UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE

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Urban Housing Policy in Zimbabwe and its Institutional Structures: Reflecting on the Housing Challenge in Harare, 1980-2020.

By

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Abstract

This thesis is a contextual analysis and reflection of the urban housing policy making process in post-independence Zimbabwe, buttressed by empirical research. The focus of the thesis is on understanding the nature and characteristics of the urban housing policy in Zimbabwe and how its formulation and implementation processes are influenced by institutional structures embedded in urban councils. The thesis relates to institutional structures such as the vision and mission statement, the institutional hierarchy of authority, discipline systems, principles and value systems, rules and operational codes of conduct as well as the institutional culture. Central to this thesis is an exposition of how these institutional structures influence and regularise the activities of urban housing policy actors in Zimbabwe's urban councils. The research proceeds from a global analytical perspective of the evolution of urban housing challenges to a conceptualisation of urban housing policy. The thesis describes how Zimbabwe's urban areas are the main hubs of economic activities and labour magnets for the country's economically active population – a situation that has generated housing shortages, resulting in widespread residential overcrowding and the proliferation of irregular settlements that lack basic services like piped water and electricity. Moreover, the thesis elaborates on how the urban housing situation in Zimbabwe has put urban local authorities under the spotlight as they are expected to not only be responsive to the institutional requirements but also advance proactive planning measures to deal with persisting housing predicaments in the country. Principally, these contextual measures constitute urban housing policies which are formulated and implemented as guiding frameworks for the development of programmes, projects and strategies to combat the persisting urban housing challenges. Qualitative methods namely, key informant interviews and focus group discussions were used to collect data. Twenty-five key informants were purposefully selected and interviewed to provide analytical insights into urban housing policy formulation, its implementation and how is influenced by institutional structures. Given the COVID-19 pandemic restrictions, some of the key informant interviews were telephonic. The study found that while institutional structures are the functional operatives of urban housing policy decision making in Zimbabwe, they have contributed to the formulation of inconsequential urban housing policy and the implementation thereof. The research also found that urban housing institutions in Zimbabwe have a politicised and inflexible institutional structures which makes it difficult for these institutions to formulate appropriate housing policies to provide adequate housing to the people. As the research revealed, institutional structures have generated regularised channels of policy decision-making and this has become institutional weaknesses against successful urban housing policy making in Zimbabwe. This dent is compounded by limited financial resources to implement the designed housing projects. The study established that ineffective urban housing policy formulation and implementation has left the majority of urbanites with severe shelter shortages, socio-economic deprivation, thereby undermining their daily livelihoods. The thesis proposes that delinking urban housing institutions from political control and structural impediments can facilitate innovation in urban housing policy making and contribute substantively to the improvement of housing provision in urban Zimbabwe.

Keywords: Urban housing policy, urban areas, urban housing challenges, institutional structures, policy formulation and implementation.

Declaration

I declare that *Urban Housing Policy in Zimbabwe and its Institutional Structures: Reflecting on the Housing Challenge in Harare, 1980-2020* is my work, that has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used have been indicated and acknowledged as complete references.

Leon Poshai.

Signed… 

Dedication

To my late parents, my brothers, my wife and children.

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Firstly, I would like to recognise the invaluable commitment and dedication of my supervisor Senior Professor Williams, in his rigorously review of my submissions from the proposal stage until the compilation of a consolidated thesis. His analytical acumen on issues of urban governance is exceptional. I thank him for the continuous encouragement throughout my Doctoral research. My profound appreciation goes to all participants who took their time to share their insights with me on the subject of urban housing policy making in Zimbabwe. The research was conducted during the terrifying Coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic, yet the participants listed in appendix E and appendix F dedicated their time to share their insights with me. I also express my gratitude to the Ministry of National Housing and Social Amenities, the Ministry of Local Government and the Harare City Council for authorising my research. Without the approval of these institutions, I would not have managed to interact with some key participants to collect the data that I present in this thesis. Fourth, my deepest appreciation also goes to the School of Government (SOG), for providing the support for this project to be successful. The School of Government PhD colloquia from March to August 2019 were very useful in shaping my proposal. Special thanks to Ms. Bridget Maart, for providing the essential technical and administrative support at the different stages of completing this thesis. Lastly and more importantly, I thank God for giving me the strength to sail through the arduous journey of completing this project.

Abbreviations and Acronyms

BPRA	Bulawayo Progressive Residents Association
BSs	Building Societies
CABS	Central African Building Society
CDC	Commonwealth Development Corporation
CEO	Chief Executive Officers
CHRA	Combined Harare Residents Association
CMRRA	Combined Mutare Residents' and Ratepayers' Association
COVID-19	Coronavirus
CPHC	Cotton Printers Housing Cooperative
CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
DGPs	District Growth Points
DMU	Drivers of Migration and Urbanization
DPP	Department of Physical Planning
EHHCSL	Education, Health and Housing and Community Services & Licencing
ESAP	Economic and Structural Adjustment Programme
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FNBS	First National Building Society
GoZ	Government of Zimbabwe
GRA	Gweru Residents' Association
HCC	Harare City Council
HCSD	Housing and Community Services Department
HGF	Housing and Guarantee Fund
HOS	Home Ownership Scheme
HPZ	Housing People of Zimbabwe
ICT	Information Communication Technology
IDBZ	Infrastructure Development Bank of Zimbabwe
JVSP	Joint Venture Smart Partnership
KKHC	Kugarika Kushinga Housing Cooperative
LOP	Lease with Option to Purchase
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MLGRUD	Ministry of Local Government, Rural and Urban Development
MoHSAs	Ministry of Housing and Social Amenities
MoT	Ministry of Transport
MOU	Memorandum of Agreement
MPCNH	Ministry of Public Construction and National Housing
NBS	National Building Society
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
NHDP	National Housing Delivery Programme
NHF	National Housing Fund
OM	Operation Murambatsvina
OPC	Office of the President and Cabinet
PCs	Provincial Councils
PDL	Poverty Datum Line

PPPs	Public-Private Partnerships
PSC	Public Service Commission
PSR	Public Service Regulations
RDCs	Rural District Councils
RTCPA	Regional, Town and Country Planning Act
SOG	School of Government
SOEs	State-Owned Enterprises
SPVs	Purpose Vehicles
SSSs	Site and Service Schemes
UCA	Urban Councils Act
UCs	Urban Councils
UDCORP	Urban Development Corporation
UK	United Kingdom
UN-Habitat	United Nations Human Settlements Programme
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Economic and Social Council
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
US$	United States Dollars
UWC	University of the Western Cape
WB	World Bank
WEF	World Economic Forum
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front
ZBS	Zimbabwe Building Society
ZHP	Zimbabwe Housing Projects
ZHPF	Zimbabwe Homeless People in Zimbabwe Federation
ZIMASSET	Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation
ZINAHCO	Zimbabwe National Association of Housing Cooperatives
ZIPRODA	Zimbabwe Property Developers Association
ZRP	Zimbabwe Republic Police
ZSA	Zimbabwe Statistical Agency.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCING THE CONCEPT OF URBAN HOUSING POLICY AND THE GLOBAL EVOLUTION OF THE URBAN HOUSING CHALLENGE

1.1 Background and Introduction to the Research Problem

This thesis analyses the nature of urban housing policy in Zimbabwe and how its formulation and implementation processes are influenced by institutional structures embedded in urban local government institutions.[1] The thesis investigates the impact of structural arrangements in the design and development of different urban housing policy strategies as efforts towards resolving urban housing challenges in Harare, Zimbabwe. The research is based on the premise that while governments around the world have the mandate to provide housing to citizens through urban housing policies (Smets & van Lindert, 2016), challenges seem to continue to persist in both the formulation and implementation of responsive, sustainable and relevant urban housing policies. Past studies have found that the formulation and implementation of effective urban housing policies are affected by a combination of political, economic, environmental and social factors (Jacobs & Pawson, 2015; Murie & Rowlands, 2008; Coelho, Dellepiane-Avellaneda, & Ratnoo, 2017; Fields & Hodkinson, 2018; Priemus & Whitehead, 2014, Aghimien, Aigbavboa, & Ngwari, 2018; Kleemann et al., 2017; Lin, Ma, Zhao, Hu, & Wei, 2018). The impact of institutional structures in shaping decisions and actions made by actors when formulating and implementing urban housing policies was beyond the scope of past researchers. This limited analytical attention informs the current research, which aims to develop an empirically and contextually anchored understanding of how institutional structures within local government institutions in Zimbabwe have shaped the activities of actors when formulating and implementing urban housing policies from 1980 to 2020.[2] Thus, it is important to examine and understand the influence of institutional structures in urban housing policy formulation and implementation processes in Zimbabwe because public institutions regulate and administer the public policymaking process worldwide (Anderson, 2014; Birkland, 2011).

[1] Urban housing policy making in Zimbabwe is administered by urban local authorities and these can be in the form of urban councils, town councils, municipalities and local boards.

[2] This timeframe provides a historical overview of urban housing policy developments in Zimbabwe from the time of attaining political independence (1980) to the time when data collection for the research was completed (2020).

In this thesis, institutional structures are defined as the constituent properties that give a public institution a unique identity (Albano et al., 2010) and these include the hierarchy of authority, codified rules, operating procedures, sanctions and discipline systems, principles and value systems, power relations, operational codes of conduct, institutional culture and traditions together with the institution's vision and mission statement (Giddens, 1984; Peters, 1999). The thesis is an empirical and contextual analysis of how these institutional properties influence the decisions and actions made by policy makers located in urban local government institutions in Zimbabwe when formulating and implementing urban housing policies. The research draws theoretical foundations from the extant literature that places institutional structures as the core determinants of the content of a public policy and the trajectory of its implementation. For example, studies by Immergunt (1990); Peters (1999) and (Birkland, 2011) all provide some theoretical anchor for the research as they all emphasise that public institutions have embedded structural properties that shape public policy making processes.

In particular, Birkland (2011) claims that public institutions have formalised structures that dictate how policy makers must act or behave within these entities. Other studies have also purported that the internal properties of a public policy making institution determine the success or failure of public policies (Bali et al., 2019; Howlett & Cashore, 2014). These scholars argue that institutional properties can place constraints on policymakers causing them to struggle to make feasible policy decisions and actions. In light of these views, this thesis analyses how the stated institutional properties affect the processes of urban housing policy making within urban councils in Zimbabwe, with the Harare City Council (HCC) being adopted as an explanatory case study.

In this research, urban housing policy is defined as encompassing the programmes, projects and strategies developed by urban local authorities towards both resolving housing problems and guiding housing development initiatives in urban areas. This definition is consistent with texts by Grigsby (1975); Gabriel (1996); Kumar (2008); Ye & Wu (2008) who have conceptualised urban housing policy as initiatives formulated and implemented by urban councils to guide the collective provision of housing in urban areas. The central question in this qualitative inquiry is whether institutional structures undermine or promote urban housing policy effectiveness in the context of Zimbabwe. The thesis assesses the proposition that public housing institutions in Zimbabwe have inflexible institutional structures that limit the capacity of policymakers to make rational and

independent policy decisions that are useful in addressing urban housing challenges in Zimbabwe. The thesis also examines the roles and contribution of different interest groups and institutions who partake in the processes of formulating and implementing urban housing policy in Zimbabwe. The historical evolution and persistence of the urban housing challenge in Zimbabwe are also given, and public policy efforts to address this challenge are also examined. In this introductory chapter, I present the problem statement, research aim and objectives, research questions, the concept of urban housing policy, the global nature of urban housing challenges, the significance or rationale of the research, the research design outline and methodology and the thesis structure.

1.2 Problem Statement

This research is a contextual analysis of the influence of institutional structures in urban housing policy formulation and implementation with a specific focus on the City of Harare[3], a local government urban housing policy making institution in Zimbabwe. The research is motivated by the seemingly persisting urban housing challenges in Zimbabwe as typified by the shortage of housing and the subsequent proliferation of informal squalid settlements such as shanties, slums and other makeshift forms of shelter that are unfit for human habitation and deprived of basic services like piped water, electricity, roads and proper sewer disposal systems. These challenges provide a useful spectacle of urban housing policy struggles (Nyandoro & Muzorewa, 2017).[4] While urban councils have been established to administer urban housing policy formulation and implementation, their capacity to design and implement policies that provide a lasting solution to urban housing challenges has become questionable as urban housing policy ineptness seems to obtain in Zimbabwe. This research observes that despite the formulation and implementation of many urban housing policy strategies and models in Zimbabwe, urban housing challenges have been persistent and this is partly due to poor institutional coordination. Thus, this research examines how institutional properties within urban councils in Zimbabwe have perpetuated the apparent urban housing policy failure to both address the shortages of housing and to control the increasing number of irregular settlements in the City of Harare.

[3] The city of Harare's population is denser than other cities in Zimbabwe because it is the capital city. This city is subsequently characterised by severe housing shortages due to the council's incapacity to match housing demand with its supply.

[4] Urban housing policies are formulated and implemented to address these challenges; hence their persistence signals their ineffectiveness.

Urban housing policy inadequacies in Zimbabwe have condemned over three million urbanites in the country to live under shelter conditions that are offensive, demeaning, demoralising and debilitating (Aghimien et al., 2018). Housing access has become a nightmare for the majority of urbanites in Zimbabwe, with many either renting in overcrowded residential locations or living in shanties and other forms of unsafe informal dwellings (Nyandoro & Muzorewa, 2017). Past researchers have attributed the protracted problems with Zimbabwe's urban housing policy mainly to political interference in urban management and planning processes, local governments' financial and technical incapacity to cope with increasing urban populations, economic deterioration among other external environmental forces (Aghimien et al., 2018; Kamete, 2006a; McGregor, 2013). While public institutions are regarded as the primary determinants of the content of formulated public policies and shaping the implementation process thereof, (Birkland, 2011) the effect of their structural properties on urban housing policy formulation and implementation decisions and actions has received limited scholarly analysis. This is a gap that this thesis explores, i.e., to understand the influence of institutional structures on urban housing policy formulation and its implementation in Zimbabwe. The City of Harare is used as an exploratory case study in analysing how urban housing policy formulation and implementation processes are affected by institutional structures in Zimbabwe.

The paucity of information focussing directly on the factors that impact the formulation and implementation of urban housing policy in the context of Zimbabwe motivates this research. Thus, while the phenomenon of urban housing policy provides an interesting topic for public policy and contemporary urban management studies, the concept of urban housing policy in Zimbabwe is still a little researched area as most previous researches have focused on housing policy making at the national, regional or international level. In exploring this phenomenon, this research draws insights from the structuration theory and institutionalism to advance a contextual analysis and understanding of the influence of institutional structures when policy makers formulate and implement urban housing policies in Zimbabwe – an endeavour that I consider as a novel addition to the extant public policy analysis literature. The proposition in the research is that the institutional structures that make up urban councils in Zimbabwe have a direct and primary impact on how urban housing policies are formulated and implemented. In the ensuing section, I define the research scope which encompasses the research aim, research objectives as well as the guiding research question and sub-questions.

1.3 Aim and Objectives of the Research

The research aims to advance an empirically anchored understanding of the urban housing policy challenges in Zimbabwe through analysing how the processes of urban housing policy formulation and implementation are influenced by institutional structures embedded in urban councils.

1.3.1 Research Objectives

- To analyse urban housing policy and urban housing challenges in Zimbabwe.
- To examine the roles of housing institutions and actors or stakeholders who partake in formulating and implementing urban housing policies in Zimbabwe.
- To understand the processes of urban housing policy formulation and implementation in the context of Zimbabwe and the challenges that are inherent to it.
- To investigate how institutional structures in Zimbabwe's urban councils shape urban housing policy formulation and implementation processes.
- To explore measures for improving institutional capacity towards resolving urban housing challenges in Zimbabwe.

1.4 Research Questions

The research investigates the urban housing policy challenges in Zimbabwe, and how the processes of urban housing policy formulation and its implementation are influenced by institutional structures in urban councils.

1.4.1 Sub-Questions

- What is urban housing policy and how do urban housing challenges manifest in Zimbabwe?
- What are the specific roles of housing institutions and actors involved in formulating and implementing urban housing policies in Zimbabwe?
- What defines the formulation and implementation of urban housing policies in Zimbabwe?
- How do institutional structures influence decision-making in the processes of urban housing policy formulation and implementation in Zimbabwe?
- What can be done to promote the institutional capacity to resolve urban housing challenges in Zimbabwe?

1.5 Research Proposition

This research proposes that urban councils in Zimbabwe have structural arrangements that have a direct impact on all urban housing policy-making processes. The thesis examines the veracity of this proposition by analysing how institutional structures within the Harare City Council shape the decisions and actions made by policy makers when formulating and implementing urban housing policies towards resolving the persisting urban housing challenges in this city.

1.6 Justification of the Research

This research investigates the nature and characteristics of urban housing policy in Zimbabwe and how its formulation and implementation processes are influenced by institutional structures embedded in urban local authorities. Hitherto this research, intellectual debates on policy-making challenges had been limited to the effect of external environmental variables on the contents and implementation direction of urban housing policy. Thus, the influence of institutional structures (internal components) on the policy-making process, particularly urban housing policies has not been subjected to robust scholarly analysis. In light of this gap, this research interrogates the intellectual debates on the challenges of urban housing policy formulation and implementation by exploring the extent to which urban housing policies in Zimbabwe are influenced by internal institutional arrangements. This analytical exploration is being done in light of the arduous urban housing challenges in Zimbabwe, with a specific focus on housing problems in Harare.

In light of the foregoing, this thesis analyses how the normative, codified rules, sanctions and operating procedures in the Harare City Council and related housing institutions practically affect how urban housing policies are formulated as measures towards addressing urban housing challenges in post-independence Zimbabwe. Furthermore, the research seeks to advance an understanding of the step-by-step process followed when formulating and implementing urban housing policies in Zimbabwe as well as the actors and institutions involved in these processes. Moreover, the thesis describes the housing challenges in Zimbabwe, highlighting how this challenge has evolved and persisted from the time of attaining political independence in April 1980 to 2020. The research also provides recommendations for improving the capacity of urban councils to effectively deal with the persisting urban housing challenges in Zimbabwe.

1.7 Description of the Research Area

This research focuses on the City of Harare in Zimbabwe. Geographically, the city of Harare is situated in the North-eastern part of Zimbabwe and it covers almost 942 km^2 of Zimbabwe's land (Mushore et al., 2019). The City of Harare was selected as the case for the research because as the capital and the largest urban local authority in Zimbabwe, it constitutes a large social laboratory with attributes of a robust contextual analysis of urban housing policy formulation and implementation processes and their inherent challenges. For example, with its higher rate of economic development accompanied by relatively high employment opportunities, Harare has become a magnet for Zimbabwe's population causing high demand for housing facilities. The study partly focuses on analysing urban housing challenges in Zimbabwe, and a city like Harare where housing challenges are ever-rising becomes an important case to explore. For these reasons, the City of Harare is considered a suitable case study for this thesis. Figure 1 below shows the plot map and physical boundaries of the city of Harare.

Figure 1: A plot map of Harare in Zimbabwe.[5] (Source: Google maps, October 2020)

[5] This map was extracted from: https://www.google.com/search?q=map+of+Harare&oq=map+of+Harare+&aqs=chrome.69i57.5365j0j1&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8 (Accessed 22 November 2019).

In the next section, I give a global conceptual overview of urban housing policy as a formalised governmental response to urban housing challenges. The empirical perspectives of the concept and purpose of urban housing policy are discussed as framed by different authors. The discussion also demonstrates how different scholarly views are dovetailed into my empirical research.

1.8 Empirical Perspectives of Concept and Goals of Urban Housing Policy

The concept of urban housing policy has gained momentum in past and contemporary housing debates (Croese et al., 2016; Dol & Neuteboom, 2008; Fields & Hodkinson, 2018; Gabriel, 1996; Grigsby, 1975; Preval et al., 2016; Ruonavaara, 2018). This is mainly because housing demand in cities and towns has escalated around the world as urban areas increasingly become hubs for economic activities and industrial growth (Mehrotra & Carter, 2017; World Economic Forum, 2017). Modern cities and towns continue to be the nexus of prosperity because they are highly concentrated with employment opportunities relative to rural areas (Lin, Ma, Zhao, Hu, & Wei, 2018). As a result, a global phenomenon is that population densities in urban areas have increased rapidly and the demand for social facilities such as housing has concomitantly been escalated (United Nations Economic and Social Council, 2018).

This global rise in urban populations has heightened the need for governments to formulate and implement responsive urban housing policies to meet the pressing housing demands emanating from an exponentially growing urban population. As a result, debates around housing provision have drawn extra attention to housing delivery within the context of urban areas (Zhang & Ball, 2016). Urban housing policies have occupied the agenda of governments and their local agencies because urban areas constitute the habitat for the majority of the world's population (World Economic Forum, 2017). In this thesis, I will analyse the extent to which the increasing in-migration of people into Harare has triggered housing challenges in this city and how urban housing policies as urban council responses to this challenge seem to be futile.

The primary goal of urban housing policies is to ensure that there is organised urban development with regards to housing delivery patterns (Grigsby, 1975). Urban housing policies are used as formalised governmental strategies to address emerging urban housing challenges with priority on integrated solutions to accessible and affordable housing (Bazame & Tanrivermis, 2017). These policies have also been designed as planning frameworks for encouraging collaborative housing

provision amongst relevant housing stakeholders such as government institutions, housing finance institutions, housing land developers, community organisations and residents associations (Fields & Hodkinson, 2018). In countries like the United Kingdom and France, urban housing policies have enabled fruitful engagements between private and public sectors and resident representatives in progressive efforts to provide housing to urbanites (Smets & van Lindert, 2016).

In most European countries, urban local governments have designed their urban housing policies in a manner that promote collaborative housing delivery initiatives such as co-housing and other forms of collective self-organised housing provision (Czischke, 2018). Such urban housing policies have enabled collaboration between community organisations, private sector institutions and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) in ensuring that citizens have decent housing facilities. In Denmark, co-housing communities have become essential institutions in urban housing delivery processes (Larsen, 2019). In Germany, there has been a success story of collaborative housing provision due to the cooperation and mutual understanding between the government, the private sector and community organisations (Reynolds, 2018). In the Netherlands, a participatory approach in which housing is provided through collaborative partnerships between the state and community organisations is encouraged (Chava & Newman, 2016). In France, residents actively participate in the design and management of housing construction projects (Bozio et al., 2017). In light of this narrative, this research examines the contextual applicability of the collaborative housing delivery framework when formulating and implementing urban housing policies in Zimbabwe.

Urban housing policies are regulatory frameworks for controlling the activities of housing delivery actors, institutions and stakeholders. In different global economic systems, urban housing policies have also been used by urban local governments as key legal instruments for regulating the operations of stakeholders such as housing cooperatives, residents' associations and private housing markets. For example, in free-market economies such as China and Singapore, urban housing policies enable urban local governments to state regulations for the operation of property markets to promote equitable housing development (Yoshino & Helble, 2016). In these countries, urban housing policies also provide the legal operating framework for Public-Private-Partnerships to thrive in the provision of housing.

In mixed economies such as Germany – where housing provision is a collective responsibility of the state and community actors – the operating procedures for each actor in the housing delivery process are stipulated in urban housing policies (van Bortel & Gruis, 2019). In socialist economies such as Belgium, Chile, the Netherlands and Tunisia, governments have used urban housing policies to provide legal authorisation to budgetary allocations towards the public provision of social housing to the people (Holt-Jensen, 2014). Thus, urban housing policies provide a legal guide for avoiding conflicts and confrontations amongst actors, interest groups and institutions involved in housing delivery within different economies. Although most of the aforementioned examples on the provision of housing are drawn from developed countries, they do proffer some ideas that can be adjusted contextually to reflect on how urban councils in Zimbabwe have designed and implemented urban housing policies as a framework for regulating the operational behaviour of various stakeholders in the urban housing policy domain.

The access to residential housing land, its use, and its tenure are all regulated through urban housing policy. Urban development which refers to the change in urban form is guided by policies, institutional and statutory frameworks (Chigudu, 2021). There is a need to control urban development because if unchecked, informal settlements will inevitably emerge and these are difficult to manage. In most countries, therefore, urban housing policies help to curb the chances of unauthorised land use in urban areas and promote organised urban development (Jonga, 2014). Thus, citizens seeking to acquire housing land are expected to adhere to the provisions of urban housing policies. Furthermore, modern local governments use urban housing policies as land use controls designed to curb illegal occupation of land and the growth of informal settlements in undesignated areas (Blöchliger et al., 2017). In this regard, urban housing policy demarcates land use by ensuring that residential development land is not used for other commercial, industrial, or recreational purposes and contrariwise. Ideally, urban housing policies must provide a platform for equal distribution of housing land, particularly in chaotic urban environments where there are growing opportunities for illegal access to housing land and sprouting of informal settlements (Kumar, 2008).

The other purpose of urban housing policy is to guide the process of upgrading urban informal settlements and the legal incorporation of peri-urban irregular settlements into the main urban areas in the process of urban expansion (Gabriel, 1996). Through urban housing policy, local

governments can develop strategies towards preparing residential land in urban areas so that the housing conditions of the occupants can be improved and slum dwellers can be adequately housed within the framework of integrated development of urban settlements (Ye & Wu, 2008). The problem of slums and squatter settlements in urban areas has been a major challenge across the world and its redress is one of the primary goals of urban housing policies. In the same vein, local governments can use urban housing policy to promote incremental construction of formal housing facilities and upgrading of poorer housing structures within urban communities. In light of these conceptual perspectives, this thesis analyses how urban councils in Zimbabwe employ urban housing policies to regulate urban land use, control the spread of informal settlements and further examine the impact these regulations have had on housing delivery.

Largely, urban housing policies are used to ensure that the housing supply expands in response to the housing needs of urban populations (Lin et al., 2018). Thus, the expectation is that urban housing policies should effectively address the challenges of limited housing access and the problems of affordability. These policies are expected to eliminate problems that constrain housing growth and control exorbitant housing prices to ensure that everyone has decent shelter (Quigley, 2000). In addition, urban housing policies are expected to promote housing ownership through various programmes and initiatives (Bazame & Tanrivermis, 2017). In this thesis, the applicability of all these dimensions of urban housing policy is examined in the context of Zimbabwe. For an appreciation of the contextual differences in urban housing delivery approaches, the section below provides a worldwide overview of housing delivery models in different economic systems. The discussion also gives pointers to what the current research aims to do to assess the applicability of the different housing delivery models and approaches depicted to the Zimbabwean context.

1.8.1 Housing Delivery Models in Different Economic Systems

There are different approaches to the provision of urban housing, and such approaches seem to be influenced by different economic systems such as the socialist economy, the free-market economy and the mixed economy. The main housing delivery models applicable to different economic systems are the enabling approach, the Marxist approach, the communal approach, the market-based model and the collaborative model. Housing delivery approaches in a socialist economy may differ from the models used in a free-market economy or a mixed economy. In a free-market

economy, there is limited state involvement in economic activities, hence the enabling approach to housing delivery is used. This housing delivery approach is a departure from traditional approaches which emphasised direct housing provision by the state (Croese et al., 2016). In this approach, the government develops regulations for the private sector and other non-state institutions to effectively participate in housing delivery (Hassan, 2011). The United Kingdom (UK) is one of the free-market economies where the enabling approach to housing delivery is used (McDonald et al., 2009). Shimbo (2019) argues that in a free-market economy, private sector institutions such as banks, building societies and community housing cooperatives are enabled by the government to provide housing through the market system. The government involvement in the proviso of housing is limited to regulating the possibility of monopolistic practices by private sector housing institutions. In light of this conspectus, this thesis reflects on the effectiveness of the housing delivery model that applies to the Zimbabwean context and its relevance in addressing the persisting urban housing challenges in the country.

In a socialist economy, a Marxist housing delivery model is adopted. Under this model, housing provision is viewed as more than just a technical or infrastructural question, but a social priority of the government (Granath-Hansson & Lundgren, 2019; Tsenkova, 2009). In a socialist economy, the state has the power to determine the pace and form of housing delivery and it also subsidies housing provision. For instance, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and Albania are popular for their Marxist housing models in which the government provides social housing to citizens to address housing inequalities (Daneshpour, 2017).

Socialist economies subdue private housing markets as the welfare of the people takes precedence over the profit motives of individuals and businesses as the government makes the decisions on housing ownership (Tsenkova, 2009). This was the case in Tanzania, in January 1967 when the central government adopted the Arusha Declaration to restrain private sector and community involvement in housing provision processes (Kaitilla, 1990). The Arusha Declaration left housing finance, investment and production under government control as the government of Tanzania (Nguluma, 2003). However, in the mid-80s, Tanzania abandoned its socialist ideology and adopted the current mixed economy system where it collaborates with the private sector in housing delivery initiatives (Mselle & Sanga, 2018). In Iran, the housing provision model during the period 2005-2013 under the national housing programme called “affection housing” or the Mehr Housing

Scheme was regarded as a socialist housing model (Daneshpour, 2017). Daneshpour (2017) argues that the Mehr Housing Scheme had limited success because of the government's limited financial resources to continue supporting housing development initiatives. In this thesis, the urban housing delivery model that suits the context of Zimbabwe is explained.

In a mixed economic system[6], the state and the private sector institutions work together to provide housing (Arku, 2006). In this system, the state allows private housing providers to make a profit, but retain the power to regulate their activities to ensure that their pursuit of profit does not harm the public good (Chiu-shee & Zheng, 2019). Mixed economic systems promote the collaborative housing delivery approach – a model that relegates the government role to create an enabling environment for other players to partake in housing delivery processes. Nigeria is an example of a mixed economy in which states allow private players to provide housing in joint venture collaborations with the government (Olugbenga & Adekemi, 2013). South Africa is another example of a mixed economy where the government works in collaboration with private players in providing housing. While the government is regarded as a primary provider of housing, it also sets regulations for the operation of private housing markets in the delivery of housing (Ganiyu et al., 2017). In South Africa, strategies such as the Down-Payment Grant, Mortgage Payment Subsidies, Mortgage Payment Deductions and Mortgage Interest Deduction have been adopted by the government as affordable housing provision methods (Brown-Luthango et al., 2017; Marutlulle & Ijeoma, 2015). Having presented the different housing provision models in different economic systems above, in the section below, I discuss the main challenges faced when formulating and implementing urban housing policies from a global perspective.

1.8.2 Global Challenges Faced in Formulating and Implementing Urban Housing Policies

The success of urban housing policies around the world has been limited by various challenges. As a result, it is a global trend that the majority of urbanites continue to experience housing deprivations (Fields & Hodkinson, 2018). Most governments have not only struggled to provide housing to their citizens but also grappled with controlling the ever-growing number of illegal settlements that grow out of housing shortages and the subsequent housing desperation experienced by the urban population (World Economic Forum, 2017). In most countries, citizens

[6] Mixed economic systems feature a synthesis of a socialist economy and a free-market economy.

have embarked on the illegal acquisition of urban land, leading to the sprouting of informal settlements against the plan of urban governance authorities. Resultantly, expansive unplanned and underserviced unplanned settlements continue to be a common feature within or on the peripheries of most urban areas around the world (Lin et al., 2018). The worldwide ineffectiveness of urban housing policies has been explained in different ways by scholars. In the extant literature, the most recurring factor undermining urban housing policy interventions around the world is the unstainable growth in the urban population which has dented the capacity of housing institutions to supply the required housing (Mehrotra & Carter, 2017).

In most parts of the world, people have continued to move into urban areas for a variety of reasons such as searching for employment opportunities, advancing education and the general need to be exposed to better living standards in cities and towns and not in rural areas (Lin et al., 2018). A survey conducted by the World Bank in September 2019 revealed that over 4 billion[7] people around the world now live in urban areas (World Bank, 2019). The growth in the urban population against limited resources has marred the ability of housing institutions to match housing demand with its supply. The UN-Habitat (2016) and surveys by Fields & Hodkinson (2018) have indicated that urban housing policy formulation and its implementation has become a universal challenge due to the exponential growth in urban populations. In many cases, the establishment of public institutions such as urban councils to administer urban housing policies has not helped in addressing the urban housing problem on a global scale (Smets & van Lindert, 2016). This is largely because of the exponential growth in urban populations against limited social facilities for use by the burgeoning populations.[8] Largely, urban housing policies in most parts of the developing world have not been successful as housing continues to be out of reach to the majority of urbanites (Bazame & Tanrivermis, 2017). Affordable housing and homeownership remain a pipe dream in most countries, particularly in Africa and other parts of the developing world (Smets & van Lindert, 2016). While most governments have integrated housing access and affordability strategies into their urban housing policies, a global phenomenon is that access to housing remains a challenge for many people in urban areas (United Nations, 2016).

[7] This figure was more than half the global population when this World Bank survey was conducted.
[8] Policies geared towards facilitating urban housing provision seem to be derailed by limited financial resources.

The goal of urban housing policies is to improve human settlements and make housing an integral part of human life for the urbanites (Ruonavaara, 2018). However, the ineffectiveness of urban housing policies in many parts of the world has subjected people in rapidly urbanising areas to living in substandard housing conditions (Lin et al., 2018). Owing to urban housing policy glitches in many countries, the urban housing challenges haunting different cities and towns across the globe have not been addressed speedily. An evaluation of urban housing policies shows that they have not provided the expected redress to the housing needs of the urbanites around the world (World Economic Forum, 2017). Research conducted by Bazame and Tanrivermis (2017) revealed that urban housing policies in most countries have not created an appropriate enabling environment to facilitate the access of houses to the majority of citizens. The general worldwide trend is that most governments have struggled to use these policies as instruments for eliminating housing constraints in urban areas (Smets & van Lindert, 2016). This has made the urban housing challenge intractable in many parts of the world. Croese, Cirolia & Graham, (2016) found that the magnitude of urban housing demand has remained enormously daunting in many countries as indicated by several cases of housing deficits and owning a house in an urban area is still a challenge for many people around the world.

The lack of financial resources has been cited as the major problem faced when implementing urban housing policies in developing countries. In many African countries, for example, urban housing policies have not had the desired effectiveness and impact mainly due to limited housing finance (Fields & Hodkinson, 2018). Against this background, there have been calls for allocating more budgetary resources to urban housing policy implementation processes (Ganiyu et al., 2017). This is so because formulated urban housing policies can become too ambitious when not backed up with adequate financial resources (Bah et al., 2018). The common urban housing challenges around the world are housing shortages, sprouting of illegal settlements and cases where people live in dilapidated accommodation facilities that are unfit for human habitation (Pinson and Journel, 2016). These urban housing challenges have been persistent due to urban housing policy ineptness. The issue of acute urban housing shortages continues to be on top of the agenda of many governments across the world (Nkubito & Baiden-Amissah, 2019). An UN-Habitat 2016 report, estimates that in developing counties, around 881 million people live in poor housing conditions and by the year 2025, over 1.6 billion people will experience housing deficiencies. Furthermore, it has been observed that a third of all urban dwellers worldwide have limitations in accessing

secure and safe housing (Mukhtar et al., 2016). Cities and towns are growing at an unprecedented rate and this has led to governments facing major challenges in providing safe and adequate housing for their people (World Economic Forum, 2017).

Regardless of efforts by governments to shelter for their burgeoning population, the urban housing problem has become perverse, particularly in developing countries (Fields & Hodkinson, 2018). The 2017 Drivers of Migration and Urbanization (DMU) report indicates that more than half of the world population live in towns and cities, with projections of this pointing towards a 75 per cent urban population across the world by the year 2050 (World Bank, 2019). The provision of urban housing continues to be a herculean task for most governments as reflected by persisting urban housing shortages across the world (Marutlulle, 2019). Urban housing deficits have forced more poor and lower-middle-class residents have been forced to live in slums (Bazame & Tanrivermis, 2017). Informal settlements and other makeshift forms of accommodation continue to grow in urban areas as an alternative shelter for the urban population. An estimated 90% of urban expansion of informal settlements in near hazard-prone areas built in unplanned settlements (World Bank, 2019). The expectation by governments to ensure that housing supply initiatives respond to the housing demands of citizens seems difficult to achieve.

Urban housing challenges are evident in many countries. Brazil is a typical example of acute urban housing challenges as it is reported that it has between six and eight million fewer houses that it needs (Atuesta & Soares, 2018). Over 80 per cent of the country's population live in urban areas, and this situation has increased housing demand and shortages (Shimbo, 2019). In Rio de Janeiro, over 600,000 people live in makeshift forms of shelter commonly known as *favelas* (Molina et al., 2019). Slums provide shelter to millions of Brazilians, such that cities like Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo have become eyesores due to the high density of slums (Krenz et al., 2015). These slums are crime-infested, crowded and generally hazardous as they do not have sewer disposal systems, water connections and refuse collection systems (Molina et al., 2019). The shortage of housing in Brazil's urban areas has therefore subjected citizens to other social hazards such as the spread of diseases and increased rate of crime. The Brazilian government's interventions towards reducing urban housing challenges seem to be futile.

Malaysia is another case where housing has remained inadequate despite its impressive economic development trajectory since the turn of the second millennium (Yoshino & Helble, 2016). Housing surveys show that there are less than 200 housing units for every 1,000 people in Malaysia's urban areas (Olanrewaju & Idrus, 2019). There is a supply-demand mismatch in cities and towns such as Kuala Lumpur, the capital city, which is experiencing an enormous migration of people from countryside regions (Yoshino & Helble, 2016). This city's rate of population increase has outpaced the housing supply capacity of the government, a situation that has resulted in the city having a housing backlog of 736,955 (Olanrewaju & Idrus, 2019). The majority of citizens in Kuala Lumpur and other cities in Malaysia cannot afford to purchase their own homes (Zainal et al., 2019). The urban housing problem in Malaysia is not that of urban slums, evictions and displacements, but that of the shortage of affordable low-income to medium-cost housing as the housing market is beyond the reach of many Malaysians (Carmelo, 2018).

In Greece, housing has become less affordable and accessible due to an exploitative private housing market that is heavily influenced by investment motives (Kourachanis, 2017). In addition, there has been a lack of coordination amongst housing stakeholders in Greece leading to urban housing policy failure (Granath-Hansson & Lundgren, 2019). For example, some people in Athens the capital of Greece are overburdened by housing costs and face bad housing conditions, overcrowding, seizures, evictions and homelessness (Hess et al., 2018; Siatitsa, 2016). The urban housing problem in Greece is also characterised by an increasing need for emergency shelter (Kourachanis, 2017).

Urban housing challenges seem to be more common in Africa. The majority of African countries are experiencing urban housing shortages with squalid housing facilities and informal settlements being an eyesore in most African cities and towns (Kleemann et al., 2017). The Federal Republic of Nigeria (henceforth Nigeria) is one African country known for experiencing acute housing shortages in its major cities. The increase in Lagos' population has not been at a commensurate level with its housing delivery as an increased number of people continue to live in unsafe housing conditions (Olugbenga & Adekemi, 2013). A relatively similar challenge seems evident in Mozambique where limited budgetary support towards housing development has raised housing expenses, making housing affordability a major problem (Kamete & Lindell, 2010). The same challenges seem to obtain in Zimbabwe where urban housing policies, programmes, projects, and

related initiatives designed to guide urban housing provision have been criticized for lacking coherence and effectiveness (Aghimien et al., 2018).

The preceding narrative demonstrates how urban housing challenges have become an alarming concern around the world as housing precariousness and shelter deprivation are increasing. In a review of extant studies (Kamete & Lindell, 2010; Munzwa & Jonga, 2010; Kamete, 2013; Moyo, 2014; Musvoto & Mooya, 2016), external factors such as political interference, economic deterioration, as well as social and demographic elements such as population growth have been cited as the main challenges to effective urban housing policy formulation and implementation in Zimbabwe. However, the impact of internal factors, particularly institutional properties, in formulating and implementing urban housing policies in Zimbabwe has not been covered comprehensively by these past researchers. This thesis explores the nature of urban housing policy in Zimbabwe and further analyses how its formulation and implementation processes are influenced by institutional structures embedded in urban councils with the City of Harare being used as an exploratory case study. The research probes how urban housing institutions in Zimbabwe develop and impose their norms and enduring values upon urban housing policymakers and its impact on the content and direction of urban housing policies. This research will be done in light of the apparent arduous urban housing problems in Harare, the capital city of Zimbabwe.

1.9 Limitations of the Study

The data collection process for this research was derailed by some challenges. The greater part of the data collection process was done at the time when the country was placed under nationwide lockdown due to the global outbreak of the Coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic. In Zimbabwe, the first national lockdown was imposed on 30 March 2020 for 21 days, with more indefinite lockdowns being imposed hereafter. The lockdown regulations resulted in the suspension of 'unnecessary' movements such that I had to produce my University of the Western Cape (UWC) Ethical Clearance[9] at Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP) checkpoints as a permit to enable me to pass as I travelled into the city of Harare to collect my data. To proceed with collecting data under these circumstances, study participants were not requested to provide written consent due to the

[9] See appendix A: My UWC Ethical Clearance letter issued on 8 October 2019.

risk of spreading COVID-19 through the exchange of pens and papers. To protect respondents and me from COVID-19, the researchers put in place several measures including the following:

- Minimisation of physical contact wherever possible, especially with key informants. Some were interviewed via Zoom/Skype or ordinary phone calls depending on the situation.
- Social distancing was always maintained throughout the research process and handshaking was not allowed throughout the research process.
- Before each interview or discussion, I requested participants to sanitise by washing their hands using an alcohol-based hand sanitiser. Thereafter, respondents were issued a face mask which they were expected to put on throughout the interview.
- I kept the interviews as brief as was necessary to reduce infection risk and recorded the names and contact numbers of participants to facilitate contact tracing in the event of one of them testing positive for COVID-19.
- Face-to-face consultations excluded children, the elderly, people with chronic diseases and people that were sick.

The second challenge encountered in this research was the unwillingness of some participants to respond to some questions in the interview guide. For example, while I considered the interview questions as not being sensitive, some informants cited that they were not free to answer some questions. For instance, some key informants opted not to comment on the question of how politicians influence technical or administrative decisions during the formulation and implementation of urban housing policies. Another interview-related limitation was that some individual interviews were shorter in duration than expected, mainly due to the different commitments of the officers, and as a result, more data was collected in some interviews relative to others. Nonetheless, sufficient and satisfactory information required to enrich the study was gained from other participants who were free to respond to such questions. In terms of selecting participants, the use of snowball sampling posed the threat of participants having pre-existing social connections that had the possibility of perpetuating falsehoods. To mitigate this challenge, I treated each participant as a unique element, and I did not refer to the previous participants so that there could be originality of responses. I also rephrased the interview questions so that there would not have been a chance of sharing questions between the participants due to their social connections with those who referred me to them.

1.10 Delimitations of the Study

Housing is a broad concept, often analysed from different perspectives such as housing as a globally recognised human right, the troublesome issue of urban informal settlements, the complex issue of housing affordability by different social classes such as low-income groups, the broader concept of national housing delivery among other dimensions. However, the analytical focus in this thesis is narrowed to a contextual analysis of urban housing policy formulation and implementation processes from the Zimbabwean social laboratory. In this regard, the thesis examines the nature of urban housing policy in Zimbabwe and how its formulation and implementation processes are influenced by institutional structures in the City of Harare, an urban housing policy making institution. The thesis also traces the global evolution of urban housing challenges, giving case experiences from different parts of the world. Furthermore, a descriptive analysis of the urban housing policy protagonists in Zimbabwe together with the main institutions and stakeholders who take part in the formulation and implementation of urban housing policy is made, examining their contribution to urban housing policy making processes.

1.11 Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is organised into seven chapters as illustrated in the table below:

Table 1: Organisation of thesis chapters.

CHAPTER	TITLE
ONE	Introducing the concept of urban housing policy and the global evolution of the urban housing challenge.
TWO	Post-independence urban housing policy strategies in Zimbabwe and the persistence of the urban housing challenge in Harare.
THREE	Research Design and Methodological Configurations.
FOUR	Literature review and theoretical propositions: Decision-making frameworks and theories germane to institutional public policy formulation and implementation.
FIVE	Urban housing policy protagonists in Zimbabwe: The main institutions and actors participating in the formulation and implementation of urban housing policy.

SIX	The scope of urban housing policy in Zimbabwe: its formulation and implementation processes and how they are influenced by institutional structures.
SEVEN	Some conclusions, recommendations and possible further research on urban housing policy institutional structures in Zimbabwe.

1.12 Chapter Summary

This chapter introduced the research on the influence of institutional structures on urban housing policy formulation and implementation processes in Zimbabwe. The chapter gave an orientation to the concept of urban housing policy and urban housing policy challenges from a global perspective before narrowing these issues to the Zimbabwean context. Furthermore, the chapter also framed the research by outlining the problem statement, the description of the research area, guiding research objectives and questions, the research proposition, justifications of the research, the delimitations and limitations of the research, and a tabular outline of the thesis. In the next chapter, I give a conspectus of post-independence urban housing policies in Zimbabwe and the progression of the urban housing challenge in Harare from 1980 to 2020.

CHAPTER TWO

POST-INDEPENDENCE URBAN HOUSING POLICY STRATEGIES IN ZIMBABWE AND THE PERSISTENCE OF THE URBAN HOUSING CHALLENGE IN HARARE

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I give an overview of the different post-independence urban housing policy strategies in Zimbabwe and how they continue to fall short of ameliorating the persisting urban housing challenges in major cities such as Harare. In light of the first objective of this thesis, I also give a historical evolution and tenacity of the urban housing challenge in Zimbabwe before I present an overview of the specific urban housing policies that have been pursued in Harare. Furthermore, I explain how since independence in 1980, urban local authorities in Zimbabwe have grappled with addressing the growing housing needs of an exponentially growing urban population despite the formulation and implementation of a plethora of urban housing policies and strategies. I also describe how the Harare City Council has developed urban housing policy implementation strategies for providing decent, affordable shelter to residents in different parts of the city.

2.2 Post-Independence Urban Housing Developments and Challenges in Zimbabwe

Urban areas in post-independence Zimbabwe have been typified by chronic housing challenges ranging from acute housing shortages, overcrowdedness, illegal occupation of housing land, and subsequent sprouting of illegal settlements. The main cause of these challenges has been the exponential growth of the urban population against a weak institutional capacity to provide social facilities such as housing. Before the attainment of independence in 1980, Zimbabwe's urban population density was low (Munzwa & Jonga, 2010) because the colonial government had established segregatory regulations to limit black workers from permanent residence in urban areas as a strategy for controlling the size of the urban population (Potts & Mutambirwa, 1990). The restrictive laws such as the Natives (Urban Areas) Accommodation and Registration Act of 1946 and the Vagrancy Act of 1960 and the Land Tenure Act of 1969 prevented the accumulation of large numbers of black unemployed people in urban centres (Scarnecchia, 1982).

