

Infrastructure Self-provisioning on Urban Peripheries: Sustainability and Settlement Governance Implications¹

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Abstract

The study discusses community-based infrastructure provision strategies that are used to improve the settlements of the urban poor. It engages with the question of how residents in settlements of the urban poor access services that would otherwise be provided with state support. This is in recognition of the fact that the Zimbabwean state (local and national) is less active than local communities and their organisation in service provision. A complex web of structures, agents, processes, and relations influence access to services in the emerging settlements. Based on evidence from a household survey, focus group discussion (FGD) sessions, resident interviews, and literature review, the article explores the array of context-specific determinants of access to and use of livelihood and infrastructure-related services. Residents work as individual households and collectively towards infrastructure provision. The combined contributions are indicative of the hope that communities of the urban poor can improve their settlements. Their efforts require more strategic support by the state alongside non-state actors at different levels. Such leveraging on community-based strategies is key to the transitioning of settlements of the urban poor from marginalisation and under-served ones into sustainable and well-governed settlements.

¹This article was supported through the Inclusive Urban Infrastructure research project funded by the UK Research and Innovations' (UKRI) Global Challenges Research Fund under the title 'Towards Trajectories of Inclusion: Making infrastructure work for the most marginalised' (Grant reference number ES/T008067/1)

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Keywords: *residents, emerging settlements, self-provisioning, infrastructure development, community-based service delivery*

INTRODUCTION

Zimbabwe's urban population reached 38.6% in 2022 (ZIMSTAT 2022) following years of 'missing urbanisation' (Mbiba 2017). Increasing urbanisation is putting a strain on housing, urban services, and infrastructure (Muchadenyika, 2016). Zimbabwe's urban areas are experiencing increasing socio-economic challenges. Within this context, inadequately planned, incompletely serviced, and often yet-to-be-fully recognised dense settlements have emerged in Zimbabwe, especially after the Fast-Track Land Reform Programme of 2000 (Chatiza and Gotora, 2021; Chavunduka, 2018).

It is important to note that the emerging settlements are extraordinary human accomplishments and those living there often have a strong sense of community, notwithstanding on-going challenges (Chatiza and Gotora, 2021). Streets are named, houses are numbered, and public spaces are built. This shows how urban populations individually and collectively respond to challenges affecting their everyday life in an effective manner (The Shift, 2022, Capprotti *et al.*, 2022). These positive experiences point to the establishment of new relationships between citizens and local governments. Despite their varying degrees of informality, the settlements are often critical to the economies of most major cities and are a major provider of housing around the world, hence the need for government support.

In practice, emergent settlements are often viewed as a problem requiring "clearance" rather than as valuable communities that should be supported (Potts, 2006; UN, 2005). In Zimbabwe, officials synonymise them with 'slums', 'informal and dysfunctional settlements' (Chatiza and Nyevera, 2022). Some of this terminology is derogatory. Instead, it is recognised that ownership of such settlements, and the right to name and define them, lies in the hands of the people who live there (The Shift, 2022; Capprotti *et al.*, 2022). Accordingly, it is those residing in those settlements who can decide what term best matches their living

environments. This is reflected by their actions that unmistakably focus on settlement improvement.

Traditionally, poor communities were perceived as passive beneficiaries or hostile adversaries of settlement development (The World Bank Group, 2020; Matamanda and Chinozvina, 2020; Mpofu 2012; Satterthwaite, Mitlin and Patel, 2011; UN 2005; Solidarity Peace Trust 2005). Policy frameworks in Zimbabwe are promoting active community participation in development (Government of Zimbabwe, 2020a, 2013). In particular, the devolution policy seeks to “make the system of governance community based and people centred” (Government of Zimbabwe, 2020b: 177). There are many local initiatives by groups of residents to address their own needs and improve their settlements. These are generally too local to get the attention of academics or the support of international non-governmental organisations (NGOs) or aid agencies (Satterthwaite, Mitlin and Patel, 2011). While these are rarely documented, they hold valuable lessons that can be adapted to different contexts.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Settlements considered emergent in Zimbabwe’s context are under 30 years and thus post-independence. They are therefore in the early stages of their development, which has become somewhat stagnant and longer owing to limited state support. Their policy and popular visibility have been rising (Chatiza and Nyevera, 2022; Chatiza and Gotor, 2021; Muchadenyika, 2020; Mbiba, 2017). This growing importance relates to the size of individual settlements, their fast-paced growth, their overall number nationally, their spread throughout the country, and the issues associated with their development and management (Muchadenyika, 2020). Emerging settlements are neglected spaces in which residents improvise in their daily life activities to enhance the liveability of the settlements (Matamanda, 2020). The concept of emergent settlements is being used by the Zimbabwe team of the Inclusive Urban Infrastructure project³.

