processes of subdivision and consolidation (merger). The housing production and consumption formula, according to Bourne (1981:26) stands out as follows:

\[
H_{t+1} = H_t + NC_{t,t+1} + C_{nett,t+1} - D_{t,t+1}
\]

Symbolically, this is:

\[
H_{t+1} = H_t + NC_{t,t+1} + C_{nett,t+1} - D_{t,t+1}
\]

Where,

- \( H_{t+1} \) is the Total Housing Units over time
- \( H_t \) is the Total Supply of Housing through time
- \( C \) is New Construction
- \( D \) is Demolitions

Release of housing units of different quality, from the existing stock, hinges on the filtering process (Grigsby, 1963 quoted in Bourne, 1981; cf. Mbiba and Ndubiwa, 2006). In Africa, most of the times, the rate of housing production is far less than the expected. In Ghana, for example, Awotona (1996) shows that of the required 113,000 urban housing units, only 36,000 are provided annually. This mismatch triggers households to look for their own modes of housing provision (Butcher, 1990; Chirisa and Munzwa, 2008). As a commodity, housing offers financial security and social status (CUDS, 2000; Bourne, 1981; Kamete, 1997; Alsayed, 2007). As land prices continue to soar, a growing number of households are unable to develop their parcels of land on their own. Funds for housing can be raised through incremental savings, informal loans from family members, and the sale of remaining assets are no longer sufficient to develop a parcel within a meaningful period. To structure financial cooperation between partners in the valorisation of real estate, a variety of joint ownership agreements and tenancy arrangements have emerged.
Housing stock or the standing stock of housing is “…the inventory of residential structures or individual dwelling units currently occupied or available for occupancy” (Bourne, 1981:26). This pattern changes over time in response to the net balance of adjustments in the different components of supply summaries in the formula given above. The total housing inventory is therefore the inherited stock or supply from previous periods plus (or minus) the net balance of new construction and conversions less removals. Bourne summarises the different methods through which housing units can be added to the housing inventory, namely as new units built on previously undeveloped land, through modifications in the form and usage of existing stock or by replacement of existing units with new construction. Each of these processes can also take different forms depending on the location (as extensions to the built area or infilling), the scale and the nature of development (in price, occupancy, tenure, size and design), and in the origin of the investment decisions involved (public or private).

As a basic need, housing ensures decency and privacy of living to users. As an investment, households usually allocate 10% to 15% of their earnings to shelter and inhabit whatever product this amount will buy (tent, hut, shack, or discarded automobile body (CUDS, 2000). In this aspect, it is perceived as an investment because it offers prospects of lucrative returns. The property is used to generate revenue while it appreciates over time (CUDS, 2000). Households generate additional income by renting out space in their building for residential accommodation and commercial micro-enterprises (Makwan’gi, 2005; Tevera and Chimhowu, 1998; Tevera and Chikanda, 2000). Households can be located in any place (pavement, cliff side, ravine, garbage dump, drainage channel) as long as the site is marginal enough to deter displacement and close enough to transportation to permit access to employment opportunities.

Nevertheless, shelter is more than a roof over one’s head. Habitat Platform (2002:6) has underscored that, because one’s living environment (call that habitat) “… involves more than simply a roof over your head … the city-wide approach [has been introduced]. The strategy is to work with local partners on quality of life and to support city links. A good living environment embraces decent housing and access to education, health care, work and social provision, and so a range of partners is involved. The citywide approach brings together those partners, from the police service to housing associations, and from welfare organisations to schools – and
safeguards the continuity of cooperative ties. The principal role is played by local people, who are the experts when it comes to their neighbourhood or city and are entitled to a liveable environment. Habitat initiatives come from the grassroots.” Despite the call for citywide and strategic approaches to habitat and environmental issues, in most developing countries, approaches by player remain piecemeal, departmentalised hence lacking in efficacy. In most peri-urban environments in Africa, actors are working as individuals, households or individual cooperatives, yet the impacts they produce over time is cumulative and pose a threat to the commons. In this aspect, the theory of tragedy of the commons tends to hold to the assault and degradation of the common environmental assets.

In their study of life on the edge and of residential property values in the urban-rural interface in particular, Espey, et al (2007) estimated the contribution of both urban-rural fringe location and lake proximity on residential property values in three upstate counties of South Carolina (United States) through estimation of spatial hedonic housing price models. They observed that location in the urban fringe and the urban-rural interface are found to have a positive impact on residential housing values relative to either urban or more rural locations. The lakes in the upstate contributed positively to housing values to the extent that the house had a view of a lake, lake access or Lake Frontage (cf. Kahn, 2000; Harvey, 1991; Cadman, 1978). This is evidence to show how natural features found in the peri-urban zone can enhance the value of housing estates. The foregoing description typifies the ‘suburban’ types of peri-urban housing by the well-to-do classes.

On the contrary, in sub-Saharan Africa, peri-urban human settlements are often characterised by a mosaic of quality in terms of materials used by the builders or developers in putting up the structures (Oram, 1965; Bourne, 1981). The World Bank (2000:51) has remarked that, “…often…what distinguishes the poor from the non-poor is substandard housing….dangerous housing is a concern for the poor. The most frequent problems include leaking roofs, cracked and mouldy walls, broken windows, rotting floors, blocked toilets and rusted pipes.” In this case, a house becomes more of a liability than an asset especially as maintenance costs “…drain resources” which a family or household could have used for other purposes and needs (World Bank, 2000:51). In this respect, thatched mud huts are more expensive to maintain than those
houses built of conventionally accepted building materials like common and face bricks under tiles or corrugated iron or asbestos sheets.

Peri-urban and informal sector settlements tend to be treated as synonymous with labels like “…squatter settlements, marginal settlements, shanty towns, urban slums, or illegal settlements” (Hogrewe, Joyce and Perez, 1993:9). GoZ (2001) describes peri-urban areas or the urban fringe as having a mix of urban and rural enclaves. These areas are transitional zones that are neither town nor country. Nevertheless, they are largely linked functionally to the urban areas. Some of their conspicuously-noted characteristics include lower prices of land relative to urbanized centres, fewer controls and restrictions on development, de facto subdivisions. These subdivisions are based on inheritance of land by those who settled before these areas are incorporated into urban local authority areas, and an array of housing structures, from simple pole and dagga huts to highly sophisticated brick under tile modern urban houses (cf. Muzvidziwa, 2006). Peri-urban housing is, in this study, taken to refer to the processes of subdivisions leading to the development of shelter and attendant services as well as housing stocks found on the edges of established urban centres (Phelps, 1998; Muzvidziwa, 2005; Kovats and Akhtar, 2008; Tevera and Chimhowu, 1998).

2.2.3 Stewardship and Related Concepts
The notion of stewardship has connotations of ‘looking after’, being vigilant and watchful with caring responsibility regarding a specified object or subject. ARS (2000:4) has loosely defined stewardship as “…the careful and responsible management of something entrusted to our care.” It further states that the notion, when applied to a place, combines ‘citizenship’ with ‘stewardship of place’. ARS underlines that stewardship is the commitment to place. Yet commitment is more than just attachment. Bryden and Hart (2006:6) explain that in relation to land that stewardship involves “…the way land is looked after, for whose benefit, and with what legitimacy and authority the ‘steward’ acts on behalf of others”. However, the two argue that stewardship happens in a context of competing interests because there are many actors who have diverse and most of the times divergent interests. Thus, “…in terms of practical management of land, [they] are clearly contested” (Bryden and Hart, 2006:7). Fundamental disagreements on issues of land ownership and land-use often arise. For instance, landowners may justify their position as care
and concern for the land and its people. On the other hand, the state bureaucracy presumes to exercise that role in the name of the eminent domain and representative democracy. Communitarian groups, using their closeness to the inhabitants of an area, assert their priority over the other two. Moreover, indigenous activists may invoke an ancient clan democracy as a cultural precedent for decentralised control of the land (Bryden and Hart, 2000). Such explains how conflicts arise and how they are defined in space.

Spatially, stewardship can be understood to take place at various levels of intervention including the plot, ward, district, city, region, nation, supranational region or globe. ARS (2000:3) has defined regional stewards as “... leaders who are committed to the long-term well-being of places”. Such leaders are, thus “...integrators who cross boundaries of jurisdiction, sector, and discipline to address complex issues such as sprawl, equity, education and economic development... leaders who combine 360 degree vision with the ability to mobilise diverse coalitions of action” (ibid.). From this citation, it is evident that the value of stewardship is embraced in the philosophy of, “...the careful and responsible management of the things entrusted to our care” (Albemarle County, 2008:4; cf. ARS, 2000:3). Alternatively, as implied by Bryden and Hart (2006:5) stewardship is the notion of “responsible care”. However, to think that all regional stewards care responsibly may be an overstatement. Sometimes there are issues to do with personality, charisma, resource availability and regional politics that may hinder the smooth flow of the expected outcomes of careful responsibility.

At least as a principle, stewardship calls on all those involved in the product life cycle to share responsibility for minimising the environmental and human impacts that result from the production, use and disposal of the product (see Taylor, 2011; BHP, 2006). Like housing, stewardship is both a process and a value with certain expected outputs, which are all defined by specific approaches. Williams and Magsumbol (2006) observe that definitions of stewardship are quite inconsistent and contextual (cf. Young, 2007; Schnug et al, 2006; Smith, 2005; BHP, 2006; New Brunswick, undated). BHP (2006:1), in particular identifies the following types of stewardship:

- “Material stewardship (for instance, inputs like consumables, energy, water, explosives and equipment),
- **Resource stewardship** (for example, optimising use of resources for both current and future generations),
- **Product stewardship**, which is the shared responsibility with others in the life cycle of products or commodities so that harm of the environment is minimised due to those resources’ exposure to the environment, and
- **Process stewardship**, which refers to the different processes applied to a product as it moves through its life cycle including extraction and smelting. Potentially produced outputs include emissions, leakages, wastes and greenhouse gases. Process stewardship is pinned on the ability of the involved actors (producers and consumers) understanding these processes (or outputs) in order to minimise harm to people and the environment.”

Williams and Magsumbol (2006) assert that stewardship represents a complex but increasingly necessary constituent of long-term environmental management. They note that the U.S. Department of Energy (DOE) characterises stewardship as all activities required to protect human health and the environment from the residual hazards posed by nuclear and/or chemical materials, waste, and any contamination remaining after clean-up is completed (cf. Walt, 1994; Marshall, 4 December 2008; Siyeni, 2008). They also affirm that effective stewardship requires collective participation and cooperation of various levels of government, industry, and the public at large. Such participation and cooperation relies heavily upon governments’ and industry’s ability and willingness to understand the views of the public (cf. AASCU, 2002). As a programmatic philosophy, stewardship represents a fundamental shift in incremental or ‘quick-fix’ mentality of managing processes. Furthermore, they argue that stewardship centres on the development and continuous evaluation of long-term clean-up solutions. Overall, though, is that stewardship is a messy reality. True stewardship is rooted in understanding rights and obligations in any context (cf. Aristizabal and Gomez, 2002; Armitage, 2000, Arnott, 2008).

The ecological footprint can be a menace to the natural environment (Holden, 2004). Green building is one way towards the appreciation of environmental stewardship. Gurney (1997:54) at the National Housing Convention in Zimbabwe pointed out clearly that, “In all instances, it must be remembered that the natural environment is the primary source of satisfaction of our basic human needs. It is thus most important that the built environment is treated as an affordable
amelioration of the natural environment and not as a strong competitor, whose success spells inevitable doom to the natural environment.” The characteristics (or practices and behaviours) of sound environmental stewardship entail three basic ethics, namely: protecting the natural systems and using natural resources effectively and efficiently, making environment a key part of internal priorities, values and ethics, leading by example and holding oneself accountable (EPAESSC (2005:9). This coincides with the view of Powers and PEER Associates (2009:2) who cite the conceptualisation of stewardship posited by Dixon et al (1995). The latter describe it as a moral obligation to care for the environment and the actions undertaken to provide that care, an ethic of personal responsibility, an ethic of behaviour based on reverence for the Earth and a sense of obligation to future generations.

Effective care for the environment hinges on individuals using resources wisely and efficiently, in part by placing self-imposed limits on personal consumption and altering personal expectations, habits and values (Dixon et al, 1995). In their view, the appropriate use of natural resources within the stewardship ethic involves taking actions that respect the integrity of natural systems (ibid.). Trodin (2007:1), applying the stewardship principle to housing has underscored that, stewardship “…is an aspect of Habitat II goal of sustainable development. Housing co-op members try to conserve and recycle resources; we house ourselves modestly, in the context of our societies; we plan and maintain our buildings to pass them down to the next generation.”

Despite these concerns, it must be noted that what normally defines how people in a given local behave is a function of their aspirations, desires, context of operation and access to resources to achieve what they want to achieve. In most cases, in Africa, low-income groups who dwell in the peri-urban are often at the mercy of the diktats (i.e. dictates) of the political environment and those who are in power (the elite). While there may be need for ‘stewardship education’, there are more constraints than incentives to achieve this, especially in the developing countries.

Siemer’s (2001) in Powers and PEER Associates (2009:4) defines stewardship education as “…a process designed to develop an internalized stewardship ethic and the skills necessary to make considered choices and take environmentally responsible actions.” In his view, most successful, stewardship education programmes should be designed to influence beliefs, values, intentions, action skills, and behaviours related to specific environmental issues. In this aspect, programmes
ought to address the entry-level, ownership level and empowerment level, variables that have to be correlated with behaviour change. These variables include environmental sensitivity, knowledge about ecology, an in-depth understanding of environmental issues, a sense of personal investment in specific environmental issues, knowledge of environmental action strategies, skills in using environmental action strategies, an internal locus of control, and intentions to take action. Siemer (2001) advocates that stewardship education should be viewed as a set of sequential learning experiences that take place over an extensive period, in a combination of formal and non-formal settings, within the context of a supportive social environment (Powers and PEER Associates, 2009:2). Though this framework has been developed with schoolchildren in the mind, the same principles and philosophies are equally applicable with respect to adults in different communities.

Stewardship education could take the form of inculcating within citizens a stewardship culture, wherein they begin to view the place in which they live, not as a second, transient and unimportant home, but rather as a permanent place to live and invest in. This means making citizens, in the first place, relate to their place so that they feel it is wholly owned by them. Supposedly, in meaning, they have to devise ways to ‘defend’ it against all woes and vagaries including the risks and disasters associated with climate change. Citizens will, in turn, make appropriate choices for building materials that are not only durable but amenable to the challenges of climate change, for instance. They can also organise themselves to manage the microenvironments they occupy. The whole idea is to have an approach that is integrative, holistic and collaborative and allows for strategic communal visioning and practical action (Hopkins and Zapata, 2008; Stoll, 2006).

The role of households in peri-urban governance should not be ignored (cf. Cortemiglia, 2006). Households (individuals and families) act at a local micro-scale yet the impact they make on a wider scale is huge. Researchers have proffered reasons for moderating i.e. mitigating the negative impacts by adopting a governance approach in which the micro-scale actors are made aware of the impacts of their actions. Describing the level of civic awareness in peri-urban Zambian settlements, Mwanamakondo (2007:3) has said that the level of ignorance “... is high because civic awareness is low. The knowledge of what is expected of a good responsible citizen
is often absent. This is usually revealed by the [high] levels of vandalism of public property, pollution and careless waste dumping along roadways, justifying the need for civic awareness and the creation of a stewardship sense in inner-city housing projects. As Rubin (2010:1) observes “[i]t is not a matter of poverty or wealth but of social services provision, socialisation (for example learning how to flush a toilet and improving their way of living. People must be taught how to live in certain environments. If you do not tame them and allow a *laissez faire* approach then there will be anarchy. People will make what is available in their environments if they are exposed....” Civic awareness, inculcating a sense of stewardship and regulating and facilitating actions, is the responsibility of defined actors.

Researches, especially in American studies (Dixon *et al*, 1995; AASCU, 2002; Theobald, 2005; Williams and Magsumbol, 2006; Zorich, 2007; Young, 2007; Powers Andrew and PEER Associates, 2009; White, 2007) have concentrated on the generic aspects of the subject of rural landscape, industrial pollution and institutional analysis of stewardship. Svendsen and Campbell (2008) have looked widely at urban stewardship and the role civil society is organised towards promotion of environmental stewardship. It is important to see environmental stewardship education as part of the broader human rights education or the rights-based approach to development, in which citizens’ consciousness is raised so that they are better positioned to manage affairs affecting them in everyday life. The worst threatened variable ever since the creation of human productivity on Earth is the natural environment. As the built environment grows and expands, it threatens this natural environment. Much of the environmental development and assault happens in the peri-urban areas. There is no doubt whatsoever that environmental education, like any other form of ‘enlightenment’ and conscious raising, is critical for community building and hence resilience.

Continuous community engagement “... is a cornerstone of heritage recognition, value and value-based conservation. The overriding goal is to manage urban continuity and change to retain tangible and intangible value” (O’Donnell, 2008:8). This implies that meaningful place stewardship can be achieved by community participation that often calls for community visioning. These dimensions are part of community building, which Amirahmadi (2003:6) defines as "... a process whereby various community capitals are brought together to build a
community of experience and interaction”. This capacity inventory is simply a questionnaire designed to identify a person's skills; areas of knowledge and experience, commitments; and the willingness to be involved in community building or economic development activities. Community building implies combining interests in diversity (cf. Novicevic, Harvey, Buckley, Wren and Pena, 2007; Ziller, 2004, MIT, 2007). Chirisa (2009:30) linking place stewardship to the concept of community building argues that “…embraces, in its ambit, the conditioned actions of humanity in the production of outputs and outcomes as they radiate from the latent and natural capacities and aptitudes of people. Community building is an activity aimed at the modification of the environment by exploiting the ‘unity-in-diversity’ philosophy and channelling of the unified forces of humanity and sociality in the production of [sustainable] habitats.”

For community building to be successful, a variety of success factors ought to be considered. With reference to geographical space like that of peri-urban, these are better examined through the tenets and components of the sustainable livelihoods framework (SLF). Kretzmann (1995) suggests the need for the instrumentation of a capacity inventory of the actors or stakeholders, which he argues, goes beyond the human capital involved in local development. Thus, it includes certain key assets or capitals enshrined in the sustainable livelihoods framework. These key assets include natural capital (the natural endowment, such as rainfall, enjoyed in a particular place), social capital (assets of social relationships and networks in place), and human capital (including health, knowledge and skills by the local people). They also entail physical capital (including the hard infrastructure – roads, dams, buildings, in place), financial capital (including lines of credit and institutions for lending in place), political capital (including the ability of the citizens in place to freely engage in democratic dialogue and the ability of the leadership to show political will in issues of local community development). Moreover, in the list is also spiritual capital - including the capability by the local leaders to motivate and inspire the local citizens into progressive action for local development (Chirisa, 2009; Johnson, 2007; Neefjes, 2000; Nhema, 2009; Pasteur, 2001). Spirituality, according to Johnson (2007), is more than religion, although the two are mutually reinforcing. It is evident that, at the beginning of most peri-urban housing projects, support from beneficiaries (in most cases organised by a trust, consortium, federation or cooperative) is a critical factor. In some cases, members have ‘educated’ their groups on how to manage their affairs, including caring for the resources that they share,
including the environment or habitat space. Following is an outline of the theoretical framework for the study.

2.3 Theories in Stewardship and Housing

The study hinges on two critical concepts of stewardship and housing, both of which have a set of theories that explain them. Peri-urban is taken as a place and location in which the processes of stewardship and housing are expressed. There are a number of theories linked to stewardship for example the Agency Theory (Donaldson and Davis; 1989; 1991), Stewardship Theory, Resource Dependency Theory, Stakeholder Theory and the Managerial Hegemony Theory (BESG, 2003; Ferguson, 2007; Corteigla, 2006; Cornforth, 2002; 2004). These theories are largely from the business world. Specifically, I examine the Stewardship Theory, which is also known as the Partnership Model (Cornforth, 2004; Pastoriza and Arino, 2003, Lurcott, 2005). Stewardship is largely a qualitative aspect (Bryden and Hart, 2000; ARS, 2000; Powers and Peer Associates; 2009; Young, 2007), and the use of clear and precise qualitative indicators assists in establishing measurement of the qualitative aspect (Mulwa, 2008). The key features of the stewardship or partnership model that, in a way advances the notion and practice of sustainability as advocated for by this study and contributors like Horenz, (1976), Harisalo and Miettinen (1997), HPZ (2001), Hall (2001); ARS (2000), Kundu (2002), Girardet (1999), Laleye and Ayeni, (2005). Manjengwa (2007), Hopkins and Zapata (2008), Knutsson (2006) and Holway (2011) identify the key features as:

a) Recognition of regions and actors as collaborative partners for a common good (cf. Anstein, 1969),

b) Existence and exercise of political capital and will in support of collaborative initiatives;

c) Support of community, neighbourhood and regional networks,

d) Promotion of ‘bottom-up’ initiatives to raise people’s standards of living;

e) The ending of the top-down stovepipe model so as to promote both vertical and lateral coordination of housing and environmental management initiatives and practices,

f) Creation and promotion of policy and legislative instruments that build capacity and recognition of local planning initiatives,

g) Community visioning through such techniques and models and scenario and strategic planning,
h) Formulation and enhancement of tools that inculcate a sense of responsibility among the different players in place and space, and,

i) General awareness of environmental and place processes like climate change (Mukamuri, 2005; Mukuka, 2001; Ziller, 2004; Zorich, 2007).

All these factors, frameworks and tools are instruments for achieving place stewardship, which creates environmental sustainability (Girardet, 1999). In other words, they are the keys to achieving sustainable development, as it ought to be. Without unbundling, sustainable development is just another fuzzy and lofty concept (Manjengwa, 2007). Five basic paradigms are useful in understanding stewardship, namely:

- the biblical Judeo-Christian tradition (UNDP, 2007),
- the business management (Merill, 2007),
- the ecological environmental (Girardet, 1999; Lannas and Turpie, 2009; Lawrence, 2006; Merill, 2007; Marshall, 2008) and,

paragraphs, I examine the theories of housing and stewardship. The theories are instrumental for the understanding of peri-urban realities and dynamics.

2.3.1 Theories of Stewardship
In the early years of establishment, peri-urban areas are being subjected to immense environmental ‘assault’. Years after the constructions, by some resilient capacities, they are expected to renew themselves. A number of elements are there to support community resilience, namely, adaptation, social learning, nurturing diversity and flexibility, and creating opportunities for self-organisation (ibid.). Kretzmann’s (1995) thesis of “building communities from the inside out” puts resilience into context. Resilience is an endogenous virtue in community members (Kretzmann, 1995; BESC, 2003). In light of resilience, the stewardship of place becomes a direct response of a community to its real or perceived common challenges. Despite different interests that individual or organisations serve, they are most likely to collaborate on issues that affect them as community – the common challenges (ARS, 2000; de Vries, 2009). Partnership and stewardship acknowledge the existence of differences among group members or even the partners.

With spatial references to places, different groups therein will always hold different opinions and views. The respect of these differences helps in shaping the future of these groups by an integrationist manner to create a difference. In the same vein, Beatley (2011: 148) has argued, “Imagining cities as profoundly ecological and natural, and working to further strengthen connections of urbanites with nature, also requires leaders – elected officials, community activists, and design professionals, among others – to step forward and to advance and advocate for often bold ideas and ambitious green agendas.” Progressive development comes by appropriately handling differences. This has been advanced by Wampler (2007) and the World Bank (2008) regarding participatory budgeting in Brazil. Contentious politics applied by groups in certain cities and towns tended to be biased towards liveliness and competitiveness in the process of planning and delivery of infrastructure and utilities. This means that debate and strong argumentation by groups are healthier to policy formulation and implementation than passivity and tendencies towards cooptation. What is important is to embrace all views and formulate a much stronger position.
This study is partly informed by the stewardship theory or partnership model. The theory is part of the broader collective theory in which actors collaborate to solve common problems (Ferguson, 2007; Taylor, 2011). Novicevic et al (2007:381), in commemorating what they call “Follett’s model of unified pluralism” assert that communities, in practice, learn and adapt to manage problems embedded in (or brought about by) the different interests they wield. Unified pluralism requires social trust and tolerance. It is a way of conflict resolution and interests integration (Gehani and Gehani, 2007). De Kort (2009:9) has described integration as “a way of handling complexity” in diversity. Novicevic et al (2007:377) argue, with respect to diversity that, “this diversity of interests does not imply that they should oppose each other; rather they may only confront each other. The confronting of interests assumes preservation of interests of diverse individual interests and, therefore, should result in integration rather than compromise.” Follett observes that, “Compromising with the old ways, or even combining old ways, keeps us always old”.

Stewardship is integral to policy formulation, implementation and reform. Policy reform ought to negate some old practices because they tend to work against innovation. The way communities respond to government action (policy) is a matter of two basic internal forces: resilience and capacity (Svendsen, 2009). The Theory of Civic Capacity by Shinn (1999) argues that communities respond to government enforcements according to individual capacities. Shinn (1998) cited by Dent (2008:270) has identified three components of civic capacity namely; civic capital, civic competency and civic enterprise (defined and explained in Box 2.1; cf. Shipley and Newkirk; 1999). In stewardship, different interests are represented. An integrationist approach ought to be creative enough not to overlook or undermine community and individual capacities, which Dent defines as “civic capacity”. However, de Valk (1986:5-6) has observed that “a common error in the analysis of human systems is the oversimplification of treating groups as if they behave as one individual: “the government has decided…” and “…it is the will of the people that…”… As far as decision-making is concerned, policy analysis therefore has to take into account that policies, programmes and projects are shaped partly by the overall institution by which they are formulated, partly by the composition of parts and partly be the influence of
particular individuals…. In other words… policy is shaped by the nature of the problem that it is supposed to tackle.” Thus, integral to civic capacity, as already stated, is resilience.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Box 2.1: Three Components of Civic Capacity</th>
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<td><strong>Civic capital:</strong> is the network of social and cultural institutions.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Civic competency:</strong> is the set of knowledge, skills and capabilities collectively possessed by the community.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Civic enterprise:</strong> refers to the shared history of the community and their tradition of joint action. It also includes an expectation that the same individuals will work together on the same and other problems again in the future.</td>
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Source: Dent (2008:270)

Lopez-Marrero and Tschakert (2011) describe resilience as a concept with ecological origins. In resilience, there is emphasis on the multiple ways, “...a system can respond to hazard occurrence, including its ability to absorb hazard impacts, to learn from, adapt to and recover from them, and to reorganise after impacts. In other words, a resilient system is able to absorb impacts without changing its fundamental functions; at the same time, it is able to renew, reorganise and adapt when hazard impacts significantly” (Lopez-Marrero and Tschakert, 2011:6).

Stewardship as the foundation of collective responsibility is pinned on the individuals’ capacity to apprehend the situation at hand (de Kort, 2009). Place context-based knowledge, experiential-based wisdom, religiosity and income-level are at the centre-stage of place stewardship (cf. Mukamuri, 2005; Girardet, 1999; Ozaki and Uršic, 2005). Peri-urban settlements are normally examined from a broader regional view that, at times, includes huge metropolitan developments. Parr et al (2002) and McKinney et al (2004) outline the three goals of regional collaboration, in the framework of stewardship as liveable community (involving the preservation and creation of places to live and work), healthy environment (encapsulating aspects to do with maintenance and restoration of the natural infrastructure) and vibrant economy (shaped by preparing people and places to succeed). Speaking of regional stewards, their calibre and approaches, McKinney et al (2004:6) have underscored that, regional stewards

“... share power and mobilise people, ideas…. tend to be committed to the long-term well-being of a particular place. They apply the same entrepreneurial spirit and persistence to solving regional challenges that business entrepreneurs apply in building a business; they are civic entrepreneurs. They see the need for more connected regional
approaches to address social, economic and environmental issues; they are integrators. They build support from leaders, citizens, interest groups and policy makers toward a shared vision; they are coalition builders. [They] hold themselves and each other accountable to achieve tangible results and sustained outcomes….Regardless of their background or station in life they share a common belief in the need to work across boundaries to accomplish the goals of stewardship (emphasis mine).”

At the heart of the stewardship philosophy is the idea that with careful planning, infrastructure development and management, and protection of ecosystems, it is possible to talk of sustainable development. Kao (2007) postulates “stewardship-based economics”, which he contrasts to “ownership-based economics”, which can be equated to a market economy. According to the supporters of ideas of Kao, stewardship-based economics entitles all individuals the right to live, share and enjoy the earth’s resources (social equity). In this arrangement, there is balance between private and public interests (cf. Young, 2007; White, 2007; Manjengwa, 2007; Gordon and Richardson, 1997). Central to economic-led stewardship are the concepts of discounting and the net present value.

According to the Endogenous Human Capital Model, an individual can shape his or her future by incurring the costs today with the expectation of reaping benefits in future (cf. McCann, 2001; Hogan, 2008). Such a philosophy is important when one looks at behaviour, obligations and the sense of duty manifested by people residing in a place towards its upkeep. Because peri-urban spaces are always ‘shifting’, the dynamics behind this shift are inevitably critical for sustainable development processes, putting generational equity in perspective. Thus, in examining peri-urban settlements from a stewardship perspective, many processes occur here, which would be difficult to handle without a sense of sustainable development. These processes include, amongst others, managing erosion, deforestation, siltation of water bodies, land conflicts. These aspects are discussed in both empirical and theoretical chapters of this thesis. In the section that follows, housing theories shall be discussed.
2.3.2 Housing Theories

There are many theories that explain the behaviour, aspirations, modalities and strategies defining how households and families try to provide or relate to their housing needs. These theories relate to various facets of housing in terms of its location, for example the classical theories of location and structure of cities by theorists like Von Thunen, Alonso, Burgess, Ullman and Harris, amongst others. Other related theories have to do with aspects, including homeownership and rental housing and the political economy (Clarke and Ginsburg, 1975). Other theories explain how people in poverty try to find a way out of their plight or to adapt in their poor living conditions.

Curley (2005) typologises urban poverty in relation to policy prescriptions and their outcomes, some of which are related to the structure of the city, like segregation, discrimination and social relations including social networking (cf. Jacobs and Manzi, 2000). In this study, albeit acknowledging the multifarious nature of theories available, I single out, for my application, the Theory of Housing Adjustment (Morris and Winter, 1978), the Anarchist Theory of Housing (championed by Pierre-Joseph Proudhon), the Marxist Theory of Housing put across by especially Friedrich Engels and the Housing Common(s) Theory by Hodkinson (2012). I pick on these theories because, they largely relate to stewardship as it is applied in the study, that is, stewardship as care and stewardship as partnership. In other words, in applying these theories, I am seeking to answer the question: In what ways do households build, maintain or relate to the shelter and housing practices that define them and their habitat at large? Therefore, housing does not only refer to physical structures (shelter).

a) Theory of Housing Adjustment (Morris and Winter, 1978)

The Housing Adjustment Theory explains the behaviour of households in society, and the manner in which they seek to improve and adapt the dwellings and shelter they consider the structures to be substandard (Steggell et al, 2001; 2003). Households and families are assumed to demonstrate respect for self or others by improving their dwelling place. There are two principal processes to this, namely “housing adjustment and housing adaptation” Adjustment involves altering the current structure or moving to another one deemed better than the current one. Adaptation, on the other hand has to do with changing the ‘contents’ of the house. It involves
making changes to the household itself, by for example, sending away some members bringing in some, or changing the arrangement of physical or material things in the house, for example shifting furniture around to create more space, or bringing in new items to make the house look better. Overall, the theory has been widely used in housing research to explain dynamics including residential mobility and household structures and solidarity (Steggell, et al, 2001; 2003).

b) The Anarchist Theory of Housing (Pierre-Joseph Proudhon)
After observing the rampant nature of exploitative private landlordism, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon advocated that it be outlawed and that rentals paid by tenants be converted into purchase payments on their dwellings (Hodkinson, 2012). The idea was thus such conversions would then transform the tenants into property owners over time. Ownership of property was opined to be essential for improving the morality and behaviour of the working class, whose plight had been considered by social reformers as the explanation for their poor housing conditions. Anarchists are not comfortable with what they regard as “...the harmful role of the State and other large-scale, bureaucratic forms of [housing] provision” (Hodkinson, 2012: 432). They are anti-bureaucratic and seek to ensure that people to hold real property without the control of the state and private corporate organisations.

c) The Marxist Theory of Housing
In his study of housing in 1844, Friedrich Engels noted the plight of the working class whose capitalist employers built them shelters characterised by unsanitary conditions and squalor (Clarke and Ginsburg, 1975; Tabb, 2011). Engels disagreed with the notion of housing crisis, positing that “...only a crisis of capitalism in which housing conditions formed just ‘one of the innumerable smaller, secondary evils’ caused by the exploitation of workers by capital” (Hodkinson, 2012:427). In is view, as long as there were different business cycles through time, these business cycles would produce different housing questions (i.e. issues), resulting in a perennial challenge on shelter provision and maintenance. Hodkinson (2012) justifies this, citing the recent global financial crisis 2007-2009, which saw mortgage finance at the market crumbling, leading to great problems in the supply of both housing finance and housing stocks. According to Engels, the bourgeoisie’s panacea to the housing problem was what he called the
‘Haussman’, in which they would revitalise inner cities and try to construct new houses whose ultimate push was of the working classes out to the periphery of the city. This is described as gentrification, which in Engels’ views, was not a sustainable and a more precise solution to the poor working classes. Rather, the solution was to be found in the working classes tenants themselves changing the capitalist society by way of a revolution and expropriation of private property.

According to Hodkinson (2012:432), “Marxists and socialists see the housing question as inseparable from capitalist social relations....” In Zimbabwe, at independence, as in Britain in the 1970s, there was mass privatisation of council housing into homeownership schemes. The Marxist approach to housing also incorporates Fabianism, which was developed in the post-1945 era in the United Kingdom “...as an attempt to apply a rigorous approach to the study of social problems. The application of empirically testable methods was seen as crucial to the validity of research. The ultimate objectives were to influence policy makers and to encourage government agencies to take action.... Researchers based at institutions such as the London School of Economics have been able to influence the policy agendas of a number of post-war administrations” (Jacobs and Manzi, 2000:36). In recent times, the agenda against social exclusion and seclusion in policy matters has heightened.

\textit{d) The Housing Common(s) Theory (Hodkinson, 2012)}

The theory stresses the idea of shared resources deriving for such terms as natural commons (e.g. land, forests, water resources, air), customary and common law, public or social commons (like roads, knowledge, skills). There is also the notion of relational commons, which is “...embodied with the value practices of cooperation, mutual aid, solidarity, horizontality, non-hierarchy and equality” (Hodkinson, 2012: 437). The final typology is the anti-capitalist commons, which are “... those compositions of people and projects defined and organised along the value practices of being-in-common, defending natural commons and/or producing social commons as a conscious act of creating limits to capital” (Hodkinson, 2012: 437).

Hodkinson (2012) argues for three ethical coordinates of commoning to guide political activism around housing namely prefigurative commoning, strategic commoning, and hegemonic
commoning. Prefigurative communing, which is about “living-in-common” denotes trying to “…meet our housing needs and desires through the creation of non-hierarchical, small-scale, directly democratic, egalitarian and collective forms of housing in our everyday lives, what we might think of as the essential value-practices…” (Hodkinson, 2012:438). Use of land is decided upon together as a community, while space within walls is decided at the discretion of the household or family.

Strategic communing is about “housing-as-commons”. It does not treat a housing unit as a standalone artefact. Rather, this artefact is located within a neighbourhood and links up to other housing units. The neighbourhood is treated as a ‘conglomeration of households organising themselves as a community and working in solidarity. The protection of a household hinges on the solidarity and amount of ties it has established with other households within the neighbourhood. The ethic assumes “… re-privatisation of public housing, forcing more and more people out of a quasi-secure housing space that constrained the exploitative power of capital through its mix of low rents and legal protections, and into the private housing market where, through fear of mortgage defaults or evictions, people are more susceptible to capitalist greed” (Hodkinson, 2012:438). It is argued that strategic communing “… defends everyone’s ‘right to stay put’ regardless of tenure, whether against privatisation, demolition, repossession, eviction, commodification or displacement” (Hodkinson, 2012:439).

Hegemonic commoning or “circulating the housing commons” argues that tenant control “... enables people to create community social relationships among people in a building and often in the surrounding neighbourhood as well. It enables people to use non-market means of maintaining and repairing their buildings… Producing housing commons, therefore, takes place at the apex of resistance and creation” (Hodkinson, 2012:439). Power to resist or to create is the recipe for success among the underclass or tenants to determine their stay in a place. Tipple (2004:20) argues that there is “a need for a balance between control which enables and control which inhibits. On housing supply grounds alone, African cities have much to gain from encouraging transformations.” In light of this observation, I critically examine the significant processes and issues in peri-urban housing and stewardship with the view to determining why
informal settlements tend to dominate the African urban space and how certain enclaves of orderly settlements are created.

2.4 Factors Influencing Settlement Growth: Special Focus on Metropolitan Expansion

The growth of any settlement is explained by a number of factors. Mostly, these have to do with location, accessibility and availability of opportunities (Malpezzi, 1999; Snoxell, 2002; Kuriakose, 2006). A close look at most metropolitan regions around the world reveals the disjointed nature of core-urban centres, with the smaller and satellite towns that draw their ‘life’ from that core. The interdependence between the core and the peripheral satellites is revealed in the space exchanges and interchanges of the labour, commodity and service markets (Douglas, 2006). Housing is a major aspect of the service market that characterises metropolitan regions. In spatial physical terms, the core regions and the satellites are usually separated by green and brown fields. In this ‘grey’ zone, activities including farming, forestry (Murray, 2008) and waste dumping are practised. Peri-urban housing is also a major developmental aspect characterising this space.

Peri-urbanisation, today, is a major challenge characteristic of the developed countries like the United States of America (Allen, 2003; Ward and Peters, 2007). Inter-regional conflicts are rampant in which case the peri-urban zones. A systems approach is critical to study the “…complex interactions between urban land-use, environmental change, and socioeconomic system on peri-urban area” (PU-GEC, 2009:1). Peri-urban ecosystems provide a significant service to cities. This study adopts the definition of peri-urbanisation as a process triggered by urbanisation where excess urban populations find themselves located at the city-edge zones so that both demographic swelling and changes in the environment are experienced. The environment sees the replacement of the natural environments by increasing built environmental features (buildings, roads and related aspects). With increasing urbanisation, the peri-urban areas stand out as areas in which challenges of environmental sustainability and infrastructure provision are critical.
2.4.1 The Sustainability Factor in Peri-urban Human Settlements

Urbanisation is an emergent phenomenon (Block, 1990; Wekwete, 1992; Gordon and Richardson, 1997; Muzvidziwa, 2005; Muzvidziwa, 2006) affecting the economic, social, environmental, administrative and planning aspects of the peri-urban zone of any urban centre (Hardoy et al., 1990; Iaquinta and Drescher, 2000). At a more localised level, Masser (2000) has singled out three distinct but operationally contradictory processes of sustainable development. First is the development imperative, favouring market expansion and the externalisation of costs and sustained profits. Second is the community imperative, in which the meeting basic human needs (food and housing included) is central to the social equity agenda in which increasing economic development is said to buttress the creation of community reliance. Third and last is the ecological imperative, which stresses the importance of biotic and abiotic factors, as they interact and try to produce balanced ecosystems (Masser, 2000; Douglas, 2006).

One scholar has argued that, “... instead of asking how emergent patterns of human settlements and activities affect ecological processes, the question we should ask is how humans, interacting with their biophysical environment, generate emergent phenomena in urbanising ecosystems. How do these patterns selectively amplify or dampen ecological processes and functions. Cities are... human-natural systems in which people are the dominant agents...” (Alberti, 2009:28). Indeed, as Marshal et al. (2009:13) assert, sustainability as a concept, “... has been largely neglected in the theorisation of the peri-urban.” In most developing countries, urban informality and haphazardness is a by-product of chaotic urbanisation (Akroffi, 2006; Madayi, 2006; UNFPA, 2007). In the colonial days, peri-urbanisation was largely driven by the policy objective of separate development (Kamete, 1999a; 1999b; 1999c; Yeboah, 2005; Chikanza, 2002). Divergent interests, if not well harmonised, tend to work against sustainability (Oram, 1965; World Bank, 2000; Hardoy et al, 1990; Small and Witherick, 1986; Edwards, 2000).

While the colonial set-up separated people along racial lines, the post-colonial set-up is largely along income lines (UNHABITAT, 2008; 2009; Tibajjuka, 2005; 2009; Myers, 2008; Stein and Vance, 2008; Solo, 2008). Low-income earners’ living is synonymous with squalor. High-income earners, on the other hand, are in a position to manage well not only their household affairs, but also even the affairs of their neighbourhoods (Marshall, 2008; Siyeni, 2008; Gilbert
and Ward, 1988; Hardoy and Satterwaite, 1995; Mapira, 2004). The advocacy in planning of ‘mixed development’ involves breaking down the ideologically and physically set boundaries along racial and income lines. The better-off households often resist living close to the poor and squalid (Malpezzi, 1999; Ball, 2003; Schylyter, 2003; Cormarck, 1983).

Douglas et al in Satterthwaite ed. (2008:187) argue that poor communities “...often live in the most hazardous and unhealthy environments in urban areas. Most build their homes and grow their food on river floodplains in towns and cities. Others construct their shelters on steep, unstable hillsides, or along the foreshore on former mangrove swamps or tidal flats. People suffering these poor conditions may find their difficulties compounded by the consequences of climate change.” The well-to-do classes often shun low-income social classes. This happens in the framework called Not-In-My-Backyard-ISM (NIMBYISM) (Hardoy et al, 1990, Small and Witherick, 1986; Edwards, 2000; UNHABITAT, 2009; Tibaijuka, 2009). Where social factors are the dividing factor, collaboration will prove very difficult to attain. Fourthly, peri-urban settlements, being in the interface of urban and rural areas, often experience conflicts in such aspects as land tenure, livelihood strategies and land management practices (Kombe, 2005; Matovu, 2002; Seyama, 2006; Glennon and Kretser, 2005; Williams and Magsumbol, 2006, Dube, 2004; Jenkins, 2006). These in themselves are militating factors against the management of sustainable human settlements. Fifthly, the fragility in the management of peri-urban settlements is a factor in the development of undesirable outcomes including vulnerability to contracting communicable diseases such as cholera, dysentery, typhoid and related diseases (Mailizia, 2005; IDRC, 1976). Because of this, peri-urban settlements are better seen as areas of ‘civic sympathy’ as there are many humanitarian organisations attracted to working here (Sigauke, 2002a; 2002b, Chikanza, 2001).

In most cases, peri-urban settlements are places of ‘wants’. They are often left out in the provision of basic urban services including those meeting energy needs like electricity. Settlers are often left to seek their own means of survival (Musekiwa, 1993; Aarland and Nordvik, 2007). Some of the practices are unsustainable, for example, deforestation as they destroy existing forests to harness firewood (Intsiful, 2004; Dirwai, 2000; Gandidzanwa, 2003; Jack, 2008; Kahn, 2000; Mwesigwa, 1995; Knuth, 2005). They also dig shallow wells or depend on streams and
rivers for water (Muniz and Garlindo, 2005). Peri-urban settlements become defined zones from which the ecological footprint impact is felt (Hasse and Lathrop, 2003; Home, 2001; 2002; Dzemydiene, 2008; Wackernagel and William, 1996). The building materials and construction technologies used in peri-urban settlements as ‘transition zones’ are important in the sustainability debate (Alexander et al, 1973; Spaling and Wood, 1998; Savory, 1988; Anstein, 1969; Nnkya, 2008; Hetch, 1996; Chambers, 1997; UNHABITAT, 2008;2009; 2010). Appropriate technology is thus a critical subject of discussion in peri-urban stewardship. Masser (2000) asserts that sustainability is attainable by respecting eight basic principles in development, namely, partnerships and accountability, participation and transparency, systemic approach, concern for the future, equity and justice, ecological limits, local-global interdependence and local relevance. These are the pillars for place, process, product and material stewardship, all important raw materials to the understanding of stewardship, which is the one pillar among three upon which this study is built upon. Brown (2002:265) has argued, therefore, that “[t]he adoption of goals for sustainable urban development requires an assessment of the effect of development on both the natural and human environment. This suggests integrated approaches to urban development, which combine social, economic, and environmental considerations, to give equitable access to resources both within and between generations.” Nevertheless, to achieve this, one has to understand the interplay of politics taking place. In Zimbabwe, for example, one has to bear in mind why certain processes and developments like the adoption of the fast-track land reform programme in 2000 and Operation Murambatsvina have adversely affected the formally business-as-usual processes in land acquisition and building of houses, respectively (cf. Marongwe, 2003; Toriro, 2006).

Mitlin (2002:176) has argued that an “…alternative way of seeing sustainability is to recognise that it may be better understood as a capacity to change in accordance with a changing world. What do communities need? They need the confidence to manage, the capacity to analyse, the experience to act well.” Local communities have a critical role to play in defining their destinies. However, in most African cities, the role of these communities is sometimes undermined by the fact that they lack essential knowledge in defining what they need, who they are and who they need to collaborate with. Thus, community sustainability is undermined due to the fact the local
communities remain peripheral in the planning and management of the affairs of the places and spaces of interaction and development. Both historical and institutional factors are important in explaining why this is so. Matters of historicity include colonialism and racial separatist ideologies. Institutional factors include the fact that despite having a multiplicity of laws governing affairs in space, the arbitrary breach of the provisions of such laws sometimes due to political interferences and non-enforcement the course events resembles anarchy and the blatant disregard of the rules.

Peri-urban areas remain a major focal point of analysis in terms of processes, patterns of development and management practices. Stewardship, in this context of study, is about how the peri-urban areas are shaped through the policies, actions and perceptions of the peri-urban dwellers and the agents and other forces. Moreover, declarations and resolutions at different conferences and forums in the last twenty years or so are evident as platforms for advocacy for better human habitation. (Examples are the Vancouver of 1976; Rio de Janeiro, 1992; Instabul, 1996; Recife, 1996; Florence, 1997; Johannesburg, 2002). Housing is a complex process involving multiple actors, factors and outcomes. It becomes even more complex when it occurs in the rural-urban interface where the interests and expectations regarding land management, ownership and use are diverse. These actors and factors explain the philosophy and practice of stewardship. Stewardship is a term whose roots are clearly religious, whose practice is evident in many societies and whose application and reference to peri-urban areas has not been fully explored, but whose essence is justified by the emphasis today of the considerations of environmental sustainability (Muzvidziwa, 2005; Kamete, 2002a; Dzemydiene, 2008). What distinguishes a steward from an agent is perhaps the level of accountability and oversight involved. There seems to be more oversight, power of discretion and accountability involved in stewardship than in agency.

Rapid urbanisation, resulting in the demand for urban infrastructure in peri-urban areas, is rampant in the developing world. It is estimated that “…up to 45% of the 1.4 billion people who will join the world urban population by 2020 will live in peri-urban areas” which will exert insurmountable pressure “…on the already deteriorating infrastructure in these areas and on the pace of its development” (Akrofi and Whittal, 2011:1). Since most of the peri-urban land is in
customary hands, modalities to acquire it for urban development will need to be worked out (cf. Nsama, 2006; Laleyé and Ayeni, 2005). Despite the challenges associated with peri-urban areas, Akrofi and Whittal spell out on the significance of these areas to urban economies. Firstly, they provide alternative housing for different groups as already outlined even in Ward and Peters (2007) study.

Akrofi and Whittal (2011) assert that peri-urban areas are “… the initial point of access into the urban environment of incoming people because of their relatively low financial cost.” In South Africa, Land alienation, migrant labour policies, apartheid spatial planning and violence are the four predominant forces that have formed and removed informal settlements over the years (Marx and Charlton, 2003). However, these factors may also provide us with a basis to argue for collaborative action managing the housing and spatial planning challenges affecting the country as well as others in sub-Saharan Africa especially where peri-urbanisation related metropolitan growth is rampant. Small and Witherick (1986:238) define peri-urbanisation or suburbanisation as “…the decentralisation of people, employment and services from the inner and central areas of a town and city and their relocation towards the margins of the built-up area, a process leading to the accretion of suburbs.” Peri-urbanisation is also “… a process of the physical expansion of settlement areas but also socio-economic transformation … a major spatial development beyond the urban fringes.” (Zasada, Fertner, Piórr and Nielsen, 2011:59).

2.4 Processes and Issues and Contexts in Peri-urban Housing and Stewardship

Environmental management and land allocation are a matter of concern in peri-urban areas (Knuth, 2005). Health risks, poor environmental care, insecurity and weak urban governance are generally characteristic of peri-urban areas. By and large, peri-urban housing is a complex process, which includes sub-processes such as the migration of households from the core cities into the immediate hinterland, planning and regularisation (in the case of informal settlements), acquisition of land and materials, production and construction. Other processes have negative overtones and include erosion, pollution by households (Edusa and Simon, 2001; Briggs and Mwamfupe, 2000).
There is a close correlation between the informal economy and informal settlements (Sietchiping, 2005). Hassan (2008: 195-6), describing the situation in Pakistan, has concluded “…the informal sector provides land at an affordable cost to the poor with immediate possession and with no paper work. It escalates speculation and adjusts its standards according to the paying capacity of the client, something state agencies have failed. Although technical advice for house building provided by the sector is substandard, without it housing conditions in low-income conditions would be much worse.” The proliferation of slums is partly explained by the rigidity of urban planning regulations associated with other factors such as poor governance, corruption and nepotism (Sietchiping, 2005).