Hitherto the attainment of independence in Zimbabwe, the movement of blacks into cities was highly restricted through legislation, such that at independence, only 23 per cent of the country's population lived in urban areas.[10] A few blacks and a majority of the whites could own a house in urban areas at that time. According to Gotora (2020), these conditions were stipulated in legislations such as the unpopular 1930 Land Apportionment Act, which barred black African land ownership in urban areas, and the Native Passes Act of 1937, which restricted the unwarranted movement of black men to towns. Gotora (2020) argues that under the Native Passes Act, for example, men over the age of 14 visiting or travelling to cities and towns would be required to produce identification certificates and tax receipts, and to disclose where, with whom, and for how long they will be living in the city.[11] The colonial government designated specific areas for the few blacks who were employed in urban areas and permitted them to stay for the duration of their work contracts and return to the rural areas after working. These people would live in rental housing that was built in high density and overcrowded black townships such as Mabvuku, Kambuzuma, Mbare, and Mufakose in Harare; Sakubva in Mutare and Mucheke in Masvingo. Only a few blacks and whites would live in low-density suburbs.

This situation changed in 1980, at independence when these restrictive laws were repealed by the new government, which was devoted to ending race-based restrictions on population movements into urban areas (Herbst, 1990; Matamanda, 2019). The new government moved to maximize the capacity of urban areas to absorb additional population by repealing restrictive laws that were barring blacks from moving or living in cities. In this regard, the government engaged in a massive deracialisation programme under the Growth with Equity blueprint with an agenda to abolish racial barriers to urban housing access (Munzwa & Jonga, 2010). For example, the Vagrancy Act, which had been passed in 1960 as an instrument to control the movement of blacks into cities and towns, was immediately abolished in 1980 (Herbst, 1990). The newly elected black government quickly allowed all people to freely explore employment opportunities that were perceived to be available in cities and towns. At that time, the new government was committed to providing housing for the people arriving in urban areas (Potts & Mutambirwa, 1990). In this regard, policies such as the

[10] Interview with an academic at the University of Zimbabwe –March 2020.
[11] https://www.herald.co.zw/housing-policies-in-zim-an-expose-of-the-journey/ (Accessed 10 May 2020).

Home Ownership Scheme (HOS-1982) were introduced as the government sought to extent housing ownership to black occupants. The abolishment of restrictive laws on the migration of black people into urban areas resulted in a massive population increase in urban areas, particularly in Harare and Bulawayo. The urban population started to increase and new settlements began to emerge in cities.

From 1980 to 1985, Zimbabwe experienced an urban population boom. In 1985, the Central Statistical Office revealed that there was an urban population increase from less than 1 million people living in urban areas in 1979 to about 1,9 million people in 1982. For example, Harare, formerly Salisbury, had a population of 386, 000 in 1969, and this number increased 656 000 by the year 1982 (Central Statistical Office, 1988). Because of this urban population explosion, there was a high demand for housing facilities in urban areas such that by 1990, the shortage of housing began to surface and the housing waiting lists in most urban areas were increasing. The emerging shortage of housing at this time resulted in massive overcrowding in urban areas as the existing housing stock could not absorb additional people (Munzwa & Jonga, 2010). Rakodi (1996) observes that low-cost urban housing provision remained a challenge for the new government after independence, with an estimated 28 per cent of the urban population in Zimbabwe experiencing varying housing problems between the period 1990 and 1995. As far back as 1985, the urban housing shortage was a problem already as statistics show that there was a decline in the actual number of housing units constructed from 12 075 housing units in 1980/81 to only 5 000 housing units in 1984/85 (Wekwete, 1989).

After realising the impending housing shortages, the government tasked the Department of Physical Planning (DPP) to start locating focal points of urban housing development to cater for the growing population (Munzwa & Jonga, 2010). In pursuance of the Growth with Equity Policy and the Transitional National Development Plan, the government introduced the Growth Point/Rural Service Centre Strategy to develop District Growth Points (DGPs), so that they can become centres of employment, thereby halting further rural to urban migration (Wekwete, 1991). These Growth Points would receive support from the government to invest in different growth sectors such as energy, communications, water supply, housing development, as well as social and administrative infrastructure (Ramsamy, 2006). The Growth Point development policies were pursued together with other related urban housing policy measures such as the Low-Income

Housing Plan (1980-1985), a five-year plan to provide low-income housing units and residential stands to urbanites in different parts of the country (Potts & Mutambirwa, 1990). However, this plan was not as successful as anticipated and upon realising its limited success, the government replaced it with the Transitional Development Plan (1982-1985) – which culminated in the adoption of the National Housing Fund, Public Sector Investment Programme as the main government strategy to guide urban housing provision (Wekwete, 1989). Further policies would follow as in 1985, the government formulated the National Urbanisation Policy which was developed under the First Five-Year National Development Plan of 1986-1990. The objective of this policy was also to prioritise the development of District Growth Points as a measure to minimise rural-urban migration as this was causing housing shortages in urban areas (Gotora, 2020). Together with these public policies, the Government of Zimbabwe also fostered partnerships with the International organisational towards urban housing delivery. For example, from 1980 to 1990, housing settlements in areas such as Hatcliffe, Warren Park, and Budiriro in Harare were developed under the Sites-and Service-Scheme and the Core Housing Scheme supported by the World Bank and USAID. Through these arrangements, the USAID provided US$ 50 million in funding and technical support towards the construction of over 20 000 low-cost housing in Harare and nine other urban centres in Zimbabwe (Kamete, 2001).

The efforts made by the government to provide urban housing facilities and to decongest urban areas only recorded minimal success because urban housing shortages continued to increase. By the late 1980s, population densities in Zimbabwe's major urban areas continued to increase as these urban centres harboured major industries and advanced social amenities which made them magnets for labour (Rakodi, 1990). This urban growth in population was met with dwindling financial resources on the part of the government, particularly towards housing delivery (Taruvinga & Mooya, 2016). The housing units provided remained low against a ballooning waiting list. In Harare, for example, between June 1980 and June 1989, only 15 070 housing facilities were allocated to beneficiaries, yet the housing waiting list had over 50 000 applicants (Auret, 1995). In the year 1989, the then Ministry of Public Construction and National Housing reported that the housing deficit in Zimbabwe's cities and towns was close to 965 000 housing units and this number was increasing every day. This estimated figure reflected the emerging magnitude of the urban housing challenge that would then continue to haunt the government in the decades to come. By 1990, urban areas in Zimbabwe began to experience high demand for housing,

which resulted in their outward expansion in most cases through informal settlements. This was evidence of the fact that the government and urban local authorities were struggling to meet the rising demand for housing that was emanating from an overpowering rise in urban populations.

Consequent to the above, in Harare, the city's boundaries were adjusted several times between 1980 and 1990. The housing waiting list was extended and people started to blame the government and local authorities for failing to properly respond to their housing challenge (Herbst, 1990). Because of the mismatch between housing supply and demand, informal settlements began to surface in cities like Bulawayo and Harare. For example, an estimated total of 9 870 illegal residential structures were reported in the City of Harare in mid-1987 (CoH, 1987) and these continue to surge in the second decade of independence (1990-1999). The year 1990 marked the beginning of Zimbabwe's second decade of independence with a corresponding increase in the demand for urban housing. At this time, the government did not abandon its agenda to increase urban housing delivery, but its efforts were marred by the adoption of the IMF and World Bank (Bretton Woods Institutions) induced Economic and Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) in July 1991. Post-independence housing provision in Zimbabwe was largely funded through the national budget, but when the government of Zimbabwe embraced and adopted the ESAP, it simultaneously reduced its spending on social service provision such as public housing delivery (Kawewe & Dibie, 2000). Subsequently, the government of Zimbabwe announced that under ESAP, it will reduce funding towards social services such as housing (Mlambo, 1997). This move stalled the implementation of housing development projects in different cities and towns in Zimbabwe, which was a blow to previous housing policy initiatives.

The reduction in public expenditure under the ESAP made housing affordability and access to be a major problem for large sections of the urban population in Zimbabwe (Kawewe & Dibie, 2000). Thus, during the ESAP period, there was an extreme shrinkage of urban councils' capacity to deliver adequate housing. The situation triggered a housing crisis typified by overcrowding, homelessness, illegal occupation of housing land, and illegal lodging in most urban areas (Rakodi, 1992). Due to the diminishing housing stock at this time, by 1992, most urbanites who could not afford proper housing continued to live in squalid squatter settlements as in a desperate measure to house themselves (Auret, 1995). The ESAP brought about a new phase of economic hardship in which people could not afford basic services, let alone housing, which became exorbitant to

many (Matamanda, 2019). Thus, the ESAP period was marked by an increase in the number of informal settlements as most low-income earnings and poor citizens failed to access adequate housing (Matamanda, 2019). Inevitably, an increased shortage of housing became evident and this situation allowed housing informality to thrive as residents resorted to unlawful methods of accessing and appropriating housing land outside proper council arrangements and procedures (Kamete, 2013). In this era, institutions such as Building Societies became hesitant to provide low-income housing loans because there were no guarantees for interest returns (Mlambo, 1997). Simultaneously, loans from the National Housing Fund were no longer accessible, making housing, funding and housing access a nightmare for the majority of low-income urbanites (Rakodi & Withers, 1995).

The majority of residents in urban areas started to rely on rented accommodation, but this was also unsustainable because it was expensive for them due to their lower income levels and continued economic problems under the ESAP. As a consequence of this emerging crisis, most urbanites opted to live in wooden dwellings that were erected in illegal spaces not meant for housing developments (Jonga, 2014). The housing development process in Zimbabwe at that time became constrained and demand outpaced supply. In Harare, the housing waiting list was further extended beyond the council housing supply capacity. Many poor households opted to rent in overcrowded high-density residential locations such as Mbare in Harare, and by 1995, overcrowdedness in high-density suburbs continued to increase in volume (Rakodi & Withers, 1995). The situation further worsened such that by 1999, the majority of low-income earning people in the urban areas lived in dire housing conditions. This situation led to the further extension of unauthorised housing in the form of temporary shanties, backyard shacks, and squatter camps in urban areas, particularly in Harare and Bulawayo where the majority of the people were concentrated.

The third decade of independence in Zimbabwe began in 2000. This decade marked the visible urban local government involvement of a strong opposition political party known as the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). The MDC became instrumental in urban governance, particularly in issues of urban housing provision. From independence in 1980 to this period, urban governance and administrative issues such as housing land allocation had been the preserve of the ruling party, the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF). The coming of the MDC into the urban governance framework brought both a new political landscape and a new challenge

regarding housing provision. In this regard, from 2000 to 2009, toxic party politics between the central government and the opposition councillors in urban local authorities further perpetuated the urban housing problem (McGregor, 2013). The bruising political battles for the control of Zimbabwe's cities between the Minister of Local Government from ZANU-PF and councillors from the MDC dented housing policy processes during this epoch (Kamete, 2006b). These intense political conflicts drastically undermined the capacity of councils to formulate and implement effective housing delivery strategies (McGregor, 2013). Thus, since 2000, local authorities in Zimbabwe became pervasively politicised and marred by patronage and clientelism, which undermined the efficacy of urban housing policies (Dorman, 2016). Partisan politics in housing land administration created room for the burgeoning of bogus housing cooperatives and the subsequent mushrooming of illegal settlements in Zimbabwe as access to urban housing land is based on political affiliation to ZANU-PF in a patronage and clientelism system of housing land allocation which is against policy frameworks (Chirisa et al., 2014). Furthermore, there was discernible political interference in the allocation of housing land in Zimbabwe at this time and this affected urban housing policy formulation and implementation as politicians would allocate housing land against urban housing development plans by urban planners (Kamete, 2006b).

The ZANU-PF and MDC political turbulence caused some form of discord in the housing policy administration as the Minister of Local Government minister seemed to place some administrative obstacles on opposition councillors and the mayor in a fierce battle for political supremacy to control the city (Muchadenyika, 2015). Consequently, urban housing policy actors operated in a politically contested and confusing environment in which the demarcation between the powers of politicians and technocrats was blurry (Dorman, 2016). In Harare, the result of this tension was chaotic urban expansion, which manifested through the sprouting of irregular settlements with no proper urban services. This was mainly because housing land allocation was done through political structures where political actors compel city planners to forego planning regulations and standards (Muchadenyika & Williams, 2017). These political encounters aggravated the urban housing challenges in Zimbabwe, which then reached unprecedented proportions between 2000 and 2010. This situation was also worsened by the unfavourable economic conditions that evolved and prevailed in Zimbabwe in the early 2000s, which resulted in high budget deficits leaving the government and urban local authorities with a limited financial capacity for housing delivery to the continuously increasing urban population.

In Harare, housing conditions worsened in this decade as surveys revealed that in 2002, close to 10 per cent of the population in Harare lived in illegal settlements, while 93 per cent erected irregular settlements in their backyards [12] – so that they could house themselves and their extended families (Kamete, 2006a). The international image of the Government of Zimbabwe from the year 2000 also affected urban housing policy development. For example, in early 2000, economic sanctions were imposed on Zimbabwe by the European Union and some Western countries, and this triggered hostility between the government of Zimbabwe and part of the Western International community and the country seized to receive housing finances from institutions such as the USAID and the World Bank (Chigora & Ziso, 2011). These two organisations effectively withdrew their material and technical assistance in support of housing policy change and resource mobilization in shelter construction and infrastructure development in Zimbabwe (Kamete, 2001). The government was left financially incapacitated to meet this demand as it faced serious shortfalls in the delivery of new houses (Moyo, 2014).

From the year 2000, informal settlements sprouted in Harare and other urban centres as urbanites were desperate for housing. Noting the growing number of informal settlements, in 2005, the government embarked on a programmed code-named Operation Murambatsvina (OM), in a bid to restore order in the cities. This programme was designed to demolish all unplanned and illegal settlements in Zimbabwe's urban areas. An estimated 700 000 urbanites were left homeless after the OM was completed (Tibaijuka, 2006). Most victims of this OM were located in Metropolitan Harare and its periphery. Bratton & Masunungure (2006) observes that the OM programme faced international condemnation, especially with regards to how the programme was implemented. The adoption of OM in 2005 as a 'solution' to the problem of sprouting illegal structures in urban left several people vulnerable and living in unsafe forms of shelter and areas vulnerable to diseases such as cholera and malaria (Tibaijuka, 2006). After the OM, the government tried to rectify its 'mistake' by launching a programme called Operation Garikai Hlanikuhle, where two-roomed houses were constructed to provide shelter to victims of OM. However, the government abandoned this project because it had insufficient funds to continue with the housing delivery project. The already built houses under this programme were poorly constructed and there were no clean water sources and proper waste disposal systems in the area causing a health threat to the already victims

[12] In May 2005, the government demolished these irregular settlements under Operation Murambatsvina.

of the OM (Chitekwe-Biti, 2009). Efforts to resettle the affected residents through initiatives were daunted by limited financial resources.

The decade from 2011 to 2020 also saw an escalation of the urban housing challenge in Zimbabwe. This decade was marked by an increased failure by the government to either address the housing shortage or control the growth of informal settlements in this urban area (Ncube, 2016). As a result, to date, a large section of the population in urban areas continue to live in overcrowded residential areas, some desperately living in irregular settlements. In Harare, for example, the shortage of housing between 2011 and 2020 has triggered an increase in the number of unregistered housing cooperatives, culminating in the growth of informal housing settlements such as Caledonia, Whitecliffe, Hopley Farm and Hatcliffe extension among others (Jonga, 2014; Matamanda, 2019). It seems that the efforts to manage the urban housing problem in Harare have proved futile and arduous (Moyo, 2014). Nonetheless, it is commendable that during the Inclusive Government period in Zimbabwe (2009-2013), the housing situation improved as the government managed to construct an estimated 200 houses per annum to reduce the increasing housing shortages. This was an achievement because previous, the government had struggled to deliver a single housing unit. Nevertheless, these housing units still fell short of the required facilities.

Soon after the lapse of the Inclusive Government period in 2014, the urban housing situation further deteriorated such that by 2018, an estimated housing backlog of over 1 million housing units was reported in Harare.[13] As a result of the housing shortage in urban areas, illegal settlements have continued to mushroom across Zimbabwe's cities and towns, particularly in Harare and other major cities (Matamanda, 2019). Unfortunately, the inhabitants of these informal settlements lack security of tenure while their dwellings did not have services such as piped water, sewer reticulation systems, roads and electricity connections. In Harare, unregistered housing cooperatives flourished from 2013 to 2019 (Matamanda, 2019) and this has resulted in chaotic housing land allocation and uncoordinated urban development. Houses built under the facilitation of these cooperatives have not been approved by the Harare City Council. This is so because their construction defies urban planning laws, regulations, and standards. It has been reported that most of these unregistered housing cooperatives are owned by politicians who sell them through land

[13] This is according to the City of Harare Department of Housing and Community Services' 2018 report.

barons. These land barons have been duped unsuspecting members of the public through illegal residential land deals. To date. Only a few land barons have been sanctioned as many managed to escape law enforcement agents because of their political connections.

From the above chronicle, it can be argued that urban housing provision is one of the persisting trials for the Zimbabwean government from the dawn of independence in 1980 to date. This is typified by the incessant shortage of housing facilities for urbanites and the subsequent sprouting of informal settlements in and around cities and towns. The higher density of people in urban areas has produced enormous competition for urban housing and its subsequent shortage, especially in Harare, the capital city of Zimbabwe (Muchadenyika, 2015). In most cases, urban local authorities are ill-prepared to meet these housing demands, hence the rapid growth of informal settlements in urban areas or on their periphery. This situation has caused the sprouting of informal and illegal settlements intra-urban and on the peripheries of Harare (Kamete, 2006a).

For instance, the City of Harare's population density has been expanding at an exponential rate with a constrained governmental capacity to match this escalating demand for housing (Moyo, 2014). Millions of urban dwellers in Zimbabwe are living in dilapidated housing facilities (Preval et al., 2016). This is shocking if one takes into account the several urban housing policy measures that have been formulated and implemented in trying to address the urban housing challenge. The efforts to manage the urban housing challenge have proved arduous for urban councils. The objective to ensure adequate, affordable, and sustainable housing access by all Zimbabweans living in urban areas has proved to be a pipe dream as housing. In the next section, I give an overview of the housing policy progression in post-independence Zimbabwe and the challenges encountered.

2.3 The Housing Policy Progression in Post-Independence Zimbabwe (1980-2020)

From 1980 to 2000, the government of Zimbabwe in conjunction with urban local authorities has formulated and implemented several housing policies and programmes to improve housing access in urban areas. The major policy in this respect was the Home Ownership Policy which emphasised a change from rental housing to full ownership of housing facilities. Gotora (2020) states that under this policy, 90 per cent of council rental housing was to be converted into ownership by residents, with only 10 per cent retained as council rental stock and in this process, ownership priority was

on sitting tenants who were offered the own the house for a 25-year repayment period.[14] In an interview with an officer in the Ministry of Housing, it was revealed that this system was called the Lease with Option to Purchase (LOP) with monthly rent being paid to offset the value of the property and after 25 years, title deeds would then be given to the tenant as a guarantee to property rights and security of tenure. The title deeds would then enable owners to apply for a loan or mortgage from Building Societies so that they can extend or complete their house. This period also saw the review of the Housing Standards Control Act [Chapter 29:08], where the government stipulated the minimum standards for the lawful extension or completion of decent and durable urban housing facilities. Urban councils such as the City of Harare also introduced the housing waiting list policy to enable them to systematically measure or ascertain the actual number of people in need of housing in the cities. The participation of private sector institutions in low-cost housing provision has also improved.

In 1982, The government introduced several housing finance schemes known as Special Purpose Vehicles (SPVs) after the review of the Housing and Buildings Act [Chapter 22:07]. These SPVs were specifically established for funding housing development initiatives in urban areas and the first amongst these was the National Housing Fund (NHF) which was introduced as a direct Treasury vote to provide soft loans and grants to local authorities so that they can fund different urban housing policy implementation projects. The Housing and Guarantee Fund (HGF) was another SPV introduced by the government as an instrument to allow prospective homeowners to secure housing loans from Building Societies with a government guarantee. Through the HGF, government workers would receive a 100 per cent guarantee when borrowing housing funds from Building Societies, while non-government workers would receive a 90 per cent guarantee to support them in doing the same process. The provisions of the fund were that in the event of default in payment by the loanee, the lender will then recoup the money from the HGF. In the same period, other Special Purpose Vehicles (SPVs) were supporting rural housing development projects and programmes, but these are beyond the scope of this study.

Between 1988 and 1997, the government partnered with non-state institutions such as USAID and the World Bank in strengthening the capacity of urban councils to provide housing under the Urban

[14] https://www.herald.co.zw/housing-policies-in-zimbabwe-an-expose-of-the-journey-2/ (Accessed 10 March 2020)

II Programme. In this period, these non-state actors provided financial leverage in the form of loans to urban councils to assist to implement urban housing development projects. The government took the role of the regulator while these non-state actors provided funding and technical assistance in urban housing development initiatives. As such, housing development initiatives such as the Site and Service Schemes (SSSs) increased during this period. Despite all these efforts, the government of Zimbabwe continued to face a humongous task to meet the housing demands of the urbanites. For example, as of February 2020, the estimated housing backlog in Zimbabwe was around 1,25 million units.[15] In an interview with an officer in the Ministry of Housing, it was revealed that overcrowding is also high with the average house occupant rate in Harare believed to be around 6.4 people per household. This is largely because urban areas in Zimbabwe continue to lure the rural population as they harbour economic opportunities since industries are predominantly located in these areas. People continue to migrate into urban areas as statistics obtained from the Zimbabwe Statistical Agency (ZSA) in April 2020, indicate that around 35 per cent of Zimbabwe's population resides in urban areas.

Surely, the growing urban population has only escalated the demand for housing facilities to a government with the choked financial capacity to meet the housing demand. As a result, all local authorities in Zimbabwe have an extremely high number of applicants on their housing waiting lists. The exact or estimated number of applicants on the housing waiting lists vary from local authority to local authority depending on the size and economic activity in the area in question. Harare is on top of the list, with estimates suggesting that its housing waiting list has over one million applicants. Other small towns and municipalities have at least 2 000 applicants on the housing waiting list. Ideally, the waiting list for a council must be serviced or cleared if the council can develop residential stands which will be allocated to successfully interviewed applicants. However, most applicants on the waiting list no longer have faith in the process as they have waited for over 20 years, yet nothing materialized.[16] The majority of residents interviewed in the focus group discussions held in Harare indicated that it is no longer a 'waiting list' – but a housing needs list, because the wait will never be over, and that they have stopped their annual renewals, as they see the council as making money out of their annual renewals.[17] There are, however, some

[15] Interview with a housing list statistics and database officer in the Ministry of Housing – May 2020.
[16] Data from a focus group discussion in Kambuzuma – September 2020.
[17] Focus group discussion in Warren Park in Harare – September 2020.

applicants who are ignorant of the need to renew their interest every year, as they assume they are still on the housing waiting list based on their initial application. These people do not understand that when they do not renew their interest every year, the council may remove them from the housing list for failure to show sustained interest. Analysts have also stated that the housing waiting list in Zimbabwe is weak in measuring housing demand.[18]

The sticking point remains that there is a serious urban housing backlog in Zimbabwe and this is one of the reasons why there are countless irregular settlements intra and on the periphery of Zimbabwe's urban areas due to the ever-growing demand for decent shelter which is not being met by urban councils. The role played by housing cooperatives in an attempt to plug the housing gap in Zimbabwe is notable. The period between 1985 to 1990 saw the emergence and dominance of housing cooperatives to support government efforts for urban housing provision. These cooperatives operated under the provisions of the Cooperatives Societies Act [Chapter 24:05]. According to Gotora (2014), the housing cooperatives were registered as either work-based housing cooperatives or as community-based housing cooperatives.[19] Work-based housing cooperatives were established by workers from a single company, while community-based cooperatives were formed by people who lived in the same geographical location. The Cotton Printers Housing Cooperative (CPHC) is one of the common work-based housing schemes formed in Bulawayo in 1984. On the other hand, the Kugarika Kushinga Housing Cooperative (KKHC) is also a common example of a community-based housing cooperative, formed in Harare in 1986. Gotora (2014) avers that the KKHC has structures in all parts of Zimbabwe, with an estimated membership of over 2 000 people.[20]

Housing cooperatives are responsible for the application, acquisition, registration, and development of housing land using monthly subscriptions made by their members, who are also beneficiaries of the housing facilities. However, the majority of housing cooperatives in Zimbabwe face financial limitations to fulfil their objective of assisting their members with housing ownership. The research revealed that in most cases, membership contributions and subscriptions are not sufficient to meet the increasing housing demands. Moreover, some cooperatives do not

[18] https://www.zimbabwesituation.com/news/housing-waiting-lists-weak-in-measuring-demand/ (Accessed 27 November 2019).
[19] https://www.herald.co.zw/co-operative-approach-key-to-housing-provision/ (Accessed 2 October 2019).
[20] *Ibid.*

have access to loans due to the absence of trusted loan guarantors. Owing to the prevailing economic hardships and high unemployment in Zimbabwe, many cooperative members default on their subscriptions. Some of the funds raised by these cooperatives have become worthless due to hyperinflation, hence the low progress in serving land and construction of housing by these cooperatives.

Some cooperatives such as the HPZ were used to receiving donor support, but this is no longer the case. Housing cooperatives are no longer regarded as an important low-income housing delivery in Zimbabwe now. Their role in urban housing delivery is limited and this was worsened by the decline in the economy such that the government lost its fiscal space to support housing development projects and programmes. As a result, it is estimated that about one-fifth of the country's urban population is either experiencing homelessness or living in poor, overcrowded housing conditions lacking basic services. The majority of council public housing facilities in Harare is dilapidated and in need of urgent renovation. In flats such as Matapi in Mbare, the wall painting is peeled-off, the toilets are blocked, and sewer flows from the walls through the windows and staircases. Immediate action is required for the protection of persons in these buildings or provides them with alternative accommodation.

The national and local government housing lists continue to increase because both the central government and urban local authorities are not financially capable of servicing stands due to the prevailing economic slump in Zimbabwe. While the United Nations accords housing the status of a human right, the shortage of housing in Zimbabwe is a sad reality to many urbanites. Thus, the housing situation in Zimbabwe forces one to ponder whether housing is a basic human right or not. The cost of residential housing stands and building materials in Zimbabwe is beyond the reach of many who live in the urban ambience. The urban housing situation in Zimbabwe does not reflect sustainable human habitation, but some urbanites still experience desperate housing conditions. Gotora (2020) argues claims that there have been several cases of bogus land developers and housing cooperatives who take advantage of the desperation engulfing these home seekers by engaging in unorthodox housing land deals.[21] In Harare, for example, bogus housing cooperatives and land developers have been blamed for the development of residential stands in areas reserved

[21] https://www.herald.co.zw/private-land-developers-housing-trusts-whats-next/ (Accessed 14 June 2019).

for recreational parks, as was the case in the Bexley Circle in Southerton Harare which was an infringement of council by-laws.

Noticing these developments, in 2015, the Harare City Council stated in its housing policy document that it was tightening its regulations on the operations of housing cooperatives.[22] This was largely because some of them were clandestinely selling residential housing stands to desperate home seekers by allocating stands in unauthorised areas. Gotora (2020) explains that some housing cooperatives would bypass council planning procedures and deceitfully produce fake layout plans to unsuspecting home seekers.[23] Victims of these scams will then construct structures and this is how informal settlements in urban areas around Zimbabwe evolve. While there is no proper inventory, the research revealed that a number of these irregular settlements are unfit for habitation as they do not have safe and proper water and sewer connections which exposes their inhabitants to unhygienic living conditions, argues Gotora (2020).[24] When governing authorities discover these informal settlements, they should evict the occupants and demolish these structures to curb unwarranted urban expansion. However, this should be done lawfully as the victims must be provided with alternative accommodation, something that has not happened in Zimbabwe. In the ensuing section, I discuss the escapades and controversies of illegal settlement demolition in the City of Harare.

2.4 Illegal Structures Demolition Escapades and its Controversies in Harare

Since the year 2000, Harare has experienced several phases of demolition of illegal structures in a tug of war between the council and residents. The courts, the sheriff council, and the police have been involved in the process of enforcing these demolitions.[25] The first and most striking of these phases was *Operation Murambatsvina* clear filth/restore order which was initiated on 19 May in 2005, in Harare before spreading to other cities across the country. In this operation, the demolished structures include unplanned backyard housing structures built behind legal dwellings without council approval and related informal settlements. Before these demolitions, some occupants of the illegal structures were given eviction and enforcement orders by local authorities

[22] City of Harare Housing Policy Document – page 5.
[23] https://www.herald.co.zw/dangerous-structures-threat-to-all/ (Accessed 6 July 2019).
[24] https://theworldnews.net/zw-news/inventory-on-informal-settlements-due (Accessed 22 February 2020).
[25] Interview with former mayor of Harare – October 2020.

and council police, with these orders ranging from one or two days to a week[26], while others did not receive such orders.[27] In Harare, transfer sites such as the Caledonia Farm on the periphery of the city were established to hold the evictees for a temporary period while they await relocation to areas such as Hatcliffe Extension. Estimate reports by the United Nations indicate that close to 700 000 residents were affected by this operation (Tibaijuka, 2005). Human rights analysts[28]argued that the manner of eviction and demolition of houses under Operation Murambatsvina constituted serious human rights violations, stating that the whole processes violated the right to housing as stipulated in the National Constitution and desecrated the provisions of the national constitution and in violation of section 32 of the Regional, Town and Country Planning Act[29] and section 199 (2) (b) of the Urban Council Act.[30] To make the situation worse, the government did not put in place adequate infrastructure to provide humanitarian assistance to the victims as required by international law such that the UN Special Envoy on Human Settlement Issues in Zimbabwe, Mrs Anna Tibaijuka observes that:

> Operation Restore Order, while purporting to target illegal dwellings and structures and to clamp down on alleged illicit activities, was carried out in an indiscriminate and unjustified manner, with indifference to human suffering, and, in repeated cases, with disregard to several provisions of national and international legal frameworks. Immediate measures need to be taken to bring those responsible to account and for reparations to be made to those who have lost property and livelihoods (Tibaijuka, 2005, p. 7).

Despite this depressing report, the government through the then Minister of Justice and Legal and Parliamentary Affairs in Zimbabwe stated that these evictions had been lawfully excited. The Minister of Local Government at that time also concurred with this position stating that most councils have flouted local government by-laws in the allocation of residential land to residents, thereby allowing illegal structures to sprout or expand without taking the necessary action to block them with the clean-up operation merely a process to prevent disorderly urbanization.[31] Despite these defensive sentiments, international condemnation continued and on June 29, the government

[26] Interview with former housing director in the Harare Coty council – July 2020.
[27] Interview with a former councillor for Budiriro in Harare – April 2020.
[28] Interview with Human Rights Lawyer and Academic at the University of Zimbabwe – July 2020.
[29] Section 32 of this Act provides that when enforcing eviction orders, occupants must be given at least one month to launch an appeal against the order before they vacate the premises, yet this was not done during this operation.
[30] Section 199 (2) (b) of the Urban Council Act states that evictees should be given a notice period of twenty-eight days of notice to appeal to the relevant court and that they must not be removed from the premises they are living in before a court determination of their case.
[31] https://www.aaas.org/resources/community-demolitions-zimbabwe (Accessed 28 December 2019).

announced a reconstruction programme called the "Operation Garikai," to provide relief to victims of the Operation Murambatsvina with an initial plan to construct up to 1.2 million from a budget of then 3 trillion Zimbabwe dollars (then an equivalence of US$ 300 million). However, analysts argued that this programme was rushed, as it did not immediately address the shelter needs of the victims who remained displaced, homeless and destitute.[32]

Operation Murambatsvina was not the only controversial escapade of illegal structure demolition in Zimbabwe. There have been many other episodes of related demolitions, particularly in Harare. For example, in October 2014, there was an uproar when the Harare city council launched an operation to demolish illegal structures in and around Harare after issuing 48-hour eviction notices to occupants.[33] According to section 155 (2) of the UCA, where there is a disagreement between the council and the people concerned with regards to the removal of illegal settlements, this issue can be settled in the Administrative Court. According to Gotora (2013), taking note of this provision, some occupants who argued that housing was their basic human right and challenged the eviction notice period in court as unreasonably short, but the court did not grant them a reprieve.[34] As a result, in some parts of Harare such as Glen Norah, these demolitions were resisted by residents who threatened to fight back the council police using axes and knobkerries. Gotora (2020) points out that stiff resistance was not successful as the council proceeded with the demolitions, with the forced evictions being devastating and disturbing as most of the occupants had no other place to seek refuge.

In December 2015, again, at least 200 irregular settlements located on the side-lines of High Glen and Kambuzuma main roads in Harare were demolished as the council claimed that they had been erected on land reserved for a hospital and related social amenities and that the allocation of the stands had been done by bogus housing co-operatives, as reported by Mavudzi (2015).[35] A report by Chingwere and Chimutambgi (2020) revealed that in July 2019 also, the Harare City Council demolished informal dwellings that had been built on farms belonging to the council in Crowborough arguing that these stands had been allocated illegally by unregistered cooperatives against the provisions of council planning standards in their construction disturbing and destroying

[32] Interview with housing analyst in Harare – November 2020.
[33] https://www.herald.co.zw/illegal-houses-demolished/ (Accessed 22 December 2020).
[34] https://www.herald.co.zw/housing-a-basic-human-right/ (Accessed 29 December 2020).
[35] https://www.herald.co.zw/200-houses-demolished/ (Accessed 17 December 2020).

sewer pipes, sewer holding ponds as well as water pipes.[36] In November 2020, unapproved and illegal settlements that had been constructed on open spaces reserved for recreation and on wetlands in Harare South and Budiriro were demolished by the Harare City Council in a move justified as one of the measures to restore order in urban settlements, as also reported by Chingwere and Chimutambgi (2020).[37] In most cases, the victims of these demolitions were homeless residents who had been misled by pseudo-authorities or land barons as well as unregistered housing cooperatives into buying residential stands in authorised areas.

In the aftermath of all these demolitions, the Harare City Council faced massive criticism for its failure to act immediately to stop the sprouting of these irregular settlements when they first appear, as this would have helped to curb the sprouting of illegal structures. A close analysis of these cases suggests that in all these escapades, the government and council seemed to have proceeded with the demolitions empowered by section 155 of the UCA, which cautions about encroachments and regularisation of informal settlements. This section states that when land owned by the council has encroached, the council must remove that encroachment.[38] In an interview with a former Mayor of Harare, it was revealed that urban councils do not have a relationship with cooperatives as they are managed by the Ministry of Social Welfare. This ministry gives the cooperatives their licences and allows them to get land. Cooperatives are not regulated by the city council, but they affect council development processes, yet the council has no control over them. Commenting on the nature, timing, and legality of the demolition, the former mayor stated that:

> While the city of Harare is responsible for enforcing development control through thorough processes such as the demolition of illegal settlements, our position is that demolishing the illegal settlements without a proper alternative is *re-victimizing* the victims. Our view is that over the years, court orders for demolitions have been implemented in an inhumane manner that does not respect the rights of the victims. The timing of the demolitions has also been wrong on several occasions.[39]

From the above conspectus, it can be argued that the issue of informal settlements and measures to eradicate them has caused an entanglement between councils and occupants. It seems the issue

[36] https://www.herald.co.zw/illegal-houses-demolished/ (Accessed 20 December 2020).
[37] https://www.herald.co.zw/illegal-houses-demolished/ (Accessed 22 December 2020).
[38] Section 155 (1) (*c*) of the Urban Councils Act.
[39] Interview with former Harare Mayor – October 2020.

of informal settlement is the only symptom of the real problem of council incapacity to provide housing. In the first place, councils should provide sufficient housing facilities so that illegal settlements will not emerge. It is also recommended that in cases where informal dwellings are found, they should be removed in a legal, procedural, and humane way. In the next section, I describe and analyse the various urban housing policy implementation strategies and delivery models that the City of Harare has adopted and plan to implement towards resolving the urban housing challenge in the city.

2.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter presented a historical synopsis of post-independence urban housing policy developments in Zimbabwe. I presented and discussed various urban housing policy strategies against the persistence of housing challenges in urban areas focussing on the city of Harare. In this regard, I chronicled the 40-year housing policy progression in Zimbabwe from 1980-2020. I also described how rural to urban migration has persisted and how it constitutes the bane of urban housing challenges in Zimbabwe. An overview of illegal structure demolition escapades and their controversy in Harare was also depicted in the chapter. In the next chapter, I present and discuss the research design and methodological configurations guiding the research, where I outline the philosophies informing the research and the methods used.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGICAL CONFIGURATIONS

3.1 Introduction

This research is theoretically driven and empirically informed. In this chapter, I provide an overview of the research design and the different methods I used for sampling, data collection and analysing data on the influence of institutional structures in the formulation and implementation of urban housing policy in Zimbabwe. The methodology for this thesis is framed around the research onion – a model that shows how the whole research process is organised, starting with the underlying philosophy guiding the inquiry to the techniques used for data analysis to produce credible information. Figure 2 below shows the graphical outline of the research onion framework.

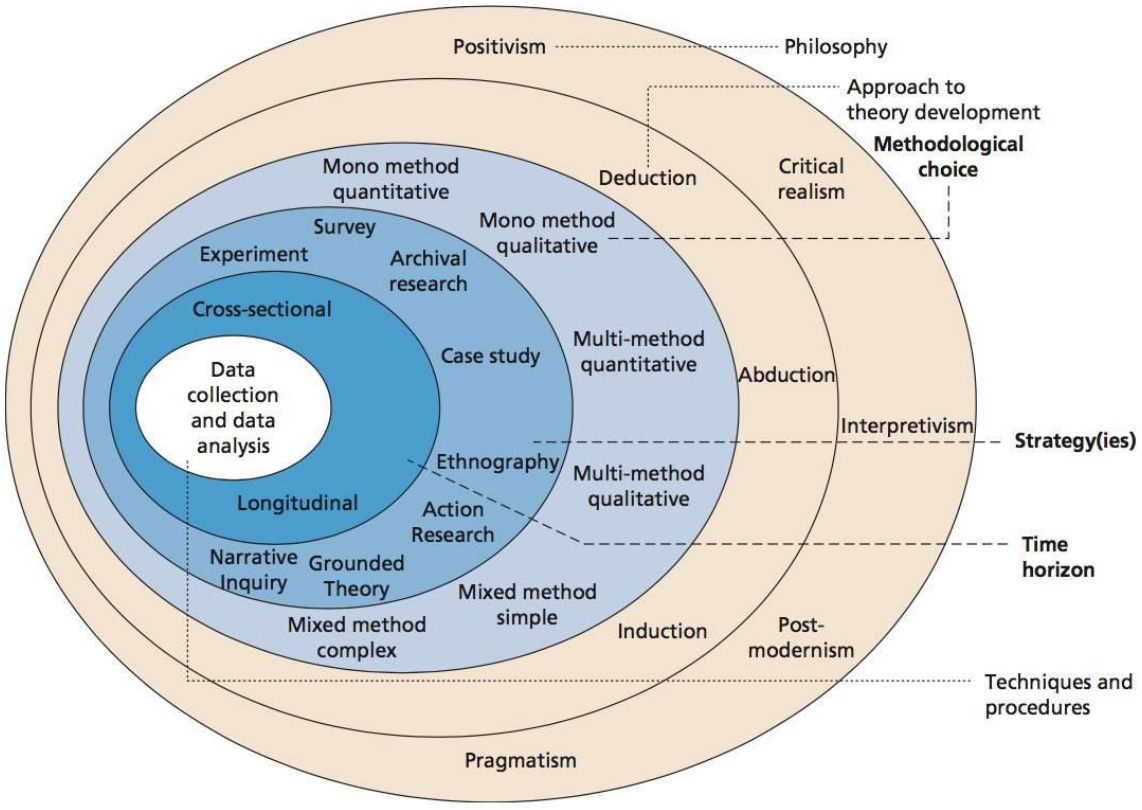


Figure 2: The Research Onion (Source: Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2019).

The above research onion illustration has six layers showing how any research should be designed. From the outer to the innermost part of the model, the layers of the research onion are organised in the following order:

- Philosophy of the research which could be positivism, critical realism, interpretivism, post-modernism or pragmatism;
- Approaches to theory development which may be induction, deduction or abduction;
- Methodological choices such as the mono-quantitative method, mono-qualitative method, multi-qualitative method, multi-quantitative method, mixed method-simple and mixed method-complex;
- Strategies such as an experiment, a survey, archival research, a case study, an ethnography, action research, grounded theory and narrative inquiry.
- Time horizon capturing the timeframe of the research such as a cross-sectional study or a longitudinal study.
- Techniques and procedures for collecting and analysing data.

Research is different in terms of aim and objectives. Researchers hardly apply the research onion in the same way. The purpose or goal of the researcher determines how they use the research onion framework in designing the research. Hereunder, I discuss how I framed my research around the research onion framework.

3.2 Research Philosophy

The concept of research philosophy describes a system or set of principles and conventions about the expansion of knowledge in specific research (Saunders et al., 2019). The philosophy of this research is interpretivism[40], which emphasises a context-based interactive approach to social inquiry (Kline, 2008). This research philosophy which is also known as constructivism – guided me in the selection of research participants as well as in the collection, interpretation and analysis of key informant views and opinions on how institutional structures influence actors when formulating and implementing urban housing policies in Zimbabwe. Guided by interpretivism as the research philosophy, nominalism ontology and anti-positivism epistemology. Burrell and

[40] Interpretivism explains social reality as intersubjective, and based on the meanings and understanding of issues through engagement with the subjects involved in the issues or problems that are being investigated.

Morgan (2016) define ontology as the beliefs about social reality. In this thesis, ontology refers to the truth on how institutional structures influence the actions and decisions made by actors during the urban housing policy formulation and implementation processes. The ontological position of this research is nominalism, which is the assumption that the truth about social reality is embedded in the experiences of urban housing policy actors. Thus, an interactive inquiry with these actors was pursued to understand how their actions and decisions are shaped by institutional structures.

The research adopts an anti-positivist epistemology stance. Epistemology entails assumptions on what creates adequate, binding and genuine knowledge, and how social researchers can transfer this knowledge to others (Burrell & Morgan, 2016). In this research, epistemology refers to the approach that I used to generate knowledge on the concept of urban housing policy in Zimbabwe and how its formulation and implementation processes are influenced by the institutional structure of urban local councils using Harare as the exploratory case study. The epistemological approach in this research is the use of interactive methods such as key informant interviews and focus group discussions to generate data for understanding the influence of institutional structures in urban housing policy making in Zimbabwe. Interpretivism considers social inquiry as a mutually interactive entanglement between the researcher and the research participants (Angen, 2000). This philosophy informed the ideographic interactions that I held with key informants who were knowledgeable in the processes of urban housing policy formulation and implementation in Zimbabwe. This experience enabled me to develop an in-depth understanding of how the different stages in public policy making processes can be shaped by the different institutional structures that are embedded in public institutions.

The principal dimension of the interpretive research paradigm is that social researches should be context-bound, and researchers must be context-sensitive (Neuman, 2014; Thanh et al., 2015). Interpretivism assumes that social researchers should make interpretations based on the context in which the phenomenon under investigation occurred (Al, 2013; Walsham, 2006). Based on these interpretive assumptions, every stage of my inquiry was informed by an appreciation of the context in which urban housing policy makers make decisions in the formulation and implementation of urban housing policies. In this way, I managed to understand and interpret the meanings and motives attached to the actions and subjective experiences of urban housing policy actors in the context of a public institution. Thus, the interactive fieldwork enabled me to collect data that

formed my construction of how institutional structures shape the formulation and implementation of urban housing policies in Zimbabwe's urban councils. In this regard, I managed to understand the interplay between institutional structures and the processes of formulating and implementing urban housing policies in Zimbabwe through the lens of sample participants located in the Harare City Council. The experiences of the policy actors helped me in developing a thick description[41] and a rich explanatory narrative of how institutional structures influence the actions and decisions made by urban housing policy-making actors.

While I was guided by the interpretive philosophy because of its ability to unpack deep-seated realities on the influence of institutional structures in the formulation and implementation of urban housing policies in Zimbabwe, I was cautious of the fact that this paradigm has some inherent limitations for researchers. For example, interpretive research may allow room for a researcher's bias in the interpretation and analysis of collected data (Hyett et al., 2014) – a limitation that may affect the truthfulness of research findings. In addition, the primary data collected in interpretive researches is difficult to generalise because it depends highly on the personal viewpoints and values of the participants (Al, 2013). Thus, the representativeness of the data is limited in interpretive researches as results from another case cannot be generalised since each case is considered unique. In addition, interpretive researches are often considered less rigorous because the analysis and conclusions are often sensitive to the researcher's preconceived experiences (Angen, 2000). This implies that interpretive researchers are susceptible to injecting preconceptions into their inferences.

Furthermore, the research approach highly depends on the trust between the researcher and the participants, an arrangement that is difficult to achieve in most cases (Walsham, 2006). In my research, however, I considered the aforementioned limitations as matters of philosophical difference, just like any other research paradigm within the scientific discipline. Thus, I proceeded to use the interpretive approach because it has more merit in the achievement of my research aim and objectives. In literature, the term interpretivism is often used as a synonym for qualitative research (Cresswell, 2007). Interpretivism is a research philosophy in which the research directly interacts with the unit of analysis, hence its inclination towards a qualitative research method

[41] The thick description refers to the process of describing and interpreting experiences and behaviours within a particular context to draw compressive meanings for observed social action (Geertz, 1973).

(Thanh et al., 2015), and in the section hereunder, I describe and explain the qualitative approach I used in the inquiry process.

3.3 Research Approach & Methodological Choice

There are three research approaches under the research onion illustrated above and these are deduction, abduction and induction. In this research, the inductive approach is used because the research has a qualitative orientation. This stance is consonant with the observation made by (Saunders et al., 2019) that interpretivism is inclined to inductive reasoning in their approach to social inquiry. The inductive approach or induction entails the collection and analysis of data to either develop a new theory or a new way of understanding social reality (Neuman, 2014). This thesis does not focus on developing a new theory, but on advancing an empirically anchored and richer understanding of how the institutional structures embedded in urban councils in Zimbabwe influence the decisions of actors who formulate and implement urban housing policies. This is achieved through an inductive approach pursued under the framework of a mono-qualitative method of inquiry under the research onion framework.

Qualitative research is essentially an inductive process that focuses on either developing a theory or refining it to achieve a new way of looking at a pattern of meaning based on the data collected (Klauer & Phye, 2008). Scholars widely believe that there is a tight connection between the interpretive research paradigm and the qualitative methodology (Abutabenjeh & Jaradat, 2018; Cresswell & Miler, 2000; Neuman, 2014; Thanh et al., 2015; Walsham, 2006). Thus, researchers who are guided by the interpretive paradigm predominantly use qualitative methods to explore the experiences and perceptions of sampled key informants, enabling them to uncover the realities of their research interests (Abutabenjeh & Jaradat, 2018). The goal of qualitative research is to gain a rich and complex understanding of people's experience (Al, 2013). While the qualitative research approach leads to the formation of a new theory, it also provides flexibility in terms of the chance to change the researcher's previous viewpoints and understandings (Hays & Singh, 2012).