³ <https://www.inclusiveinfrastructure.org/>

Access to infrastructure and services is key for human dignity and survival. Settlements of the urban poor often lack the necessary services (Chitekwe-Biti, 2009). Yet, they devise their strategies and provide their services through individual and community-organised strategies. The participation of citizens through civil society engagement is critical for social, political, and economic development (Chatiza, 2016). This study looks at how the residents address their context-specific issues, define their problems, and devise workable strategies for improving their settlements. This is being looked at from an individual level, organised community groups, and partnerships of residents with different entities including government, the private sector, civil society organisations (CSOs), and NGOs.

METHODOLOGY

The study draws from a GCRF-funded project⁴. It is being implemented from 2020 to 2023. The project had primary data collection methods of household survey, focus group discussion (FGD) sessions and resident interviews conducted in Harare (Budiriro 5B Extension, Churu Farm, Hopley Farm and Hatcliffe Extension) and Masvingo (Old Mucheke and Victoria Ranch). Harare was selected as a study site because it is the primary city that has been experiencing growth in emergent settlements. Masvingo was selected as a secondary city experiencing dynamics in settlement growth. In addition to primary data sources, the study uses development, policy, and academic literature to understand the governance implications of the self-provisioning models.

SETTLEMENT PROFILES

BUDIRIRO 5B EXTENSION

Budiriro 5B Extension is located about 25km southwest of the Harare central business district (CBD). The western part of the settlement is bordered by the Marimba River that drains into Lake Chivero, the main source of water for the City of Harare. Budiriro 5B Extension came about because of the rising need for housing and the policy of parallel development made it possible for housing cooperatives to acquire and

⁴ The research was funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC), grant number ES/T008067/1

develop the land (Goto *et al.*, 2020). There are ownership wrangles between two housing cooperatives given land in the area (Tembwe and Events Housing Cooperatives) but the main part of the settlement has relatively more stable cooperative consortia (Common Vision and Ngungunyana) and a CABS⁵-City of Harare Housing Project (Mbiba, 2020; Muchadenyika, 2020). There are other smaller pockets of self-allocated land and a walled and gated Apostolic Church Village. Tembwe and Events Cooperatives are under Ngungunyana Housing Cooperative (Potts, 2011).

HOPLEY FARM

Hopley was established in 2005 on planned city land (mostly 200m² residential stands) (Matamanda, 2020a). Following *Operation Murambatsvina*, national government negotiated with the city to settle people from holding camps in Caledonia, Porta Farm, and other areas of Harare that had been displaced (Matamanda *et al.*, 2020). The settlement has six zones (1 to 6). The national government allocated land in the first five zones to eviction victims while the city allocated its staff and other beneficiaries land in Zone 6. The settlement forms part of Ward 1 stretching from the Robert Gabriel Mugabe International Airport in the east to Churu Farm in the west (Matamanda, 2020b; Ndoziya, 2015). Based on Hopley having 10 to 15% of this ward's population, estimates put the population at over 20 000 (Matamanda, 2022). Most land was allocated on formal state leaseholds. Those not allocated between August and October 2005 informally allocated themselves land on open and institutional spaces in Zones 5 and 6 *gada*/informal areas (Zivhave and Dzvairo, 2022).

VICTORIA RANCH

Victoria Ranch is a peri-urban mixed-density residential area in Masvingo Rural District. It is located on the city edge to the southwest of Masvingo CBD. Formal planning of Victoria Ranch began in the aftermath of *Operation Murambatsvina* (Takuva, 2017). The plan was prepared and approved by the national government but lacking resources to service the

⁵ Central Africa Building Society, a member of the Old Mutual Group.

land, the 10 000 residential stands remained unallocated until October 2011 when the government started parcelling out the land to private developers and housing cooperatives (Karakadzai *et al.*, 2022). The land was once a cattle ranch/farm belonging to Tender Meats. Settlement establishment was led by the Ministry responsible for local government at the provincial and district level. The two local authorities were not directly involved in the planning and land allocation. The first phase to be developed is known as *Lot A*, with 5 000 residential stands (Chavunduka and Chaonwa-Gaza, 2021). It was developed between 2011 and 2012 by five land developers. The second phase, known as *the Remainder*, has more than 5 000 stands and was developed in 2012 by 11 land developers (Macheka and Chikoto, 2021). As such, the settlement involves a total of 16 land developers.