Slums can be divided into “slums of hope” and “slums of despair” (Thomas, 2008). The first are settlements on an upward trend, largely made up of newer, usually self-built structures, which are in or have recently been through a process of development, consolidation and improvement. The other category comprises “declining” neighbourhoods in which environmental conditions and services are in a process of seemingly inevitable decay. Epworth could be just a slum of hope. A slum is an area that combines to various extents the following characteristics: inadequate access to safe water, sanitation and other infrastructure, poor structural quality of housing, overcrowding and insecure residential status (UNHABITAT, 2007a; 2007b; Thomas, 2008). These characteristics are in tandem with efforts to measure the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) specifically Goal 1, ‘Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger’ and Goal 7, ‘Ensure environmental sustainability’ all of which are linked to managing housing poverty and enhancing environmental stewardship, respectively (Tibajuka, 2009).

Rademacher (2009:523) has argued that,

“If it is in the very production of global slum ecology discourses that their differentiated experience is obscured ..., then a fuller understanding of housing as an environmental problem depends on grounded tracings of the contents of social categories such as “slum dweller” and “urban nature” in specific contexts. It requires sensitivity to the dynamism of social categories themselves—made, unmade, and reconstructed as they are by actors with concrete stakes in political and economic transformation.”
Overall, governmental attitudes, responses and policies towards slums have changed since the 1950s from centralised control of housing to neo-liberal approach and then to the emerging preventative approach.

These three approaches can by discussed under the following five major chronological categories:

- laissez-faire attitudes in the 1950s and 1960s,
- sites and services programmes in the 1970s,
- slum upgrading in the 1980s (cf. Gulyani and Connors, 2002), and,
- the enabling strategies and security of tenure in the 1990s and Cities without Slums action plan in the 2000s (UNHABITAT, 2007a; 2007b; Tibaijuka, 2009).

In most cases, peri-urban processes in most African cities are nothing but ‘contentious development’ (Peri-NET, 2002) especially with respect to urban and peri-urban transformations and livelihoods. Nuwagaba (2002) examines the dynamics associated with Kampala City of Uganda; Kinyungu (2002) those of the City of Nairobi, Kenya, Sihlongonyane (2002) those of Manzini, Swaziland, Chimhanda (2002) those of Harare, Zimbabwe; and Muziamba (2002) those of Lusaka, Zambia. In all these studies, the rampancy and the rise of the urban informal sector activities (street trading and exploitation of the natural resources) by the peri-urban dwellers are noted. Subdivisions of land for housing are also revealed (Asiama, 1990; Rakodi, 2007). Synonymous with each of these activities are numerous conflicts, given the multiplicity of players with different interests (Spaling and Wood, 1998). Formalising urban markets and street trading are noted by Snoxell (2002) as a justified action to reduce the contention associated with some of the processes in peri-urban development as already highlighted.

Moreover, the processes of land, materials acquisition and construction are critical in peri-urban analysis as they influence the overall product of the houses there. Charles Abrams (1964) cited by Noero (1994:87) has argued that squatters are “… less worried about what they will build than where they will build it and less concerned about initial standards than about initial layout. Secure possession of properly located land, where they can live now, is far more important than the promise of a modern house that may never materialise. Given the land and the right
circumstances – that is, adequately located, properly planned, and with secure title – experience has shown that development to contemporary standards will surely take place, even if slowly.” Usually, the poor depend most on their immediate natural environment for livelihoods, materials for housing construction and deposition of waste. For livelihoods, peri-urban agriculture is a major venture by the peri-urban dwellers. Erosion and pollution are major threats to peri-urban development. Rowntree et al (1991) studied the Maqalika catchment on the periphery of Maseru and noted serious erosion owing to rapid and ill-planned urban development in the area since the 1970s.

As previously highlighted, peri-urbanisation in a number of contexts is characterised by the phenomenon known as the ecological footprint (Marshal et al 2009). The ecological footprint problematique in Zimbabwe manifests itself in and around the small settlements in many forms. Chief among these characteristics is decrease in woodland resources as residents poach firewood, destruction of forests by housing developers (Mapedza, 2007). There is also increasing siltation of water bodies, non-collection of household garbage due to local authority constraints in term of finances and equipment, decreased capacity of local authorities to cut grasses during the rainy season. In addition to this, the loss of farmland due to various development schemes is a critical challenge. Households often indulge in actions that are marked by a host of environmental reversals that, in turn, trigger a host of natural negative developments. These actions can be termed community and household actions, engineered in the demand-side philosophy of utilitarianism. They include deforestation in response to the energy crisis experienced in the country, illicit sand extraction and quarrying (in a bid to provide cheap raw materials for housing construction in urban and peri-urban areas). There is also the problem of over-fishing of the small rivers and streams in a bid to address food insecurity issues in households, pollution of land, water (Zingoni et al, 2005; Munhenga, 2011) and air.

The quality of a settlement depends, largely, in most cases, on its origins and history. It also depends on the availability or non-availability of attendant services (roads, water and sanitation, etc), knowledge, attitudes, perceptions and practices of the households in the place (Williams and Magsumbol, 2006), times and seasons in the year, and whether or not there is interest in or special groups willing to improving the habitat. In addition, the selection of appropriate
technology for managing drainage flows from low cost peri urban settlements has been a major issue in South Africa (Kisembo, 2004; cf. SWH, 2006). This is explained by the inadequacy in drainage in dense peri-urban of the country. Largely, the quality of houses in peri-urban settlements, as everywhere, is a function of different factors. Given the incapacity of the state and the private sector in sub-Saharan African countries to cater for the influx of people due to urbanisation, “...peri-urban areas with their associated informal mechanisms meet the land needs for the majority of the poor and urbanising people” (Akrofi and Whittal, 2011:12). Sietchiping (2005:2) attribute the impoverishment of city dwellers to inadequate and decaying quality of human shelter. Low standard of housing (which translates to urban and peri-urban informality) is the primary indicator to the deterioration of living conditions in cities in developing countries.

2.6 Global and Regional Practices in Peri-urban Housing and Stewardship

Globally and regionally, the peri-urban question is a critical issue of concern (Kyessi, 2005, Mara and Alabaster, 2008; Chirisa, 2010; Sanchez-Cuenca, 2011; Allen, 2010; Home, 2001; 2002). Homelessness in the city pushes low-income citizens to the periphery (UNFPA, 2009). Quite differently, nineteenth century Europe and America suburbs were predominantly havens of the wealthy and middle-class families (Engels, 1887; Smith, 1981; Small and Witherick, 1986). It was the transport revolution then (railway and tram network extensions), that permitted the sub-urbanites to live greater distances away from the city centres.

The aftermath of the Second World War saw the introduction of the Greater London Plan recommending for the establishment of ten satellite towns to meet the housing shortage in London. In 1945, the New Towns Committee acquired land to establish the new towns. The British New Towns Act 1946 provided the government with the power to implement these plans. Overall, the twentieth century experienced a vast proliferation of suburbs resulting in the ‘flight from the city’ by the well-to-do classes. Increased affluence - characterised by increased car ownership - as well as, the general thrust by local authorities of building housing estates in the rural–urban fringe paved way for sub-urbanisation (Gordon and Richardson, 1997; Cavailhès et al, 2004).
2.6.1 Global Cases

In this section, I examine specific examples from North America, Australia, South Asia, Latin America, and East Asia. It is estimated that over the next twenty-five years approximately 200 million people will account for 40 percent of urban population growth in peri-urban areas in East Asia (Webster, 2002). In China, it is expected that peri-urbanisation will account for at least 40 percent of future urban population growth in service-oriented extended urban regions such as Beijing, Shanghai, and Hangzhou, and over 60 percent of future urban population growth in more industrial cities such as Chongqing, Chengdu, and Ningbo (Webster, 2002; Cai et al, 2003). Coordinated development approaches involving various sectors and actors are advocated for as a way of managing the impending crisis (Webster, 2002). Peri-urban expansion in South East Queensland, Australia is largely a result of farmland conversion, where formerly productive agricultural land is sub-divided for residential or rural-residential purposes (NHT, 1997). This has altered the nature and identity of rural communities by increasing the social complexity and potential for social conflict among landholders who manage rural properties.

Ward and Peters (2007) observe that the US housing production in the peri-urban, contrasts strongly to that in Latin America (which also typify Asia and Africa) where cities begin as “illegal occupations of totally un-serviced lots). They explain the gravity of the growing informal housing phenomenon (colonia). Ward and Peters (2007:206) point out to that in Texas alone “... there are estimated to be over 400,000 people living in some 1600 or more colonias, and if one extends the definition to areas outside of the border, the numbers rise still further. In New Mexico and Arizona, the numbers, albeit substantial, are lower than Texas. In Arizona, the 1990 Census suggested that approximately 162,000 people lived in 77 “colonia designated areas” while in New Mexico, it indicated that 70,000 lived in 141 settlements.

It is interesting to see that the process of peri-urban challenges is a global rather than a merely localised problem (Wissen et al, 2011). What may be different is the extent to which the developed countries manage and monitor development that comes with peri-urbanisation. Good stewardship means constantly monitoring the developments with a focus on sustainability (Vukovic, 1999; White, 2007).
2.6.2 Regional Cases

Theorisation and contextualisation of peri-urbanisation in Africa cannot ignore the framework of colonialism, structural adjustment, wars, political independence, cessation of conflict, liberalisation, and global politics (Marshall, et al, 2009). For example, in southeast Nigeria indigenous households, who claim a common ancestor, hold land under customary tenure (Tacoli, 2002). In this arrangement, there is exclusion and seclusion of migrants to the area from permanent rights to land. This typifies much of West Africa, where rural to urban migration is on the increase (cf. Laleye and Ayeni, 2005). Urban expansion ‘eats away’ agricultural land (Home, 2001; Nguyen, 2006). In the process, the farmer is obliged to look for alternative livelihoods in the peri-urban zone (Tacoli, 2002; Home, 2001).

With reference to Botswana, Malawi and South Africa, Nkwae (2006:108) speaks of “legal pluralism”. This phenomenon makes it very difficult in the design of alternative tenure and administration systems in the peri-urban areas. In these three countries, Nkwae (2006:142) explains the outcomes of “… slow and bureaucratic land allocation procedures resulting in long waiting lists in urban and peri-urban areas, slow land servicing, lack of transparency and accountability, corruption and self-allocation of land (e.g., by Land Board officials, cabinet ministers, chiefs, ward heads, and their families); and inadequate land allocation policies and guidelines.” Indeed, all these challenges make the management of peri-urban areas difficult amid demand for land in the zone (Thornton, 2008).

Land and hydrological surfaces are heavily altered when land is converted from rural to urban use. This is common in most developing countries where planning controls are not in place. Unplanned roads, drains and high density of footpaths tend to promote erosion and sediment movement in these areas. On the outskirts of Maseru, the capital of Lesotho, Rowntree et al (1991) observe shifting patterns of erosion in a small catchment experiencing rapid and ill-planned urban residential development. The Maqalika Reservoir was completed in 1983 and acts as a trap for sediment originating from the catchment, which has an area of 11.04km² and a relief ranging from 1500 to 1820m above sea level (ASL). It is characterised by unplanned residential development, unauthorised and arbitrary building, and a few tarred roads the majority of which are unplanned earth roads developed from farm tracks. The stormwater drains and road ditches
are mostly badly designed and unlined. In addition, footpaths dominate the area, with some situated along roads and others across unfenced areas and around public amenities such as communal taps and boreholes. Quarrying, sandstone crushing and borrow pits for brick making are the major activities in extracting raw materials for building. These activities disturb the land surface and lead to serious sedimentation. The absence of planning control, lack of both political will and ineffective administrative structures to arrest it are the key determinants to illegal constructions and environmental degradation. These processes are described and explained in the forthcoming paragraphs.

In 1979, Lesotho promulgated the Land Act to create orderly urbanisation. However, it failed to garner support from the local chiefs who actually ignored it, having by then lost powers to allocate land. This resulted in both illegal and unregulated development. In 1980, the government enacted the Town and Country Planning Act, which did not achieve the intended goals due to lack of resources, skilled work force, finances, and the absence of local authorities to prepare and enforce the plans. Rowntree et al. (1991) observe that both medium and high-density housing were associated with severe erosion in 1979, while in 1985 low-density housing became critical as high density housing construction dwindled. In their view, construction activity probably induced the severe erosion, and rills and gullies were attributable to unpaved roads and poorly designed road drains, resulting in pronounced erosion duplex soils whose sub-strata are vulnerable to undercutting. Erosion has a negative effect on land values and development costs. As such, severely eroded land requires methods of reclamation in the form of land levelling and re-vegetation. The net effect of this is that road maintenance costs are significantly increased, a fact that is often overlooked as an aspect of peri-urbanisation.

In Botswana, land is held under three different tenure arrangements, namely, freehold/leasehold (6%), state land (formerly Crown Lands) (23%) and tribal land (71%). During colonial times, three land tenure types existed within tribal land, namely residential plots in village/urban areas, ‘masimo’ (ploughing fields around the village, which could be as far as 30 miles away), and ‘moraka’ (cattlepost), with hunting areas beyond (Home, 2001). ‘Tribesmen’ were guaranteed an allocation. Masimo was intended for open access outside the ploughing season. New types of leases introduced after independence are common law leases (99 or 50 years, pledgable) and
residential leases. Tribal members obtain residential leases on application at the land board. The normal type of customary lease had unlimited duration but could not be pledged as collateral.

Today, tensions between customary and individual land tenure systems have increased due to the pressures of rapid urbanisation in the country. Gaborone, in particular, has experienced great pressure for land due to the shortage and high price of house-plots. The situation has been compounded by the tough anti-squatting policy within the city boundaries. People have turned to the adjacent tribal land board area for plots newly created around existing villages (cf. Zindoga, 1999; World Bank, 2005; Yeboah, 2005). They believe that they are exercising their birthright. There has been propagation of illicit land transactions and uncontrolled house building. In 1991, in response, the Government set up a ‘Presidential Commission of Inquiry to look into the Land Problems of Mogoditshane and Other Peri-urban Villages’. The Commission toured the villages, held public meetings and interviewed some four hundred individuals. It noted that at least eight hundred illegally created plots. Further, the Commission established that there had been an utter collapse of the legal land allocation system. This case typifies the experiences in Epworth, where households from Harare city continue to flock (Chenga, 2010).

In Ghana, peri-urban areas, Kumasi in particular, are characterised by chronic and serious water shortages. Formal supplies have failed to satisfy the demand for safe water in peri-urban settlement, resulting in individual and informal suppliers devising their own ways of managing the water problem (Akrofi and Whittal, 2011). In the Asante region, the ownership of all customary land is vested in the Golden Stool (Mends and de Meijere, 2006). This means it cannot be acquired or sold, although there is transfer on usufruct rights. Nevertheless, there are a number of ways of acquiring the use of land for water and sanitation infrastructure in peri-urban Kumasi. There is a consensus among communities in the Asante Region that converting farmland into urban use or parcelling such land generates proceeds that are then shared equitably by the community. Community land must always be availed from this process. Community self-help projects have been observed to be sustainable as they enhance knowledge of the actors involved (cf. Magigi and Majani, 2006). Sometimes the compulsory acquisition of land makes it easier for customary landholders to give up their land, paving the way for the installation of the requisite services and infrastructure (Akrofi and Whittal, 2011).
There are six prominent metropolitan municipalities in South Africa namely Cape Town, eThekwini (Durban), Ekurhueleni (East Rand), Johannesburg, Tshwane (Pretoria) and Nelson Mandela Metropole (Port Elizabeth). According to Roux (2009:13), these cities comprise 31% of the country’s total population and together contribute 55% of South Africa’s GDP. Widespread in most low-income settlements in South Africa are congestion, high densities and intensive site developments. These low-income settlements lack space availability, for example, in Mfuleni Wetlands in the Western Cape (Kisembo, 2004; Lannas and Turpie, 2009). In 1990, people fleeing violence in parts of the city and elsewhere established their squatter housing in this environmentally-sensitive area.

Lannas and Turpie (2009: 22) observe that, in 2001, “Mfuleni had a population of about 22,885, 57% of whom were unemployed, and 79% of the population earned less than U.S. $230/month. After floods in 2001, more than 4000 people were resettled on open areas in Mfuleni. There are 7517 households in Mfuleni, 1117 of which are in informal settlements, and whose inhabitants are the main users of the wetland areas.” This case shows the extent to which desperate members of society will always seek to live at the edge of a city where they think they can live quietly and harmoniously. But as they do so, they also plunge into certain disturbing environmental functions. Uneven development, landlessness, and structural unemployment, and historical systems of labour migration persist in the South African spatial economic sphere (Weiner and Harris, 2003; Thornton, 2008). In this case, the interconnectedness of rural, urban and peri-urban areas is evidently strong.

Millions of black South Africans live in the peri-urban areas (World Bank, 2004). There has been a general failure by supply-driven government programmes, development planning and environmental regulations, and current land and housing markets to support the fulfilment of the peri-urban dwellers’ aspirations to become homeowners on sites of their choice in these peri-urban areas. Based on the Ethembalethu case study, the World Bank (2004) suggests reforms in the following policy and programme areas:

- overcoming reluctance and resistance by municipalities and prospective neighbours to the development of low-income settlements,
• making land-use planning in municipalities explicitly pro-poor,
• restructuring the land market, realigning planning processes,
• designing a land and housing programme targeted to peri-urban areas,
• re-engineering programme implementations, and
• freeing up of the ‘once-suppressed’ capacities and building capacity (cf. Musandu-Nyamayaro, 1993).

Butterressing this, the institution proposes that a national task force be established to ensure the appropriate follow up of such matters.

Compared to most African countries, urbanisation rates in Malawi have always been very low (Kalipeni 1997). For a long time, the country has been the labour source market for the Southern Africa and as such, experienced low development in the industrial sector that could have triggered migration processes. According to Rohregger (2006:1155), most of “... the Malawian urbanisation actually took place outside the country”. Approximately 40 percent of the able-bodied men migrated annually into Zimbabwe, Zambia and South Africa. It was under the Kamuzu Hastings Banda’s autocratic rule (1961 to 1994) that rural development was so esteemed higher above the urban development resulting in low urbanisation. In light of this, 80 percent of the Malawian population thrive on the rural sector for employment.

In 1975, Lilongwe was designated the capital of Malawi. The growth of this centre has been attributed not so much with many people coming to the city but rather to the city shifting its boundaries outwards, especially between 1975 and 1980. Concisely, Rohregger (2006:1155) has underscored that most of the villages “...were situated at the edges of town, where over the years parallel structures of governance and living developed. This was all the more the case as these villages increasingly filled with inner-urban migrants who due to the decreasing number of so-called ‘Planned Traditional Housing Areas’ and cramped living conditions ‘illegally’ began to settle in and around these villages.”

During the Banda regime (1961 to 1994), illegal lands were usually cleared by force with houses demolished. In the early 1990s, the Lilongwe City Council changed its policy into one of
‘upgrading’. Invaded areas were simply legalised and incorporated into the city. Nevertheless, the lack of financial resources constrained the ‘sites and services’ initiatives. The result was that residents started on self-help schemes in infrastructure and services provisioning. Today, in most countries, Zimbabwe included, self-help housing is the modality most employed in low-income housing (Cormack, 1983; Dube, 2004; Fernandes, 2002; Gandidzanwa, 2003; Cortemiglia, 2006; Garau et al, 2006).

The other case is Zambia, where the plight of peri-urban settlements is quite evident. Environmental sustainability is a major issue of concern with regard to peri-urban housing in the country (Heath et al, 2010). Mwanamakondo (2007:2-3) describing the general state of peri-urban resettlement areas in Zambia has highlighted where most of these settlements are located. They are found in areas “...which are totally unsuitable for housing developments because this is usually the portions of land that the well-to-do would avoid, such as dambos, near or next to sewer ponds, in the windward direction of factory fumes. [They are also found] next to quarries, areas with bad underground rock formation like Kanyama where water comes out of the ground instead of sinking down.... These areas are generally filthy, particularly during the rains with heaps of uncollected garbage, spilling over latrines, shallow wells where you can almost scoop out water, stagnant stinking water posing all sorts of health risks. No wonder we now have perennial problems of cholera and other diseases associated with dirt...” Like Malawi, the issue of traditional housing areas (THAs) is an issue here. These pose a health hazard to peri-urban dwellers. Land conflicts at the city edge are rampant as well, given the asymmetries in the construct of modern and traditional institutions in managing land (cf. Benjamin, 2008).

In Mozambique and Angola, the densification and expansion of peri-urban areas has doubled in Maputo and Luanda respectively. Raposo (2008:3) reports that “…in the last two decades of the last millennium [in these two cities, there has been] the saturation and deterioration of existing social infrastructure [hence] its shortage.” The other challenges in the peri-urban areas of the two capital cities include inappropriate constructions, rampancy and escalation of erosion and flooding cases, marked inadequacies in infrastructure and service provision, increased deterioration in the environmental conditions of the areas, accentuation in social and spatial inequality and differentiation. The urban cores and the peri-urban areas present great contrast.
The outward migration of households and families from the urban cores into the peri-urban areas is rife. In Maputo, over 70% of the urban dwellers reside in informal and low-income settlements (Jorgen, 2009). This kind of peri-urbanisation is typical of Epworth in Zimbabwe.

In Tanzania, peri-urban developments in Dar-es-Salaam were triggered by the conditions of the structural adjustment programme in Tanzania in the 1980s. Briggs and Mwamfupe (2000:804) note that, many households,

“...bought land and moved to the edge of the urban area from the city itself, primarily in response to a need to produce their own food to survive the growing economic crisis.... The land vendors...frequently moved further out to buy land at a lower price, to farm in the long-term but with the longer-term hope that land prices will rise as Dar-es-Salaam expands spatially, and then the whole process will be repeated. ...In the early 1990s, the processes were becoming rather different as new conditions emerged because of structural adjustment. People did no longer have to respond to crisis by using the peri-urban zone as a zone of survival, rather they were starting to use it as a zone of investment. Increasingly, it was developed for permanent housing and for the expansion of commercial agriculture supplying the city, and especially with products such as fresh milk, vegetables... oranges and other fruit.”

The Tanzanian experience shows the effect of the structural adjustment programmes (SAP) in Africa. Quite positively, SAPs triggered investments in infrastructure, agriculture and housing development for some households. However, in Zimbabwe, the negative impact of structural adjustment programmes can still be felt two decades later, though they were ‘discontinued’ (Maphosa et al, 2007). Summarised in Table 2.1 are the processes at each level (global, regional, national and local) and the implications these have on peri-urban housing and development. The point is that relating these processes at different levels does not provide symmetry of solution given the differences in ideologies and policies pursued by different governments in different countries, differences in approaches and the amount of detail on each. Context is a differentiating and defining factor in most cases. The policy nuances explain why, in certain cases, there have been continuities, discontinuities or even transformations in practices and experiences over the years. This has a strong bearing on planning and stewardship of the places in question.
<table>
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<th>Level</th>
<th>Process</th>
<th>Implications</th>
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| Global | • The nineteenth century European and American suburbanisation and transport revolution and increased car ownership.  
• The 1944 Greater London Plan recommended the establishment of ten satellite towns to meet the housing shortage. The 1945 New Towns Committee, which created government-sponsored corporations, financed by the Exchequer.  
• Increased population growth and peri-urbanisation in Asia as well as North and Latin America.  
• Use of sophisticated technologies in peri-urban studies, including the applications of remote sensing or aerial photographs and techniques in geographic information systems (GIS).  
• Increased peri-urban informal subdivisions.  
• Metropolitanisation and regionalisation of urban processes.  
• Peri-urban farming and forestry (cf. Murray, 2008). | • Zimbabwe was a colony of Britain, whose spatial planning policies have shaped most settlements in the country.  
• Satellite towns have emerged around Harare (Harare, 1992), the capital of Zimbabwe, in imitation of the British stylized planning.  
• During colonial times, rural population influx into urban centres was controlled but post-independence developments liberalised the movements of especially black populations.  
• Use of sophisticated technologies for monitoring peri-urban development lags behind.  
• Rampant peri-urban subdivision through the process of land transfer is said to be very slow and inhibitive to housing development.  
• Infrastructure provisioning in peri-urban settlements is lagging behind. Meanwhile, areas designated for housing development remain undeveloped or have been temporarily allocated for peri-urban agriculture. |
| Regional | • Colonialism - land alienation, migrant labour policies, apartheid spatial planning and violence.  
• Structural adjustment, for instance studies in Tanzania.  
• Wars and post-war conflicts, for example in Angola and Mozambique.  
• Political independence and population influx in urban centres.  
• Liberalisation and the opening up of peri-urban land markets and housing development.  
• Haphazard subdivisions leading to slum creation and expansion, congestion, high densities and intensive site developments.  
• Increased urban primacy.  
• Metropolitanisation and the growth of urban regions.  
• Increased contention in peri-urban development.  
• Increased land degradation and ecological footprints (deforestation, soil erosion, siltation, pollution and related environmental processes). Refer to Holden (2004).  
• Urban spillover processes resulting in peri-urbanisation.  
• Legal pluralism in the management of peri-urban land.  
• Proliferation of the voluntary sector in peri-urban housing and infrastructure provision and advocacy.  
• Selection and implementation of appropriate technology (cf. SWH, Branom-Zwick (30 January 2006)). | • Most of these aspects have had a strong bearing on housing and peri-urban development in Zimbabwe. The effects that they have on the peri-urbanscape have been described in this study. Those aspects which have not been analysed in detail means further research and consideration for policy alternatives is necessary. These include:  
- Urban expansion on tribal land in the context of livelihoods.  
- Peri-urban land development and speculation.  
- Stewardship, right to the city and housing rights.  
- Self-help housing and ‘appropriate technology’  
- ‘Researching with them (the peri-urban dwellers)’ and the vernacular and grassroots approaches.  
- Strategic (peri-) urban spatial planning (SUSP) and its dimensions in peri-urban stewardship.  
- Computing the quantum and extent of damage resulting from peri-urban constructions towards evidence-based policy (cf. Wissen-Hayek et al, 2011)  
- Climate change, vernacular architecture and the peri-urban development.  
- Peri-urban housing versus Peri-urban farming (cf. Branom-Zwick (30 January 2006)). |
- Managing communicable diseases like cholera in Zambia.
- Climate change adaptation and mitigation.
- Water and sanitation provision.
- Peri-urban farming.

These aspects show the gaps worth exploring and explaining, as highlighted in this study. The regional examples provide an indication of efforts made, but details are required. The question is on how these fit into the Zimbabwean context. At this level, it is possible to draw comparisons, given the similarities in certain experiences, in contrast to some global cases, which are so divorced from the African context that they are difficult to draw comparisons.

### National
- Colonial processes and the resultant apartheid city; blacks as rural dwellers.
- War and peri-urban squatting.
- Post-independence policies giving way to increased urbanisation.
- Socio-economic policies.
- Structural adjustment: poverty and investment.
- Fast-track land resettlement programme and peri-urban housing projects by cooperatives and consortia.
- The emergence of peri-urban layout planning.
- Urban clean-up programme – Operation Murambatsvina.

The national experiences provide an immediate context to how settlements have been shaped over the years. Both the colonial and post-colonial experiences have paid a great role in shaping human settlements across the towns and cities and their peri-urban environs in the country. But some have also given identity to some of the places. For instance, that Epworth survived demolitions during Operation Murambatsvina indicates how policy can be selective owing to ideas and processes embedded in the development of such places. Stewardship is shaped by ideology, politics and macro-economic processes in space.

### Local
- Declaration of Growth points in Zimbabwe which saw emergence of Ruwa.
- Slum upgrading in Epworth.
- ‘Democratisation of local boards’.
- Advocacy by NGOs – e.g. the Municipal Development Partnership for Eastern and Southern Africa (MDP-ESA) advocating for Participatory Budgeting in Ruwa and the Demonstration house by Practical Action in Epworth.
- Public Private Partnerships in Ruwa.
- Community Public Partnerships in Epworth.

Local processes are the immediate determinant of place-making. Stewardship is about the values, objectives, visions, dreams, aspirations and priorities by the local communities as they are shaped by the people themselves and institutions working with them. In studying sustainable development, these local processes and initiatives are very critical as planning, visioning and stewardship go hand-in-glove.

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<th>Table 2.1: Processes at Global, Regional and Local Levels and Implications on Peri-urban Housing and Stewardship</th>
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2.7 Summary

This chapter has shed light to the understanding of the concepts, theories and patterns of peri-urban housing and stewardship. It has provided a framework to understand the various approaches and debates that describe the complexity of the issues and in the subject of housing and stewardship in peri-urban settlements. The three concepts defining this study – peri-urban, stewardship and housing – are very complex and loaded. Although there are theories and conceptual frameworks to try and explain the substantive and process issues associated with the terms, the realities and practices across the globe show some definitional and practice challenges to the clarity of the issues on the ground. The concepts are generally fraught with many ambiguities. However, the foregoing analysis has provided some basis to the understanding the realities of peri-urban housing and stewardship, the following chapters are devoted to the realities in Zimbabwe in general, and then the specifics that define the study areas of Ruwa and Epworth. The chapter to follow focuses on the local context of Zimbabwe in relation to the subject at hand and in keeping with the set objectives as described in Chapter 1.
CHAPTER THREE  
THE CONTEXT OF HOUSING AND STEWARDSHIP IN ZIMBABWE

“The handling of the peri-urban squatter situation by the Zimbabwean authorities is symptomatic of the poor response at a policy level, to the challenges of rapid urbanisation…. Squatters’ actions highlight their refusal to be condemned by the state as ‘outcasts’, and as they argue, they are normal citizens with rights to be respected by authorities. The location of peri-urban squatter settlements on land which both the national government and local authority can conveniently disown has made it easier for both parties to deny that addressing the squatter situation is their responsibility.” – Mpofu (2012:61)

3.1 Introduction
In this chapter, I examine the context of housing, peri-urbanity and the stewardship through the lens of the observation by Mpofu (2012), who sees how the low-income peri-urban dwellers are usually in a state of flux and precariousness. The question we are trying to understand here is: What are the historical, political, administrative and cultural contexts that define housing in Zimbabwe in general and peri-urban housing, in particular, and how the same factors echo the principles and practices of stewardship? As to be explained in the following paragraphs, the continuity in the British planning practices and institutions, administrative conflicts, political contestations and cultural practices have tended to favour rigidity in practices rather than flexibility. This rigidity has produced a composite context, in which the delivery of housing is highly inelastic albeit increasing urbanisation.

3.2 Historical Context
Zimbabwe’s colonial and post-colonial policies have been useful in shaping urban and peri-urban environments. Peri-urban development in Zimbabwe is linked to colonial housing policy.

3.2.1 Pre-Independence Housing and Land Policies
In the colonial days, black Africans were regarded as ‘temporary citizens’ in urban centres (Mafico, 1991; Peck, 1970, Mubvami, 2001; Tibajjuka, 2005; Chaeruka and Munzwa, 2009). A number of legislations were passed to enforce the separatist ideology (Patel, 1988; Mafico, 1991). Such legislations include the Native Locations Ordinance Act (No 4 of 1906), which put
employment as the chief determinant of one’s tenure in town, and the Land Apportionment Act (No 30 of 1930, re-enacted in 1941), which technically put all urban land in the monopoly of the whites and made government provide housing for blacks. It also saw the establishment of National Railways and other statutory commissions and the management townships for African workers. Additional legislation included the Native Registration Act of 1936 and the Native Passes Act of 1937, which restricted movement to and within urban centres. In the same vein, the African Urban Areas Accommodation and Registration Act of 1946 further tightened the legal exclusion of blacks in urban areas. In 1969, the Land Tenure Act was promulgated, leading to the proscription of the Land Apportionment Act. In keeping with the Land Tenure Act, the country was divided in two equal parts, with 44.9 million acres being allocated to each race. The inequity was that the black to white ratio then was twenty to one (Patel, 1988, Mafico, 1991; Toriro, 2007; Musekiwa, 1993). Such an unfair distribution of land was to be the basis for the nemesis, which saw blacks fighting hard to remove the white government. It must be noted that by 1969, Rhodesia was already in war, and that the Second Chimurenga that lasted for sixteen years, 1966 to 1979 and saw the country attaining the rule by the black majority in 1980.

In the Rhodesian economy, there was lack of opportunities for black workers and businesspersons to obtain land on a freehold basis. This was “... the primary reason for the development of urban slums and the lack of commercial and industrial growth in black areas” (Cross in Ritchen ed, 1975:21). Homeownership for blacks in urban areas was highly restricted. For this reason, the post Second World War saw mass production of rental housing for blacks in the country (Patel, 1988; Zinyama et al, 1993). In Salisbury (now Harare), the Department of African Administration (established in 1946) embarked on major housing construction programmes in the 1940s and 1950s with its first schemes being 'single' men’s hostels for migrant labourers (Patel, 1988), which at that time, were established at the city edge (Peck, 1970). Prior to this, suburbanisation (or just peri-urbanisation) was synonymous with the white race, who were the afforded opportunity to have bigger plots at the city edge (Zinyama et al, 1993). Suburbanisation, although it occurs with a small population then, was the prototype of the genesis of the impending ecological footprint and sprawling (cf. Holden, 2004). No doubt, it was concomitant with considerable negative external consequences - urban sprawl, pollution and congestion (cf. Dixon et al, 1995; Zorich, 2007; Svendsen and Campbell, 2008; Powers and Peer
Associates, 2009). In Zimbabwe, generally, settlement plans tend towards sprawl, given the extensive parcelisation of land and general adherence to horizontal development practices (Mutanga, 1997).

In 1956, the Salisbury Rural and Town Planning Authority (SRTPA) realised the haphazard nature of non-agricultural land subdivision at the edge of the planning boundary of the urban nucleus, varying from seven to seventeen kilometres. Such urban expansion was towards Ruwa (Ndlovu, 2004) and the SRTPA decided to act strongly against this trend. Guided by the philosophy of reducing the negative external consequences of urban sprawl and maintaining the economic viability of the farming units in this zone, the SRTPA drafted a policy document outlining the government’s wish to create certain small areas for people wishing to “live in semi-rural surroundings” (Bates 1975 cited in Ndlovu 2004: 56; cf. Satterthwaite and Tacoli, 2003). The exercise, code-named a Rural Scheme Area (RSA), saw the creation of seven rural small residential areas around the belt of the city (now Harare), namely Gardiner, Cromlet, Ruwa, Twentydale, Christon Bank, Merwede and Sublime. A unitary document by the Government Town Planning Department (GTPD) (now referred to as the Department of Physical Planning (DPP)) condensed these planned settlements into the “the archetypal 1957 Outline Plan. The contemporary Master Plans in Zimbabwe were developed from this 1957 Outline Plan (Ndlovu 2004:56 citing Mbiriri 1999).

The Outline Plans informed the creation of seven Rural Scheme Areas around the peri-urban areas of Harare. The plans crafted in consultation with the Natural Resources Board (NRB) were more in favour of agriculture than urban development. Their primary objective was to secure the livelihoods of the poor white minority community group, thereby supplementing their urban income. They also accommodated sections of the white elite class, who wanted a quiet country life, free from the hectic life of the city (‘special’ needs). Eventually these plans, managed to ‘tame’ urban sprawl through the creation of a “…tight girdle around the city” (Ndlovu, 2004:54).

The RSAs demarcated the bounds and limits of the urban area at a time when immigrants from Europe, particularly from England were on the upsurge (Ndlovu, 2004; Davsion, 2002). This resultant rise in demand caused an increase in the price of the peri-urban land. Some well-to-do
white urbanites embarked on purchasing land for speculative purposes. Consequently, undeveloped land subdivisions with the RSAs rose stupendously. The Outline Plans have remained more binding instrument than any other provisional instruments (master plans, town planning schemes, local and subject plans) for peri-urban land subdivision in the country (Mbiriri, 1999).

In 1963, the Rhodesian Rural Land Board (RRLT) promulgated the economic criteria for subdividing land holdings under title. According to the criteria, applicants for peri-urban land had to avail proof of capability to farm, proof of stipulated assets base, farming experience in accordance with the prevailing standards of that time. The idea was to bottleneck the system to reduce speculator tendencies. The overall effect was the screening of those who did not meet the criteria, resulting in a general oversupply of land. Utility and infrastructure provisions proved very costly, given the small threshold population assigned to such services (Ndlovu (2004). Such challenges of infrastructural provision in the peri-urban areas continue to this day. They are also a cause of concern in peri-urban stewardship everywhere (Mwesigwa, 1995; Muzvidziwa, 2005; Muzvidziwa and Zamberia, eds. 2006; Tacoli, 2003).

3.2.2 Post-Independence Housing and Land Policies
At independence, in 1980, the new Zimbabwean Government repealed a number of repressive colonial legislations and policies, respectively (Jordan, 1984; Tibaijuka, 2005; Chaeruka and Munzwa, 2009; Davison, 2002). It promulgated a number of development policies and plans like the Growth with Equity (GWE), and the Prime Minister’s Directive, the Transitional Development Plans (TNDP) of 1982/3 to the First Five Year National Development Plan (FFYNDP) of 1985 to 1990. The general development policy – whose thrust was socialist and was intended to redress the spatial and racial disparities created by the ousted colonial regime – saw the Government embarking on a “housing for all by 2000” campaign. Toriro (2006:1) has asserted that,

“Immediately after independence, there was a housing goal which was summed up in the slogan, ‘Housing for all by the year 2000’.... Although the policy position has not always been supported by actual houses being built, there has been consistency. This is positive
because it indicates ready support to housing programmes in Zimbabwe since any such development is in line with an existing desire of the government.”

Specifically, in a bid to redress the impacts of the colonial apartheid policy of 1890 to 1979, the new Zimbabwean government used a cocktail of instruments oscillating between technocratic-induced minimalist ideology and socialist populism. The First President of the Republic of Zimbabwe, Reverend Canaan Banana (GoZ, 14 May 1980:116) had this to say,

“My government considers the housing of all workers as a welfare matter of paramount importance. Every worker and his family have the right to adequate accommodation. In order to achieve these objective housing programmes on both an ownership and rental basis will be worked out for those areas where this is required.”

At the same time, the new government was intolerant of squatting as a panacea to housing shortages. Canaan Banana, in his opening address to parliament in June 1983 stated that, “It is the government policy to remove urban squatters and accommodate them in properly planned residential areas” (Butcher in Zinyama, Tevera and Cumming eds. 1993:68). This policy had earlier on been practically demonstrated in 1980/81, when the squatter settlement of approximately 30,000 people in Chirambahuyo (15 km from Harare) was bulldozed (Butcher, 1986; Patel and Adam, 1981). Again in 1983 an informal settlement of a further 10,000 people at Russelldene was bulldozed. Ironically, Epworth has survived this rather harsh policy for over a century now.

It should be noted that at independence in 1980, both local and central governments emerged as major players in providing the public good of housing. In no time, it emerged that the state sector was limited in its ability to provide. Individuals began to organise themselves in order to house themselves. Toriro (2006:4) notes a number of discontinuities in terms of policy pronunciation:

“In 1980, the new policy sought to encourage home ownership.... The new government changed this in order to allow blacks to become property owners in urban areas. The policy meant that housing stock under the control of both the state and councils was significantly reduced. The government also introduced a policy to control rents, thus protecting tenants from overcharging by property owners. Under this policy, rentals could only be increased within certain regulated parameters. The reaction of property
owners and property developers was to shun the rental market. As a result, very few new flats were developed by the private sector during this time. The ultimate effect of that policy was to remove other players in the housing delivery system, thereby reduced housing output. In 1982, ambitious housing standards were introduced. These put the minimum stand size at 300 square metres. The impact of this policy was to make servicing expensive, thereby limiting the ability of local authorities to provide an adequate numbers of stands or houses. The length of the road, water and sewer pipes to each stand was the major contributor to the expense.”

From the foregoing quotation is can be noted that at independence, government came up with certain policies, which were not put to rigorous scrutiny before change could be effective. Such decisions were more impulsive than ‘tried and tested’. The result was undesired outcomes that, if scrutinized retrospectively, one can conclude were unsustainable. The then Deputy Ministry of Local Government and Housing, Godfrey Guwa Chidyausiku (1980 p531-532) observed that:

“Despite the changes about to take place in the urban areas of both municipal and rural councils, I see a continuity need for area boards or councils. These boards or councils, operating at neighbourhood level, are the base of urban local government structures and are important agencies of our lively environment, the maintenance of recreational and welfare facilities and self determination of grass roots problems.... The national housing shortage is one of the most pressing problems facing my ministry and I am determined that everything possible will be done to overcome the problem as rapidly as possible....”

“My ministry is responsible for rent control for urban residential properties in the private sector, including local government areas. I am presently considering the introduction of new rent control regulations for lodgers’ accommodation in the local government areas. Such controls are necessary to put a stop to the exploitation of the unhoused people by owners on tenants in those areas... All state land in the urban areas is the responsibility of my Ministry, and its disposal is undertaken in “lease with option to purchase” basis, which only entitles the lessee to take title to his land when he has completed development. This is a well-tried system, and prevents speculation in land and ensures adequate development. All disposals of land are undertaken in consultation with local authorities.”
Important to note is that Chidyausiku views grassroots organisations as a critical factor in housing production. Housing, commitment and modalities for solving it are critical in any housing policy if the delivery of this all-important good and process is to be a worthwhile reality. Though there has always been acknowledgement of the existence of housing shortages in the country (cf. Mutanga, 1997), the government never tolerated such *ad hoc* land invasions and improper housing developments not fitting the planning regulations and standards at hand.

Under socialism, the private sector output to housing generally decreased due to lack of incentives to do such production. The 1990s saw the liberalisation of the economy and loosening of government’s grip in the market through the promulgation of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) from 1991-1996. ESAP saw the domination of market forces and the private sector began to subdue the state’s involvement in the market. The effects of the ESAP went as far as the post-1990s. The ‘Housing for all’ thrust of the 1980s was to be expanded in the ESAP period. On the one hand, the rapid expansion in the housing sector was noted especially in such places as Ruwa (Odero, 2003), while on the other the (ESAP) programme also resulted in the massive retrenchment of the ‘excess’ labour force in many sectors of the economy. This saw the emergence of the informal sector economy in many urban centres of the country. Statutory Instrument 216 of 1994 (Use Group Regulations) was created in the spirit and purpose of the liberalisation thrust. Its purpose was to try to accommodate non-residential functions in residential areas as much as possible. This somewhat ‘justified’ informalisation was already taking shape in most towns and cities in the country.

Table 3.1 is a snapshot of the major housing policy thrust by the Government of Zimbabwe for the period 1980 to 1996. There has been the shift in approaches to housing delivery based on financial and physical parameters. In 2001, the Ministry of Public Works, Construction and National Housing (MPWCNH) introduced a Peri-urban Subdivision Policy (PUSP) (Ndlovu, 2004). Its objectives included what has been termed ‘land democratisation and development’ (cf. Marongwe, 2002), empowerment and redistribution primarily in favour of the urban black Zimbabweans, and maximisation of socio-political development and economic growth (cf. Mhlahlolo, 2004).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Policy</th>
<th>Policy Effect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>• Homeownership</td>
<td>Private sector reduced investment in rental housing (This proved very difficult to monitor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Rent restrictions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>• Minimum housing standards</td>
<td>Local authorities failed to provide adequate serviced plots. Due to the size of the plots, the provision of off-site infrastructure was expensive, resulting in more expensive units</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• low income plots minimum size 300m²</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• 4 roomed core of 50-60 m²</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• construction modes - self help, private building brigades</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• site and services</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• demolition of squatter areas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985-6</td>
<td>• Partnerships in housing between Government or local authorities and the private sector</td>
<td>Employers could construct houses for their employees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Housing coops recognised</td>
<td>It still was difficult for housing coops to be registered.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>• Revision of housing standards - 200 m² minimum plots</td>
<td>Revision of the minimum plot size was meant to make the houses affordable to low income families</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Introduction of the Paid Up Permanent Shares (PUPS) to ease the problems of financing housing for low income housing</td>
<td>PUPS were supposed to introduce cheaper finance for low income earners because of lower interest rates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>• Introduction of Start-Paying-For-Your-House Scheme (better known as the Pay Scheme)</td>
<td>These were supposed to be prepaid housing schemes were Government would match the money put up by the prospective home seekers. It was suitable for high and middle income earners. The policy was abused as undeserving people ended up benefiting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>• Direct housing construction by the government using their building units</td>
<td>Construction by building units was substandard. There were problems of supervision and material shortages. They could not meet their targets. IMF and World Bank asked Government not to be directly involved in housing construction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Revision of housing standards - 150 m² as minimum plot size.</td>
<td>The 150 m² plots are meant to reduce costs of providing infrastructure and making housing affordable. Local authorities and politicians are opposed to the new minimum standards, as they believe that they are too low. They have not yet been implemented widely</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 3.1: Chronology of housing policies in Zimbabwe (1980-1996) - Source: Toriro (2006:5)*

This policy did not determine the use of peri-urban areas for agricultural production, *per se*. Rather, it sought to balance residential and production needs with the practice of agriculture. This has seen the introduction of mixed land-uses including commercial production, tourism and peri-urban agriculture in the clustered vicinity. The Kintyre Lake County Development (KLCD) in Harare West (Harare, 1992), for example, has been designated in light of this policy (Ndlovu, 2004).

It is critical to note that the period of the introduction of the PUSP is the same time of the economic meltdown and fast-track land resettlement programme (FTLRP) in the country. The
economy struggled under the weight of hyperinflation and political instability. There were spontaneous land invasions by the land-hungry black population, and the overall planning environment in the country during this period was messy and characterised by amplified informality including transactions in land (Toriro, 2007, Marongwe, 2002; Chipungu, 2005; 2011). The messy realities produced elements of ‘bad stewardship’ to the detriment of the sustainability cause. Overall, post-2000 era was marked by the development of a turbulent business environment in relation to the changing economic, social and political situation.

The year 2005 saw the mooting by government of Operation Restore Order/Operation Murambatsvina (SPT, 2006; Tibaijuka, 2005; Toriro, 2007; Potts, 2006; Chipungu, 2011). Since 2000, the housing and land market had become highly dynamic, fluid and speculative. From late 2008, the country is slowly recovering from a period of social, political and economic crisis that has lasted from 1997-2009 (Maphosa et al, 2007). The Central Government diverted most of its attention to focus on stabilising the economy and striking political consensus (from 2009 to 2013), and housing was consequently not prioritised. It must be underscored that the FTLRP saw a number of peri-urban housing schemes emerging in peri-urban Zimbabwe (Cousins, 2003; Marongwe, 2002; Murowe and Chirisa, 2006; Chipungu, 2011). Homeless people (together with the war veterans) created some housing cooperatives, which they termed ‘Third Chimurenga’ housing cooperatives (cf. Sukumar, 2001; Vakil, 1994). However, basic infrastructure for such settlements was unavailable in most cases, for instance Cowdray Park of Bulawayo (cf. Gumbo, 2010). To some extent, these adhered to some principles of the Grassroots Housing Model by Alexander et al (1973) whose thrust is on incremental housing development.

3.2.3 Specific Housing Models in Zimbabwe, 1980-2013

Several housing models have been applied in Zimbabwe over the years (Kamete and Mubvami, 1999; CAGOH, 2002; Toriro, 2006). Their implementation has a strong bearing on the quality of peri-urban habitats, given that most are produced at the city edge zone. The models include, but are not limited to

- Aided Self-Help Model, in which local authorities provide serviced stands (with tarred roads, water and sewerage reticulation) and then individual beneficiaries construct dwellings using resources at their disposal. Low-income families have been the chief beneficiaries of this model.
• Pay Schemes, in which local authorities do layout plan preparation for un-serviced areas. The stands are then tendered to contractors on behalf of beneficiaries, who pay up front for the necessary infrastructure. With infrastructure in place, the beneficiaries take over superstructure construction, at their own pace (cf. Alexander et al 1973). This is the best-suited model for middle and high-income earners. Developers have often been cited for misappropriating the funds once it gets into their coffers.

• Employer Assisted Schemes involves employers getting serviced land allocated to them so that they then assist their employees in the construction of houses. In Harare, about 5 percent of the new low-income houses have been built in this manner (Toriro, 2006; Kamete and Mubvami, 1998).

• Consortia and syndicates involve groups of employers collaborating and then requesting unserviced land from the relevant local authority. After servicing by the consortium, houses are then built for workers. The model has generally lacked in popularity in the country.

• Joint Ventures have occurred where local authorities have insufficient funds to service land; they provide land and invite other partners to provide other resources to service the land and construct the houses.

• Wet cores consist of a single room, toilet and shower on fully serviced land. The scheme, which is subject to incremental development, involves especially low-income families constructing rooms at their own pace as funds become available.