In my research, the inductive qualitative approach guided me in the collection, analysis and interpretation of data to comprehend the behaviour and experiences of actors involved in the formulation and implementation of urban housing policies in Zimbabwe. In the qualitative inquiry process that I conducted, I started by identifying the topic for exploration – urban housing policy

and how it is influenced by institutional structures – and I was guided by the theoretical assumptions of structuration and institutionalism to collect and analyse data. Induction enabled me to collect data in its verbal and textual form based on observation and interface with the participants through interactive techniques such as in-depth interviews and focus group discussions.

Research shows that when the inductive approach is used, researchers immerse themselves into the context in which events occur and the relationship between the researcher and the participants is close and the interaction between the research and the participants leads to the generation of new knowledge (Babbie, 2012; Creswell et al., 2007; Klauer & Phye, 2008; Levitt et al., 2018; Moser & Korstjens, 2018). In my research, these attributes of qualitative research enabled me to understand how institutional structures shape the formulation and implementation of urban housing policies in Zimbabwe, from the policy makers' point of view without imposing my preconceptions in making conclusions. This helped in unravelling the deep meaning that these policy makers attach to different policy making experiences, making sense of their behaviours in specific urban housing policy making situations. Through the inductive approach, I managed to reflect the participants' accounts to reveal the underlying realities on the influence of institutional structures on urban housing policy formulation and implementation processes. Throughout the inquiry process, I managed to cultivate rapport and establish mutual trust with the participants, giving them the freedom to share their thoughts and ideas, making the research more interesting and interactive. The inductive or qualitative approach enabled me to achieve my research aim of understanding how institutional structures influence the formulation and implementation of urban housing policies in Zimbabwe in light of the persisting urban housing challenges in Harare. The approach gave me the leverage for a more detailed investigation of how institutional configurations shape the content and implementation direction of urban housing policy in Zimbabwe.

The inquiry process was like a learning process for me as I would listen attentively to the thoughts shared by the participants during interviews and focus group discussions in a non-judgemental way as advised by proponents of qualitative research such as Lewis (2015) as well as Abutabenjeh & Jaradat (2018). This was achieved through a qualitative technique known as critical realism – an approach that enables researchers to explain and critique social conditions and, in the process, produce concrete policy recommendations and definitive claims for action on social problems (Fletcher, 2017). In my research, critical realism enabled me to explore the interplay between

institutional structures and the actions of policy makers involved in the formulation and implementation of urban housing policies. In the section below, I describe my research design which includes the sampling procedure, data collection techniques, data analysis methods as well as the different ways I used to improve the validity of my research findings.

3.4 Research Design

This research adopts a mono-qualitative[42] methodological choice as briefly highlighted above. In this regard, a single explanatory case study research design is used as the strategy of inquiry. Generally, an explanatory case study is an intensive inquiry of a phenomenon at one or more research sites to derive detailed, contextualised inferences and understanding of the dynamic processes underlying a phenomenon of interest (Hyett et al., 2014). Explanatory questions are best approached through a case study as this enables the researcher to develop an in-depth understanding of how different cases provide insight into an issue or case (Cresswell, 2007). This applies to my research as I intend to investigate how institutional structures in the Harare City Council can help me to understand how institutional properties in Zimbabwe's urban housing policy institutions influence the decisions, choices and actions made by actors who formulate and implement urban housing policies.

In the case of study researches, the focus can be on exploring either an individual case or multiple cases selected to provide insight into an issue of interest (Yin, 2013). The case to be analysed can be a programme, activity, event, institution, project, policy, country, cluster, province, district, town, or sector which the researcher views as constituting the attributes for generating the required data (Hyett et al., 2014). As briefly stated above, this research investigates a single institution (Harare City Council) as an exploratory contextual bound case study because this case has institutional components that enabled me to gain a deeper understanding of how institutional structures can shape decisions in the formulation and implementation of urban housing policies in Zimbabwe. In the section hereunder, I discuss how I selected participants from this case study to come up with my research sample.

[42] The word 'mono' means one, alone or single. Mono-qualitative research is an approach in which focus is on one element, case, institution or factor (Saunders et al., 2019). This methodological choice was suitable for this research because the focus was on analysing a single case study, i.e., the Harare City Council to understand how its institutional structures influence the formulation and implementation of its urban housing policies.

3.4.1 Sampling Procedure

Qualitative social scientists develop a sampling plan to guide them in selecting research participants (Moser & Korstjens, 2018). In my research, before recruiting participants, I crafted a sampling plan describing the steps I would take in terms of the sample size I required and the techniques I would use to recruit suitable participants. This plan enabled me to set the inclusion and exclusion criteria for one to be recruited as an element of my sample – a strategy that allowed me to select only those participants who would provide rich information. Thus, setting the inclusion and exclusion criteria allowed me to select participants who were knowledgeable on the issue of interest and could articulate and reflect on this issue with precision. Basing on the guide to sampling in interview-based qualitative research proposed by Robinson (2014), I followed a four-point sampling procedure in selecting suitable research participants. The first step in this procedure was the identification of the sampling universe or target population, followed by making a decision on the size of the sample, then choosing the sampling technique and lastly, the actual process of sampling or sourcing the sample. In the section below, I discuss how I applied this sampling procedure in my research.

3.4.1.1 Identification of the Sample universe and Target population

The first step in the four-point approach to sampling is the identification of the sample universe which helps to select the target population (Robinson, 2014). In my research, the sample universe was urban councils as urban housing institutions in Zimbabwe, and from this universe, I selected the City of Harare as my target population. This target population comprised of policy actors and housing officers as key informants drawn from the Harare City Council together with policy analysts, residents of Harare and elected officials such as ward councillors in Harare. I used theoretical sampling[43] to choose this study population and in the selection of the participants within it. To ensure that my sample would have suitable elements, I had to set an inclusion criterion, in which I specified the attributes that potential participants should possess to qualify for the study sample. The attributes of my inclusion criterion included having experience in working within the hierarchical structures of institutions responsible for the formulation and implementation of urban

[43] Theoretical sampling enables qualitative researchers to ascertain if all the targeted participants have the required sample characteristics to take part meaningfully in the research.

housing policies – in this case, the Harare City Council – and being a Harare resident or an urban housing policy analyst. While the exclusion criterion set was that those who did not have the required attributes were to be disqualified from being part of the sample, a participant did not have to possess the two required attributes to be part of the sample; each participant was dealt with differently. For example, while focus group discussion participants needed to be Harare residents, they were not expected to then have experience working in the Harare City Council or be urban housing policy analysts for them to be part of the sample. After identifying the target population, I then decided on the sample size as discussed below.

3.4.1.2 Determination of the Sample Size

The second step I took after identifying the target population was to decide on my sample size. Research states that qualitative researchers may not have a definite sample size at the initial stage of the research (Moser & Korstjens, 2018; Robinson, 2014), but I saw the necessity for a provisional sample to start the inquiry process. Thus, I made a provisional sample size of 15-20 participants for key informant interviews and 40-50 participants for focus group discussions. This provisional sample enabled me to plan for the timeframe of the data collection process and ascertain the required resources to support my research. In determining this provisional sample, I was guided by the claim that a provisional qualitative sample must have a sample range with a minimum and maximum value (Robinson, 2014), and the argument that single case studies should generally contain 15-30 interviews (Marshall et al., 2013). After determining my provisional sample size, I then proceeded to choose the most suitable sampling technique I would use to select participants from the target population as discussed below.

3.4.1.3 Choosing the Sampling Technique

In qualitative research, sampling is done deliberately, not randomly (Moser & Korstjens, 2018). Thus, in recruiting suitable research participants, I used three nonprobability sampling techniques in the form of purposive, snowball sampling and convenience sampling. The primary method that I used in recruiting participants was purposive sampling, which is defined as a non-random technique in which key informants are identified based on the researcher's prior judgement that they are knowledgeable about the issue under investigation making it imperative to include them in the sample (Patton, 2014). The inclusion criterion discussed above helped me in purposefully

selecting suitable participants for interviewing. I decided that I will start with a small purposive sample, and the elements of this sample would lead me to other knowledgeable key informants who would give me more information on the subject under inquiry in a snowball or referral sampling fashion. While I used purposive and snowball sampling for selecting elements who participated in key informant interviews, residents who participated in focus group discussions were selected using the convenience sampling technique. I conveniently selected residents from different high-, medium- and low-density residential locations in Harare and I requested their voluntary consent being sought to participate in the focus group discussion sessions.

3.4.1.4 Sourcing the Sample

In sourcing the sample for key informant interviews, I first approached the Human Capital Department in the City of Harare to obtain formal authorisation to approach housing officers and other key informants in the organisation.[44] I furnished them with my supporting documentation such as my Ethical Clearance letter issued by the University of the Western Cape, my research proposal and supporting letters from my supervisor. I was issued a research authorisation letter by Human Capital Department in the City of Harare[45] to approach my targeted informants with whom I sought consent. Given the COVID-19 pandemic constraints, I had to treat each participant differently, discussing with them their preferred mode of interaction. Some of the target participants were hesitant to take part in physical face to face interviews because of the fear of contacting the Coronavirus while some were comfortable as long as we adhere to the regulations for preventing the possibility of spreading the coronavirus. I explained the purpose and scope of my research to the participants, also showing them my participant information sheets, consent forms, and interview guide.

As indicated above, I did not approach everyone in the institution, but the informants were carefully and purposefully chosen because of their special and expert knowledge about the processes of urban housing policy formulation and implementation as well as their willingness to share information and insights with me. Purposive sampling proceeded until the sampling adequacy was achieved. The purposive sampling technique enabled me to locate 10 key

[44] I applied for authorisation on 22nd November and my research was approved on the 12th of February 2020.
[45] See appendix B: Research Authorisation letter issued by the City of Harare.

informants, and this sample expanded during the data collection process as I identified more cases – through snowball sampling – to help me to gather more information to meet my data needs. I requested initial participants recruited through purposive sampling to assist in locating and gaining access to other new informants in a process commonly known in the research methods literature as a referral or snowball sampling (Babbie, 2007; Neuman, 2014). Snowball sampling, which involves asking participants for references of friends and colleagues (Robinson, 2014) enabled me to locate other informants whom I could not have identified on my own without a recommendation from already identified participants.

Most of the recommended participants were located in other institutions such as the Ministry of Housing, the Ministry of Local Government, land development institutions, Civil Society Organisations and other institutions directly or indirectly involved in urban housing policy making. Before approaching the referenced participants, I evaluated their profiles checking the extent to which they would improve the richness of my data. To approach the participants in the two government Ministries mentioned above, I had to submit a formal application for my research to have formal authorisation from the respective ministry. My research was approved by both government ministries.[46] The final sample size of twenty-five key informant interviewees identified through purposive and snowball sampling was determined through the data saturation criterion – a condition which is reached when sufficient information is collected such that any additional information will replicate what the researcher has already collected (McGrath et al., 2019). In doing this, I was guided by the principle that in most qualitative researches where the final sample size is indefinite at the beginning of the research, the guiding principle is to continue to recruit participants until the researcher reaches the data saturation point as recommended by Neuman (2014).

In addition to purposive and snowball sampling, I also used convenience sampling in selecting residents to participate in focus group discussions. In this case, I visited selected residential locations in Harare and approached different participants requesting their permission to be part of the focus group discussions. The basic criteria I used to select these participants was that they should be residents of Harare and they must be willing to participate and be available on the date

[46] See appendix C for my research authorisation issued by the Ministry of Local Government and Public Works, and appendix D for my research authorisation letter issued by the Ministry of Housing and Social Amenities.

and venue of the focus group discussion. The total number and profile of participants in Focus Group Discussions is presented in Appendix F.

In sourcing all the participants, I followed ethical research procedures such as informing all potential participants about the study aims, how they are expected to participate in the research, how their privacy will be promoted and that their participation is voluntary or consensual. I also ensured the safety of all participants throughout the research. On the issue of incentives to participants, I made it very clear to the participants that there were no tangible benefits for taking part in the research process, as the findings are solely for academic purposes and possible urban housing policy improvement. I made this clear despite the risk of some potential participants opting out of the research because of the lack of incentives or personal benefits from spending their time participating in the research. I understood that while incentives increase participant retention, they can also motivate them into the fabrication of information to satisfy the researcher's data needs, which presents the danger of obtaining dodgy data as warned by Robinson (2014). After sourcing the sample, data collection proceeded as described below.

3.4.2 Data Collection Procedure and Techniques

The epistemological basis of my study is anti-positivism, which states that knowledge is created through an investigative process involving a systematic dialogue between researchers and participants in their natural setting (Kruger et al., 2019). Thus, in this research, I intended to collect interpretive data which cannot be collected outside its context (Denzin, 1989; Hyett et al., 2014). The interpretive paradigm, which provided the philosophical basis for my research posits that the truth about phenomena is obtained through a systematic dialogue as argued by Neuman (2014). Thus, interpretivism believes that reality is socially constructed, hence they subscribe to the subjectivist epistemological stance which states that people cannot be separated from their sources of knowledge, hence the subject-researcher relationship is interactive, cooperative and participative (Lewis, 2015; Thanh et al., 2015). In this regard, the collection of data in this research followed a dialectal interactive process between the researcher and participants to construct a meaningful reality in the context or natural setting in which the investigated phenomenon occurred.

I collected my data using collaborative primary data collection techniques in the form of key informant interviews and focus group discussions. These data collection techniques enabled me to

probe or go beyond the initial response given by the participant for a particular question and ask for more insights. Collecting data in this manner enabled me to obtain a rich description and interpretation of participants' experiences regarding the influence of institutional structures in the formulation and implementation of urban housing policies in Zimbabwe. Below I discuss how I used semi structured in-depth interviews and techniques for collecting my data.

3.4.2.1 Semi-structured in-depth Interviews

In this research, I used semi-structured in-depth interviews as the primary data collection method. In-depth interviewing is a reflective process that provides microscopic details of the phenomena under investigation, helping to expose what the researcher wants to know about the unfolding perspectives, opinions, suggestions, experiences and views of those involved in the investigated social interactions (Agee, 2009; Kline, 2008; Kruger et al., 2019). In this research, semi-structured in-depth interviews enabled me to interact with urban housing policy makers, officials, analysts and actors to understand their different viewpoints about the interplay between institutional structures and urban housing policy making through formal question and answer sessions[47]. As part of the interview protocol, I carefully revised the questions that I asked each participant to ensure that they were not only clear but also ethical. This helped me to conduct incisive interviews that yielded rich and meaningful data. I asked all questions on my list of questions, but I probed the particular areas that emerge from each interviewee in more depth.

Like in any qualitative study, the interview questions in my research were written down in an interview guide. I used a semi-structured interview guide that allowed me to ask predetermined questions while giving me the leverage to explore issues in more detail where I am not satisfied with the response given by the informant. Before the actual interview was conducted, I tested the questions on the interview guide with knowledgeable peers and informed volunteers to ensure that they are clear, sequential, precise and free from esoteric jargon. The sequence of questions on the guide was well thought of before the interview to allow flexibility and ensure that each participant's views are fully uncovered. The interview guide ensured that I remained in control of the direction of the interview session to avoid losing track of the fundamental aim of the interview. Participants were allowed freedom of expression when giving responses. The questions were

[47] See appendix E: Profiles of the twenty-five key informant interviewees consulted in this research.

simplified to ensure that they were clear to the informant. The guide had detailed questions, subordinate questions, probing and exploratory to ensure that the responses are as comprehensive as possible. Although the interview guide had specific questions, in some cases the sequence of the questions changed as the interviews unfolded. As the conversation evolved, I would revisit the questions to promote an exploratory discussion. Working with an interview guide enabled me to cover all thematic areas in the interviews.

The majority of the key informant interviews in my research were face-to-face, which involved direct question-answer conversations with the informant. These interviews were tape-recorded after obtaining permission from the interviewees and this allowed me to capture the expressive language used by the interviewees, which is one of the key features of interpretive research according to Neuman (2014). Through tape recording, I managed to return a complete or truer record of what was being said as this was later compared with the brief notes taken during the interview. The recording also enabled me to return to the audio transcript of the interview during the analysis, specifically to pick out direct quotes during the write-up process. The tape recording technique was also used because it saves the researcher from skipping important notes during the interview and makes it less time-consuming and easy to do transcriptions and then to extract themes and analyse data when there is a complete record of the interview (Agee, 2009; McGrath et al., 2019). I used the tape-recording technique with caution, being aware of some of its limitations such as its inability to capture some inferred nonverbal components of the communication process, which may be required to enrich meaning during data analysis. To counter this limitation, I captured all observed nonverbal expressions in the interview in the field notes so that they could assist in enriching the meaning of spoken words in the data analysis process.

Some participants were interviewed virtually, i.e., by phone call, WhatsApp calls, Skype, Google meet, and zoom platforms because I could not meet them physically given the physical meetings restrictions that were imposed by the government under the global Coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic that emerged in the middle of my data collection process. Nevertheless, virtual interviewing is not new in qualitative research. Since the turn of the second millennium, researchers across the world have embraced virtual or Internet research capabilities such as Skype (Corti & Fielding, 2016). Thus, in the circumstances and timing of my research, I had to comply with the social distancing regulations and travel bans to protect both myself and my participants

by using digital interview platforms enabling me to have virtual interaction with some participants with whom I could not meet with physically. This was also one of the ethical steps I took to promote the safety of the participants. In particular, telephone interviews afforded participants more comfort in sharing some profound information they possibly would not have disclosed in a face-to-face interview. This was a major advantage in my research because the physical detachment associated with telephone interviews fostered great disclosure allowing me to collect rich data. However, I could not collect some nonverbal expressions because of the absence of visual connection. In addition, the potential for response bias was minimised, because participants could not read my gesture reactions to their responses and adjust their replies accordingly, as can be the case when face-to-face interviews are used. The use of virtual capabilities made the interviewing process more convenient. Given the COVID-19 pandemic restrictions which limited intra-city travel when I was collecting data, these research techniques widened the net I could cast for participants and enabled expedient data collection.

In terms of the number of interview sessions held with one participant, it has been argued that a researcher may decide to use a single interview session, while others use several interview contacts. This aspect of research depends on the time horizon which is part of the research onion framework. More than one interview session with one participant is associated with longitudinal studies, while cross-sectional studies usually require one interview session with a single participant (Knox & Burkard, 2009). In my research, I used single interview sessions with each participant because the topic could be effectively examined in a single interaction. However, it has been argued that by using single session interviews, researchers may miss some information that would have emerged across multiple interview sessions (Lewis, 2015). Nevertheless, in the case of my research, I was content with single interview sessions as these were sufficient in meeting my data needs. In terms of the duration of the interview, most of my face-to-face interviews lasted between 40 to 100 minutes, with digital-enabled interviews and telephone interviews lasting between 30 to 60 minutes. I avoided very long sessions because some of the key informants had swamped work schedules, hence I did not want to disturb their flow of work through longer interview sessions. Some key informant interview sessions were shorter than others because of the differences in the manner of responding to the questions. While some responses were long and comprehensive, some were short and abstract. Notwithstanding these few technicalities, the key informant interviewing

process enabled me to meet my data needs. In the section below, I discuss how I collected data through the focus group discussion technique.

3.4.2.2 Focus Group Discussion Sessions

I conducted five focus group discussions with residents from different locations in Harare. A focus group discussion is a qualitative data collection technique in which participants sharing certain characteristics of interest with the researcher are gathered to discuss a specific topic of interest (Kruger et al., 2019; Neuman, 2014). Given the COVID-19 constraints, I managed to conduct five focus group discussions with residents from the low- medium- and high-density suburbs in Harare. The purpose of these discussions was to understand the housing plight and expectations of the residents. The discussions also enabled me the chance to confirm if residents are ever consulted in the urban housing policy formulation and implementation processes as well as their specific role in this process. A focus group discussion generally consists of between six and twelve participants (Babbie, 2007), and in my research, each focus group discussion comprised of between eight and twelve participants.[48] The focus group discussion sessions were held in the locations of the participants, at central venues convenient to the participating members. This enabled me to capture the context of the housing challenges issue under investigation, as participants could relate their responses to their surrounding environment. I asked participants in each focus group discussion the same set of questions, which enabled me to collect information from different viewpoints.

During the focus group discussion sessions, I created an environment to enable every participant to share their views and experiences without fear of victimisation. I also Since focus group discussions can generate more ideas as a result of the participants' cooperation (Kruger et al., 2019), in my research, participants were also allowed to comment on the contributions of other participants respectfully without embarrassing each other. To obtain balanced information, I also set the moderation criteria for managing both dominant and passive participants during the discussions. In this regard, each participant was given between two to five minutes at a time to contribute to the discussion by answering the questions I asked. In line with COVID-19 government regulations for social distancing was always maintained throughout discussions, and handshaking was not allowed. Before each focus group discussion, I requested participants to

[48] See appendix F: The composition of Focus Group Discussions participants.

sanitise by washing their hands using an alcohol-based hand sanitiser. Thereafter, participants were issued a facemask which they were expected to put on throughout the discussion.

Since focus group discussions are a form of a group interview, I adopted similar protocols as in an individual interview regarding my working relationship with the participants during the discussions. This was done because the interviewer-participant relationship is considered the most important aspect of qualitative research as the quality of this relationship determines the informants' willingness to disclose or share some information and experiences they would not share in a strained relationship (Knox & Burkard, 2009). In the five focus group discussions I conducted, I had to build a rapport with the participants and this strengthened the validity of the data collected since a higher degree of truthfulness and honesty was established. I had comfortable interactions with the participants and this enabled them to share with me rich and exhaustive narratives of their day-to-day housing challenges as well as what they expect the Harare City Council to do to address their housing plight.

The participants also managed to freely explain how they are involved in the urban housing policy making process and how the process can be improved in future. During the focus group discussions, I remained open and flexible to the views of different participants – an approach that helped me to probe individual participants' stories in more detail. I disclosed that the research findings will impact positively on urban housing policy making and how their housing challenges will be addressed, and this disclosure motivated the participants to engage with me for such a positive reason. Generally, focus group discussion sessions proceeded very well because of the rapport that I established with the participants from the onset. As previously indicated, I took measures to protect each participant the scourge of the coronavirus. In addition to the primary data collected through key informant interviews and focus group discussions, secondary data was also collected through the review of extant literature sources as described below.

3.4.2.3 Review Secondary Sources of Data

In my research, I supplemented the primary data collected through the above-discussed techniques with different secondary sources of data. For example, external and internal documents such as urban housing policy and procedure manuals, council housing delivery strategic plans, annual housing delivery reports, newspaper and journal articles were reviewed to provide further insight

into the different characteristics of urban housing policy formulation and implementation processes in Zimbabwe. In addition, textbooks and Internet websites were also used as sources of secondary material. The collection of data from multiple sources enabled a rich understanding of urban housing policy in Zimbabwe and how its formulation and implementation processes are influenced by institutional structures. The use of multiple sources of secondary data also enabled me to gather a multiplicity of perspectives on the investigated issue, which was useful in cross-examining facts, sense-making and enrichment of the research output when the data was analysed. The consulted secondary sources of data are acknowledged in-text and in the bibliography section of this thesis, which is a research ethics step I took to avoid the possibility of scientific misconduct in the form of plagiarism.

3.4.3 Data Analysis Procedure and Techniques

The purpose of qualitative data analysis is to interpret people's opinions and generate meaning out of them (Babbie, 2012). In most cases, qualitative data were analysed in the form of natural language and explicitly expressed experiences to identify patterns tied to instances of the phenomenon that is being investigated (Levitt et al., 2018). Qualitative data analysis is usually affected by the researcher or participant values and most researchers often face a dilemma in deciding whether letting these two sets of values influence your interpretation is a good thing or not. Commenting on this dilemma Heron (1996) argues that values inevitably guide or dictate reasoning and human action, but it is crucially important to acknowledge them and to reflect on how they may influence the truthfulness of research findings. In this thesis, my value statement is that I made sure that my preconceptions or personal values would not taint the nature of subjective inferences derived from participants. In the actual analysis, various techniques were combined in a qualitative meta-analysis, enabling me to produce a rich vein of information and a thick description of the main characteristics of urban housing policy in Zimbabwe and how its formulation and implementation is influenced by institutional structures embedded in urban councils. Below, I explain the procedure and the techniques that I followed in analysing the data.

3.4.3.1 Sources of Data and Timing of Analysis

Field notes and transcripts of audio of interviews and focus group discussion sessions constituted by sources of primary data. Verbatim transcriptions of primary data were typed out soon after data

collection. Textbooks, reports, policies, procedure manuals, city maps, journal articles, newspaper articles, population census reports and the Internet were the sources of secondary data. In terms of the timing of analysis, part of the analysis was done soon after data collection while the other part was done after the data had been gathered. I adopted this approach because of the understanding that qualitative data analysis is a reiterative process that involves a process of going back and forth between sampling and data collection to enable the accumulation of rich data as argued by McGrath et al., (2019). Starting my analysis early made me more aware of the emerging themes which shaped the direction of the research, while the analysis which was done post-data collection enabled me to consolidate different sources of data to develop an informative outline of how urban housing policy formulation and implementation processes in Zimbabwe are influenced by institutional structures. In the ensuing section, I describe and explain the data analysis techniques I used in this research.

3.4.3.2 Data Analysis Techniques

Different primary and secondary sources were interpreted using a combination of techniques such as content analysis, thematic analysis, inductive and deductive analysis, abductive and retroductive inference as well as hermeneutic insight. The first technique used for data analysis was content analysis. Content analysis is a strategy used to draw meanings from texts that comprise the thematic issues being investigated (Vaismoradi et al., 2016). In this research, I used a triad of content analyses which are deductive content analysis, inductive content analysis and narrative content analysis. The deductive content analysis enabled me to determine the empirical value of the structuration theory and institutionalism in the understanding of the interplay between institutional structures and urban housing policy formulation and implementation decisions and actions in the City of Harare. Furthermore, inductive content analysis was used to break down the data from different secondary sources into different codes representing different thematic patterns towards producing meaningful arguments. Narrative content analysis was used to analytically trace the historical trend of urban housing policy formulation and implementation processes and the persistence of urban housing challenges in post-independence Zimbabwe.

Thematic analysis is the second technique that I used in making inferences from the collected data. Vaismoradi et al., (2013, 2016) argue that qualitative researchers use thematic analysis to search

for a recurring idea or topic in textual data such as interview transcripts. The technique enables the researcher to explore, code and categorise textual data to produce meaning (Mayring, 2000, cited by Vaismoradi et al., 2013). In my research, I used thematic analysis to interpret transcriptions from interviews and FGD sessions. Before collecting primary data, I requested permission to audiotape the sessions, which I later transcribed verbatim. In the data interpretation process, I then developed and identified themes and subthemes from the transcripts using thematic analysis. I was guided by the theoretical framework to describe, interpret, or explain the interplay between institutional structures and the urban housing policy process in Zimbabwe. I did this because in interpretive research, theories provide one of how your data can be analysed (Walsham, 2006). In many pieces of research, therefore, there is a data-theory link as theories are potentially valuable ways to view research data through hermeneutic insight (Vaismoradi et al., 2016). Hermeneutic insight is the understanding from an intensive examination of a single case (Robinson, 2014).

In analysing the data, I also used the complementary techniques of abductive and retroductive inference. Abductive inference involves analysing collected data that fall outside of an initial theoretical frame to discover its connection with the main themes in the study (Meyer & Lunnay, 2013). In this research, the abductive inference technique enabled me to analyse data such as the reasons for continued rural-to-urban migration into Harare and its impact on urban housing policy formulation and implementation, although these aspects fell outside the initial theoretical frame of structuration and institutionalism. Another technique used was retroductive inference, an approach that seeks to understand and clarify the link between human action and its context (Meyer & Lunnay, 2013). Retroductive inference examines and explains the causal mechanisms, reasoning behind or pre-existing conditions for a specific social action or behaviour (Fletcher, 2017). The goal of retroductive inference is to explain how the research contexts can produce certain behaviours that may not have been visible outside that particular context (Neuman, 2014). This technique allowed me to analyse, understand and explain what causes, actors and stakeholders who partake in the urban housing policy making process to behave or act in the way they do during the formulation and implementation of urban housing policy.

Secondary textual data was analysed through the hermeneutics method. Hermeneutics refers to the science and art of interpreting textual data that is secondary in nature (Ezzy, 2002). In this thesis, hermeneutics was used for analysing data drawn from secondary sources such as journal articles,

textbooks, newspaper articles, internet source reports and policy documents. The hermeneutic circle was applied in analysing these texts. This technique involves the examination of words, phrases and sentences in a given text concerning the context of the paragraphs constituting the text to generate a comprehensive understanding of the theme of the text (Babbie, 2007). In theoretically driven researches – as the case with my research – the data analysis techniques described above allow for a more comprehensive analysis of the data which can be useful in the formation of a new conceptual framework to explain why things are happening in the way they do. Together, the techniques for analysing data in this research produced a qualitative meta-analysis, which is a form of data interpretation in which findings are aggregated and integrated to generate a new understanding of the topic of interest (Robinson, 2014). Below, I discuss the sequential steps I took in the actual data analysis process using the techniques I have described above.

3.4.3.3 The Data Analysis Process

While some of the data was analysed while the data was being collected, the major part of the data analysis process proceeded when I completed the process of transcribing the majority of my data into textual-based formats. The first step I took in the analysis process was to familiarise myself with the transcribed data by reading and rereading the transcripts cautiously to have a comprehensive grasp of the major thematic areas captured in the transcripts. With primary data, this process included re-readings of transcripts while listening to the recorded audiotapes. I then started writing the extracted information I considered more relevant to the research questions. I placed more emphasis on the responses that were relevant to the participants' perceptions and experiences, which enabled me to understand the context of their urban housing policy making working environment.

In doing so, I discovered that the normative statements that the participants made aided further understanding of the data as I continued to re-read the transcripts. When I familiarised myself with the data transcriptions from the sources, I then made my first attempt to organise the data, reducing non-concrete views from the responses of the informants. This step helped me to have an initial understanding of the meanings they sought to convey. I also managed to understand what the statements made by the interviewees mean concerning the phenomenon I explored. I then started the initial encapsulation and extraction of the meanings of words or phrases to establish some draft

themes and give shape and direction to my narrative. These themes represented my initial understanding of the data. With secondary data sources, I started by underlining the important parts of the text using content analysis. I did not rush this process because I did not want to erroneously dismiss some important data at an early stage of the analysis.

When I completed the initial theme development process, I started examining the data, deciding on the appropriate codes to be assigned to each set of data. I then continued with my initial efforts to identify themes in the interview and focus group discussion scripts by developing second-order constructs or more informative themes that comprehensively represent the data. The objective of this step was to develop a logical and consistent narrative portrayed through a more comprehensive interpretation of the available data. Boundaries between themes were delineated to ensure that no data is placed into misfit themes. I did this to ensure that the themes would be classified and distinct from each other while recognising the existing links between them. This helped me in sense-making and ordering of the data, gradually moving towards unravelling the participants full meaning to bring out a more comprehensive narrative. I then started a critical reading through the data under different classified themes, describing them in more specific and informative terms that represented the actual explanations and statements made by the informants.

After developing the initial substantive themes, I then re-examined these themes to ensure that they do not overlap. This process enabled me to refine and redefine the themes I initially developed, and some themes were also sub-themed under others. I did this to avoid possible contradictions in the themes and to ensure the development of a consistent and coherent narrative. This process was followed by a closer examination of the internal structure and meaning of the individual themes. Here, my main aim was to align the themes with the research objectives and establish links between the themes themselves. Through retroductive and abductive inferences, I found some themes with some theoretical qualities recognised and described in the extant literature, while others constituted underlying factors that account for what was experienced in the fieldwork but not captured in the literature. After completing this data analysis process, I constructed an account for each participant by depicting the importance of their experiences and perceptions of the subject of inquiry. This process helped to have a comprehensive contextual output of urban housing challenges, the nature and characteristics of urban housing policy in Zimbabwe and how its formulation and implementation is influenced by institutional structures.

3.4.4 Data Validity Criteria

Qualitative researchers should ensure that the interpretive data they collect has a high level of validity. Thus, data validity is an integral aspect of qualitative research. Validity in qualitative research refers to the reasons why people must believe arguments made by the researcher as truthful claims (Norris, 1997). Thus, validity in qualitative research is important as it measures how credible and rigorous the research results are (Levitt et al., 2018). Interpretive research findings can be considered valid or credible if readers find the inferences to be believable, authentic or credible (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). It is therefore the researcher's ethical responsibility to establish rigour and ensure that research findings are not misinterpreted or dismissed by readers (Hays et al., 2016). Establishing validity in qualitative research is important because researchers can make mistakes. The same principle guided me in ensuring that my findings are valid. In this research, I enhanced the validity of my research findings through methods such as triangulation, thick description, member checking, peer reviews and external audit. Hereunder, I discuss how I used these methodological strategies for enhancing data validity and ensure that my findings are credible not only to the readers but also to myself.

3.4.4.1 The Thick Description Technique

In my research, the thick description approach guided me in developing an authentic narrative of the contextual characteristics of urban housing policy in Zimbabwe and to further understand how its formulation and implementation process are influenced by institutional structures in light of the persisting urban housing challenges in Harare. In this research, the thick description concept provides a conceptual centre point upon which a comprehensive analysis of cultural and contextual systems can be built (Geertz, 1973). Geertz argues that a thick description helps to clarify all obscure issues and all theoretical concepts are brought into balance with empirical reality. For example, in the data analysis process of this research, the thick description technique helped me to build a clear and reliable portray of how urban housing policy actors act and decide in the way they do when formulating and implementing urban housing policies. The thick description approach enables the researcher to capture the material thoughts, emotions and intentions that influence social interaction among observed participants in their operating context (Denzin, 1989). This technique emphasises that for a researcher to accurately describe the opinions, thoughts

expressed and emotions demonstrated, there is a need to interpret a situation in context rather than just describing the surface features (Ponterotto, 2006). Largely, the thick description technique enabled me to understand the meaning underpinning the institutional circumstances that influenced urban housing policy actors in the Harare City Council to behave and act in the way they do.

3.4.4.2 The Researcher Reflexivity Principle

The principle of reflexivity made me cautious of the possibility of subjective interpretation of the data during the analysis process. Reflexivity of the researcher is a principle for allowing the research to disclose interests, biases, or beliefs that may affect the objective interpretation of research findings (Cresswell & Miller, 2000). Under this principle, qualitative researchers are encouraged to declare their interests to reduce biased analysis and to enable readers of their reports to comprehend the basis of their arguments and interpretations (Norris, 1997). From an understanding of the reality that qualitative researchers bring their interests, assumptions and values into the research process (Alexiadou, 2001), I eliminated all bias from the interpretation of participants' meanings by being neutral and impartial in my data analysis. Apart from declaring that research findings will be used solely for academic purposes, I did not hold a personal interest in the subject under investigation as I realised that holding personal interests could have swayed my judgment and interpretation of the data. Thus, I remained factual in my analysis, ensuring that my perceptions and preconceptions would neither creep into the analysis process nor cloud a fair and accurate portrayal of the data.

3.4.4.3 Member Checking or Audit Trail

In this research, member checks or audit trails were conducted to enhance the validity of research findings. Member checking involves the process of taking raw data such as transcription and fieldwork notes back to research participants for them to confirm and comment on the integrity and accuracy of the data (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). It is a post-data collection procedure meant to verify the truthfulness of research findings – a process in which the researcher asks participants to substantiate if the information represents a realistic account of the data they initially gave (Yin, 2013). Sometimes participants may not be willing for a session with the researcher because of their work schedules (Babbie, 2012). In my research, fourteen of the twenty key informants were

cooperative or available in the member checking procedure to validate their initial responses.[49] Some of the participants excused themselves from participating in the data validation process. Lincoln and Guba (1985) consider audit trails as the most crucial method for establishing credibility and enhancing the validity of qualitative research findings. In my research, audit trails added integrity to the data by allowing participants to react to and verify the data.

3.4.4.4 Peer Reviewing

In line with the above methods, I also used peer review to verify my arguments. Peer reviewing entails the evaluation of the research findings and reports by a knowledgeable person on the issue being investigated (Newton, 2010). Good peer reviewers provide constructive feedback on research assumptions and interpretations as well as on the methodology and research techniques used (Bence & Oppenheim, 2004). Reviewers helped in improving the credibility of the research because of their expertise. In this research, peer reviewers were other doctoral students majoring in Public Policy and Administration in other universities and former lecturers of public policy who provided oral feedback and comments on my report, analysis, understanding and interpretations of how institutional structures influence the decisions and actions made by actors who take part in formulating and implementing urban housing policies. My supervisor's review also provided critical insights for establishing the validity of the data. The comments and views from the reviews and debriefers added credibility to my research report.

3.4.5 Reporting and Presenting Research Findings

In reporting findings, qualitative researchers are like storytellers who retell the experiences of others intending to educate, inform and explain to readers about a specific social phenomenon in the form of a logical story with distinct themes (Kruger et al., 2019). This thesis is one such kind of descriptive and explanatory account of the nature and characteristics of urban housing challenges in Zimbabwe, the characteristics of urban housing policy as a local government strategy for addressing these challenges and a discussion of how institutional structures influence the formulation and implementation of these urban housing policies. I present my results in the form of a narrative report with the aid of figures that guide the reader through key results and analysis.

[49] Two of the councillors could not participate in the member checking process because they had either been suspended from the council by their political parties or been dismissed on allegations of corruption.

From chapters five to seven, I will present, discuss and analyse the key research findings, with each chapter capturing a separate objective and how it was achieved.

3.4.6 Ethical Considerations

Social research follows a set of ethics or values that ensure that researchers engage in responsible conduct throughout the research process. In my research, I upheld the ethical values of voluntary participation, avoided all forms of harm, did not deceive anyone, upheld the participants' privacy, and permitted participants the right to withdraw from my research at any time without any consequences. These ethical principles I strictly adhered to by cultivating rapport and building trust so that the participants would feel free to share and discuss their experiences and by using their *lingua franca,* as I was conversant in the local dialects of the participants. Firstly, I upheld the ethical value of voluntary participation by explaining clearly to every participant what the research is about. Under no circumstances did I force or deceive anyone into participating in my research. This specifically means that I did not stop any participant from withdrawing from the research at any point when they feel uncomfortable continuing to participate. The research was also conducted in a harmless and clean environment to protect the privacy and health of participants, especially considering the prevailing health scare emanating from the COVID-19 pandemic. In the report of my findings, I also carefully masked the names of all participants to protect their privacy. Thus, in this thesis, to make it impossible for readers to know to whom particular views may be attributed, I do not refer to the names of the participants. In addition, I took all necessary measures to ensure the overall physical and psychological safety of all participants.

3.5 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I have described how I designed the research and the different methods I used to recruit participants, collect data from them, analyse the data. I also explained how I established the validity of the research findings. I demonstrated how my research was informed by the interpretive research philosophy, also known as interpretivism or constructivism. In the next chapter, I review the extant literature on decision-making models and theories germane to institutional public policy formulation and implementation processes and expose the research gap.

CHAPTER FOUR

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL PROPOSITIONS: DECISION-MAKING FRAMEWORKS AND THEORIES GERMANE TO INSTITUTIONAL PUBLIC POLICY FORMULATION AND IMPLEMENTATION

4.1 Introduction

This thesis is a contextual analysis for providing empirical support to the contextually driven theoretical frameworks that apply to urban housing policy formulation and implementation processes in Zimbabwe. In light of this, this chapter has two main purposes which are: to discuss the theoretical framework guiding the research and to present a conceptual review of the pertinent literature on the relationship between institutional structures and the decision-making behaviour of actors in the context of public institutions. I start with the theoretical framework section where I analyse both the cardinal theoretical strengths and weaknesses of the two theories, i.e., institutionalism and structuration as they apply to the Zimbabwean urban housing policy making social laboratory. These two theories are essential in analysing how institutional structures shape or influence the policy-making process. For example, whereas institutionalism sheds light on the role of public institutions in the policy-making process in general, the structuration theory further gives an insight into how the different structural components of an institution are configured to affect institutional processes such as policy decision making. In the second part of the chapter, I present a discursive analysis of the extant theoretical and empirical expositions on the connection between institutional structures and the policy-making process. In this section, I explain and discuss scholarly views on how institutional structures influence the decisions and choices of actors involved in policy formulation and implementation processes.

4.2 Theoretical Framework

Theories provide the philosophical basis for a contextual analysis in social research. This research is no exception, hence in this section, I discuss institutionalism and structuration theory as the theoretical grounds for a contextual analysis of the influence of institutional structures when urban housing actors formulate and implement urban housing policies in Zimbabwe.

4.2.1 Institutionalism

Institutionalism is a theory that places public institutions at the core of political processes such as the public policy-making process. In this regard, previous researches have established a link between public institutional structures or structural features of an institution and how decisions in the policymaking process are made (March & Olsen, 1989; Peters, 1999b). For example, both North (1990) and Anderson (2014) concur that public policy is authoritatively determined and implemented by government institutions in their structures. In addition, institutionalists such as March & Olsen (1989) also emphasise that public institutions have embedded structural properties such as rules, the hierarchy of authority, sanctions and incentives that form some regularised patterns of behaviour persisting over the decisions made by policymakers within an institution. These regularised patterns of behaviour inevitably affect or influence decision-makers in the formulation and implementation of public policy (Birkland, 2016). In the policy-making process, institutional structures[50] inevitably confine policymakers to make certain policy decisions and choices of action over others (North, 1990). Extant literature suggests that institutional structures determine the content of public policies when they are formulated and/or influence decisions on the direction of the policy implementation process (Rockman, 1993; Zucker, 1987). In this research, institutionalism provides the analytical basis for examining how institutional structures influence decisions in the formulation and implementation of urban housing policies in Zimbabwe.

Institutionalism has several theoretical dimensions (Peters, 1999b), but in this research, insights are drawn only from rational choice institutionalism, historical institutionalism and normative institutionalism. Normative institutionalism was propounded by March & Olsen (1996) who argued that people working within institutions behave as they do because of normative standards rather than because of their desire to maximise individual utility. Normative institutionalists argue that individuals reflect the behaviour they acquire through membership in their institutions and their actions can be predicted from an analysis of structures (Olsen, 1991). Drawing insights from normative institutionalism, this thesis analyses the extent to which the structural properties of the Harare City Council dictate how urban housing policy formulation and implementation decisions and actions in this city are pursued by different actors.

[50] Institutional structures include but are not limited to institutional rules, a hierarchy of authority, institutional culture and institutional sanctions.

The second dimension of institutionalism important to this research is the rational choice approach. Unlike normative institutionalism, rational choice institutionalism emphasises that the actions of members of institutions depend on individual cognition outside the ambit of institutional structures (Calvert, 1995). For rational choice advocates, although institutional structures are composed of incentives and constraints, actors respond to structural factors in a rational and not structured way (Calvert, 1995; Garret & Tsebelis, 1996; Goodin, 1995). This thesis examines the veracity of the rational choice institutionalism perspective by investigating the extent to which actors in the Harare City Council have the autonomy to make technical urban housing policy formulation and implementation decisions and actions without being influenced by institutional components.

The third institutional strand relevant to this research is historical institutionalism, which states that structural choices made at the initiation of the institution will have a permanent influence over the institution's operations for the remainder of its existence (Steinmo et al., 1992). Historical institutionalism traces how institutions are formed and how their formative structural features are crystalised over time to form functional operatives for consistently controlling the decisions and actions of members of the institution (Immergunt, 1992; Thelen & Steinmo, 1992). In this research, this component of institutionalism is useful in analysing how historical institutional properties and traits such as traditions, value systems, principles, standards, and cultural traits have persisted in shaping urban housing policy formulation and implementation decisions and policy choices in the City of Harare. Historical institutionalism applies to this research because it explains the processes and mechanisms by which institutional structures such as rules and culture become established as authoritative guidelines for individual and group behaviour within an institution as argued by Steinmo et al., (1992). In this thesis, historical institutionalism is useful in analysing how institutional structures have been sustained as urban housing policy hinges from one administrative generation to another in the Harare City Council.

Proponents of institutionalism generally concur that the theory provides a rich vein of information on how institutional processes are influenced by normative properties and standard operating procedures arising within the institution itself (Grafstein, 1992; March & Olsen, 1989; Peters, 1999b; Scott, 2004; Weingast, 1996; Zucker, 1987). In this regard, this thesis examines how the three aforementioned components of institutionalism explain how urban housing policy actors in

the Harare City Council behave in response to institutional structures when engaged in urban housing policy formulation and implementation processes.

Public institutions are believed to have accepted 'institutional myths' that help to maintain the consistency of their internal processes and these are perpetuated through well-established internal networks of socialisation amongst members (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). The applicability of these claims is examined in the context of urban housing policy formulation and implementation in Harare. Research suggests that the embeddedness of these institutional myths often makes it difficult for individuals and group members of the institution to realise that their behaviour is wholly controlled by the institution (Douglas, 1987; Pedersen, 1991; Zucker, 1987). In light of this observation, this thesis analyses how institutional myths or traditions control the activities of urban housing policy actors in Harare when they engage in urban housing policy formulation and implementation processes.

Institutionalism provides strong arguments for explaining the behaviour of actors in the context of an institution. The theory states that in an institution, actors adhere to institutionalised prescriptions such as rules, regulations, traditions culture, a hierarchy of authority and conventions embedded in the structure of that specific institution (Dowding, 1994; Eggertsson, 1990; Weingast, 1996). Compliance with or adherence to established institutional prescriptions is considered as the surest means for legitimising the agency's decisions and actions (Berthod, 2016). Research assumes that persisting institutional expectations are reflected in the mode of decision making and choices of action by the agency in formal structures (Elbasha & Wright, 2017). In light of this argument, this thesis analyses the extent to which the decision-making behaviour of actors involved in the urban housing policy formulation and implementation processes in Zimbabwe reflect the dictates of institutional structures. Institutional studies propose that institutions have logics in the form of formal and informal rules of action, interaction and interpretations that guide or constrain the choices made by decision-makers (Vailatti et al., 2017). Through these logics, institutions constrain and superimpose the conditions of possibility or impossibility of their members' decisions and action options (Hall & Taylor, 1996).[51]

[51] This claim suggests that members of an institution are hardly free to act or behave in a way they want because of institutional expectation, and the veracity of this claim is subject to analysis in this thesis.

Historical institutionalists argue that the actions and decisions of an institution's members, shaped by rules and routines and crystalised over time, will cause sediment institutions to emerge (Thelen & Steinmo, 1992). These sediment institutions will develop a formalised apparatus to inculcate their culture, rules, patterns of values, conventions, traditions and procedural routines to new members (March & Olsen, 1989) such that the institution's expected way of doing things can be perpetuated from one generation to the other (Immergunt, 1990). However, it has been argued that whenever individuals act under constrained conditions that structure their behaviour, their cognitive ability is reduced and their performance level simultaneously decreases (Berthod, 2016). In light of these views, this thesis examines how the Harare City Council has inculcated in its members some sediment operating patterns and value systems and how this shapes the decisions and actions made by the officials who formulate and implement the city's urban housing policies.