SERVICE PROVISION MODELS

Many aspects of emergent settlements reflect exclusion from government processes (Satterthwaite, Mitlin, and Patel, 2011). However, there are changes to this narrative as new modes of government involvement in public infrastructure provision are emerging. Local and national authorities are inadequately connected with the residents and promoters of these settlements. Residents of the study areas generally rely on self-provisioning strategies for water, sanitation, and energy. This includes access to and maintenance of the infrastructure and services.

HOPLEY FARM

Housing structures in Hopley are predominantly unapproved. The majority are temporary to semi-permanent partly because most residents 'lack proper paperwork'. Common materials include sun-dried bricks. Some houses collapse during the rainy season, especially in the *gada* section. Generally, the settlement has no connection to reticulated basic urban services. Residents resort to improvised solutions such as wells and pour-flush toilets connected to septic tanks. They rely on candles and solar for lighting and gas and fuelwood for cooking. Water is increasingly a big challenge. Home wells often dry from late winter through the early rains

in November. Residents end up buying water from those with more reliable wells, 'commercial water vendors' and wells at the nearby Mbudzi Cemetery.

BUDIRIRO 5B EXTENSION

The area is a planned high-density settlement with a layout plan that was prepared by Harare City Council. The houses in the area comply with council standards. However, the challenge is in service provision. One part of the area has reticulated water and sewer connections, but the city council is unable to provide water regularly. Sanitation is not fully reticulated with some households using septic tanks on small stands served by family wells. Transport services are inadequate and expensive, forcing some residents to walk to the nearest hub, Current Shops. Across the Marimba River is the, Crowborough Sewerage Treatment Plant that often discharges untreated waste polluting the river and the whole area. There are no public amenities in the area.

VICTORIA RANCH

Infrastructure and service production remains a challenge in Victoria Ranch with no water, sewer, and electricity reticulation and social facilities such as schools and clinics. The provision of infrastructure in the settlement is led by developers and the City of Masvingo. The City of Masvingo is sometimes involved in process of providing off-site infrastructure but the process is slow. The developers in the settlement are responsible for the provision of infrastructure. However, they are not coordinated. Each developer focuses on residents and stands within their area.

THE EXTENT OF INFRASTRUCTURE SELF-PROVISIONING FOR WATER, SANITATION, AND ENERGY

HOUSEHOLD LEVEL

At the household level, there are efforts that the communities are making to provide their services. Self-provisioning methods are used by the

majority of residents on water, sanitation and hygiene (WASH) services in the study sites as depicted in Table 1.

Table 1: *The extent of self-provisioning for WASH*

Agents	Water	Sanitation
	Valid Percent	Valid Percent
Neighbourhood Group	8	16
NGO/CBO	24	4
Public utility	15	13
Private provider	10	5
Self-supply	37	49
Other (specify)	6	13
Total	100	100

For electricity, 98% of the residents were not connected to the national electricity grid. Only 2% were connected. This indicates that residents used other methods including solar, candles, battery-powered lights, and sawdust.

The sustainability of these individual strategies is important to look in. Many times, residents individually use desperate measures to provide their services. The use of unprotected water sources such as rivers and uncovered wells are some of the sources used by residents. Findings from Hopley revealed some of the desperate water sources that are hazardous to human safety and health.

ORGANISED COMMUNITY GROUPS

There is growing recognition across the social sector that community-driven change increases the odds of achieving lasting impact. Initiatives are being taken by groups of the urban poor to demonstrate their capabilities. These groups try to negotiate the change in the relationship with local government agencies. The underpinnings for many of these initiatives are organisations formed by the urban poor around their livelihoods and their homes. In many nations, these local organisations have joined together to form city-wide and then national federations or networks. Collectively, these groups and their networks and federations have gone beyond successful local initiatives to influence city-level developments, and some have even influenced national government policies (Satterthwaite, Mitlin, and Patel, 2011).