• Rental Accommodation is stipulated in policy provision by government to constitute only 10 percent of the housing stock; the rest has to be for ownership (Mafico, 1991). In most low-income areas, this type of housing is in short supply. Consequently, households are strained to rent single rooms from landlords who stay on the same property. This is called ‘lodging’.

• Housing Cooperatives Schemes are increasingly becoming the main vehicle for low-income accommodation in urban areas. This approach “has become the principal hope for home seekers in the larger cities” (Toriro, 2006:2).

Overall, the legal framework whose essence is to ensure habitable enclaves of housing units wherever they are located, procedurally guides matters of housing delivery.

Sustainability and appropriateness of these standards remain little understood in light of Mafico’s (1991) six parameters of effective housing delivery, namely; cultural compatibility and acceptability, social responsiveness, economic feasibility, technological suitability and
feasibility, physical and biological harmony and temporal relevance (cf. Chirisa and Munzwa, 2008:15). True stewardship in peri-urban housing should put these parameters to the centre if sustainability is to be viewed as critical (Practical Action, 2011; Simon, 2008; Toffler, 1970; Young, 2007). In 2003, the Government adopted and approved a National Housing Delivery Programme (NHDP), which set out collaboration standards for local authorities, the public, housing cooperatives, professional bodies, NGOs working in housing to deliver housing to the people. Circular Number 70 of 2004 was crafted in the spirit of improving housing and encouraging densification.

The circular spells out the new standards for planning, infrastructure and house construction in all urban areas in Zimbabwe (Herald, 22 February 2005). The Herald (22 February 2005), based on the outlined standards notes that,

“This [circular provisions] shall apply to new schemes, infill stands shall maintain a general character of the neighbourhood surrounding them. The maximum stand size is to encourage densification and reduce premature urban sprawl.... Peri-urban residential plots, ranging between one and two hectares, shall ordinarily be sited outside town boundaries. They shall not form part of the urban low-density hierarchy except where they are already in existence.”

Specifically, the Circular makes the following stipulations:

- The minimum stand sizes for low-cost or high-density housing range from 70 to 200 square metres. (The previous ranged from 150 to 300 square metres. Stand sizes ranging from 70 to 89 square metres apply to semi-detached and terraced housing only. For detached housing the stands sizes to range between 90 and 200 metres.
- The minimum stands frontage for all high stands sizes is pegged at 7 metres.
- The minimum stand sizes for middle income or medium density housing range between 300 and 500 square metres. There has been maintenance of the previously set standards.
- Development for low-cost and middle-income housing for single-family units only, with no outbuildings permitted on the stands.
- All urban centres to reserve 10 percent land for medium and high-rise flats in residential areas close to the city/town centre, except where there are waivers granted by the Director of Physical
Planning; 5 percent for garden and four-storey flats in other medium cost residential centres applies.

- Stands in low-density or high cost housing range between 800 and 2000 square metres; larger of these stands are reserved for areas with on-site sewage treatment.

- Access roads in the high-density areas are to be appropriately gravelled with a cross gradient of about 5 percent. A gravel thickness of between 100 and 150 mm compared over the widths of the recommended (depending on site conditions and gravel quality). Dish drains are to be used instead of piped culverts. All the higher order roads (local and district distributors) in all areas and access roads in medium and low-density areas are to be surfaced.

- All stands to be connected to a reticulated water supply network as a standard requirement. Communal standpipes may be provided in semi-detached and terraced housing schemes as temporary measures until such a unit is independently connected subject to approval by the Department of Public Works.

- Walls to be constructed of burnt clay brick or block, cement bricks or blocks and stabilised soil bricks or blocks. Burnt farm bricks for the construction of single storey buildings are approved by the Department of Public Works.

- Materials for roofing to be asbestos sheets, clay tiles, zinc where available, or other materials approved by the Department of Public Works.

The spatial configuration of urban centres has also been changing over the years with increasing peri-urbanisation. Bryceson and Mbara (2003) have emphatically stated that many households “...are moving into peri-urban areas to lessen urban living costs.” Enclaves of the poor outside the main city of Harare are found in Hatcliffe, Domboshawa, Epworth, Chitungwiza, and perhaps also Norton and Ruwa. In the past, the transport cost factor was not very much considered by these households (cf. Wissen et al, 2011; Yinger, 2005). Bryceson and Mbara (2003:340) argue that given “...low petrol prices commuting long distances to work was economically feasible even if you were poor. Thus, the spatial pattern of African outlier urban settlements remained unchallenged”

The 2005 Operation Murambatsvina (SPT, 2006; Potts, 2006) was a wholesale clearance campaign against illegal settlements and slums (Toriro, 2007; Chenga, 2010). Gumbo (2010) has described it as a “backdoor” attempt by the ZANU PF government to carry out a “cities without
slums” campaign spelt out in the Millennium Development Goals. ICG (2005:1) records by of 7 July 92,460 housing structures had been destroyed “... affecting 1,335,345 households at more than 52 sites; some 700,000 people in cities across the country ... lost their homes, their source of livelihood or both with an estimated 500,000 children forced out of school or their education seriously disrupted.” Furthermore, “... at least six people, including four children... dead as a result ... prolonged exposure to cold; and some 2.4 million persons -18 per cent of Zimbabwe's population have been directly or indirectly affected.” Thus, Operation Murambatsvina somewhat reversed the goal and path of the 2003 NHDP.

Building in the peri-urban areas before 20055 tried to circumvent the requirements of the planning process. The Operation was a government’s attempt to stop peri-urban housing developments that had not followed the planning requirements. Sustainability becomes an issue of political will and support by government. In the absence of political capital, efforts at grassroots level are foiled. Harnessing this political capital normally requires collaborative efforts, as already highlighted in this chapter. At the National Housing Convention in October 2009, all housing stakeholders came together with a view to ‘ironing out’ issues in housing delivery (GoZ/UNHABITAT, 2009). Following this Convention, most settlements in the peri-urban are now following the concept of the incremental housing development approach. This is unlike in the 1980s, when strict town planning standards of approvals were first followed (Mafico, 1991; Toriro, 2007; Mubvami and Musandu-Nyamayaro, 1993)

3.3 Administrative Context

As local boards, the Epworth and Ruwa fell directly under the Ministry of Local Government, Rural and Urban Development. Before ‘democratisation’ in 2008, Commissioners from the ministry oversaw the business of these local boards. The 2008 Harmonised Elections in which Parliamentary, Presidential and Local Government elections saw the replacement, for the first time, of government-appointed commissioners by elected councillors in both Ruwa and Epworth. But it is also important to show that both settlements belong to the Harare Metropolitan Province, although politically Ruwa is also under Mashonaland East Province (see Figure 3.1; ZIMSTAT, 2012).
The Epworth-Ruwa District is one of the eight districts of the HMP yet Ruwa remains politically a ‘constituency’ of Mashonaland East Province. HMP’s stewardship role is espoused in the Province’s aim of the Development plan. This is captured in HMP (2011:4) as,

- improvement of urban livelihoods by providing housing and ancillary services,
- integrating urban agriculture in residential areas to reduce poverty,
- reduction of the spread of TB and HIV and other communicable diseases,
- improving health facilities in all the four urban areas,
- provision of supportive infrastructure to expand residential, commercial and industrial development,
- creation of job opportunities especially for school leavers and women,
- protection and sustainable use of natural resources, and
- improving provincial resources to achieve the above.

*Figure 3.1: Ruwa under Mashonaland East - Source:* Map by the Department of the Surveyor-General (2011)
While these goals are somewhat altruistic and germane, they are not strategic in nature. The Province appears to pay the role of a ‘big brother’. Although the HMP does acknowledge past failures due to the ailing economy, its goals appear high sounding, perhaps only framed to have political appeal. The implication is that Ruwa and Epworth have not benefited much (in terms of housing delivery) from the existence of this structure since it was put across a few years ago. HMP is more of a political structure than a serious regional planning body that would be involved in shaping infrastructure development and attracting investment that would then see meaningful housing development in the two settlements, as intended by its development plan.

Evidence shows that residents in Ruwa have been more active in their affairs than those of Epworth (RLB, 2007; 2010; Chenga, 2010) in terms of visioning (cf. MIT, 2007), budget formulation and implementation (Chirisa, 2008; Munzwa et al., 2007). These are critical determinants in housing delivery and management as well as habitat maintenance. Before independence in 1980, both settlements were in the hands of different administrative arrangements: Ruwa was a rural centre governed by a rural local authority, while Epworth was a squatter settlement in the hands of a church organisation. It is most likely that as a ‘refugee camp’ of some type, Epworth was managed leniently and permissively by the philanthropic church organisation, which was tolerant on building and settling patterns by the incoming residents. Thus, the settlement developed on a ‘soft ground’. The planning standards were ‘another yoke’ on the shoulders of the residents.

Ruwa, on the other hand, has managed to maintain the peri-urban dwelling housing conditions for the residents relatively high, and in keeping with urban planning and housing standards stipulated in government statutes and policy documents. There is also abundant evidence showing that Harare Metropolitan Province is experiencing high rates of urbanisation-cum-peri-urbanisation (Box 3.1 and 3.2). These processes are central in urban governance, where the government should treat citizens as equal partners in matters of development to achieve sustainability (cf. Kamete, 2002a; Jenkins, 2006). In Box 3.1, the growth of the metropolitan region is satirised. The growth puts pressure on the administrative capacities of the settlements to ensure that service delivery is addressed as a matter of urgency.
Box 3.2 speaks of the urban expansion reality in terms of incorporation of farmland into urban land, which Home (2001) describing the situation in peri-urban areas of Botswana outlined as ‘eating farmland, growing houses’. This is so because the major reason for the farms’ acquisition by Chideme (13 July 2010) has been that the 28 farms, with close to 21 000 hectares of land, will be developed mainly for residential purposes.

<table>
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<th>Box 3.1: Harare: A Growing Metropolitan Area - Emerging Issues and Implications</th>
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<td>“Unless the Government and city council introduce apartheid-style pass laws, and simultaneously removes the constitutional guarantees of freedom of movement, both the city and its metropolitan area are going to continue growing faster than the population as a whole and urbanisation continues relentlessly. More land will go under brick and concrete, since all these extra people will need somewhere to live. The rich and many in the middle-income group will probably be catered for by private developers, some the owners of empty land already within the city. But most of those who need land to build homes will have to rely on the city council, and not just the lower paid. With land reform almost all the rural land around Harare is State land, leased to farmers. Developers of new suburbs for the better off will probably have to go into partnership with the city council, perhaps by putting in services for a council estate in return for being granted land to develop for more upmarket housing. Harare and its satellite towns need land to expand.”</td>
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<td>“The Government has now designated certain farms to the northwest and northeast of the city for future urban expansion. Some of the satellite towns such as Chitungwiza have already had adjacent rural land designated for urban development. Farmers are upset; much of the land is highly fertile and productive. The city expands into someone else's backyard. But almost all land around Harare is productive and fertile. That is why the city was established where it was. No one in his right mind selects a desert for a future capital if there is something a lot better. There did not appear to be much choice, should Harare be expanding, than the farms designated. The Chitungwiza corridor to the south of the city is not suitable. The airport is there and while industrial development can be allowed, living under a flight path can be hell. In any case there is need for a &quot;green belt&quot; to separate Zimbabwe's first and third largest urban centres, otherwise life could be intolerable for those too far from the urban edge. In any case, urban land is always more valuable than rural land. Obviously bulldozers are not going to move onto these newly designated farms tomorrow.”</td>
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<td>“But the holders of that land have been warned that one day they will come. They have some time to sort themselves out and apply for new farms elsewhere. This is what has always happened. The owners of the land that most of the western and southwestern suburbs are built on lost their land to the city council. Some went gracefully, accepting compensation. Some had to be forced to go, which is why Budiriro was built so late. The only serious question over the Government move to designate these farms is whether Harare City should continue to grow, or whether growth should be pushed into a ring of satellite towns, such as Norton, Mazowe, Beatrice and the eastern edge of Ruwa. All these centres are on the line of rail, so it would seem logical to have them taking up the growth of the metropolitan area. But huge investments in commuter rail transport are needed before such centres can become small cities, and there is no sign that this is going to happen overnight. Allowing Harare to expand a bit more is therefore the only practical option, and the designated farming land is the only practical choice for such expansion. Almost all of Harare, bar the central business district and the Avenues, is built on a couple of dozen farms that surrounded the original town. About half those farms had to be acquired by the State. So what is happening now is not new.”</td>
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**Source:** Herald, 28 July 2010

The incorporation means that all developments on the farms are now subject to approval by Harare City Council.” Statutory Instrument 75/1986 has played an instrumental role in the
administration of both Epworth and Ruwa as the Local Boards (LB) (Chakwizira, 2001) respectively constituting my study area. The Urban Councils Act (Chapter 29: 15) guides operations of the two. Like any other typology of local authority in Zimbabwe, the core duties of LBs include the delivery of services to their inhabitants. At the helm of the LBs are the persons of the Secretary, in keeping with section 132 (3) of the Urban Councils Act, stipulating that, “…a town council shall appoint a person approved by the Local Government Board to be the Secretary of the Council”.

**Box 3.2: “City of Harare Boundaries Extended”**

“The City of Harare's boundaries have been extended following the incorporation of 28 farms previously under Mazowe and Goromonzi rural district councils. The 28 farms, with close to 21,000 hectares of land, will be developed mainly for residential purposes. The incorporation means that all developments on the farms are now subject to approval by Harare City Council. The additional farms will result in additional wards and possibly more parliamentary constituencies under Greater Harare. Housing construction is ongoing at some of the farms such as Rumani Estates (Charlotte Brooke) and Acorn. More farms will be acquired to meet the rising demand for housing and industrial growth. The council committee on environment management met on July 2 to deliberate on Government's offer and agreed to accept 27 farms from Mazowe RDC and another from Goromonzi. "The Greater Harare municipal boundaries will be altered by incorporation of the tracts of land listed in the table below," read part of the committee meeting resolutions."

“A full council meeting scheduled for the end of July is expected to officially adopt the resolution and make it binding. The lands are Mgutu, Ingleborough, Esk Bank, Calgary, Lot 1A Thorn Park, Lot 1 Thorn Park Estate, Teviotdale A, Teviotdale1A, Teviotdale 2 and 3 and Teviotdale. Others are Buckland Estate, Welston Township, Riet Poort Georgie, Sunray, Killarney, Rumanzi, Nijo, Charika Extension of Borrowdale, Happy Valley Estate, Lot J of Borrowdale, Acorn, Echo Farm, Lot1A Chakoma, Chakoma Estate B, The Springs and Stuhm. All these farms were under Mazowe Rural District Council with the exception of Caledonia Farm, which fell under Goromonzi. The committee recommended that council advise the Local Government, Rural and Urban Development Ministry of its acceptance of the farms and request expedition of the statutory requirements. At its full council meeting in April this year, the council resolved to approach Government to acquire peri-urban land for residential purposes. Town clerk Dr Tendai Mahachi wrote to the Government requesting incorporation of 72 properties, mainly farms, around Harare. The national housing backlog stands at over one million family units against an urban population estimated to be increasing at a rate of between 6 and 7 percent annually. The huge backlog is a result of increased rural-urban migration, the high cost of building materials, shortage of housing finance, unaffordable mortgages and lack of capacity by many councils to deliver accommodation.”

**Source:** Chideme Michael (13 July 2010)., City of Harare Boundaries Extended, Herald, Zimpapers: Harare (also found http://zimbabwefood.blogspot.com/2010/07/city-of-harare-boundaries-have-been.html; http://www.zimbabwesituation.org/?p=15736

The Secretary is there to steer development by ensuring the proper administration of the council and managing the operations and property of the council as well as supervising and controlling the activities of the employees of the council in the course of their employment. In this case, the Secretary is a liaison officer and therefore the ‘chief steward’, with powers to implement
organisational policies, advise the board on all issues and direct all functions of the body and ensures staff supervision like a town clerk would do in major cities and towns of the country.

Local boards have administrative departments responsible for keeping local board standing committee registers, security of the local board areas and all clerical duties (e.g. typing and reception services). According to section 212 of the Urban Councils Act, local boards are mandated with responsibilities including street addressing (numbering of stands and naming of roads). This can be done, by notice, in writing to the owner or occupier of a house or any building, directing the owner or occupier at his or her own expense to place a marking at the main entrance or in some other conspicuous position on such land the number specified in that notice. All will be done in keeping with any by-laws or renew any housing number in line with any by-law. Another key responsibility they have is that of conflict resolution. This is stipulated in section 282 of the Urban Councils Act. Cases and queries dealt with may cover issues to do with the allocation and management of residential, commercial and industrial stands. Other matters include encroachments and boundary disputes.

Day-to-day operations with respect to housing by the boards cover water meter readings, distribution of statements of water rates and charges (in keeping with the Urban Councils Act Section 183 and 184; the Water Act, Chapter 20:22). Furthermore, the administrative departments must ‘monitor’ stand developments and manage council land (land subdivision and consolidations). This is as guided by the RTCP Act (Chapter 29:12) and the Urban Councils Act. In order to develop land in the area under the board’s jurisdictional power, one has to apply for a planning permission, in keeping with section 26 of the RTCP Act and sections 39 and 40 of the Urban Councils Act. Moreover, the administrative departments of local boards must arrange of committee meetings, the writing of minutes and preparation of meeting agenda as well as preparation of staff salaries and handling of all personnel issues such as recruitment, selection and managing the collective bargaining processes. The departments are also mandated with the management of transportation within the local board area.

Like all other local authorities, local boards have security services according to section 142 of the Urban Council’s Act. They also have finance and accounts departments responsible for
budget preparation, financial management, revenue collection, licenses, stores control as well as monthly statements preparation and issues such as water, stands in keeping with sections 285, 286, 287 and 289 of the Urban Councils Act. Section 287 points out that councils can borrow money from government or private sectors and in such circumstances, the books of accounts and the records would be the prima facie evidence of the creditworthiness of the council.

In basic terms, the council accounts department maintains the finance of the local authority. Subdivision fees, rents and rates, development application fees are deposited with the department. In essence, this department is the service department for all developmental activities. The other important department in local boards is the Engineering Department, which is broadly mandated with the management and maintenance of the council area infrastructure at its hard-core level. The Engineering Department is also responsible for water supply and sanitation as well as plumbing and drainage activities for the council area (cf. Urban Councils Act parts 12 and part 13). Local boards also have Health Departments, whose principal task is defined as the provision of health facilities and services to the local board area.

When one examines the foregoing functions, one wonders why there are discrepancies in development progress between Ruwa and Epworth even though they are both guided by the same instruments of power and legitimacy. This discrepancy can only be explained by embedded socio-economic and political factors. Epworth has developed organically, resulting in weak institutionalism, while Ruwa has been a diametric opposite in which institutionalism is strong and the bulk of development progressionism is pre-determined and ordered.

3.4 Cultural Context
Cultural factors are important in understanding housing and related developments. As argued by Goldberg (2009:408), humans “...make frames that delimit what they perceive, and those frames determine what is important, irrelevant, good, bad, and so on, about those perceptions - that is, some things are ruled in, and others are thrown out.” Although prefers to call the frameworks worldviews, we can call this culture. People tend to behave or embrace, resist, reject or accept change because they hold a certain view, which then becomes institutionalised to constitute a form of culture. This culture also changes through time, tending towards shaping the behaviour
of the whole gamut of community that observe it. The desire to have one’s own home or house has roots in tradition and culture. Whether people stay in or move away from a place, they normally try to maintain how they behave in their culture sometimes for the sake of identity (Gienow-Hecht, 2004). In Zimbabwe, the urban farming that we see in open spaces around cities can be taken for a culture transfer from rural areas to urban area (Mbiba, 1995; cf. Mougeot, 2000, Tawodzera et al, 2012).

Traditionally, in the culture of the Shona (the dominant ethnic group in Zimbabwe), the concept of musha (home) is at the centre of the unhu/ubuntu wisdom (Du Toit, 1981). Without a home, the community wonders what kind of a person one is, in terms of character and wisdom. Thus, in the traditional Shona wisdom, having a musha is a sign of maturity. As such, this has a bearing on one’s status within a community. Having a home adds to one’s dignity. In the past, having a homestead with a built house in a rural home was a very critical virtue for many (cf. Potts, 2012; 2011). However, with increasing urbanisation, this ‘myth’ is slowly waning. But that someone must have a house, a built structure of his/her own somewhere remains a critical aspect in the life of a ‘right thinking’ Zimbabwean. This partly explains the construct of the housing need in today’s urban centres in the country. Sigauke (2002:20) has argued that, in urban Zimbabwe “access to land is mainly by purchase, though some people inherit from family or relatives. This [...] is not necessarily true for Epworth as there are different forms of land acquisition and tenure systems.” (cf. Dube, 2004).

With respect to indoor housing space arrangements (cf. Grant, 1991), the issue of the nature of the social relationships in the home is very critical. It provides a pointer to issues of cultural underpinnings underlying the use of indoor housing space (Gwagwa, 1995). In most African contexts, the extended type of relationship is quite typical. This extended family structure usually attaches importance to kinship (Potts, 2011). With respect to urban and peri-urban areas where the economy is usually inclined towards the cash economy, peri-urban dwellers also entertain relatives from the rural areas coming to seek opportunities in towns (Potts, 2012). Sometimes they also have to help them attend to certain critical matters on their behalf while they are away. In the general context of Zimbabwe in the past five years or so where outmigration was greatly phenomenal (Potts, 2012; cf. Irurah, 2013), this may come in the form of a relation being asked
to take care of the property while the owner was away in the Diaspora. Social relationships may point to how housing stock passes through hands from generation to generation. Parents who leave for the rural homes after retirement often choose to leave their properties in the hands of trusted relatives or children. Such a pattern, as already stated is of importance with regard to basic things: indoor space use, caring for members of the extended family, and, rural-urban linkages (local-Diaspora relations) as homeowners who are retirees or pensioners may have to leave their properties with trusted relatives and friends.

Peri-urban dwellers in both Ruwa and Epworth maximise on the existing open spaces around them, including the wetlands for peri-urban farming. The chief reason for urban farming by household is to boost the livelihoods and supplement food supply away from the conventional markets, as Mushamba et al (2003) confirm. The open spaces can be on-plot and off-plot space. Most of these farming activities were boosted around 1997, with the plunging of the economy of Zimbabwe. At that time, many people were retrenched from formal employment (Toriro, 2007). Newer activities include, for example, the provision of lessons by private tutors in the homes, especially after the public school system suffered staffing setbacks, a situation which worsened in the period 2007/2008. Some homes have taken over the role of schools, though space requirements for other activities synonymous with schooling cannot be accommodated (like sport fields). Overall, most, if not all, of the activities observed and being done by the residents, fall in the informal sector category (Williams and Round, 2008).

A critical dimension to the living conditions of peri-urban dwellers relates to their relationship with the environment. Today’s peri-urban challenges ought to view stewardship in the framework of collaborating actors (Stoll, 2006). Peri-urban areas are ‘contested zones’ and they are riddled by a number of conflicts. Conflict management helps build trust especially among peri-urban dwellers themselves. The prime land contestation process is fight between farming and urban development land (Branom-Zwick, 30 January 2006; Brook and Dávila eds. 2000; Houston, 2005; Mushamba et al, 2003). Actors also work with their numerous stakeholders. One major social challenge is managing migration to the area itself. Whereas colonial policies aimed to halt mass movement to urban centres, post-colonial policies have gone contrary, resulting in
the spillover effect into the peri-urban zone (cf. UNFPA, 2009; Tibaijuka, 2009; Chipungu, 2011).

Ideally, policies help shape the practices of stewards of peri-urban human settlement development (De Valk, 1986). Indeed peri-urban governance is enshrined in the legislative and institutional framework of Zimbabwe yet it remains less explicit in explaining how peri-urban development should move (Tibaijuka, 2005). Stewardship in peri-urban settlements is a function of the knowledge, attitudes, perceptions and practices by the different actors in the environmental policy and spatial management framework. Over the past years, the government of Zimbabwe has tried to ‘bend’ regulations to accommodate the low-income population. However, the extent to which these programmes have benefited the group remains debatable. The blame has often been laid on standards that subscribe to western and colonial values (cf. Tipple, 2004. Housing policy in Zimbabwe and amendments thereto, have tended to be regarded highly as technical, placing emphasis on standards and related material.

Culture is tied to technological progress and institutional development. In technological terms, infrastructure is a major handicap in peri-urban areas (cf. Mafico, 1995). Sustainable peri-urban development informed by the appropriate technology criteria, rooted in the grassroots-housing model, is one that puts into picture the environment, social groups (including children) and local availability of raw materials. In most of these settlements, materials like used plastics, cardboard boxes and wood are used extensively for housing. They are ‘cheap’ to get but difficult to maintain. Sophisticated technologies including the applications of remote sensing or aerial photographs and techniques in geographic information systems (GIS) are critical in peri-urban stewardship (Ward and Peters, 2007; Wilmersdorf 2010).

Unlike in the 1980s, when strict town planning standards of approvals first were followed, peri-urban development taking place today in the country with respect to shelter development follows the Alexanderian (1973) Grassroots Housing Model. Therefore, Zimbabwe has witnessed considerable developments in its city-edges in the last 12 or so years. The contribution of cooperatives in peri-urban housing is most noted. Cooperatives have developed a number of housing schemes albeit without proper offsite infrastructure. These housing schemes are not
recognised by local authorities like Harare and they continue to strive for political reasons. Most of these housing schemes are named after liberation war heroes to ‘legitimise’ their existence, since most of these settlements were established during the FTLRP period around 2000 (Marongwe, 2002; 2003; Chipungu, 2011; Murowe and Chirisa, 2006). A combination of forces from the urban homeless, the rural landless and other desperate groups have worked together to claim land for housing in the peri-urban space. In addition, the formal land market has failed to accommodate robustly these desperate groups of people. The FTLRP has seen a number of farms being grabbed by ‘land invaders’. The Deputy Director of the Department of Physical Planning (DPP) observes:

“When we look at how land was acquired in the peri-urban before Operation Murambatsvina, we see the land occupiers getting into some conflict. They were divided among themselves; some wanted the land for farming and others for housing. This is history repeating itself. Exactly this was the situation with Churu Farm. I think you know the story. [The politician] Ndabaningi Sithole allowed people to build houses [informal] on his farm. We see this type of housing - the informal type - that which comes through mass action, through farm occupations. Thus, before Murambatsvina we see people coming together. We see them forming some cooperatives. We also see cooperatives becoming a requirement by the local authorities themselves to allow people to acquire land to build. Thus, if home-seekers needed local authority attention they had to organize themselves into cooperatives. Indeed, these cooperatives had to undergo some registration. This was to guarantee them recognition by the local authorities.

When Operation Murambatsvina came in 2005, it was a sweeping wind. Even our minister [the Minister of Local Government] could not stop it. It was an operation. ... Peri-urban areas were the worst affected. Though within town there were stands on which were some outbuildings, the main target was the peri-urban. I should say that Murambatsvina was a peri-urban story. What was happening there [in terms of land acquisition and informal building] was unsustainable....

“After Murambatsvina we again see again the peri-urban land occupiers re-organising. They had no option but to get organized. This time there were now many checkpoints: You could have a well-built building structure but if it stood on an unapproved stand, it could be destroyed. Perhaps your stand plan was approved but the way it had been
approved did not meet the required standards. I can liken the whole process to a police roadblock. When you get there he may ask for a driver’s licence…then the vehicle licence…then check on the bearings [here normally they are not always fit]. You see…There will always be the next step.”

Evident in this text by the Deputy Director are four things. First, that planning in Zimbabwe is a cumbersome process (Mubvami and Musandu-Nyamayaro, 1993; Toriro, 2006; 2007) and there have always been cases where individuals have sought to circumvent the process. The case of Ndabaningi Sithole cited by the Director echoes the Epworth story in this study. It is a settlement that began on philanthropic grounds, with a church offering space for ‘refugees’ and the homeless (Butcher, 1993). Secondly, self-help housing which became commonplace before May 2005 could not meet most of the requirements of this planning process. This was a development building from the process of the agrarian ‘revolution’. It involved violent land grabbing from the whites. As something that began impromptu, there was little, if any, planning involved. It was therefore done haphazardly, defying the basic tenets of sustainable development. The product and structures could not stand the coming of the Operation Murambatsvina in 2005.

The Deputy Director argues that the Operation was chiefly engineered to stop peri-urban housing developments that had not followed the planning requirements. This may be true to a great extent. Thirdly, there is a general belief that if planning standards are followed, then sustainability will automatically follow. Yet, a number of factors must be taken aboard. Such factors include adopting appropriate technology and collaboration by partners in financing different activities in housing. Fourthly, the role of political capital must not be underestimated.

### 3.5 Legal Context

In terms of legislation, Zimbabwe has a number of laws, which provide for the management of the urban and regional space. These include primarily the Regional, Town and Country Planning Act – RTCPA (Chapter 29:12), Urban Councils Act (Chapter 29:15), Provincial Councils and Administration Act, Housing Standards Control Act (Chapter 29:08), Land Acquisition Act (Chapter 20:10), Mines and Minerals Act (Chapter 21:05), Environmental Management Act (EMA) (Chapter 20:12), to name but a few. Overall, these instruments (the legislations) are
applied wholesale hence, in most cases, are not be specific to peri-urban areas only. I present a snapshot on the provisions of some critical legislation in Zimbabwe.

The RTCPA (Chapter 29:12) provides guidelines to planning in Zimbabwe (GoZ, 1990; Tibaijuka, 2005; GoZ, 2001). It facilitates housing and environmental stewardship initiatives, as it defines and lays out procedure for regional planning, master planning, and local development planning (GoZ/UNHABITAT, 2009). It also directs procedures for development control; provides for subdivisions and consolidations (which are critical for defining space provision for housing and related services) (cf. O’Donnell, 2008). However, the statute has been criticised as being rigid and flexible for ‘accommodative’ development (Tibaijuka, 2005). In recent years, Statutory Instrument 216 of 1994 (Use Group Regulations) has been mooted as an instrument under the RTCPA, permitting formerly unauthorised commercial and industrial activities within residential areas (Kamete, 1999c; Chaeruka and Munzwa, 2009). This instrument partly explains why vending and informal manufacturing in urban and peri-urban neighbourhoods have been tolerated for the livelihoods support of households in the recent years (cf. UNCHS, 1998; World Bank, 2000; Merrill, 2007).

The Ministry of Local Government, Rural and Urban Development administer the Urban Councils Act (UCA) (Chapter 29:15). It provides urban local authorities with a wide range of powers and responsibilities for the provision of services and functions including water supply (cf. Mara and Alabaster 2008), health (both personal and environmental health including sanitation and refuse removal), public lighting, creation and maintenance of recreational parks, and housing for citizens (cf. Mhlahlo, 2004; Tevera et al. 2002; Mapira, 2004). Another set of byelaws in the ambit of the UCA is the Model Building Byelaws of 1977. The byelaws are also offshoot from the Rural Distinct Councils Act (Chapter 29:13). They cover issues on structural design and control, foundations, masonry and walling, miscellaneous materials constructions, water supply, lighting, drainage and sewerage, ventilation, fire protection and public safety (cf. Musandu-Nyamayaro, 1993). The existing Model Building By-Laws have been considered very rigid, outdated and inhibitive to the smooth implementation of infrastructure development works in local authority areas. The same byelaws are contradictory to some sections of the existing housing policy (cf. Walt, 1994; Marshall, 2008; Siyeni, 2008).
The Provincial Councils and Administration (PCA) Act defines a region as a spatial entity marked out according to administrative purposes at a provincial level following the levels of planning (national, provincial, district and ward). It shows a hierarchy in terms of functionality, responsibility, powers or appointments and in terms of roles. In terms of membership the PCA Act section 14 part (a) and (b) highlights the members in hierarchical order that is Governor, councillor, chiefs, etc. It is important to note that both Epworth and Ruwa are now part of the Harare Metropolitan Province, established in 2004 (HMP, 2011). The person of the Governor and Resident Minister is a political appointee of the President.

The Housing Standards Control Act (HSCA) (Chapter 29:08) of 1974 outlines the minimum standards which provide for the repair, demolition or closure of buildings of an unsatisfactory standard and abatement of overcrowding of dwellings (cf. Mhlahlo, 2004). Overall, this legislation endeavours to bring sanity to the housing sector by regulating the number of people who can live in or occupy a certain dwelling by specifying the minimum number, determining the ‘carrying capacity’ of buildings so as to avoid overcrowding and unhygienic conditions. Contemporary urban planning discourse aims to facilitate urban development and housing provision, as stipulated in the Millennium Development Goals (Tibaijuka, 2009; Payne and Majale, 2004).

The Public Health Act (PHA) (Chapter 15:09), administered by the Ministry of Health and Child Welfare (MOHCW) empowers local authorities to take all lawful or necessary precautions to prevent any potential outbreaks of infections or communicable and contagious diseases (cf. Walt, 1994; Hood, 2005; Marshall, 4 December 2008; Siyeni, 2008). In Epworth, the squatter upgrading programme which was introduced in the 1980s was an attempt to bring sanity to urban development in the area and to provide ‘adequate housing’ for inhabitants. However, due to financial and related challenges, the programme has not gone much further than the expectations (Chenga, 2010; Matovu, 2000; Butcher, 1993; 1986). The high influx of squatters and land invaders makes it difficult to monitor and manage health concerns (Marshall, 4 December 2008; Siyeni, 2008; Chirisa, 2009).
The Zimbabwe National Water (ZINWA) Act (Chapter 20:25 of 1998) upholds the core objective of harmonisation, water development and management. In particular, Section 5 of the Act compels the authority to advise the Minister to formulate national policies and standards on water pricing, planning, management and development as well as water quality, pollution control and environmental protection (cf. Zingoni et al., 2005). This Act gives ZINWA the right to exploit, conserve and manage the water resources of Zimbabwe to ensure equitable accessibility and efficient allocation, distribution, use and development of water resources (Donnell, 2008; Mwesigwa, 1995; Mara and Alabaster 2008).

The Land Acquisition Act (20:10) provides for the acquisition of land in the country. It has been noted that the procedures for land acquisition were cumbersome, lengthy and fraught with many legal technicalities before the coming into force of Constitutional Amendment Number 17 of 2005, on the 14th September 2005 (Marongwe, 2002, Chipungu, 2011). With regard to the acquisition of land for urban expansion, the same process initially used to acquire rural agricultural land before the Constitutional Amendment Number 17, still applies. The relationship between the Ministry of Lands and the Ministry of Local Government, Rural and Urban Development in this process; the Ministry of Lands gazettes farms for urban expansion only on the basis of written requests from the Ministry of Local Government Rural and Urban Development. Statutory Instrument on Farm sizes Number 288 of 2000 works together with the Land Acquisition Act (Murerwa, 2009). Access to land is critical for housing development (Kawonga, 2001; Kombe, 2005; Chipungu, 2005; Lupala, 2005).

The Mines and Minerals Act (21:05) vests power in, and gives official rights to approved prospectors to extract minerals (GoZ, 2004). The Act consolidates and amends legislation relating to mines and minerals. Section 240 of the Mines and Minerals Act abrogates the construction or erection of any works on the registered mining location in contravention of the conditions attached to the approval of plans. The mining commissioner is empowered to order the miner of such a mining location to remove such works or to discontinue their use. Sand extraction is categorised as a mining activity (Huby, 1998; Houston, 2005). However, in Epworth, illegal sand and quarry dealers tend to mine these important resources for supply to
builders, at irregular hours such as nighttime, which results in massive land degradation in the areas around peri-urban spaces.

The Environmental Management Act (EMAct) (20:12) provides for the protection of the environment, conservation, preservation of natural resources (land, air, water, flora and fauna) and the control of development in a given area (urban and rural). Section 97 states that carrying out development projects requires that an Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) be carried out. The legislation also provides for the protection of wetlands and mandates the Minister of Environment to prepare Master plans, which are partly used to promote, facilitate and coordinate strategies, to plan activities relating to the environment and ensure the protection and sustainable management of Zimbabwe’s environment (cf. Harare, 1992). The Environmental Management Act therefore serves as an instrument used to achieve the planning objectives as far as environmental planning is concerned, with a focus on such issues as sustainability and preservation. The environment is the major determinant of sustainable housing development (Huby, 1998; Lopez and Nugent, 2009; Lawrence, 2006; Magigi and Majani, 2006; Muzvidziwa, 2005; Mbiba, 2002; 2005). It also determines the livelihoods activities being carried out in a place (Mbiba, 1995; Kretzmann, 1995).

The Land Survey Act (Chapter 20:12) was promulgated in May 1933 and revised in 1996. Its two main objectives are to effect the registration of any land, as provided for in the Deeds Registry, and to predetermine the position of a curvilinear boundary, or of any beacon defining the terminal of any boundary of a piece of land registered with the Deeds Registry as outlined in section 3 of the Act. According to section 25 of the Act, any land is to be subdivided to effect separate registration of one or more portions of that land in the Deeds Registry. The Land Survey Act is critical for land-use planning because it enables the effective registration of land, thereby establishing rights over the land such as ownership and servitude rights. Nevertheless, critics have noted the rigidity and inflexibility of the statute, especially in the face of emerging informal settlements especially in the peri-urban areas (Mlalazi, 1990; Musandu-Nyamayaro, 2001; Tibaijuka, 2005). The bulk of people occupying the Epworth settlement do not hold title (Chenga, 2010). Ironically, much of the land is vested informally in private individuals (Dube, 2004). The foregoing instruments, amongst others, are useful for orderly development,
promoting health and amenity in human habitats including those located in peri-urban spaces. Land taxation could be a critical instrument in land stewardship (Aristizabal and Gomez, 2002; Armitage, 2000). In most cases, it is not the provisions of the instruments that matter but lack of enforcement.

The ‘environmental issue’ has been topical. Evidence for this is the coverage of such news daily in the media. Examples include, the Herald, 16 August 2010a; 16 August 2010b; Herald, 17 2010; Herald, 18 August 2010; Herald, 19 August 2010a; 19 August 2010b; Herald, 20 September 2010; Herald, 24 August 2010; Herald, 8 February 2010; Herald, 8 September 2010; Kadzere; 1 April 2010; and, Kashawo, 22 August 2010). Instruments used by EMA include the National Environmental Policies and Strategies (NEPS), National Environmental Plan (NEP), the Local Environmental Action Plans (LEAP), some statutory instruments and the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA). The Environmental Management Agency (EMA) is the principal determinant of steering environmental initiatives in the country. The continuum of action ranges between regulation or control and facilitation or promotion (Mapedza, 2007). It is important to take note of some of these instruments in order to determine the role of the public institutions in fostering and enhancing environmental stewardship in the public affairs of the nation.

There are 60 guiding principles spelt out for environmental management in the country’s National Environmental Policy and Strategies (NEPS) document. The NEPS is a framework that Zimbabwe has adopted in keeping with “its commitments made under Rio Convention on Environment and Development (Agenda 21)” (GoZ, 2005:26, Nhema, 2005). According to the NEPs document, the purpose of NEP is to “… promote and facilitate the consolidation and coordination of strategies, plans and activities developed at different levels (provincial, district and community) and in different sectors across the country.” These sectors include mining, agriculture, real estate development including housing estates, amongst others. Once adopted, the NEP binds everyone including the State. The NEP, as any other plan, is an ongoing process, time-bound and subject to the stages of the planning life cycle (cf. Sections 87-94 of the EMA Act). In discussing environmental stewardship and sustainability, these instruments are integral to peri-urban development.
Indeed, Zimbabwe faces a number of interrelated environmental challenges, which local communities must tackle. In peri-urban areas, specific challenges include increased deforestation, increased sewerage disposal and river systems, solid waste management challenges, the climate change issue, subsequent personal and environmental health challenges and unbridled tendencies in town expansion, accounting for problems associated with the ecological footprint. The Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources Management (MENRM) is the primary arm of government fighting against environmental ills in Zimbabwe. However, actions and policies crafted in the name of environmental resources protection are meaningless and fruitless unless certain attitudes and knowledge gaps in the stakeholders, particularly communities are addressed (Savory, 1988). The Environmental Management Act provides for Environmental Management Plans (EMPs), Local Environmental Action Plans (LEAP) and Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA). In the forthcoming paragraphs, I briefly analyze how these instruments have been useful in shaping places to achieve sustainability.

According to Section 96 of the EMA Act, every specified authority “shall (a word/words missing here) an environmental management plan within such a period as the ministry may specify.” An Environmental Management Plan (EMP) contains a description of the functions exercised by the specified authority in respect of the environment, a description of the environmental standards set or applied and of the policies, plans and programmes that are designed to the plan. In addition, it must state the degree of compliance required of other persons and indicate arrangements for cooperation with other persons or environment management. The preparation of EMPs is to conform to set guidelines, which are very specific to the requirements, which may not be easy to implement practically. The major setback with EMPs is that they are time-bound, which means that they can expire before full implementation. Where matters of sustainability are concerned, the long-range picture matters more than the snapshot picture of human reality.

Local Environmental Action Plan (LEAP) is defined as “…a process which addresses an area’s environmental threats or problems [involving] the local community coming together, identifying their problems and concerns, and working together to solve them” (EMA, 2007:1). It is thus a collaborative process involving community visioning most likely informed by an analysis of the place and the community’s strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats. In itself, a LEAP
fosters and enhances community resilience to possible disasters and risks. LEAP in Zimbabwe is linked to the country’s National Conservation Strategy (NCS), which was launched in 1987 by the then Prime Minister, Robert Gabriel Mugabe (EMA, 2007; cf. Nhema, 2005). EMA (2007) acknowledges that LEAP responds to the tenets and requisites of Agenda 21. The idea of LEAP was first introduced in the rural areas under the District Environmental Action Plans (DEAP) process. The belief at that time was that environmental problems were associated with rural areas. However, when it was realized that urban areas also face such challenges, the idea was taken urban (EMA, 2007).

To date, the idea of LEAP has been enshrined in the Environmental Management Act (CAP, 20:27). EMA (2007) has identified the challenges associated with the LEAP process (Section 95 of the Environmental Management Act). These include the fact that the process is time-consuming, costly and raises high hopes among members of the community. Nevertheless, the process may not correspond to the resources available to carry out the process to required expectations. However, there is a justification as to why local authorities should develop LEAPs, particularly since they form a baseline and serve as blueprints upon which future investments are based. Secondly, it is ‘people-centric’ process, in terms of the participation involved in producing the plan, providing the local people and key stakeholders an urge and sense of ownership, not only of the plan document, but also of the place and its investments (Cunningham and Mathie, 2002). EMA (2007) spells out the importance of LEAPS as a forum for bringing together diverse groups and individuals, and individuals with different interests, values and prospects towards a shared vision, and a tool for sustainable development. In the peri-urban settlements of Zimbabwe, these tenets are yet to be realised, as operational guidelines for these are not yet fully developed.

Pollution, in its various forms (water, noise, land and air) is a matter of serious concern. The use of artificial fertilisers often leads to high levels of eutrophication in rivers and brooks (cf. Zingoni et al, 2005), which has often been associated with environmental health challenges. In addition extracting stones and sand from rivers and wildernesses for construction purposes, households also dump wastes in the environment. Sections 97 to 108 of the Environmental Management Act provide for EIA. In the NEPS document, GoZ (2005:27), EIA is defined as,
“...both a process and a tool for Project Planning and decision making... (whose)...purpose is to ensure that during development planning, possible impacts on biophysical, economic and social cultural elements of the environment are taken into account [with the] aim to identify, likely impacts, estimate their security, indicate which impacts may be significant and what opportunities there might be to avoid or minimise negative impacts and enhance potential benefits.”

EIA is a prerequisite for development projects of a given scale, and it therefore central to housing development projects. Part 3 of Statutory Instrument 7 of 2007 on Environmental Management Regulations spells out how EIAs must be conducted. Everywhere that EIAs are carried out, the idea is to promote environmental sustainability by providing a ‘platform’ over which harmful developments to the environment can be avoided. It is unfortunate that not many EIAs have been done because of the political situation surrounding especially the FLRP-induced housing in peri-urban spaces. Some of the settlements are undoubtedly sitting on environmentally sensitive areas (ESAs), while others have already began to trigger high levels of erosion into river bodies. All these are indicators of ‘bad stewardship’, and therefore a threat to the cause of sustainability and sustainable development of human settlements. Indeed, when decisions are not well thought out, or emotionally and politically motivated, they tend to work strongly against building ‘lasting solutions’, which is the essence of sustainable development.

In contemporary Zimbabwe, the overall concern among estate developers and home-seekers has been that legislation governing housing and its delivery are archaic and not flexible enough to accommodate the new demand for shelter or new technologies that may be required to ease the pressure (cf. Tibaijuka, 2005). With this concern in view, the National Housing Convention of October 2009 saw housing stakeholders advocating for change in the regulatory framework governing housing, specifically low-cost shelter delivery. To reduce inefficiency, there was a resolution to amend the RTCP Act and Model Building Byelaws to allow for alternative building technologies and material. In addition, it requires, “...[the operationalisation of] pro-poor frameworks in terms of service delivery procedures and arrangements. [It also calls for the formulation of] relevant pieces of legislation to recognise and effectively regulate private land developers and the planning profession” (GoZ/UNHABITAT, 2009:5).
3.6 Political Context

Bourne (1981) has described housing as a ‘political hot potato’. A few housing projects (Epworth included) have survived destruction in Zimbabwe (Chenga), yet the majority have been demolished (Patel and Adams, 1981, Butcher, 1993; Toriro, 2007). We must also acknowledge that from 1980 to 1999, the Zimbabwe Africa National Union (Patriotic Front) – ZANU PF – almost single-handedly ruled the country. 1999. The year saw the formation and rise of the Movement for Democratic Change as a resilient opposition party. By 2008, MDC had taken over all the urban local authorities in local government elections. Loyalty to ZANU PF continued albeit precariously in the rural areas. In the post-2008 harmonised elections, the country plunged into serious post-election violence and polarisation was very rife. On 15 September 2008, after more than six months of great impasse between the two camps (ZANU PF and MDC), a Global Political Agreement (GPA) was signed with the former South Africa President Thabo Mbeki as guarantor and facilitator.

The GPA birthed the Government of National Unity (GNU) in 2009, which saw the stabilisation of the economy that had deteriorated in a span of a decade (c. 1998-2008). The manner in which the GNU has operated to date (2013) has been on characterised by bickering, animosity and distrust. Despite this unsteady relationship of the parties, scholars like Wampler (2007) would argue for contestation that works towards creation of development dividends than that of co-optation. A rapid evaluation of the GPA in Zimbabwe (2008-2013) would indicate that the agreement helped to save the economically ‘sinking titanic’, Zimbabwe. It also quenched the political skirmishes that were tending towards a civil war-like situation. However, in terms of improving urban and peri-urban environments, Chirisa (2013) maintains that there has been increasing squalor and the development of slum-like conditions.

In an interview with the DPP Deputy Director, the role of political will in sustaining settlements is highlighted. The Deputy Director argues,

“A co-operative called Nehanda [in Dzivaresekwa] was quite advanced when Operation Murambatsvina came. At least they had some draft layout plans. They had built their houses according to standards.... I should say housing is shelter meeting a certain standard. Nehanda as a co-operative, on government land, the approval was easy.
Sezvaunoziva nyoka huru haingaizvirumi. (As you may know, the Government as a Big Snake could not bite itself). That is how Nehanda survived the Operation. Dzivaresekwa and Hatcliffe are on government land, that is, State land. You must however bear it in mind that it’s only after everything has been planned and allocation of stands has been done that State land then becomes private land. As we speak Dzivaresekwa and Hatcliffe stand beneficiaries are still making payments [for the land] to government. Their plans have to be approved at two stations. First, it is us (the DPP) which approves the layout plans and then the engineering department of the local authority approves the building and civic design plans (for roads and storm water designs). Thus, there is approval of designs and civic works”

The text indicates the significance of government approval of people settling in a defined area. Payment cements the stay, and conversions of State land to private land are achieved on a rent-to-buy basis. The cases of Nehanda and Hatcliffe, largely, demonstrate how the political factor has been the basis for which some peri-urbanites have justified their stay in the areas they occupy. It has emerged that most of these dwellers are there ‘on a ZANU PF ticket’. Reference to the term ‘Government’ is rather misleading as it should be ‘party’. The question is: Is place sustainability achieved through allocations made by political parties or it is the survival of some political parties that hinges on parcelling out land to the homeless, hopeless and landless?

Peri-urban dynamics in most African states are politically driven. Politics can involve traditional leaders as in the cases of Ghana and Botswana cited in Chapter 2 (Akroffi; Home, 2001; 2002), or it may involve modern institutions like political parties, as in this case. When these institutions are at loggerheads, an unsustainable picture of development is built. In most cases, politicians avoid following planning standards just before elections. They may follow them after the elections or even use them as a punitive tool against those who may not have voted them. Such is the ‘shaky’ terrain for individuals and households to achieve sustainable development at the micro-scale.