Furthermore, institutionalism also portrays culture as a major component of institutional structures responsible for shaping the decisions and choices of action made by members of the institution (Ott, 1989). The theory presents institutional culture as the glue that ensures that an institution has a stable, fixed and consistent mode of interaction that is not based on rational considerations but institutional ideology. In practice, institutional culture comprises shared norms, beliefs and value systems that determine how 'things are done here' within the context of an institution (Pfeffer, 1982, p.239). In this thesis, I examine the extent to which urban housing policy actors in Harare City Council use this institution's culture as their reference point when making urban housing policy formulation and implementation decisions and actions. Institutionalists have addressed the issue of how and why meanings and procedures become the culture of the institution (Garret & Tsebelis, 1996). In this regard, research has recognised that institutional culture shapes the decisions and activities of actors as it prescribes certain practices and procedures that are transmitted from one generation to the other making actions and decisions predictable (Inglehart, 1990; Mohr, 1982; Ott, 1989; Zucker, 1987). This research analyses whether the culture of the Harare City Council has enabled this institution to achieve uniformity and predictability of policy actions or if it has caused a lack of innovativeness and independent thinking amongst actors.

Several propositions justify the above analysis. Firstly, institutionalists argue that a unique institutional culture enables the institution to buttress common purposes, mutual positions and shared procedural rules that influence every actor's operating behaviour and manner of decision

making (Ott, 1989; Weingast, 1996). Research indicates that institutional culture is nurtured to ensure that actions are structurally determined, regularised, patterned and non-personal (Inglehart, 1990). This thesis examines how, over time, the Harare City Council has maintained and reinforced institutional culture and how it has persisted over individual choices of actions when formulating and implementing urban housing policies. Studies have propounded that once established, culture enables institutions to perpetuate and reinforce certain actions and behaviours not because they are rational, but because they are tied to the preferred state of affairs (Inglehart, 1990). Ideally, therefore, the culture of an institution ensures that the action that is congruent with the institutional value systems is repeatable by other actors across space and time without changing its meaning (Mohr, 1982). Basing on this theoretical exposition, in this research, I examine how institutional culture as an institutional structure influences the decisions and choices of action made by policymakers within urban housing institutions in Zimbabwe when they formulate and implement urban housing policies.

In addition to the above, institutionalism emphasises that institutional properties such as collective rules, routine operating procedures and mutual practices constitute the common frame of reference guiding actors to analogous decisions (Lang, 2018). In this manner, institutions become structural forces guiding actors' behaviour through their 'rules of the game' or institutional structures, whilst actors are seen as the 'players of the game' who must play according to the dictates of set out rules (Immergunt, 1992; March & Olsen, 1989). Over time, institutions morph into structuring forces that are maintained to preserve their traditions, value systems and relevance to their members (Thelen & Steinmo, 1992). Institutions develop through a process of routinizing human activity through following rules and structures to create greater regularity of human behaviour which becomes highly predictable (Barley & Tolbert, 1997; Calvert, 1995). However, the empirical application of these theoretical expositions remains an issue for researchers to establish, and this research is an effort towards this end.

Thus, this thesis explores whether or not urban councils as the key urban housing policy institutions in Zimbabwe have evolved to become forces that regulate the activities of actors who take part in formulating and implementing urban housing policy. Institutionalists claim that that in any institution, there is a certain element of standardisation of individual behaviour because much of the activities reflect the way people are 'supposed' to act in that institution (March & Olsen,

1989). In light of this claim, this research uses the urban housing policy formulation and implementation experiences in the City of Harare to ascertain the veracity of the claim that institutions have standardised moral elements that can constrain or obligate urban housing policy actors to advance institutional expectations.

While institutionalism provides strong theoretical foundations for this research, its critics argue that this theory is too simplistic in its description of the way institutions work. For example, critics like Berthod (2016) state that institutionalism is obtuse and lacks empirical application, while Dacin et al., (2002) see the theory as perpetuating resistance to change in institutions due to its emphasis on the 'this is how we do things here' approach. Moreover, Anyebe (2018) also questions the idea that institutional structures are the primary determinants of the decisions and actions of individuals in an institution. To him, personal preferences contribute more to the agency's model of decision-making behaviour and actions than the structural features of the institution. Other critics of institutionalism such as North (1990) and Mohamed (2017) also argue that this theory advocates for allegiance to institutional structures which often hinder the efficiency and competitiveness of the institution.

These above critical claims are contested by March & Olsen (1996) and Munir (2019) who concur that individual preferences do not have space in the context of an institution, and structure always prevails over individualism. This implies that institutional structures always restrict the pursuit of individual interests by members of the institution. Despite the critics advanced in institutionalism, the theory remains a relevant analytical framework for examining the relationship between actors and structure. Dye (2012) states that institutionalism can yield remarkable analytical leverage to those concerned with how public policy takes shape. In this research, institutionalism provides a useful framework for analysing and understanding how policymakers are influenced by institutional structures in making decisions and preferences concerning the processes of formulating and implementing urban housing policy in Zimbabwe.

From the foregoing discussion, it is arguable that the extant literature considers institutional structures as having important consequences when formulating and implementing public policies. This seems so because institutions provide part of the context for policy-making as public policy is authoritatively formulated and executed in public institutions (Lang, 2018). As such, public institutions provide a policy-making laboratory (Linder & Peters, 1990) and institutional structures

are important policy shapers (Birkland, 2016). All these dynamics are explained under the theory of institutionalism, which in this research helps to analyse how institutional structures influence the set of interrelated decisions taken by actors or a group of actors in the formulation and implementation of urban housing policies in Zimbabwe. This empirical research analyses the closely-knit relationship between urban housing policy in Zimbabwe and institutional structures from the understanding that public policy is not regarded as effective and functional until it is opted, implemented and enforced by public institutions. The important questions in this research relate to why and how certain choices of action and decisions to address the urban housing problem in Harare are made from a pool of competing alternatives. Responding to this question helps in understanding the nexus between the design of institutions and urban housing policy formulation and implementation decisions and actions. The research aims to understand whether institutional structures enable the formulation and implementation of effective urban housing policy or if they perpetuate the design of policies that are not responsive to the housing challenges experienced in Zimbabwe's urban areas. In the ensuing subsection, I discuss the structuration theory and how it constitutes the theoretical basis for examining whether institutional structures influence housing policies in Zimbabwean urban areas.

4.2.2 Structuration

The structuration theory was propounded by Antony Giddens as a model to explain the motivation for the behaviour of human agency in institutions. In this thesis, this theory is a useful framework for analysing and understanding the influence of institutional structures in the decision-making processes when urban housing policies are formulated and implemented by Zimbabwe's urban councils. This theory attempts to address the debate on whether decision making within the context of a public institution is influenced by structural properties or whether decisions are a product of the cognition of human agency (Callinicos, 1987). In framing the structuration theory, Giddens (1984) examined the relationship between two fundamental aspects of an institution, that is, structure and agency. He defined structure as the nonphysical features embedded in institutions, and these include rules, norms, culture, values and traditions that give an institution its distinctiveness (Giddens, 1984). In Giddens's conceptualisation, the agency refers to people or actors affiliated with a specific institution. He found that structure and agency are interlinked, as the structure is inextricably dependent on the agency's knowledge and support, while agency

behaviour is effectively guided by structural arrangements (Giddens, 1984). Enlightened by the premises of Giddens's structuration theory, this thesis examines the operating behaviour of actors involved in urban housing policy formulation and implementation, analysing the extent to which their decisions and actions are determined by the structural configurations of the institution in which they make and pursue their decisions and actions.

The analysis outlined in this thesis is important in examining the empirical and contextual value of Giddens's theoretical exposition. For example, in his theorem, Giddens emphasised that there is a mutual dependence between agency and structure in all institutional processes (Wendt, 1987). He also states that the structure of an institution has a direct effect on agency activities because the structure produces a system of organised relations between the actors and the institutional structures in which they are situated to perform their duties (Dessler, 1989; Giddens, 1984). In light of this argument, this research assesses whether or not the formal institutional properties in the Harare City Council set preconditions for the everyday operations of urban housing policy actors and its consequences on the content and implementation trajectory of urban housing policies in this city. Central to the structuration theory is the concept of institutional rules and how they influence agency behaviour. Giddens (1984) argues that institutional rules are pivotal in shaping institutional processes because rules specify the methodological procedures of social interaction. He defines institutional rules as the procedures of action, or aspects of praxis guiding and controlling the behaviour of individuals in a specific context (Giddens, 1984). Giddens further asserts that over time and through social interaction, rules can become habits and rubrics such that they will have a profound influence on the generality of the agency's conduct even without the fear of possible sanctions for not following these rules (Giddens, 1991).

Furthermore, Giddens highlights that institutional rules have a regulatory and constitutive effect (Adams & Sydie, 2001). In light of this argument, this research examines how different operating regulations in the Harare City Council are used to sanction preferred modes of social conduct and enforce routine practices amongst urban housing policy actors. Regarding the constitutive effect of institutional rules, this research analyses the integral properties that delineate appropriate behaviour amongst urban housing policy actors in the Harare City Council when they formulate and implement urban housing policy. Thus, in this thesis, the structuration theory is a useful analytical model for probing the interaction between actors and structural components sustaining

decisions and choices made by urban housing policy makers in Harare. Giddens held that the actor's behaviour and decisions do not stand in isolation of the structure because structure and agency are interwoven (Giddens, 1989). The major question developing from the structuration theory with regards to urban housing policy-making in Zimbabwe is whether institutional structures allow for the possibility of flexibility, creativity and change in individual policymakers or if the structure is always rigid and inhibiting innovation.

In advancing his structuration proposition, Giddens argues that the effect of structure on agency behaviour is dual. This means that the structure of an institution consists of arrangements that are organised to either enable or restrain certain behaviours by actors (Giddens, 1984, 1989). Giddens conceptualises the mutuality of institutional structure and agency as the 'duality of structure' as he claims that the institutional structure and agency must be viewed as a mutually interacting duality and not as independent and conflicting elements (Giddens, 1984). Giddens emphasised that institutional processes should be explained in terms of the dual relationship between action and structure. To him, action and structure cannot and should not be separated in the quest to understand human behaviour (Giddens, 1984). This is largely because institutional structures do not exist independently of human action as they are 'memory traces' (Giddens, 1984, p.17) that exist only through the action of humans.

The major premise under the structuration theory is that institutional structures and agency action are interwoven. Social structures are drawn on by human agents in their actions (Giddens, 1984, 1989, 1991). To Giddens, therefore, the structure is both a restraining and an enabling force to action (Adams & Sydie, 2001). This research examines the applicability and effect of the concept of the duality of structure in the context of urban housing formulation and implementation experiences Harare. The focus of the analysis is on whether structural properties in the Harare City Council have produced both a restraining effect and an enabling consequence on the activities of urban housing policy actors. On the restraining effect of institutional structures, Giddens claims that within the context of a formal institution, people do not have to think much about how to act because their actions are handed down to them and prescribed by longstanding institutional customs and traditions (Giddens, 1984). In this argument, Giddens implies that as agencies of the institution, people do not make autonomous decisions but rather exhibit deeply conditioned and routinized behaviours (Dessler, 1989). He argues that as a result, the flow of action in an institution

continually produces consequences that are unintended by actors as the agency is forced into compliance with the available options because of structural properties (Giddens, 1984).

This thesis examines this dimension of structuration by assessing whether or not urban housing policy makers in Harare City Council are being constantly constrained by the structure to act in a routinized way when formulation and implementing urban housing policies. Giddens further states that the constraints are so narrow that the range of feasible alternatives for the agency is always limited to one option open to an actor (Abdelnour et al., 2017).[52] This suggests that often, the structure is beyond human control nor manipulation because structural properties often restrict people from exercising their ability to be reflexive and make their own choices about how they act. After all, their actions are predetermined by institutional rules (Elbasha & Wright, 2017). This thesis analyses the empirical value and contextual applicability of Giddens' claim that institutional structures generate command over actors, creating a sustainable 'virtual order' in which decisions largely depend upon power relationships as shown in the institutional structure and not primarily on their initiative.

The structure of an institution is not a permanent barrier to an agency's actions – it is both constraining and enabling (Giddens, 1984). Taking into consideration the enabling component of the dual structure, this research examines whether there are some circumstances in which the structure has a positive or enabling influence on how urban housing policy actors in Zimbabwe make urban housing policy formulation and implementation decisions. The main question to answer in this regard is whether or not actors involved in urban housing policy formulation and implementation processes in Zimbabwe have the freedom to act and decide without structural constraints. This question relates to Giddens view that human agencies are essentially knowledgeable about their actions and always able to provide explanations for their actions (Giddens, 1984). If this is the case as Giddens puts it, it may therefore suggest that urban housing policy makers in Zimbabwe enjoy some degree of volition to act.

Apart from situations where they have been forced to comply with certain institutional rules, these actors always have the possibility of acting rationally and basing on own knowledge and

[52] Research shows that the agency is always restricted by structural properties and they cannot act in a self-conscious way (Ingram & Clay, 2000).

experience of what is right or improper when making urban housing policy formulation and implementation decisions. In interpreting this view of structuration, Held & Thompson (1989) argue that the knowledge of social actors or agencies implies that they are always or can always be in control of their actions. This suggests that actors are not always guided by routinized procedures as the structure also enables agency freedom. This research ascertains whether the circumstances that permit urban housing policy makers in Zimbabwe to make logical and independent policy decisions and actions that are not regulated by institutional constraints.

While the enabling view of structuration reflects the possibility of conscious decision-making by actors within institutions as it portrays the agency as a rational actor who can consider appropriate actions and make rational decisions on realistic courses of action (Dessler, 1989), the view has been criticised as misleading. Theorists such as Layder suggest that it does not make sense to argue that there is a possibility for self-autonomy in structures such as structural powers and sanctions always place absolute constraints on agency autonomy, which then limit the range of options that actors can pursue (Layder, 1985). Mohamed (2017) also concurs with Layder's critical view by claiming that institutions always employ sanctions to force the agency to produce a predetermined outcome. These criticisms present an interesting view in this thesis as it provides grounds for a balanced analysis of the actual empirical effect of structural properties on actors involved in urban housing policy formulation and implementation processes.

In light of this criticism, the thesis examines whether the outcome of structural configurations is always routines and concrete operating producers that are not negotiable or whether structural properties are flexible enough to allow individuals to act on their own will. The thesis establishes whether the structure of the Harare City council enables an actor room for creativity, improvisation and innovation or if that is impossible in the context of such a formal institutional structure. The main interrogative question here is whether the actions and decisions of urban housing policy makers are a product of individual choice rather that than a purely a result of routine guidance.

Further, critics such as Gregson (1987) and Bryant and Jary (1991) suggest that the structuration theory is too general to provide an understanding of empirical institutional processes. Gregson claims that although structuration is interesting at a theoretical level, it is less fruitful in empirical research. Bryant and Jary also point out that in his duality of structure concept, Giddens places too

much unnecessary emphasis on the enabling side of the structure of agency at the expense of the constraining element of institutional structures which appears more practical. The theory has also been criticised as elusive and confusing to some readers and analysts, especially for its dimension of the duality of structure (Held & Thompson, 1989).[53] For instance, part of the confusion is that while Giddens (1984) states that in some situations, an agency can exercise some degree of freewill to act and decide even within the confines of an institution structural configuration, he simultaneously claimed that human or agency knowledgeability is always bounded (Scott, 2004).

In light of these views, this research pays attention to analysing Giddens' structuration theory, to examine if it is self-conflicting and confusing, especially on the dual effect of structure on human agency as claimed by his critics. In a separate but related radical criticism of the structuration theory, scholars such as Archer (2003) dismissed the structuration theory as being 'fundamentally non-propositional' while Craib (1992) holds that the structuration theory does not give researchers anything to test or to determine in empirical institutional practice. Baber (2007) also describes Giddens' structuration theory as being so laden with complicated suppositions which, while illuminating, often fail to be sufficiently specific about the criteria of the theory's applicability in modern institutional practice. From the foregoing discussion, it can be noted that the concept of duality of structure is still an unresolved and contested issue at the theoretical level and in this research, I examine the extent to which structural features have a dual effect on the behaviour of actors in Zimbabwe's urban councils.

Despite its alleged flaws by its critics as debated above, the structuration theory still offers significant insights into this research. The theory provides the basis for analysing the agency-structure relationship within urban housing institutions in Zimbabwe, with a particular interest in how this relationship affects the decisions made by actors who formulate and implement urban housing policies. Thus, in this research, the heuristic value, i.e., the ability to generate useful analytical insights and encourage further thinking, of the structuration theory lies in enabling an analysis of the influence of institutions and their properties in determining how urban housing policy decisions are made in the City of Harare. The theory helps in understanding the contribution

[53] Scholars argue that the duality of structure presents a tension-ridden and often contradictory dialectical link between agency and structure as there is no clear-cut demarcation on whether structure determines agency behaviour or whether the agency can have some latitude to act in a rational and unstructured manner (Held & Thompson, 1989).

of properties such as institutional rules, a hierarchy of authority, institutional culture, sanctions and rewards systems in shaping the activities and decisions of urban housing policymakers in Zimbabwe.

While this thesis basis primarily on institutionalism and the structuration theory, other models such as the bounded rationality and the bureaucratic politics approach were also partly helpful in the analysis. In particular, the bureaucratic politics approach was partly useful in this research. This model states that public institutions have actors who exhibit sheer political power coupled with strong interests in institutional outcomes (Archer, 2003). The approach enabled me to appreciate the constant rivalry between and amongst actors in the process of formulating and implementing urban housing policies in Zimbabwe. It is through this theoretical model that I understood how actors with unequal powers censor or elevate some policy issues because of their different perceptions, interests and priorities. The compromises, confusions and conflicts that characterise the urban housing policy making process in Zimbabwe were also analysed in light of this model this model. In the next section, I review the extant literature on institutional structures and how they shape policy formulation and implementation actions and decisions.

4.3 Conceptualisations and Literature Review

In this section, I first present a conceptual overview of public institutions and their structural properties, before I review the literature on the interplay between institutional structures and public policy-making processes. The discussion departs from an understanding of what an institution is, to how it works before a theoretical discussion of how institutional structures determine decisions made in institutional processes. The chapter helps one to understand the various dimensions of institutions and to expose a gap in the existing literature concerning the scientific or empirical application of the connection between institutional structures and the public policy-making process, particularly policy formulation and implementation processes.

4.3.1 Conceptualising Public Institutions

There exists a considerable body of literature defining a public institution as a system of social relationships that consist of shared values, procedures and customs that shape the way people think and act (March & Olsen, 1989; North, 1990; Peters, 1999b; Rockman, 1993). Public institutions

have rules, combined with their enforcement mechanisms designed to control the choices and decisions made by actors (Dequech, 2006; Hodgson, 2006; Thompson, 2016). By design, and as previously discussed, institutions have deliberately established structural properties that help to ensure that the behaviour and activities of its members are controlled to achieve institutional preferences (March & Olsen, 1989). Thus, most institutions have an organised system of social relationships and networks of interactions that carry and cherish common values and standards for achieving preferred ends (Pedersen, 1991). Each public institution comprises a special system of norms or rules with behaviour resulting in the regularity of interactions (Farkas, 2019). In this thesis, I analyse how the rules embedded in the Harare City Council constitute the pivot upon which decisions and activities by urban housing policy actors housing policies are formulated and implemented.

In his discussion of public institutions, Scott (2004) argues that public institutions can either be regulative or normative in nature. Scott (2004) argues that institutions with a regulative structure have codified operating guidelines and their enforcement mechanisms clearly stated for every member to know them and for members to exhibit controlled behaviour. Normative institutions, on the other hand, have normal and value systems that define the legitimate manner in which all things should be done by every member of the institution (North, 1990). It appears that both regulative and normative institutions are designed to control and shape individual behaviour towards achieving institutional preferences. Thus, it is important to examine why public institutions have structures deliberately designed to achieve institutional preferences, and not to advance the interests of the public they serve (Niskanen, 1994). This observation is consonant with the argument by Peters (1999b) that there are few chances that members of an institution can use formal structures as an ecology within which to maximise the interest of the public.

In light of the above observations, this research analyses how urban local authorities, as the main urban housing institutions in Zimbabwe, develop and impose their norms and enduring values upon urban housing policy actors when they formulate and implement urban housing policies. The thesis examines whether institutional arrangements compel actors to act in a certain way and to probe the extent to which policymakers may violate institutional norms, or interpret them differently, or otherwise exercise individual judgement even if institutions do constrain individual choice is also explored in the research. Ultimately, the thesis proffers measures to ensure that

public institutions meet the interest of the public, as this is their reason for establishment. In the ensuing section, I present public institutions as bureaucratic structures as advanced by Max Weber.

4.3.2 Public Institutions as Bureaucratic Structures

Public institutions are widely understood to resemble bureaucracy, a model popularized by Max Weber (Downs, 1967). Weber's bureaucratic model presents public institutions as being composed of distinctive features like a hierarchical order of authority, rigid and procedural rules, impersonal relationships as well as the division of labour or specialisation (Page, 1992). Weber defines a bureaucracy as a standardised structure with routinized tasks achieved through specialisation in functional departments with authority and decision making following a chain of command guided by very formalised rules and regulations (Jung et al., 2020). In this structure, the lines of authority and positions are arranged in a rigid hierarchical order which provides a foothold for employees to perform tasks in line with their respective job description (Widhiastuti, 2013). In his theorem, Weber claims that powerful bureaucratic institutions have the potential to enhance as well as imprison individual freedom (Cole, 1993). Administrators operating in a bureaucratic structure conduct their official duties in a manner that is regulated by strict and formalised controls set up by the institution (Irfan et al., 2018). Urban councils in Zimbabwe such as the Harare City Council have features of bureaucracy, and in this thesis, I analyse how these features regulate urban housing policy formulation and implementation decisions and actions.

Institutional scholars have claimed that Weber's bureaucracy improves an understanding of the nature of power, authority and rationalisation in modern institutions (Spector, 2018). In public institutions, rules are adhered to by all, and although one can work without these rules, failure to abide by the stipulated rules can result in penalties (Grafstein, 1992). Bureaucratic systems require trained officials qualified to simply follow rules and not ask who has created the rules or why they must follow them (Dunleavy, 1991). In bureaucratic models of organisations, adherence to rules is necessitated by the fear of losing one's job (Mohr, 1982). Thus, the fear of being substituted and replaced forces technocrats to adhere to the demands of both the bureaucratic apparatus and institutional structures. Weber argues that in a bureaucratic system, individual bureaucrats are always chained to the institution such that they cannot work outside of the framework in which they are harnessed (Jung et al., 2020). The Weberian model of institutional administration compels

bureaucrats to always follow instructions that the institution prescribes for them to properly perform their duties. The concept of bureaucracy provides a crucial reference point to understand how bureaucrats operate, that is, their methodological adherence to hierarchical orders and formal procedures and how they make substantive decisions (Olsen, 1988). In this research, some elements of Weber's model such as a hierarchical order of authority and the application of procedural rules help to analyse how urban housing institutions in Zimbabwe authoritatively utilise their institutional structures to control the activities of policymakers.

Similarities can be drawn between the regulative features of a bureaucratic structure and the controlling effect of institutional structures.[54] Remarking on some of these similarities, Dunleavy (1991) argues that bureaucracies produce optimal levels of precision, speed, unambiguity, strict subordination, reduction of conflict and consistency of outcomes. This is because everyone performs certain duties according to calculable rules and this is similar to how institutional structures place some regulations on actors to behave in a procedural manner that is consistent with institutional expectations. In a bureaucracy, there is rational-legal domination, where authority derived from rules is used to control the activities of the agency (Widhiastuti, 2013). This is also the case with public institutions where agencies are dominated by the features embedded in institutional structures (Page, 1992). In this research, Weber's model of bureaucracy provides a supporting analytical instrument to analyse and make sense of the concrete behaviours and patterns of decision making and actions made by actors who take part in formulating and implementing urban housing policy in the Harare City Council. In the section below, I give a detailed overview of what institutional structures are and discuss the theoretical propositions on how they specifically influence institutional decision making and processes.

4.3.3 Conceptualising Institutional Structures

Institutions have a structure that comprises distinctive properties such as rules, operating procedures, the hierarchy of authority, sanctions and rewards systems as well as a shared culture and these features are all organised to enable the institution to achieve its goals (Horton & Hunt, 1964). Thus, public institutions have an embedded structural or administrative apparatus for

[54] It can be argued that in both bureaucracies and public institutions, there is an emphasis on maximising the capacity to control and direct people to behave mechanically.

controlling and coordinating the activities of their members in pursuit of common objectives (Weimer, 1995). Sewell (1992) claims that the predominance of institutional structures provides a utilitarian force for determining the options of actors in the institution. The formal institutional structure is assumed to be an effective way to organise and regulate a network of institutional activities (Callinicos, 1987; Dessler, 1989; Wendt, 1987). Institutional structures establish institutionalised expectations causing coordinated action to occur (Daft, 2013). This research analyses how institutional structures in the Harare City Council have morphed patterned behaviours amongst urban housing policy formulation and implementation actors in this city. Figure 3 below illustrates the main components of institutional structures.

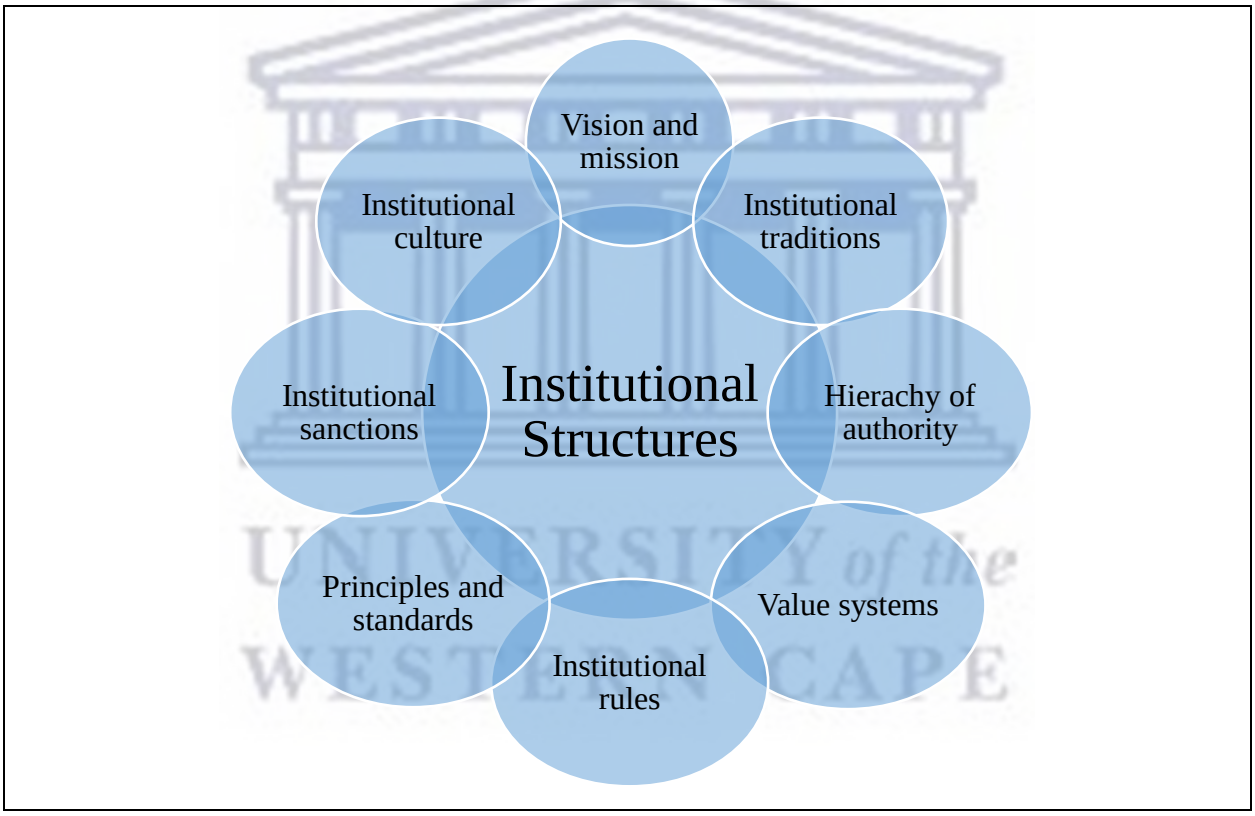


Figure 3: The main Components of Institutional Structures (Source: Author's construct, June 2020)

Most often, understanding the institutional structure enables one to predict the behaviours of individuals in that institution (Garret & Tsebelis, 1996). This is because members of an institution act in predictable ways as they comply with structural requirements (Peters, 1999). These claims imply that institutional structures are deliberately established to ensure that actors do not pursue their interests, hence institutions oblige actors to make sure that all their activities and choices are

aligned with the collective institutional preferences. Where an institutional structure is effectively functional, decisions and actions by members of the institution reflect rational institutional protocols (Aydin & Ozer-Imer, 2019). Individual and group activities are aligned with collective institutional preferences through institutional structures (Ingram & Clay, 2000). Despite the considerable body of current literature on institutional structures, too little empirical research has been done to establish how these features constrain or enable agency behaviour in public policy making processes. In the section below, I present an outline of dominant institutional structures and discuss how they influence decisions and choice of actions by the actors. Thus, in this thesis, the main aim is to examine how these institutional structures shape and the decisions and choices of actions made by actors when formulating and implementing urban housing policies.

4.3.3.1 Institutional Rules

Institutions have established rules to control the behaviour of people who are part of their structures (Giddens, 1984; March & Olsen, 1989; North, 1990; Peters, 1999b). Central to an institution is the rules that define the operational path for all its members (Giddens, 1984). However, the empirical value of the role played by institutional rules in shaping policy decisions in the context of Zimbabwe requires empirical examination. Thus, this thesis analyses the nature of rules in Zimbabwe's urban housing institutions and then examines how these rules are applied by actors who take part in formulating and implementing urban housing policies in the Harare City Council. Research shows that institutional rules demarcate the behavioural parameters for actors in an institution Mohamed (2017). To March and Olsen (1989), an institution is a formal collection of rules that are used to control the decisions and actions of the members. Institutions have incentives and disincentives that make people value and follow rules. Institutional rules are set out to produce compliance amongst actors and to sanction unwanted behaviours (Hindriks & Guala, 2015). Institutions are functional because rules guide their members to develop shared habits of thought and manners of behaving (Calvert, 1995). When new individuals are inducted into an institution, they are introduced to these rules immediately so that their behaviour is appropriate from the onset (Peters, 1999). This thesis examines how institutional rules dictate the activities of policy makers in the formulation and implementation of urban housing policy in Zimbabwe.

Institutional rules are established together with their enforcement mechanisms or strategies to ensure that they are followed by the members (Zucker, 1987). Institutional leaders do not only inform people about the rules but also about what will be done to people who break these rules. The activities of all members of the institution are therefore regulated through institutional rules and their enforcement mechanisms. In light of this observation, this research explores the various rule-enforcement mechanisms in urban councils in Zimbabwe and further assesses their influence on the decisions and actions made by actors who formulate and implement urban housing policies in the City of Harare. Research suggests that people in public institutions live in perpetual fear of breaking the rules because of the punishments that are attached to doing so (Weimer, 1995). This is so because many institutions have rule compliance monitoring systems to know when rules have been disobeyed by members and when to unleash sanctions[55] to rule-breakers (Grafstein, 1992). To avoid these sanctions, institutions always work towards ensuring that rules are imbued with everyone through socialisation and other amicable measures (Eggertsson, 1990). However, despite the establishment of enforcement mechanisms, no institution is immune to anomalous situations as people will always break rules (Peters, 1999). In public policy-making processes, sanctions ensure that the institution's version of good public policy is formulated and implemented at present and in the future (Wildavsky, 1987). This thesis investigates the extent to which actors involved in urban housing policy formulation and implementation processes in Zimbabwe fear institutional sanctions and how this impacts their decisions and actions. In the section below, I discuss the hierarchy of authority as part of an institutional structure and explain how it affects institutional decision-making processes as framed in the extant literature.

4.3.3.2 Hierarchy of Authority

The hierarchy of authority is another part of an institutional structure that specifies formalised prescriptive roles, procedures, tasks and hierarchical relations to guide human behaviour within institutions (Albano et al., 2010). In this research, I examine how the hierarchy of authority in Zimbabwe's urban councils demarcate the power relations and levels of decision-making authority and areas of responsibility for actors involved in formulating and implementing urban housing policies. Most public institutions have clear lines of authority that crystalise over time to form

[55] Institutional sanctions or punishments for breaking institutional rules may take the form of loss of certain rights, loss of power and status, demotion, suspension or even dismissal.

'frames' of reference (Whittington, 2015). These frames specify the lines of authority and power relations and accountability areas (Matte, 2017; Pfeffer, 1982). Research shows that the hierarchy of authority provides the simplest but most effective mechanism of personnel coordination through direct supervision and a chain of command between superiors and subordinates (Niskanen, 1994). In this system, each superior uses performance standards developed by the institution to control his subordinates in carrying out their duties and in turn hold them responsible for the outcome (Thompson, 2016). An effective hierarchy makes leaders and their subordinates accountable for results. In this thesis, a more specific inquiry is set forth to understand how institutional structures, such as the hierarchy of authority influence urban housing policy formulation and implementation decisions and actions in the City of Harare.

In the literature, institutional hierarchies have been criticised for directly making some people feel more important than others in terms of status, power and recognition within the institutional structure (Garret & Tsebelis, 1996). Institutionalists like Held & Thompson (1989) have castigated hierarchies of authority for slowing the decision-making process as they represent an inefficient administrative superstructure claiming that in a hierarchical structure, the superior has the right to monopolise communication which may derail the progress of subordinates who depend on such information to carry out their time-to-time responsibilities. In this thesis, I analyse the impact of the Harare City Council's hierarchical structure on the relationships between actors who take part in formulating and implementing urban housing policies in this city. Thompson (2016) argues that hierarchies should be more flexible to improve cross-functional communication, speed up decision-making, and identify customised responses to problems as they emerge. In addition, Matte (2017) also recommends that the hierarchies of authority should demarcate power relations amongst members of the institution to circumvent power struggles and related tensions on whom to make certain strategic decisions. Regardless of their weaknesses as framed in the literature, this research examines how the hierarchical structure of the Harare City Council influences the decisions and choices of action in formulating and implementing urban housing policies.

4.3.3.3 Institutional Culture

This research analyses how the culture of urban councils as the primary urban housing institutions in Zimbabwe influences urban housing policy formulation and implementation decisions and

actions. The culture of an institution entails a set of shared values and customs that guide and constrain the behaviour of actors in an institution (Schein, 1990). An institution's culture covers the common perceptions, thoughts and language used by affiliates of an institution and imparted to a new member when they join the institution (Ott, 1989). Culture is like the glue that holds the institution's constituent elements together.[56] Institutional culture, therefore, comprises the collective meanings and understandings created by group members as they network amongst themselves in the context of the institution (Hofstede, 2011). The common view amongst institutional scholars is that institutions cannot be fully understood outside their culture (Fine, 2001; Ott, 1989). Past studies show that an institution can exist only if people have a particular shared or common culture that represents their related beliefs and mental attitudes (Friel, 2017; Ott, 1989). Institutional culture is a form of control that helps to enforce and validate the expected code of conduct by members of the institution (Weingast, 1996). This thesis explains how the culture of the Harare City Council gives this institution the advantage to exercise control over the actions and decisions made by actors when formulating and implementing urban housing policies.

Research shows that institutional culture is infused and ossified in members such that their actions become predictable as they are shaped by this shared philosophy (Ott, 1989). Some institutions have a dominant culture that ensures that institutional interests prevail by confining and shaping individual decisions and actions (North, 1990; Olsen, 1988; Weingast, 1996). When new employees join the institution, they find a shared and readily articulated culture and belief system which they must solidify through compliance.[57] However, the problem with ossified institutional culture is that it limits innovation. Institutional culture compels and moderates individual behaviour (Bakir & Jarvis, 2018). While past research seems to generalise the impact of culture on institutional processes, this thesis specifically scrutinizes how culture as a component of institutional structures influences how urban housing policy formulation and implementation decisions are made in Zimbabwe's urban councils. This analysis helps in understanding the role of culture in shaping institutional preferences and outcomes.

[56] In some cases, culture can be a source of tension or conflict as it restricts innovation, creativity and autonomous decision making.

[57] In some circumstances, the culture is forced on people who don't appreciate it. Some people follow the culture because they want to secure their jobs and not because it is beneficial to them.

4.3.3.4 Institutional Sanctions and Incentives

Whenever institutional rules, norms, culture, hierarchy of authority exist, there is bound to be defiance from people expected to follow them.[58] Institutions have sanctions and incentives to ensure that people comply with the stipulated institutional requirements (Dequech, 2006, p.473). Institutional sanctions are punitive measures that are used against members who deviate from the expected institutional norms when acting (Mohr, 1982). Together with institutional rewards, institutional sanctions are signalling mechanisms causing the agency to comply with the rules, culture and hierarchical order in the institution. Institutional sanctions specify the limit of permissible action and help to avoid a breach of institutional orders (Horton & Hunt, 1964). Most institutions utilise sanctions to induce their members to accept and act according to institutionally determined values (Anderson, 2014). Certain favours can be withdrawn if a member of the institution breaches institutional orders and such withdrawal is a form of sanction. Most often, acting outside the institutional requirements may attract severely punitive or sanctioning measures such as demotion, suspension or even dismissal (Mohr, 1982). Apart from sanctions, incentives and rewards are also offered for members who comply with institutional standard expectations.[59] Millham et al., (1972) found that members of the institution gain certain privileges and access to scarce resources as incentives if their behaviour meets the expectations of the institution. In this way, rewards or incentives are used as structural controls to prevent deviation from established institutional norms. This thesis explains how institutional sanctions and incentives affect the behaviour of actors who formulate and implement urban housing policy in Zimbabwe.

Institutionalists claim that the use of sanctions and incentives is a strategy to promote institutional interests (March and Olsen, 1989; Peters, 1999). Research shows that when employees fear sanctions or punishment institutions are likely to be less effective (Elbasha & Wright, 2017; Jung et al., 2020). Employees generally fear punishment for bending the rules or for suggesting a new method of doing something that is traditionally done according to institutional guidelines (Dequech, 2006). Research shows that the fear of bending rules is more common in the public sector (Abdelnour et al., 2017), although workers also have a greater fear of presenting new

[58] In any institution, there is always someone who consciously or unconsciously fail to comply with these institutional guidelines, and this is where institutional sanctions are unleashed.

[59] Incentives or rewards can take the form of material benefits as well as promotions to higher and authoritative positions within the institutional hierarchy.

innovative ideas to their supervisors. Thus, in most public institutions, innovative ideas outside routines are discouraged and these forms of fear morph institutions into dreadful places (Dequech, 2006). In some cases, bending rules or suggesting new ideas can result in one being forced out of position. Employees also fear taking risks because of the possibility of sanctions such as dismissal if things do not work out as they planned (Dequech, 2006). Workers are more risk-averse as they prioritise the security of their jobs which they may lose if they do not follow the stipulated procedures when acting and deciding (March and Olsen, 1989). This thesis explores the extent to which the fear of punishment confines urban housing policy actors in the Harare City Council to make preferred institutional decisions.

Research has criticised the use of sanctions and incentives as being focused on ensuring compliance at the expense of effectiveness (Zoghbi Manrique de Lara, 2006). As a result, the fear of being punished for breaking rules usually generates undesirable ramifications such as diminished productivity and job satisfaction (Dequech, 2006). This in turn means that innovation and creativity are discouraged as doing so will be risking punishment. The result is that employees cannot bend rules, even if doing so helps to solve the problems faced by citizens. However, a rarely addressed issue in past studies is the extent to which institutional sanctions, incentives and other institutional structures directly influence actors when formulating and implementing public policies. In an attempt to address this gap, this thesis examines how sanctions and incentives influence urban housing policy formulation and implementation decisions in Zimbabwe. While the preceding discussion focussed on the influence of institutional rules, hierarchical structure, institutional culture, as well as sanctions and rewards on the institutional process, these are not the only properties that can shape the activities and actions of members of an institution. Other components of institutional structures such as the vision and mission statement, power relations and institutional politics, institutional traditions as well as principles and standards also influence the decisions and actions made when urban housing policies are formulated and implemented in Zimbabwe. In the succeeding section, my discussion is focused on the interplay between institutions and the public policy making process. I explain how public institutions constitute the social laboratory in which public policies are made.

4.3.4 The Interplay between Public Institutions and the Public Policy-making Processes

Public policies are an outcome of a series of institutional decisions that are taken at various stages of the policy making process, i.e., at stages such as policy formulation, policy adoption and policy implementation (Howlett & Cashore, 2014). In many countries, public institutions provide the structure upon which most public policies are initiated, administered and terminated (Anderson, 2014; Birkland, 2011, 2016). Research suggests that there is a closely-knit relationship between public policy and public institutions as some public institutions are specifically established to facilitate the policy-making processes (Bali et al., 2019; Bardach & Patashnik, 2019). In light of this argument, this thesis examines how the properties of urban housing institutions shape urban housing policies at their formulation and implementation stages. Previous research provides the theoretical foundation for understanding how institutional structures influence the decisions and choices of action at each stage of the policy-making process. However, to have a more profound and empirical understanding of the interplay between institutional structures and policy-making, this thesis examines how structural features such as a hierarchy of authority, rules, culture and institutional sanctions influence the decisions made by actors during the policy formulation and policy implementation stages of the urban housing policy in the City of Harare.

Policy analysts have demonstrated that the policy-making process involves systematic decision making in selecting strategies and making choices from a wide range of competing alternatives (Birkland, 2016; Howlett et al., 2017). The different definitions of public policy in the literature suggest that the factors that influence public policy decisions are not clear-cut. For example, when Thomas Dye defined public policy 'as anything a government chooses to do or not to do' (Dye, 2012, p.2), the implication he gives is that choices are bureaucratically made in the policymaking process. However, it is not clear what influences these choices, but the impression one gets is that decisions are deliberately made to pursue certain alternatives and choices while leaving out others. The current research explores how public officials formulate and implement urban housing policies in the context of urban local authorities as the primary urban housing institutions in Zimbabwe. This analysis is important because if public policies are a product of institutional decisions (Anderson, 2014), then policy researchers should make efforts to address the question of the extent to which institutional structures influence what the government chooses to do or not to do as outlined in this thesis.

In James Anderson's definition, a public policy is a relatively stable, purposive course of action that is followed by an actor or a set of actors in dealing with a public problem or a matter of concern for the public (Anderson, 2014). While this definition suggests that purposive courses of action are pursued in the policy-making process, a still unresolved question is what influences the selection of those courses of action instead of others. Thus, this study is an attempt to address this question by examining the extent to which institutional structures influence urban housing policymakers in the selection and implementation of alternatives for dealing with urban housing challenges in Harare. David Easton also defines public policy as the government's act of authoritatively allocating values to the whole society (Anyebe, 2018). This definition suggests that the decision to authorise what members of the society should get from public resources lies with the government through public policy. In public policy-making, the allocation of public resources is administered by the government in its institutions and agencies (Bardach & Patashnik, 2019). However, a critical open question is how institutional factors influence the decisions made by the government to select whom to allocate values or resources. In an attempt to address this question, this thesis examines how institutional structures influence the authoritative design and application of urban housing policies towards the allocation of housing in Zimbabwe.

In addition to the above conceptualisations, Birkland (2011, p.9) defines public policy as 'the statement by the government of what it intends to do', about a matter of concern affecting society. This definition implies that in public policy, a set of interconnected decisions are taken by the government or an agency of the government towards resolving a public problem. Birkland's definition also implies that since public policies are government intentions, they are surely a product of decision making which is done in public institutions. However, a critical look at the extant literature presents some contextual limitations regarding the empirical value of the assertion that public policies are influenced by features of public institutions. Thus, a question that has been overlooked in the current public policy literature is how institutions specifically influence the decisions and choices of actions in the formulation and implementation of public policies. To provide a more sufficient response to this question, this thesis examines the role of institutional structures in the formulation and implementation of public policies. The research investigates the network of interaction between institutional structures and policymakers in the urban housing policy-making process within public institutions in Zimbabwe. This examination can help in

developing a profound understanding of how decisions are made in public policy-making processes.

Public policy making is a decision-making process. The view held by most public policy scholars is that the public policy-making process is a decision-making framework for addressing societal problems (Anderson, 2014; Birkland, 2011, 2016; Dye, 2012; Hoornbeek & Peters, 2017). The policy-making process can be sequenced into six phases from inception to conclusion, and these stages are agenda setting, formulation, adoption, implementation, evaluation and termination (Hanberger, 2001; Pearson, 2013; Peters, 1999a). At each of these phases, the actors in an institution play a crucial role in shaping the content and direction of the final policy. The standard way of thinking in public policy analysis is that crucial decisions are made in the policy-making process and institutions surely have an impact on how these decisions are made. To this end, it has been argued that public policies are a result of decisions made by several people working together to solve common problems (Hoornbeek & Peters, 2017). Issues affecting the public are brought to the attention of decision-makers in the government so that they can decide on the policy actions that respond to the issues before them. In light of these arguments, this research analyses how institutional structures shape and influence the decision-making process in formulating and implementing urban housing policies in Zimbabwe.

Each stage of the policy-making process involves decision making as possibilities, potential courses of action, or alternatives towards effectively and efficiently dealing with an identified public problem are evaluated. The first phase of the policy process is agenda setting, which describes the process in which a public problem is elevated from being an issue of discussion in the community or society to being a serious matter for consideration on the official government agenda (Howlett et al., 2017). While this stage of the policy-making process is not subject to analysis in this thesis, it is important to briefly explain it because it explains how a public problem is identified before a policy is formulated to address it. Public policy analysts seem to readily agree that when a public problem reaches the attention of the government, policymakers can decide to act on it or not act at all, and these decisions are all public policy (Kong & Yoon, 2018). When the problems reach the attention of the government, fundamental decisions are made by policymakers who may consider some issues as worthy government intervention and while other issues will not be attended to. Thus, it is possible in policymaking that an issue can reach the agenda of the

government, but may not be elevated to the next stage of the policymaking process as articulated by Antony Downs' issue attention cycle (Peters, 2018).

Although conventional public policy knowledge suggests that some issues or public problems are decided out of the government's agenda, there seems to be insufficient coverage in the extant literature on what influences policymakers to decide not to elevate certain issues to the policy formulation stage. When policymakers decide not to act on an issue, their action in doing so is also public policy. Thus, inaction is on its own is a public policy because essentially public policies are made by the government or comparable authorities as a decision on whether or not to alter aspects of community life (Bali et al., 2019). The agenda-setting precedes and gives life to the policy that will be formulated, hence a brief understanding of the process of how an issue of concern that would have reached the attention of the government or public authority is decided upon is also important even if this thesis will not focus much on this stage of the public policymaking process.