Social movements pool resources and skills, acquire land, install infrastructure, and build houses. Planning institutions change policies, regulations, and traditions to embrace and support a new form of urban development driven by grassroots movements (Muchadenyika, 2021). This is noted in the three settlements of Victoria Ranch, Budiriro 5B Extension and Hopley, where public authorities worked with social movements. In Budiriro 5B Extension, a vivid example is energy provision. For Hopley and Victoria Ranch, there are elaborate examples of water provision. These examples are presented in the subsections below.

ENERGY PROVISION IN BUDIRO 5B EXTENSION

For over 10 years, the Budiriro settlement was not connected to the national electricity grid. In an FGD⁶ with residents of the settlement, energy infrastructure was rated 2 out of 5, with 1 being the least performance and 5 depicting a good performance. This was because residents relied on self-provisioning models including candles, solar panels, and mobile phones for lighting. FGD findings show that for cooking, residents were using firewood, and charcoal. Some used maize cobs, and plastic, others used dry maize stalks, paper, and sawdust. These results were confirmed during a household survey. The findings show that 61% use liquefied petroleum gas (LPG), 30% use firewood, 2% use sawdust and 7% use other sources that include charcoal, agricultural crop residue, and shrubs. For lighting, the FGD findings show that residents use candles, solar panels, and mobile phones. Household survey findings reveal that solar panels were used by 70% of the residents, with 24% using candles, and the remaining 6% was shared for torches and battery lamps.

Juru (2020) notes that Zimbabwe's spatial planning is not effectively integrated energy production into the development process. This integration gap has resulted in the growth of settlements pressurising the already underperforming national power infrastructure (Chipango, 2018; Chiteka and Enweremadu, 2016). Energy policies and frameworks that apply for Harare have a national focus (Mungwena and Rashama, 2013).

⁶ FGD held in Budiriro 5B Extension on the 19th of April 2021 with 8 participants.

It is the responsibility of the Zimbabwe Electricity Supply Authority (ZESA) (guided by the National Electricity Act) to connect settlements to the national electricity grid. The City of Harare consults and engages ZESA on the provision of servitudes for power lines and power stations and on approval of plans (Juru, 2020). ZESA is engaged to assess the electricity needs on proposed layouts and plans. However, the emergent settlements were developed without following all the planning processes (Chavunduka, 2018).

There is an irregular spatial distribution of energy demand and supply sources in Harare (Juru, 2020; Chipango, 2018). The study findings show that the Budiriro 5B Extension settlement was not connected to the national electricity grid for 10 years. What usually happens is for residents as individuals or groups to pay fees to ZESA to get their homes connected. Individually, the connection fees are higher as compared to that of organised groups. The residents in Budiriro 5B Extension realised the electricity challenges they were facing and resolved to take a lead in addressing the situation. Community leaders organised themselves and visited ZESA to assess the electricity provision plans for the settlement. The community leaders realised that on each transformer that would be provided, there would be a certain number of households that would get connected to the transformer. The community leaders and ZESA established that 118 households in Budiriro 5B Extension were sharing a transformer.

A development committee, comprising 118 households clustered in one section, was established after the visit by the community leaders. The establishment of the 118 households had challenges. In an interview⁷ with a community leader in Budiriro 5B Extension, it was established that in the beginning, some residents were sceptical of the process. There was assurance from ZESA that once residents were organised and did all processes properly, electricity would be connected. There were lessons from other settlements in Harare where the model had worked. This assured residents that the project would succeed. However, there were some residents who refused to participate.

⁷ Key informant interview with a Budiriro community leader, July 2022

The committee engaged the services of a private contractor for guidance on what was required for electricity to be connected. Their activities involved raising funds for all electricity connections in their settlement. The news about this development spread across the whole settlement. Other residents approached ZESA to adopt the same model. ZESA and other residents in the community managed to establish six groups (referred to as Blocks A to F). The first group of 118 households was named Block A of households based on sharing the transformer. To date, Block A has an electricity connection. The other five blocks are still processing their electricity connections through a similar model that was used by Block A.

Interviews with residents show that the community and ZESA made agreements toward electricity infrastructure installation in the settlement. The residents were organised enough to the extent that they were in alignment with all the protocols used by ZESA on electricity infrastructure installation. Ownership of the infrastructure is transferred to ZESA on completion, despite the community contributions. This is important for sustainability purposes. This can be interpreted as a facilitation role played by the residents to complement the efforts of a public entity. It is becoming increasingly understood that the efforts at the community level are limited if they are independent of government or public agencies (Satterthwaite, Mitlin, and Patel, 2011). As such, residents are building relations with government agencies to support processes of co-production.