3.7 The Policy-Sustainability Nexus in Zimbabwe
Sustainability in the built environment has, in effect, to focus on issues of building technologies and materials. However, current observations from most peri-urban settlements around Harare
indicate that the incremental approach to housing development has actually ushered in a wave of building of temporary structures and, in most cases, without adequate infrastructure in the form of roads, water and sanitation and power utilities. This contradicts the Grassroots Housing Model by Alexander et al. (1973) who see ‘sustainability’ as a product of a close working partnership between a housing cooperative and its ‘consortium’ of qualified civil engineers, planners, architects and financiers. However, in the Zimbabwean case, the Deputy Director, DPP observes:

“At the moment, the housing demand in the country is increasing. There is a shortage of housing and people are talking of the option of having parallel development. Others want to call it phased development and others incremental development. I must say there is no written policy about this. Nevertheless, because of the increased demand home-seekers are saying we can bypass the standards and have infrastructure later. It is in this debate where there is increasing peri-urban housing. Yet, I don’t want to call it peri-urban housing. Let’s call it urban expansion. I still remember when Glen View was being built. We never called it peri-urban. Everything was done instantly: infrastructure was provided and houses were immediately built. The term peri-urban was not used. It was just a new scheme. Sometimes the term is used with reference to how a new area is opened up for new development. With reference to the areas occupied by the housing cooperatives, there is no readiness for servicing”.

The Deputy Director is lamenting the substandard nature associated with peri-urban housing in Zimbabwe. He argues that there is no written policy on its adoption. Without a written code, it becomes difficult for one to make informed analyses and discourses. Even when stakeholders speak of the revision of existing codes, the issue of peri-urban sustainability is more implied than explicit. Focusing on the instruments may not be issue. Rather, it can be a matter of how the actors in the process perceive things and behave to influence change. Stewardship as a policy and technical dimension to sustainability would require that there are strong policies, legislative instruments and law enforcement for meaningful peri-urban development (Gough and Yankson, 2000; Kombe, 2005; Howlett and Ramesh, 1995).

3.8 Summary

Central to all the peri-urban developments that have happened in Zimbabwe, is the issue of sustainability. This notion is intricately linked to the stewardship paradigm and practice, as it
seeks to strike a balance between people’s development needs in the framework of ecological and social parameters. However, context matters. Context, as discussed in this chapter entails historical, geographical and psychosocial factors working in combination to produce certain fundamental outcomes. Appropriate technology and respect for cultural tendencies are also very critical. Although there are three income groups (high, middle and low) worth considering in seeking understanding of human settlements, the low-income groups always stand out as normally lacking in terms of decent jobs, houses, health, to name but these three. This chapter has revealed how sustainability is achieved by collaborative action. Stewardship is having a sense of responsibility over human habitats and caring for the environment. True stewardship would expect that players operate willingly and in compliance of the set standards. Nevertheless, the problem of squatting that has long characterised the Zimbabwean landscape defies the principles of good stewardship. This is because squatters normally degrade the environment by their practices, which include the dumping of solid waste in areas they deem to be underutilised.

Overall, the foregoing discussion of parameters shows the context of peri-urban housing and stewardship in Zimbabwe. As a historical fact, Zimbabwe as a country has borrowed heavily from its former colonial master, especially with respect to administrative and legal structures. These structures have remained unchanged such that they no longer respond to the needs of the current populations, who are surviving in the context of increasing poverty and pressing economic challenges. Taken as a whole, the existence of instruments, policies, legislations and institutions is not a guarantee that sustainability is going to be easily attained. Rather, it takes finance, collaboration of effort, political will and enforcement that is not arbitrary. In addition, the political environment generally shows the extent to which progressive development can be noted on the ground (cf. Chirisa, 2013a, b and c). In the next chapter, focus will be put on one case study area, Ruwa, after which the next other chapter will focus on housing and stewardship in Epworth.
CHAPTER FOUR
HOUSING AND STEWARDSHIP REALITIES IN RUWA

“The private sector should have access to land for housing development for the public in general and own employees in particular on a cost recovery basis without causing premature expenditure of public funds” – Policy Number 12 in Harare (1989)

4.1 Introducing institutional, social and physical dynamics in Ruwa
The purpose of this chapter is to describe and explain the realities in Ruwa with respect to stewardship and housing. There are debates as to whether Ruwa should be viewed as a peri-urban or simply as a town - a defined urban settlement. While this debate cannot be overlooked, as one examines how the town is trying to acquire more land for urban expansion, it becomes quite imperative that the peri-urban of the town itself is part of the process of transformation and change in both temporal and spatial terms. The first part of the chapter tries to capture the administrative and management strides made by the town. The second part deals with the experiences and perceptions of Ruwa residents in their habitats.

4.2 Town Expansion: Scope and Strides
Ruwa was until the 1980s preserved as a rural landscape. It was then declared a growth point, marking a move towards the urbanisation of this centre. Ruwa has transitioned from being a growth point into becoming a town. Such development implies an increase in the number of human-built artefacts resulting in more concrete and tarmac structures in space. Evidence on the ground indicates that this expansion in the built environment has had an effect on the ecology of the environment, as shown by the population increase with large-scale destruction of forests to pave way for development. Due to the dominance of private sector investment, Ruwa has grown in the span of about thirty years to become not only an investment centre but also a home for mainly middle-income groups. Although critics have pointed out that the town does not deserve town status according to the provisions of the Urban Councils Act in that it does not yet have a defined Central Business District (CBD), it is a town in terms of its population, which is estimated to be approximately 50,000. In very recent years, Ruwa has been growing chiefly in terms of the development of high-class housing estates (for example, in suburbs like Zimre Park and Windsor Park).
The administration and management of Ruwa are at crossroads. Politically, the town is under Mashonaland East Province, where it has always belonged. Administratively, it is under Harare Metropolitan Province. This problem poses a number of stewardship challenges as clearly outlined by the town planner in the following excerpt:

“We are in a dilemma. This is because we are defined differently depending on whether it’s politics or administration. We see our town needing more land to accommodate new urban development and housing needs. For your own information, we applied for some farms for these purposes [urban development and housing]. Mashonaland East said that it could not attend to such application. It said its [the province] thrust on Ruwa is rural. In this regard, the province said it is prepared to allocate farms that we applied for, to farming. This it did to gain political mileage. As you may know, Ruwa is under an MDC council. ZANU PF has therefore been fighting hard to make sure that we do not then are immersed in the affairs of Harare though administratively we are under Harare Metropolitan Province. The argument by ZANU PF is: Why boost a council, which belongs to a party [MDC] that opposes it. This struggle has created challenges for us already – we cannot acquire land for housing. Our cemetery is located right in the rural land. We brought in the Minister (Comrade Chombo) to assist and ease our dilemma. He seems to side with Mashonaland East given that he is also from ZANU PF. It seems we are fighting a losing battle. When two elephants fight, it is the grass that suffers.”

From the foregoing description by the Ruwa town planner, there has been stalled development for Ruwa as it has not developed or acquired land for urban development. This is the politics in housing development at the two levels. The first is to do with two provinces or regions failing to collaborate and resolve common issues or at least find a common ground in resolving a pressing challenge. The second is to with the political hidden agendas, in which the MDC and ZANU PF have taken the town for a battleground on which they express their feuds and jealousies over each other. While collaboration and stewardship theorists (for example McKinney et al, 2004) argue for creating a level play ground in which differences – political, professional, creed, etc – have to be set aside for the common good, actors on the ground, particularly politicians. Figure 4:1 is a map illustrating how Ruwa applied to expand the town almost to double its size but received no positive response to this application.
In 2011, the town applied for more land in keeping with its prospects for growth (see Appendix 5). The application remains pending, as the politics previously mentioned brew, to the disappointment of the town planners and council administration. While the halt may be viewed as purely retrogressive, from an ecological planner’s viewpoint, it is important to apply ‘brakes to sprawl’ (see, for example McElfish, 2008). Despite the struggles to acquire land for housing and urban development, Ruwa has over the years worked diligently to collaborate with other private sector players (see Chapter 7). Through the private public partnership arrangement, the town has managed to exploit water resources of the dam in its immediate vicinity, augmenting City of Harare water supplies. The ability to attract a PPP arrangement in the settlement is largely a function of the income status of the inhabitants of the place. Thus, since the town is inhabited by predominantly middle-to-high income classes (unlike Epworth predominantly low-
income) it is possible to seek sustainable solutions. Private companies, being profit-driven, tend to shun working with the poor unless their operations are heavily subsidised and incentivised.

4.3 The role and place of Public-Private-Community Partnerships

Ruwa Town has brought about significant development through the Public Private Partnership (PPP) showing how the concerted effort of different institutions can shape developmental aspirations. Largely, housing provision in Ruwa is largely the responsibility of the private sector. Although Wards 1, 2 and 3 are public sector housing schemes, Wards 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 are private sector initiatives. The total number of existing stands add up to 12 000, while stands with houses under construction are 5 500. Only 7 862 of the stands have development permits. The current stock of stands being serviced by the private add to 4 929, most of which are partially serviced. Stands whose development is at a standstill are 1 076. The council-built houses in the entire town are 46 in number (Ruwa, 2010). The challenges in Ruwa habitat and housing delivery include the fact that the waiting list servicing has been very slow since 1995. Over and above this, the town has no formal dumpsite for waste disposal. The one in use is neither properly planned nor formally acquired. In addition, the privately owned land is a case of ‘land speculation’, thus resulting in large tracts of undeveloped stands. Such undeveloped plots pose problems to the urban fabric of the town, which include illegal dumping. The menace of uncut grass, especially during the rainy season, creates havens for thieves and is a breeding ground for mosquitoes. These environmental challenges militate against the aesthetic values of the town (Ruwa, 2010). Some plot occupiers in Ruwa are trying as much as possible to preserve the indigenous trees (musasa, mutondo, muzeze) as noted by the shrubbery within and outside their plots.

Remarks by the principal officials in the town management (stewards) are critical in that they to indicate the extent to which the PPP arrangement has worked as a magic bullet to development. The Secretary and Chief Executive Officer (CEO) in The Business Diary (December 2010) observes that the “...town encourages both regional and local investors to bring their proposals as this will help us in the enhancement of the town…. We have as special working relationship with our investors as we have agreed on the Build, Operate and Transfer (BOT) model as opposed to the Build, Own, Operate and Transfer (BOOT).” In the same source, the Town Engineer argues:
“We can safely say that Ruwa is one of the few towns in Zimbabwe which has an effective refuse collection system and the town authorities are concerned about the health of the residents.” Again, in the same The Business Diary (December 2010), the Town Chairman raises the concern that “…many people mistake Ruwa to be part of Harare; this is an unfortunate misnomer as we are a standalone town….Ruwa needs its own charity funds and calls for all well wishers to come forward their gifts during the festive season.”

The town holds some important events in its calendar and has a number of projects in its steering. For example, during its annual Ruwa Agricultural Show (RAS) held in September, farmers near the town and industrialists have an opportunity to display their products. Besides, the town has reserved a “large chunk of land” for the development of a new industrial park whose focus is geared to the transformation of Ruwa into “a prominent manufacturing powerhouse in the country”. Put in place is a water management system that is sound. It is an ongoing project. The town’s water supply is sourced from 30 cubic metres per day “enough to supply Ruwa Town without any problem”. Phase 1 of the project, which includes a 11.5 kilometre pipeline from Norah Dam to Green Sykes holding dam, a 10 megalitre Reservoir and a 2 by 5 megalitre reactor (treatment plant), requires a huge capital injection amounting to US$4 million. Moreover, the Town is building a local primary school, a “unique scenario in Zimbabwe as most town authorities are struggling to cope with the hardships of the economic recession and in most cases assisted by carrying out such products” (The Business Diary, December 2010).

Ruwa has some unique features; these have worked as success factors to its growth and management. The Business Diary (December 2010:42) argues that the town offers “excellent services to its residents despite being owed over US$3,8 million by rate payers. It addresses residents on pressing issues. This is in keeping with the philosophy of Policy Number 12 in Harare (1989) which stipulates that, “The private sector should have access to land for housing development for the public in general and own employees in particular on a cost recovery basis without causing premature expenditure of public funds.” Generally, there is positive partnership interplay between Ruwa and her inhabitants. This collaboration between the governors and the governed brings an element of trust, allowing for internal cohesion that works as a factor for strong cohesion and dictates a trajectory of certainty. For this reason, it is argued that the town continues to be “the trump card of
economic development in Zimbabwe” signalling its significance as an industrial town “for export promotion and economic growth” for the country (The Business Diary, December 2010:42).

4.4 Community and Development in Ruwa: Experiences and Realities

Having shown the external, administrative and political dynamics shaping Ruwa besides the town’s abilities to organise internal players with whom it works within an atmosphere of trust and solidarity, I dig further into the internal dynamics regarding how the Ruwa community is structured and relates to housing and stewardship matters. According to the household survey (see Table 4.1), most of the respondents indicate that they bought stands or houses (37%). Six percent (6%) and 25% state that they are tenants and lodgers respectively. Others state that they were ‘hired’ out as caretakers of the stands where they resided (12% of them indicate that the property they are residing on belongs to a friend and 5% that they have other arrangements).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status in Accommodation</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Owner/Purchaser</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenant</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lodger</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tied Accommodation</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Property belongs to friend</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Property belongs to parents</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 4.1: Household Tenure Status of Respondents in Ruwa - Source: Field Survey (2010)*

The caretakers indicate that they are responsible for monitoring the construction of the houses, some of which were visibly still work-in-progress at the time of the survey. In the case of absence of owners from a property, owners hire lodgers, tenants or caretakers whose role is that of stewardship, taking care of all matters relating to the property. This includes settling rates and bills, cutting grass and overseeing the construction processes, when construction is in progress. Sometimes commitment to the welfare and development of a place depends on whether or not people’s attention was divided, especially between rural and urban. I sought to determine on the frequency of the people going to rural homes (Table 4.2). More than 60% of the inhabitants only visit once a year or never go, because they have completely abandoned the idea or are foreigners who do not even have a rural home. For example, Tagara, a homeowner staying in Damofalls observes that, “Going rural these days depends on many factors. As a country, we have since undergone a serious economic crisis. Who, in this environment will afford keeping two homes –
the rural one and the urban one? Just see what I am trying to achieve here – to finish this house and to send my children to school. We only go to the ‘villages’ when we hear there has been a funeral.” Tagara’s words also echo those by Emily in Ruwa Township and Zuze in ZIMRE Park, double-rootedness in the rural and the urban appears breaking up.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Once a week</td>
<td>26.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once a month</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once a year</td>
<td>14.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once in two years</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>14.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>16.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.2: Frequency of going to the rural home (%) - Source: Field Survey (2010)

However, there is Lucia who works in a hair saloon in Harare, lodging in Chipukutu who says, “Business is low these days. Competition is stiff. When you calculate the amount, you spend on rent, food, school fees and transport, you think twice about continuing in this place. My father who owns a farm in Banket was saying it is more profitable to come and do tobacco farming. I am considering taking this opportunity seriously.” This testimony by Lucia implies that we cannot rule out completely the fact that faced with hardships; some households will consider relocating to the rural areas. In Zimbabwe, because of the fast-track land reform programme embarked upon by government in 2000, the rural area provides a window of opportunity to those willing to practice small-scale agriculture. Charles says, “But have you been to the reserves of late? The squeezing that used to be the norm has just disappeared. A number of fields formerly owned by the people that left for A1 and A2 farms are just lying idle. I am thinking of going back to Wedza and practice farming on such pieces of land that my uncles and brother left there.” Potts (2006) has raised some of the issues and concerns indicated here by the respondents regarding patterns of circular migration in Zimbabwe.

Despite hardships with respect to urban life as mentioned by a number of respondents, a good number of the respondents in Ruwa maintain that they were attracted to the town by the affordability of the shelter there (28.6%, peacefulness of the town (30.52), closeness to Harare
(10.39%), closeness to their jobs (9.1%) and a combination of these factors (14.29%). Table 4.3 is a summary of these aspects.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Affordable shelter</td>
<td>28.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peacefulness</td>
<td>30.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Closeness to Harare</td>
<td>10.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Closeness to job</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affordable life</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-rurality</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opportunities</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most of the above</td>
<td>14.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.3: Percentage Rating of Pull factors to Town (%) - Source: Fieldwork, 2010

Most people moving into Ruwa as homeowners state that they are attracted by expansive residential space mainly for the medium to high-income classes. In Ruwa, the issue of rental escalations (22.73%) is noted as the prime determinant for intra-urban migration. Table 4.4 provides a snapshot of the causal factors of why the respondents left the place where they used to live. The largest number (22.73%) mention rising rentals in Harare as the main push factor.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Poor sanitation</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor water availability</td>
<td>1.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rising rentals</td>
<td>22.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strictness of property owner</td>
<td>10.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Search for own property</td>
<td>1.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eviction/Murambatsvina</td>
<td>7.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marriage</td>
<td>1.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment opportunities</td>
<td>7.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most of the above</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>41.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.4: Push and pull factors (%) - Source: Field Survey (2010)

The table shows the extent to which peri-urbanisation is explained by the cost of living, which includes unaffordable rentals. When questioned about the reasons why they moved from one place and the other since coming to Ruwa, 59.85% of the respondents indicate that they have done so, some several times (Figure 4.2). They mainly include the cohort of lodgers, tenants and caretakers, as well as lodgers and tenants who have ‘graduated’ from tenancy and lodging to become plot owners. Kasikai testifies,
“When I came here in 1998, and I was lodging, I never thought I would own this beautiful house in ZIMRE Park. I was getting tired of shifting from one place to the other in this neighbourhood until Gede offered me to buy his stand. He moved to Borrowdale Brookes from here. Because of the erratic water supplies here, he said he could not keep this stand. Gede gave me an opportunity to buy the stand on basis of instalments. The instalments were indeed favourable and with my salary, I managed to clear the payment. I bought the stand at the equivalence of US$2000. Today, a similar stand (500m²) you get it at not less than US$10,000. After 2009, I managed to acquire three more stands here in Ruwa. I am smiling as there prices are rising each day. The cost of these stands has trebled in less than five years. What a fortune!”

Nyemudzai, Clemence and Taguta also share Kasikai’s experience. They used to be ‘wanderers’ in Ruwa, until they became plot owners. They became builders and developers and by a serial of home-seeking experiences, they have been able to build ‘fortunes’ by purchasing serviced stands and selling at a profit.

\[\text{Figure 4.2: Intra-settlement migration in Ruwa (%) - Source: Field Survey (2010)}\]

This explains speculative behaviour, which sees idle land fetching high prices with little having been invested in them. Speculation is a bad practice of space stewardship, which has strongly opposed by Marxist theorists, who regard it as exploitative, and anarchists who regard property for theft (Hodkinson, 2012).
In the following section, I focus on the experiences of the Ruwa peri-urban dwellers and highlighting how, in keeping with the Housing Adjustment Theory, the inhabitants have ‘adapted’ themselves or their shelters in the peri-urban settlement. Place stewardship has strong elements of adaptation and making oneself comfortable even sometimes in hardships, giving rise to resilience based on capacity (Shinn, 1999).

4.4.1 A close look at the experiences of the peri-urban dwellers

In Ruwa, particularly Zimre Park, Damofalls and Chipukutu, there are constant sounds of dynamite rock blasting, which could be easily mistaken for borehole drilling. The explanation by Chakari, one of the respondents, is that this occurs on stands with rocky surfaces to allow for construction. Consultations with the neighbours in this development are not done, as it is taken for a norm in the area. In keeping with the provisions of the town and environmental planning legislations, when such ‘developments’ happen, neighbours must be consulted first (cf. Section 22 of the Regional, Town and Country Planning Act). Ruwa Industrial Area, which is next to Maha Shopping Centre, accommodates a number of industries. This industrial area is one of the major sources of effluent that is treated at a local sewer plant in Sunway City.

The impact of the effluent to the ecological environment is that living organisms such as fish, found in Ruwa River are affected by the foreign elements thrown into the water. The question by Saltman and Ferrousier-Davis (2000) “when does a steward become a nanny?” resurfaces. It seems the responsible authorities are not doing enough. Although a host of laws and institutions backs them, enforcement and development control are not being effected. In some instances, local communities have taken steps to protect and manage their immediate environments. In Zimre Park, some plot occupiers have always attempted to cut grass in a way to reduce obscurity around access roads, thereby increasing visibility for drivers, and ‘scare away’ mischievous elements in the form of thieves and muggers. The cut grass may also be used for thatching.

Chamunorwa stays in Damofalls, Ruwa. His rural home is Gokwe-Sanyati. Chamunorwa says. Before he ‘crushed stones’ for quarry, he worked as an assistant to a certain bricklayer named Nhongwa. Chamunorwa complains the Nhongwa was not paying him a salary commensurate with the work he was doing. At that time, he stayed in Mabvuku and they were building a house
from Moyo in Ruwa. Chamunorwa informed Moyo of his plight and begged him to accommodate on his plot on which they were building. He asserts that, “I told him that my stay on his premise would help in that his materials for construction would not be stolen. He agreed. I parted ways with Nhongwa, the oppressive bricklayer. Now I stay with my whole family and this is my new workplace. Do you know how I pay my rentals? Just keeping this place is the rental. Things are now better for me. Now I can afford a decent livelihood together with my family.”

Chamunorwa is quarrying on somebody’s stand next to Moyo’s plot. He says the owner of this plot comes from time to time and has allowed him to go ahead with digging, heating and crushing the boulders on-plot. He says that this is a way to clear up the land before the actual construction begins. Chamunorwa remarks, “He has just asked me not to disturb his peg. The advantage with this stand is that the owner won’t spend much on the foundation as others. The rock here is already a good foundation.” Prices for the quarry stones in Damofalls are eighty dollars per five cubic. Chamunorwa argues, “I don’t enjoy monopoly in this business. This is what all bricklayers here do when their construction business is on the low. We are more than one hundred in this business, just in this area. You see!” This story is also a matter of social capital building. There are a number of caretakers on Ruwa and Epworth plots. Some are mere keepers in return for accommodation. In some cases, the plot owners live in Harare, in more decent accommodation and they refer to these peri-urban plots as the bush (kusango).

Fanuwero, an old man in his late sixties, lives in Ruwa Township. On his plot is a barbershop. Fanuwero claims that he is a member of the Jehovah’s Witnesses’ sect. Like Aphiri, his origins are Malawi. Before retirement, he was working for some private company in Ardbenie, Waterfalls in Harare. In his working days, he had rented accommodation in the same area as his workplace. Some years down his labour service, the company gave him a loan to build a house after he got a stand in Ruwa. The house is not yet ‘finished’ in the sense of painting and cladding. However, Fanuwero managed to get to this present stage of completion as he was still employed. Now that he is retired, he has not been in a position to finish as he had planned. He no longer hopes that he will ever get money to get this work done.
In a bid to address ‘bread and butter’ issues, Fanuwero is renting out the barbershop. On the plot, Fanuwero has planted some fruit trees. He has two lodgers in the house. The proceeds are inadequate to meet the family’s daily needs. Ruwa Township, at the time of the study, is experiencing frequent power-cuts. Fanuwero’s household sometimes uses firewood as an alternative energy source. Nevertheless, Mbuya Mubatsiri from the neighbouring farm often sends Melody, her servant with the wood to Fanuwero’s place. This arrangement is explained by the friendship between Mbuya Mubatsiri and Fanuwero’s wife. Though Fanuwero is not part of that friendship deal, he and the whole household are enjoying the fruit of it.

Fanuwero’s story shows how social capital is embedded in the housing and habitat provision. In addition, it shows the importance of financial capital in the development of shelter in peri-urban settlements. Employer-assisted housing is an important dimension to housing, and overlooking its role may be detrimental to addressing the housing needs of the poor. A roof over a poor man’s head makes a very big difference to that person and his/her entire household. There are also financial flows that accrue to households, which have space to let. This is sanctioned, in part, through the provisions of Statutory Instrument 216 of 1994 (Use Group Regulations) (Chaeruka and Munzwa, 2009; Kamete, 1999c).

In Plate 4.1, Ray, one of my research assistants is captured assisting Charity and Rumbidzai, to shell their maize by the roadside during the survey. The two women sell vegetables and fruits by the road junction just close to Old Windsor Primary School. Charity and Rumbidzai explain the reasons for placing their market by the junction. Firstly, they wish to capitalize on it as a meeting point of people from all directions; secondly, it is close to their homes (just less than two hundred metres away). Charity and Rumbidzai explain that:

“Takadzidziswa kuchechi kwedu kuti tishandise maoko edu. Takatoonawo kuti zvinotibatsira kuiti tisaweronyeya vanhu nemakuhwa. Munoziva kuswera pamba usina chaunoita zvinokutuma kuita makuhwa.” [We receive teachings in our church to work with our hands. However, we have also realised that this saves us from backbiting and gossiping. Just being at home and doing nothing is the reason why people end up gossiping.]
Plate 4.1: ‘Capturing’ customers by a road junction in Old Windsor Park. Charity and Rumbidzai explain why they have chosen the site in which they sell their goods (mainly vegetables). It is strategic, and allows them to attend to customers while doing part of their household chores. In this photograph, they are shelling maize as they wait for customers. Their homes are just some 50 metres away from their work site. While their husbands are at their formal jobs, these women do street trading partly to supplement household income and partly to occupy themselves. This is part of the story in gender relations in housing, where men are said to ‘build houses’ and women ‘make homes’. The junction on which Charity and Rumbidzai have chosen could be a critical point for the supply of customers from all direction of the roads, but road junctions should generally be free from obstructions, especially to motorists. Good stewardship implies taking on board the concerns of the other users of the road or space and preventing accidents and environmental risks, especially in neighbourhoods. - Source: Field Survey (2010)

These women have linked up their activities to what women are commonly known for – gossip. However, they have learnt that spending much time at home can be gainfully converted into bringing extra money into the household by selling some goods to the neighbourhood. In addition, in the era when formal jobs are scarce, young men have also learnt to enterprise. John and Michael are in their mid twenties and live in Zimre Park, Ruwa. We meet the two pushing a wheelbarrow full of firewood, which has been ordered by someone in Zimre Park. Michael explains how they operate: “This wheelbarrow, when full, costs only five dollars. Just tell us where you stay and we deliver them at your doorstep. We do all our work in preparing this firewood just across the road, in Sunway City. We can reduce the price for you.” Gauging the
size of the bundle of firewood with bundles in Epworth, going for about a dollar, this is five times more expensive than in Harare. The income-base of the clientele applies.

Unlike John and Michael who are mobile suppliers, other young men like Gamuchirai are ‘hooked to the place’ of operation. Gamuchirai, a young man in his late twenties, lives in Ruwa Township, where he is working as an artisan and marketer of a number of crafts that he makes. Plate 4.2 shows some birds on display for marketing. Gamuchirai is lodging on the plot where he produces and markets his birds and other crafts. Lodging means the landlord also stays on-plot. Chawada, the landlord, is an understanding, who gave space to Gamuchirai to work and market his products. However, the contract states that Gamuchirai must pay a fee for this space, which in practice means that Gamuchirai is paying rent for accommodation and for the space that he uses for market displays and production. Gamuchirai has accepted the offer and he is doing his operations on-plot. However, there are a few challenges he faces in marketing his products. He says that in the neighbourhood, the prices are rather suppressed when compared to selling in established and designated market places for crafts (for example at Avondale and Newlands shopping centres in Harare).

In recent times, Gamuchirai has observed that the landlord is arbitrarily hiking rentals. He thinks that Chawada’s believes he is making super-profits, despite the fact that his returns are just below expectations. In effect, the business is facing numerous challenges. There are many other poor entrepreneurs working on-plot facing challenges similar to those of Gamuchirai. Like Gamuchirai, most of these are entrapped in the places they reside and operate now, and are afraid to move for fear of not finding an accommodative place. Gamuchirai believes staying at Chawada’s place is the solution. He says, “Better the devil that you know than the angel that you don’t know.” Indeed local embeddedness does not only apply to big firms but also to household entrepreneurs. People are rational, and will always calculate the benefits or lack thereof associated with moving or staying in a place.
Plate 4.2: Residential areas as space for manufacturing and marketing crafts, Ruwa Township. In this photograph, Ray, my research assistant, holds a piece of ‘bird’ craft made and being marketed by Gamuchirai. The stand belongs to Chawada. Standowners as stewards of places decide which activities that they can allow on their stands or plots and those they do not. Overall, this is in keeping with Statutory Instrument 216 of 1994 (Use Groups), which allows certain uses to be done with the residential areas. We can trace a hierarchy of stewardship, in which the central government has allowed local authorities to allow residents to use residential space partly for residential and partly for industrial (especially light manufacturing as services) purposes. This ‘right’ has been extended to ‘landlords’, who then allow their tenants and lodgers to enjoy the rights, but at a fee. Sometimes this manufacturing brings with it certain nuisances particularly noise as welding, in this case, is synonymous with neighbourhood noise. To allow for such noise in a neighbourhood requires great solidarity and tolerance. Stewardship becomes a neighbourhood concern, which must be communicated and shared among the neighbours. Without such communication, it becomes a matter of the prisoner’s dilemma. In the prisoner’s dilemma model, households think rationally and try to find out what they may lose by not doing what the rest are doing. - Source: Field Survey (2010)

Marjorie is a homemaker. She stays in Zimre Park. She now displays her fruits and vegetables in her veranda (see Plate 4.3). The reason for using the veranda is that it ensures that the vegetables do not wilt in the heat of the sun. It also allows her to do other duties in the home (like cleaning the rooms and utensils and cooking) without having much to bother as customers come to buy from her place. This is a distance-reduction measure. Marjorie says, “Customers just knock at the door and I can hear that loudly and clearly. Thus, I attend to them instantly.” In Ruwa, peri-urban dwellers make maximum use of the space in and around their plots. This has an important bearing on their livelihoods as well as the general quality of the habitat (Neefjes, 2000; Nhema, 2009). In a habitat, on important factor is the quality of houses themselves.
Plate 4.3: Vegetable on sale in a veranda, ZIMRE Park. In a neighbourhood, households will identify items that are missing and enterprise in such. The house becomes not only a place for sleeping, cooking and resting but also a place on which commercial enterprise is conducted. Issues of public health can be overlooked by those enterprising. In this picture, the veranda in which the vegetables on sale are displayed has, in its immediate vicinity, a structure that serves as toilet in times when running water is not available. This is dangerous especially after cases of diarrhoea, cholera, typhoid and dysentery are common in the peri-urban settlements. - Source: Field Survey (2010)

4.4.2 Housing Quality in Ruwa

It is important to look at quality from the angle of house or plot use conversions. Residential conversions are a common feature in Ruwa. In Ruwa, there are a number of cases where residential plots have been converted to ‘commercial’ or ‘institutional’ space usage. The usual expectation is that such conversions are peculiar to inner cities, where space has become too limited for new expansion (cf. Geraedts and Van der Voordt, 2007; Gappert, 1993; Fry, 2004; Garau, Sclar and Carolini, 2006; Grant, 2004).

Near Old Windsor Primary School, there is a seemingly very big house (Plate 4.4). It is Westwiew Primary School, which began operating in January 2010.
Plate 4.4: House-turned-school in Old Windsor Park. Converting houses for other purposes is common but especially in city centres as location plays an important role in price (rental) determination. Nevertheless, conversions are also part of the peri-urban story. Where multiple homeowners, despite the existence of a policy that one who owns a residential property in Harare cannot own other properties within Greater Harare, it is still possible through having a political muscle to own many houses. Politicians tend to short-change voters as they put policies, which they (the politicians) violate. This is bad stewardship. While the superstructure here is large enough for the requirements of a small family, it is smaller for a school, which requires more space to accommodate uses including for sport and recreation. The question remains if proper town planning procedures have been followed in the acquisition of the space outside the building to accommodate the ground for sports and recreation. Corruption paints a bad picture to good stewardship endeavours. - Source: Field Survey (2010)

The new school has Grades 1 to 6 classes and one of the teachers explains: “A new school does not start with Grade 7...” For a town planner, a number of questions can be raised regarding use of the facilities, conversion procedures followed, numbers of pupils hence demand, provision of attendant and supporting facilities (including adequacy of playgrounds for extracurricular activities). All these factors arise, in view of the smallness of the stand in which the school stands. The “whole process of conversion” is purported to have gone through the town planning procedures and “no objections have been made about the school by the community” (Interview, Mr. Marata, 18 March 2010). Inside the building, the kitchen has been converted to a computer laboratory. This laboratory is furnished with all sorts of flat screen computers and walls are inscribed with some messages about the Yahoo search engine.
This ‘converted big house’ (Westview Primary School premise) belongs to one of the late Zimbabwean ambassadors. It was on one of ambassador’s mission trips to Zambia that he saw the guesthouse that his fellow Zambian ambassador had built. He was so impressed that he decided to have a similar design. He imported and implemented it on one of his stands in Ruwa. The guesthouse is designed like a hotel. As he was almost completing this grand project, the ambassador unfortunately died. The widow to the late ambassador, found the ‘house’ too big for family use. As such, she decided to lease it out for other purposes. A certain Mr. Nyama has taken over the premise that he now runs a private school, Westview Primary School.

Mr. Marata purports that the local board (now Ruwa Town Council) has been in full support of the developments taking place at the new school. As a goodwill gesture to the school project, the council donated a piece of land (more than 2000 square metres outside the premise for the development of school grounds). No doubt, this is a case of converting a passive open space to an active open space. Apparent, in this virgin land is its placement within the radius and catchment of a wetland. Obviously, the wetland has been lost; it has given way to a human-induced development and this is, in a way, a vote towards ecological harm as opposed to protection (cf. De Sherbini and Martine, 2007).

Elsewhere in Ruwa, in Zimre Park, there is also private secondary school called Rose of Sharon. It is owned and run by a local organisation, which is registered as a Trust. Fees are pegged at two hundred dollars (US$200) per term. The premise is residential, and therefore has limited space for support of lessons in the extramural bracket. Schoolchildren attending Rose of Sharon indicate that they carry out sporting practice at local primary school grounds. This is similar to the situation of the Westview Primary School, where extra-curricular activities are sacrificed because the space for such is not available.

In Ruwa, near the Town Council offices, just about hundred metres to the north, along Chiremba Road, the Guru family converted their residence into vehicle servicing centre (a garage). A host of cars ‘litter’ the yard and the family now occupies the cottage. The main house has been compartmentalised to house the office and storehouse. This is a clear case of business and materials (spares) displacing the dwellers. Muchengeti, the garage manager, indicates that it is
more rewarding having the house as a garage than renting it out to people. In other words, the house is more useful in enhancing the income requirements of his household than using it for residence only. Families can sacrifice their comfort for money.

Paintings and decorations are part of investment made in human habitats. Yet not all cases are matters of housing conversion. In Zimre Park, for example, there is a church-like structure, which has the inscription JESUS IS LORD on it. Much of the structure is glassy in outlook. Located next to the Seventh Day Church premise, one might think that this area is a church site harbouring so many church buildings. Nevertheless, the beautiful house is owned by a Nigerian businessman, Ochukwu, whose shops are found in the CBD of Harare. Unlike Epworth, Ruwa has managed to attract many foreigners who can be labelled as ‘the have’s’, that is, people of the elite class. When such classes are in a place, they are less constrained in terms of speaking their voices up and demanding accountability on the property tax that they contribute.

Nevertheless, Ruwa has remained for years without adequate water supplies. Instead, there have been individual efforts on plots by households providing water. It is only now that the Town Council is seriously considering piped water connections (Ruwa, 2010). Ruwa, on the other hand, is different; the settlements are greatly planned, although some maintenance challenges have emerged in the past ten years or so. As Plate 4.5 shows some of the services like telegraph wires are in a dismal state of repair. With the economic doldrums, that Zimbabwe as a country has experienced in the past fifteen years or so, the place has also had many developmental setbacks. Critical to note is the fact that humankind always interferes with nature for critical developmental needs. One relevant case in point is the blasting of rock outcrops in Sunway City, Ruwa to pave way for housing development (Plate 4.6). For low-income housing development, blasting is affordable. Rock blasting to pave the way for housing development is a function of income and individual discretion. For some relatively wealthy households in Ruwa, a notable sense of preservation of the natural environmental features like rock outcrops is noted in areas such as Windsor Park and Fairview. Inhabitants of such areas aim at preserving the already present plant species with little, if any, harm to the natural environment. As such, they act as ‘good stewards’ of the environment.
Plate 4.5: Part of Old Windsor Park. Peri-urban farming is now a common feature. Houses are normally situated in the obscurity of plants growing, in this case maize. The roads are filled with potholes. Electricity pylons are not well attended to. These are all the responsibilities of the local authority, which must enforce measures to ensure that environmental quality is achieved including street lighting, clean environments. From the year 2000 to 2013, local authorities are working with limited budgets leading to their incapacity to provide basic services to residents who are the taxpayers. Strategies including participatory budgeting and good governance could assist but they work best if the macro-economic environment is conducive to allow for progressive development. People embark on informal urban and peri-urban farming to cushion themselves against the vagaries of macro-economic instability such as typified Zimbabwe, between 2006 and 2008. - Source: Field Survey (2010)

Plate 4.6: Blasting the Rocks: Paving the way for residential development in Sunway City. Housing construction results in the destruction of the natural physical environment. Source: Field Survey (2010)
The houses in Ruwa (59.1%) are predominantly brick and mortar under tiles followed by those of brick and mortar under asbestos (Table 4.5)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>brick and mortar under tiles</td>
<td>59.1</td>
</tr>
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<td>brick and mortar under asbestos</td>
<td>32.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brick and mortar under corrugated iron sheets</td>
<td>5.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pole and dagga under thatch</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pole and dagga under asbestos</td>
<td>0.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pole and dagga under corrugated iron sheets</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wood under thatch</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wood under asbestos</td>
<td>1.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wood under plastic</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=154

Table 4.5: Materials used on Main Dwelling on Plot (%) - Source: Field Survey (2010)

Inhabitants of Ruwa use the plots for various purposes but the main activity (74.5%) is gardening (see Table 4.6).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gardening</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>74.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welding</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poultry</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extra lessons</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>18.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=154

Table 4.6: On-plot activities by Ruwa peri-urban dwellers - Source: Field Survey (2010)

This is probably explained by the fact that the area is historically known for peri-urban farming, most of which was done for market gardening. However, the plots have been significantly reduced in the town so that the gardening that takes place there is more for subsistence than commercial purposes. Converting land for urban development ‘shrinks’ space on which farming was initially carried out.

There is a Munwahuku Stream passes between Damofalls and ZIMRE Park in Ruwa and Mabvuku (Harare). This tributary stream is in a terrible state in terms of degradation, and most of
the time, its waters look dirty. Lorries negotiate the way through the swampy terrain to ferry sand from the Munwahuku’s banks and bed. The miners say river sand is more expensive than pit sand. In Ruwa, river sand is pegged at sixty dollars per five-cubic while pit sand goes for fifty. Firimoni, the sand marketer says, “Our clients come here to buy. We have heaps and heaps of sand down there. Once we get a buyer, we load the truck for delivery. We have to be strategic and organised, otherwise we scare our customer.”

As the employment issue is of critical concern in Ruwa, the majority of the peri-urban dwellers have resorted to sustaining themselves through the informal economy. The need for self-sustenance has led them to seek ‘maximum’ utilisation of the space around them (cf. Rubin, 2010). There are peri-urban dwellers, however, who believe that seeking formal employment is still a viable option. This is borne out by the hordes of employment seekers who can be observed sitting outside industrial premises in Ruwa (Ruwa Industrial Area). At one premise, a group approaches us whose questions are indicative of the desperation to secure employment: “What business can we give you today? Don’t you want to hire us for help?”

In the industrial areas, people wait eagerly for opportunities to arise. Yet not everyone who sits by the gate is a (formal or even informal) jobseeker. At times, a certain group of women who belong to white garment church (*mapositori*) are seen sitting by some gates. I ask them why they are there. They respond that they are from Epworth, that the premises at whose gate they are sitting is a furniture manufacturing company, and that they are queuing to buy sawdust - a waste product of the timber processing. One of them says that, “In Epworth, where we stay, we don’t have electricity. We buy the sawdust and we use in place of electricity. It is our source of energy. This sack, I am holding, is filled at a cost of a dollar. Firewood is expensive; the same with paraffin. It’s a story of survival hence we look for what is cheap for us.” As if to confirm the woman’s words, some three days later, a woman in Solani called Tariro demonstrates how they use a heating device in which they pour sawdust. I have also discovered that the selling of sawdust is a common feature in Epworth. They buy a little firewood and add it to the sawdust. This represents a cost-saving measure for them, as it reduces energy consumption costs by their households.
Although it is a constitutional right to enjoy the resources that a habitat is endowed with, that habitat may be subjected to grave environmental assault. River and pit sand extraction is the order of the day. White garment churches abound in the area. The vlei is heavily cultivated. A host of dumps have been created on the ground, and these are filled with water, especially during the wet season. Heavy goods trucks used in the transportation of building materials disturb vegetation and soils. This triggers massive soil erosion, which in turn results in large-scale siltation of the rivers and streams in the area. This echoes the study by Rownstree et al (1991) in peri-urban Maseru in Lesotho, which associates urban development with the negative external consequences of massive soil erosion. Nevertheless, the same sands deposited in the rivers is mined and transported away from the rivers to plots. The miners are not mindful of the degradation processes, since their main objective is to make profits. Firimoni says these dumps are a residue of actions by brick moulders. Along the tarmac, on the edge of ZIMRE Park are some dumped ramshackle and out-of-use cars and piles of bricks.

4.5 Summary
The foregoing discussion has indicated that while Ruwa cannot be purely taken as peri-urban because of its built-up qualities (having been established more as a defined ‘urban’ development in recent years), it is a settlement that has rapidly turned urban. To explain its growth, the role of the private sector in the development of the town is the major driver in spatial development. Moreover, given the administration and political ambivalence associated with the area, which falls under two different provinces, housing developments are often adversely affected. This lack of uncertainty as to political and administrative authority has also meant that the provision of housing attendant services (cemeteries, for example) is also under threat. Political parties try to ensure that development is patterned on their wishes rather than those of the peri-urban dwellers. Nonetheless, in Ruwa, the town management strongly believes in partnerships with its stakeholders. In this regard, one can observe that the town, from its genesis in the late 1980s to date, has been run largely on a corporatist basis, where business contracts including memoranda of understanding define the scope and purpose of development. Community dynamics are major reason why Ruwa has grown so well (as compared to Epworth).
In the chapter, I determined that the majority of Ruwa community members (37%) are owners of the existing housing stock. Unlike Epworth, Ruwa has higher quality housing, owing to the presence of predominantly middle-income classes in the area. The Ruwa community base has demonstrated firm ownership of the development processes taking place in the area. Indeed, the spearheading of the processes by community leaders including ward councillors cannot be underestimated. The chapter has demonstrated that, like any other place in Zimbabwe, many residents in Ruwa embark on a number of livelihood activities on their plots. Some show good stewardship of place (for example paintings and decorations of houses and grass cutting) while other practices (like streambank cultivation and dumping of waste on undesignated sites) are symptomatic of bad stewardship.

Housing conversions to accommodate non-residential uses are rampant in Ruwa. This may be explained, in part, by the existence of gaps between in land-uses. For instance, there are fewer schools in Ruwa, which may explain the rampancy of conversions as business-minded people take advantage of such. In a way, this may be a pointer to the fact that they acknowledge that their ‘eyes are open’ to see gaps needing attention within their communities. Wherever houses develop, it follows that attendant services must also be provided. That such conversions take place and the local authorities seem to sanction or ignore ‘unwanted’ developments that produce eyesores and are not sound environmental practices is a sign of bad stewardship. However, there are limits to which the local authorities can determine the behaviour of community member, especially in the context of high levels of poverty, politically-driven misdemeanours and corruption.

Finally, the chapter has also revealed that the fact that households buy by-products like saw dust for use in their homes for energy, which is evidence of good products stewardship, since even waste can still be utilized in other processes of everyday life. With respect to waste management, this follows the principles of the three Rs – Reduce, Reuse and Recycle. However, the same materials used can be a cause of concern with respect to human health, as they result in increased carbon footprint in the environment. Overall, the study has revealed a number of defined aspects in the peri-urban stewardship of Ruwa. Some dimensions have to do with physical processes, others with the political and administrative processes, while others are based on contractual and
therefore legal parameters. It is very clear that historical and contemporary dynamics help to define the processes and institutional responses that define place stewardship. The next chapter will focus on the realities and experiences in Epworth.
“Physical space is [...] social, cultural and political space: a space that offers, enables, triggers, invites, prescribes, proscribes, polices or enforces certain patterns of social behaviour: a space that is never no man’s land but always somebody’s space; a historical space, therefore, full of codes, expectations, norms and traditions; and a space of power controlled by as well as controlling people.” - Blommaert (2012:7)

5.1 Introducing institutional, social and physical dynamics in Epworth

The chapter discusses housing and stewardship in Epworth, showing the different housing and place stewardship processes occurring in the peri-urban settlement. In keeping with the Blommaert’s (2012:7) assertion, and contrary to beliefs by both some locals and outsiders, the “social, cultural and political space” of Epworth has largely been viewed as “…never [being] no man’s land but always somebody’s space…”. Over the years, there have been efforts to regularise land-use and processes in the settlement so that it may be fully incorporated as part of Harare City. Despite these efforts, the arrival of new settlers to Epworth remained a challenge. The settlement’s seven wards (see Figure 5.1) are marked by a mosaic of house structures that make it as more slum than anything. The largest group of the newcomers are harboured in Ward 7 of the settlement, while others have settled in portions of the other Wards. Ward 7 and these other areas are informally referred to as ‘Gada,’ loosely translating to ‘free riders.’ It must be stressed that this ‘new breed’ of settlers are illegal and informal dwellers in the place.

5.2 Demographic Pressure and the Environment in Epworth

By 2007, it is reported that the Local Board was finding it difficult to carry out planned development projects, the informal settlers inhabit most of the sites earmarked for development projects (school sites, hospital sites, electricity substations and other areas) (Epworth, 2007). It is also estimated that in 2008, Epworth had over 18 000 informal or illegal settlers. Interestingly, the officially approved residential stands have not increased significantly from the originally regularised 6000 stands (Epworth, 2007). In this vein, the matter of concern is that illegal and informal settlements have continued to flourish despite the establishment of the Epworth Local
Board, whose mandate is to ensure that no future, non-permitted development would take place in the area bearing in mind the long-term objective of incorporating a regularised Epworth town into the City of Harare. Presently, close to 70% of the Epworth residents live in overcrowded non-permitted, unplanned and un-serviced areas. The squatter settlements continue to face very serious challenges relating to health, poverty and crime.

Figure 5.1: Wards in Epworth - Source: adapted from Chanza and Chirisa (2011)

In post-2000 Epworth, a number of housing and environmental issues have been discussed in a number of meetings held about the area. The following paragraphs will discuss in detail some of these issues.

It must be noted, however, that when the Government mooted Operation Murambatsvina in 2005, Epworth was to be treated as sacrosanct and therefore remained untouched. This is despite the poor housing structures that Epworth has in comparison to other settlements in the country. Several times ‘clean up’ campaigns have missed it: first in the 1980s, then in 2005 and then after 2009. This is partly explained by the investment made to upgrade the settlement, which saw the
Government working in partnership with various players in the upgrading projects of the 1980s. Chenga (2010) proffers reasons as to why the government decided not to bulldoze Epworth.

Little progress is reported in housing development in the settlement, apart from the opening of roads and beacons for 420 stands in the first sub-phase being spearheaded by Shelter Zimbabwe at the Mabvazuva Housing Development (Epworth, 3 November 2004). In this respect, only two residential building plans and one commercial plan were approved by the Local Board, in September 2004. Yet, Epworth (13 July 2005) states that ten residential building plans were approved during the month of June 2005. The minutes show that the Building Inspectorate Division had noted an increase in the submission of building plans for approval owing to the ongoing clean-up campaign. Eleven residential stands were cessioned during the month of June. The increase in the number of cessions being recorded was attributed to the clean-up campaign, which saw many stand holders regularising their illegal subdivisions. Ten residential building plans were reported to have been approved as of February 2006, mostly from ward 4 (Epworth, 25 July 2007). In the same feedback, 14 houses were under construction during the period under review; twenty-two and sixteen cessions were processed during the month of January and February respectively. The decline noted was attributable to the number of owner-initiated cessions during the same period. Initiatives to spearhead the electrification of Epworth were suggested to match the realignment of the servitude at the proposed power station. Furthermore, beneficiaries of Operation Garikayi/Hlalani Kuhle were listed by this period (Epworth, 25 July 2007). However, certain community members were facing some difficulties in laying the claim to some plots. For example, a claim for stand 1786 by a certain man (resident) was dismissed by the local board.