When policymakers decide to act on an issue, then a policy or alternative course of action is formulated to address the identified problem. Thus, policy formulation entails the development of a systematic approach to solving a public problem (Birkland, 2011, 2016). This thesis examines how the decisions and actions of actors are shaped by institutional structures during the formulation of urban housing policies in Zimbabwe. During the formulation of public policy, actors come up with different alternatives to address the problem and these are evaluated, negotiated upon and discussed until the best possible course of action to ameliorate the problem is identified or agreed on (Howlett & Cashore, 2014). At this stage of the policymaking process, policymakers may decide to reject certain alternatives because of their lack of economic, political, legal, financial and environmental feasibility (Anderson, 2014). The policy formulation process has a tangible outcome in the form of a decision on the most feasible alternative whose goals, objectives and instruments are put together into a bill (Weller, 1980). In this thesis, I examine how institutional structures influence urban housing policy makers to accept or reject alternatives and competing urban housing policy options during the formulation stage.

Public policy scholars widely agree on the conceptualisation of the policy formulation process, and that it is a product of institutional decision making, but there seems to be limited attention on what influences the decisions made during the policy formulation process. However, the criteria

for selecting some policy issues from the rest, articulating them into policy and deciding how much resources are required to activate the selected alternative are neither clear cut nor empirically substantiated in the extant literature. This research responds to the question that remains unaddressed in past public policy studies, which concerns the extent to which the internal configuration of an institution influences policy formulation decisions – in this case, the focus is on urban housing policy formulation in Zimbabwe. When a policy is adopted, then the policy-making process continues through implementation, a process by which the policy is put in actual action (Hudson et al., 2019). During policy implementation, several decisions are made on how the policy goals can be effectively coordinated for the set goals to be successfully actualised (Peters, 2018). In this thesis, I analyse how decisions in the implementation of urban housing policy in Harare are influenced by institutional structures such as the vision and mission statement, the hierarchy of authority, principles and standards, among others.

Research shows that the policy success of its failure is linked to the type of decisions made at the implementation stage (Novo & Garrido, 2014). The lifespan of most policies ends at the implementation stage due to poor or inappropriate decisions being made by the implementing agencies (Bardach & Patashnik, 2019; Birkland, 2011, 2016). Thus, a well-written policy followed by poor implementation decisions is bound to fail (Howlett, 2012). Conventional public policy knowledge shows that successful policy implementation depends on the coordination between the actors putting the policy into effect (Peters, 2018). It is at the policy implementation stage that the most crucial decisions are made to ensure that the policy achieves its goal. Policy actors should make decisions with clear and realistic plans on how the policy will be implemented. In this regard, it is important to analyse how institutional structures affect the decisions that are made at the implementation stage of urban housing policers in Zimbabwe as outlined in this thesis.

Research recognises several factors as having a direct impact on the implementation of public policies, but the influence of institutional structures in this process has rarely been analysed. This gap in the scientific literature requires systematic inquiry as outlined in this research. Studies have shown that most public policies also fail because governments fail to make proper decisions on how they should implement them (Bardach & Patashnik, 2019; Dye, 2012), the misfortune of governments devoting insufficient funds towards the policy implementation process (Makinde, 2005), poor policy leadership (Howlett, 2012), inadequate information (Peters, 2018). While

acknowledging the significance of these factors in undermining the policy implementation process, this thesis primarily focuses on how policy implementation decisions by urban housing policymakers in Zimbabwe are influenced by institutional structures. In the section below, I discuss a theoretical overview of how decisions are made in the policy-making process. This discussion is aided by models of decision making and the criteria for making decisions in the policy process. The approaches discussed below apply to the entire policy process, but in this research, the primary focus is on their applicability at the policy formulation and implementation stages of the policy process.

4.3.5 Decision Making Approaches and Criteria in Public Policymaking

Decision-making theorists have attempted to explain how decisions are made at various stages of the policy-making process. Studies have emphasised that decision making in public policy is a routine and logical process (Anderson, 2014; Howlett & Cashore, 2014) involving the selection of feasible alternatives amongst those proposed (Bardach & Patashnik, 2019; Dye, 2012). In this thesis, I analyse the interplay between the various decision-making approaches and institutional structures when housing policy formulation and implementation decisions are made in the Harare City Council. The three main public policy decision-making theories available in the extant literature are the rational comprehensive theory, the incremental theory and the mixed scanning theory, but as will be discussed below, these theoretical models are not based on empirical observations, but on normative considerations of how decisions should be made in public policy. Drawing insights from these theories, this research examines how institutional structures influence the decision-making process when actors formulate and implement urban housing policies in Zimbabwe.

The first decision-making theory is the rational comprehensive theory which states that for a decision to be made there are rational steps to be followed by the policymaker (Dye, 2012). In this decision-making model, the policymaker is first confronted with a distinguishable public problem and the actor is then guided by specified goals and values in making a choice on which action to follow amongst competing alternatives (Anderson, 2014). In this research, I examine the applicability of this model of decision making in the formulation and implementation of urban housing policy in the Harare City Council. The rational comprehensive model prescribes that in

making this choice, the policymaker must assess and compare the cost and benefits or consequences that would follow from selecting each alternative. After this cost-benefit analysis, the policymaker will then decide to select the alternative and its consequences that maximise the attainment of his or her goals, values and objectives (Bardach & Patashnik, 2019). This theory presents a logical and rational procedure to the public policy decision-making process, particularly in the policy formulation stages where policymakers have several alternatives to choose from.

Although the rational comprehensive theory presents a systematic way of making decisions, it has been criticised by several scholars, particularly due to its limited empirical application in the real world of policy-making. In particular, Charles Lindblom has argued that the major limitation of this theory is that it supposes that policy problems are always clearly defined and decisions can be sequentially made, yet this is not the case in public policymaking (Birkland, 2016). Furthermore, Lindblom claimed that the idea of values, goals and objectives as infused in the decision-making process suggests that the decision-maker can be guided by personal interests, which then defeats the public interest motive of the policymaking process (Peters, 1999a). In this thesis, the rational comprehensive model provides a useful framework for analysing how decisions are made at the formulation stage of the urban housing policy-making process in Zimbabwe.

The second decision-making model useful for analysis in this research is incrementalism, which involves the process of making limited changes or additions to existing policies (Anderson, 2014). The model was popularised by Lindblom who argued that under incrementalism, the policymaker only considers a limited number of alternatives for dealing with a policy problem and then makes marginal adjustments to the already existing policies (Howlett & Cashore, 2014). The final policy alternative will only differ incrementally from the already existing courses of action being pursued by the government in dealing with a specific public problem. In this thesis, I assess the extent to which incrementalism guides how decisions in the formulation and implementation of urban housing policies are made. Incrementalism means that only a few important alternatives are analysed to determine the merits and demerits of the consequences (Birkland, 2011, 2016). Lindblom argues that the incremental model reduces costs and uncertainty because policymakers are usually uncertain of the consequences of their current actions (Bardach & Patashnik, 2019).

The incremental approach has been acknowledged by contemporary public policy scholars as a realistic model of decision making because of its recognition that public policy actors and decision-makers often have limited time, intelligence and other resource requirements for conducting a comprehensive analysis of every possible alternative to ameliorating a public policy problem (Birkland, 2016; Peters, 2018). Scholars believe that incrementalism can yield more practical and acceptable decisions because it focuses on an assessment of only a limited number of alternatives (Dye, 2012). Incrementalism has been criticised for being too abstract and conservative such that it becomes a barrier to societal change and innovation (Howlett & Cashore, 2014). Research also shows that incrementalism may discourage the search for fresh alternatives which may deal effectively with ever-mutating public problems (Hayes, 1992). In light of these arguments, this thesis examines the applicability of the incremental model of decision making in urban housing policy-making in the Harare City Council.

The third theory developed to explain the decision making process in public policy is the mixed scanning model, an approach developed by Amitai Etzioni to act as a buffer between the rational comprehensive model and the incremental model of decision making in public policy (Bardach & Patashnik, 2019). Etzioni argued that the mixed scanning model can make public policy decision-makers more flexible and responsive as it allows them to utilise the strengths of both the rational comprehensive model and incrementalism and avoid their weaknesses when making decisions in different situations (Dye, 2012). The mixed scanning model takes into consideration the dynamism of the policy environment, the different capacities of policy-makers as well as power relations in the policymaking process (Anderson, 2014). This research draws insights from this model in exploring whether urban housing policies in Zimbabwe are unique in their development and content, that is, through the rational comprehensive model, or if policymakers only make simply marginal adjustments to the already existing policies as portrayed in the incremental model or if urban housing policy makers follow the mixed scanning approach.

Apart from these decision-making models, research shows that policy decisions or choices are influenced by other different criteria such as sets of values, political party interests, public opinion, decision rules, among other considerations (Dye, 2012). For example, because the policy-making process is value-laden, policy choices are influenced by institutional, professional, personal, policy and ideological values (Anderson, 2014). Values are standards that guide decision-makers in

making preferences about what is desirable or undesirable. Institutional values are forces that impinge policymakers to make certain decisions (Bardach & Patashnik, 2019). Consequently, policymakers reflect the values of the institution as decision-makers act according to the institution's principles to avoid being sanctioned for failure to do so. Personal values also guide decision making, but the major challenge associated with the use of this set of values in public policy-making is in the pursuit of self-interest by the decision-maker and not public interests (Howlett et al., 2017). When policy values are followed, the decision-makers act according to the public interest or they consider what is a proper, necessary or morally correct public policy (Anderson, 2014). However, there is limited scientific literature to explain how these values specifically influence public policy making processes in practice. In this regard, this research contributes to addressing this limitation by examining how institutional values influence the decisions and choices of actions made by urban housing policy actors when they formulate and implement urban housing policies in Zimbabwe.

Decision-making in public policy-making is also influenced by political party affiliation. In this thesis, this point presents an interesting analytical dimension in analysing how the urban housing policy decision-making process in the Harare City Council is influenced by contestations amongst political parties represented in the council.[60] In policy making practice, the decision-maker makes decisions that advance the interests of his or her political party (Weller, 1980). However, the validity of these claims is yet been substantiated by empirical evidence, particularly in the context of urban housing policy formulation and implementation in Zimbabwe. Policy analysts like Birkland (2011) found that most policy decisions ignore public interest in the pursuit of either personal interest, institutional values, or political party interests. However, despite the many decision-making criteria available in the extant literature, it is not precisely clear which one decision-making criterion is more influential than the other, neither is there an exposition of the empirical application of these decision criteria in institutional public policy-making. In this regard, this research specifically explores the decision criteria that influence actors in Zimbabwe's urban councils when formulating and implementing urban housing policies. The ultimate purpose of the research is to develop an understanding of how institutional structures are applied by institutions

[60] This analysis is important because political party affiliation seems to be one of the predictors of how a policymaker decides when faced with politically contested alternatives.

to determine the content of urban housing policies and how they are implemented to address the persisting housing challenges in Zimbabwe. In the section below, I further illuminate the literature gap that this research seeks to contribute towards addressing through a discussion of the insights drawn from the current literature on how external environmental factors affect the activities of policymakers in formulating and implementing urban housing policies in Zimbabwe.

4.3.6 The Impact of External Factors on Urban Policy Making in Zimbabwe

Current literature on urban housing policy in Zimbabwe has exclusively focused on how factors from the external environment influence the decisions and choices of actions made by urban housing policymakers in these processes. Although the existing body of literature is consistent with urban housing policy-making developments in Zimbabwe, shortcomings emerge regarding how the internal design of urban housing institutions – particularly urban councils – can influence the content of housing policies as well as the direction of their implementation. A closer look into the current literature reveals three major themes on urban housing policy problems in Zimbabwe, and these are the influence of politics in urban housing policy-making, the exclusion of low-income earning groups from accessing housing and the government's financial incapacity to provide housing for residents due to deteriorated economic performance. These three themes explain the reasons for the germination and perpetuation of housing problems in Harare and other urban areas in Zimbabwe. In light of this background, this research seeks to contribute to the extant urban housing policy literature by exploring how institutional structural properties influence the decisions made by actors who formulate and implement urban housing policies in the City of Harare. Below, I discuss the literature on the external factors influencing urban housing policy-making in Zimbabwe.

Kamete (2006) examines the influence of politics in Zimbabwe's urban housing policy formulation and implementation processes and found that there is excessive political interference by the Minister of Local government in local council policy-making processes.[61] In his study, he observes the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) which is the main opposition party in Zimbabwe is in control of local councils in terms of political representation by councillors, but it cannot exercise

[61] Urban local authorities in Zimbabwe are like battlefields where there is a constant battle for supremacy between the Local Government minister who is traditionally from the ruling party ZANU-PF and opposition councillors.

its full jurisdiction because of the possibility that the Minister will censor decisions and resolutions that oppose the interests of the ruling ZANU-PF (Kamete, 2006a). The researcher argues that there are bruising political battles for the control of Zimbabwe's cities which have affected housing policies as they now largely reflect political preferences instead of addressing the housing needs of urbanites. McGregor (2013) also claims that these intense political conflicts have drastically undermined the capacity of councils to deliver services due to partisan allocation of resources such as housing land. He observed that since the turn of the second millennium, local authorities in Zimbabwe have become pervasively politicised and marred by patronage and clientelism (McGregor, 2013). In Zimbabwe's urban areas, there have been alleged cases of partisan and illegal allocation of residential stands to political sympathisers in unauthorised places which have culminated in the sprouting of informal settlements in major cities and towns such as Harare and Bulawayo (Dorman, 2016).

Subsequently, party politics has created room for the burgeoning of bogus housing cooperatives and the subsequent mushrooming of illegal settlements in Zimbabwe, which is a violation of organised urban housing development programmes (McGregor, 2013). Residents find themselves aligned with certain politicians in establishing some patron-client relations so that they can be allocated residential housing land. Access to urban housing land is based on political affiliation in a patronage and clientelism system of housing land allocation (Kamete & Lindell, 2010). Muchadenyika (2015) also joins this debate by arguing that political interference in the allocation of housing land in Zimbabwe has affected proper urban planning and organised transformation. He revealed that the involvement of politicians in the allocation of housing land has distorted coordinated development planning in Zimbabwe's cities as numerous unplanned settlements emerge (Muchadenyika, 2015). Political influence has meant that politicians force city planners to approve housing development plans quickly, but unprocedural, which will later affect the implementation of urban housing development plans. Political interference has resulted in chaotic planning, as housing land allocation is done through political structures where political actors compel city planners to forego planning regulations and standards (Muchadenyika & Williams, 2017). Politicians allocate housing land to their supporters in undesignated areas resulting in the construction of illegal housing units that have become a menace in the cities. While the external political factor has been widely discussed in the extant literature, there has not been a focus on how politics is engaged or entrenched in different institutional structures such as the hierarchy of

authority, the administrative culture directly influences actors' decisions when they formulate and implement urban housing policies in the context of Harare.

From the experiences in Zimbabwe's urban areas, it seems the separation of powers between planners and politicians is not clear-cut as politicians seem to usurp the responsibilities of the planner. Research shows that often, politicians come to policymakers or town planners with already prepared urban development layout plans dictating land use patterns (McGregor, 2013). It appears that the processes of formulating and implementing urban housing policies and related administrative processes in Zimbabwe have become largely politically determined with little input from urban planners. There is a prevalence of political expedience over purely administrative decisions in Zimbabwe's urban housing policy arena as people who are politically powerful individuals, claiming stewardship of large tracts of urban housing land have the power to block the efforts of urban councils to regularise the urban housing developments (Dorman, 2016). This research proposes frameworks for improving accountability and stewardship in the allocation of urban housing land in Zimbabwe. This is largely because the above narrative suggests that there is turbulence between urban planners as urban housing policy actors and politicians in Zimbabwe as the environments in which the planners are operating seem to be politically contested. In light of these observations, this thesis analyses the internal political power tensions within the structure of the Harare City Council and how it affects the formulation and implementation of urban housing policies.

Research on urban housing policy in Zimbabwe has also highlighted how financial incapacity on the part of the government and local authorities has influenced the formulation and implementation of urban housing policies and programmes. In particular, the issue of insufficient budgetary allocations towards urban housing development has featured prominently in the current literature on urban housing policy in Zimbabwe. Kamete attributes housing development finance problems to the withdrawal of non-state actors such as the World Bank and the USAID from funding housing development initiatives in Zimbabwe (Kamete, 2001). He explains that the emergence of hostile international relations between the Government of Zimbabwe and Western countries in 2000, culminated in the housing delivery financial support in Zimbabwe from the donor community. Chitekwe-Biti (2009) also concurs with Kamete as she argues that during the 1980s and 1990s the Government of Zimbabwe enjoyed significant financial support towards housing from the donor

community which enabled most local authorities to embark on large-scale housing delivery programmes through bilateral agreements between the government and international donors. The reduction in government spending on housing has been a major blow to efforts towards relieving constraints on urban housing supply. The policy of regular resuscitation of urban infrastructure and provision of adequate urban housing, which depends on the funding from these institutions has suffered a setback since their withdrawal in 2000 (Munzwa & Jonga, 2010). In this research, I examine how the principles and traditions embedded in the structures of urban housing institutions in Zimbabwe continue to be a barricade against these institutions' chances of receiving financial assistance from donors towards housing development.

Urban housing policies in Zimbabwe have also been affected by the unfavourable economic situation prevailing in Zimbabwe. Research shows that Zimbabwe has been experiencing economic deterioration since the year 2000, such that the government has not managed to provide sufficient budgetary support towards housing delivery (Kamete, 2013). The Zimbabwean Government is grappling with the mandate to provide adequate housing particularly in urban areas due to economic hardships and urban poverty in the country (Moyo, 2014).Taruvinga & Mooya, (2016) also reveal that the large economic constrictions that are experienced in Zimbabwe have resulted in the shortfall in the provision of affordable housing to a large section of the urban population. As a result, urban centres have been marked by sickening misery in terms of housing delivery, as indicated by multi-habitation, squatter camps and informal land subdivisions (Chirisa et al., 2014).

Poor urban planning is another major challenge reflecting challenges in the implementation of urban housing policies in Zimbabwe (Dube & Chirisa, 2012). There has been massive sprouting of undesignated settlements in and around major urban areas such as Harare, and this demonstrates that there are issues with the proper implementation of urban housing policies (Matamanda, 2019). Munzwa and Jonga (2014) also argue that the policy trajectory in Zimbabwe, regarding urban planning and development, has failed to cope with the densification of urban areas that have been characterised by the sprawling and expansion of informal settlements.[62] Research demonstrates

[62] It seems that local councils in Zimbabwe have not provided some stewardship for the management of urban spaces and this has resulted in difficulties in regulating and maintaining some order in the management and utilisation of urban spaces.

that poor urban planning has resulted in the haphazard morphology of towns and cities in Zimbabwe, but none seem to explain the role played by institutional structures in this planning and policy discord. This research goes a step further than past researchers by examining the influence of institutional structures in urban housing planning and public policy decisions.

Social and demographic factors have also been cited in past studies as influencing urban housing policy making processes in Zimbabwe. For example, exponential urban population growth has been considered a major issue with a direct bearing on urban housing policy-making. The general observation amongst urban housing policy scholars commenting on Zimbabwe is that the government has failed to formulate and implement relevant policies to cope with the growing urban population (Chitekwe-Biti, 2009; Matamanda, 2019; Moyo, 2014; Msindo et al., 2013; Nyandoro & Muzorewa, 2017). For example, Chitekwe-Biti (2009) stated that the housing backlog in most Zimbabwean cities and towns reflects housing policy implementation challenges. Due to the poverty in most of Zimbabwe's rural areas, urban centres have become more attractive for many people resulting in urban areas experiencing population overflows (Chirisa, 2013). The government has struggled to cope with the rising urban housing shortages emanating from the population boom and this has resulted in the flourishing squatter settlement, with high levels of health problems, overcrowded houses, unplanned and serviced areas, and poverty and criminal activities (Munzwa & Jonga, 2010). The emergence of informal settlements is indeed a result of the rural-urban influx within and the subsequent incapacity of the government to formulate and implement relevant housing policies to cope with the increasing urban population densities (Msindo et al., 2013). Thus, there is a need for urban housing in Zimbabwe, a situation that is catalysed by the continuous explosion in the urban population. This thesis examines the strategies being adopted by urban housing institutions in Zimbabwe to ensure that housing delivery matches the growing urban population.

These discussed factors have had a negative influence on the content of urban housing policies in Zimbabwe. From the review of the literature, it can be noted that urban housing policies in Zimbabwe have not been effective in addressing the housing needs of the people. Most urbanites, especially those in low income earning groups, are still living in deprived housing conditions. In this regard, past researchers have criticised, formulated and implemented urban housing policies in Zimbabwe for failing to ensure that housing is affordable to the majority of the population.

Housing accessibility has been an everyday struggle for low-income earners and the unemployed in Zimbabwe (Aghimien et al., 2018). The majority of people living in urban areas fall within the low-income bracket, earning salaries below the Poverty Datum Line making it difficult for them to afford housing (Chitekwe-Biti et al., 2012). The statutory framework for housing land allocation acquisition in Zimbabwe has some procedural impediments disabling low-income housing delivery as it mandates councils to sell residential stands at costly rates (Taruvinga & Mooya, 2016). Squatter settlements that are not sanctioned by the allocating authorities have emerged in intra-urban and peri-urban areas. In light of these scenarios, this thesis assesses the effectiveness of the policy measures being employed by urban housing institutions to provide remedial action to the sprouting of informal settlements in Zimbabwe's urban areas.

Research suggests that the necessary policy support and stewardship to emancipate low-income earners in urban areas from living in substandard housing facilities seem to be lacking in Zimbabwe (Chirisa, 2013, 2014). As a result, the urban housing policy initiatives in Zimbabwe reflect insensitivity to low-income groups and this has perpetuated housing inaccessibility among the poor. These are signs of policy ineffectiveness because housing policies are formulated and implemented to ensure that housing seekers have access to decent shelter. In line with this argument, Moyo (2014) found that trends in urban housing policy since 1980 have marginalised the housing needs of low-income earners. He further argued that in terms of public housing finance, while the National Housing Fund (NHF) of 1982 and the Housing Guarantee Fund (HGF) are the two main housing finance instruments that focus on transforming the housing situation of low-income urbanites, but these two funding options have not been sustainable (Moyo, 2014). For example, the Housing Guarantee Fund has ironically failed to guarantee housing provision to a large number of housing seekers in the urban areas (Ncube, 2016). Due to urban housing policy formulation and implementation limitations, most cities and towns in Zimbabwe are experiencing serious housing shortages and this has mainly affected the low-income earning groups who are struggling to afford the expensive housing options available (Aghimien et al., 2018). In this research, I examine the measures that urban housing institutions are currently putting in place to address the problem of housing unaffordability by low-income urbanites.

Current urban housing policy strategies in Zimbabwe do not seem to place a priority on low-income housing provision (Moyo, 2014; Ncube, 2016). Housing constitutes the highest

expenditure for most families living in Zimbabwe's urban areas as low-income earners and the poor in society are finding it difficult to afford housing, such that they end up living in overcrowded areas or informal settlements that 'suits' their income (Ncube, 2016). The average price of an urban residential stand, let alone owning an urban house in Zimbabwe, is difficult for low-income earners who have salaries that are below the Poverty Datum Line (PDL). Urban housing policies in Zimbabwe seem not to have enough depth needed to overturn housing affordability problems and this has a negative bearing on the living conditions of those in the low-income bracket as they continue to experience housing access difficulties (Moyo, 2014). These views imply that urban housing policies in Zimbabwe have not properly addressed housing shortages as low-income earners and the unemployed still face serious housing affordability challenges. Urban housing policy experiences in Zimbabwe are comparable to other countries where the high cost of housing stands is a major obstacle to the successful implementation of urban housing policies in most developing countries (UN-Habitat, 2016).

The foregoing exposition and discussion on urban housing policy in Zimbabwe cannot be considered as conclusive. This is because it does not address how institutional structures such as institutional rules, a hierarchy of authority, institutional culture as well as institutional sanctions and rewards can shape the decisions and policy choices made by urban housing policy actors in the design and application of urban housing policies. Current research on this dimension of urban housing policy-making seems to be limited to examining how factors outside of the institutional structure of urban councils affect how these policies are formulated and implemented. A more profound understanding of the content and direction of urban housing policies in Zimbabwe can be reached if one looks at how the internal institutional features impact the design and application of these policies. This is largely because institutions are the primary determinants of public policy, hence a closer examination of how they affect policymakers will be a significant contribution to the urban housing policy-making discourse in the context of Zimbabwe.

4.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter exposes the gap in the extant literature on the interplay between institutional structures and the public policy-making process. The chapter provided a conceptual and theoretical grounding of the research. The concepts and theories presented in the chapter help in understanding

what institutions are; how they work; their internal characteristics or features; and how their structures influence the actions, decisions, and choices made by their members. In the chapter, I also presented a review of the pertinent extant literature on the interplay between institutional structures and the decision-making behaviour of policymakers at different stages of the policymaking process. I also discussed the views from past research on how factors outside urban housing institutions in Zimbabwe have shaped the processes of formulating and implementing urban housing policies. In the next chapter, I present and discuss the first set of findings, focusing on a description of the role of urban housing policy protagonists in Zimbabwe.

CHAPTER FIVE

URBAN HOUSING POLICY PROTAGONISTS IN ZIMBABWE: THE MAIN INSTITUTIONS AND ACTORS PARTICIPATING IN THE FORMULATION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF URBAN HOUSING POLICY

5.1 Introduction

The second objective of this research is to examine the role of each housing actor and institution that participates in formulating and implementing urban housing policies in Zimbabwe. The housing delivery process in Zimbabwe is an all-encompassing process involving several actors and institutions which are found at the central government level, provincial level, and local government level as well as within the civil society and private sectors. In this chapter, I discuss the complementarity between different actors and institutions involved in formulating and implementing urban housing policies, projects and programmes as efforts to address the urban housing challenge in Zimbabwe.

5.2 Actors and Officials Involved Urban Housing Policy Making in Zimbabwe

The urban housing policy arena in Zimbabwe is laden with actors who have diverse roles, varied interests, mixed backgrounds, and varying degrees of influence in the processes of formulating and implementing urban housing policies. The main urban housing policy actors in Zimbabwe can either be government actors, non-state actors, or residents. Each of these actors directly or indirectly affects the urban housing policy content and its implementation trajectory. Different institutional structures affect each of these actors and officials in their urban housing policy decision-making process. The research observes that while different urban housing policy actors have varying degrees of decision-making power and authority, the non-participation of one actor negatively affects the policy outcome. This is because each actor has a unique contribution in the process; a contribution that other actors may not be able to execute effectively. Thus, while it may be difficult for actors to always agree or come to a common agreement on urban housing policy matters, the collaboration between and amongst these actors is considered as an important way to ensure that the policy reflects the input of every actor. In figure 4 below, I demonstrate a funnel

with the main urban housing policy actors in Zimbabwe. The specific title of these actors will be discussed further below.

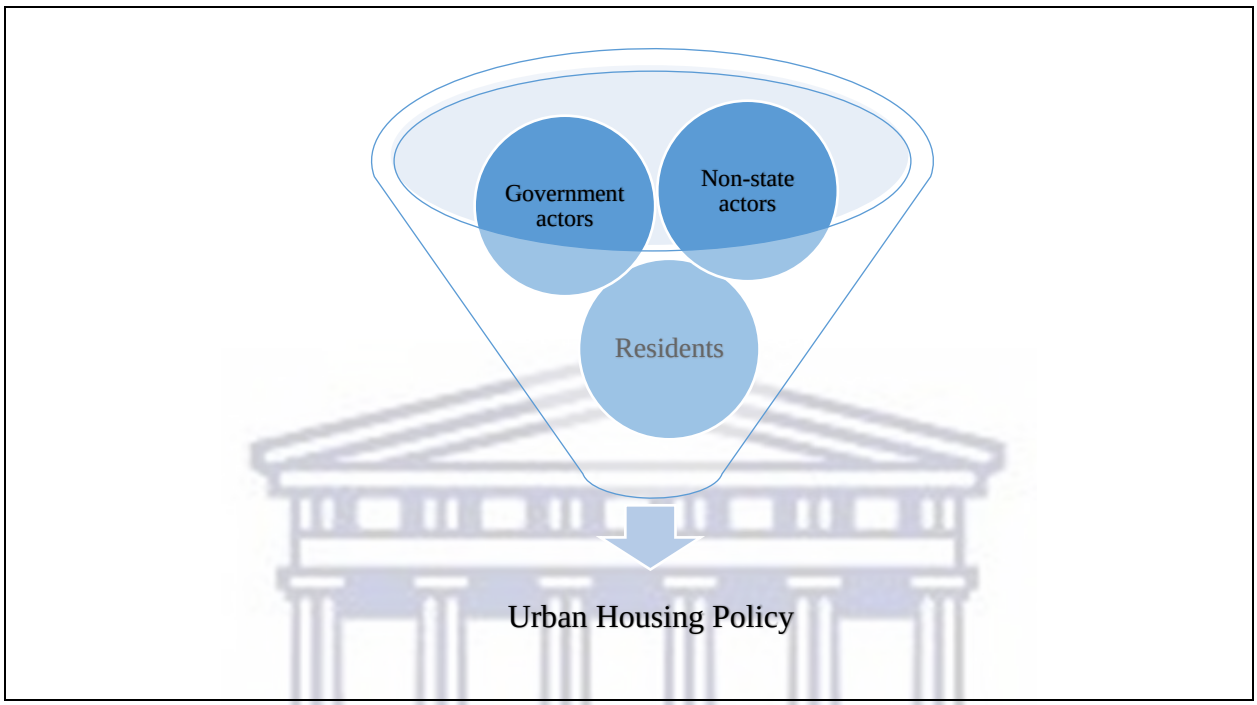


Figure 4: Urban Housing Policy Actors in Zimbabwe (Author's construct, January 2021)

Below, I present a detailed discussion of the roles, powers, authority and influence of the main actors who take part in formulating and implementing urban housing policies in Zimbabwe.

5.2.1 The Role of the Minister of National Housing in Urban Housing Policy Processes

The Minister of Housing and Social Amenities (henceforth Minister of Housing) is a government actor who stands as the chief superintended of all housing policy developments across the country, which makes him responsible for the effective administration of urban housing policies in the thirty-two urban local authorities in Zimbabwe.[63] The Minister of Housing ensures that the primary housing aim of the government – to facilitate sustainable housing delivery – is met and even exceeded from time to time through the development and implementation of responsive housing policy strategies at the local government level. Thus, the Minister of Housing provides policy

[63] Interview with a director in the Ministry of National Housing – July 2020.

leadership to all urban local authorities towards the achievement of progressive and organised human settlement across the country.

Local authorities are agents of the central government regarding their housing provision functions and this gives the Minister of Housing the mandate to set up institutional funding frameworks for housing development to ensure that local authorities are adequately funded to implement their local housing policies towards the achievement of their housing delivery mandate. In the cabinet, the Minister of Housing represents all local authorities in matters of housing by negotiating with the Treasury on the budget for effective housing development. The Minister of Housing goes further to oversee the allocation of funds to different provinces and local authorities so that they can fund the design and implementation of urban housing policies in their areas of jurisdiction. In some cases, the Minister of Housing even goes further to negotiate and source funds from private institutions and cooperates to fund local housing development initiatives under the surety of government. Furthermore, the Minister of Housing develops and approves proposals for ensuring sustainable housing finance streams to support local governments in their housing delivery endeavours.

Regarding the processes of formulating and implementing urban housing policy, the Minister of Housing guides and authorises both national and local/urban housing policies and programmes to ensure that there is consistent housing development across the country. The Minister of Housing also instructs and directs the regular evaluation of local urban housing policies to assess their ability to contribute towards meeting established national housing provision targets. This is done as a requirement to assess the performance of the local authorities, to identify the challenges they are facing in meeting housing delivery targets and proffer corrective measures for improvement. These evaluations are done on a case-to-case basis in a process known as casework performance oversight. In this process, urban councils provide progress reports to the Minister of Housing as these are important in his evaluation of the extent to which they are achieving their housing delivery mandate.

The Minister of Housing also has the mandate to take reasonable steps towards creating a conducive environment that enables other role players such as provincial housing directors, mayors, town clerks, and related actors to achieve their respective housing development goals

without undue interference from his office. This is done in the spirit of ensuring that local governments become semi-autonomous housing provision of mechanisms for promoting a conducive built environment for tackling homelessness in the country. Overall, the task of the Minister of Housing is to set the proper standards, administrative or procedural guidelines and frameworks that will determine the success or the failure of a housing policy in the country, be it at the central or local government level. In the section below, I discuss the role of the Local Government Minister in formulating and implementing urban housing policies in Zimbabwe.

5.2.2 The Role of the Minister of Local Government in Urban Housing Policy Processes

The Minister of Local Government and Public Works (henceforth Minister of Local Government) is another government actor with a direct role in urban housing policy formulation and implementation. He is empowered to supervise all local government processes under the provisions of both the Urban Councils Act (Chapter 29:15) and the Regional, Town and Country Planning Act (Chapter 29:12). In terms of housing policy, the Minister's powers are mostly felt in urban areas where the issue of housing is largely contested. The UCA also empowers the Local Government Minister to give directions on matters of policy[64] – and this includes the urban housing policy and related policies governing the administration of Zimbabwe's urban local authorities.

In the formulation of urban housing delivery strategies and initiatives, the Minister of Local Government has the power to issue policy directives to the local government and rescind or suspend council resolutions and decisions that he considers as defeating housing delivery objectives (Chakaipa, 2010). While this is must be done to ensure accountability with such oversight being critical in establishing an effective urban housing delivery system, critics have argued that the Local Government Minister in Zimbabwe possesses unfettered supervisory powers in council affairs.[65] For example, there are 36 sections in the Urban Councils Act, where the phrase 'the Minister shall' appear and 111 sections where the phrase 'the Minster may' also appear. Effectively, the Minister of Local Government has a major influence on the content of the urban housing policy and the manner of its implementation.

[64] Section 313 of the Urban Councils Act.
[65] This has been emphasised by (Chigwata et al., 2019; Chigwata & de Visser, 2017).

There are several problematic clauses in the Urban Councils Act (henceforth UCA) concerning the role of the Minister of Local Government in urban council affairs – including urban housing policy administration. For example, in the urban housing policy implementation process, the UCA gives the Minister of Local Government the power to control the provision or allocation of residential stands for homeownership purposes *as he may think fit*.[66] Upon receiving the policy direction from the Minister of Local Government, councils are expected to, "with all due expedition, comply" with these policy directions.[67] Thus, the decisions and resolutions made by urban local authorities when formulating and implementing urban housing policies are not final until they are approved by the Minister of Local Government. Under the UCA[68], the Local Government Minister may reverse, suspend, or rescind resolutions, actions and decisions of councils if, in his view, the "resolution, decision or action of a council is not in the interests of the inhabitants of the council area concerned or is not in the national or public interest".[69] The UCA states that by doing this, the Minister of Local Government will be correcting possible errors or omissions in the administration of the council. For example, section 316 of the UCA states that:

> If an act or thing is omitted to be done or is not done in the manner or within the time so required, the Minister may order all such steps to be taken as in his opinion are necessary or desirable to rectify such act or thing…

The UCA also empowers the Minister of Local Government to supervise the administration of land in different local authorities. This is a direct involvement in urban housing policy implementation whose main process activities involve the allocation of residential stands. Urban local authorities in Zimbabwe may not acquire land without the Minister of Local Government's approval.[70] In terms of expropriation of council land, over and above the resolution of the Committee of the council, the Minister of Local Government's approval is necessary for the process to be completed.[71] Thus, when the council has passed a resolution to appropriate land, it submits this resolution to the Minister of Local Government as an application and then, the minister

[66] Section 7 (4) (*b*) of the Urban Councils Act.
[67] Section 313 (3) of the Urban Councils Act.
[68] *Ibid.*
[69] Section 314 (1) of the Urban Councils Act.
[70] Section 150 (3) of the Urban Councils Act.
[71] Interview with a deputy director in the Ministry of Local Government – May 2020.

on receipt of such as application may either refuse to approve the proposed expropriation[72]; or approve it if he is satisfied.[73]

Largely, the Minister of Local Government only approves the proposed expropriation of land if he is *satisfied* that such as expropriation is reasonable.[74] The UCA states that this verting of proposed land expropriations by the Minister of Local Government is necessary to ensure that the land is acquired for the purposes specified by the council.[75] This means that an urban council can only expropriate land for its intended purpose and it cannot sell, exchange, donate or lease it without the Local Government Minister.[76] All these are urban housing policy implementation process where the Minister of Local Government has a direct influence. However, the powers of the Minister of Local Government in urban governance affairs (including urban housing policy formulation and implementation) have been regarded as highly excessive and there have been proposals that his supervision should not be exceedingly prescriptive as this will allow local governments to have operational freedom (Chigwata et al., 2017). In the ensuing section, I discuss the contribution of the Provincial Housing Director in urban housing policy formulation and implementation processes in Zimbabwe.

5.2.3 The Role of the Provincial Housing Director in Urban Housing Policy Processes

The obligation to promote effective urban housing policy development in Zimbabwe is shared by the central government, provincial housing structure, and local authorities. Housing policy directives at the central government and local government are given by the Minister of Housing and the Minister of Local Government, respectively. At the provincial level, the Provincial Housing Director is a government actor responsible for overseeing the processes of formulating and implementing urban housing policies in their province. Provincial Housing Directors are part of the structure of Provincial Councils (PCs) in Zimbabwe. There are ten Provincial Councils in Zimbabwe and these are established under the Provincial Councils and Administration Act of 1985 [Chapter 29:11]. These PCs consist of the Provincial Governor or Resident Minister as

[72] Section 151 (3) (*a*) of the Urban Councils Act.
[73] *Ibid.*
[74] Section 151 (4) of the Urban Councils Act.
[75] Section 151 (4) (*b*) of the Urban Councils Act.
[76] Section 151 (8) (*b*) of the Urban Councils Act.

Chairperson (Chakaipa, 2010).[77] Mayors, chairpersons of town councils and rural district councils as well as representatives of chiefs make up Provincial Councils in Zimbabwe. As the provincial administrative units of the central government, Provincial Councils evaluate and give approval to proposed provincial development plans including urban housing policy plans – prepared by non-elected committees made up of district administrators, provincial housing directors, Chief Executive Officers (CEOs) of Rural District Councils (RDCs) and town clerks (Chakaipa, 2010).

The role of the Provincial Housing Director is essentially to consolidate plans from Urban Councils (UCs) and Rural District Councils (RDCs) into the provincial development plan. Generally, Provincial Housing Directors are expected to facilitate housing in their province in line with the national housing policy framework. The office of the Provincial Housing Director in Zimbabwe works in collaboration and consultation with provincial organisations representing urban municipalities in coordinating housing policy and development processes to promote effective housing delivery.[78] This office is specifically instructed by the central government to strengthen the capacity of urban local authorities to effectively provide housing for residents in their areas of jurisdiction (De Visser, 2003). However, Provincial Housing Directors in Zimbabwe do not have budgetary backing, hence the plans they produce usually 'gather dust'. Provincial Councils should be given the power to raise revenue (Chakaipa, 2010). Practical urban housing policy making experiences in Zimbabwe suggest that Provincial Housing Directors have less power in shaping urban housing policy formulation and implementation. The most influential actors in these processes are the Minister of Housing, the Minister of Local Government and the City Housing Director. Below, I expand on the responsibilities of the mayor in urban housing policy formulation and implementation processes in Zimbabwe.

5.2.4 The role of the Mayor in Urban Housing Policy Processes

The mayor is a government actor who supervises and coordinates development processes in an urban area and controls the activities of the employees of the council concerned.[79] This role encompasses overseeing the activities involved in the formulation and implementation of urban

[77] The titles Provincial Governor' and 'Resident Minister' was relinquished in… they are now called Ministers of State for Provincial Affairs, and there are ten of them in Zimbabwe each representing the ten provinces in the country (Chigwata et al., 2019).
[78] Interview with an official in the office of the Provincial Housing Director in Harare – July 2020.
[79] Section 64 (1) (*a &b*) of the Urban Councils Act.

housing policy.[80] The office of the mayor in Zimbabwe – especially the Harare mayor – is not a permanent position, neither is it a stable position. There is often a lot of clashes between the mayor and the town clerks as well as the mayor and the Minister of Local Government, and these clashes derail the activities and processes of formulating and implementing urban housing policies. The mayor must report to the town clerk, and with whom he must take an oath of loyalty[81] and consult with the Minister of Local Government before making any decision. Section 54 of the Urban Councils Act empowers the Minister of Local Government to dismiss the mayor on several conditions such as incompetence, being guilty of misconduct and if the mayor should act without consulting the Minister.

The mayor plays a coordinative role to ensure progressive housing provision to the residents. This is done together with the provision of other social services or facilities that support sustainable housing which include water, sewer reticulation, roads, storm water drains, and transport facilities. The setting of housing development goals and the designation of housing land is also supervised by the mayor. As part of the urban housing policy administration, the mayor also plans and manages land use and development patterns for the city, which is important in the creation and maintenance of a suitable environment for urban housing development.[82] Mayors play a leading role in initiating, planning, and coordinating housing development initiatives in the cities they manage. However, the operational freedom of mayors in Zimbabwe remains clipped by the involvement of the Minister of Local Government in council affairs. As a result, there have been perennial clashes between the mayors and Ministers of Local Government as one office is allegedly continually usurping the other's powers. In Harare, this has culminated in the dismissal of mayors by the Minister of Local Government on several occasions. In an interview with a former mayor of Harare, it was stated that:

> There is serious centralisation of local jurisdictions as the devolution of power has not been put in place. The mayor has ceremonial powers and authority, he does not have executive powers as these reside with the Minister of Local Government. The office of the mayor does not have operational powers, it is just like a stooge, there is a need for approval from the Minister of Local Government to do everything. Furthermore, for the mayor to procure something, there is a need to present their proposal to the procurement board which is centred in the president's office. To employ senior staff,

[80] Interview with former Mayor of Harare – July 2020.
[81] Section 48 (2) of the Urban Councils Act.
[82] Interview with former Mayor of Harare – July 2020.

> there is a need to ask for permission from the Minister of Local Government. The same applies to a budget. The minister is from the ZANU-PF party and party politics has always been at work as the minister has on several occasions disapproved the proposed council budget so that the mayor's office fails to function effectively.[83]

In Harare, after the tug of war between the mayor's office and the Local Government minister, mayors have been dismissed by the Minister on more occasions than in other cities and towns in Zimbabwe. For example, political contestations resulted in the dismissal by the minister of the former Harare Mayor Engineer Elias Mudzuri in 2003 by the then minister of Local Government, while in 2020, Mayors Herbert Gomba and Jacob Mafume were arrested and subsequently suspended with the former being dismissed and the later suspended. All these conflicts mar the effective formulation and implementation of urban housing policy, which partly explains why urban housing challenges in Harare and other cities have persisted. Mayors work closely with town clerks, and in the section below, I discuss the obligations of the town clerk in the formulation and implementation of urban housing policies in Zimbabwe.

5.2.5 The Role of the Town Clerk in Urban Housing Policy Processes

The town clerk is the chief government administrator in a local government providing administrative guidance to all council staff including the mayor.[84] In the processes of urban housing policy formulation and implementation, town clerks carry out several duties such as determining the policy designs that enable councils to achieve high-quality housing development standards. In this regard, they set broad local housing delivery goals to guide all urban housing policy processes. The mandate of the town clerk in housing policy formulation and implementation is to assess the recommendations made by housing officers and give effect to these resolutions so that they obtain the final authorisation of the council. Town clerks are also involved in setting performance standards and milestones to evaluate, guide, and measure success in the implementation of urban housing policies. In this way, they do performance monitoring in which they regularly track and evaluate the extent to which the housing sector in achieving the housing delivery milestones set up by the Ministry of National Housing.

[83] *Ibid.*
[84] Interview with a housing officer in the Harare City Council – June 2020.

The office of the Town Clerk also provides technical support to their councils to enable them to have the capacity to properly exercise their powers in executing their urban housing development responsibilities. For example, town clerks set the framework for consultative forums to be followed by councillors and housing officers when gathering urban housing policy formulation data from stakeholders. In these processes, the town clerk facilitates stakeholder engagement programmes ensuring that there is a cooperation between the council and representatives of the central government, civil society representatives, private sector representatives, and financial sector representatives on matters of urban housing policy development. When urban housing policies are implemented, the town clerk provides the official communication which is necessary for establishing a sustainable housing development sector around the country. Town clerks in Zimbabwe are appointed by the Executive Committee of Council with the approval of the Minister of Local Government as well as the Local Government Board[85]. The manner of their appointment has raised allegations of them being political appointees who serve the interests of the central government within the structures of local jurisdictions. In the succeeding section, I briefly highlight the role of the Chamber Secretary, who provides critical support towards formulating and implementing urban housing policies in Zimbabwe.

5.2.6 The Role of the Chamber Secretary in Urban Housing Policy Processes

The Chamber Secretary is an essential administrative position in the urban local government structure in Zimbabwe. The Chamber Secretary heads the department that provides supporting clerical and administrative services to the council as provided under Section 133 (1) of the Urban Council Act. The specific roles of the chamber secretary include "preparing and distributing minutes of the proceedings of a council and its committees" (Section, 133, 1*a* of the Urban Council Act); and "preparing and distributing agendas and notices of any mayoral, council or committee meetings" (Section, 133 1b of the Urban Council Act). During the drafting stage of the formulation of urban housing policies, the chamber secretary is the one who compiles and records all resolutions of the council. The Chamber Secretary can also stand in for the town clerk under Section 133 (2) of the Urban Councils Act which states that "whenever the office of the town clerk is vacant or the town clerk is absent or incapacitated or fails to act, the chamber Secretary shall

[85] Section 132 (1 & 2) of the Urban Councils Act.

perform the functions conferred or imposed upon the town clerk…" When there is a need for a reference point concerning a contested urban housing policy issue, the Chamber Secretary is providing clarity as to the record keeper. Below I discuss the role of the City housing director in Urban Housing policy formulation and implementation in Zimbabwe.

5.2.7 The Role of the City Housing Director in Urban Housing Policy Processes

Urban local governments in Zimbabwe have housing departments headed by the city or town housing director (henceforth, the director of housing). The City of Harare, for example, has a Housing and Community Services Department based at Remembrance Drive in Mbare and this Department, which is headed by the City Housing Director, is the department responsible for housing matters in this city. The Director of Housing has a coordinating role over all council departments involved in land development during the implementation of any housing development project in the City of Harare.[86] Furthermore, all allocation of stands properties developed by or in partnership with the private sector on municipal land shall be done by the director of housing in terms of the application procedure.[87] From time to time, the Director of Housing receives policy formulation proposals from housing officers and committees of the council and suggestions from different urban housing stakeholders.

The director of housing then examines these proposals against the vision and mission of the city which is to achieve sustainable housing provision. The director also checks the feasibility of the proposals received against available council resources. From these proposals, the director develops policy recommendations for housing delivery in the city. When the drafting of the policy is complete, the director also assesses if the proposed policy is enforceable and develops frameworks for diagnosis and research into the success of urban housing policies being implemented.[88] Such researches and diagnosis processes enable the director to have a clear picture of the effectiveness of the policy against the expectations of stakeholders and to determine the suitable spatial distribution and housing patterns for the city.