COMMUNITY SAVINGS GROUP IN VICTORIA RANCH

Residents in Victoria Ranch are supported by the Zimbabwe Homeless People's Federation (ZHPF). ZHPF was founded in 1997 by the federal process (spirit) of *Umfelandawonye* (we die together) (ZHPF, 2009). *Umfelandawonye* provides an interesting and revolutionary case of housing provision and innovation, varying from planning, engineering, construction, roofing, and plumbing to reduce the cost of incrementally built core houses (Takuva, 2017; Shand, 2015; Chitekwe and Mitlin, 2001). ZHPF works in partnership with Dialogue on Shelter, a supporting technical arm, that mobilises funds to augment the daily savings and revolving loan fund (Shand, 2015). Its main task is to

facilitate an interface between the central government, local authorities, and other external agencies and communities (Muchadenyika, 2015).

ZHPF and Dialogue on Shelter have built a collaborative relationship with local authorities, the central government and the residents (Chatiza, 2016; Chitekwe-Biti, 2009). The partnership of ZHPF and Dialogue on Shelter has been engaging the City, entering into formal agreements on slum definition and upgrading protocols, redefining planning procedures, and working alongside the City's professionals to co-design infrastructure models (Chatiza, 2016). Since its formation in 1997, ZHPF has developed into a national movement of the urban poor. It has worked in several local authorities in Zimbabwe (Muchadenyika, 2015). This helped the urban poor to secure land from local authorities at favourable terms. ZHPF provides access to a basic financial service in the form of savings and loans, which are otherwise unavailable to the poor (Chitekwe-Biti, 2009).

The ZHPF members in Victoria Ranch started their savings in 1998. Members were making savings specifically for land, livelihoods, and water infrastructure. In 2005, they got their land on Victoria Ranch under the Masvingo Rural District Council. There are around 100 stands including residential, commercial, and institutional ones. Through their savings, they have managed to construct their houses in Victoria Ranch. About 20 members have completed the construction of their homes. Others are at varying levels.

Members of the ZHPF in Victoria Ranch were encouraged to have savings that are contributed towards infrastructure development. One of the key infrastructure developments supported by these savings are water boreholes. The residents used part of their savings to drill a borehole at the ZHPF office. All the money that was used for the borehole drilling was from savings. Developments underway include roads and sewer systems. Through saving, the residents are procuring construction materials.

What gives the grassroots groups their organisation and their capacity to act are savings groups. The foundations of these federations are

community-based savings groups in which most savers and savings managers are women. Many savings groups also provide emergency and income-generation loans to their members.

WATER PROVISION IN HOPLEY

Reticulated water supply started in 2006. With financial support from UNICEF, between 2006 and 2011 there was water from bulk water points in Hopley. From 2012 to 2014, the water infrastructure was there but without water. In 2015, community members decided to get their residential stands connected to the reticulated system. Through a development committee, they started by making contributions towards household water reticulation and managed to cover 1 000 households.

Their efforts by the community members were financially constrained. The Vitens Evides International (VEI), in 2020 assisted the community members and managed to cover 2 020 households with water reticulation in Zones 1, 2, 3, and 4. Materials needed for household reticulated water connections were bought by VEI and administered to the development committee. VEI and the City of Harare decided to let people pay for meter connection fees despite the materials being supplied by the VEI. VEI and the District Officer for Hopley requested the Committee to mobilise residents. The committee was meant to encourage residents to pay for water meter connection fees regardless of having all the materials bought by VEI. The idea of reconnection fees was to create a sense of ownership of the project between council and residents. As of May 2020, there were about 2 100 households who had paid the connection fees. Ownership of the project by both residents and the Council is key towards rebuilding relations between the two entities. It is also key to the sustainability of water infrastructure in the settlement of the residents' financially contributing to its establishments.

Other residents are not paying for water meter connection fees. One of the challenges is that the community is less privileged. There are some challenges regarding the coordination of the residents and their understanding of relations between VEI and the City of Harare. One of the challenges faced is that residents know that they got all the equipment from the donor. The Hopley Water Development Committee engaged

with the community for them to understand the basis of paying connection fees. Some residents understood and are making their payments. Evidence showing that people are paying is a deficit of 70 water meters that needed to be installed between the 3rd and 6th of May 2020.