Twelve building plans, seven cottages and two main houses were approved during the month of June 2007, with fourteen cessions for residential stands being processed during the same period (Epworth, 13 November 2008). Meanwhile, 100 houses under the first phase of Operation Garikayi/Hlalani Kuhle were handed over to beneficiaries. The minutes provide evidence of one application for claim to a stand. It was alleged that stand 2434 (with a possible subdivision) allocated to Mr Gwande (not real name) and Mr Gomo (not real name) under Operation Garikayi/Hlalani Kuhle was allocated to him by the headman in 1982. However, the claim was
dismissed on the basis that the stand was vacant when land was allocated to beneficiaries of Operation Garikayi/Hlalani Kuhle. Eleven residential building plans, eight of them in Glenwood were approved during the month of October 2008. It was reported that most construction activities were confined to Rockview Park, with very little activity in other areas. Thirteen cessions for residential stands were processed during the month of October. The building inspectorate reports that three beneficiaries of the Glenwood housing project had started constructing approved structures, while 905 beneficiaries were shown their stands. Five residential and two garage-building plans were approved during the month of October 2009. Seven cessions of residential stands were processed during the same month. The need to issue title deeds to all areas with approved plans was discussed and consolidations were to explore the possibility of doing that. Twenty-five residential building plans were approved during the month of June 2010. Five cessions of residential stands were processed during the same month. It was reported that housing and engineering sections had started bookings for the physical handover of stands to beneficiaries of the Glenwood Housing Project. A road contractor was on site for the Rockview Park Housing project.

Idle sewer ponds in Chinamano are sited in the middle of the residential area, making them a health hazard if used (Epworth, 9 March 2006). In addition, informal settlers have built dwelling structures on the edge of ponds, and deep gullies have resulted from the illegal extraction of sand recognised in Glenwood housing project. Sand extraction by illegal or sand poachers has been observed along Jacha River (Epworth, 4 November 2009). One application for the renewal of a sand extraction permit from Shamwari Cooperative was received and subsequently turned down. A Chinese construction company also applied for a permit to extract 500 cubic metres of pit sand from Epworth. This was turned down as well. Epworth could not afford to provide such huge quantities. The Board notes with concern that sand extraction was likely to add to the environmental challenges caused by lack of capacity to reclaim areas damaged by illegal sand extraction. The Building Inspectorate Department encouraged residents in Solani to build ecological sanitation (shortened as ecosan) toilets (Epworth, 10 July 2010). These do not pollute ground water sources.
Open spaces are very useful in residential development for providing the urban space with ‘breathers’ and recreation for the residents. However, sometimes such open spaces are ‘invaded’ by other uses like peri-urban farming, open-air worship services and dumping of waste (Plate 5.1).

**Plate 5.1: Worship time in Cell 7. A white garment church is in a time of worship in a vlei area in Cell 7. This is a common feature with these churches. They identify certain sites in open spaces. Such spaces are treated as ‘holy grounds’ by the churches, and do not allow other members of the community to use the places. This development brings about the notion of ‘privatisation’ of public space. Good place stewardship is shown by the groups protecting the spaces, blocking others, and putting ‘holy tags’ to the space. That such places are usually without supportive infrastructure like toilets and water supply systems and that they are encroachments in wild spaces and wetlands, may be taken for bad place stewardship. - Source: Field Survey (2010)**

Another important aspect that was observed was the use of open spaces. Religious groups, especially the white garment apostolic sects (*mapositori*) generally have ‘sacred shrines’ in the vleis and small hills, which they refer to as kuMasowe (the wilderness). Once the *mapositori* identify a shrine, some mark their worshipping place with graffiti. The public open space becomes privatised, thereby excluding any other person who may want to come and worship on such ‘holy grounds’ or use it for a different purpose. The disquieting observation is that of the absence of toilets and ablution on these off-plot sites of religious
importance. This poses health and environmental challenges such as the risk of outbreak of water-borne diseases like cholera, diarrhoea, typhoid and dysentery. Other groups like the Jehovah’s Witnesses use the streets and crossroads to preach and sell books and pamphlets. Domboramwari in Epworth is a colony for church activities, with a host of church buildings under construction. All these have a bearing on the living environment in the peri-urban just like anywhere else.

On the other hand, the major part of Epworth is not serviced by proper roads, except the upgraded area and the new section being developed by Shelter-Zimbabwe. Overall, in both settlements, the display of goods for sale by the roadside is a common feature. Roads in urban development are part of modest planning considerations. In the development of a neighbourhood unit, in which housing is the dominant element, roads service the neighbourhood. But over the years, informal traders have ‘invaded’ the roadside to market their different wares and commodities (see Plate 5.2).

Plate 5.2: Street trading in Overspill. Households have turned public spaces like roadsides as spaces in which they display their wares and goods for sale. Under normal circumstances, such spaces should be reserved for vehicular traffic only, since physical markets are provided for by local authorities. Street traders take advantage of the people using the road to be buyers of their goods. Ideally, the local authorities should have control of areas like roads and open spaces so that they are not abused by the public. Nevertheless, high unemployment rates in the country placed local authorities in a dilemma, since windows like employment-creation by luring foreign investment is a taxing challenge, even to the central government. - Source: Field Survey (2010)
In Epworth, there is wide array of housing tenure arrangements. The dominant tenure arrangement is the owner/purchaser type (37%), though for Epworth this is not in the strictest sense of freehold titling. This is followed by the lodging arrangement (27%). Lodging and tenants are taken as separate tenure arrangement in this study, where the former refers to the housing arrangement in which the owner uses part of the stand or house and then sublets the other rooms. Tenancy is taken to mean that the owner is completely absent on-plot. Normally, he or she only visits (from where he/she resides) to collect rentals. In Epworth, it emerged that some houses belong to friends or parents, 7% and 9% percent, respectively. These two (houses belonging to friends or parents) are perhaps extensions of the owner/purchaser category. Epworth (2002:8) argues that the land tenure system in Epworth has been subject to “… abuse with a number of illegal land disposals involving self-appointed headmen, con-artists and the occupants are changing hands without following the requisite procedures. There are also a number of untraceable absent registered occupiers who have either sold stateland or left unpaid huge debts for rates and services.” The immediate occupants hold properties in trust, since the real owners are away. In a number of cases, the owners are found to be residing in other parts of the town, in the rural areas or having gone abroad. Table 5.1 summarises the housing tenure arrangements in Epworth. As already indicated, the owners purchaser arrangement is the lead category (37%) followed by lodger type (30%), followed by tenancy (15%) and property held in trust by a friend (2%).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status in Accommodation</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Owner/Purchaser</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenant</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lodger</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tied Accommodation</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Property belongs to friend</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Property belongs to parents</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.1: Household Tenure Status of Respondents in Epworth - Source: Field Survey (2010)

The survey sought to understand how peri-urbanisation manifests itself through migration patterns. It has revealed that Zimbabwe, like most developing countries, is undergoing a process
of rapid urbanisation (cf. UNHABITAT, 2008; 2009; Tibaijuka, 2009; Shildo, 1990). The frequency of visits to rural homes is noted in the study as a key indicator in describing urbanisation. Very few (2.75%) respondents from both Ruwa and Epworth indicate that they visit their rural homes once week (Table 5.2). Quite a significant number of the respondents (37.11%) show that they visit once in a year. Twenty point two seven percent (20.27%) are unclear in their responses, but the general trend and pattern is that rural ties with the majority of the peri-urbanites are dying out. This concurs with researches carried out by UNHABITAT (2008; 2009) that people are increasingly becoming *homo urbanus*, i.e. tending towards living in urban areas. It is in this process that the shelter question and its provision becomes an issue.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Once a week</td>
<td>2.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once a month</td>
<td>8.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once a year</td>
<td>29.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once in two years</td>
<td>6.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>29.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Clear</td>
<td>24.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.2: Frequency of visits to rural homes by Epworth respondents (%) - **Source:** Field Survey (2010)

Overall, the migration pattern emerging from the study is: rural-urban, then urban (core city) to peri-urban. People are pushed or pulled to certain places for various reasons. Asked where they stayed before coming to Epworth, the majority (48%) state that they came from the capital city, Harare (Figure 5.2).

*Figure 5.2: Place of Origin prior to arrival in Epworth (%). - **Source:** Field Survey (2010)*
The majority for Epworth, most respondents state that they came because they were looking for cheaper accommodation or freer living conditions. A significant percentage of the respondents (16%) came from Chitungwiza, a dormitory town of Harare that was established in the colonial days. The other respondents (24%) indicated that they were born and bred in Epworth. As such, they have not moved in from anywhere; rather they are products of the natural increase. A very insignificant number (9%, in total) indicates that it stayed in towns and cities like Kwekwe, Chegutu, Masvingo, and Bulawayo before coming to Epworth. Furthermore, the survey sought to establish the places where respondents were born. Figure 5:3 shows the distribution pattern of respondents in Epworth with respect to their places of birth.

![Figure 5.3: Place of birth](image)

**Figure 5.3: Place of birth**

The majority of Epworth residents were born in Harare (21%). Following are those born in the three Mashonaland Provinces (East, 14%; West, 10% and Central, 9%), totalling 33%. Sixteen percent (16%) were born in Manicaland and 8% from Masvingo. Only 2% were born in other countries, like Malawi and Zambia. Most of the respondents who migrated into the two peri-urban settlements indicate that Harare was their first destination before they relocated to the two towns (54%). For recent migrants, the pull factors by Epworth are shown in Table 5.3.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Affordable shelter</td>
<td>24.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peacefulness</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Closeness to Harare</td>
<td>8.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Closeness to job</td>
<td>8.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affordable life</td>
<td>27.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-rurality</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opportunities</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most of the above</td>
<td>18.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.3: Pull factors by Epworth respondents - **Source:** Field Survey (2010)

In summary, the main reasons cited are affordability of shelter in the town (26.8%), general peacefulness of the area (19.59%) and closeness to Harare the capital city (17.5%). A sub-group of ancillary factors include proximity to the place of employment (8.59%), general affordability of living in the peri-urban zone (16.49%), the semi-rural state of the settlement (1.72%), and availability of other opportunities, particularly self-employment and trade (2.06%). Some of the respondents (7.22%) indicate that they were attracted by a combination of these factors highlighted herein. Life in peri-urban areas is perceived to be ‘reasonably’ affordable (cf. Nabutola, 2004), since they offer better living space than the city centres. The reasons for moving away from the town of initial settlement are rated as in Table 5.4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Poor sanitation</td>
<td>2.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor water availability</td>
<td>1.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rising rentals</td>
<td>5.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strictness of property owner</td>
<td>5.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Search for own property</td>
<td>2.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eviction/Murambatsvina</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marriage</td>
<td>2.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment opportunities</td>
<td>34.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most of the above</td>
<td>0.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>37.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.4: Push factors (%) - **Source:** Field Survey (2010)

These reasons include poor sanitation (1.95%), poor water availability (1.75%), rising rentals (14.78%), strictness of property owner (7.9%), search for own property (11%), eviction/Murambatsvina (7.22%); marriage (2.1%), employment opportunities (19.93%) and a combination of these other factors (2.41%). The factors are important matters to consider.
whenever the planning of settlements is to be achieved sustainably. Ignoring such social factors is a ‘time bomb’ in its own right. Although, as noted in Chapter 4, most people moving into Ruwa state that they are attracted by expansive residential space mainly for the medium-to-high income classes, for Epworth, it is due to cheaper rentals for the low-income earners. The study has revealed that the poor are usually more footloose than well-to-do classes. This is evidenced by the fact that even upon arrival into Epworth, they still move from one plot to another (Figure 5.4). Such behaviour brings in a new pattern of intra-(peri-)urban migration. Reasons for the intra-urban movements include issues of sanitation, search for even lower rentals or marriage. In the Epworth study, respondents mention employment opportunities, while others still cite eviction in the form of Operation Murambatsvina, which took place in 2005 (cf. Tibaijuka, 2005; Murowe and Chirisa, 2006).

![Figure 5.4: Intra-settlement migration in Epworth (%) - Source: Field Survey (2010)](image)

Overall, as people are becoming permanent urban dwellers, it is important that the issue of ‘adequate housing’ be carefully examined (Chirisa, 2008; Jenkins, 2006; Mbiba, 2002). To describe the situation of housing in the Ruwa and Epworth settlements further, it is important to examine the experiences and perceptions of the peri-urban dwellers, through life stories that some of them told in the course of the study.

### 5.3 A close look at the experiences of the peri-urban dwellers

Immediately west of Domboramwari is a place called kwaMadhonoro (Plate 5.3). Further west, a silhouette of the Harare International Airport can be seen. This name (kwaMadhonoro) is a
corrupted version of MacDonald. Jambo (a respondent) says MacDonald was a farm owner on whose farm this Madhonoro settlement has sprouted.

Plate 5.3: A bird’s eye view of the Magada of Madhonoro Area. Structures built follow a haphazard plan, which defies a low-income residential layout plan that would emerge if extant town planning standards – be it those stipulated by Circular No. 70 of 2004 or otherwise – were applied. Roofs are made of various materials – some corrugated iron sheets, others asbestos yet others grass. Plots are a mosaic of various shapes and sizes. Plot possessors use their space for various purposes, the dominant one being peri-urban farming. In line with greening of peri-urban spaces, the plants grown play a pivotal role as carbon sinks, although the inhabitants are not aware of this. This should be encouraged, given that it is part of good environmental stewardship. However, the fact that some houses are located in wetlands and wildernesses tends to disrupt the ecological balance, leading to biodiversity loss. - Source: Field Survey (2010)

Madhonoro is one of the settlements that are referred to as MaGada. Jambo explains his understanding of the word ‘gada’. According to him, it is derived from a Shona ideophonic construction meaning “purposeless sitting”. This aptly describes the way people just settled wherever they wished in this and many other areas in Epworth, in an informal and arbitrary manner, without formally seeking the permission of the authorities. This is a common
development in parts of the world, especially in Latin America with the Brazilian or Argentinean *favelas* being the close parallel to the ‘gada’ style in Epworth.

In the Chinamano area of Epworth, Practical Action, a development-oriented non-governmental organisation working in the area developed a ‘demonstration house with an outside toilet’ (Plate 5.4).

![Plate 5.4: NGO ‘demonstration house with an outside toilet’ in Chinamano. The demonstration house appears to have been constructed using materials which most of the residents in Epworth cannot afford. Sustainable construction that takes on board good stewardship should be that which uses low-cost materials which last long. Without decent incomes, it is difficult to enforce the Grassroots Housing Process, as explained by Alexander *et al* (1973). The model shows how households build over time as and when they get resources to build. This demonstration house ought to have accommodated the concept of ‘appropriate technology’. Without the appropriateness of technology, in keeping with the concept of Payne and Majale's (2004) ‘lowering the ladder’, it remains a ‘pie in the air’, unattainable for the ordinary man. Good stewardship is one in which responsible institutions are sensitive to the needs and requirements of the groups and communities whose cause they champion, advocate and lobby for. - Source: Field Survey (2010)](image)

While the demonstration by Practical Action is very good looking and strong, in terms of both the strength and type of materials used, it remains very ‘unattainable’ for the generality of the people in Epworth (cf. Payne 2000; 2002; Payne and Majale, 2004; Kundu, 2002) whose household incomes, according to the survey, are predominantly around $74 (US dollars) per month. Even if the NGO could source funds to try and provide housing for the
‘poorest’, there are other difficult issues to be dealt with, including the management and maintenance of the housing structures themselves. The question of the scale for provision remains central, and may perhaps explain why the demonstration house has remained for quite some time without many replicas emerging in the settlement. There are limits to what NGOs can do, and whatever is done should take into consideration the general living conditions of the peri-urban dwellers. In peri-urban and urban development, it is not the local authority alone that determines the materials to be used on houses (cf. Stoll, 2006). Non-governmental organisations can also be instrumental in determining materials to be used, especially targeting the low-income earners.

Aphiri, of Malawian origin, lives in Magada, Epworth. He tells his story in which, among other things, migration, landlord-tenant relationships, use of rooms and outdoor space are highlighted. When his father came to Zimbabwe in the 1940s and joined the labour force in the country as a farm worker. Aphiri thus grew up on a farm just outside Salisbury (now Harare). As time went by, Aphiri also went to seek employment in the city, living in Dzivaresekwa HDRA for quite some time. Meanwhile, he married and had five daughters. Since he was a casual labourer without a stable source of income, and faced with the inconsistent hikes in rentals, he was forced to look for alternative accommodation elsewhere. At someone’s recommendation, he moved to Epworth in 2006. Compared to Dzivaresekwa, the rentals are ‘ridiculously low’ (three times lower, per room). (see Plate 5.5 shows the ‘house’ that Aphiri is renting in Epworth).

Though all his daughters are married now. Aphiri narrates how he suffered in raising his daughters on some in Dzivaresekwa. Marriage ‘frees’ children from their parents. It would have been better, that Aphiri found a place, as he is not staying at a time the daughters were still part of the nuclear family. Aphiri regrets how he suffered at the hands of merciless landlords for years to meet the huge rental obligations against a small income he earned then. Aphiri stresses “...the landlord was...hiking rents every month. My income was so low. Surprisingly, now I find this place free and guess what? For these two rooms I pay only fifteen dollars for rent.” To him Epworth is more affordable in rentals. The house is a three-roomed structure, two of which are used by Aphiri and his family, while the other is occupied by another family.
Plate 5.5: On-plot Stewardship. In this photograph, the researcher poses with Aphiri under an avocado tree, which is part of the features at the homestead on which Aphiri is renting. Planting trees in the age of the encouragement of greening the environment and the creation of carbon sinks is a sign of good stewardship. However, this has been done unconsciously by the plot owner, who was doing it to have fruits rather than for greening. The walls of the housing structure in which Aphiri stays are peeling off and the owners seem unconcerned about maintaining it. Ventilation is poor, owing to the general absence of windows. These aspects point to bad stewardship on the part of the owners of informal housing structures. They are more concerned with reaping off benefits from tenants in the form of ‘rentals’ than with ‘investing’ in the aesthetics and habitability of the structures. - Source: Field Survey (2010)

When Aphiri says that the place is ‘free’, he means that they are not subject to close monitoring as households by the landlord. He says that the plot owner (Esther) is supposed to be staying on her brother’s plot, which is just some five hundred metres away. Yet, at the beginning of the year something terrible happened: Esther’s shelter succumbed to the incessant rains. This forced her to seek temporary residence with a friend just in the same area. New construction is underway on Esther’s brother’s plot. Esther does not intend to return to live on her premises because she is getting rentals ($45) from the three rooms she is letting to Aphiri and his co-tenant, Jerry. She has calculated the importance of this monthly income, which helps to meet her subsistence needs for the month.

On the premise where Aphiri and Jerry are staying, there are mango and avocado trees as well as mealies growing on-plot. Aphiri says all belong to Esther and she is very strict about the products derived from both the trees and the mealie plants. No one is allowed to harvest them without her consent. However, she allows her tenants to fetch water for household use from her brother’s plot, which Aphiri considers a generous gesture from Esther. Sometimes Aphiri and
Jerry’s families fetch water from some of their neighbours, just in the immediate vicinity to their homes.

Since Aphiri is a Muslim, he and his family walk to the mosque some five kilometres away for worship. When asked if he had any special requirements within his housing and habitat, Aphiri indicates the home and its grounds are sufficient for everything needed for worship and prayer. Aphiri is a smoker and he justifies this by saying that men are allowed to smoke in “... our religion only if they heed that the smoking poses no harm to women and children [through passive smoking]. As such, it must not be done in an enclosed place. Actually, it [smoking] is good. It shows that someone is at peace or in deep meditation.”

Aphiri is employed as a security guard in Highlands (Harare). He cycles to work (bicycle), and it takes him an hour on average to get there. The story of Aphiri indicates a number of advantages of living in Epworth. An outsider might be concerned about the small size of the house he occupies, but in his view, although inadequate, it is better than ‘lodging’, where the landlord is around to monitor his every activity. He is satisfied with the rentals he now pays.

Aphiri’s story also shows how kinship ties can be of significance in the acquisition of plots. Normally such plots are found located close to each other. Sometimes this creates multi-plot ownership, which is common in this part of Epworth. In real terms, this has created a new class of people, the slumlords. They speculate and get land, where they put ‘tenants’ who pay them rentals monthly. Since there are always desperate home-seekers especially from Harare, these slumlords are assured of rent every month. They have a grip on this land, which some of them acquire on the ZANU PF ticket. Once they obtain land, they create no-go areas for example ‘Kumawovheli’ (a place of the war veterans), which is a difficult area for outsiders (for example, researchers) to access.

Another story in the same place of Magada is that of Mbuva Todii, a woman in her seventies. She lives with her grandchildren. She does not own many assets, but does own a field across the river and some hoes to till it. Before coming to Epworth Mbuva Todii lived in Seke Unit D, in Chitungwiza. Her Catholic Church diocese, under the tutelage and direction of the late
Archbishop Patrick Chakaipa, bought her a stand in Epworth. This was done on humanitarian and compassionate grounds. The church fully paid for stand, she purports. To date, not much had been done to build a more permanent structure (a house). Mbuya Todii laments that this lack of development is attributed to the fact that her children (who could have assisted her in improving the property) have died, one after another. Almost in tears, she moans:

[My children are all gone now. One died, then another, and the other and the other. Just last month, we buried another. My only remaining son went to tell his uncles about the death of his brother who passed on last month but hasn’t come back. These children that you see here are my grandchildren.]”

None of the grandchildren is going to school. Mbuya Todii expresses the desire to have them in school but she simply cannot afford it: “Mari yacho ingawanikwepi, mwanangu?” (“Where can I get the money?”). The old woman and her family survive on peri-urban agriculture (cf. Mbiba, 1995), and the grandchildren help her with cultivation and harvesting. The structure belonging to this poor family comprises two rooms, one of which is used as a granary for the harvested crops. The other is used as a kitchen, dining room and bedroom and grandmother says, “Tinonongorindirana tokwana nezvinhu zvedu. Mbeu dzedu tinotochengereta mumba imomo. (We have no option but to squeeze ourselves and our belongings in this one room. We just keep our harvested crops in that room there).”

Mbuya Todii’s story indicates the degree of the housing challenges among the poor. They live miserable lives, with little hope for the future. Livelihood-coping strategies (like in this case, peri-urban farming whose products require storage space), create other problems and constraints like storage space for the harvests. They have no option but to manoeuvre in and make the most of the little space available. Moreover, the elderly in the peri-urban settlements are often faced with the challenge of raising ‘trailers’ of grandchildren as a direct consequence of the HIV and AIDS scourge. They have no option but to be creative in order to address the three basic needs of food, shelter and clothing. In addressing the food aspect
come the small fields and plots for farming as indicated in this case of Mbuya Todii, households will strive to make maximum use of whatever space they find to eke a living.

Zoro is middle-aged man in his late thirties. He stays in Overspill and often visits the Quarry Dam, which some sections of the community also refer to as the ‘pool of death’. As he refreshes himself on the banks of the dam, he enjoys watching men and boys fishing or bathing, and sometimes takes a siesta by the dam-side (see Plate 5.6).

Plate 5.6: Recreation on the banks of a dangerous ‘lake’. Zoro, a resident of Epworth finds time to rest by the lakeside. As the researcher speaks to him, the realities of landscapes affected by the extraction of raw materials for building (quarrying) are revealed. Quarry miners target peri-urban areas as sources of the raw materials for housing and related infrastructure. This form quarry resembles an oxymoronic development, which, on the one side has recently been converted by residents into a place where they derive certain benefits including a bath place and recreation. On the other hand it is a ‘pool of death’, where a number of corpses, at least according to reports from the residents of Epworth, have been found. The place was a permanent eyesore in space. Measures – such as fencing – taken to try to prevent people from getting near it have proved futile, as the fence around have been stolen. Such vandalism is a sign of bad stewardship of common assets. This concept points to the challenges of the Prisoners’ Dilemma and the Tragedy of Commons. -

*Source:* Field Survey (2010)

Behind his usual place of ‘resting’ is a pole that he says once supported a fence, and has since ‘disappeared’. Zoro explains that the purpose of the fence was to prevent people from getting into the pool and then remarks, “But you just know what people are like. They stole it for own domestic use.”
The explanation by Zoro indicates that, peri-urban areas just like other places in the inner city are faced with problems of vandalism and lack of care for public property. Although the fence was put up to protect the public against a dangerous ‘dam’, the vandalisers who stole it never even considered the safety of children and other members of the community. At community level, then, stewardship of place is often endangered by the selfish perceived gains of existing common pool resources. This confirms Mwanamakondo’s (2007) observations, with respect to peri-urban Zambia, that ignorance and lack of civic awareness is the major explanation for vandalism of common assets in peri-urban areas. This is in direct contradiction of Follet’s ‘model of unified pluralism’. It brings into picture the dangers of tragedy of the commons and the prisoner’s dilemma as put across in literature.

There is yet another story behind the dam, which Zoro enjoys sharing with people who do not know it. Zoro says that during colonial times, a certain quarry mining company owned a granite-mining claim here. Its heavy machinery one day ‘accidentally’ hit the underlying rock. This triggered water to gush out. The company brought equipment to try to drain out the water, but this was to no avail. As a result, an unstoppable spring and pool was born. When this happened, the firm abandoned its operations.

Zoro is of the opinion that the quarry stones from this site that were used for “the construction of Salisbury”. There is a general belief by the local people that the dam has mermaids in it. A number of people have drowned and this is common problem with this pool. Zoro acknowledges that though many people may have died, adding “You should know this, that: some of those people are stressed up with life. Such are the ones who come and commit suicide here. They drown themselves. As well, robbers and thieves know about this dam. After they have killed someone (and to destroy the evidence for murder), they come and throw corpses into the dam.... The depth of this dam is known by the aquatic police team. People who swim in the dam usually do not go very deep. It is said that the quarry machinery left behind by the miners is deep down the waters.”
The Quarry Dam, just like one of the same name in Odar Farm in Harare South, is associated with a number of tragic incidences. Many different activities take place around the pool: the sale of quarry stands, pit sand and bricks, fishing and leisure making. The story by Zoro provides and insight into the myths and realities surrounding the dam. Zoro sees vandalism and ‘sabotage’ as key challenges in the area, as evidenced in the issue of the stolen fence. This should all be borne in mind when examining the realities surrounding common pool resources. In some cases, people have learnt to live with ‘danger’ in their environments, which is a sign of ‘adaptation’. Although the dam has now become a dangerous spot, men and boys in the area continue to use it as a recreational facility.

Mai Chimuti lives in kwaSolani. She has a maize field across the river that borders Epworth and Ruwa. I meet her on her way in MaGada (Overspill). Today, she is carrying on her head a bundle of fresh sticks, which she has just cut near her field. In her bundle, I notice that some of the fresh sticks cannot be firewood, as they do not burn well. She explains that, “I come from Manicaland. What you have just noted is a tree we use for herbs. Its name is *mupomboshori*. It has medicinal value, especially for pregnant women. Remember that every herb that God created is of good use for people. It is only improper to use herbs to kill. When you kill, heaven will severely punish you.” This statement by Mai Chimuti is revealing of the different reasons people give as they use resources around them. They attach certain values to their actions, and all is done in the name of utility. In the process, however, the destruction of forests also occurs. The settlement “… has serious environmental problems among them land degradation, siltation and gullies” (Epworth, 2002:8) It is quite surprising, though, that there is some residual dense forests of the indigenous *musasa* trees located North West of the Domboramwari rock outcrop. It covers the Police Station and the Local Board offices. The indigenous species’ survival in spite of the indiscriminate practice of tree felling by the peri-urban dwellers is probably attributable to fear of prosecution. Mai Chimuti’s story reveals the religious and environmental dimensions of stewardship. In legal and constitutional terms, local people are entitled to the resources endowments of the areas in which they dwell. Yet the definition of a local person is marred with its own challenges, given that most of them are immigrants. On the other hand, their ‘right to the city’ must also be respected and is the dimension that gives them dependence on their immediate environment.
In the vleis near Stopover (kuCell 7) are two young men in their mid thirties. They ‘hammer’ at granite rocks to produce quarry stones (Plate 5.7). One is called Phinias and the other James. They say that they jointly ‘own’ the site.

Plate 5.7: ‘Grinding’ the rocks for quarry in Cell 7. The researcher listens to Phinias as he explains how he operates on the ground where he grinds rocks for quarry stones. This ground is now a private space of a kind, which excludes other players interested in dealing with quarry stones. The operations are run as a micro-enterprise. The major market of the stones is the housing development ‘export market’ in the big city, Harare. Peri-urban areas have strong links with core cities, as they supply the raw materials required in construction. In the production of quarry stones, bad stewardship is expressed in the form through which tyres and rubber are burnt to allow for the ‘softening’ of hard rocks. Micro-entrepreneurs like Phinias who sell building supplies drawn from the natural environment, are more concerned about eking a living from their hard work than the atmospheric pollution that may result from this. Such knowledge could only be brought to them by way of stewardship education. Nevertheless, the fact they use materials like used tyres could be a sign of ‘good stewardship’, since they resort to recycling, which is one of the ways of sustainable waste management practices. - Source: Field Survey (2010)

Anyone who wishes to join the two young men would be subject to the conditions they lay down. The job requires considerable physical strength rather than academic or professional credentials. Phinias explains that, “Once you get hold of a site like this one then no one can now easily join. Someone can only join if he is prepared to work with or for us. Our job does not need you to be educationally qualified, only your stamina and power... I stay just across that stream. I am renting on someone else’s property. My rural home is Honde Valley (Manicaland).... I was born
in 1975 and I am married. I have just one kid. Here in Epworth, I stay with my whole [nuclear] family.” He goes on to say that, he once worked for a fertilizer company in Harare, as a truck loader. When the business in the company dropped, it could no longer afford to maintain a huge workforce, Phinias decided to move to Epworth. When he came here, he began on his current job, which has sustained his family since 2004. Phinias explains how he identified this particular site for work, the processes involved in producing the much-needed quarry stones for building construction, and the quantity stones and the price and supply mechanisms associated with the production.

“In this place were dumped rocks from Dombo [These could have been dumped by quarry suppliers]. We saw an opportunity in the rocks as we discovered that quarry stones are on high demand in and around Epworth. Now, for goodness’ sake we have made use of what was useless to the [formal] quarry producers. This is what we do with the boulders: We first heat up the rock to excessive heat. This softens it. In the process, we use tyres for this heating. Per month, we can produce as much quarry stones as five cubic metres. Each cubic costs ninety dollars. Our competitor big companies sell the same amount of quarry stones at one-hundred twenty dollars.”

Phinias is of the opinion that it is more profitable to sell the stones by gauging the loads in wheelbarrows than anything else. He says they ‘judge’ their customers before the sale. This is all about price discrimination. Phinias says that those “...who are well-to-do [the rich], we charge five dollars a wheel barrow, those without [the have-nots], we charge three dollars.” For Phinias and James (and others in the industry), quarry stone production and distribution is a highly involving task. Phinias and James believe it is their all-important source of livelihood; they have no option but to work hard for them to survive. Their sphere of influence stretches as far as Snake Park [a high-density suburb west of Harare, about 30 kilometres from Harare City Centre where new housing constructions are also in progress]. They have a stable customer base. James stresses that those “... who once bought from us always come back and also refer others to us.”

Phinias and James’ story shows important aspects related to housing and stewardship in peri-urban settlements. First, considerable quantities of peri-urban resources are considered to the big cities for residential and other purposes of geographical expansion. Second, the heating of tyres is a process may result in air pollution in the area and the surrounding vicinities. However, the
focus of the microentrepreneurs is not on negative externalities from this production but rather on the ‘politics of the stomach’. Third, those involved in the production and marketing of peri-urban products like quarry stones have also devised ways of merchandising their products.

The story of Phinias and James in Epworth is echoed in a story by Chamunorwa in Ruwa. In Epworth, Stopover, there is a similar example of a privately owned crèche (Plate 5.8).

Plate 5.8: Creche in Stopover. The owner of this space has put effort in ‘beautifying’ this place to make it attractive to those people intending to bring their children for early childhood education through the crèche. This betterment of a place is an indicator of good stewardship. However, the major reason is for profit. The functional and space requirements for a crèche, unlike for a school, can be accommodated on a relatively small plot. Parents in the neighbourhood will welcome the development of crèches within their vicinities given the need for cost-cutting measures especially in sending their children to crèches by bus or car. - Source: Field Survey (2010)

Kuda, a secondary school boy (about 15 years of age) remarks, “This crèche appears to be new because of the well-decorated and new durawall they put but it is very old in the neighbourhood. I also went to the same crèche years ago.” This statement shows that maintenance is part of place stewardship. A well-maintained place will last its purpose and serve a wider community.
5.4 Construction materials used and shelter quality

Although a number of structures in Epworth can fall under the category of brick and mortar under asbestos, most of them are by no means meeting the standards stipulated in the Model Building Byelaws, which require materials to be tested and approved by the local authority. The materials used on structures have a bearing, therefore, on the general nature of the housing stock in an area (see Table 5.5). Housing structures (the main structures on stands) in Epworth fall in the following classifications:

- brick and mortar under tiles only 6.57% of the surveyed lot of stands,
- brick and mortar under asbestos (44.33%), the majority being in Epworth, especially the upgraded sites,
- brick and mortar under corrugated iron sheets (11.34%) being 17.52% of Epworth’s surveyed stock, and
- pole and dagga under thatch, 0.69%.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>brick and mortar under tiles</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brick and mortar under asbestos</td>
<td>56.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brick and mortar under corrugated iron sheets</td>
<td>17.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pole and dagga under thatch</td>
<td>1.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pole and dagga under asbestos</td>
<td>5.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pole and dagga under corrugated iron sheets</td>
<td>2.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wood under thatch</td>
<td>0.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wood under asbestos</td>
<td>1.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wood under plastic</td>
<td>0.73</td>
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<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>6.57</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=137

*Table 5.5: Materials used on Main Dwelling on Plot (%) - Source: Field Survey (2010)*

The remainder of structures are pole and dagga under asbestos, pole and dagga under corrugated iron sheets, wood under thatch, wood under asbestos and wood under plastic being synonymous with Epworth. Evident in this classification is the fact that the types of materials chosen by the peri-urban builders are dependent on the income level of the household. However, other determinant factors include the permanence or temporariness of a structure, or the purpose for which the structure is to be used. Families and households normally begin with temporary structures before embarking on putting up a more permanent structure. Generally, houses in Epworth (especially in the part with new informal settlers) are characterised by irregular stands,
in terms of shapes and sizes, coupled by poor construction materials (grass, plastics, poles and dagga). Table 5.6 shows that the dominant activity by households is gardening (54%) followed by poultry (6.57%).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gardening</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>54.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welding</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poultry</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.46</td>
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<tr>
<td>Extra lessons</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>24.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.6: On-plot activities by peri-urban dwellers - **Source:** Field Survey (2010)

As in Ruwa, peri-urban farming in Epworth is dominated by these activities, which require relatively large plots for them to take off. In Stopover, Epworth, Munyukwi, who teaches agriculture at a local school, is engaged in serious on-plot farming. He nurses seedlings and grows vegetables. Margaret, his wife, works full time on the garden while he spends most of his time in the classroom. Notwithstanding, she gives all credit to her husband, saying, “Baba is a trained teacher for Agriculture. Instead of just teaching in the classroom he decided to benefit us as a family and this is getting to even the wider community. Who does not know us here, as suppliers of seedlings and vegetables? Baba is always ready to advise those who want to go and do it on their own.” Munyukwi has invested in a deep well for watering the garden as well supplying water for domestic use. Margaret says that the local market for seedlings is not very vibrant. As such, she and her husband have agreed to transplant mature seedling into an off-plot garden some three hundred metres away from their house. Exotic trees are still in their infancy of growth suggesting that most of them had spent very little time in the settlement. Even, in Overspill Magada, some people have planted some orchards (see Plate 5.9).
Plate 5.9: Orchard development in Overspill Magada. Orchards serve two basic functions – providing families and households with food and extra-income if they yield the expected fruits, and greening the environment hence acting as carbon sinks. Greening in the age of increased carbon footprint is a good stewardship of the natural environments or emerging ‘artificial ecosystems’ with increased urbanisation and urban expansion. - Source: Field Survey (2010)

The overall picture of Epworth is that of an eyesore. Plate 5.10 shows the researcher with Chamu and Sam in Stopover, Epworth. The two are putting up a structure that is to be used as a tuckshop on their plot. They are not following an architectural plan, but building ‘from the head’. In light of this, it is noted that the poor tend to build just to satisfy the immediate needs they have. This explains why a place like Epworth would be considered quite ‘vernacular’ in terms of architectural designs and general settlement pattern as Highlands (1990), Gough (1992), Kellett (1995, 2005, 2001) and Kellet and Nappier (1995) have asserted. When linked to stewardship, the picture unfolds a framework for defining parameters through which settlements are designed by the poor, whose use value of the space outstrips the exchange value that the well-to-do often emphasise.

With respect to the state of layout mapping in Epworth, it has been lamented that, “... a number of the proposed land-use proposals have been affected by the squatters. Though the Board had requested, prior to the invasions, the Department of Physical Planning to make layout maps for Adelaide Farm, unfortunately, the area has been settlement and it would mean planning with and
around these settlers. This makes it difficult for Epworth to benefit from the sale of undeveloped land” (Epworth, 2002:6). It becomes counterproductive to continue planning and for illegal settlers continue to violate the proposed plans. Such violation is driven by largely two factors – political and housing poverty.

Plate 5.10: Tuckshop under construction on a residential stand in Stopover. The researcher (centre) is being told that what he is seeing under construction is tuckshop. During the discussion, it emerges that the two bricklayers are not qualified but just know how to improvise on structures. This is typical of vernacular architecture. The two do not even have a drawn plan but they have what they need ‘in the head’. Levelling has not been properly done and the upcoming structure will, no doubt, be bending. They are also ‘economising’ on the cementing in the mortar that they are using reducing the structure to a mere temporary structure. Temporary structures according to the provisions of the Regional, Town and Country Planning Act (1976, revised 1996) should last only for six months. But Chamu and Sam insist that they are building for ‘permanence’. - Source: Field Survey (2010)

Politically, settlers are normally ‘permitted’ to do as they please, since politicians will be ‘hiding’ for votes and therefore tend to tolerate the nuisances posed by squatters. Moreover, without options for housing, people are forced by circumstances beyond their control encapsulated in the notion of ‘urban penalty’ to get to peri-urban settlements like Epworth, where they can seek land to build or alternative rental housing from the slumlords.

In Overspill, Epworth, the survey reveals heaps of logs being cut into fuel wood (Plate 5.11).
Plate 5.11: A Wood Market in Magada. The ‘energy crisis’ is part and parcel of the peri-urban story. Wood has become scarce in most peri-urban settlements and firewood vendors ‘import’ wood from places as far as Marondera, Beatrice and Mvuma that they then sell to residents. The wood is cut to pieces that are sold to households. In this picture, some men are cutting wood to small pieces to be sold in a ‘retail market’ of firewood. The physical market is a home, which belongs to a certain Mr. Mudiwa. - Source: Field Survey (2010)

The woodcutters indicate that they bring the wood from the surrounding farms. This shows the symbiotic relations between the Ruwa, Epworth and the surrounding farms. The farms are close to Epworth and this echoes the narrative by Fanuwero. Energy, water and sanitation are critical concerns among peri-urban dwellers.

Off-plot activities are manifold. Streams and rivers are used for various purposes: swimming by children, car washing and river-sand extractions, among others. Sand mining in both Ruwa and Epworth is a ‘cash cow’ for a number of peri-urban dwellers. A common sight in riverbanks is that of heavy goods trucks parked for buyers to hire or loaded to various destinations. Buyers are asked what they prefer for the day. One 26-year-old Jackson says to me, “What is it that you need today? River sand or pit sand? These trucks are for its transportation to wherever you want it taken.” This aggressive style of marketing is a common characteristic of informal sector operators. It is common sight to see some young man hawking for brick customers. But the bricks are stockpiled somewhere; here is just pointer of the real stocks away (Plate 5.12).
Plate 5.12: Rain-damaged brick kiln in Stopover. This implies loss because the brick moulders used their physical energy and then energy to light up the brick kiln but the products have not received much care as they should leading to their damage and ultimate disuse. In the same place where the kiln stands is a sunflower field. This development points to contestation of space, where different uses compete for the same space. Conflicts are the primary cause of bad stewardship, which explains ills like vandalism, neglect and tragedy of the commons. - Source: Field Survey (2010)

Nevertheless, brick moulding has seriously scarred the peri-urban landscape. Moulding bricks and leaving them to ‘disintegrate’ unused is itself is a sign of bad place stewardship and a cause of health concern. When residents take open spaces as no-one’s space of responsibility, it becomes a serious cause of concern. In Epworth, the chief cause of environmental degradation is the quest for building materials. As demonstrated already, portions of land within or immediately away from the built area are seriously disfigured. In Epworth, such places like the Quarry Dam and south of Stopover are badly marred by sand extraction processes. The peri-urban dwellers feel that the Quarry Dam area has contributed immensely to the establishment of the city of Harare, given the vast quantum of the quarry that was used in the building constructions of the city. Today, though at much lower scale, some informal operators have resuscitated the quarry extraction industry. Children enjoy swimming and playing in these waters, just as the Quarry
Dam in Epworth has been turned by some residents into a recreational area for fishing, scenic viewing, swimming and bathing.

Humankind always has a utilitarian perspective over the resources within its vicinity. However, the same pool has posed a serious threat to the lives and health of the residents as wastes are dumped in the waters (cf. Walt, 1994; Marshall, 4 December 2008; Siyeni, 2008). Chief among these wastes are non-biodegradable materials, which include plastic and tin cans (Plate 5.13).

Plate 5.13: Informal dumpsite in Cell 7. With local authorities failing to deliver services as stipulated in the Urban Councils Act (Chapter 29:15), households resort to informal dumping in those open spaces, which they think can accommodate their waste. Household waste is a major cause of concern as consumerism increases. Improper waste disposal is an indicator of bad environmental stewardship. Where proper dumping was done, the same land can then be reclaimed for other uses in future. In the stewardship debate, waste management is a critical factor for consideration. - Source: Field Survey (2010)

This picture coincides with the sentiments raised in the local board report. In this report is is argued that “...uncollected waste attracting disease vectors and high occupancy rates, which increase the risk of communicable diseases, makes Epworth Local Government Area a time bomb to its environs” (Epworth, 2002:1).” Some of the waste products including plastics, tins and cans, are dumped in pits left after sand extractions or farm brick moulding. These dumps,
which sometimes harbour stagnant water, provide breeding ground for mosquitoes, which are vectors for malaria. Pools of stagnant water are evident in a number of sites within the vlei as indicated in Plate 5.14 and 5.15.

Plate 5.14: ‘Measuring’ up the depth of a pit from which river sand has been extracted, Cell 7. Informal extractions of building materials including pit sand and quarry are usually not accompanied by corresponding reclamation measures. Environmental degradation is symptomatic of bad environmental stewardship. Housing construction that is sustainable is that which takes on board measures to provide an aesthetically-pleasing environment. Bad stewardship on the environment, as explained by the Environmental Management Agency (EMA) occurs because responsibilities are not clearly defined, and there are departmentalised approaches to managing common problems. Sand mining and quarrying are identified as the responsibility of the Ministry of Mines. The question is whether such a ministry has any concern of environmental management. - Source: Field Survey (2010)

As grasses grow thicker and thicker along riverbanks, the area becomes a danger, as people are raped or mugged in these grasses or tall-growing crops like maize.

There is one issue that remains unresolved in Epworth, that of pegging of plots. At the time of the fieldwork in 2010, officers from the Office of the Surveyor-general were busy on the ground, to pave way for proper town planning. Such pegging implied loss of some of these orchards.
Literature shows that slum upgrading will result in the displacement of the slum dwellers together with some of their ‘investments’ (Tibaijuka, 2009; UNHABITAT, 2009).

Plate 5.15: Pits as water collectors during the rainy season. After extractions of quarry and sand are done on the land, huge ‘scars’ are left on the land surfaces, which then accumulate water. The stagnant water is a serious health concern as it may harbour bilharzias or become a breeding ground for mosquitoes that cause malaria. Such diseases are costly to households, as infected members seek medical treatment. Good stewardship seeks to prevent such dangerous and unhealthy places in which communities inhabit. - Source: Field Survey (2010)

5.5 Summary

This chapter has demonstrated how Epworth typifies a place that has developed organically. Epworth has had a treatment of the place as ‘no man’s land’; in reality, there are many individuals wanting to treat it as ‘private’ property. Those who hold cards from the local authority call themselves ‘landlords’, though they are not so in the strictest of the sense since they do not hold title to the land. Landlordism in Epworth is partly a result of the behaviour of politicians, who use land as a political tool to secure votes for themselves, and partly a historical fact in which those who call themselves ‘originals’ have had claims to land informally, leading to the emergence of ‘slumlords’ in the areas.
Mostly, Epworth, as a settlement presents itself as a ‘soft spot’ providing a refuge to people fleeing high rentals in Harare. Its high receptivity of refugees has seen it grow in leaps and bounds over its more than 110 years of its existence. Evidence from the minutes analyzed in this chapter, which represent a record of discussions held in various local board meetings, indicate that housing, environmental pollution and degradation are major areas of concern in place stewardship of Epworth. Religious groups like *vapositori* tend to use open spaces. However, the fact that these areas are not serviced with the toilets and water facilities make them potentially hazardous in environmental terms.

Furthermore, street vendors in Epworth use of road space to display their goods and wares for sale. These pose traffic dangers. There is the abuse of public space by private individuals. Such informal trading by the roadsides is a sign of bad stewardship of the public space. This is further compounded by the fact that the local authority is also failing to control such behaviour. It has also been revealed that most of the housing stock in Epworth is of substandard quality despite efforts in the mid-1980s to upgrade the settlement. As new settlers stream in, the problem continues unabated. Around 48% of Epworth dwellers are believed to have come through Harare, and claim to have been attracted by affordable housing and affordable life in the settlement. As noted from literature, haphazard settlement in Epworth resembles informal housing in parts of Latin America and East and West Africa. Efforts by some NGOs to provide in housing in Epworth are in direct contradiction with the concept of ‘lowering the ladder’ put forward by scholars like Payne (2002) and others. Generally, and like in Ruwa, the livelihood activities in Epworth point to both good and bad stewardship practices. The next two chapters are devoted to state, corporate and civil society partnerships as they play a role in shaping peri-urban settlements in Zimbabwe.
CHAPTER SIX
STATE INSTITUTIONS AND THE SHAPING OF STEWARDSHIP IN ZIMBABWE:
DEPARTMENTALISM VERSUS COLLABORATION

“*The development process and its effects are extremely complex; development professionals, including planners, must cast off their specific focus and lose their ‘silo mentality’*” - Christie *et al* (2002:47)

6.1 Introducing State Agencies as Place Shapers and Stewards

This chapter is specifically influenced by the model of stewardship, put forward by Christie *et al* (2002:47), that shifts development operating partners from their “‘departmental boxes’[to] cast off their specific focus and lose their ‘silo mentality’”. Specifically, the chapter examines the contribution of the following state departments and agencies in peri-urban housing: Environmental Management Agency (EMA), Ministry of Local Government, Rural and Urban Development (MLGRUD), Harare Metropolitan Province (HMP), Department of Physical Planning (DPP), Urban Development Corporation (UDCORP), Ministry of Lands and Rural Settlements (MLRR), and the Ministry National Housing and Social Amenities (MNHSA. At the end of the chapter, an attempt is made to show the inter-linkages between these existing state departments.

Overall, peri-urban housing development and maintenance require a pluralistic and collaborative approach (Lawrence, 2006). Normally, peri-urban households have different experiences and realities as micro-space stewards as they build, rent and live in this space. However, the story by households is incomplete if the ‘gatekeepers’ involvement is not put into perspective. As mentioned in Chapter 3, Local Authorities, namely the Ruwa Town Council and Epworth Local Board, are local government structures, which spearhead local service delivery (water, roads, health facilities, etc). They are empowered to do so by the Urban Councils Act. The participation of the State is not necessarily restricted to this geographical space. General indications from the study are that the efforts of these state departments though aiming to achieve the principal State goal of public interest are usually so compartmentalised that conflicts and ambiguities in purpose often arise. Planning plays a coordinative role to spatial orderliness.
6.2 The Environmental Management Agency (EMA)

From this study, it has emerged that “EMA’s entry point is Section 97 of the Environmental Management Act” which focuses on housing development. The Act is generic in its approach, but Section 97 spells out that housing a typical development project, which requires an environmental impact assessment (EIA) before it is initiated. There are a number of environmental statutory instruments specifying the details of how to do the assessment. According to one senior EMA officer, the organisation’s role is to safeguard and promote environmental sustainability, and one way of doing this is the encouragement of green building. The senior officer explains that green building is today encouraged the world over and is intended to mitigate the negative impacts of air pollution.

However, in Zimbabwe, green building is little recognised and the EMA senior officer notes with concern that:

“Instead of our people planting hedges around their houses, they are in fact removing the hedges and replacing them with walls – durawalls. This is addition of concrete to the already existing concrete jungle. We are removing the green! The result is that the excessive carbon gases emitted have no place for absorption. The whole debate is part of the climate change and the aspect of the ecological footprint debate. That some settlements are located further away from places of jobs or other social and economic activities means people have to travel using either buses or cars. There is pollution emission posed cars and buses. It infuses carbon in the environment. ..... Our Climate Change Office [located within our parent ministry], I am sure, has a way to make calculations of carbon content in the atmosphere. This explains why motorists have to pay carbon tax. All this is part of the ecological footprint and how we link it to settlement development, like those which are outside the main city”.