[86] City of Harare's Housing Policy Document – page 7.
[87] City of Harare's Housing Policy Document – pages 6-7.
[88] Interview with Director of Housing in the City of Harare – July 2020.

The primary obligation of the Director of Housing is to ensure that the local authority's distinct housing provision responsibility is fulfilled. Thus, the director plays a pivotal role in the efforts to realise the right to affordable and accessible housing for citizens, by making sure that all logistics are made to make residential housing land available together with the supporting essential services such as water, sewer, roads, electricity and drainage systems. The City of Harare Housing Policy Document (2015) states that the director is actively involved in the allocation and administration of leased accommodation, whereupon he keeps a list of applicants for leased accommodation who must also be on the city's housing waiting list. It is also the mandate of the Director of Housing to ensure priority in the allocation of rented accommodation is given to council employees. The Director of Housing, therefore, plays a prominent coordinating role in the implementation of projects and programmes towards the realisation of the right to shelter. In fulfilling his mandate, the director works in collaboration with the town clerk, mayor, councillors, town planners, town engineers, and housing officers in the city. In the section below, I discuss the role of councillors in formulating and implementing urban housing policies in Zimbabwe.

5.2.8 The Role of Ward Councillors in Urban Housing Policy Processes

Ward councillors are elected officials, that is, politicians who represent political parties and wards within constituencies. Some may be independent in terms of political party affiliation. They are elected during the harmonised general elections in Zimbabwe and they hold a five-year term. Councillors play a pivotal role when consultative forums are conducted to gather information during the review and formulation of urban housing policies. This was confirmed in an interview with a spatial planning officer in the Harare City Council who stated that:

> Councillors are our immediate face when reviewing policies in communities and when conducting consultations with stakeholders, especially residents in different wards and constituencies in the city. Since they are known in the different wards due to their political presence, councillors communicate with the residents on what the council is doing in terms of housing development. Councillors also bring back to the council what residents are saying, i.e., their grievances and expectations, which makes them the medium of communication used by both the council and residents.[89]

When executing their responsibilities, councillors do not work on an individual basis, but in teams known as standing committees of council. In Harare, for example, as of the 17th of September

[89] Interview with spatial planning officer in the Harare City Council – May 2020.

2020, there were eight standing committees of the Council on Education, Health and Housing and Community Services & Licencing being one of them.[90] This committee, which oversees housing issues, has eight councillors or members (see appendix G). In terms of section 96 (3) of the Urban Councils Act, "every council shall appoint a health and housing committee which shall be responsible for health and housing matters relating to the council". In an interview with one of the councillors in this committee, the following roles emerged with regards to the role of councillors in the processes of housing policy formulation and implementation. Firstly, the councillors in this committee constitute the housing strategy task force for the Harare City Council. Councillors also give recommendations to the council for the development of actionable strategies for improved housing provision as well as on measures to ensure sustainable and affordable housing provision in the City of Harare.

In addition, through researches, councillors develop and assess and plan to achieve decent, affordable housing in their wards to improve the housing conditions of communities in Harare. In this regard, the objective of the Education, Health, and Housing and Community Services & Licencing Committee is to ensure that there is organised housing delivery in the city. Part of the functions of the councillors in this committee is to plan on rent regulation and tenant protection in council apartments and enforcement of housing development projects approved by the council. Councillors also lead in surveys to establish city housing vacancies or deficits. Therefore, the councillors in this committee are important in providing the regulatory framework and supporting structure for successful urban housing policy making in the city. This is important in ensuring that housing opportunities are extended to residents of Harare. They also advise on the construction of new housing facilities and rehabilitation of council housing properties to modernise and meet the growing housing needs of the residents of Harare. However, while the city of Harare is a duly elected council with decentralised powers, it is difficult for councillors to exercise their powers because of the continuous interference of the Minister of Local Government in the administration of council business.[91] Councillors also take part in ordinary and special meetings of the council where urban housing policy proposals and recommendations are deliberated upon. These meetings are usually called upon by the mayor whenever there is a request for a meeting by the town clerk.

[90] See appendix G: Membership of the eight Harare City Council standing committees in September 2020.
[91] Interview with the ward 16 councillor in Harare – August 2020.

In deciding on policy issues, section 84 (2) (*a*) "all the councillors present at that meeting shall vote on every matter which is put to the vote".

Practical experiences in Harare have shown that the term of office of councillors is not stable. They can vacate office through suspension or dismissal by the Minister of Local Government. In the year 2020 alone, over 20 councillors in Harare were removed from office for various reasons and this greatly affected the capacity of the council to execute their functions such as housing policy administration. Legally, the Minister of Local Government can dismiss councillors if they are suspected or found to have contravened any provisions of the Prevention of Corruption Act [Chapter 9:16] through acts of corruption, dishonesty, negligence and gross mismanagement of council funds.[92] These clauses have been used to dismiss or suspend corrupt councillors in Harare. Sometimes the whole council can be dissolved through the appointment of a Commission to administer urban affairs. This has occurred in Harare in 2004 when the then Local Government Minister appointed the Harare Commission chaired by Sekesai Makwavarara for a five-year term after the suspension of thirteen MDC councillors and the dismissal of the then-mayor Elias Mudzuri, an opposition politician on the allegation that he had abused authority and misused council funds in a manner that was against the provisions of section 313 (1) of the Urban Council Act[93]. In 2005, again, the Minister of Local Government forced an additional eighteen councillors representing the MDC to resign.

While the 2004-2009 Harare Commission is notorious for failure to stabilise council affairs, in December 2020 also, proposals were made for the City of Harare to be managed by a temporary commission because of massive allegations of incompetence, corruption and inefficiency of the councillors leading to the dismissal of former Mayors Herbert Gomba and his successor Jacob Mafume together with his deputy Luckson Mukunguma after allegations of them being implicated in land scams as reported by Chidakwa (2020).[94] Given the previous experience with a commission-administered city, there were mixed reactions to the proposal of putting Harare under commission again. The relationship between councillors and the Minister of Local Government in Zimbabwe has been a turbulent one, particularly in Harare where the councillors are from the

[92] Section 114 (1) of the Urban Councils Act.
[93] https://www.voazimbabwe.com/a/a-13-56-74-2006-12-29-voa50-68949132/1472030.html (Accessed 20 May 2019)
[94] https://www.herald.co.zw/name-commission-to-run-harare-residents/ (Accessed 28 July 2020)

opposition yet the minister is from the ruling ZANU-PF. Such a stormy relationship, characterised by the battle of political supremacy and relevance, has made it difficult for councillors to focus on their mandate of, among other things, designing effective urban housing policies. This has contributed to the persistence of urban housing challenges in Harare as much energy and time is lost to political fights while neglecting the need to prioritise the design of effective housing delivery strategies. In the ensuing section, I discuss the role of housing officers in urban housing policy formulation and implementation.

5.2.9 The Role of Housing Officers in Urban Housing Policy Processes

Housing officers are permanent council employees who are involved in evaluating the different needs of housing applicants, locating vacant council accommodation and placing new tenants, regularly inspecting council properties to ensure that it is in a good state, managing tenants' agreements and leases, administering payments and arrears, preparing reports, collecting statistical data on housing in the city, and processing legal action when there is need to do so.[95] This role involves working closely with different community stakeholders and it is an important role in providing policy-relevant information when urban housing policies in Zimbabwe are formulated and implemented. Housing officers also ensure that all computerised and manual recording systems of housing data are updated and maintained on an accurate and timely basis and that all service requests are responded to within the prescribed timescales. Furthermore, housing officers work closely with committees of councillors, architects, engineers, tenants' groups, and private housing associations to ensure that there is coordination in the city's housing delivery system. Housing officers manage the day-to-day operations of rented council properties, which is also an important part of urban housing policy administration. They regularly inspect council housing facilities to make use that they are in a good condition for tenants.

Housing officers also process tenants' applications and give them feedback from time to time. They also process and resolve issues of breaches of tenants' lease agreements and develop strategies to manage arrears by the tenants. They also advise councillors on urban housing policy matters. The overall purpose of housing officers is to assess housing needs and facilitate the revitalization of housing projects within a city. They also work with urban planners in ensuring

[95] Interviewed housing officer for the Harare City Council – August 2020.

the proper design of utility services such as water and sewer as well as with engineers in the maintenance and construction of city housing facilities. They also conduct interviews with applicants on the housing waiting list to assess their ability to pay for residential stands on a short- and long-term basis. A summary of the roles of housing officers includes research and statistical compilation of housing information, waiting list management, planning and coordination, housing development, feasibility studies, and financial mobilisation. All these processes provide vital information when urban housing policies in Zimbabwe are formulated and implemented and this makes housing officers a vital cog in the urban housing policy process. The role of city planners in urban housing policy formulation and implementation processes in Zimbabwe is discussed in the ensuing section.

5.2.10 The Role of Town /City/ Urban Planners in Urban Housing Policy Processes

Urban planners in Zimbabwe help urban housing policy makers with advice on proper land management and this includes the development of land use plans for the local authority and this may include zoning, surveying, and establishing plans[96] that are important for the implementation of different city projects including housing. For example, they develop layout plans and patterns to make the city look more attractive and design plans on how to accommodate the growing urban population sustainably. They also design the regulations for the use of space systematically and sustainably, setting the physical and social character of an ideal city. Planners also review site plans submitted by land developers to make sure that they comply with zoning and environmental regulations.[97] City planners use their planning expertise to create the urban morphology and prepare the city to properly accommodate migrants. They conduct regular field investigations to collect information on factors that affect urban land use patterns, and this information is important to actors who formulate and implement urban housing policies.

Urban planners also research the factors that affect the city's proper development and the reports they produce from these examinations provide useful input information in the formulation of urban housing policies. When urban housing policy projects are implemented, there is also a need to develop other social amenities. In this regard, urban planners also provide technical guidance on

[96] These may be spatial plans, site plans, layout plans and master plans.
[97] Interview with a city spatial planning officer in the City of Harare – May 2020.

the location of social facilities such as clinics, schools, and shops to be developed together with housing facilities. This is important in ensuring the best use of the community's land. They also examine all city buildings to ensure that they are aligned with environmental protection regulations. Such considerations are important in the design of urban housing policies. In the section below, I discuss the role of policy consultants or advisors in urban housing policy making in Zimbabwe.

5.2.11 The Role of Policy Consultants/Advisors in Urban Housing Policy Processes

The policy consultant is a non-state actor who advises government actors on matters of policy. Most often, policy decision-makers require expert advice to formulate effective and substantive policies because of the complexity of the problems they confront (Elaigwu, 2008). This applies to urban housing policy formulation in Zimbabwe where a council can hire a consultant to provide technical insight into the issues that shape the policy being designed. These consultancies may be think-tanks, academics, commissions, among other specialists who provide policy-relevant information to the decision-makers.[98] Consultants are experts who advise local government decision-makers on technical policy matters. They are not permanent employees of the council but hired when there is a need for expert advice on a complex policy issue (Martin, 2000). These policy advisors are contracted by the council to provide recommendations or justify a suitable urban housing provision strategy amongst possible alternatives. Such areas of critical concern may include the best way to deal with the informal settlement problem. Consultancies usually advise on the feasibility and consequences of programmes which if accepted can improve policy decision-making (Kincaid, 2008). The expectation is for them to provide informed and objective and justifiable recommendations on whether or not a proposed course of action should be pursued. In some cases, the advice given by the consultant is rejected by the local government decision-makers, especially if it is not in line with the vision and mission of the council.

When giving advice, consultants take into consideration the context of the issue they are giving advice on and consider the interests of all actors and stakeholders affected by the advice they will give (Fossas, 2008). For example, in the context of urban housing development in Zimbabwe, consultants may be called to provide advice in a contested area, or on a contested issue such as the

[98] Interview with the Housing Director in Harare – July 2020.

demolition of irregular settlements, and the expectation is that they must examine such an issue from an unbiased and non-political standpoint to provide objective advice even if the client does not like it. While a consultant seeks to influence government policy for the better, there are cases where the client may not be receptive to their opinion. For example, sometimes it is difficult for decision-makers to disentangle expert advice from political considerations, hence they will not accept it (Kincaid, 2008; Verrelli, 2008). Where their advice is accepted, it enables decision-makers to choose the most feasible choice from the available options.

There is also a question on what constitutes good or bad expert advice as it is not clear who should determine or evaluate the quality of the advice. Sometimes policies fail because of the acceptance of bad advice from the consultant, bad advice, and sometimes because good advice from a consultant was repudiated. Thus, decision-makers are encouraged to be good at screening bad advice before it can find its way into the content of the policy. The selection of a consultant can be subjective and politically motivated as there is a possibility that only the consultant who can be manipulated by the client to provide the 'advice of interest' is selected to produce the preferred outcomes in the name of consultancy (Elaigwu, 2008). Thus, powerful decision-makers can handpick a consultant so that 'advice' can come out the way they want it to. In such cases, the objectivity, neutrality, and independence of the consultant are based on the manner of the appointment. In Zimbabwe's urban housing policy making arena, expert advice is sought from a professional consultant, but this is occasionally done because of limited financial resources to pay the hired consultants. As a result, some urban housing policies are formulated in error because of the council's financial incapacity to pay for consultation fees.[99] In the ensuing section, I briefly discuss the contribution of residents in the processes of formulating and implementing urban housing policies in Zimbabwe.

5.2.12 The Role of Residents in Urban Housing Policy Processes

Residents are the primary target of urban housing policy and its first beneficiaries. Their involvement in housing policy formulation is therefore critical. The demands and expectations expressed by residents during consultations make up part of the content of the final policy document. A continuous cooperative relationship between residents and policy makers produces

[99] Interview with a housing officer in Harare – August 2020.

effective human settlement policies.[100] The success of urban housing policy depends largely on resources and community participation in creating sustainable housing solutions. Policy makers are expected to factor in the views and opinions of the residents into their final policy decisions. They can make the policy to be more relevant to the housing needs of the residents. There is some recognition for the need to engage residents to co-create solutions and sustain urban housing provision. Engaging residents enables local authorities to build trust and credibility and gain critical insight into the dynamics of community housing needs, which allows them to provide the support required to meet these needs through comprehensive urban housing policies.

When consulted, residents can become active participants in creating the change they want through urban housing policies and not just be passive recipients of a predetermined product. However, it is questionable whether the input from the residents is considered by policy makers when formulating urban housing policies or when deciding on the course of action to take during the policy implementation stage. For example, this research found that in the urban housing policy making experience in Zimbabwe, sometimes consultations are done as a formality because the final policy will reflect the interests of decision-makers, which is usually not in line with the demands made by the residents during consultations.[101] Some residents aver that they have never attended the consultative forums because they are unaware that they exist or sometimes they are held during working hours such that they will not be able to attend them.[102] Having discussed the main actors who participate in formulating and implementing urban housing policies in Zimbabwe, below, I give an overview of the contribution of different institutions that support urban local authorities in making urban housing policies. The discussion underscores the fact that urban councils in Zimbabwe remain the primary institutions with the mandate for the formulation and implementation of urban housing policies in Zimbabwe despite the collaborative efforts and backing by other institutions discussed hereunder.

[100] This is stated in both the Vancouver Declaration on Human Settlements 1976 and the Istanbul Declaration on Human Settlements of 1996.
[101] Focus group discussion held in Waterfalls – September 2020.
[102] Focus group discussion held in Warren Park – September 2020.

5.3 Institutions and Interest Groups Involved Urban Housing Policy Making in Zimbabwe

Urban housing policy making in Zimbabwe is an outcome of collaborative engagements between and amongst several state and non-state institutions as well as interest groups. The following institutions and interest groups take part in the formulation and implementation of urban housing policies in Zimbabwe:

5.3.1 Urban Local Authorities as Agents of the Ministry of Local Government

Urban local authorities are the primary institutions mandated to administer the formulation and implementation of urban housing policy in Zimbabwe. These institutions are legal entities set up by the government, and whose activities are supervised by the Ministry of Local Government and Public Works.[103] Urban local authorities are given a specific jurisdiction or mandate over a defined geographical area, within which they exercise their powers of administration and law enforcement (Ruppel, 2015); hence they constitute a sphere of public administration structures existing at the lowest tier of governance (Steytler, 2005). Worldwide, urban local authorities are multi-purpose structures responsible for delivering a wide range of services such as water, transport and traffic management, housing policy administration, health and clinical services, policing, among other social services required by their communities (Hobbs, 2019). This thesis examines how the institutional structures embedded in urban councils in Zimbabwe influence the decisions made by actors who formulate and implement urban housing policies in Zimbabwe using the Harare City Council as a case study. While there are twenty-eight urban local authorities in Zimbabwe, this thesis focuses on the City of Harare, as an exploratory case study.

The main functions of urban local authorities in housing policy are[104]: to administer housing land allocation; to facilitate land use planning; to service housing land; to approve plans for formal housing structures; to certify completed housing facilities for use as well as to maintain and upgrade dilapidated public housing facilities. They also directly provide housing and regulate the activities of private land developers, Civil Society Organisations, and related actors who take part in the urban housing delivery process. Furthermore, urban local authorities facilitate equitable access to all housing land and completed housing facilities, which forms part of the process of

[103] Interview with a Planning Director in the Ministry of Local Government – May 2020.
[104] These functions are provided for in section 42 of the 2012 National Housing Policy of Zimbabwe.

urban housing policy implementation. However, the research observes that urban local authorities in Zimbabwe are currently not effectively fulfilling these functions, a situation that has worsened the housing needs of the people under their areas of jurisdiction. In Harare, the Housing and Community Services Department – a subdivision of the Harare City Council is directly mandated to oversee the urban housing policy-making process, but housing shortages have been mounting in this city as the policy initiatives it formulated have either not been implemented or have been implemented with great degrees of failure. The urban housing policy administration mandate of urban local authorities in Zimbabwe includes developing strategies for housing supply and maintaining public housing facilities in different parts of the country.[105] However, the research revealed that urban local authorities in Zimbabwe are currently not, but should be the providers, regulators, facilitators, leaders and funders of different urban housing policy initiatives within their areas of administration. When properly resourced, urban local authorities determine the standard fitness for the purpose and appropriateness of housing locations, which is part of housing policy formulation and implementation.

Historically, all local authorities in Zimbabwe used to receive adequate funds for housing delivery in the form of central government grants. These grants would enable these authorities to implement various programmes and projects to ensure that the multiple needs of people in affordable housing are properly addressed. However, currently, there is limited central government support towards the housing delivery initiatives of local authorities. This situation has resulted in massive housing shortages as public housing delivery initiatives spearheaded by these local authorities have been stalled. The research found that due to the prevailing economic hardships in Zimbabwe, urban local authorities are no longer capable of mobilising sufficient funds to fund housing projects. Limited funding has meant that these local authorities cannot keep pace with the rising housing demands. Local authorities in Zimbabwe have also lost their creditworthiness, as lenders are highly sceptical of their ability to pay back loans.[106] The situation has been compounded by the fact that buying or renting housing in urban areas is increasingly unaffordable, particularly for ordinary low-income earning groups. Most households continue to live in temporary structures that are unfit

[105] Interview with the City of Harare Housing Director – July 2020.
[106] Interview with a housing finance expert in Harare – August 2020.

for human habitation. The role of urban local authorities in boosting the housing supply in Zimbabwe's cities and towns has been compromised by insufficient funding.

Part of the traditional roles of local authorities in Zimbabwe – which is part of urban housing policy implementation – includes the construction, maintenance, and renovation of public housing facilities. In this regard, the expectation is that local authorities play a leading role in increasing the housing supply through the construction of subsidised council-owned houses. As part of the urban housing policy administration, urban councils also give construction permission or restrict unauthorised housing development in their areas of jurisdiction and verify development applications to ensure that the houses they have planned for are built within the scheduled time. In this respect, urban local authorities also take action against owners of residential stands who do not build out once permissions have been granted. They are also responsible for ensuring that existing public housing facilities are up to acceptable standards – particularly in communities where incomes are lower than the cost of producing new housing. They formulate guiding principles granting permission for the development of housing land in suitable residential areas and ensuring that those housing facilities are maintained and renovated to avoid their dilapidation. However, the slow pace of urban housing construction in Zimbabwe's urban areas and the dilapidated state of most of the local government-managed housing facilities such as Matapi and Magaba flats in Harare demonstrates that local authorities have not properly executed their housing construction maintenance and renovation functions.

Furthermore, part of the urban housing policy administration of urban councils in Zimbabwe involves providing leadership in the development of comprehensive housing strategies. This is an important part of community housing delivery processes, which is also a key component of urban housing policy formulation. Analysts argue that urban local authorities provide leadership and direction in implementing housing initiatives as this is important in developing effective partnerships with the community for funding local housing initiatives.[107] As leaders, urban local authorities have the mandate to shape local housing outcomes, identifying groups with housing needs, recommending future actions to improve housing delivery in local communities. These authorities also ensure that housing strategies capture local needs as housing circumstances differ

[107] Interview with an urban development analyst in Harare – August 2020.

from community to community and region to region. In this policy leadership role, local authorities ensure that housing solutions are tailored to local circumstances and that planning solutions respond to local circumstances. Local authorities in Zimbabwe also provide leadership in sourcing investments into the housing sector. They also help in producing a clear strategy for tackling housing problems based on wide consultation with locals.

The success of urban housing policy formulation and implementation depends on strong and consistent local government leadership, which is important in ensuring that strategies developed for addressing housing problems are not misdirected. This leadership also helps in facilitating the development of strong connections with the local community towards achieving a sustainable and integrated approach to housing outcomes. However, due to different challenges, the majority of urban local authorities in Zimbabwe seem to struggle to provide strategic leadership in the housing sector. In line with this observation, the research revealed that local authorities in Zimbabwe are struggling to become the focal point for coordinating urban housing policy initiatives. The research also found that that local authorities in Zimbabwe have not adequately developed the networks of influence or leadership required both to create and implement effective housing strategies.

The absence of effective leadership proves to be one of the reasons why urban housing policy formulation and implementation in Zimbabwe is ineffective. Leadership also comes through establishing collaborative relationships with other housing providers in the development and implementation of locally designed urban housing initiatives. These collaborations help in sharing knowledge within the local government sector, which is important for local urban housing delivery strategies to flourish. Through this engagement and collaboration, different stakeholders can provide material resources and technical advice for the local authorities to create and implement sustainable local housing strategies effectively. For instance, collaborative relationships in Harare have provided an enabling framework for negotiations with private housing land development companies such as Fidelity Life Assurance in the preparation of residential housing land.

In addition to providing leadership, urban local authorities in Zimbabwe also conduct regular reviews of housing developments to check if the projects and programmes are still aligned with the overall housing policy's aim of delivering sustainable housing in their areas. Housing development assessment reviews are necessary policy controls for ensuring that local authorities

use resources towards fulfilling their mandate. However, the study revealed that in Zimbabwe, seldom do urban councils evaluate urban housing policy strategies. In Harare, for example, most housing policy strategies have not been properly evaluated and this makes it difficult to understand the success or failure of urban housing policies. The council in Harare seems to have limited commitment towards its housing policy administration role because there of weak performance monitoring systems. This is largely because of the absence of performance indicators to assess the progress of ongoing urban housing policy implementation strategies. The success of these strategies remains obscure because reviews are not regularly done. If urban housing policy reviews could be done regularly, the city can have a clear picture of its growing demand and supply trend, which will be useful in developing future housing development plans towards sufficiently accommodating the teeming population of the city. However, the absence of these reviews has meant that the city continues to face challenges in benchmarking its performance, particularly regarding the implementation of urban housing policy delivery strategies.

Urban local authorities in Zimbabwe also conduct housing needs analyses or surveys which enable them to align their housing development plans with the housing needs of the residents. Thus, analysing local housing needs is important in ensuring that the urban housing policy strategies developed by councils are responsive to the local housing demands. Housing needs analyses also provide important information if future urban housing policy formulation processes as they provide useful data for the design of pragmatic policy solutions at the local authority level to help address unmet housing needs. Ideally, with a clear picture of its housing needs, an urban local authority can better determine its housing supply capacity. After compiling the complete database of housing needs, local authorities also use this information to adjust their housing provision aims and objectives, which is an important part of the urban housing policy formulation process.

Furthermore, the development of strategic plans to operationalise the implementation of housing in different localities also constitutes one of the obligations of urban local authorities in Zimbabwe. These strategic plans help to ensure that resources are used to achieve an appropriate supply and mix of housing facilities to meet community needs. Strategic plans also help local authorities in mapping out innovative ways to provide affordable housing in collaboration with private and community partners. The strategic planning process also enables local authorities to layout local housing provision strategies that respond to the demands so that the housing needs of the

community are addressed. In this process, urban local authorities also develop strategies to ensure that housing is affordable to the majority of the citizens. Strategic planning enables local authorities to proactively align housing provision initiatives with local needs. Without substantive strategic plans, it is difficult for the local authorities to systematically mobilise and coordinate resources towards successful housing provision. Such policies set the framework for local authorities to engage community organisations to support the development of social housing to meet the specific social housing needs of the people. Through these policies, local authorities set out land use regulations stating the different land uses across towns and cities in Zimbabwe. These regulations are implemented strictly because local government authorities are likely to be held liable for the construction of houses in undesignated areas.

The research found that urban local authorities in Zimbabwe have a direct role in urban housing provision and this entails formulating and implementing public housing programmes and projects to ensure that housing seekers have access to decent shelter. As enablers, urban local authorities establish new vehicles for housing delivery such as joint ventures with private sector institutions. In Harare, for example, while the council lost its traditional role as the leading developer of residential housing stands, it has encouraged private and non-state actors to actively participate in the provision of housing.[108] However, in most local authorities in Zimbabwe, ensuring that housing supply meets demand is still a challenge as delivery standards are still lower than the expectations.

Despite their efforts to uplift housing supplies, housing continues to be insufficient either to close the current shortfall or to meet the growing demand for housing in the future. The research found that Zimbabwe's urban councils have not had the financial advantage to scale up housing provision. Furthermore, local authorities in Zimbabwe currently have limited operational as the central government returns the power to authorise development licenses to secure the best value for urban land. Local authorities in Zimbabwe have different operational branches. In the section below, I give an outline of the Housing and Community Services Department – an operational branch of the Harare City Council responsible for urban housing policy administration.

[108] City of Harare's Housing Policy Document – page 6.

5.3.1.1 The Housing and Community Services Department (HCSD)

This department is a subdivision of the Harare City Council, and among other things, it is responsible for the management of council-run cemeteries and parks, administration of social services, managing council-run schools as well as administering housing policies within the city – which is the centre of analysis in this research. Regarding housing policy, the department facilitates housing land development, coordinates housing construction, and coordinates city property management. The focus of the department is to deliver quality housing in the city by ensuring that residents have equal access to opportunities that promote homeownership.[109] As part of urban housing policy implementation, the department also manages the development of stands with particular emphasis on providing decent and affordable social housing. The department facilitates collaboration between the central government, the Harare City Council, corporates, private institutions, and NGOs in urban housing projects and programmes in the city. The HCSD also maintains the city housing waiting list and manages the allocation of rented accommodation in the City of Harare. The housing division also provides updates on the housing waiting list so that the housing backlog and the extent of housing shortages can determined. For example, at the end of the year 2016, the department revealed that the City of Harare had a total of 212 734 registered applicants on its housing waiting list.[110] The division also highlighted that the demand for housing in the city continue to grow as shown by the increasing number of applicants.

The HCSD also organises partnerships with the private and non-profit making sector for the delivery of housing facilities in the city under Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs) arrangements. The department has entered into several PPPs to develop and service residential stands, build cluster houses and flats in residential areas such as Loncnivar (PPP with Chimcivil), Tynwald (PPP with Exodus/Naldline), Marlborough (PPP with Nondo Power), Mabvuku (partnership with Shelter Zimbabwe and Pure Gold), Marimba (PPP with IDBZ) and Belvedere (PPP with ETA). The department is also involved in the resuscitation of dilapidated urban public housing facilities as efforts to achieve urban renewal, which is one of the urban housing policy implementation strategies in Harare. For example, in its 2018 strategic plan, the HCSD set out to demolish the dilapidated Mbare Matapi flats and replace them with modern housing units. This was an initiative

[109] Interview with the Housing director in Harare – July 2020.

driven by the council's agenda to renovate old flats in Harare to improve their conditions under the urban renewal model of urban housing policy implementation. These flats were targeted for renovation because they were posing a serious health hazard to the occupants. Their ablution facilities were communal and in a dilapidated state.

The City Housing Director heads the HCSD and his roles include, among other things, administering the allocation of residential stands and rental accommodation in a manner that is equitable, transparent, and efficient to applicants on the city's housing waiting list with the assistance of Cross-Sectional Allocation Committees.[111] However, in most cases, this role has not been handled properly as the HCSD's reputation has been tarnished by recurrent cases of corruption, particularly involving the unauthorised sale and allocation of residential stands by its top management. For example, in *The Herald* newspaper – dated 21 July 2020[112]– it was reported that in July 2020, the director of the HCSD and his predecessor were arrested together with another top management council official and charged with criminal abuse of office, which includes among other things, fraudulently selling council residential stands to underserving people who are not in the housing waiting list of the city.

The 'recipients' of these stands were given fake offer letters and agreement of sale outside the formal allocation procedure of the Harare City Council and this constituted an abuse of office by the housing department leading to the arrest of several suspects. Largely, corruption in the allocation of residential land by local authorities continues to be cited as a major challenge to the implementation of urban housing policy strategies in Harare and other urban areas in Zimbabwe. This is ironic considering that local authorities have to guard against the illegal and unprocedural allocation of residential stands. In the section below, I underscore how the Ministry of National Housing provides the national framework for guiding urban housing policy formulation and implementation processes in Zimbabwe.

5.3.2 The Ministry of National Housing and Social Amenities

The Ministry of Housing and Social Amenities (MoHSAs) is the apex authority for public housing policy formulation and implementation for the Government of Zimbabwe (GoZ). In the processes

[111] City of Harare's Housing and Social Development Department report of 2016.
[112] https://www.herald.co.zw/corruption-city-top-officials-denied-bail/ (accessed 16 November 2020).

of urban housing policy formulation and implementation, the MoHSAs plays a supervisory role, ensuring that all urban housing policies, programmes, and projects are aligned with the overall National Housing Policy. The MoHSAs provides strategic leadership in housing policy making as it sets the housing delivery goals for all local authorities across the country. The MoHSAs also facilitates the establishment of provincial and local municipality housing delivery institutions to expedite the provision of housing in the country. In this regard, the MoHSAs coordinates the activities of various state institutions and other nodal authorities concerning the issues of housing development in the country.[113] In particular, the MoHSAs monitors how all local authorities administer urban housing policies, ensuring that these housing policies are coordinated with the objectives of the National Housing Policy. The MoHSAs sets the national housing policy goals, and in doing this, it establishes the expected housing development standards that should guide all other housing development institutions in the country.[114] The rationale for having the MoHSAs as the central housing administration authority is to ensure that there is uniformity and conformance to the expected standards when urban housing policies are formulated and implemented by urban councils in the country.

The MoHSAs also conducts timely evaluations of the performance of urban local authorities as primary urban housing delivery institutions. This is done to check the extent to which they execute their mandate in line with the broader national housing development agenda. It monitors the housing policy initiatives of urban local authorities to ensure housing policy clarity, relevance, and procedural performance of these institutions in line to ensure adequate housing provision in the country. The review of urban housing policies, standards and institutional performance is also critical priorities of the MoHSAs. Furthermore, the MoHSAs monitors progress in residential land preparation by land developers, ensuring that all land designated for housing is properly developed for the timely construction of housing facilities. In line with this role, the MoHSAs further assists the government in tracking the progress of housing development to ensure that housing projects are completed within the anticipated time. As part of its performance monitoring role, the MoHSAs oblige urban local authorities to prepare and submit quarterly and annual performance reports indicating what they have achieved and the challenges they face in administering housing policies

[113] Interview with an officer in the Ministry of Housing – May 2020.
[114] This is stated in the strategic goals of the Ministry of Housing.

within the local areas of jurisdiction. Through these reports, the MoHSAs can have a picture of the housing development trend in the country and develop measures to ensure that there is progress and consistency when formulating and implementing urban housing policies.

The MoHSAs acknowledges the contribution of other state and non-state institutions in housing provision. In this regard, it designs the enabling frameworks to encourage all stakeholders to participate effectively in urban housing policy processes. For example, urban councils, town councils, and municipalities derive their housing delivery operating guidelines from the MoHSAs – ensuring that how they formulate and implement housing policies is aligned with national housing development objectives. Their mode of operation is largely determined or set out by the MoHSAs so that there is consistency and certainty in how they apply their powers for urban housing policies to be successful. However, it has been argued that the MoHSAs excessively meddle in the housing development activities pursued by urban local authorities, which strips them of their operational autonomy.[115] This limited operational independence has restricted the capacity of urban local authorities to formulate and implement realistic policies to address urban housing challenges.

Moreover, the MoHSAs is responsible for negotiating the state budget for housing development purposes. It is the role of the Minister of Housing to provide compelling requests for the Treasury to allocate adequate financial resources towards housing provision. After the allocation of funds through the annual National Budget, the MoHSAs re-allocate the funds to urban local authorities and municipalities in line with the magnitude of their mandates in their areas of jurisdiction. The MoHSAs then exercise a financial oversight role, ensuring that budgetary funds allocated to the different agencies under its stewardship use the funds judiciously and solely for housing development. In its oversight role, the MoHSAs' key priority is to ensure that all funds allocated by the Treasury towards housing development processes are used for their intended purposes. This financial oversight role is important in ensuring that the funds allocated to local authorities for implementing urban housing policies are used for this purpose.

[115] Interview with housing policy analyst in Harare who further stated that urban local authorities are inefficient in housing policy formulation and implementation because they always "wait for orders and signals" from the MoHSAs on what to do – August 2020.

The housing development process in Zimbabwe is a collaborative process where both state and non-state actors participate. In this respect, the MoHSAs is responsible for promoting consultations and engagement with non-state actors on matters regarding housing development initiatives in different parts of the country. It fosters integrated partnerships between the efforts of state and non-state actors to ensure that urban housing development initiatives in the country are effective. This facilitatory role is important because urban local authorities on their own cannot generate sufficient information and resources to formulate and implement comprehensive urban housing policies – neither do they have the financial and technical capacity to successfully implement these policies on their own. It is the MoHSAs that sets the framework and defines the extent to which non-state participants can participate in the urban housing provision process. The MoHSAs facilitates discussions between the government and representatives of these non-state actors and other stakeholders on matters relating to the ways to ensure that housing provision is effective. For example, all plans, projects, and programmes for housing development in urban local authorities are formulated in consultation with and approved by the MoHSAs before they are implemented. The ministry's external collaborative role enables the development of strategic plans for creating sustainable human settlements in the country.

In addition, the MoHSAs is also responsible for enhancing the capacity of public housing delivery institutions such as urban local authorities through strategic skills transfer and capacity building programmes. For example, in cases where urban councils in Zimbabwe do not have the adequate financial and technical capacity to meet the escalating demand for urban housing delivery, hence the MoHSAs conducts personnel training initiatives that improve the human resources capacity of these local authorities on matters of housing policy formulation and analysis.[116] Regarding urban housing policy implementation, the MoHSAs has an institutional mandate to support local governments with funding to ensure that the formulated policies, programmes, and projects are implemented successfully. However, due to the collapse of Zimbabwe's economy at the turn of the second millennium, funding from the MoHSAs to local authorities towards urban housing policy implementation has dwindled. The research revealed that most of the urban housing development projects and programmes have been abandoned because urban local governments on their own cannot raise sufficient funds to complete them as the support from the MoHSAs has

[116] Interview with an officer in the Ministry of Housing – May 2020.

reduced significantly. Subsequently, most urban housing policies formulated post the year 2000 have not been able to achieve their goal of sufficiently meeting the housing demands of the urbanites. This is one of the reasons why urban housing shortages in Zimbabwe have persisted.

Furthermore, the MoHSAs provides technical support with regards to planning and project management advice to urban local governments to ensure that all housing developments across the country are sustainable and viable. For example, the ministry undertakes a facilitatory role in matters relating to the approval of urban land designated for housing development in different local authorities in the country. Urban Councils are also guided and supervised by the ministry in the development of emergency housing solutions towards addressing the country's housing needs. The MoHSAs is the chief regulator in the public housing development and management process. It provides leadership in housing policy formulation, its implementation and its review to ensure that acceptable human settlement standards are achieved and sustained throughout the country. The ministry also conducts regular housing policy reviews on behalf of the government. In the review process, the housing officers in the ministry identify gaps in existing housing policy and suggest measures in which these gaps can be addressed. These reviews are conducted in consultation with stakeholders, to hear their views on what should be incorporated into a policy.

Housing officers in the ministry synthesise and collate stakeholders' views into the policy during the formulation process. Through the principle of 'the place we live should be the place we work' the ministry makes strides towards ensuring that people live as close as possible to their places of work and in areas where their children have unlimited access to playing facilities and them having access to social facilities such as shipping centres, community halls, schools and related social amenities. The Ministry of Housing also researches the affordability levels of people who want housing land. In this process, it checks their affordability patterns to determine whether they need financial assistance or not, whether they need rented accommodation, or they want to buy stands and houses. All these processes provide useful information when urban housing policies in Zimbabwe are formulated and implemented. In this thesis, I propose that while the MoHSAs play a pivotal role in urban housing policy making, they should not excessively interfere in the decisions made by urban councils as this can enable them to develop housing strategies that respond to their local needs. The role of Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) in formulating and implementing urban housing policies in Zimbabwe is examined in the next section.

5.3.3 Civil Society Organisations

Civil Society Organisations (CSOs), also known as community organisations are interest groups that play a crucial role in bridging the gap that exists between public and private housing provision – which is an important contribution in the process of implementing urban housing policies in Zimbabwe. Research shows that active civil society involvement in urban housing policy making can become the last line of defence against homelessness, especially in situations where state institutions fail to deliver housing facilities that meet the demands of the people (Mullins & Moore, 2018). In this regard, CSOs in most countries assume an oversight role over state institutions, monitoring their performance to ensure that it meets the citizens' expectations by holding state institutions accountable for their different obligations such as housing delivery (Lang & Mullins, 2019). In Zimbabwe's housing sector, before the turn of the second millennium, CSOs were solidarity mechanisms or formal demand aggregation mechanisms for promoting citizen participation in advocating for accessible and affordable housing, which was critical in the formulation of responsive housing policies (Kamete, 1999). In this era, housing-related CSOs in Zimbabwe acted as accountability mechanisms for monitoring the government's housing development initiatives, ensuring that housing policies, programmes, and projects were formulated and implemented in line to reduce challenges in housing access and affordability amongst citizens.

In doing this, CSOs became a vital link for citizens to keep public authorities liable and reactive to the housing requirements of the people.[117] CSOs would encourage citizens to exercise their democratic right to speak, challenge, and argue whenever governing authorities are not effectively executing their mandate of facilitating the effective provision of housing. Before the year 2000, CSOs in Zimbabwe encouraged citizen participation in the governance around housing delivery as they stepped in to put pressure on the government to universalise housing services, a move meant to ensure that the majority of citizens would have a chance to afford housing.[118] In this role, CSOs became formal networks to petition the government to distribute housing to everyone regardless of earning ability. They also encouraged consultative processes between the government and residents in a process that enables the government to listen to citizens' concerns. In this way, CSOs provide an organised interest aggregation platform to enable citizens to work together and build

[117] Interview with a resident's association representative – October 2020.
[118] These views were shared by a representative of resident's association in Harare – October 2020.

them into a potent, powerful force to help defend their right to accessible and affordable housing.[119] In executing this advocacy role, CSOs leaders and activists became mouthpieces for the unheard voices and disseminating them to their media networks, and this helped in promoting best practices in the provision of housing. Through the awareness made by CSOs, citizens living in different parts of Zimbabwe became conscious of the role of the government and its agencies in the provision of adequate housing. They establish decentralised units in different parts of the country to assist in computing data on the sum of people who require housing and collect information about their housing conditions.

CSOs also facilitated the development of partnerships between the local government and local grassroots institutions towards the establishment of collaborative and context-specific housing strategies such as mutual housing and co-housing initiatives. Thus, the CSOs influenced urban housing policy decision making and challenged housing access prejudice, which helped to improve housing delivery processes in Zimbabwe's cities and towns. In doing this, however, CSOs risked being banned for being critical of state institutions and this constrained their effectiveness. For example, in the year 2000, the government started to view some CSOs as 'retrogressive forces' working with opposition political parties and foreign donors to effect regime change in Zimbabwe – a yet to be proven claim.[120] Owing to this tension, the participation of some CSOs in urban housing policy processes has declined since the year 2000.

The decline in the involvement of some CSOs in the housing policy and development process has increased urban housing challenges in Zimbabwe. This is a sad urban housing development because urban local authorities in Zimbabwe currently lack sufficient resources and capacity to provide housing on their own, hence CSOs remain critical collaborative mechanisms to plug the gaps in the government's housing delivery response. Traditionally, while state institutions provided the regulatory framework and funding, CSOs would build effective networks that cut across communities, providing inclusive channels for aggregating the housing concerns of people from all corners of the country. This thesis proposes that if the regulatory framework for the operation of CSOs is conducive, they can offer additional value in community building and maintaining the social fabric or network that is so valuable for low-income and affordable

[119] Interview with housing officer in the Ministry of Housing – May 2020.
[120] Interview with a political analyst at the University of Zimbabwe – November 2020.

community housing provision. In the ensuing section below, I describe and explain the different roles of some of the CSOs or interest groups that have participated in urban housing implementation in Zimbabwe from the year 1980 to 2020.

5.3.3.1 The Homeless People in Zimbabwe Federation (ZHPF)[121]

The ZHPF describes itself as a community-based organization or interest group that consists of a network of over 300 housing savings schemes that collectively save money, mobilising housing development resources in lower-income communities within fifty-nine local authorities around Zimbabwe. The organisation conducts researches to generate information critical for engagement with the state and other relevant stakeholders on how to improve the housing conditions in urban areas with its target being to scale up best practices for the provision of low-income housing to poor urbanites. In the processes of formulating and implementing urban housing policy, the ZHPF encourages citizens in different constituencies to participate in shaping strategies for housing development programmes and projects. It also encourages community-centred exposure visits by policy makers as important learning platforms for public authorities to understand the housing plight of the urban poor. The purpose of these visits is to enable responsible authorities to initiate community-driven housing solutions as they will better understand the benchmarks regarding the quantum of housing requirements in the different communities visited.

The ZHPF is registered as a trust providing technical support to other CSOs to address the challenges of low-income housing in Zimbabwe. It provides technical support through training programmes and workshops designed to facilitate a cooperative interface on issues concerning urban housing development. The federation is driven by the purpose to offer an alternative affordable option for the poor to realise their housing development aspirations through the adoption of initiatives that remove factors that ordinarily disqualify the poor from accessing or affording housing facilities. The ZHPF has daily savings schemes developed for raising financial resources to support its group members. During the collection of these daily savings, the ZHPF also takes the opportunity to investigate the housing challenges of its members, which is important in the development of tailor-made solutions to their housing needs. The ZHPF also conducts regular enumerations or surveys to collect information on the housing development priorities of

[121] Extracted from the ZHPF website: http://dialogueonshelter.co.zw/about-us/zihopfe.html (Accessed 18 May 2020)

different communities. These enumerations help to articulate the community housing development agenda as they make public authorities more aware of the housing circumstances faced by different communities and help councils to formulate responsive interventions to the needs identified.

The ZHPF has had a notable role in urban housing provision in Zimbabwe. For example, as part of its savings scheme initiative, the ZHPF established the Gungano urban poor loan fund, a housing finance model which helps low-income households to access funds for either buying residential housing stands or completing housing units. Savings into the Gungano Fund are collected from individual contributions by members of the federation. These savings are combined with other donations from the non-state sector and used to support community-based housing development programmes and projects. The Gungano Fund is managed by the ZHPF in collaboration with an NGO called Shelter for the Homeless in Zimbabwe Trust. The upgrading of Dzivarasekwa Extension, which was formerly an informal settlement located in the western part of Harare, is one of the projects that has been funded by the ZHPF in collaboration with other partners such as the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation. In this project, loans were issued to members of the ZHPF for housing improvements. These loans would then be paid back by the beneficiaries, within an agreed period and at an agreed interest rate so that other members of the federation could also benefit. The Zimbabwe National Association of Housing Cooperatives (ZINAHCO) is another CSO participating in urban housing policy formulation and implementation in Zimbabwe in a manner described in the section below.

5.3.3.2 The Zimbabwe National Association of Housing Cooperatives (ZINAHCO)[122]

The ZINAHCO is the apex organisation for housing cooperatives in Zimbabwe. The association represents over 10 000 individual members spread across over 120 housing co-operatives in different urban districts in Zimbabwe. Its vision is to create a society in which low-income home seekers can access, secure, adequate, and affordable housing through cooperative housing strategies. The ZIHAHCO lobbies and advocates for housing policies that help to mitigate the impact of the housing challenges faced by citizens around the country. The ZINAHCO usually advocates for issues such as equitable residential housing land allocation, improved security of

[122] The information about the profile and role of the ZINAHCO was obtained from an official in the Ministry of Housing who shared both his views and his writings on the role of CSOs in housing policy making.

housing tenure as well as taking a firm stance on the eviction of residents without an alternative. It also lobbies for a policy framework that promotes the broadening of access to credit facilities and the widening of formal sources of housing finance to low-income earners. These lobbies provide the necessary pressure for these issues to be encompassed in future urban housing policies. The lobbying done by the ZINAHCO is important in providing information when formulating and implementing urban housing policy in Zimbabwe. The association does not work alone, but it collaborates with other regional and international institutions that also work towards promoting sustainable human settlements in the country. The ZINAHCO also conducts housing policy reviews where it assesses the effectiveness of existing housing policies and the information from these reviews contributes immensely to the design of future urban housing policies.

The association also strives to improve the relations between housing cooperatives and local authorities, with its goal being to establish trust and productive working relations between these two key housing stakeholders. In this regard, the ZINAHCO has a Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) with local authorities to govern residential stand prices and their payment plans, the proper allocation procedure for residential stands, and housing development conditions as well as stipulating the obligations of the parties involved in these processes. The ZINAHCO is an important CBO for mobilising residents and engaging councils in housing policy implementation projects and programmes (Musekiwa & Chatiza, 2015). However, local authorities often lack the political will to work with the ZINAHCO as they fear that it can further expose the allegations of corruption in urban councils. In terms of urban housing policy implementation, the ZINAHCO supports urban local authorities by providing incremental housing provision through purchasing residential stands and building materials for its members.