Another challenge faced is that people are not used to being managed and coordinated especially when they know the materials were bought by a donor. Before the VEI project, the City of Harare was less visible in the water development processes. In an FGD with the members of the Hopley Water Development Committee, one participant had this to say about the residents' coordination on water provision: "*Tanga takagara munzvimbo tisina sabhuku, kuunzirwa management becomes an issue*" (We are used to doing our things without any authority to report to, having an organisation managing our affairs becomes an issue)". This explains that gaps are being experienced currently in the installation of the water infrastructure. Some alterations need to be made to the 6-metre pipes that were bought by VEI. It is the responsibility of the residents to make those alterations. There are U-shaped pipes needed for water meter connections. The pipes also need threads for joining purposes. Residents should facilitate the re-shaping of the pipes and the creation of threads. Residents are paying for those services and members of the committee are offering the services. The process of making alternations to the equipment brought by VEI was not properly communicated to the rest of the community members. Some members feel that VEI brought all materials ready for use without any alterations on them.

EMERGING ISSUES

The summed cases demonstrate that the involvement of public service providers agencies (councils and parastatals) is critical for sustainable infrastructure provision. Different models of the engagement between residents and public service providers can be drawn from the cases provided in this study. These include the public service providers i) being the facilitator; ii) co-producing with the residents; and iii) getting the residents to do the work. These models are influenced by the extent to which residents are organised and also the type of infrastructure. Non-state actors, particularly CSOs and the private sector, have been

instrumental in shaping the relations between residents and public agencies. On one hand, they lobby for cordial relations where public agencies are convinced of the positive efforts towards infrastructure provision and settlement provision. On the other hand, they enable the creation of a vibrant citizen agency committed to settlement transformation.

Despite having the community assuming control over its funds and activities, the state remains critical to i) guard against wasteful public expenditure; ii) unaccountable activities and spending; and iii) activities that are at odds with policy and good principles of governance (The World Bank Group, 2020). This explains the ownership transfer of electricity to ZESA by the residents of Budiriro 5B Extension. Also, the water connection fees for Hopley residents explain the role of the state in assuming an oversight role of community-based self-provisioning strategies. The oversight role of the state agencies is critical in self-provisioning strategies by the residents of emerging settlements.

The contributions by community members towards service provision and infrastructure development are indicative of the hope that the community has in improving their settlements. Leveraging community-based strategies is key to transitioning into formal settlements. Community leadership structures are established to steer the development processes. In the article's study areas, there are development committees that were established to coordinate all the infrastructure development activities. The committees comprise residents within the settlements. They coordinate with public agencies, CSOs, international development partners, and NGOs.

CONCLUSION

Emergent settlements are transitioning into mature suburbs through different self-provisioning strategies. There are models of community-based infrastructure provisions that need to be acknowledged and supported. Support to these models can be in the form of pro-poor infrastructure provision policy frameworks. These policy frameworks can detail the acceptable infrastructure models at different stages of a settlement's growth until full suburb maturity is reached. The

community's strategies have demonstrated that they can lead to viable pro-poor infrastructure provision models. These strategies can assist towards settlement recognition and improvement on tenure security. Mediated by CSOs and residents' committees, these models are key towards inclusion of the urban poor in accessing infrastructure.

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Interrogating Emerging Land Access and Tenure Documentation in Zimbabwe's Informal and Semi-Formal Settlements¹

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Abstract

The study debates the nexus between land access and land rights, particularly the definition and documentation of the latter in Harare's peri-urban and urban settlements. The article discusses the diversity of documents referred to by respondents in emerging settlements of Churu Farm, Hopley, Budiro 5 Extension, and Hatcliffe Extension. The article discusses important indicators of tenure security defined in the many documents held by land beneficiaries. Findings show that residents considered certificates of ownership, inheritance, and utility bills as conferring tenure on residents of emerging settlements. Documents held do not fully secure beneficiaries' claims to the land they are settled on. This is partly because these shadow or alternative documents are issued by non-state agencies like cooperatives and utility bills do not confer tenure but simply communicate with one to meet financial obligations associated with services received. However, these documents take off part of the policy and administrative burden from local and national authorities considering that some of the land administration processes are incomplete in some settlements. Their issuance bridges a gap and thus allows land development processes to ensue. The only challenge is that local and national authorities have

¹ This article was supported through the Inclusive Urban Infrastructure research project funded by the UK Research and Innovations' (UKRI) Global Challenges Research Fund under the title 'Towards Trajectories of Inclusion: Making infrastructure work for the most marginalised' (Grant reference number ES/T008067/1)

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