This statement highlights the fact that housing development is located within a broader sphere of environmental planning and stewardship. Moreover, one observes that environmental sustainability is a broad subject that involves managing atmospheric processes. Unfortunately, we live in a ‘consumer society’ in which the waste management problem associated with settlements is a cause for serious concern. Peri-urban settlements become ‘dumping’ grounds for
various kinds of waste. The Senior Officer at EMA says that the term ‘peri-urban’ is not important, as they take a uniformised approach in managing places, unless they have to classify strictly their actions as rural or urban. He adds, further:

“As you may have read, the ecological footprint is that impact associated with increased human action in space.... Imagine the waste that is generated after goods have been bought for household consumption. The peri-urban areas have generally been the chief place where such waste is dumped. We use a blanket approach to our environmental management endeavours. Thus, we don’t specifically look at peri-urban areas as a separate space. Some of our policies, however, are specific to rural areas and other urban”\(^\text{12}\).

The views expressed by the senior EMA office about the definition and specification of policy to peri-urban reveal the reality of how planning for the peri-urban normally escapes the minds of various agencies. This may also explain why most of these areas are neglected, sometimes only receiving attention when things really get out of hand, as evidenced in the example the Presidential Commission of Inquiry in Botswana (Home, 2001). The study also reveals that EIAs are applied differently to peri-urban settlements like Epworth and Ruwa. Another (female) Senior Officer notes that, “A settlement like Epworth has been in existence for quite a long time. If you look at the EIA initiative, it is quite recent in the country. For such a settlement, which developed informally, and as a rural set up, we cannot enforce the law in retrospect. Nevertheless, new projects are subject to the law. Therefore, a place like Ruwa, one can safely say, most of the projects have gone through EIA. In older settlements we encourage the local authorities to work with CBOs so that they identify the community challenges and strive to act together towards redressing the challenges”\(^\text{13}\).

From this snippet, it is clear that EMA does not work alone in addressing environmental issues. A number of ministries, agencies, departments and local authorities participate in ensuring that environmental sustainability is achieved. EMA says it has trained local authorities to engage CBOs within their areas of jurisdiction. Thus, CBOs are critical in identifying problems and identifying the solutions and implementing those solutions. For example, the development of Local Environmental Action Plans (LEAP allows locals and their stakeholders to act as agents for improvement and change in an area. In this case, the EMA’s role is to facilitate the process
by providing guidance to local people who are responsible for implementing the plans. Thus, LEAP is not solely about the environment but includes local communities, who identify the challenges (including socio-economic) affecting them. Explicitly, the Senior Officer stresses that these challenges “... may be poverty and the locals have to seek to find means to address this poverty in their community. In environmental terms, it may be about managing waste.”

These days, the use of GIS to address environmental impacts affecting communities (for example, flooding, deforestation, climate change) is seriously considered. The EMA Senior Officer indicates that: “… our Environmental Planning and Monitoring section does GIS applications. We are at a stage of installing a laboratory to allow such operations. As for the climate change concern, we have a department of Climate Department which is in the Ministry.” While stewardship aims to break the walls of professionalised services and delivery, sister agencies in one ministry focussing on different things may be a source of ‘grey areas’ that need to be addressed. The senior officer notes that, “As EMA we are mainly concerned with the implementation part. Our aim as EMA is of reducing or mitigating negative impacts to the environment, if not moderating them. Deforestation is a concern of our sister agency, the Forestry Commission. As you may know, we are three agencies under the Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources Management. There is EMA, to manage the environment as it were; Forestry Commission to encourage planting of trees and guarding against deforestation, and the Department of National Parks and Wildlife mainly to manage the fauna.” This statement reflects a strong sense of departmentalism, which needs to be addressed through coordination of conduct and practice, if conflicts and the neglect of critical aspects of environmental stewardship are to be avoided.

In its duties, EMA is guided by a number of statutory instruments, which include:

- Statutory Instrument 7 of 2007, which is a general guide to environmental management looking specifically on issues like the setting of fireguards, carrying out EIAs, sand abstraction, and waste management,
- Statutory Instrument 6 of 2007, which deals with water and effluent, solid waste and industrial and mining waste,
- Statutory Instrument 10 of 2007, which sets standards for Hazardous Substances,
Statutory Instrument 12 of 2007, which focuses on Hazardous Substances like fuels and chemicals,

Statutory Instrument 72 of 2009, on Air Pollution, and,

Statutory Instrument 3 or 5 of 2011, which is not totally new, but reinforces Statutory Instrument 7.

The instruments are critical for EMA operations, and industries must comply with the benchmarks indicated therein. The Ministry of Health assists the EMA a great deal in carrying out the implementation, monitoring and evaluations linked with the enforcement of these instruments. That EMA acknowledges the role of the Ministry of Health is in itself a worth practice. The Senior Officer explains that, “ISO Certification is voluntary. That one is the baby of SAZ [Standards Association of Zimbabwe]. It is about global compliance standards for industries... We are a public institution. We enforce public laws!”

Some private corporations sometimes dump their liquid and solid waste in water bodies. The EMA Senior Officer contends that, “this issue is not about companies dumping their waste. It is about dumping that waste without a license. Before dumping, they must be licensed to do so. They must have their waste tested in a laboratory to determine which band the waste belongs to. We have several bands for example the Blue Band, Green Band, Yellow Band and the Red Band. Each band stipulates the type of licence required in terms of how much the polluter must pay. I encourage you to grab those statutory instruments that I mentioned to you from Government Printers....I don’t remember what is now called. Oh ...it’s PrintFlow! All the specifications are in those statutory instruments.”

Extensive housing constructions have been observed around the City of Harare and its peri-urban spaces (Ruwa and Epworth included). Two environmental issues are linked to this: quarrying to meet household requirements for concrete and deforestation, owing perhaps to increased power-cuts and the fact that most of the upcoming settlements do not yet have access to electricity. The EMA Senior Officer acknowledges such developments, yet makes the following statement:
“Indeed these are interesting observations but I have this to say to you: First, about quarrying, that is not administered by us but the Ministry of Mines. So I don’t have much to comment there. Second, regarding deforestation, again, that is the issue for the Forestry Commission. But I should point to you, overall, what the Communal Forest Resources Act says. It states that communities have a right to the resources that are available in their areas. So communities can exploit these resources, for example woodfuel. In fact, this is also a provision in our [National] Constitution. Perhaps the question is the rate of exploitation, which is problem to tackle. That is where the question of sustainability comes in. They [communities] must use these resources within their areas of living. They are not allowed to transport these to other places without a licence. It becomes a big challenge when resources are commercialised”19.

The issues raised by the key informant here point to the complexity associated with agencies in the environmental business: that of striking a balance between the three needs in the environmental sustainability equation: people, prosperity and planet. Indeed, housing development has a marked ecological impact (cf. Huby, 1998; Lenssen and Roodman, 1995). The impact is noted even after the houses have been constructed, as households seek to manage waste produced in the houses, or when they seek to find firewood in those cases when electricity has not yet been connected to the houses. The work to combat these challenges is somewhat also too compartmentalised among the ‘environmental subsidiaries’, making it difficult to achieve a coordinated sustainable management practice. Having discussed the role of EMA, I will now examine that of the MLGRUD in the section that follows.

6.3 Ministry of Local Government, Rural and Urban Development (MLGRUD)
The core tasks of the MLGRUD are to promote local governance, provide coordinated and orderly spatial development; to provide professional and technical construction and maintenance services in property development, facilitate the provision of affordable and functional residential accommodation, promote the mitigation and preparedness planning for emergencies and disasters, and coordinate central and local government programmes and development initiatives. Chombo (2009) observes that the provision of off-site infrastructure (roads, sewer and water) are
incorporated within the greater housing mandate, taking cognizance of the fact that in terms of “Maslow’s hierarchy of needs thesis”, housing is indeed a basic need. The MLGRUD administers, among other regulations, the Regional Town and Country Act, the Urban Councils Act and Rural District Councils Act, whose thrust is the production of functional spaces with the necessary infrastructure and services.

The Minister acknowledges that:

“The successful execution of the National Housing Programme has a very delicate relationship with the provision of affordable offsite infrastructure of an approved standard. Thus ... we must collectively strive to provide [policies] consistent with the noble tenets enshrined in the habitat agenda....In terms of the Regional Town and Country Act, the Urban Councils Act and Rural District Councils Act, local Authorities are mandated to proffer off-site infrastructure. The installation of on-site services is ordinarily the responsibility of the developers. Where the private developers put in place such infrastructure, the same is handed over to local authorities for maintenance upon certification that the workmanship meets the approved standards of the local planning authority. The need to provide off-site infrastructure provision but ought to be construed within the context of spatial planning, premised on the professional commitment to develop integrated land-uses. Infrastructure is an integral part of the land-use configuration as informed by operative master and local plans, alongside project specific design details. Among other considerations the planning process must of necessity respond to matters of cost, transport segregation, densification and demand thresholds to strengthen the functionality of the planning area whose major land-use could be housing.”

Peri-urban housing has suffered during the phase of macro-economic instability experienced in the country (1997 to 2009). The period was a trying time not only for the local government ministry but also for every department and sector in the country. It is during this period that two metropolitan provinces (Harare and Bulawayo) falling the MLGRUD, emerged. The roles of these provinces are discussed in the sections that follow.
6.3.1 Harare Metropolitan Province (HMP)

Harare Metropolitan Province was established in 2007. It covers eight districts, seven of which are functional (HMP, 2011). These are Harare Central, Harare South, Harare North, Mabvuku-Tafara or Harare East, Highfield, Chitungwiza and Ruwa-Epworth. There are four local authorities within the metropolitan province, namely Harare, Chitungwiza, Ruwa Town Council and Epworth Local Board. The metropolitan government has a charter (HMP, 2011), which is the instrument through which the system operates. The charter proposes to:

- create a new legislative board and determine its powers and organisational and operational procedures; establish legislative districts; determine and set the qualification of its members.
- establish the position of top executive or administration officers; set requirements of the position; determine how the people will be selected and establish the position powers.
- outline the fiscal, budgetary and financial administration procedures.
- determine the public work responsibilities to be assumed and their operations a; establish an education system and determine how it will be governed and staffed.
- outline the new government’s judicial system and its staffing, and determine the scale of other governmental concerns, such as utilities, file protection, public and safety planning.

The administration of the Ruwa-Epworth District as part of the metropolitan province raises pertinent issues that are worth analysing within the housing, stewardship and peri-urbanisation discourse. The Provincial Administrator (PA) coordinates the operations of the province with the district administrators (DA) overseeing operations at district level. The coordination role also includes all government activities that are channelled through the different line ministries. At the time of the research, the topical issue was a tree-planting programme. One Local Government Officer had this to say:

“Harare Metropolitan Province is headed by a PA. But he cannot be everywhere at the same time hence the principle of decentralisation has informed what happens and how information flows in the system. Under the PA are seven district administrators- DAs. These DAs report to the PA and that is how he gets informed of what is happening on the ground. The PA reports to the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Local Government, which Permanent Secretary then reports to the Minister….When it comes to how the
province is funded, I must say that we make our requests through our parent ministry, the Ministry of Local Government which puts the request to the Ministry of Finance. When financial resources are allocated we get these via the same channel”[21].

At the time of the study (March 2011), Harare Metropolitan Province did not have a vision statement of its own but was just using one from the MLGRUD. Even the mission statement was that of the ministry, namely: “...to promote local governance, to provide coordinated and orderly spatial development, to provide professional and technical construction and maintenance services in property development. [Also], to facilitate the provision of affordable and functional residential accommodation, to promote mitigation and preparedness planning for emergencies and disasters, and to coordinate central and local government programmes and development initiatives.” This is just an expression of the province as an operational arm of the MLGRUD. The Local Government Officer shows the relationship between the province and Harare City Council and its sister local authorities (peri-urban satellites) and reiterates:

“Like I indicated earlier on, the province coordinates all the activities done in Harare. This includes budgeting. In the councils’ budgeting committees, the DA is the vice chairperson. He or she has a special role in those council committees and meetings, namely to control deliberations and to safeguard the interests of the public. As you might know, sometimes these local authorities try to advance their own selfish interests ahead of those of the citizens and the public. The DA is just the person to ensure that residents are not suffocated by bills, which may be pushed to them. The DA also oversees expenditure by the local authorities; he also guards against instances of corruption. We go to council full board meetings. The DA has the final say…. In fact, he can rescind certain resolutions if they are harmful to the public.”

Principally, the presence of the DA in council meetings reflects a voice of dissent and agitation to the independent function of local authorities. What is referred to as public interest could perhaps rather be called political interest rather than public interest, at least from the expression of most local authority councillors in urban local authorities, who are from the MDC and not ZANU PF. In addition, the province administers all stateland. The Local Government Officer argues that:
“I am sure that you are aware that there is private as well as State land; we administer the State land! Harare City Council or Ruwa Town Council cannot sell to whomever, State land. The Province can allocate that to housing cooperatives; it can also allocate the same to peri-urban farmers but on a temporary basis. For the farmers the allocation is temporary because the farms acquired are for urban expansion. I must say to you that we also work closely with EMA. We tell the farmers that if they cut trees indiscriminately or burn vegetation they will face the full wrath of the law. We may also force them to leave the land we will have given them.”

The temporary use of land designated for urban planning by the peri-urban farmers is a critical peri-urban development aspect in Harare Metropole. Sometimes farmers have grouped to form cooperatives. The key informant could not however disclose the number of cooperatives that had benefited from the Province, as that was deemed confidential information. The officer could only say that in her Ruwa-Epworth District there was only one such cooperative. In the district, there were huge numbers of peri-urban farmers pressing demands on the existing available land as exposed by the following statement that:

“As for peri-urban farmers, we have more than 4000. On average, each farmer should have 2 hectares each. However, a much broader definition of the beneficiaries includes even those who have pieces of land as small as this room. Given a big number of people that come to us for land, we have also embarked on borrowing land from other [adjacent] provinces…. There are instances where Mashonaland East Province has said you can make use of vacant land located in such and such an area because we are not yet using it but is adjacent to you [Harare Metropolitan Province]. The farmers are not allowed to build. They cannot build because they are told that their presence there is temporary. Overall, not all the districts have access to farms or have farms. For example, Harare Central, much of its space is already built up. But my district is privileged in this respect.”

Although Ruwa and Epworth are in one district (Ruwa-Epworth District), the officer of the Harare Metropolitan Province admits that they do not treat the two settlements as equal. To the province, Epworth is more defined as a rural setting, while Ruwa is more developed upcoming modern settlement (cf. Kellett, 2011; Murowe and Chirisa, 2006). The variation in the level of infrastructure development is the major indicator to explain this. The officer has this to add that,
“Recently we were having some budgeting consultations. We had to consider these differences. How, for example can you treat a place where there are no roads, where there is no water, no street lighting…no tower lights, where there is no solid waste collection as that which has? Even when we get money through the PSIP, we just have to apply the principle of equity ... give more to those without. Epworth lacks in a number of basic elements of infrastructure. The people are poor…”

From the foregoing quotation, it can be noted how the issue of participatory budgeting has not brought results on the ground, as has been the case of Brazil where local inhabitants of a place have voice in shaping their places (Wampler, 2007; World Bank, 2008). Stewardship that shapes the sustainable development of human settlements is one that is inclusive and integrating of different components of human, financial and physical resources. Although Harare Metropolitan Province works with a number of actors, the key informant is not keen to comment on Operation Garikayi/Hlalani Kuhle and Operation Maguta and says, “I cannot answer on the issues of Operation Garikayi, or even Operation Maguta. However, I know that they somehow report to the province on what they do, I am not in a position to answer on their behalf. Offices have been created to deal with Operation Garikayi/Hlalani Kuhle and Operation Maguta. You can approach them and ask them on what you are asking” 22.

6.3.2 Department of Physical Planning
The Department of Physical Planning also falls under the MLGRUD. It is an arm of government responsible for managing the spatial planning system of the country and for giving technical advice for the implementation of the development planning system in the country (Mlalazi, 2010). The Department manages the spatial planning system by ensuring that local authorities are executing their spatial planning functions as prescribed by the Regional, Town and Country Planning Act (Chapter.29:12) and related Regulations. It is also responsible for guiding the Minister to interpret planning provisions and execute planning functions under the Minister’s reserved powers of the said Planning Legislation. Although it was heavily involved in Epworth during the early years of independence, over the years its role has diminished somewhat. For Ruwa, much of the planning is done through private consultancy. Overall, the DPP’s role in Ruwa and Epworth has been more indirect than direct.
The DPP is the primary steward for planning. The Department’s work is defined according to the following specific parameters:

- Formulation and review of Spatial Planning Policy and supportive legislation that promotes on-going socio-economic and other Government programmes,
- Setting of Standards that are universally applied by all local planning authorities across the country,
- Monitoring local planning authority compliance with provisions of the Act, set Standards and procedures,
- Supervising spatial planning activities of local planning authorities,
- Executing planning functions under the reversed Powers of the Minister in the RTCP Act (section 29,40,43 and 49),
- Facilitating sites for the development of government, state enterprises and parastatals;
- Detailing planning of housing estates on state land,
- Technical evaluation of plans (master plans, local plans and layout plans) originating from local planning authorities for the Minister’s decision;
- Mediation role on stakeholder conflicts arising from spatial planning decisions of local planning authorities that interfere with other people’s land rights, and
- Providing technical assistance to plan preparation structures for the development planning system which is prescribed by the Provincial Councils and Administration Act of 1984.

In practice, though, the department finds itself assuming the role of the local planning authority, undertaking direct planning functions on behalf of those local planning authorities that lack professional capacity to carry out that function in their own areas of jurisdiction (Mlalazi, 2010). This predicament is likely to remain unchanged until that time when small towns and RDCs are financially sound to recruit their own professional staff and have planning departments within their structures. Service delivery takes place at different levels, namely head office, and 10 provincial stations. The head office staff is drawn from experienced staff from Provincial Stations while staff for the provincial Offices is recruited from the job market. As at October 2010, the department had a structure for 172 posts covering professional and technical staff constituting three managerial posts (Director and deputies), 14 lower management (Chief
Planning Officer/Chief Technician) and 155 support staff (Town Planning Officers/Town Planning Technicians). It is unfortunate that the department has over the years been experiencing high staff turnover, becoming a “training ground for some other institutions” – public and private, alike. Such a turnover compromises quality of delivery as the inexperienced personnel take over the reigns of planning.

The Director and Deputy Director expressed disconcertment about this high staff turnover, and also even blamed the curriculum at the University of Zimbabwe’s Department of Rural and Urban Planning, which equips planners with skills that allow them to venture into other sectors including the real estate, construction, transport, planning advocacy and information and communications (Mlalazi, 2010). I must declare that much of the discourse and text in writing this chapter has been obtained from the Deputy Director of the DPP and from the paper by the Director of Physical Planning.

There are a number of ways to define peri-urban. The Deputy Director, DPP has mentioned that:

“Basically, there are three ways in which we can define the term peri-urban. First, it is defined as a zone of transition between the rural and urban areas. Second, it is a zone that cannot do without the city (this can be in terms of dependency on education facilities or jobs offered in the city). Lastly, it hinges on the rural as a resource, primarily looking at land as a resource and not defined in terms of urban stands. Overall, the term implies interdependence of the rural and urban areas, looking at the immediate influence which these have one on another. Criteria for determination must be looked at from the angle of distance and impact. I am sure you have heard of Von Thunen. When you look his model, even though he didn’t mention the term peri-urban, his model vividly implied it. This is in terms of the sphere of influence and impact criterion”

It is implied in this text that the peri-urban zone is a place of spatial interdependence. Lifestyles of individuals and households are part of this interdependence. Recent developments in peri-urbanisation in Zimbabwe have been characterised by changing lifestyles especially of the black Africans in Zimbabwe. Again, as illustrated by the words of the Deputy Director, DPP, the issue of ‘upward mobility’ of citizens (shifting from a lower class to the one above) has a bearing on how one relates to peri-urbanity. The Deputy Director opines that:
“In the colonial days, peri-urban Ruwa was considered as a place for poor whites. These were given an opportunity to live here because they could not afford going for holiday or weekend retreats as rich whites. Today peri-urban plots are not for the poor. They are for the rich people; munhu mutema akapfuma anoti anoda plot. Blacks are not keen on retreats or holiday homes. Vanoda pavanoti ndepangu apa. Ndinoita zvandinoda kuita pasina anondikanganisa. So some people have been coming to us requesting for plots. But we have had to be very tactful.... [As a department], we are now discouraging building that is of a compound style. We do not want too many buildings. We want order near the town. We are discouraging kraals [kuti munhu anoti anoda kuchengeta mombe though Hapana mutemo unoramba mombe]. Imagine Tynwald, if it is a new proposal!

We are saying that low-density housing should not be more than 2000 square metres unless it is a departure, say because of the terrain. On the plot we are encouraging the construction of only one building perhaps plus a servant quarter. Komboni ndiyo yatiri kuramba. It has to go. Plots are also generally discouraged on private land [earmarked] for urban expansion. When it comes to allowing processes for urban expansion, a farm is faster to deal with than plots. It’s faster in the sense that, suppose there are fifty (50) mansions having been built with servants quarters as well

Think of the boreholes. We can have a borehole in the midst of a road; tanks of fuel; windmills...there are so many infrastructural contents to deal with. ..If the number of plots increases that causes urban sprawling. Towns should thrive on cost-effectiveness. You are not cost-effective if you run a road only to serve five families”24.

These sentiments by the Deputy Director are also important in highlighting the role of DPP as a key agency in spatial management of human settlements in the country. That preferences and tastes of space demanders have changed according to changing times (colonial to independence) is a critical pointer for policy and practice in peri-urban housing. DPP is against haphazard compound-like housing construction on plots. Stewardship is a management factor. On stewardship, the deputy director, DPP stresses that,

“You call it stewardship; I call it management. For instance, there are people who say planning does not involve management. I personally disagree with that. Management is inseparable from planning. We oversee spatial matters.... Check with the preamble [of
the Regional, Town and Country Planning Act, Chapter 29:12]. There is a talk about health, amenity and safety. We have to ensure that in our design standards such are safeguarded. Our designs should ensure that there is delivery of health, amenity and safety. We also demand the carrying out of Environmental Impact Assessments (EIA). All this is part of management, the management of space^25.

Overall, planning as an instrument of human settlement policy in Zimbabwe has been blamed for stifling housing delivery in the country. Sometimes planning is unsuccessful in informing desired development. This has been termed ‘planning failure’ (Toriro, 2007). This may be the principal reason of the poor’s exclusion from housing delivery systems (Chaeruka and Munzwa, 2009). Specifically, the factors that explain poor delivery of urban housing are the cumbersomeness of the process to meet the high standards, separation of land-uses causing inefficiency in the general urban system and urban sprawling effects. Moreover, it is due to insensitivity to low-income groups and planning regulations excluding the informal sector in the urban centres, and the mismatch between what the poor can afford in terms of resource mobilisation and what the regulations prescribe. Planning, in the context of increasing urban and peri-urban poverty, has tended to pose challenges to the enhancement of stewardship of place.

The definition of peri-urban in Zimbabwe has shifted. Today there is a growing demand for shelter. The Deputy Director of DPP argues that,

“... to define peri-urban [as a planning department], we have standards that define the area. A plot has to be 1-2 hectares in size. Sometimes these standards have been compromised. However, when we look at places like Christon Bank and Ruwa, on average they are of size 1.6 hectares. The standards stipulate that they have to be of a uniform character.

“In Ruwa these plots were defined on the basis of being viable agricultural units and sometimes these came in different sizes. The farming viability was to be defined by AGRITEX based on land capability and infrastructure requirements. The plot thus had to be of a considerable small size. Nevertheless, that does not disqualify certain farms, which may not have been ‘chopped’ to get to small-sized units. Even when not subdivided they are still peri-urban farm by virtue of their location....”
“Let’s put in view the new context in which peri-urban has applied in Zimbabwe. Farms acquired recently have been used for housing. This bring about what I call the home-seekers’ definition of peri-urban. I am talking of the housing cooperatives and occupiers which took over farms like Whitecliffe, Caledonia, and Odar-Stoneridge…We now have ‘peri-urban layouts’ because of these. This is a *de facto* definition. There are two types of land falling in the zone we are calling peri-urban that you have to understand about: State land, like Hatcliffe which has come about by some lank banking; and, land that has been designated by Master plans (sometimes this type has not yet been acquired)”\(^{26}\).

That DPP defines peri-urban technically is critical for this study. However, the definition is elitist, since it ignores those current developments whose informal characterisation is undisputed. The Deputy Director speaks of the ‘home-seekers’ definition of peri-urban housing as well as ‘peri-urban layouts’. Behind this nomenclature are the forces of the fast-track land reform programme in the country, which availed land for the poor to start building and investing housing in the peri-urban areas. To some extent, this explains the failure of the urban master planning procedures to create space for housing the poor classes in society. This echoes the observation by the Abrams (1964) that the poor are less concerned about what they build but where they build. This is an issue in housing land delivery.

6.3.3 Urban Development Corporation (UDCORP)

UDCORP was established in 1986 through an Act of Parliament (The Urban Development Corporation Act, N° 14) to assist local authorities throughout Zimbabwe with a variety of specialised services in land and property development. The First Five Year National Development Plan (FFYNDP), covering the period 1986-1990, put forward as a first priority the establishment of UDCORP. This was in keeping with a recommendation made in 1981 by the United Nations Commission for Human Settlements (UNCHS), which commissioned a feasibility study on the spatial planning for Zimbabwe. This was soon after the country’s independence from British rule in 1980 (Wekwete, 1987). The idea of setting up this institution was meant to encourage the setting up of growth points, employment generation, provision of housing and social services, creation of supporting environment for development, financial and technical assistance to local authorities and cooperative, commercial, industrial and other enterprises (Wekwete, 1987).
UDCORP is a government state-owned enterprise under the ambit of the MLGRUD. It is headed by a Director, who is appointed by the Minister of Local Government Rural and Urban Development, as is the case in most other government departments. Under the Director is the Deputy Director, who assists the Director in running the corporation. Under the deputy-director are other officers and technicians in defined areas of speciality. Technicians (engineering, electrical and surveying) are at the lower ramp of the organisational ladder. UDCORP has several departments or sections including Human Resources, responsible for recruiting and training new staff development programmes and the Properties and Technical Services Division, which has three sections namely Physical Planning, Project Planning and Management and Property Development Consultancy. The Properties and Technical Services Division is the development arm of the corporation. It offers services in Urban and Regional Planning, Real Estate Development from the inception of development projects (that is, identification of land for development) right up to the provision of infrastructural services and the subsequent transfer of stands to beneficiaries. The Division also offers services in Project Planning and Development Consultancy. The study has revealed that UDCORP has involved a number of actors (international, national and local) over the years. An Officer interviewed asserts:

“As a parastatal of the Ministry of Local Government, our budgets are approved by the ministry. We used to get part of our funding from some international NGOs like DANIDA, one Belgian NGO and SIDA. The last time we worked with these NGOs was in 1995. Our relationship with SIDA just died a natural death. We worked with this other Italian NGO (Molisv) in one project in Manicaland. That project was based on the Central Place Theory. It was organised just like flea markets. The markets were on a rotational basis and beneficiaries were drawn from people of the surrounding local authorities. We called a periodic market. There were sellers of different products including agricultural products. It was a very noble idea. It brought activity to the rural areas (waitoonawo kuti kumaruzevha kwatove neactivity). However, the project just died as well. I think local businesspersons were the greatest threat to this noble project. This is because the market was drawing away many of their customers. I am not saying that it was so. It’s just my opinion. .... We survive from projects which are locally funded.”

27
Evident in this report is that Zimbabwe has lost international initiatives over the years. By inference, UDCORP is an urban planning agency responsible for undertaking preparation of master, local and subject plans. Master plan preparation is provided for in the Regional Town and Country Planning Act Section 13. Whereas the DPP is concerned about offering planning service to local authorities, it has little to offer in terms of highly technical services such as engineering and survey services, UDCORP offers them. In the following extract, the UDCORP Officer provides an overview of the work of UDCORP since its inception in 1986:

“Since inception we have assisted local authorities with preparation of plans including master and layout plans. Specifically, Bindura Municipality, Kadoma and Chinhoyi have benefited from us in this regard. We have also been involved in what were called ‘development areas’, particularly their identification. For instance in Gokwe and Gutu we built workshops for rental purposes... We did feasibility studies for small income generating projects throughout the country. These included supermarkets, horticulture, and cattle projects. We were heavily involved at growth points e.g. Gwanda. Our mandate was to go into what were called development areas so that they grow: from district service centres, to growth points, to towns. I still remember I joined UDCORP as an intern. At Ruwa, for example, UDCORP used to provide advisory services including day-to-day planning issues, construction of houses, particularly inspection. There were [UDCORP] engineers who were stationed in Ruwa, even Murewa and Kotwa. We had secondments to local authorities everywhere. Some ended being permanently employed there”\(^{28}\).

From the foregoing statement, it can be noted that UDCORP has really been active on the ground in spearheading spatial processes in the physical development of local government areas. In terms of residential development, it was involved in the construction of garden flats in Bindura, Marondera and Harare. In the area of land development in Harare, it has had projects in Borrowdale involving various pieces of land. It participated in a 200-stand joint venture project with the Chitungwiza Municipality. In its consultancy endeavours, UDCORP was heavily involved with assisting various local authorities in the preparation of their layout plans. This includes the preparation of layouts for regularisation, for example in Epworth. Another example is the Kadoma Nissan Housing Project (for the Nissan Company), where the workers were on
untitled land, where it was involved in settlement upgrading. In the same town, in 1992, the UDCORP prepared layouts for industrial development.

The officer provides a view about UDCORP’s involvement in Epworth:

“In Epworth we have been doing a lot of work and I can say it is ongoing work. At the moment we are working there on an advisory basis. Takamboenda nevekuBotswana vakati why do you call this a squatter settlement? In Kenya they call such a settlement an informal settlement. In Epworth, in preparation for the physical upgrading, we first had a socio-economic study to form the basis of the upgrading. Panguva yatakaita izvi, kwaitove nemombe, vanhu vachigara kumanisha. We had to generate from the people ideas, to prepare them into getting into an urban setting. This was around 1989. Preparations for layouts began in 1989 through to 1995. As of the implementation, it is ongoing. There were 8 settlements that emerged. Maguta, the original, had bigger stands and we proposed stand owners to subdivide them. The new areas, we called extensions. I must say that the shapes in the original settlements were irregular and unique. We had to formalise the [stand] boundaries for us to come up with a more workable plan. Currently we are assisting the local board with its planning issues, for example, the operative plan proposal formulation given that the current local plan is now outdated”.

In recent times, one peri-urban housing development in which UDCORP has contributed consultancy services is the Odar Housing Development Consortium. The settlement is called Southlea Park, located on Odar Farm and comprising about 7,000 stands. The Odar Housing Development Consortium is made up of 54 companies. Land was allocated to it by the Ministry of Local Government, Rural and Urban Development (MILGRUD) as an employer-assisted programme. The project comprises low, medium and high-density housing including ancillary services. The project started in 2006. Layout plan preparation was done in 2006. In 2007, the plans – including civil engineering designs – were approved. A survey was also carried out in the same year. UDCORP as the project planners and managers has shaped the vision on an advisory basis. The consortium formed some committees including the Project Committee to deal with the development issues, so UDCORP is not project managers on a full-time basis. It prepared a project plan, which it reviews on a regular basis to see the extent it is being followed. Servicing
of the stands is done in-house, as members contribute monthly subscriptions (US$15 high-density and US$20 medium and low density) and the officer explains:

“Engaging a contractor on a full-time basis was found to be too costly. The consortium engaged a site agent to monitor developments on the ground. We supervise on a regular basis, Monitoring and Evaluation. The project is being implemented in phases, beginning with those ideas [we deem] easier to handle, for example, water and sewer reticulation. We started with major roads, the 15 and 20 metre roads.... They applied for a Parallel Development Permit. The City of Harare gave some conditions about water and accessibility. Only paid-up beneficiaries are already on site. They have built temporary structures and put up structures. They have also established a primary and a secondary school. The secondary is now operational up to Form 4 or Form 2.”

UDCORP was also involved in the layout preparation of ZIMRE Park. It planned for 3,000 stands and the officer explains:

“Isu takaita planning, ivo vakaita zvimwe voga. We did the planning of National Real Estate (ZIMRE) but in consultation with Ruwa Local Board and DPP. We had to incorporate considerations by the Ruwa Local Board. They were just minor considerations....for example that we should include stands for flats and industrial development. They also told us to reserve land, adequate land for commercial stands, which would enable the development of modern shopping malls. They said we should not demarcate individual [commercial] stands but just to leave the land open. Theirs was a radical and modern approach yemashopping malls so we left vast land for shopping centres, leaving room for expansion. We were trying to avoid problems of space such as what you see at Arundel and Groombridge. These shopping centres are too crammed and when you consider expanding then you have to demolish some of the structures. “

“UDCORP has provided diversified services to different projects and settlements. The corporation has gone a full cycle. In the 1980s, its mandate was more of consultancy than anything. In the late 1990s to early 2000, it had to diversify into land and property development as consultancy work was hard to come by due to a shrinking economy. It decided to get into actual development such that from 2000 to 2006 it was heavily involved into this (actual development). In 2007, at the peak of economic meltdown, UDCORP put some of its projects on hold. It only resumed work after the dollarisation
It can be noted that the corporation was established with a broad agenda of creating functional urban spaces in the country, those where real development and growth were taking shape (cf. Kessides, 2006; Habitat Platform, 2002). Unfortunately, the problem of under-capitalisation has continued to plague UDCORP since its inception to date. This was further exacerbated by the country’s economic crisis, which last for more than a decade. Notwithstanding, UDCORP’s contribution to peri-urban development remains quite visible, including in Ruwa and Epworth, where it has contributed much. It continues to do so in a number of upcoming settlements at the city-edge.

6.4 Ministry of Lands and Rural Resettlements (MLRR)

The major role of the MLRR is primarily in the rural areas. However, when it comes to rural land conversion, this ministry has a great stake for reference. The role of the Ministry of Lands and Rural Resettlement in the transfer and governance of land is very critical as a peri-urbanisation move and process. Minister Hebert Murerwa presented on the topic: ‘Land delivery for urban expansion’ at the National Housing Convention in 2009 The Minister highlights that the Ministry of Lands and Rural Resettlement (MLRR) has focussed more on the land reform programme, whose thrust has been the provision of land for rural resettlement and agricultural production. The minister stresses that, “Indeed the bulk of the land acquired by Government has gone towards rural resettlement. However, the land acquisition process has made available some land for urban expansion.... Government took a deliberate decision to also acquire land for urban expansion as part of the land reform programme after realising that this was a way of availing land of the size required for urban expansion at reasonable cost”33.

The MLRR, in its mandate, works in close contact with the MLGRUD. This has been followed throughout, in the implementation of the land reform programme. The procedure is that the
MLGRUD represents urban and local authorities, which, when land is provided, proceed to re-plan for housing development. The MLRR regularly receives submission of lists of farms that the MLGRUD and its local authorities require for urban expansion. The MLRR administers several pieces of legislation enabling the process of land acquisition, the principal one of which is the Land Acquisition Act (Chapter 20:10). Murerwa (2009) asserts that this Act, in section 3, empowers the President or any Minister duly authorised by the President for that purpose, to compulsorily acquire:

a) “Any land, where the acquisition is reasonably necessary in the interests of defence, public safety, public order, public morality, public health, town and country planning or the utilisation of that or any other property for a purpose beneficial to the public generally or to any section of the public.”

b) “Any rural land, where the acquisition is reasonably necessary for the utilisation of that or any other land (i) for resettlement for agricultural or other purpose, or (ii) for the purposes of land reorganisation, forestry, environmental conservation or the utilisation of wild life or other natural resources or (iii) for the relocation of persons dispossessed in consequence of the utilisation of land for a right to that land. This was followed by an acquisition order or section 8 notice”.

In certain instances, where the landowner objects to the acquisition and indicates this in writing within a period of 30 days after the preliminary notice, the Acquiring Authority applies to the Administrative Court for confirmation of the acquisition order. The challenges associated with the procedures are that they are cumbersome, lengthy and fraught with legal technicalities. Constitutional Amendment Number 17 of 2005, which came into force on the 14 September 2005, changed the legal procedures in respect of the compulsory acquisition of agricultural land for resettlement purposes, and the Section 16 B of the Constitution has barred any legal challenges in respect of agricultural land compulsorily acquired for resettlement purposes (Murerwa, 2009). The acquisition of land for urban expansion is characterised by the very same process used initially to acquire rural agricultural land (cf. Chipungu, 2005; Mubvami and Musandu, 1994). Murerwa underscores that before the Constitutional Amendment Number 17, a notice was served on the owner and the latter objected, the Acquiring Authority had to apply to the Administrative Court for an order to confirm the acquisition in terms of Section 7 to the Land Acquisition Act. This process, in the terms of Murerwa, has unfortunately turned out to be
cumbersome, also requiring the Minister of Lands and Rural Settlement (as Acquiring Authority) to fully justify the need for acquiring the land for urban expansion or housing to counter objections lodged by former owners. The result has been that the process of acquiring land for urban expansion has been rather slow. In light of this Murerwa affirms that:

“I need to highlight the relationship between my Ministry and the Ministry of Local Government, Rural and Urban Development in this process. My Ministry gazettes farms for urban expansion only on the basis of written requests from the Ministry of Local Government Rural and Urban Development....We have on record a list of peri-urban properties identified by the same Ministry and it was on the basis of this that previous gazetting was carried out. I am reliably informed that a majority of the farms involved were subsequently allocated to housing cooperatives for development....

The Ministry of Local Government Rural and Urban Development would also valuate the farms acquired. [It would] be expected to pay full compensation for both land and improvements at the current market rate....With the recent restructuring of Ministries under the inclusive Government it becomes necessary to clarify the roles of the Ministry of Local Government Rural and Urban Development and that of National Housing and Social Amenities in this whole process”

As at 2009, the MLRR had gazetted 68 farms, forty-four (44) of which are located in Harare, one (1) in Ruwa, one (1) in Chinhoyi and the remainder in the Bulawayo Metropolitan Province. The Administrative Court still had to hear cases in which former owners were challenging the acquisition of land and confirm the acquisition. For this reason, only 4 farms in Harare Metropolitan Province had been confirmed in the Administrative Court by then (Murerwa, 2009). The Minister asserts, therefore, that

“The question that needs to be asked is what the position of all other farms whose acquisition has not been confirmed is? The legal position however is that for all the farms whose owners were served with preliminary notices (section 5 notices ) the process of acquisition is still live as such notice expires after 10 years from the date of first publication. What is required is the re-service of acquisition orders (section 8 orders) for those farms following which applications are made to the Administrative Court for confirmation.”
“For my Ministry to proceed with this process we need the responsible Ministry to indicate whether the farms initially identified are still required for purposes of urban expansion and national housing. Supporting affidavits to support identification of these farms for urban expansion will also be required from the responsible Ministry to substantiate and support the need to acquisition. In submitting this detail, the responsible Ministry will need to work closely with urban local authorities who have to take particular note of the location of the farms vis-a-vis their prescribed and gazetted urban boundaries.”

“There have been numerous other challenges encountered of late in the process of availing land for housing developments and urban expansion. One of these challenges is the purported changes in ownership or attempts to change ownership of some of the farms identified for housing and urban expansion. On realising that their properties have been gazetted, some owners have made frantic efforts to “sell” the farms and apply to the Registrar of Deeds for change of ownership with intentions, we believe, to scuttle the acquisition process. The Ministry’s position is that once the acquisition process has begun transfer of title should not and cannot be allowed to proceed”\textsuperscript{36}.

Murerwa’s (2009) submission has been resonated in the explanation of the prevalence of housing poverty in Southern Africa by UNHABITAT (2008:151) which observes that:

“For Harare, the procedures and processes of converting peri-urban land to urban uses are highly technical and painstakingly administered involving land feasibility studies, purchase, land transfer, land-use planning, cadastral surveying, land servicing and allocation to developers. However, processes are extremely slow due to institutional weakness, including the fact that residential layout plans cannot be prepared while land is still in private ownership. Time spans of four or more years between land identification and commencement of construction are the norm in the context where squatting is not tolerated. This inevitably has led to very high land prices, speculation, ‘downward raiding’ (gentrification and high income groups occupying housing land intended for lower income groups), and overcrowding of the housing stock”\textsuperscript{37}.

Some peri-urban farms including Breamar, Dunotar, Longlands and Edinburgh, were initially set aside for the expansion of Chitungwiza. As a stopgap measure, the MLRR had to take a decision
to re-plan these farms converting them into A2 model farms. The MLRR has also encountered challenges on peri-urban farms identified and reserved for future expansion but allocated to urban beneficiaries specifically for peri-urban agriculture. Under this arrangement, one hectare plots are demarcated and allocated for urban agriculture. Beneficiaries are allowed to utilise their plots but are not allowed to construct permanent dwellings thereon. They are expected to relinquish use of the plots when the farms are required for housing development. Murerwa argues that though this arrangement is plausible, as the beneficiaries only want to destroy the vegetation on these farms, giving rise to serious deforestation (cf. Mwanamakondo, 2007).

6.5 Ministry National Housing and Social Amenities (MNHSA)
The MNHSA as it stands today (from 2009) is the product of merging the Ministry of Rural Housing and Social Amenities (MRHSA) established in 2005 and the Department of Urban Housing Development (DUHD), which was in the Ministry of Local Government, Public Works and Urban Development (MLGPWUD). It became as stand-alone ministry combining the functions of the former MRHSA and DUHD (MNHSA, 2009a; Mhashu, 2009; Munyoro, 2009). Before 2005, the housing agenda was mainly urban-orientated, such that anything to do with rural housing and social amenities was “…assigned to agencies tasked with lands, rural settlement, community and general rural development functions” (MNHSA, 2009:5). The role of the MNHSA to coordinate the task is heavily involved, tapping from as diverse a range of stakeholders as much as possible. A stewardship and partnership model is the anchor to such an endeavour.

The MNHSA’s vision is “A nation with sustainable human settlements”. Like most vision statements, this sounds utopian and romanticised, should one look into the challenges that the country has gone through. These challenges seem to contrast the expectations in “sustainability” whose usage has become stretched and ever-shifting (Mitlin, 2002). This vision is tied to the mission statement of the ministry, which reads that it “...facilitates, promotes and provides affordable and accessible housing and social amenities in Zimbabwe.” Again, these statements are packed in that they give a critic the impression that the ministry is burdening itself with responsibilities, especially of providing, when it should just be concentrating on facilitating and promoting the development and management of human settlements in the country.
Facilitation and promotion are in keeping with the Habitat Agenda, a policy adopted by 171 governments at the United Nations Conference on Human Settlements, Istanbul in June 1996. Its objectives were outlined as ensuring adequate shelter for all, and sustainable development of the world’s urban areas and achieving these objectives through enablement and participation, gender equality, financing shelter and human settlements, international cooperation and the assessment of progress (Payne and Majale, 2004). State provision takes us back to the 1960s and 1970s, where shortcomings in this approach were to be noted in the years that followed.

Specifically, the MNHSA has the mandate to formulate and implement housing and social amenities policies at household, business centre and growth point level, and to mobilise resources for implementation of housing and social amenities. It also administers housing estates, administers the National Housing Fund, Housing and Guarantee Fund, Rural Housing Fund and Social Amenities Development Fund, to develop and implement strategies that ensure community mobilisation and participation for purposes of providing and maintaining social amenities infrastructure, and to acquire land for urban housing development (GoZ/UNDP/UNHABITAT, 2009). MNHSA (2009a:8) provides even a longer list of the functions of the ministry which are spelt out as its terms of reference. These functions include:

i. formulating and implementing relevant policies,

ii. developing and implementing strategies in consultation with other ministries and stakeholders,

iii. providing housing and social amenities infrastructure,

iv. coordinating and mobilising communities for the provision and maintenance of infrastructure,

v. mobilising resources for the implementation of programmes,

vi. coordinating implementation of the Rural Housing Delivery Programme (RHDP)

vii. administering government housing estates, managing and accounting for relevant housing funds,

viii. administering rent control regulations for residential accommodation,

ix. developing and monitoring housing allocation criteria for all local authorities, and,

x. facilitating the purchase of land for urban housing development.
These terms of reference are drawn mainly from the Housing and Building Act (Chapter 22:07), the Housing and Building Amendment Act of 1994 (Sales in Execution), the Immovable Property (Prevention of Discrimination Act, Chapter 10:12) and the Housing Standards Control Act (Chapter 29:08). These are important as the key result areas of the ministry (MNHSA, 2010a). The Housing and Building Act empowers the MNHSA to construct buildings and infrastructure in support of real estate development by other actors, while the Housing Standards Control Act gives it regulatory powers, that is, to “monitor and maintain housing standards nationally” (MNHSA, 2009a:8). In a quest to ensure fairness and equity in the letting of residential property, Statutory Instrument (SI) 32 of 2007 (Rent Regulations) empowers Rent Boards to arbitrate in cases of rent disputes, evictions and the consideration of applications for rent reviews or variations.

Though it is administered by other arms of the government, the other critical laws and policies guiding the work of the MNHSA include that National Constitution, and local governments statutes (the Urban Councils Act, Chapter 29:15; the Rural District Act, Chapter 29:13; the Traditional Leaders’ Act). There are also land and related legislation (the Land Acquisition Act, the Land Survey Act and the Deeds Registration Act); the Environmental Management Act; the Regional, Town and Country Planning Act; Model Building Bye-Laws of 1977; the Building Societies Act (Chapter 24:02). Moreover, there are statutes governing the conduct of professionals in the built environment sector (the Architects Act, Chapter 27:01; Engineering Councils Act, Chapter 27:22, and the Quantity Surveyors Act, Chapter 27:13) (MNHSA, 2009a; 2010a). Having a clear understanding of the provisions of the legislations and statutory instruments helps the ministry towards a smooth running of its operations.

However, the increased number of players with different possible conflicting points of entry makes the whole business of the ministry a bit cryptic and obscure. For instance, as provided for by the National Constitution, some goals are more rooted socially and ethically than anything. Others are technical in economic, legal and engineering terms. For instance, when the ministry came into office in 2009, the treasury “…instructed that ministries implementing capital projects should merely concentrate on securing quick wins and move away altogether from embarking on
new ones” (MNHSA, 2009h:2). This was to cater for the non-performance in such projects as explained by the more than decade of economic meltdown and stagflation in the country. Such is a tight rope for walking. Yet there is also considerable strength in working with partners of diverse backgrounds and interests, provided there is more of consensus seeking in business as enabled by adopting partnership linkages. In effect, all the actors ought contribute frankly and sometimes argue towards informed consensus. Some scholars have written on the role of contentious politics rather than falling into the trap of cooptation (Wampler, 2007). This is possible where cooperation and accountability are treated as mutual elements, leading to transparency in business. This may be further elaborated through the organisational structures that the ministry has at head office, provincial and district levels. Figure 6.1 shows the organisational structure that the ministry has at head office (cf. MNHSA, 2009e) and is vertical, signifying the hierarchy in the chain of command within the ministry.

Another structure is also there and it applies at the provincial and district levels. This is horizontal coordination at localised project levels (cf. MNHSA, 2009f). The ten departments in the MNHSA are: Finance and Administration, Human Resources, Housing, Social Amenities, Construction and Operations, Estates Management, Research and Planning, Audit and Legal Services. Delivery is achieved through a decentralised system with the Head Office in Harare spearheading the coordination of policy formulation and evaluation as well as “...technically backstopping field offices (MNHSA, 2009a:10); and the sub-national level involved in hands on business – programme and projects implementation. MNHSA (2009a) stresses that the ministry applies the systems approach in its operations, being buttressed by participatory methodologies. It also believes in a flexible approach of continuous improvements in its internal capacity. It can be noted that this is influenced by its firm belief in the application of the analysis of Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats (SWOT). In this respect, MNHSA acknowledges the critical role and contribution made by the strategic links with both local and international partners (MNHSA, 2009a).

The organisational structure of the MNHSA provides ‘points of contact’ for different actors involved in housing and amenities delivery. Government, under the Inclusive Government agenda, is divided into five clusters - Economic Development, Infrastructure, Social Services and
Reconstruction, Human Rights and Governance. The Infrastructure Cluster, in which the housing ministry falls, has ministries interdependent on each other. It has eight sector ministries in it, namely, public works, energy, water, transport, information and communication technologies, housing, public works, science and technology and public services. Infrastructure is the “key enabler and driver” for growth and expansion in any economy (GoZ/World Bank, 2009). No doubt the different departments in the MNHSA have a critical role in ‘unlocking value’ from both the sister ministries in the infrastructure sector and those outside this sector.