In some cases, the cooperatives under ZINAHCO secures already serviced land, but sometimes it acquires virgin land and allocates it to housing cooperatives registered under it for them to develop it for their members. The ZINAHCO helps registered housing cooperatives to secure housing loans from different financiers such as Rooftops Canada – Abri International, Homeless International (UK), SIDA, and the Swedish Co-operative Center Regional office for Southern Africa. Members of ZINAHCO are expected to make monthly subscriptions regardless of whether they have been allocated a housing facility or not. In addition, the ZINAHCO assists new housing cooperatives with the registration process and with the acquisition of housing land for their members. Housing

cooperatives registered under ZINAHCO are mainly financed through monthly subscriptions by members. When a contributing member resigns from the cooperative, their contributions are reimbursed. In the section hereunder, I discuss the role of the Housing People of Zimbabwe, another CBO that contributes to the process of formulating and implementing urban housing policies in Zimbabwe.

5.3.3.3 The Housing People of Zimbabwe (HPZ)

The HPZ was formed in 1992 as a non-profit making interest group that provides technical advice to housing cooperatives, societies and groups on housing matters. It works with government institutions in assisting people with limited financial means to house themselves. The HPZ also conducts research on the housing needs of people in different parts of the country and for urban housing policy making, this information is helpful to urban councils as they formulate responsive urban housing strategies to meet these needs. Just like the ZIHNACO, the HPZ used to benefit from two international organisations, that is, the Rooftops Canada Foundation and the Swedish Co-operative Center. However, these two organisations withdrew their support in 2010 and since then, the HPZ engagement in urban housing processes has been limited by financial shortages. In the section below, I discuss the role of residents' Associations in urban housing policy formulation and implementation.

5.3.4 Residents' Associations

Residents' associations are pressure or interest groups that monitor local governments' activities to improve service delivery and accountability to ratepayers (Musekiwa & Chatiza, 2015). In Zimbabwe, these associations are found in most cities and towns and the most common ones are the Combined Harare Residents Association (CHRA), the Bulawayo Progressive Residents' Association (BPRA), the Gweru Residents' Association (GRA) and the Combined Mutare Residents' and Ratepayers' Association (CMRRA). In the processes of urban housing policy making, residents' Associations aggregate the complaints, demands, and needs of their members to make recommendations to ensure that high-quality and decent housing services are delivered to the citizens. Analysts argue that the continued existence of residents' associations signifies the loss of trust in the local government's capacity to respond to the housing needs of the residents. To strengthen their voice in urban housing policy making processes and related urban management

affairs, citizens have to act collectively, hence the institutionalisation of their public participation under the banner of residents' associations. These associations play an oversight role by instituting a formal check and balance system to ensure that urban local authorities formulate and implement urban housing policies that effectively respond to the housing needs of the people. They offer policy recommendations to ensure the long-term preservation of high-quality affordable housing. In the section below, I discuss the contribution of international housing development organisations in the formulation and implementation of urban housing policy in Zimbabwe.

5.3.5 International Housing Development Organizations

Urban housing policy developments in Zimbabwe are also supported by Non-Governmental-Organisations and International Organisations. The main functions of these non-state actors in urban housing policy making include providing technical support, social mobilisation, direct provision of housing, capacity building, and providing financial resource leverage in housing delivery processes. International Organizations and NGOs have had a history of an auxiliary role in housing development initiatives and management processes in Zimbabwe and these include:

5.3.5.1 The United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat)

The United Nations (UN) is one of the key institutions responsible for urban housing development around the world (UN-Habitat, 2013). The UN works through its arms such as the UN-Habitat, whose primary aim is to assist all member states of the UN to help them in their efforts to improve housing access for their citizens. The UN-Habitat supports and encourages its member states to develop pragmatic urban housing strategies that respond to the actual housing needs of the people. It provides policy recommendations to guide urban housing institutions in member states when formulating and implementing urban housing policies. In Zimbabwe, the UN-Habitat partners with the central government in developing links on how to improve the housing conditions of people in different cities and towns. The advice and resource assistance that the UN-Habitat gives to the Government of Zimbabwe is received through the Ministries of Housing and Ministry of Local Government whose mandate is to share or distribute the resources to local authorities in the country depending on the varying needs.

The UN-Habitat also monitors and reviews urban housing policies in different countries to check if they are promoting sustainable, equitable, and adequate housing options for the people, especially those with low-income means. In this regard, the UN-Habitat plays an important advisory role in support of pro-poor housing policy formulation and implementation in different countries. The UN-Habitat also mobilises international support towards helping member states in achieving their housing development goals. The organisation continues to play an advocacy role towards strengthening the capacity of member states of governments to adequately address the housing needs of the people. In the section below, I analyse the role of bilateral agencies in the urban housing policy formulation and implementation processes in Zimbabwe.

5.3.5.2 Bilateral Agencies: United States Agency for International Development (USAID)[123]

The USAID used to be the main bilateral agency that influenced urban housing policy development and direct housing provision in Zimbabwe before bilateral relations between Harare and Washington became hostile due to the alleged errant governance in Zimbabwe under former President Robert Mugabe (Kamete, 2001). Between 1980 and 1999, the USAID's support helped to increase and advance housing ownership by low-income urban groups in Zimbabwe, particularly in Harare, the capital where several housing delivery projects were implemented. During its engagement years in Zimbabwe's housing sector, the USAID provided technical assistance in support of housing policy change in the country (Kamete, 2001). At that time, these initiatives were important in shaping the content of urban housing policy and the direction of its implementation. In 1980, the USAID housing aid came in the form of housing guaranty loans amounting to US$ 50 million, and this was mainly targeted at improving low-income housing access, addressing pre-independence housing imbalances and shortages recorded to be an estimated 1 million housing deficits in 1999 (Kamete, 2001). This aid was an important form of support towards the implementation of several urban housing policy strategies such as the Private Sector Housing Programme where funds were channelled via private sector institutions such as building societies and not disbursed through the central government.

[123] 123 This information was extracted from Kamete (2001) who wrote an article specifically focusing on the USAID's involvement in urban housing delivery programmes in Zimbabwe.

The USAID's decision to avoid the central government and its agencies in the administration of this fund was based on its understanding of government inefficiencies and that there was also a high chance that the funds would be diverted to other ventures through corruption, which would impede housing delivery.[124] Analysts argue that the agency's reservations were informed by the desire to avoid a situation where senior public officials illegally access and misplace housing funds, as was reported to be the case in the National Housing Fund in the mid-1990s. Thus, the Agency had to release mortgages for low-income housing through building societies and private sector institutions as a measure to avert the potential diversion of housing aid towards other government programmes. This was done to ensure that the funds reach the targeted group which is low-income households. In its engagement years, the USAID was directly or indirectly involved in different aspects of urban housing programmes, projects, and processes. In this time, the USAID also initiated studies on urban housing development indicators, studies on the feasibility of housing finance options such as secondary mortgage markets, and measures on improving municipal finances towards urban housing policy development. All these measures were instrumental in influencing urban housing policy in Zimbabwe during this period. During this time, the USAID became an active participant in urban housing policy development with a mission to improve housing delivery in Zimbabwe.

The housing projects funded by the USAID were successful in most urban areas as well as at various growth points in Zimbabwe. For example, under the Private Sector Housing Programme, the USAID managed to fund the provision of at least 27 000 housing facilities in the form of serviced stands or core housing units (Kamete, 2001). This programme increased the low-income housing delivery capacity of Zimbabwe's local government institutions. It provided leverage regarding addressing housing shortages amongst the low income, especially by providing access to affordable mortgage finance. The USAID also influenced the government's prioritisation of low-income housing provision during the first two decades of independence in Zimbabwe. Kamete (2001) observes that the then Ministry the Public Construction and National Housing acknowledged that the involvement of the USAID through the Private Sector Housing Programme had contributed to a 30 per cent reduction in building costs.

[124] This is argued by Kamete (2001).

In terms of direct policy impact, the USAID also credited itself for the capacity to persuade the Government of Zimbabwe to prioritise the National Housing Fund resources towards the provision of low-income housing units which was a departure from the previous focus on using this fund for middle-income housing. However, despite its success in funding the Private Sector Housing Programme, the Agency has been criticised for how it pursued an absolute private approach in pursuing some projects such as the Kuwadzana extension housing development project without the approval of the local authorities (Kamete, 2001). This partly explains why the central government was suspicious of a hidden political agenda by the USAID, although there is yet to be concrete evidence to substantiate the suspicion. Nonetheless, the contribution of the USAID in urban housing policy formulation and implementation processes in Zimbabwe can never be forgotten. Multilateral agencies also have a pivotal role in urban housing policy formulation and implementation in Zimbabwe. Their contribution to these processes is explained below.

5.3.5.3 Multilateral Agencies: World Bank and Commonwealth Development Corporation

The World Bank (WB) is one of the multilateral financial agencies that has been involved in urban housing policy implementation in Zimbabwe through the provision of housing development financial assistance. This assistance was motivated by the fact that the majority of urban poor residents in Zimbabwe would not have access to decent formal housing without the WB's affordable housing solutions (Kamete, 2001). Thus, soon after the attainment of political independence in Zimbabwe in April 1980, local government support towards housing and infrastructural development was initiated under the Urban I and Urban II projects (Bond, 1996). In these projects, the WB assisted the Government of Zimbabwe to establish housing finance markers that were designed to avail loans to the citizens (Bond, 1996; Kamete, 2001). These projects helped in the establishment of affordable housing finance schemes that were affordable and responsive to housing finance problems across different income levels. The World Bank also emphasised the expansion of access to lower-income housing markets through strategies such as contractual savings, guarantee schemes, and residential leasing to low-income earning groups in the country. All these aspects influenced the urban housing policy implementation strategies developed by urban local authorities in Zimbabwe at that time. These measures were essential in addressing obstacles to affordable housing amongst the low and medium-income groups in society, which is one of the objectives of urban housing policy in Zimbabwe.

In December 1994, for example, the WB completed the Zimbabwe Urban Development Project whose main aim was to strengthen the capacity of urban local authorities to adequately provide housing facilities to citizens. The number of plots serviced under this project exceeded the targeted number by 85% – for instance, by December 1994, about 11,000 houses had been completed and occupied or were under construction.[125] The primary objective of the project was to reform the housing finance system in the country by introducing the housing mortgage market, with the aim being to promote affordable housing provision in Zimbabwe. The research found that at that time, this objective was pursued by concentrating the low-income housing initiatives of local authorities on the supply of serviced residential stands and by introducing private sector financing of such housing through existing financial intermediaries. The project had various urban development components which were administered by the then Ministry of Local Government, Rural and Urban Development (MLGRUD) while others were overseen by the Ministry of Public Construction and National Housing (MPCNH) and the Ministry of Transport (MT).[126] Concerning housing development, it sought to fund the development of about 11 349 residential plots in Harare and three other towns with related infrastructure and community facilities (Bond, 1996). However, the expected progress was stalled by the perceived lack of interest from local governments (Kamete, 2001).

The WB's Zimbabwe Urban Development Project provided the vehicle for introducing a new low-income housing delivery system in Zimbabwe in an arrangement where urban local authorities would provide serviced residential housing sites and local and low-income households would secure mortgage finance from local financial institutions (Bond, 1996; Kamete, 2001). This approach was in line with the current approach used by the Harare City Council, where financial institutions can be allocated land to develop and later allocated to members of the city housing waiting list under the close monitoring of the council.[127] By the time of the WB Zimbabwe Urban Development Project loan closure in 1994, 15,500 plots had been serviced, 5,000 more plots were being prepared, and about 11,000 houses had been completed or were under construction (Bond, 1996). In terms of the project implementation strategy, the main mode of construction selected by plot allottees was the aided self-help housing, which meant that the owner would build the house

[125] Project Completion Evaluation Report: Zimbabwe Urban Development Project-World Bank by Bond (1996).
[126] To date, these three government ministries still collaborate in urban housing policy development endeavours.
[127] Harare City Housing Policy Document – page 5.

with the assistance of small contractors. Evaluation reports show that this project was successful in forging a link between public and private sector operations as it strengthened local government by shifting mortgage financing responsibilities to local building societies.[128] The financial support from the World Bank also provided the government with financial stability to release public funds for other uses and simultaneously reduce fiduciary risks borne by local authorities (Kamete, 2001).

While the project recorded some success, it had its shortcomings. For example, progress in the project was sometimes halted by the misunderstanding between the Bank and the government in terms of the mode of operating. For example, there were times where the government and the Bank took opposing sides on matters of policy, as, for example, in the case of the most appropriate mode of construction of dwelling units. Firstly, the MPCNH wanted the houses to be built under the project to have a minimum size of four rooms with a toilet/bathroom, while the Bank advocated one room with a toilet/bathroom. The matter was resolved by an arrangement whereby the buyer of each plot could not occupy the plot until one room plus toilet/bathroom was completed and had to build three additional rooms within 18 months. The second challenge was that the MPCNH wanted all houses built under the sponsorship to be put up by building brigades (construction units staffed by municipal employees) while the Bank, concerned about the inefficiency of public sector construction units, wanted the plot owners to be able to choose whomever they wished to build their houses for them.[129] This issue was resolved by allowing beneficiaries to decide on a menu of approved methods proposed by both parties. The implementation of the project was also occasionally hampered by the inadequate capacity to survey land, prepare legal documents, register titles, and other administrative tasks.

The WB aid for the Zimbabwe Urban Development Project was supported by the Commonwealth Development Corporation (CDC) which at that time was another multilateral agency involved in housing development in Zimbabwe. The CDC spearheaded the development of private housing finances for low-income housing activities, which included the supply of serviced land by local authorities (Kamete, 2001). It also introduced private-sector financial intermediaries, establishing new procedures for financing and construction of low-income housing. The provision of loans was done through three local Building Societies (BSs) responsible for vetting and selection of

[128] Project Completion Evaluation Report: Zimbabwe Urban Development Project-World Bank by Bond (1996).
[129] Project Completion Evaluation Report: Zimbabwe Urban Development Project-World Bank by Bond (1996).

appropriate occupants of the lots for the construction of low-income housing. The Building Societies undertook to mobilize domestic resources to finance mortgage loans to low-income borrowers who would build on identified residential housing development sites. The provision of mortgage loans by the BS was part of the definition of the project and the allocation of plots to eligible beneficiaries and the provision of finance and construction of housing was the major thrust of the project. Overall, the project succeeded in introducing Zimbabwe to a new system for the production of low-income housing. The operation of the low-income housing production system introduced under the project and other governmental policies and procedures revised under the project. The new housing production system was introduced with limited outside help and this operation is sustainable with staff available in Zimbabwe, supplemented by modest external technical support. International foundations such as the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation also constitute the processes of formulating and implementing urban housing policies in Zimbabwe in the manner discussed in the next section.

5.3.5.4 International Foundations: The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation

International foundations are also active in urban housing policy processes in Zimbabwe. These institutions influence how urban housing policies are pursued because they provide financial support to urban housing development initiatives. In 2010, for example, the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation granted US$ 5 million to help build houses for impoverished families in Harare under Gates Foundation Low-Cost Housing project.[130] The project was completed in April 2015 with the foundation pledging to provide similar grants continuingly if the projects are appropriately administered and the use of funding is transparent. Of the US$ 5 million donations for this project, part of it was used to service 200m^2 residential stands while part of it was used allocated to the beneficiary families for them to construct houses.[131] The City of Harare together with the Homeless People's Federation of Zimbabwe partnered with the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation in implementing this project. The remainder of the fund was used to relocate 121 families from shanties in Gunhill near Borrowdale to already serviced low-income residential stands in

[130] https://www.devex.com/news/zimbabwe-gains-gates-foundation-grant-for-housing-scheme-67403 (accessed 14 April 2020)
[131] https://www.voazimbabwe.com/a/bill-and-melinda-gates-foundation-houses-dzivarasekwa-harare/2728994.html (accessed 21 April 2020)

Mabvuku. Some of the beneficiaries of this project were people displaced from different informal settlements under Operation Murambatsvina in 2005.

The May 2005 country-wide government demolition of slums in Zimbabwe had made people move into holding camps, and Dzivarasekwa Extension was one of them (Dorman, 2016), and funding from the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation was useful in improving their housing conditions through either relocating them to better areas or had their slums upgraded *in situ*. The slum upgrading initiative provided a perfect opportunity to demonstrate a more inclusive way of tackling issues in urban informal settlements. In the slum upgrading process, community members were also involved in the trenching and laying of water and sewer pipes. At the end of the project duration in April 2015, 408 housing units were commissioned in Dzivarasekwa extension and the project is well remembered for its success in delivering low-income housing units in Dzivaresekwa Extension.[132] The housing situation in this area was transformed as families were left with secure land tenure, adequate water and sanitation facilities, and improved roads. In the ensuing section, I focus on the contribution of private sector institutions in urban housing policy formulation and implementation processes in Zimbabwe.

5.3.6 Private Sector Institutions

The most active private sector institutions in urban housing policy processes in Zimbabwe are Building Societies, land development companies, banks, corporates, Pension Funds and Professional Institutes. As will be discussed below, some of these institutions are active in both urban housing policy formulation and implementation, while some are only active in one of these two processes. In the ensuing section, I first discuss the role of Building Societies in urban housing policy making in Zimbabwe.

5.3.6.1 Building Societies (BSs)

Building Societies are financial institutions that lend housing-related loans or mortgages to their members (Kamete, 1999). The Building Societies Act of Zimbabwe 1965 [Chapter 24:02] defines a building society as:

[132] Interview held with former Harare mayor – April 2020.

> …an association of persons with the principal objective of raising money by issuing shares to its members and by accepting deposits or loans from its members and others, and using such money to make advances to members and others upon the security of a mortgage for enabling persons to whom such advances are to be made to acquire immovable property or to maintain the immovable property.

The purpose of a building society is to collect savings from its investing and non-investing members and use them to issue housing loans and mortgages to its borrowing members. The Building Societies Act [Chapter 24:02] empowers registered BSs in Zimbabwe to accept fixed and savings deposits from members and non-members. Building societies provide mortgages or loans that can help individuals and businesses to purchase a house, property or residential stand without paying its entire value upfront. Most building societies in Zimbabwe are terminating institutions, which means that they are closed once they have assisted all their members in building their houses. Before 1985, building societies in Zimbabwe were reluctant to provide loans and mortgages for low-income housing because of the fear of high default rates, poor construction standards, lack of security of tenure, and the existence of unsurveyed plots.[133] Building societies only entered the urban low-income housing finance market in 1985, and by the end of 1995, only 13 per cent of the building society portfolios were in low-cost housing mortgages.

According to Kamete (1999), in 1993, the first indigenous building society, the Zimbabwe Building Society (ZBS) was established with the mission to address the plight of low- and middle-income groups regarding housing ownership assistance through loans. At that time, the government found an indigenous building society fitting very well into its philosophy of housing urban low-income groups around the country. In 1995, another indigenous building society, the First National Building Society (FNBS), was also established. At that time, international building societies such as CABS were accused of racism and insensitivity to the plight of black mortgage applicants and borrowers, a situation that was brought into the picture through the indigenisation and affirmative action or black economic empowerment drive (Kamete, 1999). To date, the high demand for housing finance in Zimbabwe justifies the establishment and continued operations of building societies as budget funds allocated to housing by the government are limited because of other priorities in economic development.

[133] This is augmented by Kamete (1999)

The 1994 amendment to the Building Societies Act enabled BSs to enter into joint ventures with the public sector in direct housing delivery, including the servicing of land and the development of the superstructure. Since then, building societies became very active in urban housing delivery processes. Section II of the amended Business Societies Act of 1994 states that raising money is achieved through measures such as issuing shares to members, accepting deposits and loans from members and non-members.[134] The amended Building Societies Act states that these funds are then used to assist society members in the acquisition of property, its maintenance as well as acquiring land to erect buildings under the conditions described above and to enter into ventures with the public sector in acquiring and servicing land. In this regard, BSs act as intermediaries in providing finance for the development of residential, commercial, and industrial properties for society members (Kamete, 1999). From 1995, BSs in Zimbabwe started to enter into partnerships with local authorities as a measure to promote collaboration towards housing development in the country. These partnerships were made possible by the central government's amendment to the Building Societies Act in 1994. Through these partnerships, local authorities provide the land while the societies provide the finances. In this housing investment model, financing was done by the building society, but the interviewing of applicants and the selection of beneficiaries was done by a relevant urban council.

The main examples of building societies that have participated in housing development processes in Zimbabwe are the Beverly-CBZ Building Society, the Zimbabwe Building Society, the FBC Building Society, Founders-Intermarket-ZB Building Society, Central African Building Society (CABS), the First National Building Society and the NBS. In December 2020, the most popular and active Building Society in Zimbabwe is the National Building Society (NBS). The NBS got its operating licence in April 2016 and its mandate is to contribute to the increase in the national housing stock, which also implies its participation in urban housing implementation processes. This building society has used its solid capital base to facilitate access to loans in supportive efforts to improve low-income housing access to Zimbabweans in different urban areas. The institution strives towards the provision of decent housing accommodation through providing housing financial assistance such as loans and mortgages at affordable rates. Since its establishment, the NBS has embarked on several low-income housing delivery projects around the country. By June

[134] Amended Building Societies Act of 1994 [Chapter 24:02]

2020, the NBS had commissioned housing units in Adelaide Park in Epworth, Woodbrooke Park in Bindura, Amalinda Park in Glen Norah, Harare, Shurugwi's Magakooshla, Masvingo's Victoria Ranch and Stoneridge Park in Harare.[135]

In an interview with an officer in the Harare City Council, it was revealed that the Stoneridge Park project delivered 307 completed housing units in various locations and had 840 housing units at various stages of completion in April 2018. As of December 2020, they include the NBS Park project, a housing development programme near Glaudina situated in Harare, close to the Harare-Bulawayo highway. Work on this project commenced in April 2018, involving the construction of an apartment complex that will have 288 flats with 2-bedroomed units to completion. Another ongoing project is the Hopeville Housing Project, a medium-density housing development project located between the airport and the city centre in Bulawayo. The Dzivarasekwa housing project in which the NBS seeks to avail houses to civil servants at an affordable price upon opening an account with them.[136] According to Gotora (2020), the houses range from 2 rooms to 4 rooms in the Dzivarasekwa area with no deposit required for the stands, as the account holder and beneficiary would then pay monthly instalments towards the houses.[137]

Despite their notable contribution in housing delivery, before the year 2000, building societies in Zimbabwe were being criticised for not trying hard enough to accommodate the special housing needs of low-income earners in high-density areas (Kamete, 1999). At that time, their alleged lack of creativity, eligibility criteria for housing loans, loan terms as well as allocation and loan recovery procedures are among the building society practices that have been severely criticised or negatively commented upon. Moreover, government regulations that govern the operations of BSs in Zimbabwe have for long been blamed for stifling their operations, reducing their competitiveness, and crippling their capacity to mobilize funds thereby resulting in the marginalisation of low-income groups in the housing finance market (Kamete, 1999). For example, lending rates, and interest rates for housing mortgages have always been controlled by the government, which inevitably allow the government to interfere in the process of dealing with defaulters. Through regulation, the central government makes it possible for defaulters who are

[135] http://www.nbs.co.zw/about-us/news (accessed 23 August 2020)
[136] http://nbs.co.zw/diaspora/our-projects (accessed 27 September 2020)
[137] https://www.herald.co.zw/nbs-resolves-dzivaresekwa-housing-case/ (accessed 12 October 2020)

about to lose their properties to appeal to the central government for assistance. The cooperate governance frameworks of BSs in Zimbabwe have not been immune from criticism from the public. For example, in 2018, the board of the National Building Society (NBS) was forced to suspend their managing director to allow for comprehensive auditing after a preliminary investigation discovered irregularities in the issuance of mortgage loans.[138] There have been calls for the NBS to improve its corporate governance so that it can retain the trust of its members. In the section below, I discuss the role of property development associations and land development companies in urban housing policy processes in Zimbabwe.

5.3.6.2 Zimbabwe Property Developers Association and Land Development Companies

Land developers are some of the main organisations that work with urban local authorities in implementing housing projects in Zimbabwe. The activities and operations of land development companies are regulated by the Zimbabwe Property Developers Association (ZIPRODA). The ZIPRODA regulates the activities of land developers in Zimbabwe in conjunction with the Ministry of National Housing. It also works with local authorities to ensure that the demand for housing is shared with the developers. The main urban housing policy implementation services provided by the ZIPRODA include assisting in the development of layout plans, the laying of sewer and water pipes, the design of road network plans, and surveying land for residential housing. The ZIPRODA also monitors the activities of land developers to ensure that they provide the highest performance and service standards when servicing virgin land for residential housing development.[139] The association works with registered land developers to ensure that there is order in the development of residential housing in urban areas. It fights against bogus land developers who cause the proliferation of informal settlements in Zimbabwe's cities and towns. In this regard, the association seeks to achieve and maintain consumer confidence by removing all counterfeit land and property development entities.[140] The association encourages all entities wishing to provide land development services to be registered as its members first.

[138] http://businessdaily.co.zw/index-id-business-zk-36626.html (accessed 10 June 220).
[139] https://www.theafronews.com/international-news/bill-proposed-to-regulate-property-industry-in-zimbabwe/ (accessed 13 May 2020).
[140] Interview with housing analyst in Harare – June 2020.

In 2017, the ZIPRODA was instrumental in the formulation of the Property Developers Bill, whose objective was to provide a legal framework for regulating the land and property development industry.[141] The regulation of the land development industry is an important initiative in ensuring that the activities of different housing development stakeholders are monitored towards the successful implementation of urban housing policies, projects, and programmes in Zimbabwe's urban areas. In this regard, the ZIPRODA encourages the public to work with a registered membership than just any developer to avoid the regret that comes after dealing with unscrupulous land developers. This is done to ensure that members ensure that citizens are not conned into buying land in undesignated areas as these will be demolished by responsible councils in future. In this way, the association helps to enforce discipline in property and housing development in the country. Nevertheless, bogus property and land developers continue to take people's money even if they are unable to deliver the services they promise. Gotora (2020) argues that this is so because they dupe unsuspecting clients because they do not have traceable references as they provide false information about their business locations to unsuspecting clients.[142] Unfortunately, many people in urban areas have fallen victim to these bogus property and land developers as they continue to find new tricks to defraud home seekers.

Registered land developers play a critical role in urban housing delivery processes. For example, they can transform an empty piece of land into new homes. The ZIPRODA encourages land developers to work with local authorities, construction companies, architects, and others to ensure that idle and suitable land is well prepared for the construction of housing facilities. When urban housing projects are implemented, the ZIPRODA monitors the activities of land developers to ensure that they comply with the council's zoning regulations and ordinances. This is important in ensuring that housing projects are pursued in line with sustainable environmental management standards. Registered land developers assist in the location of the best sites for residential housing and mobilising funds for preparing or servicing land identified for residential housing. The ZIPRODA supervises the activities of land developers to ensure that all land servicing and construction works they do are in line with town planning and environmental regulations. The

[141] https://www.chronicle.co.zw/land-developers-welcome-proposed-legislation/ (accessed 12 July 2020)
[142] https://www.herald.co.zw/private-land-developers-housing-trusts-whats-next/ (accessed 19 October 2020)

efforts to control land developers are an important process in urban housing policy implementation in Zimbabwe. The association also does regular checks on the progress of land developers to ensure that they achieve their goals in time. From time to time, the ZIPRODA also negotiates for the acquisition and renewal of licences for land developers registered with it. This is important in ensuring that their operations are always legal. It also helps land developers in securing loans from commercial banks and other investors for funding housing land preparation.

The main land development companies that are active in urban housing policy processes in Zimbabwe are the Zimbabwe Housing Projects (ZHP) and Shelter Zimbabwe. The ZHP has a strong presence in most of the major cities and towns in Zimbabwe and this makes it the largest housing development company in the country. The ZHP partners with the NBS in terms of securing mortgages for its clients and this is important in implementing the majority of its urban housing development projects. The ZHP became a formally registered Zimbabwean indigenous business in 2010 and before this, its focus was on consultancy. Its land development activities include locating the suitable land for residential housing and then servicing the land through road construction as well as installation of sewer and water pipes. The ZHP is currently well known in the urban housing sector for three main functions, which are land development, building, and construction as well as equipment hire. It collaborates with private land owners, local authorities, and the central government in developing virgin land into residential stands towards the delivery of full-fledged housing facilities. Concerning building and construction services, the ZHP is involved in the design and construction of model houses and their members through various schemes and initiatives. The ZHP also offers a wide range of equipment for land development for hire. In general, the ZHP has gained a good reputation for effective housing service delivery, which makes it a key institution in the implementation of urban housing projects in Zimbabwe.

The second land development organisation in the country is Shelter Zimbabwe[143] which is also a key institution in residential land development in most urban areas around the country. Shelter Zimbabwe has a good reputation for developing quality residential housing stands. This company enjoys excellent relations with local authorities in Zimbabwe as it works with them in implementing housing projects. In Harare Metropolitan, Shelter Zimbabwe has established Joint

[143] This information was extracted on the website of Shelter Zimbabwe on: http://www.shelter.co.zw/ (accessed 10 May 2020)

Venture Smart Partnership (JVSP) arrangements with councils towards the development of a wide range of residential stands in various locations such as Zimre Park, Mabvuku and Dzivarasekwa. Its main project outputs include the Adelaide Park project, a 200 square meters residential stands initiative located about 4km off Mutare opposite Zimre Park in Harare, where over 700 of the estimated 1 500 residential stands were serviced in 2017 alone.[144] The stands were sold through the mortgage facility while corporates were also allowed to buy them. Another project delivered in 2017 was the Chizhanje housing project in Mabvuku, where 200sqm residential stands were developed through a joint venture between the Harare City Council and Shelter Zimbabwe. In 2019, Shelter Zimbabwe was busy with the development of over 200 residential stands in Rockview Park in Harare with their sizes ranging between 1 000sqm and 2000 square meters.[145] From all these projects, it can be noted that Shelter Zimbabwe has a remarkable role in urban housing policy formulation. Shelter Zimbabwe is therefore an important institution in urban housing policy implementation in Zimbabwe. However, like any other company operating in Zimbabwe since the year 2000, Shelter Zimbabwe's operational capacity has been limited by the prevailing harsh economic conditions in the country. In the ensuing section, I briefly discuss how professional institutes contribute to the processes of formulating and implementing urban housing policies in Zimbabwe.

5.3.6.3 Professional Institutes

Professional institutes assist or advise urban housing policy makers, especially on technical matters. In Harare for example, the Institutes of Engineers, Institute of Town Planners, Institute of Land Surveyors as well as Institute of Architects are directly involved in urban housing policy development and its implementation, making sure that the policy will synchronize with physical urban planning and urban development standards. These professional institutes give technical advice that is useful in urban housing policy decision making. They advise urban housing institutions on issues of technical nature for ensuring adherence to basic rules and standards in land use and housing development. These institutes work closely with departments of physical planning in both the Ministry of Housing and in urban councils to ensure that cities expand in line with local and global town planning standards. For example, when there are plans to service land for

[144] *Ibid.*
[145] http://www.shelter.co.zw/ (accessed 19 August 2020).

residential housing, the city council will consult these institutes to get insight on the technical feasibility of such plans before their implementation – making these institutes key actors in urban housing policy making.

5.3.7 Local Financial Institutions – The Infrastructure Development Bank of Zimbabwe

The Infrastructure Development Bank of Zimbabwe (IDBZ) improves the living standards of Zimbabweans through the development of social and economic infrastructure such as urban housing facilities. Since its establishment in August 2005, the IDBZ Bank has been involved in urban housing policy implementation by financing the construction of onsite and offsite infrastructure to facilitate sustainable housing development. Some of the notable nationwide urban housing projects that have been funded by the IDBZ include 200 high-density residential stands in Mbizo – Kwekwe, 704 low-density residential stands in Clipsham Vies in Masvingo, the Carrick Creigh stands in Harare, the Chikanga housing project in Mutare, the Paradise Park housing project in Marondera and the Parkland Mews in Bulawayo.[146] However, the IDBZ has faced some criticism with regards to how it disburses funds to its housing development partners. For example, in the year 2017, the Zimbabwe Property Developers Association castigated the IDBZ for failing to fund its members' housing projects. Notwithstanding the criticism, the IDBZ remains a critical organisation that provides financial leverage in the implementation of housing policy projects in Zimbabwe's cities and towns. The role of State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs) in formulating and implementing urban housing policies in Zimbabwe is discussed below.

5.3.8 State-Owned Enterprises – The Urban Development Corporation (UDCORP)

The Urban Development Corporation (UDCORP) is a State-Owned Enterprise (SOE) formed in 1986 to encourage and assist urban local authorities in Zimbabwe in planning for urban growth and the development of proper urban housing and urban infrastructure.[147] This role was critical in the coordination of urban housing policy formulation and implementation processes in Zimbabwe. The Corporation also offers Audit Services to the local authorities in Zimbabwe, which is important in ensuring that they use funds in a manner that reflects a true commitment to the success

[146] https://www.idbz.co.zw/sector-operations/housing (accessed 18 July 2020)
[147] https://udcorp.co.zw/projects/ and Part III of the Urban Development Cooperation Act [Chapter 29:16] (accessed 19 May 2020)

of urban housing policies. The vision of the UDCORP is to be the leader in providing affordable housing and urban infrastructure in Zimbabwe and its mission is to facilitate planned sustainable urban growth and development in Zimbabwe. The primary focus of UDCORP is to coordinate different housing programmes and projects around the country, which partly justifies why urban housing policies are developed. The UDCORP also monitors and supervises how urban councils formulate and implement urban housing policies. In this regard, the Corporation is involved in various urban housing policy-related activities such as offering professional consultancy services in the process of subdivision of land/properties for residential, commercial, industrial, and institutional. Furthermore, that UDCORP is also involved in property consolidation, which involves combining two or more properties into a single property.

Over the years, the UDCORP has collaborated with other institutions such as the IDBZ in shaping the morphology of new towns and cities in Zimbabwe. It has been involved in urban housing projects such as the Knockmalloch project in Norton (6 000 stands), the Manyame project (80 000 stands, the Chishawasha B project (40 000 stands) as well as the Umvutcha B project in Bulawayo (20 000 stands). In figure 5 below shows the summary of the IDBZ's main housing projects in Zimbabwe's main urban areas.

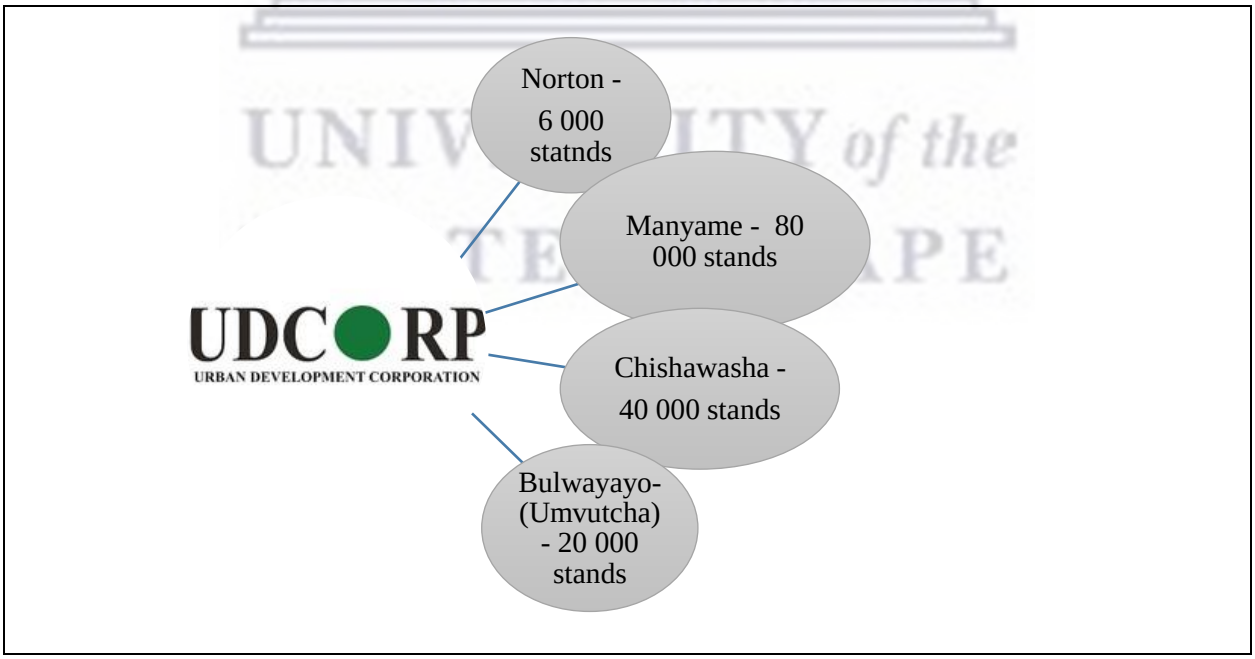


Figure 5: UDCORP Housing Projects in Zimbabwe (Source: Author's construct, October 2020).

Other notable projects involving the UDCORP included the Manresa Estate Development, an upmarket apartment project under construction in the North-East of Harare in Manresa just off Arcturus Road. In addition, other national pipeline projects include the Plumtree High-rise Apartments, a project with an estimated cost of US$ 900 000 to start in the second quarter of 2019, the Kariba High-rise Apartments project with an estimated cost of US$ 6 100 000 to commerce in the second quarter of 2020, construction of a block of flats in the Chirundu Mixed Use Residential Development project at an estimated cost of US$2 000 000 planned to start in the last quarter of 2019 as well as the construction of Mixed Density Housing and Updating of Central Business District Local Plan (MDH-UCBDLP), Hwange High-rise apartments, as an estimated cost of US$ 10 000 000, with construction expected to start in the 3rd quarter of 2019.[148] The UDCORP plays an important role in urban housing policy development in Zimbabwe. It contributes to both urban housing formulation and its implementation by providing technical guidance in the planning and execution of urban housing programmes and projects. Table 2 below summarises the financial contribution of UDCORP in urban housing projects in Zimbabwe between 2019 and 2020.

Table 2: UDCORP Urban housing development projects in 2019 and 2020.

Project Name	Project Year	Project Budget
Plumtree High-rise Apartments	2019	US$ 900 000
Hwange High-rise apartments	2019	US$ 10 000 000
Chirundu Mixed Use Residential Development project	2019	US$ 2 000 000
Kariba High-rise Apartments	2020	US$ 6 100 000

Source: UDCORB website (December 2020).[149]

In addition, the UDCORP assists citizens and companies in the process of applying for a permit for change of use of land and buildings, for example, from residential to commercial use. The UDCORP also offers town planning services wherein it assists in the preparation of master, local and subject plans. It also oversees and manages its housing and land development projects from conception to beneficiary handover. The UDCORP assists local authorities and private entities in the preparation of master plans, local plans, layout plans, subject plans, among others. These

[148] https://udcorp.co.zw/projects/ (accessed 13 July 2020)
[149] https://udcorp.co.zw/projects/ (accessed 17 February 2020)

development plans are prepared to manage and coordinate development within an area and the immediate environs given the emerging development needs as guided by the Regional Town and Country Planning Act, making the cooperation a vital cog when formulating and implementing urban housing policies in Zimbabwe.

5.4 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I analysed the roles or contribution of the main actors and institutions that actively take part in urban housing policy formulation and implementation processes in Zimbabwe. The chapter demonstrated that while urban local councils are at the heart of urban housing policy formulation and implementation in Zimbabwe, they do not work alone. In this regard, I discussed how and why private players, civil society, interest groups and international organisation have to be part of the proactive urban housing policy development processes. In the next chapter, I discuss the gist of this thesis, which is to describe and explain what urban housing policy in Zimbabwe entails and how its formulation and implementation processes are influenced by institutional structures embedded in urban councils, with the focus on the Harare City Council.

CHAPTER SIX

THE SCOPE OF URBAN HOUSING POLICY IN ZIMBABWE: ITS FORMULATION AND IMPLEMENTATION PROCESSES AND HOW THEY ARE INFLUENCED BY INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURES

6.1 Introduction

The primary objective of this chapter is to describe and explain the nature of urban housing policy in Zimbabwe. I also discuss how urban housing policies in Zimbabwe are formulated and implemented. In line with this objective, I also describe the model of urban housing policy formulation and implementation in Zimbabwe. Furthermore, I dovetail the theoretical expositions discussed in chapter four with empirical evidence in analysing how the processes of urban housing policy formulation and implementation are influenced by institutional structures and how this shapes the content and implementation trajectory of these policies. This discussion and analysis basis on views obtained from key informant interviews held with policy decision-makers in urban housing policy making institutions in Zimbabwe focussing on the Harare City Council. In the chapter, I also discuss the collaboration between these two institutions as they authoritatively determine what urban housing policy in Zimbabwe should constitute and regulate how it must be implemented towards sustainable housing provision.

6.2 Features of Urban Housing Policy in Zimbabwe

Urban housing policies in Zimbabwe are by-products of national housing policies. This means that there cannot be an urban housing policy without a national housing policy. Thus, while urban local authorities in Zimbabwe have their localised urban housing policies, their formulation and implementation are guided by the overarching national housing policy.[150] The study confirms that both national housing policy and urban housing policy are administered in public institutions and this validates the claim by Anderson (2014) that public institutions provide functional systems for public policy making. The national housing policy which is formulated by the Ministry of National Housing provides the overall guidelines and framework within which urban local authorities in

[150] Interview with the Housing Director in the Ministry of Housing – May 2020.

Zimbabwe develop their own localised urban housing policies. Zimbabwe is a decentralised state in which local authorities are the agencies for ensuring that national housing policies are effectively operationalised in different constituencies around the country. Thus, there is a linkage between the national housing policy and urban housing policies since the objectives of the former are partly achieved through urban housing policies. In this regard, urban housing policies can be regarded as the microcosm (local) of the macrocosm (national) as they are useful in operationalising national housing policies. Thus, urban housing policies are aligned with the broader national housing development policy. As a result, there are due consultations between the ministry and urban councils in terms of how urban housing policies should be formulated and implemented. The national housing policy, therefore, provides the reference point upon which urban housing policies in Zimbabwe are developed. The research found that urban housing policies in Zimbabwe are implemented through programmes, strategic plans, and projects that are designed to produce tangible housing deliverables. This empirical reality confirms the observation made by Keivani & Werna (2001) who argue that it is through functional programmes and projects that public policies become operational. Figure 6 below gives a graphical illustration of the main features of urban housing policy in Zimbabwe.

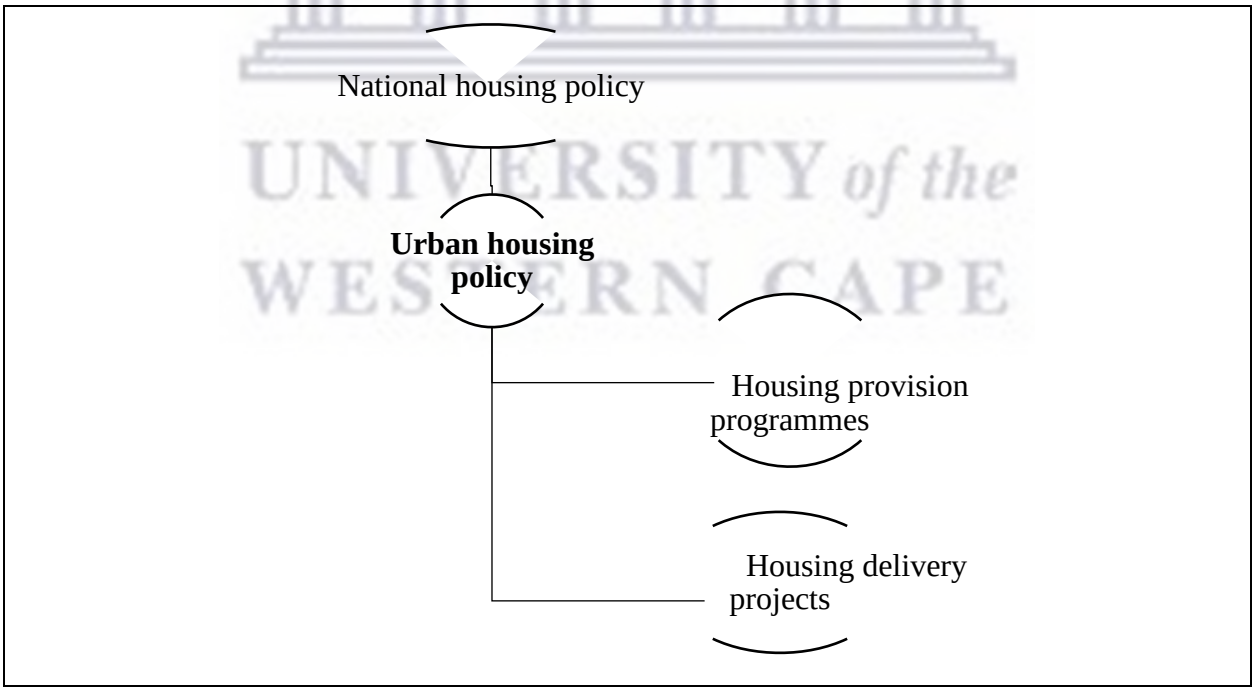


Figure 6: The features of urban housing policy in Zimbabwe (Source: Author's construct, February 2021).

Firstly, an urban housing policy is broken down into broad housing provision programmes that can be monitored and evaluated. From these programmes, housing delivery projects are then designed and implemented in different urban communities. From the above framework, it therefore follows that the success of housing delivery projects is an indication of effective housing provision programmes. This logic also means that when housing programmes are successful, then the urban housing policy will achieve its goals which also culminate into the success of the national housing policy. In the ensuing section, I discuss the scope of urban housing policy in Zimbabwe.

6.2.1 The Scope of Urban Housing Policy in Zimbabwe

In this section, I discuss the scope of urban housing policy in Zimbabwe which captures its rationale, goals, beneficiaries, its objectives, and some problems in its implementation. Housing refers to the living space or building erected for sheltering people. Improved access to safe, sustainable, and affordable housing constitutes an important aspect of social and economic development in the country. In the literature, urban housing is presented as an important element in socio-economic integration (Scorgie et al., 2017; Smets & van Lindert, 2016). This is the case in Zimbabwe, where housing facilities in urban areas are critical functionaries supporting social and economic growth. In urban areas, proper housing development is guided by an urban housing policy, which is a document that specifies the quality and quantity of housing facilities to be erected and the strategies to be adopted to deliver such facilities. Urban housing is the cornerstone of socio-economic development as urban areas are the hub of national economic activities. This makes urban housing policy an essential aspect of national development processes. In Zimbabwe, there are statutory provisions that mandate urban councils to formulate and implement urban housing policies and these include the Provincial Councils and Administration Act Regional, Town and Country Planning Act, the Urban Councils Act as well as the 2013 National Constitution of Zimbabwe. Urban local authorities are expected to develop urban housing policies in a manner that aligns with the stipulations of these legislative frameworks.

Urban housing policies in Zimbabwe are formulated and implemented to achieve many goals and targets. The main objective of urban housing policy in Zimbabwe is to ensure that in all urban local authorities, quality housing supply is improved and that there is access to affordable housing

for all citizens. While urban housing policies have several goals, figure 7 below gives their scope in Zimbabwe.