Figure 6.1: MNHSA Organisational Structure – Head Office – Source: adapted from Several MNHSA documents

The MNHSA is at the centre-stage in facilitating the construction of houses by both the state and non-state actors in the country. It strives to realise its dream of having a nation with sustainable human settlements, albeit with many challenges. GoZ/World Bank (2009) notes that only 11,000
units were built between 1999 and 2009 in the country against an effective demand for structures as evidenced by the highly urbanising population (pegged at 7% urban population growth per annum). It goes further to outline, however, under the 100-day programme under STERP, the ministry defined three issues for operations namely: the review existing policies, assessment of the housing delivery programme, and the management of the Operation Garikayi/Hlalani Kuhle /Hlalani Kuhle (OG/HK) housing units.

As the primary actor in housing and habitat delivery, the ministry embarked on intensive and widespread engagement of stakeholders, in the space of about ten months, which saw the holding of a housing symposium in May and the National Housing Convention in October 2009 (GoZ/World Bank, 2009). However, the engagement with stakeholders is not an end in itself. The idea was for the process to feed into plans and programmes for the sector. At the National Housing Convention in 2009, the stakeholders formulated a set of recommendations to tackle aspects raised under the five thematic areas of the conventions, namely policy and legislative framework, land for housing, housing finance, superstructure, infrastructure and technology, and the role of community based organisations.

Indeed, there is a lot of rhyme in these thematic areas to the objectives of the MNHSA. Each of these areas puts actors to the housing and habitat sector in the limelight. In the assignment of responsibilities to the action areas cited by the convening actors, they show a wide range of who should be involved in the quest for answers as indicated by the labyrinth of shelter provision expectation. These actors include:

- the MNHSA, the port of call for all housing matters
- Local government associations, in this case, the Zimbabwe Local Government Association (ZILGA) and the Urban Councils Association of Zimbabwe (UCAZ).
- Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) chiefly geared in housing provision, technical advice, and infrastructure development, particularly water and sanitation.
- Community based organisations (CBOs), including housing cooperatives, microfinance institutions and, sometimes, burial societies that may have an interest in housing development.
- The Ministry of Justice, Legal and Parliamentary Affairs (MJLPA); its role in legislative reform is very critical.
• The Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP), whose involvement in eviction of squatters and land invaders has to be done in a humane manner, in keeping with the internationally set standards of evictions.

• The Ministry of Local Government, Rural and Urban Development (MLGRUD), which spearheads local governance in urban, rural and peri-urban local government areas. It supervises local authorities.

• Local authorities, which, in keeping with the principle of subsidiarity, are close to citizens and manage their affairs including housing as a basic right.

• The Ministry of Finance (MoF), which regulates national finance systems and transacts with regional and international finance institutions (including those in housing or infrastructure developments).

• The Corporate world, which includes all private sector institutions including banks, insurance companies, building societies which, in housing and social amenities may provide a window to housing finance including mortgage arrangements or contribute to housing development by way of social corporate responsibility (SCR) or engagement in public-private partnership (PPP) arrangements. In some countries, the corporate world is a critical provider for social and rental housing programmes.

• Multinational corporations (MNCs) and investors that are usually key players in foreign direct investment (FDI) and which should have a leading role in housing their own employees or local communities.

• Tertiary education institutions, whose role is to train labour and manpower critical to the housing sector. These include planners, housing project management officers, architects, land surveyors, quantity surveyors and civil engineers – those of the technical fields of the built environment. The role of the University of Zimbabwe (UZ), the National University of Science and Technology (NUST) and Polytechnic colleges was stressed in terms of labour training and research.

• Interest and pressure groups, which do advocacy work in terms of advancing concerns of human rights including the right to adequate shelter.

• Parastatals, whose major contribution is seen in infrastructure provision and management including the Zimbabwe Electricity Supply Authority (ZESA) for electricity supply, TelOne for communication lines, the Zimbabwe National Water Authority (ZINWA) for regulating water resources, the Urban Development Corporation (UDCORP) for advancing the work of the MLGRUD in projects specific thematic and spatial areas.
The Ministry of Land and Rural Resettlement (MLRR) being the chief steward of land and from which land for urban development and housing must be acquired in keeping with the provisions of the Land Acquisition Act. However, evidence on the ground shows that there are a number of bureaucratic impediments to lead to expedited land delivery for housing (GoZ/UNDP/UNHABITAT, 2009; GoZ/UNHABITAT, 2009; MNHSA, 2009c; cf. Mubvami and Musandu, 1994).

The Ministry of Public Works (MPW) being the primary state functionary in infrastructure development.

The Infrastructure Development Bank of Zimbabwe (IDBZ) for financing especially offsite infrastructure.

The African Development Bank (ADB), which, being a regional body, is sometimes responsible for advancing loans to national financial institutions including those for housing and mortgage financing.

Insurance and Pension companies, whose contribution to the housing sector had traditionally been greatly significant as a source of ‘locked up’ funds critical for shelter development.

The Scientific Institute for Research and Development Corporation (SIRDC), whose role in researching own aspects like affordable and durable building technologies are very critical to the housing sector.

The Attorney General’s office, being the facilitator for law development of which housing and planning laws have been pointed out as needing speedy change to afford the generality of the population improved and sanitary housing conditions.

The Department of Physical Planning (DPP), housed under the MLGRUD, being responsible for the spatial development of areas in terms of offering planning services to ensure sustainable settlements in the country.

The Surveyor-General’s office being responsible for land surveying services.

The Zimbabwe Institute for Regional and Urban Planners (ZIRUP), being a professional body for planners, advancing professional practices in keeping with ethical norms for the profession and safeguarding the clients, in this case communities to be accommodated in set settlements.

Table 6.1 spells out the role (as number 1) MNHSA has in housing delivery, however, in keeping with other players. Issues and actions that appear in this Table are directly emanating from the 2009 Victoria Falls National Housing Convention deliberations – what stakeholders recommended as policy and action points of intervention to ensure sound housing delivery in the...
post-crisis era (1997- early 2009 economic meltdown). Thus, Table 6.1 maps the recommendations to who can act in a given housing specific problem.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STANDARDS</th>
<th>FINANCE</th>
<th>TECHNOLOGY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Revision of Housing Standards</td>
<td>Incremental development of infrastructure and housing</td>
<td>Social and rental housing options</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1, 7, 8, 20, 22, 24</td>
<td>1, 3, 4, 8, 22</td>
<td>Adherence to international standards in conducting evictions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capacitating planning departments</td>
<td>Housing micro-finance schemes</td>
<td>1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1, 2, 8, 10, 12, 24</td>
<td>1, 3, 4, 8, 9, 11, 10, 17, 13, 19</td>
<td>Modelling by-laws with climate, health and alternative technologies in mind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standards differentiation without compromising health</td>
<td>1, 7, 8, 20, 22, 24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LABOUR</td>
<td>Contribution of remittances to housing</td>
<td>1, 2, 7, 8, 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Registering planning practitioners along statutory lines</td>
<td>1, 2, 4, 7, 8, 22</td>
<td>EXPEDITION OF DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION TO KEY STAKEHOLDERS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7, 22, 24</td>
<td>1, 3, 4, 8, 9, 11, 10, 17, 13, 19, 12</td>
<td>1, 2, 7, 8, 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MANAGING BOTTLENECKS</td>
<td>Revitalizing the National Housing Fund (NHF)</td>
<td>RESEARCH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Establishing a one-stop shop for plan preparations and approval</td>
<td>1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 13, 21, 24</td>
<td>1, 2, 7, 8, 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7, 22, 24</td>
<td>Appropriation of compensation for peri-urban land</td>
<td>Key</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1, 7</td>
<td>Land acquisition for land expansion</td>
<td>3. NGOs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4. CBOS</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5. MLPA</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6. ZRP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7. MELGRUD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8. Local authorities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>9. MOF</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10. Corporate world</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11. MNCs and investors</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12. Tertiary education institutions (UZ, NUST, Polytechnics)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13. Interest and pressure groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>14. Parastatals (ZESA, TelOne, ZINWA, UDCORP)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>15. MLR</td>
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<td>16. MPW</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>17. IDBZ</td>
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<td>18. ADB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>19. Insurance and Pension companies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20. SIRDC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>21. Attorney General’s office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>22. DPP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>23. Surveyor-General’s office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>24. ZIRUP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.1: Actors and their Contribution to/in the Housing and Habitat Sector in Zimbabwe - Source: MNHSA, 2010

What can be noted from this list is the multi-faceted nature of issues and contributions, which the MNHSA has to grapple with in its efforts to ensure the development of sustainable settlements in the country. A challenging task is that more of a stewardship or partnership model applies than working as a single actor (monopoly). This implies the need for coordinative capacities on the part of the ministry to avoid unnecessary duplications, conflicts and wastage of resources. As the
spearheading agent for the housing and habitat sector, MNHSA is in all expectations supposed to initiate and champion its mandate as the principal actor, which has to account for performance and overall delivery (of the processes and outputs) in the sector.

6.6 Summary

In this chapter, I have examined the role of the state together with the factors inhibiting and enhancing housing delivery and stewardship in the peri-urban settlements. It is noted that state involvement is achieved through the institutions of government, that is, departments and agencies and ministries. The notion of public interest, as advanced in statist development, plays a central role in defining the work of the state in geographical and institutional space (see Figure 6.2).

Figure 6.2: Stakeholders in Peri-Urban Zimbabwe: An Interactive Model - Source: Fieldwork, 2012

The chapter notes that the major problem with state departments, ministries and institutions is departmentalism as the framework of operation is done in ‘departmental boxes’. These ‘departmental boxes’ defy principles of sound coordination, and as a result, issues are dealt with in a disparate and uncoordinated manner, sometimes falling victim to vagaries of duplication of effort and in efficiency with respect to resource use. Institutional gaps are thus inevitable during
planning and implementation of programmes and projects. Besides, there remains in Zimbabwe, a ‘technological lag’ in the manner in which space governance should be used, specifically the use of GIS, remote sensing and other earth observations tools. We have noted that local authorities and households interact with other players including NGOs like Practical Action Southern Africa in Epworth; (Practical Action, 2011), private housing developers, in the case of Ruwa, and government ministries and departments (refer to Figure 6.2).

Each actor is guided by a certain own philosophy. For instance, the Environmental Management Agency (EMA) is concerned with the sustainable upkeep of the natural and physical environment, endeavouring to reduce the negative effects caused by the ecological footprint. Meanwhile, the Urban Development Corporation (UDCORP), as a state-owned enterprise responsible for overseeing urban development, has often provided technical services with this regard. The Department of Physical Planning (DPP) is responsible for ensuring order, amenity and safety in the development of human settlements. The Ministry of National Housing and Social Amenities (MNHSA) has the overall task of housing delivery. Overall, the MLGRUD oversees issues relating to local governance and service delivery. In most cases, there is duplication of effort as actors carry out their duties, and this tends to bring about confusion and wastage of resources. It is clear that capitalising on synergies reduces overlaps and duplications.

Some institutions, like the Harare Metropolitan Province, appear to be more inclined to serving ‘political interest’ than anything, such that there is poor stewardship to the detriment of peri-urban management. This has been amply demonstrated by the manner in which peri-urban space, specifically State land, has been ‘dished’ out to ZANU PF party loyalists at the expense of other people needing it. There is rampant violation of sustainable landuse practice in certain instances. The chapter notes specifically that the Harare Metropolitan Province accommodates 4000 farmers (as urban and peri-urban farmers). The allocation of such land (though temporary) is based on political affiliation (in this case to ZANU- PF), rather than on competency in farming, as would be expected. Moreover, in the chapter, it is clearly noted that issues of capacity to handle peri-urban housing and environmental stewardship hinge on the macro-economic performance of the country as well as political will to do so. In this respect, some departments, agencies and ministries are failing to fulfil the mandates, as they are not supported by the
requisite tools and human resources. For example, the DPP, instead of playing a watchdog role and overall coordination of planning, continues to do plans for small towns and rural district councils. This translates to a steward becoming a nanny.

Furthermore, the chapter has shown how the definition of peri-urban in Zimbabwe, according to the DPP, has shifted due to political, economic and institutional dynamics of change. There is thus, a de facto and de jure definition of peri-urban. Such a gap shows that there are ambiguities that hinder easy policy articulation and ultimate implementation of set plans and goals. Above all, the chapter stresses how, when confronted with economic upheavals, institutions and organisations tend to ‘metamorphose’ or set resilience to remain relevant. The UDCORP is a case in point. Nevertheless, the danger is when an organisation’s role deviates from the expected and exact reason for its existence. In spite of the fast-track land reform in Zimbabwe, the delivery of land for urban development and housing remains cumbersome to the detriment of the cause of the right to housing especially to low-income group.

Emphasis in this chapter has been placed on the MNHSA to show its linkages with stakeholders. This ministry held National Housing Conventions in 2009 and in 1997, with a view to bringing together its partners in development. These forums have provided an opportunity to dialogue, in keeping with the notion of breaking walls’ hence removing ‘departmental boxes’. However, what follows after discussions and dialogue ought to correspond and with practice on the ground. Nevertheless, just the idea of bring together stakeholders is important, and one would wish every ministry would endeavour to do the same. The next chapter will be devoted on housing and peri-urban stakeholders outside the framework of the state. It serves to show housing contractual, negotiated and concessionary windows may assist and have assisted in the development of areas in Zimbabwe with special reference to the peri-urban space.
CHAPTER SEVEN
THE CONCESSIONARY MODEL IN PERI-URBAN HOUSING DELIVERY IN ZIMBABWE: SCOPE, LIMITS AND PROSPECTS

“A concession in urban area development is a contract form with clear preconditioned agreements between public and private parties, in which a conscious choice from the public parties has been made to transfer risks, revenues, and responsibilities for development planning....” - Gijzen (2009) in Heurkens (2009: 1268)

7.1 Introducing the philosophy of concessionary development

The involvement of the private sector and civic organisations in human settlements planning and peri-urban development has contributed more towards infrastructure development especially roads, water and sewer reticulation in various settings. Civic organisations pay particular focus on social improvement of communities for example provision of water and sanitation and provision of ‘aid’ and donations to disadvantaged groups. On the other hand, private corporations often contribute to urban development as part of their corporate social responsibility. In this chapter, I describe and explain the work of the private sector like Shelter Zimbabwe and a number of building societies and banks. After, this I examine the role of voluntary organisations like Practical Action Southern Africa (PASA). The contents of the chapter are based on the concessonary urban development assertion put forward by Gijzen (2009) in Heurkens (2009: 1268).

From this argument is can be clearly seen how local authorities, as apparatures of the State, play a role of hosting interested players who want to bring housing and other development projects into their areas of jurisdiction. Some of the players come from within the country while others are international and transnational. Some are multi-lateral while others are bilateral.

The central government often allows local government units to enter into concessions with players through various avenues. Such avenues include decentralised cooperation or twinning arrangements, emergency cases like the 2008/9 Cholera case in which, for example, some local authorities signed contracts to receive supplies of chemicals to curb the spread of the epidemic, or statutorily through the section on borrowing powers as prescribed in the Urban Councils Act.
(Chapter 29:15). Decentralised cooperation and borrowing are made possible through negotiated agreements. State apparatus in the form of local authorities remain in situ long after the other players have long gone.

7.2 International Finance in Local Development

Historically, local authorities in Zimbabwe, with funding support from the central government and co-operating partners such as the World Bank and UNDP, have provided off-site infrastructure especially in the form of roads, water and sewer. For example, under the Urban I and Urban II Programmes, such projects were done in Harare, Mutare, Bulawayo, Gutu-Mupandawana and Marondera. From the late 1990s, a negative phenomena set in with the ability of “…the local authorities to cope with the exigent dictates of provision and maintenance of truck infrastructural services in the face of ballooning urban populating trends” (Chombo, 2009:3). The macro-economic challenges of the 2000s progressively diminished the capacity of Government to support local authorities through the Public Sector Investment Programme (PSIP) window. Chombo (2009:5) has further asserted that:

“Support to councils via the borrowing powers was drastically reduced in nominal and real terms, a situation exacerbated by the fizzling out of multilateral input. The economic challenges rendered it difficult for councils to mobilise financial, material and technical resources, as would enable councils to provide infrastructural services. Consequently, the country experienced a marked deterioration in the state of local authority roads, sewer and water facilities, while efforts to implement new projects were significantly stunted. This scenario impacted adversely on the realisation of the housing delivery programme. The current dispensation calls for a paradigm shift in the design and operationalisation of strategies for infrastructure provision, and the ensuing discourse shall deliberate on possible options that may be considered”.

On the contribution of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) to human settlements in Ruwa, the Ruwa Town Planner remarks that,

“The involvement of USAID in Ruwa brought 600 low-cost housing units in Ward 1 [Ruwa]. It has also assisted the town by donating money to improve the water situation in Ruwa and other residential areas including Chitungwiza and Norton. In 2003, a sum of US$200 000 was donated to purchase water treatment chemicals. This donation was
International aid for housing and habitat has been affected by the controversial policies by the Zimbabwean Government between 1997 and 2009. This may explain the poor delivery of housing and urban deterioration in this period. Although the National Housing Convention in 2009 tried to bring together the different players in housing, very few international players attended. The major observation was that inclusion of international players was critical to spurring meaningful housing development.

7.3 The Role of the Private Sector in Habitat Development: A Re-visit

As has been already highlighted, major developments that have taken place in Ruwa since its establishment, and those underway have not been the sole responsibility of Ruwa Local Board (and now town council) alone. This work is attributed to strong partnerships with, especially, the private sector including building societies, real estate firms, and private land developers. Non-governmental organisations have also played their part. Notable private organisations include ZIMRE Properties, Damafalls Investments, ZB Building Society (in conjunction with Intermarket And Wentspring Investments) Chipukutu Properties, Mashonaland Holdings, National Housing Trust, and USAID, to name but a few.

In The Herald of 11 August 2008, Intermarket Building Society is reported to be developing a shopping complex in Ruwa. In terms of design, the shopping complex is said “… to allow residents of the town access to different services under one roof.” To build this complex, Intermarket Building Society is reported working in partnership with other three stakeholders namely Starafricanorporation, ZB Bank and PG Industries. In the same paper, Ruwa is acknowledged as “a fast growing suburb” (ibid.). Consequently, the town has gained tremendous physical growth. Indeed, questions have been raised as to the environmental sustainability of the town and the role being played by the private organisations and developers in maintaining and upgrading the quality and aesthetic value of the town. The hard work and commitment placed in the growth of Ruwa is of immeasurable quality, hence the need to place greater attention on
proper development. The Ruwa Town Planner in acknowledging the contribution of the private sector in Ruwa explains that:

“In recent times, as before, the private sector has not only assisted in developing and servicing stands but also road maintenance, which has seen potholes being filled up and having a better road network within the town. However, the town still faces some challenges that are affecting the day-to-day lives of the people and the businesses. Although Ruwa took over the in 2010 operations of water supplies from the Zimbabwe National Water Supply Authority (Zinwa) and from the Harare City Council, the town is still faced with inadequate water supply, as their plant is limited. The water plant is only providing two mega litres per day when the town needs at least seven mega litres. Residents and industry are seriously affected by inadequate water supply. Now rationing is the measure that the town is currently undertaking. The water problem has made them to critical think of how to resolve their common problems by way of creating partnerships."

7.3.1 The contribution of Mashonaland Holdings

In July 1966, the Mashonaland & Provincial Trust Company (Pvt) Ltd and Mashonaland Real Estate (Pvt) Ltd merged and incorporated into Mashonaland Holdings. This company has the record of having been the first property company to be listed on the Rhodesia Stock Exchange (now Zimbabwe Stock Exchange) in 1969. In terms of its contribution to property development, it is noted that, “In 1987, Mashonaland Holdings acquired land at Ruwa which it transformed into the Ruwa Growth Point. The brainchild of the then Chairman, Mr T C Hardy, a satellite town east of Harare was established, incorporating industrial and commercial stands, as well as large residential areas for low, medium and high density housing. The entire infrastructure and many of the factories and houses were built by Mashonaland Holdings.” When asked about the organisation’s role now in Ruwa, the property manager of Mashonaland Holdings states, “The holding has pulled out now. Its role was that of a developer. Since all the properties are now sold out, it no longer has a role to play.” This development is noteworthy in that private players’ role in a defined area is usually on concessionary grounds, and once the task is done, they have to pull out. Nevertheless, the local government structure will now have the role managing and meeting the demands and expectations of the residents and users of the space that defines its jurisdiction. In this regard, the role of the private or civil sector is that of a
‘nanny’, while that of the local government structure (or local authority) is that of a steward, which oversees the smooth operations of the area and its people with the overall goal of sustainability. The respondent states, further

“Mashonaland Holdings driven by its quest for development acquired Ruwa in 1987 and transformed it into the Growth point. By then it incorporated industrial and commercial stands as well as large residential stands for low, medium and high-density housing. Mashonaland Holdings built the entire infrastructure and many old houses. To date, Mashonaland Holdings has taken the lead in availing all stands found in Ward 1 to 7 which is almost 50% of the total population of Ruwa. It is currently the private sector with the largest share in terms of land acquired for residential development. The firm assists in servicing of residential as prescribed in the development permit. Despite, availing more stands than other private organisations, the firm has little to show in terms of promoting the environmental sustain inability of the area as there is nothing more to talk about despite servicing of the stands.”

7.3.2 The Contribution of ZB Building Society

The partnership between Ruwa Local Board and ZB Building society started as early as year 2000. The partnership resulted in ZB bank acquiring the entire residential area of Springvale. The development of Springvale was done in two phases, that is, phase 1 and 2. Phase 1 has 425 residential whilst phase 2 has up to date 395 stands. Upon acquiring land for the development, the bank serviced the land following the requirement of the development permit they had been granted. The permit states satisfactory servicing of the area with both water and sewer reticulation system and storm water drains. More so, the roads had to be well tarred and in some extreme cases with culverts, rails/barricades by the roadside.

Moreover, to reduce the shortage of water because of erratic water supply from the City of Harare, ZB Bank sank two boreholes in Springvale. This was also meant to reduce the incidence of unprotected wells, which were being sunk by the residents. Routine testing of borehole water to check its safety is done after every six months. More so, in creating environmental safety to the residents of Springvale, the Bank claims that they do routine grass cutting soon after the rainy season. This is also done to reduce the rate of crime rate and improve the aesthetic value of the area. To date, the ZB Bank has employed security to guard the area. The idea has been to
reduce extraction of sand for building purposes, which has left dangerous pits and gorges that are harmful to the residents themselves. In addition, the Bank claims that, at one point in time, it donated money to Ruwa specifically for refuse collection and plans are still there to spearhead clean up campaigns once development is complete. Against this background, the longevity of ZB Bank operation in Ruwa is determined by the satisfaction of the terms and conditions of the development permit.

7.3.3 The Contribution of ZIMRE Properties

Previously known as ZIMRE Holding Limited (ZHL) Group, ZIMRE Properties was incorporated on 27 January 2003, following the successful disposal of National Real Estate (Pvt) Limited. ZIMRE Properties is driven by the vision of becoming the first choice provider of real estate solutions in Zimbabwe and in the region. The firm has developed more than 2000 residential stands in Ruwa both medium and low density. It acquired undeveloped land and improved onsite and offsite infrastructure. This has further provided the base for the future development of built structures on serviced land, which is subdivided and then sold to other developers or individuals. Real estate development by ZIMRE Properties is currently happening in Ruwa. In recent times, ZIMRE Properties has spearheaded the servicing of land in Ruwa and assisted the town with money to improve refuse collection. Zimre Properties also claims to have assisted in borehole drilling to improve the water situation in the Town.

7.3.3 The Contribution of Damafalls Investments and Chipukutu Properties

Damafalls Investments has currently involved in the growth of Ruwa Town by developing the Damafalls community. To date, it has serviced 1000 occupied stands so that they are reticulated with water and sewer. Roads have also been well developed; major distributors are tarred. Unfortunately, at the time the research was undertaken, this community did not have electricity. The unavailability of electricity partly explains the increasing incidence of deforestation in the area, which is experiencing massive sand extraction by poachers in the recent past and this problem continues almost unabated. Despite these challenges, security has been set up by Damafalls investments in order to reduce this negative trend. Heavy fines are set to anyone found extracting sand for construction especially near the watercourse in the area, and the money is channelled to the Damafalls development fund. Chipukutu Properties is also involved in the
development of Ruwa. To date, it has developed up to 600 residential stands with reticulated water and sewer pipes.

7.3.4 The participation of Shelter Zimbabwe

Shelter Zimbabwe was established in 1988 with the mandate of providing housing in the country. The housing company had delivered a number of residential stands between 1988 and December 2008. It has a new housing development project in Epworth named Rockview Park Phase 1, which was launched in October 2005. It is anticipated that by the end of the project, 5,000 medium density residential stands would have been serviced. Table 7.1 is a matrix showing the achievements by Shelter Zimbabwe in areas where residential suburbs have taken shape and the projects have been completed and duly awarded certificates of compliance by City of Harare, as well as some which are ‘work in progress’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Number of Stands Serviced</th>
<th>Location (Residential Area)</th>
<th>Socio Economic Status</th>
<th>Project Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1988-1993</td>
<td>586</td>
<td>Glen View 2 &amp; 3</td>
<td>High Density</td>
<td>Completed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993-1995</td>
<td>362</td>
<td>Glen View 2 &amp; 3 Infill</td>
<td>High Density</td>
<td>Completed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996-1997</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>Glen View 101 &amp; 224</td>
<td>High Density</td>
<td>Completed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998-1999</td>
<td>837</td>
<td>Glen View 7 Extension</td>
<td>High Density</td>
<td>Completed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000-2002</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Hatfield</td>
<td>Medium density</td>
<td>Completed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000-2002</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Prospect</td>
<td>Medium Density</td>
<td>Completed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000-2002</td>
<td>328</td>
<td>Railway Reserve Phase 1</td>
<td>High Density</td>
<td>Completed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004-2005</td>
<td>371</td>
<td>Railway Reserve Phase 2</td>
<td>High Density</td>
<td>Completed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004-2005</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>Hopley</td>
<td>High Density</td>
<td>Completed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007-2009</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>Section 1A of Rockview Park Phase 1</td>
<td>Medium Density</td>
<td>Completed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009-2011</td>
<td>257</td>
<td>Section 1B of Rockview Park Phase 1</td>
<td>Medium Density</td>
<td>Nearing Completion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current</td>
<td>720</td>
<td>Rockview Phase 1C</td>
<td>Medium Density</td>
<td>Work in progress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upcoming</td>
<td>3 700</td>
<td>Rockview Phase 2</td>
<td>High density</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>Mvurwi</td>
<td>High density</td>
<td>Work in Progress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up Coming</td>
<td>1 000</td>
<td>Chizhanje Harare</td>
<td>High density</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up Coming</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>Harare</td>
<td>Subdivisions</td>
<td>Completed units</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The Assistant Operations Manager points out that

“Our thrust is to develop virgin land into a fully serviced land, in partnership with local authorities and we call such joint ventures (JVs). In this arrangement, local authorities provide land and Shelter Zimbabwe provides infrastructure. Our final product is a fully
serviced land, a titled stand (I mean a stand with title deeds). We also have what we call Land Maximisation. In this approach, the idea is of increasing the housing stock in Harare without extending the frontiers. We negotiate with landowners [stand owners] who have big stands say 4.000m² to subdivide them to produce two or three other stands out of it.”

Shelter Zimbabwe has carried out Land Maximisation projects in Harare, in places such as Prospect, Malbereign, Bluff Hill and Borrowdale. Such subdivisions are not possible in high-density areas. The Assistant Operations Manager explains the rationale of ‘cutting’ the big stand: “Our argument is the stands of size 4.000m² were ideal then [in the colonial times] but not now, when there has been [great] population increase in the urban centres. Nevertheless, the success of Land Maximisation hinges on the goodwill of the landowner. Once the landowner agrees we know already that the Local Authority is going to approve. Local authorities [we deal with] have consented to the approach.”

The disposal of the serviced stands is normally specified by the partners of the housing company, particularly the local authorities. The purchases must service the housing waiting list of the local authority. Thus, high and medium density stands are disposed of through the open market system. Where the Land Maximisation Approach is concerned, the manner in which the open market works is somewhat different. The seller normally finds own buyers or sell through an estate agent. Apart from the Joint Venture arrangement, which is by a memorandum of understanding (MoU), Shelter Zimbabwe also has what is known as a Special Purpose Vehicle (SPV). It is explained as follows:

“This is about the local authority, Shelter Zimbabwe plus other professional partners. These come together and form a company to deliver the special project at hand only for the company to dissolve after delivery. Roles and functions of each partner, as well as the profit sharing arrangement is agreed upon. We have partners that we call permanent partners and these are: PlanAfric, for planning, Brian Colquhoun and Company, for civil engineering, Genesis Bank, for banking and project financing, and Kashangura and Associates, for land surveying. Our temporary partners are contractors we hire. They normally depend on their performance in the assigned tasks. They may include estate
agents for selling stands. Contractors are normally excluded from special purpose vehicle arrangements.”

The advantage with SPV is that it is a way of financing the company’s housing projects; partners are assured of their rewards at the end of the project. This aids financing for infrastructure and related development. Yet, the banker needs some certification of agreed milestones before releasing funding. The surveying partner can be called upon any time to provide their services. For instance, if pegs are removed, the surveyor comes to replace them. The justification, as noted by the Assistant Operations Manager is that “… because [he] is still a partner until the project ends.”

Since Shelter Zimbabwe does not put up superstructures, the services of architects are *ultra vires*. The Assistant Operations Manager explains that delay in project implementation is inevitable. The main reason for this is bureaucracy, although there are mechanisms in place to try to manage the setbacks. He points out: “Local authorities, through their structures have to follow laid down procedures. Nevertheless, as you know, their structures are a mixed bag of people. They work through committees and committee meetings happen at spaced times. This is a cause of concern and delay to expected progress. But once we engage a local authority as a partner, it is also a way of managing the bureaucracy. For example when we have site meetings, the local authority must send its representative and usually that is an engineer. *Kana project ikafoira navowo vavoira*. Proof of presence at site meetings aids approvals... They have a duty to deliver.” 53 Besides the setbacks posed by bureaucratic tendencies, which are somewhat, exogenous to the project, there are also those occurring within the project set up, which tend to escalate projects costs. The Assistant Operations Manager argues that, “In Epworth, the rate of vandalism and theft has been very high. *Vonogona kuchera nokudzura mapipe achererwa pasi.* This means that we then have to invest more in security and that in turn means more costs to the project”. 54

In Epworth, Shelter Zimbabwe has a project called the Rockville Park Housing Project. Its prospective outcome is a medium to low-density residential area. The project site is located adjacent to Mutare Road, that is immediately south of the road. It is the land between Mutare Road and Epworth. The area is adjacent to Sunway City and the Shelter Zimbabwe Assistant
Operations Manager is of the view that Sunway City is in Harare. The land where Rockview Park is located was once State land and was granted to Epworth Local Board, which then decided to collaborate with Shelter Zimbabwe in order to deliver houses. Phase A of Rockville is complete now and we are in Phase B. Stands cost $12 per m², and once serviced, they are then sold on terms, in instalments over 36 months. Could it be that Rockville is the first low-medium density in Epworth? The Assistant Operations Manager argues that, “I should believe so. In fact, we are giving Epworth a new look. In addition, it is from this side from Mutare Road. As we get to the existing Epworth, we intend to service high-density stands. It is our hope that the local authority will resettle people living in areas without the facilities to [our high-density serviced stands in that time in the future]. But that depends on the local authority.”

One of the challenges in Epworth has been noted as the disbandment of the Zimbabwe National Water Authority (ZINWA). This body was operating with a cross-jurisdictional approach; it took no notice of municipal boundaries and had a regional approach (cf. Horenz, 1976; Catanese and Synder eds. 1988; Forster, 2001; Malizia, 2005; Seemann and Marinova, 2009; Simon, 2008; Chapman, 2005). But the return of ZINWA to its core functions as a water management body, has been a blow to the management of peri-urban towns and in particular, Epworth.

“ZINWA was not administering water looking at [local authority] boundaries. We now have three [independent administratively] authorities. Supplying water to the three authorities [Harare, Ruwa and Epworth] has not been without challenges.... Now we have to negotiate with Harare for water rights. We have to negotiate with the three local authorities because some of the pipes belong to Ruwa. Shall I say that the relationship between the three local authorities is not one of the best? Regarding the water situation, I must say that then [when ZINWA was managing], we had an overall authority over water. Things were moving. Now, without that water supply, there is a big challenge in the area.”

The other challenge for housing developers like Shelter Zimbabwe is political partyism, which tends to bring unnecessary tension between principal housing delivery players. The Assistant Operations Manager says, “We also have to look at the history of the two settlements. For example, Ruwa was for white farmers. With the prevailing political tension in the country most of the things with some sympathy with the whites is taken to be from MDC and that sparks
tension.” Shelter Zimbabwe has other projects in Marondera and in Mvurwi. The complete list of the areas therefore includes Harare, Epworth, Marondera and Mvurwi (cf. Table 7.1). Although the company has tried in other towns, a number of constraints have been noted. These constraints relate to the composition of the councils that has a bearing on the making of critical decisions, to the capital position of Shelter Zimbabwe, and the past performance of the economy. To counter some of the challenges relating to mistrust shown by clients, Shelter Zimbabwe speaks of ‘phasing development’. The Assistant Operations Manager narrates:

“We have also had an attempt of Kadoma City but it proved difficult to convince them. It is not easy to establish relations with local authorities like we have done with Harare and Epworth. Some are very sceptical about our approach. In addition, there is the committee system, which I once talked about. We have had cases where there was some agreement and then we find after a while some letters being written back to us to reverse the agreements. Debates in committees end up not being rational but something else.

I think most of our local authorities are very rigid. They are not ready to try new approaches. When we approach them, we don’t tell them we have money. We tell them we have a ‘formula’. Some then demand bank statements. However, we say we have a financier. They want to see the cash flow statement..., which we do not have. *Mari yavanotarisira kuona apa kana mari yakadaro munyika hamhuna...*

We once tried *mapay* schemes. However, those do not work. They have their own challenges. Pay schemes! You get land. You look out for clients. The clients begin to contribute [money]. Moreover, they have their stands serviced. Nevertheless, they were heavily discredited *panguva yeZimdollar* due to the hyperinflation. *Mari ine value nhasi mangwana haina, haichatengi chinhu asi client ari kutarisira chinhu nokuti akachibhadharira.* To start this approach now [in the dollarisation period], *vanhu vanokuti muri matsotsi.* Pay schemes were associated with what we called escalation costs. Such escalation would be passed to the stand beneficiaries who would then resist paying.... Due to those shortcomings, we now talk of phasing development so that we manage with resources we have at hand. With development phasing, we will service stands and sell them at, say 50% to completion, where we can recover our costs as clients begin to pay instalments.”

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Shelter Zimbabwe says it has no projects in Ruwa except one Etosha Project, which is still on the
cards: “I should say we have no projects there. We had one on the cards [Etosha Project].
Nevertheless, its feasibility failed due to water challenges. Underground water supplies were
insufficient and water could only be brought there at a very high cost. Though we are still working
around what can be done, we have no project on the ground [in Ruwa] yet.” 59 Despite challenges
and setbacks, Shelter Zimbabwe’s vision is to expand into all towns and cities in the country and
eventually Southern Africa. The story of Shelter Zimbabwe is a tale of seeking innovative
practices in housing delivery in the country amid socio-economic and political challenges. Issues
of trust, mistrust, confidence and suspicion, to say the least, are the real shapers of stewardship.
Shelter Zimbabwe remains convinced that with trans-jurisdictional approaches to a problem,
change for the better is possible. In its own right, such an approach and initiative, is in line with
the thinking of supporters of the stewardship model. How to raise finances and how to gain
political will remain central to the whole idea. Indeed, addressing these challenges, no doubt,
answers the sustainability question of the projects, programmes and outcomes as put across by,

7.4 Civil Society (Voluntary) Sector Initiatives
Under the section of Voluntary Sector Initiatives, I take the case of Practical Action Southern
Africa (PASA) as the epitome of such efforts.

7.4.1 Practical Action Southern Africa (PASA)’s contribution
In 2009, PASA mooted a Promoting Examples of Participatory Local Empowerment in Urban
Planning (PEOPLE UP), which is a four-year project (Practical Action, 2011). The project is
funded by the European Commission through Practical Action Southern Africa. The goal of the
project is that of improving the living conditions of the poor and marginalised people living in
urban and peri-urban areas by ensuring their access to basic municipal infrastructure. PASA’s
demonstrations are being implemented in Epworth and Mutare. To realise its goal, PASA has a
firm belief anchored in the tenet that fostering relevant institutional structures at both municipal
and community level will help to capture the needs, views and priorities for infrastructure and
enhance service delivery. The existing and new residents associations, cooperatives and small-

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thrust is the planning and delivery of basic infrastructure levels at ward level. The idea is to “...strengthen community voices and promote more participation by residents through their representative structures and enhance their input in selecting technological and delivery options in service delivery” (Practical Action, 2011:2). The primary object is to put the ‘targeted’ people in the driving seat of the processes so that they automatically take ownership of the initiative.

The target groups and beneficiaries are 62,000 of the 302,000 residents in Sakubva Mutare and 240,000 in Epworth. The majority of the beneficiaries in Mutare are the elderly, orphans, and vulnerable children. In Epworth, the beneficiaries are segmented between the originals and the new migrants, who have failed to secure accommodation in Harare, the capital city. It is envisaged that 12 local authorities will have benefited from the PEOPLE UP project initiative in the long run. The overall results, according to Practical Action (2011), are strengthened by local authorities with established structures and processes to consult and fully integrate infrastructure service delivery needs and priorities of poor urban and peri-urban residents, and the enhanced capacity and voices of local community and their leaders to understand and demand improved service delivery. Moreover, the partnerships formed increase income and employment opportunities for urban poor from service delivery, and inclusive approaches in service delivery for the poor and marginalised documented and disseminated to influence policies and practices of other 10 Local Authorities in Zimbabwe.

To this end, Practical Action has involved Civic Forum on Housing (CFH) and Mutare Housing Cooperatives District Union (MHCDU) as the main project partners with strong grassroots links. From PASA’s objectives, one can see exactly the ‘spirit’ of stewardship as put across by stewardship theorists (Parr et al 2002; Stoll, 2006; McKinney et al, 2004). However, on the ground, there seems to be more hurdles and constraints than those expected. This is explained by the little scope covered in terms of the goals of place stewardship. One can largely attribute the relative lack of progress to the political ‘bickering’ happening on the ground, as evidenced by the polarity at national level. It is unfortunate that in a politically volatile milieu, it is the poor who suffer most, in violation of the development agenda that different agencies purport to hold (Potts, 2006; Sigauke, 2002a).
7.4.2 The Contribution of Dialogue on Shelter for the Homeless in Zimbabwe Trust

Dialogue on Shelter for the Homeless in Zimbabwe Trust (Dialogue in short), was formed in 1997 and registered in 1998. The Project Coordinator for Land and Housing explains that, “It was an initiation by Beth Chitekwe-Biti and others who, having made contacts with the South Africa Homeless People’s Federation, came to appreciate that the marginalised groups were failing to find space in urban areas. With this insight, Dialogue was formed to give voice to the poor so that they can negotiate for access to land. Since the organisation was organised as a private voluntary organisation [PVO], Dialogue had no direct interface with the communities. That gap has since been filled in by the Zimbabwe Homeless People’s Federation who now work us our face.”

The mission of Dialogue is thus to ensure that urban poor communities work to create own habitats, through their initiatives and self-determination. In terms of partnerships, Dialogue works with community organisations that constitute an autonomous network known as the Zimbabwe Homeless People’s Federation. The network carries out community mobilisation such that, to date, it “... is working in 74 areas, has an active membership of 52,000 families who are grouped in 582 saving schemes across the country.”

In terms of its modus operandi, Dialogue works as a development facilitator, engaging in negotiations with an identified local authority on behalf of the urban poor. The Project Coordinator elucidates that:

“In our engagements with local authorities, we remind them [local authorities] that the urban poor exist. We speak on behalf of the poor. *Tisu tinobereka community toimirira kumalocal authority. Ivo vakaenda voga havanzwike.* (We literally carry the poor communities on our back as Dialogue, representing and lobbying for them with the local authorities. Remember if they go on their own, no one listens to them. So we are the voice of the poor.) We prepare these poor so that they mobilise themselves such that when they speak they are a force to reckon with and the local authorities can listen to them. Part of the mobilisation involves making sure that they mobilise resources (for example they have a fund called the Gungano Fund) that show to the local authority that given a resource like land, they are in position to develop it. As Dialogue, we assess their progress and put their concerns in a language – technical language – that local authorities can listen. Our idea is that communities should be able to stand on their own. However, they need support and we provide such support hence to them we are a technical partner.
We augment their efforts by working with them in areas of fundraising, proposal writing and such like technical areas.**62

Dialogue has worked with an international partner, the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (BMGF) (Box 7.1) in improving part of the peri-urban settlement in Harare.

**Box 7.1: The Contribution of Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation to Improving the Lives of the Urban Poor**

Harare began to work in conjunction with the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (MBGF) in November 2008. Mayor Muchadeyi Masunda says the link began when he attended the World Urban Forum in China in 2008. After presenting about Harare to 4 000 mayors participating in a round table at the forum, he was approached by an employee of the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation. Two weeks after this forum, the Mayor participated in an EU development day’s symposium in Strasbourg, France where he spoke to an audience of about 2 000 presenting on Harare and Zimbabwe. The same employee of the MBGF re-approached him having liked his presentation. The mayor then participated again in another forum in Barcelona in January 2010. Through dialogue, the mayor managed to get US$5 million to use on regenerating high-density areas like Mbare and “… to assist the people in the low end of the market to access funds to build houses for themselves.”

Eventually, the foundation got involved in trying to refurbish the 58 blocks of hostels in Mbare by first embarking on enumerations of the squatters. Currently the foundation is working in Dzivarasekwa where, with the blessing of the council is building 486 units which consumes the US$5 million obtained from the foundation. The Mayor points out that, “…Bill and Melinda Gates are very concerned about the relentless migration of people from rural to urban areas to such an extent that by the year 2030, 80 percent of the world’s population will be living in urban areas. That concern stems simply from how the cities will cope with that influx of people. That’s why they are channelling funds to make sure that cities are able to put the necessary infrastructure in place in terms of housing, water and sanitation. It’s an important thing for them to do and we stand ready to benefit from that because our systems as part of all the hardships that we have endured since November 1997 are still the best and better than most countries not only in Africa, but beyond.”

Source: Adapted from The Herald (22 December 2012), ‘Bill Gates doing a sterling job in Zim’

The Project Coordinator explains thus,

“Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation is one of the biggest funders of Slum/Shack Dwellers International (SDI). Our partnership with this foundation began through the link created by the mayor of Harare. They agreed to have a five-year project worth of US$5 million. Initially, we were allocated land kwaTsiga kuMbare and we created a layout of 89 plots. If we had wanted high-rise flats for the area, we would have designed for that. The targeted beneficiaries were Mbare residents. But in Mbare, there is Chipangano, a group linked to ZANU PF. Because we could not take much of its membership as beneficiaries of the scheme, Chipangano made noise about the whole project so we decided to relocate the project to Dzivarasekwa (DZ) Extension. The political squabbles that arose made us to move out in the meantime. The land in DZ had been allocated to us
as far back as 2006 because this area had a good number of former Porta Farm residents. Initially we carried out a survey and found out that there were 188 households squatting there. In a second survey, we established 166 households. In a third survey, we found 152 families. To date 150 families have been beneficiaries from the scheme though the layout accommodates 480 plots for housing. You find that our enumerations were showing declining figures of the squatters. This is because each time, some of the households were moving out of the place and benefitting in housing schemes elsewhere, for example in Hatcliffe. The difference between 150 and 480 of the stands have been taken up by members of the Zimbabwe Homeless People’s Federation.”

In DZ Extension, Dialogue has brought in a number of affordable solutions to housing the poor including the drilling boreholes, the introduction of a skyloo (type of ecological sanitation shortened ecosan) toilets and lobbying the Harare City Council to accept incremental housing development and in situ upgrading. To this end, the Project Coordinator stresses that,

“Dialogue works with the community to ensure that they make affordable house plans. The city’s duty is to provide infrastructure (including roads’ provision, sewer and supervision of the civic works) and in this case, it has to be in the end. On the other hand, it is the federation’s duty to provide menial labour on matters like offloading of materials upon their delivery and digging of foundations and other trenches when such are needed. In our negotiations as for land with any local authority, normally we want land that is as close to the source markets of livelihood activities as possible. The land we target is that one which is in close proximity to the central business district, for example in Gweru; we have had 71 plots for housing in Ascot, what we call the Ascot Infill. Such land is not always available as you often find that towns and cities often earmark that for prime development and the land is very expensive hence, the poor cannot afford it. With such a development we then find our projects being pushed to the periphery except where the town may still be small like in Shurugwi.”

The words of the Project Coordinator highlight the realities in most cities, where the poor are pushed to the periphery, since the most priced land in most urban centres is centrally located. Nevertheless the principle of trying to get the poor as close to their sources of livelihoods and markets is in tandem with the realisation by scholars and policymakers that pushing away the poor is in fact more costly in the long run, as these groups tend to find their way back into the
city. Besides, locating the poor at the centre ensures diversity. This brings in compactness to city as opposed to sprawling.

Through its 2009 Epworth Profiling Report, Dialogue established that more than 70% of the Epworth residents are living in squalid conditions and that most residents are settled on unserviced land which has not officially been allocated to them. The report notes that the settlement is currently faced with water and sanitation challenges, owing to the lack of a reticulated water and sewer network notably in Overspill and Chiremba. In addition, although the formal planned settlements have the infrastructure to support these services, the systems are typically non-functional. Moreover, the water network, which was installed in 1992, is still unused, and people have resorted to deep, unprotected wells, which pose a serious health challenges. Furthermore, the profiling report notes that Epworth faces sewer challenges as most people have resorted to the use of Blair and pit latrine toilets, which are not well positioned in relation to the available deep wells, and could result in their contamination.

The unavailability of electricity in areas like Chiremba and Chinamano has seen people using firewood, sawdust and paraffin as energy sources. However, the ever-growing population has created a strain on the environment in Epworth. Since the developers are mainly focussed on the development of stands, little has been done concerning environmental protection, thereby compromising the sustainability of the settlement. The Project Coordinator tells how Dialogue identified the developmental gap:

“Our work in Epworth began in 1998; we already established savings schemes. In 2008, we thought of having an enumeration in the settlement to get our figures correct in order to convince government of our mandate, philosophy and the route we wanted to establish in helping the urban poor. We realised it was becoming very difficult to get greenfields to initiate sites and services schemes. Upon costing it, we found out that it was even cheaper to get to the people who already held land, negotiate with them and try to upgrade their habitats. With this idea, we approached Epworth and started the profiling, just to get a sense of the place. Our target was all the wards in the settlement, that is, Wards 1 to 7. We also intended to get into detailed enumerations that we then started with ward 7 being the largest. Ward 7 is under a very strong ZANU PF woman councillor hence it is a ZANU PF stronghold.”
“At first, the councillor and her people gave us a hard time. They did not want to cooperate since they had their own plans about the area. When they hit a brick wall, they turned to us. After piloting with Ward 7, we then went to the next stage of producing a layout. I must say the layout differs a great deal with the conventional layout plans. For example, in one area we just designated it as a market corridor. I must point it straight the road that we have moved in Epworth has been with many challenges. In fact, it has been so rough that we had to overcome a number of obstacles and resistance. For Ward 7, I now realise that the resistance was not just negative. We were drifting in the same direction with the residents only that we had not fully understood each other. When we understood each other, we then flowed. Now, we are in Ward 4 upon invitation to ‘repeat’ the process that we did in Ward 7. Our intention, though, as Dialogue, is not to do everything for Epworth. We believe we have demonstrated how it must be done so that local authority and the community must take over the process. We have not come to replace or supersede the local authority. Our duty has just been to show them the way.”

7.5 ZIMHABITAT: A cocktail of actors

Sustainability and informed stewardship is that which draws actors to a single point of agreement. There are numerous players in housing delivery in Zimbabwe including the Government, local authorities, the private sector, cooperatives, and individuals. A variety of skills are needed in housing delivery, and these are encapsulated in the professionals and trades people including engineers, planners, land surveyors, architects, builders, plumbers, carpenters and many others (Vakil, 1994; Kamete and Mubvami, 1999; Hall, 2001; Toriro, 2006).

The 2009 National Housing Convention recommended the re-institutionalisation of ZIMHABITAT, which is a platform for all actors in housing delivery in the country that operates outside government.

The DPP Deputy Director states the following:

“Do you know about ZIMHABITAT? I am a member and I can say I have attended ninety-nine percent of all the meetings it has called for. It is a formation with so many players discussing housing. Sometimes there is dancing and singing during deliberations. ZIMHABITAT derives its agenda from encumbrances that different players have in delivering or getting houses. We have noted that the government cannot hold all the different actors that are into housing. This is because of the diversity. There is need to
maximise participation. ZIMHABITAT is a standalone entity, outside government. If you check on what it is doing, you will see that are a number of innovations and initiatives regarding issues of housing and in particular, regarding places like Epworth. Dialogue on Shelter, for example, is talking about upgrading Epworth”66.

The emergence of ZIMHABITAT can be said to have ‘de-mystified’ housing delivery, so that it is seen as a process done by combination of actors, including the poor, working in collaboration with the professionals and donors (cf. Franks and McGloin, 2006). Collaboration is critical to achieving sustainability in the face of ‘dissenting’ voices. At least when actors can agree that working together is necessary to ensure that negative impacts to the environment are reduced, and that order in land acquisition for urban development is achieved.

7.6 Summary
Civil society groups have also been instrumental in bringing in innovation mechanisms of development, for example Dialogue on Shelter in Epworth has marked in settlement to try to introduce participatory planning tools for upgrading. At first, such efforts were not well received. PASA has also worked in the same way. However, such processes need to be correctly handled, as political interferences may hinder the expected outcomes or block the planned path for development. The concessionary model of local development as shown in this chapter argues that for development of any settlement to take place, the local authority usually signs contracts and memoranda with various organizations. The local authority is then the fulcrum that determines acceptable processes to be done in the place. Specifically, this chapter has demonstrated how the participation of international organizations, for instance, the World Bank, USAID, UNDP, Melinda and Bill Gates Foundation make a critical contribution to resolving housing and sanitation challenges. Such partnerships are usually achieved by way of decentralized governance. Nevertheless such negotiations are quite difficult in formulation given local politics even involving the grassroots. This derails and detours progress. Certain contracts are misunderstood with respect to local private sector negotiations, local authorities normally get involved in transactions that they provide land and the other partners bring in technical and financial resources.
The foregoing discussion shows that different actors are ‘pushed’ by different motives in shaping peri-urban environments. It is evident from the partners’ philosophies that most are mutually conflicting while others are mutually reinforcing. In view of these divergent operational objectives, from a management viewpoint, it becomes justified that a mutually reinforcing framework is required to address challenges in peri-urban housing and environmental degradation. Formulating such a framework ought to be guided by certain values and ethics, solidly founded up the principle of sustainable development. One point of interest that merges from this discussion is that synergies, networks and partnerships are essential to building sustainable settlements and programmes. The major challenge, perhaps, is that of ensuring that these last. The next chapter will strive to give a summary to this whole study, draw some key lessons and conclusions, and propose a working model for sustainable peri-urban housing and stewardship.
CHAPTER EIGHT
CONCLUSIONS, LESSONS, POLICY IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

“Planners can and should take a multi-vocal approach, focusing on the interactions among consensus events, persons of difference, scenarios, and plans.” – Hopkins and Zapata (2008:3)

8.1 Introduction
Housing is both an issue of the environment (Muzvidziwa, 2005) and an issue of community and stakeholders’ organisation (Donaldson and Davis, 1989; 1991). This study sought to investigate peri-urban housing, in the framework of regional or place stewardship in Zimbabwe. The case study of Ruwa and Epworth has helped to highlight issues pertaining to housing and stewardship in peri-urban settings. In its endeavour to historicise the processes of housing and habitat delivery, the study has indicated the transformations, continuities and discontinuities that have emerged over the years (CAGOH, 2002; Toriro, 2006; 2007; Tibajjuka, 2005; Kamete, 1997; 1998; 1999a; 1999b; 1999c; 2000a; 2000b; 2001a; 200b 2002a; 2002b; 2000c; 2006; Kamete; Sidambe and Ndubiwa, 2000). Specifically, in the coming paragraphs I summarize the findings as reflected in the specific research objectives of this study, namely to:

i. Identify and classify stakeholders in housing delivery in the peri-urban zones with the view of explaining policy and practical bearings by each over time.
ii. Explain differential processes and trends, if any, in the transformation and quality of the physical provision of shelter (stocks) in peri-urban settlements.
iii. Relate global and regional efforts in the housing and stewardship debate and practices associated with peri-urban settlements.
iv. Propose practical and policy alternatives in tackling peri-urban housing and stewardship matters at different levels of analysis (local and regional).

8.2 Summary and Discussion
This summary and discussion of study findings is organised in such a way that the three basic aspects to the objectives of the research are systematically outlined. These aspects are:

- the identification and criteria for classifying peri-urban housing stakeholders
• housing related processes, trends and effects over time, and,
• global and regional efforts in the housing and stewardship debate and practices and how these relate to the local context.

It is from the discussion and synthesis of the aspects that I then draw some policy implications of peri-urban housing and stewardship in Zimbabwe.

8.2.1 Identification and Criteria for classifying peri-urban housing stakeholders

The study has identified and classified a number of stakeholders in the framework of housing and stewardship. Stewardship is best achieved by way of collaborative effort (Stoll, 2006; Hopkins and Zapata, 2008). The issue of housing is a very complex one, as is that of the peri-urban environment. Stewardship is a process aimed at achieving sustainability by way of linking the two. In providing a framework for identifying the stakeholders in peri-urban housing and stewardship, it is envisaged that such helps in ensuring workable solutions prescribed for this (rather provisional) zone. These solutions ought to be in keeping of sustainability in the practice of housing development and place stewardship. A one-size-fits-all approach to anything is a pretentious way of achieving important results, being tantamount to self-deception (UNHABITAT, 2009; Tibaijuka, 2009; Stoll, 2006).

The study has revealed, as indicated especially in Chapter 7, that stakeholders in any process also have their stakeholders too, which has a bearing on policy processes and outcomes (Bourne, 1981). The case of Ruwa and Epworth has revealed that there are many players and stakeholders in the housing and habitat sector. At a very local level, the stakeholders can be described according to the criteria set for their analysis, namely: trans-generational status, focus and mode of operation, level of operation (being state or non-state), space use, method of space acquisition, ties to land, period of stay, instruments applied for operations, as well as according to mobility status.

(a) Trans-generational status: past, present and future generation

The major stakeholder in stewardship studies is the future generations (Cirman, 2007). Literature on sustainable development clearly demonstrates that the present generations are loaning ‘resources’ they are using from the future generation. Housing, as the major consumer of land
and its resources (Anderson and Engelsstoft, 2004; Berner, 2001; Huby, 1998; Hasse and Lathrop, 2003), has resulted in some countries such as Mexico (cf. Houston, 2005) becoming ‘urbanised jungles’. By implication, the generations to come in that country will never fully know what rural life is like. They are made to live with the effects of the “urban penalty” (UNCHS, 2001; Hood, 2005), and as a result, we are faced with ‘sustainability failure’. This has been the trend in many developing countries today, which now rely on knowledge from museums or tour regions like Africa to see certain animal species.

(b) According to focus and mode of operation

The reasons why people invest in housing differ from one household to the other (Mbiba and Ndubiwa, 2006). Some people invest in housing for shelter, some to lease it out, while others still do so for the purposes of speculation and self-aggrandisement. From the study, it has emerged that in the colonial days the poor whites were allocated some peri-urban plots. However, in post-colonial Zimbabwe, the rich blacks claim this space (cf. Odero, 2003). The same was observed by Briggs and Mwamfupe (2000) in peri-urban Dar-es-Salaam, where perceptions about peri-urban plot acquisitions changed from being “zones of survival” to being “zones of investments” (Briggs and Mwamfupe, 2000:804). In peri-urban Ruwa and Epworth, too, Harare Metropolitan Province has more than 4000 farmers who are temporarily making use of the available land until urban development takes place. In Magada, Epworth, the existence of informal land speculation through ‘slumlords’ is a critical phenomenon. Those who came earlier tend to hold land on which they build temporary structures, where the homeless from Harare and neighbouring settlements are ready to settle. This has given rise to informal renting in the peri-urban space. Thus, rents paid get to just ‘property owners’ (without getting to the service provide, the local authority), stifling processes of effective development levy collection. The poor are subjected to inadequate housing so they “pay more, even in the peri-urban areas, where life is assumed to be cheaper and more affordable than in the inner city.

(c) According to level of operation

Levels of operation of stakeholders are varied, beginning with the private individual, the household, the community, cooperative groupings and associations, consortia, government-led operations, sub-national and national operations, and finally regional and global operations. The
individual level is usually characterised by dreams, aspirations and experiences that may be of homelessness or receiving housing assistance. At community level, community aspirations and dreams are spelt out through community-visioning initiatives, which sometimes foster community-building, or even divisions and conflicts (cf. Ziller, 2004). At national level, there are standards and policies that are shaped through stakeholders’ input and debate. The processes are better enabled by the State, given its powers as enshrined in national laws. From regional and global levels, concepts and policy agendas are usually derived. However, some of the concepts are very difficult to practice on the ground, given the different contexts and cultural values in different places around the globe. If one considers why it has taken so long for nations to embrace self-help housing initiatives which were discussed at the Vancouver Housing Conference in 1976, one sees that quite a number of countries were resisting taking this idea on board (cf. Tibaijuka, 2009; UNHABITAT, 2009). Bourne (1981) has said that housing is a “political hot potato”. As such, many governments often use housing as a promissory note to get votes and keep themselves in power. For Zimbabwe, after Operation Murambatsvina, the government overcommitted itself to the overwhelming task of constructing houses for the homeless through Operation Garikayi/Hlalani Kuhle (Mufema, 2008). This was quite myopic, given that it had miscalculated its capacity. Yet it was a way of demonstrating that at least it ‘cared’ for its populace, a move that can be viewed as that of a steward becoming a nanny. In both Ruwa and Epworth, as in any other settlement, there are traces of the unfinished houses from the Operation Garikayi/Hlalani Kuhle. The government has since shifted that responsibility to the local authorities.

(d) According to being either state on non-state:

In this criterion, housing and stewardship processes are defined as state-sector-led, private-corporate-led, voluntary-sector-led, or community-led. State-led processes usually have a Fordist appeal, in which standardised outputs are delivered (Noero, 1994). The State tries to achieve much in a short space of time. The private-led housing processes are usually faster than the State-led ones. The fact that the hand of the State and that of the voluntary sector in Ruwa is the reason why outputs and outcomes in the general townscape are remarkably appealing. Community-led processes typify Epworth, with the voluntary sector trying as much as it can to assist. An attempt by Practical Action to build a demonstration house for the poor is flawed in
that the demonstration house is ‘high-pitched’ in direct contrast of the ‘lowering the ladder’ mantra upheld by Payne and Majale (2004) and Payne (2000). Perhaps, the actor should have stipulated the timeframe in which a family is expected to have completed a building such a house. The issue of appropriate technology is pivotal in the creation of sustainable habitats in the peri-urban areas (SWH, 2006). At the same time, sustainability is a meaningful idea if the housing artefacts are to last longer (Dzemydiene, 2008; Mitlin, 2002). In most cases, the poor pay more because the materials they use for building are unsustainable. Like Esther’s house in Magada, Epworth, the houses are likely to collapse at the point when the user really needs it.

(e) **According use of space available:**

While the four walls and a roof matter for sleeping and cooking needs, space outside the shelter shell also has great use value. It can be taxonomised as either productive or reproductive space, in which farming and mining or worship and recreational needs are met respectively. The space use can also be viewed as either on-plot or off-plot, or either indoor or outdoor. Those who mine and extract sands or concrete pebbles are normally active on days of when mass constructions are taking place, and they tend to shift outwards as the urban ‘boundary’ shifts. In both Epworth and Ruwa, activities by the minors tended to follow on the residue of past operations by quarry companies. Peri-urban farming is a continuous activity long after settlements are established (cf. Mushamba, Muvami, Marongwe and Chatiza, 2003). Indoor space use is the primary focus of the family or household: whether they will let in a lodger, allocate rooms to different members of the family or use the rooms for storage of harvests, as evidenced in the case of Mbuya Todii.

(f) **According to method of space acquisition:**

Here, it is observed that some plots in the peri-urban have been allotted and designated to the holders, while the holders have invaded others. Those that are designated include those obtained through the market and through public processes. In market processes, holders are there by purchase or leasehold. This criterion is linked to the ties that holders have to the land (tenure), whether it be ownership or tenancy, hence to the time of stay in place: temporary or ‘permanent’. The mobility status of the peri-urban dwellers is also critical to how they are defined, as some would seem more mobile than others. As such, the more permanent settlers could be taken as being in-situ operators. Those with longer tenure in a place are likely to develop their plots with
a long-range planning initiative than those who are not sure of their future in the place in question. Those households that are likely to be evicted from the place of occupancy tend to be sceptical about ‘investing’ in the area and plot. This is further reinforced by the type and nature of instruments applied in the acquisition, whether legislative provisions were applied, whether some policy prescriptions define it, or whether it was through some voluntary mechanism of settlement. Ruwa, being predominantly formal, has followed most of the legislative requirements in the development of modern settlements including planning and subjection to scrutiny of the provisions of the environmental impact assessment. In Epworth, on the other hand, settlement has been permitted through policy of tolerance of informal settlements.

The foregoing classification is not conclusive, but rather illustrative of how peri-urban dwellers and stakeholders behave in the locations of their habitation. In the next section, I examine the processes, trends and effects of peri-urban housing at local, national, regional and global levels. The classification of stakeholders has very important implications in the planning, governance and stewardship of the peri-urban space (cf. Cortemiglia, 2006). Some of the stakeholders are at local level, while others are at the international level. A mixed scanning approach in policy development is very critical in the analysis of how the global-local nexus shapes space (see Table 8.1, for detail).

8.2.2 Housing related processes, trends and effects over time

Housing in the peri-urban settlements is associated with many processes, which have different impacts over time. The processes include, *inter alia*:

- Farming (on-plot and off-plot) to provide the households with additional food for their needs,
- Mining, especially in the form of quarrying and sand extractions for construction needs of the housing structure,
- Worship, as a religious and spiritual requirement by the family members be it on plot or off-plot or at designated sites,
- Recreation, as a reproductive activity including sight-seeing, fishing and related activities including those done at schools as part of the extra-curriculum,
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Criterion Factor</th>
<th>Typology</th>
<th>Implications</th>
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<tr>
<td>Trans-generational status: past, present and future generations</td>
<td>These are mainly households and communities.</td>
<td>The approach places importance on intra and inter-generational equity. Housing processes from construction to usage must be so planned that households, communities or generations are not disadvantaged by the behaviour of the past or present generation (cf. Cirman, 2007). It is a matter of public and overall generational interest. A governance model helps to bring actors together to formulate a stewardship model that works for transparency, equity, accountability, trust, and rule of law. The framework has to bring all actors at different levels together.</td>
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| Focus and mode of operation | Micro-level (households, communities and the local authority)  
Meso-level (provincial and district)  
Macro-level (central government ministries, agencies and departments), international bodies and regional bodies | The micro-level determines the day-to-day operations, events and implementation of plans. This level determines the resultant landscape and architecture in space in terms of the houses built and the environmental improvements or degradation that meet the eye.  
This is a planning and policy formulation sphere. Sometimes it rules through set by-laws.  
The national level is a defining sphere in terms of statutory and policy level. The aspirations of the nation are defined. The agencies implement as well as enforce the set standards.  
At regional and international level, a number of concepts defined. These are trans-boundary but sometimes very difficult to implement or contextualise as the concepts sometimes tend to be vague, too ambitious or rather utopian. |
| Level of operation | Micro-level (households, communities and the local authority)  
Meso-level (provincial and district)  
Macro-level (central government ministries, agencies and departments), international bodies and regional bodies | See above. It must be made clear that implementation and enforceability of standards are largely possible at the micro-level as these are the builders, plot users, polluters, poachers etc. As we move up the ladder, it becomes more of rhetoric than actionable. Stewardship is more practicable if it is done by local people and institutions than by globalised and esoteric institutions that are removed from the realities on the ground. The latter, however, are critical for formulating strategies and casting the picture wider. In reality, some mixed scanning approach is required, where the bird’s eye view of the reality is placed in sync with the worm’s eye view of development. In peri-urban housing planning, such items as the global figures in housing backlog and migration patterns must be so understood, so that when land, finance and infrastructure to support the housing process are availed the arithmetical computations balance off. |
| Either state or non-state: | State actors (central government ministries, departments, agencies, municipalities or local authorities)  
Non-state actors (NGOs, the private corporate sectors, CBOs, etc.) | Overall, the state actors are regulators. Historically, they are also providers of housing and environmental goods. In recent years, there has been an increased call on them to act more as facilitators and regulators. In their regulation and facilitation, there is need that the instruments they wield are effective and efficient, whether in the form of incentives or sanctions (the carrot-and-stick approach). This would make them effective gatekeepers as well as agencies.  
The action of these actors is defined by the motifs they hold. These motifs define their effectiveness. If they are to be effective stewards, they must balance between profit-making and social corporate responsibility, if they are private corporate; and between advocacy and rationality. There is rationality that militates against equity and advocacy that works against rationality. It is the balance or rather the harmonization of rationality and advocacy that creates a more sustainable future. |
### Use of space available

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<th>On-plot</th>
<th>Off-plot</th>
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This applies more at the micro-level picture, in which households and members of the community use their plots: for, among other things, gardening, rental accommodation, work-shopping and marketing of different wares. It includes indoor space. This is linked to values, ethics and culture of the space users. This space tends to define the type of people, hence stewards, of the micro-space in question. Users pay rentals or some levies to show the tenure bracket they belong to, whether ownership (single, block or communal) or leasehold or invasion.

This has to do with community public assets in place including the streets, the open spaces, the rivers and streams, the vleis and sacred places. However, some members of the community will privatise some of these, thereby excluding others. The converted spaces are sometimes for farming, manufacturing, vending and recreation. If stewardship is about taking turns, then this purpose will already have been defeated as the rotational facility will have been foiled.

### Method of space acquisition

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<th>Formal</th>
<th>Informal</th>
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The formal way is done in cooperation with the institutions and regulations that define areas. Stewardship in this sphere is clear-cut. However, there may be cases of corruption where certain officers in the institutions use their office for private gain. When this happens, this becomes bad stewardship. Some developers have a tendency to horde the space which they acquire formally, waiting until it becomes more profitable to dispose of this land and space to desperate home and space seekers. This is speculation. When it happens in the informal space, then a case of slumlord-ism arises where desperate home-seekers are forced to paying ‘the wrong pocket’.

Desperation by home-seekers has often forced some households to leave the big cities for peri-urban areas so that they invade or illegally occupy land they find. The Epworth case is similar to that of Churu Farm, in that the Methodist Church and Reverence Ndabaningi Sithole who, on philanthropic grounds, invited the people to occupy their farms. The ‘beneficiaries’ live on the goodwill of the person offering the space who then occupies the space of a guarantor of their stay. In the case of Epworth, the church had to hand over the farms once it found it difficult to manage the growing population and its needs. For Churu farm, the government stopped the process simply because the ruling party may have seen the Reverend (being a politician too) ‘stealing the hearts’ of some of their voters. Again the aspect of the government as the regulator and/or facilitator in the management of peri-urban space comes in.

### Table 8.1: Classification of Stakeholders in Peri-urban Housing and Stewardship Implications
• Tenancy, as a livelihood strategy as families try to eke a living from the rentals earned from letting out space for accommodation or for work and business operations, and,
• Constructions, as they allow for labour-based survival strategies for bricklayers, resource miners, painters and related tradespersons.

As noted in this study, all these differential processes have a strong bearing on the quality of the physical provision of shelter (stocks) in peri-urban settlements. For instance, unskilled and semi-skilled personnel offer some labour-based techniques in housing provision. They build without conforming to the town planning and architectural requirements, such that the products would add to nothing but urban informality in the habitats in question. A whole lot of the shelter delivery processes in peri-urban settlement that ultimately shape the peri-urban habitats include land acquisition, infrastructure provision (servicing) and building materials’ acquisition especially direct extractions in the environment. There is also the observation of mass production versus incremental development of the shelter. Where informal settlement has taken place, regularisation is expected, as in the case of Epworth. Livelihood support is a critical process in peri-urban habitats. As already stated, it entails practices of brick moulding, sand poaching, farming, street vending and letting space for accommodation. Other processes include solid waste dumping and the conversions of houses to other uses.

The foregoing processes have occurred and continue to occur in different eras, which depict critical trends for analysis. In this study, in the context of Africa, trends have been defined according to colonial versus post-colonial policies, ideological pronouncements and resultant nuances by the different governments and political regimes and through changing attitudes and tastes of households and families. From this, it has been noted that the key determinants to the quality of housing stocks include, but not limited to:
• the performance of the economy including pressure exerted by it,
• income levels of households and families,
• the overall habitat in terms of how it has been shaped, be it formal or informal, which naturally also depend on the level of application and adherence to set standards, and,
• the aspirations and capacity of the individual investor to build shelter in defined peri-urban settlements just as elsewhere.
With these in mind, it is further critical to demonstrate how this study has attempted to relate the local experiences to the global and regional efforts in the housing and stewardship debate and practices relating to peri-urban settlements.

8.2.3 Peri-urban Housing and Stewardship Debate: Global and Regional Efforts
This study notes that peri-urbanisation is a growing phenomenon everywhere in the world including in North America (cf. Wissen-Hayek et al, 2011). It is observed further that Africa is fast urbanising and the peri-urban settlements in the region are immensely fragile and ever-transitioning (UNHABITAT, 2009). Peri-urban dwellers consist mainly of tribal groups, farmers and city dwellers flowing into this area, whose relationship with this environment tends to be uncertain, adverse and sometimes abusive of the resources at their exposure. Still, little remains understood regarding how most peri-urban dwellers secure decent shelter for themselves. This is against the background that the State has failed to provide adequate shelter for its citizens. The fulfilment of the 1976 UNCHS Habitat resolution and plea to giving space to self-help housing is manifesting itself in Zimbabwe as in many parts of sub-Saharan Africa (Zindoga, 1999), Latin America and Asia. In particular, Zimbabwe is at the crossroads; its urban sector is undergoing wholesale transformation, if not complete metamorphosis. Specifically, the housing and habitat sector has shifted from a dominantly State process to the one in the hands of private individuals.

This study has demonstrated that the population dynamics of the peri-urban zone involve two basic users of habitat and housing, namely the ‘original space occupiers’ and in-migrants. The in-migrants or ‘new settlers’ to the peripheral zone of the peri-urban can further be divided into two. First is the affluent and well-to-do class of people, who often seek after ‘breathing space’, away from the challenges of crowdedness, pollution and traffic jams associated with the drudgery of the ‘inner city’. Second are the urban poor, who are after the ‘cheap’ life in the city outskirts. These usually practise some form of ‘mixed economy’, in which they seek to maximise on the good that urban life promises them (jobs, markets, the promise for better services and facilities) while tapping on the natural provision of the nearby rural areas, including cheap land for gardening and other needs. The house is a place for interaction, reproduction and maintenance (Arthurson 2007).
8.3 Key Lessons Learnt

Five key lessons and therefore conclusions can be drawn from this study. Overall, peri-urban stewardship has not been developed to the extent that it has a framework that works, particularly in the developing countries, where peri-urbanisation is occurring at a hitherto unknown fast pace. There are many clashes and conflicts at the city borders. The detriments are that the future generations. Housing construction is the major cause of the reality of the ecological footprint. Vernacular practices and materials, including traditional practices and norms, are very rich sources of information about the concept, philosophy and practice of stewardship. These are generally defined by local people and conditions; they form the basis for sustainable practices.

The first key lesson is that peri-urbanisation is a growing phenomenon everywhere, and largely the spill-over effect of the population expansion in ‘big cities’. In light of this, rentals in the core city principally push the poor to the periphery. As such, the poor consider peri-urban ‘free’ and more ‘comfortable’ in terms of habitability, as opposed to those residential areas within the main cities. Yet the same poor people, as peri-urban dwellers, do not quite enjoy the houses that they build for themselves or rent owing to critical constraints including small size of rooms and the fact that most of the rooms fail to meet the anthropometric and ergonomic expectations and standards laid out in approved by-laws. It should be borne in mind that even if the peri-urban areas may appear cheap to live in, once infrastructure is installed, it must be paid for. This implies having a taxation system befitting purely peri-urban settlements. When this happens, there is betterment of place, which, in essence, attracts urban rates of taxation. It is likely that once that happens, by way of gentrification, the poor will be impelled to move away from the improved environments, thereby creating a vicious cycle of peri-urban settlements that lack basic infrastructure and services. What had been described by Home (2001) as ‘eating farmland and building housing’ will replicate itself continuously. Moreover, peri-urban development should be examined in the context of metropolitanisation, which characterises most African major cities today.

Secondly, economic and political circles are critical in shaping the terrain and approaches to housing delivery. The study has shed some light on how both colonial and post-colonial policies have shaped peri-urban settlement, with housing becoming a critical concern as activities in
different settlements in the peri-urban areas attract different types of people, who must be housed as they pursue their different activities in this zone. In the post-colonial era in Africa, most countries adopted structural adjustment programmes (SAPs), which have had a bearing on how some well-to-do and less privileged households have had ties with the peri-urban zones. In Zimbabwe, the fast-track land reform programme has resulted in the development of the so-called ‘peri-urban layouts’, thereby ushering in a new dimension in development, where access to land for housing has been achieved for the benefit the low-income groups in particular.

The third aspect to note is that most of the structures built are so poor that they fail to withstand rains or provide the much-needed comfort from the elements. Along the same lines, it is observed that housing development in peri-urban Zimbabwe is occurring at a very fast pace and that much of it lacks in basic infrastructure, given that in recent years incremental development has been hailed as panacea to the housing plight. As such, there are so many stands/plots allocated to households. However, stands should not be treated as houses, as they cannot provide the service that a properly instituted house would. The situation is further compounded by the lack of basic supportive infrastructure. Ruwa, though developed to high levels in terms of modern day housing schemes, still lacks in the number of schools that are considered necessary according to the existing town planning standards of one primary school for every 500 stands and one secondary school for every three primary schools. Another major land-use provision of concern due to its scarcity is the provision of burial space (cf. De Marco, 2000).

The fourth key observation and conclusion is that dependency on one’s immediate environment for drawing livelihoods is a constitutional right. In this study, it has emerged that peri-urban dwellers are rational beings capable of developing or sourcing products, which they will market for livelihood enhancement. It has become apparent that most poor peri-urban dwellers would not be willing to live where they do if realistic prices were in place in terms of fares to and from city centre. Conventional wisdom has it that the poor want to stay close to places with opportunities that they capitalise on. The poor need bigger space to do on-plot farming, yet it is prudent and technically ascertained that they must occupy smaller space which they afford. In the long-run, if unchecked, less-cost effective cities are emerging hence the raison d’être for regularisation. But regularisation is more costly relative to sites-and-services schemes.
Zimbabwe’s cities are sprawling yet no one has tried to measure and understand the ecological footprint being left behind. Activities carried out by the peri-urban dwellers, particularly the poor ones, are damaging to the environment, with such theories like the Prisoner’s Dilemma and the Tragedy of the Commons being confirmed on the ground. Vandalism of common property and abuse of common resources are rife in the settlements (cf. Allen, 2003). This shows how the poor operate in ignorance or without consideration for others, let alone future generations. While the Stewardship Theory is loaded with precepts as to how actors can collaborate in determining their common destinies, it says little on the education they each deserve to create the expectable future, let alone shaping the place to sustainable levels.

Lastly, principal stakeholders as defined by the differential levels of operation (micro, meso- and micro-level) are operating in islands, resulting in uncoordinated efforts. There is a general tendency amongst actors not to care to what happens in the next office. This implies an urgent need to have offices that operate as one-stop-shops, to manage problems of overlaps, gaps and duplication of effort. Gaps normally leave gray areas where nothing is happening, thereby creating hollows to stewardship endeavours. They also create avenues for corruption and mismanagement of different kinds of resources that may be availed for housing construction or environmental management.

These noted conclusions and lessons are crucial in the formulation of effective policy alternatives. In essence, stewardship aims at bringing a ‘unified model’ of addressing common and transcending challenges. Its purpose is to achieve collaboration of key stakeholders through community and place visioning and branding (cf. Franks and McGloin, 2006; MIT, 2007).

8.4 Conclusions
The study has indicated that there are number of tools and instruments that have been applied over the years in managing peri-urban areas in Zimbabwe (Ndlovu, 2004). Nevertheless, the change in government in 1980 saw enforcement of policies and laws slackening, much to the detriment of creating sustainable environments. Most of the institutions dealing with housing and the environment have been noted in this study as weak within as well as in terms of adhering to the philosophy of collaborative development. They are designed to further parochially
departmental agendas at the expense of a more holistic approach to issues ravaging communities including housing challenges. In effect, some are quite irrelevant to the agenda of creating affordable and equitable low-income housing. Legislation such as the Environmental Management Act cannot be applied in retrospect, with the implication that some artefacts are to be there for a long time in spite of their questionable sustainability as structures.

Stewardship as an issue of ‘removing walls’ with a view to ensuring progressive thinking and plan implementation, as noted in this study, is greatly compromised along professional, partisan, institutional and other dividing lines. Persistence of this trend means deliberations and practices including participatory planning, participatory budgeting, enforcement of laws with respect to land, housing and the environment of the peri-urban zone will continue in the realm of ‘ivory towers’ hence fuzziness as Manjengwa (2007) and other critics of the notion of sustainable development have argued. As such, in Zimbabwe, like most developing nations, intentional stewardship provision of sustainable shelter for peri-urban dwellers should be carried out in collaboration with facilitators, sponsors and governors to reduce problems of environmental decay hence not to deprive future generations of a sound and healthy environment. In light of this, it can be noted that there are socio-spatial and political dynamics and ramifications are associated with not only the understanding but also implementing sustainable practices in housing and peri-urban development in the framework and spirit of stewardship.

Migration to peri-urban settlements is induced by the big cities. In this case, Harare has shed off its excess populations into the hinterland Epworth and Ruwa. The migrants are of the view that life is quite affordable in the periphery than at the centre. Overall, human beings are increasingly becoming *homo urbanus*. Big cities are spilling over into peri-urban settlements. Once they are in the peri-urban zone, the migrants are usually left without choice but dependency on the existing natural capital available. Such natural capital stock entails space for peri-urban farming, extractions of rocks, pit sand and river sand, firewood, grass for thatching, etc. The different households have different perspectives about their habitats and dwelling conditions. They also have different experiences regarding interaction with the environment. It is from the environment that most devise their livelihood-coping strategies.
Overall, the Ruwa and Epworth cases demonstrate that communities not only depend on their environments but in the process of exploiting resources do harm the environment as well. Some of the ways the environment has been seen to be under assault include: some community members dumping their waste, leaving scars like open pits after moulding bricks and extracting sand, and destroying floral species as they seek firewood or medicinal value in certain plants. At the same time, it is observed that there are instances in which communities actually ‘invest’ in the environment by such activities they do like grass cutting, orchard development, and preserving some natural and indigenous trees and shrubs in the area.

8.5 Policy Implications, Options and Recommendations

A number of policy implications relating to the understanding of sustainability can be drawn from this study on peri-urban housing and stewardship in Zimbabwe. These include, among other things:

- Using remote sensing to measure and monitor urban expansion, which can be assigned as a responsibility of the Department of Physical Planning or Harare Metropolitan Province since they have or should have oversight of broader spatial or regional growth monitoring. This is critical in light of the fact that the same has been applied in North America so that developments are spatially monitored and the means to tame this is put in place. Stewardship is based on the notion that variables must be comprehensible and phenomena be well understood before they can be effectively managed.

- Set up an institution responsible for peri-urban stewardship and collaborative planning. Such an institution can be set up as a think-tank so that it independently oversees the role played by local authorities and the Department of Physical Planning or Harare Metropolitan Province. Critical with such an instruction is the ability to champion both environmental sustainability and allocation of resources (human and material) required to achieve environmental sustainability. Stewardship without supportive structures requiring transparency, rule of law, accountability and trust that ideally constitute good governance, is meaningless.

- To a certain extent, governance answers Hopkins and Zapata (2008:3) concern that planners “can and should take a multi-vocal approach, focusing on the interactions among consensus events, persons of difference, scenarios, and plans.” Such a multi-vocal
approach is critical for breaking down walls erected along professional and departmental lines. From another angle, it also helps to curb the challenges of policy overlaps and gray areas as well as the duplication of efforts. It will provide that one-stop-shop for all peri-urban development challenges including housing development and construction, environmental planning and management, livelihoods and management of space including fiscal measures than ensure sustainable development where the respect of the environment, the economy and environment are in a holistic picture. This study has revealed that in most cases, there are institutions in place like UDCORP, the DPP and EMA, which may not be performing as expected because they have not taken time to re-create themselves. I would propose the establishment of an Institute of Peri-urban Management and Housing Development, which would seek to bring these rather dysfunctional institutions together for the cause of research and policy for sustainable development (cf. Benjamin, 2008). Such a mechanism will seek to research and do scenario-planning, taking on board major actors in peri-urban development.

- The scenario planning process should incorporate the following principal tenets and challenges, according to Holway (2011) design for change, consider governance, incorporate new community designs into local and regional comprehensive plans, phase development, plan for market changes, and connect to common values. These echo the unified model of pluralism, which is a fundamental partnership model aspect whose founding pillars are collaborative, and inclusive planning. While putting everything into one picture, the model assets for incremental development as stakeholders, particularly the community ‘bite what they can chew’ while creating a more sustainable future. What is important, though, is the picture that Holway (2011:11) puts into perspective, namely that,

“...scenario planning and effective visualisations become both more important and more challenging to achieve when conducting larger and longer-term visioning exercises. Visualisations that provide compelling depictions of activity centres and higher-density, mixed-use neighbourhoods can help to gain public acceptance. Effective mechanisms are also needed to convey to current participants that the planning process is imagining community characteristics and housing and lifestyle preferences for their grandchildren or great-grandchildren many years in the future.”
• Set up instruments to determine the degree of environmental damage so that environmental education is rooted in real time data. The task of environmental education could be a responsibility of environmental think-tanks, universities and civil society organisations, including those already active in the peri-urban areas. To be more sustainable, the local residents should be actively involved, which explains the promotion of local initiatives encapsulated in the notion of local environmental action planning (LEAP). Peri-urban dwellers will appreciate environmental stewardship if they are exposed to the realities of the implications of the behaviour and activities through rigorous advocacy and the raising of awareness. This should cascade down through the schools’ curricula, so that issue of the ecological footprint is clearly understood. It is prudent that this effort be examined alongside applications in GIS and other remote sensing tools (cf. Wilmersdorf, 2010).

• Educate the citizens on the tax implications of belonging to a city. Such a task can be assigned to local authorities in conjunction with the Harare Metropolitan Province because they are already involved in the process. Peri-urban settlements are ‘pre-urban areas’. Having citizens staying in this space without full knowledge of the urban dynamics including ground taxation and paying for infrastructure, is paralysing to the urban fabric in the long-run. In Africa, most peri-urban dwellers must come to terms with city living and its demands. This means working against the tide of tribal land ownership or seeking to improve the way in which land is organised, developed and serviced, so that in the long run sustainability is ensured. Citizens have a right to the city but rights means more responsibility coupled by rule of law, transparency, accountability, trust and other governance principles and aspirations.

• A rights-based approach to development puts stewardship as a critical ‘lubricating’ factor towards sustaining places, the fragile peri-urban environments included (cf. Aristizabal and Gomez, 2002; Armitage, 2000). Rights should not be seen as isolated efforts to draw benefits from a place without acting responsibly (cf. Flint, 2004). In fact, rights are about responsibility, care and accountability. By this definition, rights, stewardship and good governance merge to form one concrete block of a place sustainability framework whose raison d’être is ensuring that even future generations are in a position to receive and enjoy environmental assets (clean water, air and rich lands, infrastructure, etc.).
present generations have a role to ensure minimised liabilities as they engage in exploitation and use of local resources.

- *Researching Peri-urban Human Habitats’ Phenomena: New Directions*: Studying peri-urban habitats is a multi-pronged task; there is a plethora of issues intricately linked to housing. This is because housing in itself is a complex phenomenon. When issues are examined along the lines of stewardship, it becomes even more complex. This is because different groups in the peri-urban areas relate differently to the place they live in. This study has adopted different methodological tools to find the underlying cause of the realities of peri-urban housing and stewardship. In future, workshops and more focus group discussions will need to be engaged. The spirit of engagement has to be observing multi-stakeholder processes to understand fully the issues involved in peri-urban studies. A number of teams carrying out research on various housing-related issues and using different tools, must be constituted and aligned to explore issues of energy, water, sanitation and appropriate technologies, to name but a few. Stewardship is about sustainability and appropriateness of technology. Development must therefore be thoroughly informed by scientific research.

**8.5 Areas for Further Study**

There are a number of areas worth exploring regarding the stewardship and rights wielded by the peri-urban dwellers in Zimbabwe and Africa, in general in the broader concern and framework of sustainable development. These areas include, among other things, to,

- explore the arrangements for parcelling out of tribal land as cities expand into rural land so that livelihoods are adequately addressed.
- examine the relationships between peri-urban land development, speculation and transfer processes in the legal framework.
- explain the paradoxes of the ‘right-to-the-city’, housing rights and land taxation in the framework of social justice and intergenerational equity.
- describe and analyse peri-urban poverty, shelter and services provisioning in light of the ‘appropriate technology’.
- explore ‘researching with them (the peri-urban dwellers)’ in light of the vernacular and grassroots approaches to stewardship in environmental sustainability.
• investigate the feasibility of strategic (peri-) urban spatial planning (SUSP) in terms of its meaning and practicability for sustainability, taking into consideration the application of community visioning and remote sensing as critical tools in peri-urban stewardship.
• compute and calculate the quantum and extensity of environmental degradation (pollution, soil erosion and siltation, etc.) from peri-urban constructions towards arguing with scientific facts hence argumentation in evidence-based policy.
• assess the possibility of rigorous scenario planning as a tool by which institutions in Zimbabwe can improve policy research and practice.
• examine the political dynamics associated with peri-urbanisation, as peri-urban zones become fields associated with discontented social classes including the unemployed youths and the poorly housed.
• assess the trade-offs of establishing a one-stop-shop institution responsible for peri-urban environmental and housing affairs in the country and region.

As noted by this study, these aspects have not been fully explored in literature. In many developing countries, Zimbabwe included, peri-urbanisation is an obtaining reality, much as it is also in Latin America, Asia, Europe and North America. Unless such a review is done, issues of social justice, compensation, rights and privileges will continue to be excluded in policy dialogue to the detriment of the poor and minority groups. Moreover, such a deliberate exclusion will create socially, politically and economically less sustainable places, whose urban management is a serious challenge in the future of the region.

At present, we continue to experience, ‘growth without equity’, as well as ‘urbanisation without growth’ (cf. Kessides, 2006). This means taming poverty and creating cities on a ‘liability framework’. This is a timebomb, which may explode any time, given the currency of urbanisation (cf. Intsiful 2004). Current and future generations have rights, too (Hogan, 2008; High, Pelling and Nemes, 2005; Lurcott, 2005). In addition, unless, we research with them and perhaps make them realise the great potential for progress and betterment that lies within them in producing sustainable habitats, we risk producing ‘sickly’ habitats that are less of an asset than a liability to future generations.
Perceived and real milestones in constructing sustainable peri-urban habitats in Harare, as elsewhere, are critical in putting into perspective aspects of technology (in terms of methods and materials) while caring for the environment as construction is occurring. This implies assessing progress, knowledge, attitudes and practices by the peri-urban dwellers in housing and habitat creating in the outer rings of cities, putting a stewardship framework in place and interrogating the technological arguments in peri-urban housing, sifting between poverty experiences and appropriateness of the technology.

8.6 Summary
This chapter has successfully summarised the thrust and findings of the research, assisted in the synthesis of the lessons learnt and the formulation of the conclusions. The study has been useful in showing the gaps that still prevail if sustainable development is to be a reality with regard to peri-urbanisation and management of the processes linked to housing (see Figure 8.1). Achieving ‘unified pluralism’ is a multi-pronged and involves tasks that would require both resources and capacity to manage the processes, inputs and outputs.

It has emerged strongly that both stewardship of a place and housing are in the hands of policy actors and implementers whose intentions, interests and offices often are ever-changing, sometimes enhancing or cancelling past progressive efforts. Both happen in a political, social and economic environment that is sometimes volatile and unstable. Peri-urban stewardship is thus a collaborative effort in which households, communities and pro-place and pro-communities work together to provide habitable space in which both the present and future generations benefit rationally and heeding that transitioning whether spatial or temporal should expand environmental good at the expense of the bad. Both the global and local actors and processes are crucial to achieving this as long as, to a great extent, collaboration, as a networking and connecting tool, is taken aboard.
Figure 8.1: Peri-urban stewardship-sustainability model: Processes, Concepts and Conditions
NOTES

5 Interview 11 March 2011
6 Interview 11 March 2011
7 Interview 11 March 2011
8 Interview on 03 March 2013.
9 Interview 12 February, 2011
10 Interview with Senior Environmental Officer, 24 March 2011
11 Interview with Senior Environmental Officer, 24 2011
12 Interview with Senior Environmental Officer, 24 2011
13 Interview on 28 July, 2011
14 Interview with Senior Environmental Officer, 24 2011
15 Interview with Senior Environmental Officer, 24 2011
16 Interview with Senior Environmental Officer, 24 2011
17 Interview with Senior Environmental Officer, 24 2011
18 Interview with Senior Environmental Officer, 24 2011
19 Interview on 28 July, 2011
20 Extract from Speech at the National Housing Convention, October, 2009.
21 Interview on 9 March 2011
22 Interview on 9 March 2011
23 Interview, 11 March 2011
24 Interview 11 March 2011
25 Interview 11 March 2011
26 Interview on 11 March 2011
27 Interview 24 March 2011
28 Interview 23 June, 2011
29 Interview 23 June, 2012
30 Interview 23 June, 2012
31 Interview 23 June, 2012
32 Interview 23 June, 2012
33 Extract from Speech at the National Housing Convention, October, 2009.
34 Extract from Speech at the National Housing Convention, October, 2009.
35 Extract from Speech at the National Housing Convention, October, 2009.
36 Extract from Speech at the National Housing Convention, October, 2009.
37 Extract from Speech at the National Housing Convention, October, 2009.
38 Extract from Speech at the National Housing Convention, October, 2009.
39 Telephone Interview on 01 May 2013
40 Telephone Interview on 01 May 2013
41 Interview with Project Manager, 14 May 2013
42 Interview with Property Manager, 13 May 2013.
43 Interview with Project Manager, 14 May 2013
44 Interview with the Projects Manager, 5 June 2013.
45 Interview with the Projects Manager, 5 June 2013.
46 Interview with the Projects Manager (Property Development and Project Management), 27 May 2013
47 Interview with the Projects Manager (Property Development and Project Management), 27 May 2013.
48 Interview with Property Manager, 23 May 2013.
49 Interview with Property Manager, 21 May 2013.
50 Interview with the Assistant Operations Manager on 18 March 2011
51 Interview with the Assistant Operations Manager on 18 March 2011
52 Interview with the Assistant Operations Manager on 18 March 2011
53 Interview with the Assistant Operations Manager on 18 March 2011
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57 Interview with the Assistant Operations Manager on 18 March 2011
58 Interview with the Assistant Operations Manager on 18 March 2011
59 Interview with the Assistant Operations Manager on 18 March 2011
60 Interview on 23 May 2013.
61 Interview on 23 May 2013.
62 Interview on 23 May 2013.
63 Interview on 23 May 2013.
64 Interview on 23 May 2013.
65 Interview on 23 May 2013.
66 Interview 11 March 2011
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ANNEXES AND APPENDICES

Appendix 1: List of Key Informants Interviewed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organisation/Institution</th>
<th>Interviewee</th>
<th>Post</th>
<th>Date(s) of Interview</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Department of Physical Planning</td>
<td>Mr. H. Magaya</td>
<td>Deputy Director</td>
<td>11 March 2011&lt;br&gt;12 March 2011&lt;br&gt;15 March 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. Brighton Nesvinga</td>
<td>Town Planning Officer</td>
<td>11 March 2011&lt;br&gt;12 March 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental Management Agency</td>
<td>Mr. Aaron Chigona</td>
<td>Director, Environmental Management Services</td>
<td>12 May 2011&lt;br&gt;27 May 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mrs. Magwada</td>
<td>Senior Environment Officer</td>
<td>27 May 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. Kangata</td>
<td>Senior Environment Officer</td>
<td>28 May 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of National Housing and Social Amenities</td>
<td>Mr. David Munyoro</td>
<td>Permanent Secretary</td>
<td>October, 2009, at the National Housing Convention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. Nkomo</td>
<td>Director, Research and Policy</td>
<td>22 May 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mrs. Charumbira</td>
<td>Housing Officer</td>
<td>23 May 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ms Nyamutena</td>
<td>Housing Officer</td>
<td>23 May 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruwa Town Council</td>
<td>Mrs Makombe</td>
<td>Secretary</td>
<td>October, 2009, at the National Housing Convention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mr. E Chidhakwa</td>
<td>Town Planner</td>
<td>15 August 2011&lt;br&gt;18 July 2012&lt;br&gt;03 March 2013&lt;br&gt;25 April 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epworth Local Board</td>
<td>Mr. Kizito Muhomba</td>
<td>Secretary</td>
<td>October, 2009, at the National Housing Convention&lt;br&gt;13 September 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shelter Zimbabwe</td>
<td>Mr. Emmanuel Siraha</td>
<td>Assistant Operations Manager</td>
<td>18 March 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban Development Corporation</td>
<td>Mr. JT Rondozai</td>
<td>Properties and Technical Services Manager</td>
<td>24 March 2011&lt;br&gt;25 March 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harare Metropolitan Province</td>
<td>Ms. Lorraine Chilamaya</td>
<td>Governance Officer</td>
<td>March 2011&lt;br&gt;10 March 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City of Harare</td>
<td>Mr. Kuraone</td>
<td>City Architect</td>
<td>23 May 2010</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 2: Study Instruments

a): Key Interview Guide Used for the Study

1. Tell me about your organisation/institution
2. Tell me about its contribution to housing and habitat development
3. Tell about the your areas of involvement (spatial)
4. Tell me about your stakeholders in terms of composition and thrust
5. Tell me about your major successes over the past decade or so
6. Tell me of your challenges in the past decade or so
7. What is your comment over this study/discussion?

Thank you.

b): Questionnaire – Summary Topics/Themes

1. Sex
2. Age
3. Marital Status
4. Employment Status
5. Education
6. Place of Origin
7. Migration History
8. Housing Status
9. -Tenure
10. - Period of Stay in Place/settlement
11. - Belonging to an Association and Type
12. Usage of the Rooms in the House
13. Usage of the Outdoor Environment
14. Perceptions, Knowledge and Attitudes about living in the Area/Settlement
15. Perceptions, Knowledge and Attitudes about Physical Environment
16. Livelihoods Activities on the Land /in the Habitat
17. Perceptions, Knowledge and Attitudes on Contemporary Issues
18. Climate Change
19. Community Participation
20. Participatory Budgeting
21. Energy
Appendix 3: Letter from the Director of Physical Planning

Reference: Q2/A

24 March 2011

The Chairman
Department of Rural and Urban Planning (University of Zimbabwe)
Box MP 167
Mt Pleasant
Harare

Dear Mr Chaeruka,

REQUEST TO ASSIST PHD RESEARCHER WITH INFORMATION: MR. I. CHIRISA

Refer to your request of 16 March 2011 relevant to the above cited subject.

This serves to confirm the Department's willingness to assist the PHD student to access Department file records and other sources of information you may need to, however, independently approach Ruva and Epworth Local Boards for access to similar files and records kept at their offices.

Yours faithfully

[Signature]

E. Molazi
Director of Physical Planning
Appendix 4: Letter from the Secretary of the Ministry of Local Government, Rural & Urban Development

Ministry of Local Government, Rural and Urban Development

The Office of The Secretary
P. Bag 7755
Causeway,
HARARE
ZIMBABWE

Ref: ADM/238

05 May 2011

Innocent Chirisa
University of Zimbabwe
Department of Rural and Urban Planning
P. O. Box MP167
Mt Pleasant
Harare

AUTHORITY TO CONDUCT A RESEARCH ON HOUSING AND STEWARDSHIP IN PERI-URBAN SETTLEMENTS

Reference is made to your application dated 17 March 2011.

I am pleased to inform you that the Head of Ministry has approved your application to carry out a research on Housing and Stewardship in Peri-Urban Settlements.

Please note that permission has been granted on the following conditions:

1. Information gathered will be treated as confidential and solely for academic purposes.
2. The use of material for unauthorised purposes is strictly prohibited.
3. Please note that on receipt of this letter you are advised to come and book appointments to see The Honourable Minister and the rest of the Officials.

The Ministry wishes you the best in your endeavours.

For: Secretary for Local Government, Rural and Urban Development

Cc. The Honourable Minister: Local Government, Rural and Urban Development
Cc. The Honourable Governor – Harare Metropolitan Province
Cc. The Permanent Secretary: Local Government, Rural and Urban Development
Cc. The Director – Physical Planning  
Cc. The Director – Urban Local Authorities  
Cc. The Provincial Administrator – Harare Metropolitan Province  
Cc. The District Administrator – Ruwa & Epworth  
Cc. The Ruwa- Epworth District Councils
Appendix 5: Map of Ruwa and Proposed Extensions