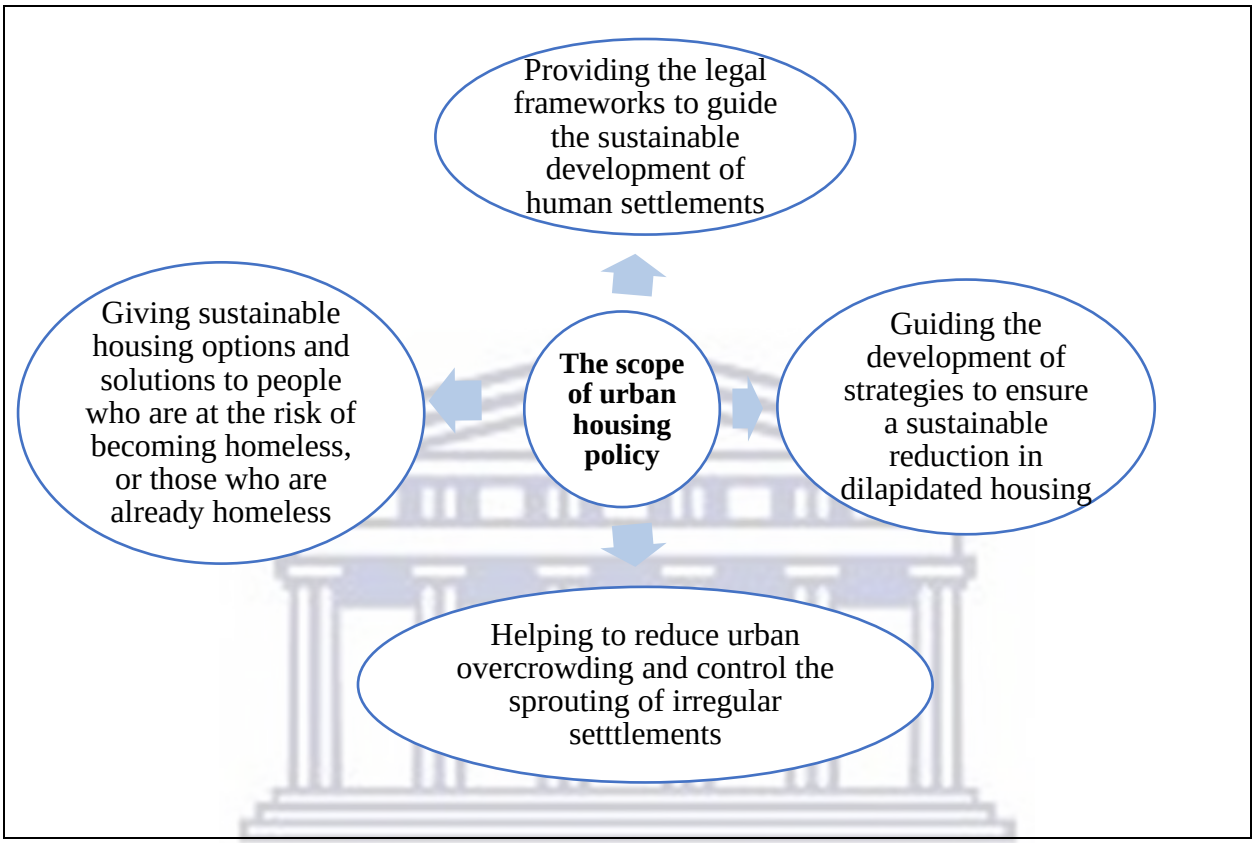


Figure 7: The Scope of Urban Housing Policy in Zimbabwe (Source: Author's construct, February 2021).

Urban local authorities are urged to create an enabling environment to encourage the active participation of all players and stakeholders in the housing delivery process so that the process becomes inclusive. In the literature, stakeholder participation in policy making processes is regarded as essential in providing information that will help policy makers to formulate responsive and effective policies (Dye, 2012). The research found that in Zimbabwe, stakeholder participation enables urban local governments to get support towards a more responsive approach to housing demands, thereby creating a safe habitat for the majority of residents in their areas of jurisdiction. This includes the design of platforms and strategies for improving the collaboration between state and non-state actors who take part in urban housing provision. The research found that most private sector institutions in Zimbabwe have the financial resources to support housing development, but they are scared away by restrictive government legislation. It was also noted that an environment

that permits private players to contribute towards housing delivery opens up channels for investment into the different housing policy initiatives that are pursued by urban councils in Zimbabwe.

The research found that the primary objective of urban housing policy in Zimbabwe is to guide urban local authorities in developing strategies towards the provision of adequate, quality, comfortable and affordable housing facilities that improve the living conditions of people living in urban areas through access to both rental housing and its ownership. Urban housing policy seeks to give sustainable housing options and solutions to people who are at risk of becoming homeless, or those who are already homeless. Such policies thrive to achieve this through creating conducive conditions for rental housing or the purchase of completed housing facilities. These policies also seek to reduce urban overcrowding and housing precariousness, particularly in areas where low-income earning groups live. Figure 8 below shows some of the triggers and purpose of urban housing policy in Zimbabwe.

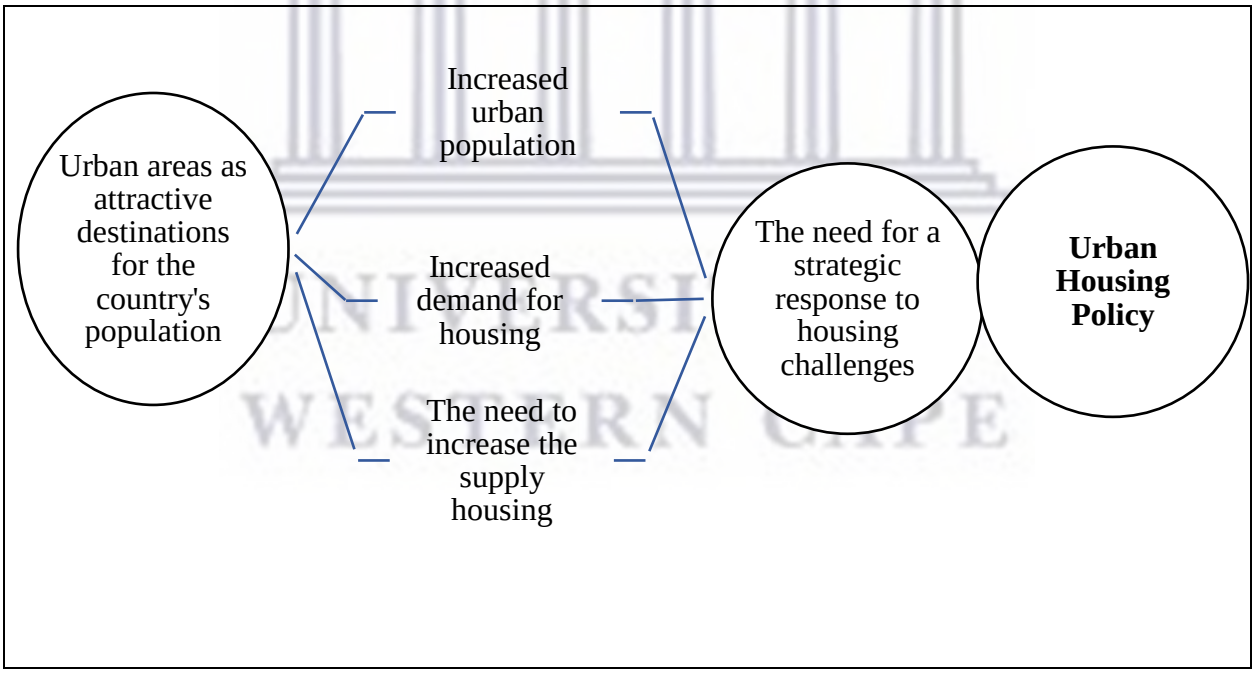


Figure 8: The triggers and purpose of urban housing policy in Zimbabwe – (Source: Author's construct, March 2021).

It is through urban housing policies that urban councils in Zimbabwe can design mechanisms to curb the deterioration of existing public housing facilities in areas. Apart from facilitating the modernisation and renovation of existing public housing facilities, urban housing policies also

provide the framework for securing new land to build new affordable housing. The justification for doing this is to reduce low-income housing deficits and support the urban housing ownership aspirations of the citizens in the country. Urban housing policies are also developed to guide the implementation of housing strategies that focusses on equality amongst all social groups in terms of housing access. Although they achieve limited success, urban housing policies encourage the improvement of human settlements (Mukhtar et al., 2016). In light of this argument, the research found that in Zimbabwe, urban housing policies guide the development of mechanisms for reducing urban housing shortages and improving the state of public housing facilities that currently prevail in most cities and towns.

Ideally, urban housing policies provide the legal framework to guide the sustainable development of human settlements consistent with their natural environment. The reduction of the housing investment debt is also a target of such policies. In the literature, urban housing policies are presented as important frameworks for setting out tenure systems to ensure security and stability relating to housing ownership (Brown et al., 2015; Hilhorst & Meunier, 2015). Furthermore, they also provide the framework for the proper procedure to be followed when dealing with no-paying tenants as a way of reducing forced evictions in urban areas. Urban housing policies ensure a sustainable reduction in dilapidated housing with also an orientation towards improving urban housing standards and conditions and make sure that households have easier access to housing facilities. Although urban councils in Zimbabwe grapple in doing this, their efforts in this regard help to ensure that there is progressive recognition of the right to housing for Zimbabweans. This is largely because the housing sector in Zimbabwe is open to the participation of private housing providers and home seekers, and due to this possibility, urban housing policies protect people from market imperfections as they make the housing market fairer.

However, despite the formulation and implementation of urban housing policies in Zimbabwe, most urbanites continue to experience problems such as housing shortages, overcrowding, and limited access to housing finance. There is also limited availability of serviced land in most of Zimbabwe's urban areas and this makes one question the effectiveness of urban housing policies in the country. In Harare, for example, the cost of residential stands is very high and this is worsened by the difficulty in mobilising developable land by private players due to the restrictive

land-use regulations set by the council.[151] These problems are compounded by the absence of affordable housing finance options, particularly for households with low-income means, and this complicates the implementation of urban housing policy strategies. As a result, a discrepancy exists between the available housing facilities and their demand as the need for housing has outstripped the supply of homes. In Harare, despite the strides made by the council to provide housing facilities, most households continue to experience demeaning housing conditions. Focus group discussions with residents in Waterfalls, Harare revealed that the price of both rental housing and for buying a complete housing unit exceed the income levels of most citizens, and this points to the lack of success in urban housing policy implementation.

After the above-stated challenges, Harare is characterised by widespread housing shortages, especially for low- and middle-income households. The absence of a well-functioning housing market also exacerbates the problem. As a result, the City of Harare continues to experience a quantitative housing deficit. Residents as the target beneficiaries of urban housing policies have not been able to enjoy the benefits that come with these policies. It seems that the efforts by the city council to provide housing for all have been stalled by both financial and institutional capacity limitations. For example, the study revealed that there are a majority of people in Harare who are living in poor quality informal settlements on the periphery of the city where there is a high risk of insecurity because at any time of the year the local government can evict these people or demolish their structures thereby subjecting them to homelessness. The formal process of recognising and reintegrating informal settlements into the urban planning morphology has been difficult for the Harare City Council and other urban local governments in Zimbabwe. In the section below, I discuss the model or approach that guides the processes of formulating and implementing urban housing policy making in Zimbabwe.

6.2.2 The Model of Urban Housing Policy Making in Zimbabwe

The urban housing policy model reflected in Zimbabwe is a collaborative state-controlled approach. In the literature, the collaborative state-controlled housing model is conceptualised as a strategy in which the government and its agencies remain firmly in control of all key urban housing policy decisions while simultaneously opening up the housing sector for the participation of other

[151] Views of a participant in a focus group discussion held in Marlborough – September 2020.

housing services providers (Czischke, 2018; Mullins & Moore, 2018). In this regard, the research observes that from 1980 which marked the attainment of independence in Zimbabwe, public housing provision has remained a priority for the government although it is proving to be a major challenge at the national local government level. This has made the government adopt a collaborative state-controlled model of housing provision in which it encourages the participation of community-based organisations, corporates, banks, private sector institutions and NGOs in urban housing delivery processes. While some partners provide financial support, some provide technical advice and material resources such as residential housing, land preparation, equipment, and machinery. The main partners collaborating with urban councils in urban housing policy formulation and implementation processes in Zimbabwe are summarized in figure 9 below.

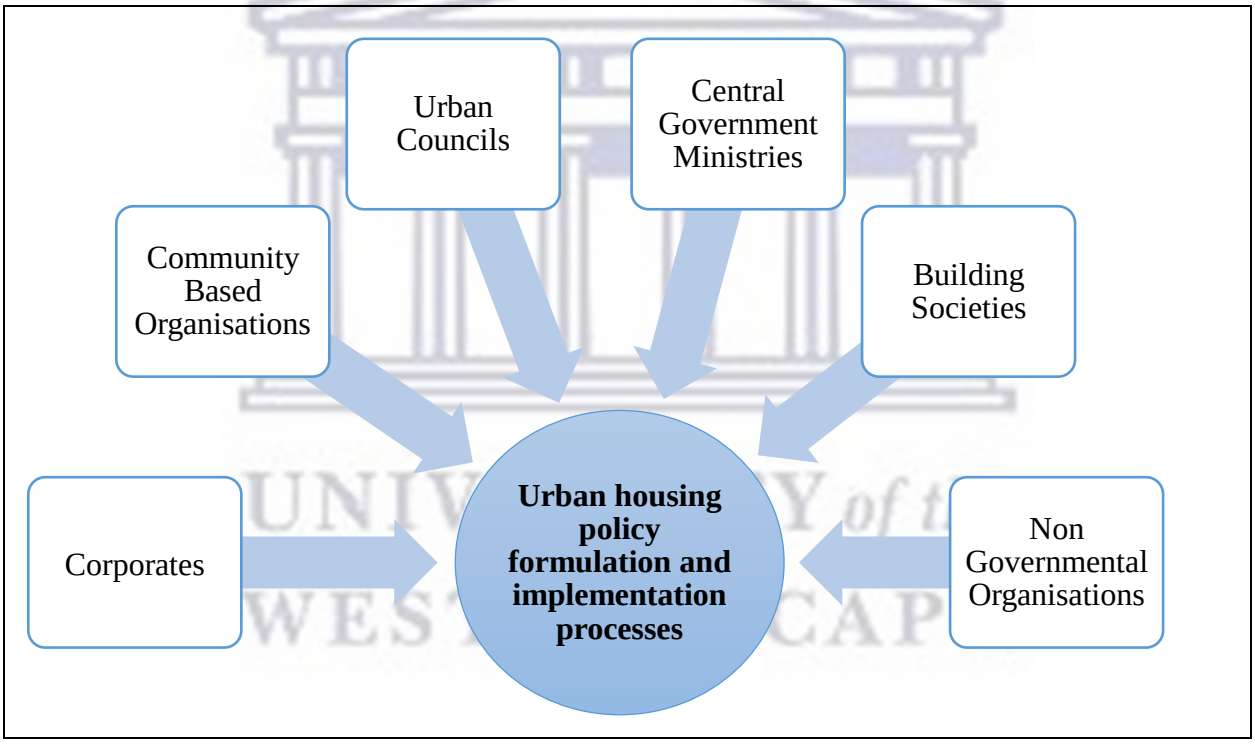


Figure 9: Partners in the collaborative urban housing policy model in Zimbabwe – (Source: Author's construct, March 2021).

Some reasons make the collaborative state-controlled housing model suitable to the Zimbabwean context. Largely, the negative impact of harsh economic conditions on the financial capacity to provide housing for urbanites is at both the central and local government levels.[152] Resultantly,

[152] Zimbabwe has experienced persistent economic downturns since the late 1990s and this has affected housing delivery.

they have increased their recognition of the role of non-state actors in housing policy implementation, particularly in efforts towards low-income housing provision. In the year 2000 National Housing Policy, the government provided the legislative platform for non-state actors to be actively involved in housing provision. Private housing trusts, co-operatives, and private land developers were allowed to participate actively in urban housing delivery efforts in Zimbabwe. The central government and local authorities remain on close watch of the housing development activities of these private institutions to ensure that their activities remain in line with the national and local housing development imperatives.

In the year 2004, reports Gotora (2014), the Government of Zimbabwe (GoZ) adopted the National Housing Delivery Programme (NHDP-2004-2008) as a move to streamline the role of cooperatives in the provision of low-cost housing.[153] Furthermore, in its 2012 National Housing Policy, the government aptly acknowledged that CBOs are critical actors in housing delivery in Zimbabwe as they play a vital role in resolving the country's homelessness. Thus, the National Housing Policy adopted in 2012 had three main objectives which are to promote pro-poor housing development initiatives, to foster a participatory housing delivery approach, and to encourage the mobilization of own financial resources for funding housing development. Under this policy, stakeholders in the housing development sector have specific roles in ensuring that housing provision is inclusive and community-driven. In addition, this policy shifted emphasis opening up the participation of CBOs, with housing cooperatives taking the lead role in housing policy development. These developments show that housing delivery is not the sole responsibility of public institutions but for it to be successful there is a need to see it as a joint initiative for all stakeholders and actors in the housing sector in Zimbabwe.

In line with the collaborative housing delivery approach, the 2012 National Housing policy encouraged the development of vertical and horizontal partnerships between different tiers of government, the private sector, as well as CBOs intending to mobilise collaborative housing delivery.[154] In this policy, city councils have been mandated with formulating and implementing housing policies that address local needs. This policy freed CBOs to display their capacity to actively participate in urban housing delivery processes. In the same vein, the Zimbabwe Agenda

[153] https://www.herald.co.zw/co-operative-approach-key-to-housing-provision/ (accessed 9 May 2020)
[154] This is provided for in the preamble of the National Housing policy of 2012.

for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation (ZIM ASSET, 2013-2018) also encouraged the participation of CBOs in improving the housing conditions of the people under its cluster which focuses on the provision of social services and eradication of poverty. These provisions demonstrated government confidence in collaborative efforts towards addressing housing challenges in the country. In the ensuing section, I discuss the process of urban housing policy formulation in Zimbabwe drawing experience from the City of Harare.

6.3 The Urban Housing Policy Formulation Process in Zimbabwe

Urban housing policy in Zimbabwe is formulated by urban local authorities which include urban councils as well as town councils and municipalities. These urban local authorities derive their policy making mandates from the Ministry of National Housing and Social Amenities and the Ministry of Local Government. As a result, these two government ministries superintend over all local authorities in terms of urban housing policy formulation and implementation processes. As indicated above, the current national housing policy in Zimbabwe provides the overall framework upon which local authorities as agents formulate their own localised urban housing policies. Urban local authorities adopt the national housing policy and use it as a guideline in developing more localised policies that respond to the housing demands and needs of their localities. This means that all urban housing policies are shaped by the vision of the Ministry of Housing[155] which provides the overall direction and desired end, with the local authorities developing the necessary steps and strategies – enshrined in urban housing policies – to achieve that vision or for getting to the desired end. This marks the first instance in which institutional structures, i.e., vision, influence urban housing policies in Zimbabwe.

Housing officers in urban councils play a critical role in the formulation of urban housing policies. They provide technical guidance in urban housing policy formulation through making recommendations to councils. In the case of Harare, these recommendations are then discussed and debated by the entire board of council with forty-six councillors. If there is consensus on the feasibility of these recommendations, then they become council resolutions and eventually they are adopted as a policy proposal. The development of the policy proposal is guided by the housing

[155] The Ministry of Housing formulates the national housing policy hence its vision shapes how urban housing policies are also formulated and implemented.

trends in the country and in the global world, hence there is a need to consult stakeholders to gather their views which will be consolidated into a comprehensive policy proposal. During the formulation of urban housing policies, housing officers also conduct research on global urban housing development best practices and suitable housing delivery models that suit local trends while keeping pace with global standards. The process of urban housing policy formulation is not a top-down approach, but an extensively consultative process where key stakeholders in the built environment or housing policy cluster are engaged for their input. Thus, in urban housing policy making, consultations are made with urban developers, building societies, banks such as FBC, the NBS and related financial institutions. The main stakeholders include residents in different constituencies, housing finance institutions, land developers, urban engineers and town planners, ward councillors, Members of Parliament, and environmental managers. Figure 10 below presents an illustration of the urban housing policy formulation process, starting with the policy drivers to formulation activity processes until a substantive urban housing policy is drafted.

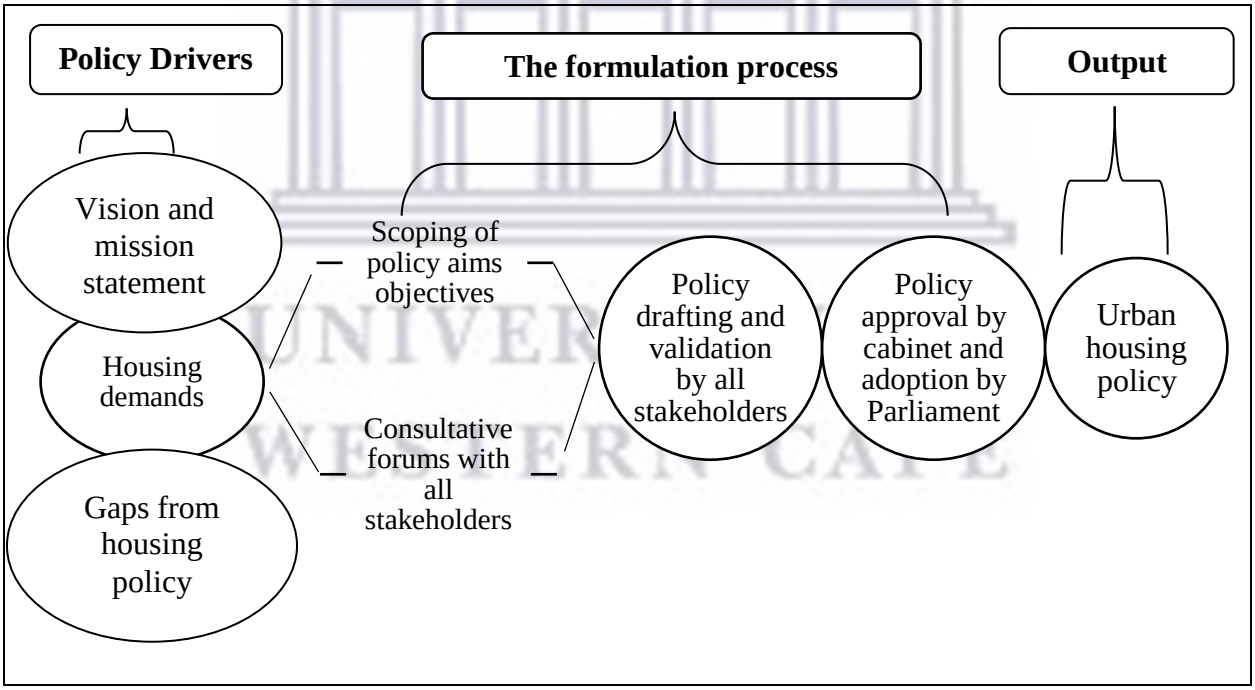


Figure 10: A Framework of the Urban Housing Policy Formulation Process in Zimbabwe – (Source: Author's construct, March 2021).

This stakeholder engagement approach aims to ensure that urban housing policy formulation decisions are made collectively to come up with a comprehensive all-inclusive policy that addresses the diverse housing needs and expectations of different stakeholders. Figure 10 above

shows that urban housing policy formulation in Zimbabwe is not a self-imposing process. Rather, it is the output of varying forces or policy drivers that trigger policy formulation actions. Three main policy drivers elevate the need to formulate an urban housing policy on the agenda of urban local authorities in Zimbabwe. Firstly, the vision and mission statement of the Department of Housing in urban local authorities drives the need for ensuring accessible and affordable housing facilities for all citizens through a formal policy that guides housing delivery activities. There is constant reference to the vision and mission because of the need to ensure that the institution meets its mandate which is enshrined in the vision and mission statement. In Harare, all decisions and actions made during the formulation of urban housing policies are shaped by the institutional vision and mission statement. This is consistent with the premises of both the structuration theory and institutional theory, which states that institutional structures such as the vision and related properties provide the cardinal points upon which institutional decisions are based on.

Secondly, the escalating urban housing demands in Zimbabwe's urban areas have made the need for the formulation of responsive urban housing policies urgent. Thirdly, the gaps in current urban housing policies also trigger the formulation of a new policy that plugs the identified limitations. These gaps may be in the form of ineffective housing delivery programmes and projects or limited financial backup of past or ongoing housing delivery strategies. Such gaps are identified through policy review – a process in which the current policy is evaluated to determine whether its purpose and goals are still being met; and decide if changes are required to improve the effectiveness or clarity of the policy and its implementation tools (Howlett, 2012). This means that an urban housing policy can be driven by the results of an evaluation of the housing delivery programmes and projects that have already been implemented. In Zimbabwe, urban housing policy reviews have caused urban councils to rescind dysfunctional housing delivery strategies and adopt more stakeholder-oriented approaches to urban housing delivery as will be discussed later in this chapter. As indicated above, urban councils in Zimbabwe have the mandate to formulate a new policy that is aligned with the broad national housing objectives set by the Ministry of National Housing and these three policy drivers are important in their efforts to do so.

The second component of figure 10 above illustrates the four main process activities involved in the formulation of urban housing policy in Zimbabwe. The first of these process activities is called scoping – a process in which policy makers set the policy scope by making decisions on what they

want to achieve through a policy, and what they must do to achieve this target. Thus, the scoping process involves the determination of the overall policy goal or aim and the setting of objectives to guide the achievement of this goal. Scoping also includes clarifying role players, i.e., giving specificity on who (person or authority) will do, what (activities), or when (timeframe or schedule), and how (procedure) towards the achievement of the ultimate desired end. In the process of scoping, a decision will be made on what the policy's focus should be and what issues or problems the policy must prioritise. The stakeholders to be consulted and the methods for engaging them will also be decided upon during the scoping phase of the policy formulation process.

Housing policy officers facilitate the scoping process and they seek technical advice from relevant consultants. In this regard, a consultant who is familiar with the policy issue involved is hired to assess the scope and advise on whether the policy scope is realistic. The housing officers give the consultant a detailed outline of what is supposed to be done, and the consultant's role is to help in shaping up the idea. Among other things, the consultant also conducts research or scouts for issues in the proposed policy that are covered in other policies in other sectors. This is done to avoid duplication of roles or efforts that have been covered elsewhere in other government departments. The consultant also examines the policy scope to see how the proposed policy relates to other policies, as there is a possibility that the proposed policy may feed into other policies, or it may be an extension of a certain policy somewhere. On completion of the task, the consultant then comes up with an assessment report giving details about the feasibility of the policy and recommendations on what the policy should encapsulate. After receiving this report from the consultant, the housing officers will further evaluate the report to check if the recommendations of the consultant are aligned with the vision and mission of the council. Thus, the housing officers take advice from the consultant and evaluate if it suits the council's circumstances and context. For example, the consultant may give suggestions on how the same issues in the scope are tackled regionally or internationally and how this can shape the proposed policy formulation process locally. When they have completed examining the report, housing officers in the council then send feedback to the consultant on whether they agree with the recommendations or not.

The scoping process ends with a policy scope statement that is sent to higher authorities such as the mayor, town clerk, city housing director, and council for approval. Thus, when scoping, housing officers in the city council do so in close consultation with higher authorities so that they

can be convinced about the policy scope. If approved by higher authorities, the policy scope statement will be used as a formal guide in the development of a new or revised urban housing policy. This statement will provide a summary of proposed policy objectives and ensure that those who might be affected by a policy are identified, considered and consulted. The scoping process is part of policy planning as it enables policy makers to develop a framework for making policy decisions. It is important to reiterate that the policy scope is developed from the vision, such that it will capture the major areas of concern and the broader perspective of the items to be addressed by the urban housing policy. Scoping the policy under consideration helps to prepare the background and context and set out the priorities, aims and objectives for the policy. It also enables policy makers to identify potential constraints as well as the opportunities that come with the proposed policy before decisions on adopting it are made. Through scoping, the main internal and external, as well as actual or potential stakeholders that the policy will impact upon, will be identified. Furthermore, other policies with a bearing on this policy will be recognised so that the proposed policy will not be formulated in a way that contrasts them as this will create confusion in government.

The second process activity in urban housing policy formulation in Zimbabwe is consultation – a process in which policy makers in the city council conduct formal and widespread consultative forums with all stakeholders in the housing sector to gather their views as input into the proposed policy. These consultations are done in various constituencies and wards within the urban area in which the policy will be implemented. Consultations are guided by the scope statement and are spearheaded by both council administrative officials and political figures such as councillors. In an interview, a councillor for Ward 15 in Harare confirmed and described this process in the following way:

> When council administrative officers complete the scope statement, we start the process of consultation with different stakeholders in all parts of the city, moving from ward to ward, capturing data and assessing whether what is captured in the scope statement addresses the expectations and realities of the stakeholders. Consultations are also done through workshops at the city and provincial level to draw policy contents from the people who will be directly affected by that policy when it is finally adopted. [156]

[156] Interview with a councillor for ward 15 in Harare – August 2020.

An interviewed housing officer in the Harare city council also affirmed that consultations are a critical process in the formulation of housing policies as he highlighted that:

> Whenever we want to formulate a new policy, we consult widely and engage all stakeholders in the housing sector. We believe that policy making is a collective endeavour, hence our basic principle is that we must involve everyone; no one should be left out. Our principle is that urban housing policy formulation decisions are made collectively, hence everyone to be affected by the policy plays a part in its formulation. Thus, consultations give different stakeholders the platform to make contributions towards a collective policy decision.[157]

Urban local authorities also consult line ministries that have a direct contribution to housing development, for example, the Ministry of National Housing and Social Amenities, Ministry of Local Government and Public Works, Ministry of energy and Power Development, Ministry of Finance and Economic Development, Ministry of Lands Agriculture and Rural Resettlement and the Office of the President and Cabinet (OPC). Housing financial institutions such as building societies are also consulted together with land developers, housing cooperatives, Civil Society Organisations and administrators of national parks. Engineers and planners are also engaged for their technical advice and input into the urban housing policy formulation process. The idea is to ensure that every stakeholder within the housing policy cluster is consulted so that the final policy becomes inclusive and comprehensive. An interviewed housing officer who participates in urban housing policy consultations in the Harare city council revealed that the consultation process is a data collection initiative in which:

> We obtain our policy ingredients from the stakeholders. The concerns, complaints, and reports from stakeholders enable us to identify gaps that need to be addressed through the new policy. Thus, consultations essentially enable us to identify shortfalls in the current policy, and the areas we need to strengthen to improve our housing delivery approaches. During these consultations, every common person can give suggestions, and we capture this in the policy draft. When we receive concerns from stakeholders, and we evaluate how the proposals can be included in the proposed policy in line with the scope statement.[158]

When the initial consultations have been completed and data has been collected from all stakeholders, the process of drafting commences. Before this process, a relevant committee is

[157] Interview with a housing officer in the City of Harare – June 2020.
[158] *Ibid.*

established to decide on what is feasible, trim what is not applicable, and come up with a first draft. Housing policy officers then compile the consultations report with the assistance of a consultant and submit it as recommendations to the council relevant committees. The committee will be comprised of competent people in the areas covered by the policy and it will determine the suitability, feasibility, sufficiency, and coverage depth of the proposed policy in light of the housing provisional mandate of the government through the council. In some cases, a single policy draft can be examined by two or more committees, with each committee dealing with different sections of the draft policy based on their areas of expertise. Commenting on the drafting process in the interview, a housing research officer who also participates in the Harare City Council stated that:

> When drafting the urban housing policy, we come up with the concept and consult with the communities across the country. We also look at other country experiences that have had successful housing projects and find lessons that we can learn from them. We always consult people because they are directly involved in the policy coverage as the owners of the policy. These stakeholders will give us valid comments, omissions and additions to the policy.[159]

This committee to oversee the drafting process will be chaired by the Housing Director of the City of Harare, whose role is to scrutinise and discuss the recommendations. This committee will deliberate on issues such as the financial feasibility or implications of the policy recommendations since the implementation of the policy will directly affect council finances. The committee of the council is mandated to resolve whether to accept the recommendations as they are, amend them, or reject them. From there, the committee's resolution is taken to a full council – sitting as a superior committee – where the 46 councillors, the mayor, the town clerk, and the Housing Director of Harare converge to discuss the contents of the draft. The full council will examine the draft, check if it is in line with the scope, and ensuring that it is aligned with the vision and mission statement of the council. In all these processes, officials will be guided by the housing delivery vision and mission statement of the Harare City Council. The practice of constant reference to these two institutional properties confirms the claim that the vision and mission statement of an institution shape its processes as emphasised in literature (Calvert, 1995; Dequech, 2006).

[159] Interview with a Housing research officer in the HCC – June 2020.

The full council meeting can take days, and its main objective is to ensure that the proposed urban housing policy is in line with the council legislations and all operating frameworks. Councillors representing different wards will vet the draft assessing how it will best address the housing needs of their constituencies. This meeting enables the full council to make objections and additions to the draft. When the full council has checked for the rhythm of the policy in line with local and national housing development goals, they will either accept the draft as it is or make additions to the output becoming the second draft or the policy.[160] When the second draft has been agreed upon, the housing officers will go back to the stakeholders for validation, a process in which the draft is brought back to the participants who were consulted to check if they agree with the contents of the draft policy. In the validation process, stakeholders give their reactions in the form of either objections or approval of the proposed policy draft. The tradition of taking back the policy draft for stakeholder validation is consistent with the claim made by Bardach & Patashnik (2019) that a policy outcome loses value if policy makers do not subject it to stakeholder validation before its adoption as a public policy. If there is no objection, a decision is made to adopt the policy at the council level, such that it becomes a formal policy proposal for the public through a council resolution. An officer in the Harare City Council had this to say about the process of urban housing policy validation:

> During the validation process, we can have a one- or two-day retreat, where we present the draft to the audience that we initially consulted, as a form of an audit trail of the policy content. We do this to check if the drafted policy is in line with the initial contributions of the contributing stakeholders. In some cases, some stakeholders may reject the policy draft if it has been crafted in a manner that does not capture their expectations. In such instances, we will need to conduct further consultation to obtain the buy-in of the stakeholders.[161]

In the case that the stakeholders agree with the contents of the draft, or suggest further additions, the officers will examine the authenticity and reasonableness of the suggestions, checking if they add value to the proposed policy. When the housing officers complete this examination, they make the necessary amendments or adjustments to the draft and take it back to the relevant council committee for final vetting. The committee will also make a post-validation resolution to come up with a third draft. The final policy decisions are made by the executive committee. This committee

[160] This full council decision should not be confused with the resolution of the committee of the council.
[161] Interview with a housing officer in the Harare City council – June 2020.

consists of the mayor, the deputy mayor, and the chairman of every committee of the council[162], and its main function is to "supervise and monitor the organization, operations and affairs of the council to achieve co-ordination, efficiency and economy and, for that purpose, the executive committee may call for reports from the town clerk and direct him to investigate any matters it considers necessary".[163] The committee is expected to submit monthly reports to the council, showing the decisions taken by the committee during each month.[164] When this committee makes its decisions, it is guided by the longstanding traditions, principles, value systems, rules and standards that are embedded in the structure of the Harare City Council. The practise of adhering to these institutional structures in making policy decisions confirms the view that institutional structures provide the rubrics and methodological procedures for guiding the actions of officials within an institution, as popularised by Giddens (1984) in the structuration theory.

When the committee accents to the draft, then the policy goes to the legal department of the council or to council lawyers for legal drafting – a process in which the policy draft is given a legal perspective or interpretation. At that time, the policy will have complete buy-in from all stakeholders and legal approval because the housing officers would have done the necessary and sufficient consultations with everyone. The draft will then be sent to the city housing director, then to the town clerk and the mayor for their final verification and approval. The mayor will then take the draft to the housing officers in the parent ministry responsible for housing policy, i.e., the Ministry of Housing and Social Amenities so that they can check if it is in line with the national housing development goals. When the housing officers in the parent ministry have checked the draft, they either approve it or return it to the council with recommendations and proposals for adjustments. If they approve it, then the draft is sent to the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Housing who will take it to the minister so that the draft can be presented in the cabinet and Parliament where it is approved as a substantive public policy. From the foregoing narrative, it can be argued that the process of formulating urban housing policy involves systematic and extensive stakeholder consultations to collect sufficient and accurate data on the housing needs of people, establishing baselines on the locations and number of people in need of housing facilities. Throughout this process, officials constantly refer to the institutional structures for decision-

[162] Section 92 (1) of the Urban Councils Act.
[163] Section 93 (1) (*d*) of the Urban Councils Act.
[164] Section 93 (6) (*a*) of the Urban Councils Act.

making guidance. When the policy has been formulated, it is taken to the technocrats for implementation as described in the ensuing section.

6.4 The Urban Housing Policy Implementation Process in Zimbabwe

The goal of an urban housing policy is to ensure that people in different parts of an urban area are adequately and sufficiently housed. This goal cannot be achieved just by having a complete policy document. Governing authorities must go beyond the policy document and translate its contents into action. Thus, when an urban housing policy has been formulated and adopted, it simply becomes a substantive framework to guide housing delivery action through the process of policy implementation. During the implementation process, the urban housing policy document becomes the anchor or the reference point for all housing delivery activities. However, even if the policy document becomes the pivot for activities at this stage, implementers will still refer to institutional structures for overall policy implementation guidance. This continuous reference demonstrates how institutional structures are permanent functional operatives in all public policy processes as emphasised by Giddens (1984) in the structuration theory. When the urban housing policy is ready, it is implemented through housing delivery programmes, strategic plans, and projects. Before the actual implementation of urban housing policies, three interrelated process activities must be undertaken, and these are as follows:

- The development of strategic plans as frameworks guiding the actualisation of the policy;
- Breaking down the broad policy framework into manageable housing programmes;
- The design of projects for the delivery of housing to different sections of the community.

While these activities feed into each other, the 'actual implementation work' starts in the third activity – when housing provision projects convey tangible housing facilities to the citizens. In Harare, these urban housing policy implementation activities are administered by the Housing and Community Services Department, which is part of the Harare City Council structure. As bullet listed above, the first step is the development of strategic plans as frameworks to guide the actualisation of the policy. A public policy is implemented through a strategy (Birkland, 2016); hence the development of strategic plans helps policy makers to design programmes from which housing delivery projects will be developed. This first stage – one I would call **strategizing** – involves analysing the different aims and objectives of the housing policy, and then developing

ways in which these objectives can be actualised. It is a process of mapping out and determining the strategic plans to guide the achievement of the housing policy objectives as stated in the urban housing policy document. The developed strategic plans become the work plans or the roadmap for the achievement of policy goals. These strategies are developed in line with the standards, principles, values and traditions of the Harare City Council, and this again shows how institutional structures are infused in the processes and stages of the urban housing policy making process in Zimbabwe emphasised in the literature. Strategies provide a micro framework upon which housing delivery activities will be pursued in terms of roles and responsibilities, schedule and specific targets to measure progress at different milestones in the implementation process. Thus, they directly state what will be done, when it will be done, who will do it, and for how long it should take to do it – this helps to coordinate policy implementation activities.

In Harare, housing delivery is driven by four major strategic channels, namely; allocation of serviced land to individuals, employer-assisted housing schemes, Private, Public Partnerships and pay schemes[165]. The strategic plans for these channels are more detailed as they specify the procedure and responsibilities for the allocation of housing facilities, registration of title deeds, the expected timeframes for construction, among other details. The timeframe for a strategic plan may be one month, four months, six months, one year, and five years – depending on the urban housing delivery programme in question. Generally, housing delivery strategic plans do not exceed a five-year duration. For example, the City of Harare's strategic plan for 2012 was to provide at least 106 000 Housing units by 2018, in line with the Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation (ZIM ASSET) national economic blueprint. This strategic plan was a deliberate response to the implementation of measures to improve affordable and access to urban housing in pursuit of the vision of Harare becoming a World Class city by the year 2025.[166] The alignment of this strategic plan with the city of Harare's vision is consonant with the argument that institutional structures are important policy shapers as advanced by Elbasha & Wright (2017) and Lang (2018).

When the strategic plan has been formulated – a process I propose to be called **programming** the policy will follow. This step involves the breakdown of the broad policy framework into programmes that are relevant in ensuring that the overall policy goals are achieved. The traction

[165]City of Harare's Housing Policy Document – page 6.
[166] City of Harare's Housing Policy Document – page 6.

of the policy is found through programmes. In the literature, programmes are depicted as the main policy drivers (Anyebe, 2018; Knott, 2019). In the Harare City Council, housing officers have to ensure that realistic programmes are developed to move the success of the broad urban housing policy. One policy may have several goals, and breaking down the policy into programmes helps policy makers to ensure that each of these goals is focussed on and achieved at a micro-scale. Policy programmes may be formulated differently, but they will all contribute towards the achievement of their 'mother policy'. Examples of urban housing programmes may include but are not limited to: 'Sustainable Human Settlement Programme', Low Income Housing Subsidy Programme', 'Universal Affordability Housing Programme' among others. The development of a programme is guided and informed by the contents and objectives of the policy. Thus, programmes will encompass the different measures to be adopted to achieve the various objectives and functionalities of the policy. The expectation is that these programmes should capture the housing delivery targets of the council as stipulated in the policy and as embedded in the vision and mission statement of the city.

When the programmes have been developed, then distinct and localised housing delivery projects are developed in a process I will call policy **operationalisation**. The development and operationalisation of housing delivery projects enable the translation of policy goals into tangible deliverables. It is this process that is most synonymous with the urban housing policy implementation process because people will see things happening, i.e., residential stands being serviced and allocated to beneficiaries, houses being constructed and people being allocated and moving into housing facilities. Policy operationalisation is guided by the institutional rules, standards, principles and traditions of the city. This further demonstrates how structural arrangements set preconditions for the everyday operations of urban housing policy actors to produce intended consequences as claimed in the structuration theory advanced by Giddens. It is important to note that there are various sub-activities involved in the development of housing delivery projects before they are implemented. The first activity is to develop spatial plans that will demarcate the location and design of the housing facilities. In this process, city or town planners design the spatial plans according to the objectives set out in the housing delivery objectives and the physical characteristics of the area in which the project will be implemented. Planning is a central component of urban housing development patterns. Through planning, housing facilities are expected to be congruent with housing standards as stipulated in the

Regional, Town and Country Planning Act. For example, one of the main principles espoused in this Act is that there should be no development pending the approval of spatial and layout plans. This principle helps local authorities in controlling unplanned housing developments. Figure 11 below shows the main components of the urban housing policy implementation process.

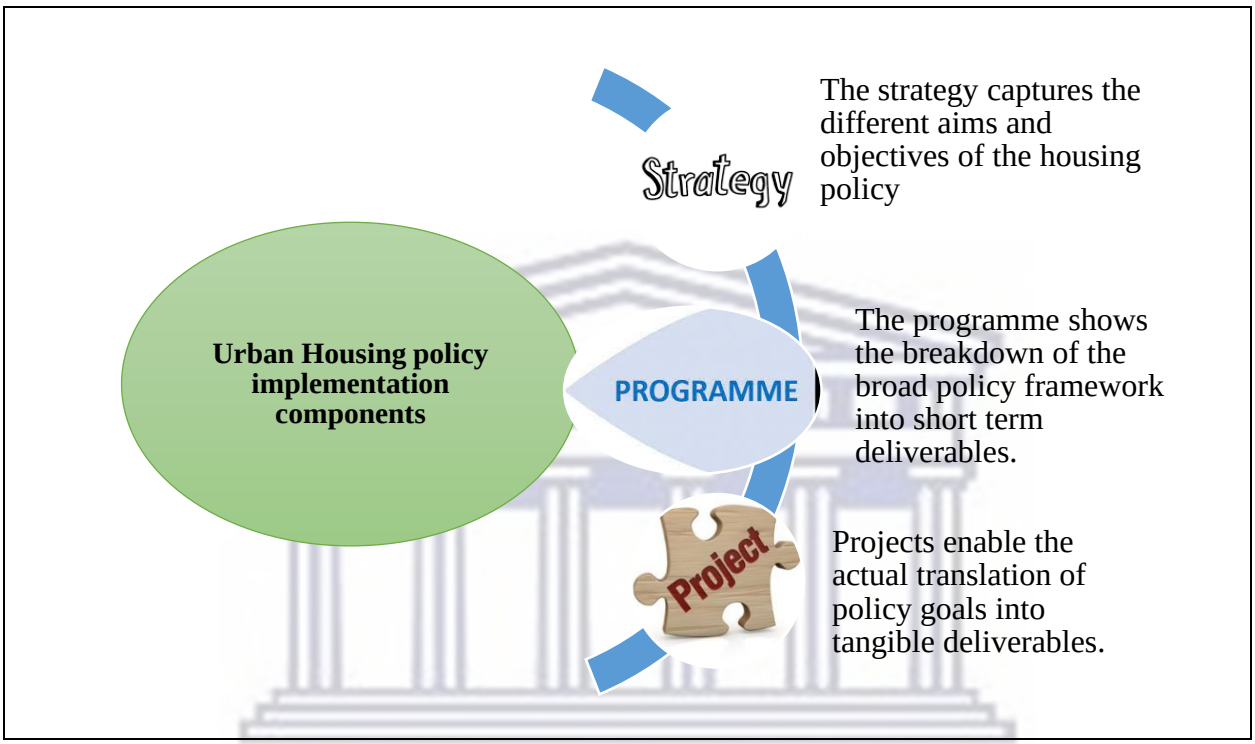


Figure 11: Components of the Urban Housing Policy Implementation Process – (Source: Author's construct, March 2021).

The council enforces its planning regulations to ensure that housing standards are met in all parts of the city. This is partly achieved through development controls which ensure that urban development is carried out in an orderly and approved way (Chigudu, 2021). The development of different city plans is a type of development controls because these plans carry details on proper city development and urban housing policy. This explains why the design of master plans and local plans precede the implementation of housing projects. The master plan shows the layout of the whole urban area or city in one document. It shows the boundaries between high, medium, and low-density residential locations. On the other hand, local plans demarcate the different residential locations within a specified urban area. Master plans are useful in ensuring that urban housing projects are not implemented in areas outside the spatially demarcated urban environment. They are designed by council planners with the assistance of consultants. These plans are designed in

line with the spatial planning framework and operating rules that are stipulated in the Regional, Town and Country Planning Act – showing how rules as part of institutional structures influence urban housing policy processes. Master plans help in the management of the urban spatial system by setting the size of residential stands. The determination of the sizes of both residential locations and residential stands is part of the implementation process that is executed by the planning department in the Harare City Council. This department is responsible for setting out the maximum and minimum sizes of high-density, medium-density, and low-density residential stands and their layout plans. For example, the standard size of a high-density residential stand in Harare is 200 square meters, while in low-density suburbs, this size can exceed 1000 square metres.

Part of the preparatory stage for implementing urban housing projects is the design of layout plans that stipulate the feasible height of buildings and the appropriate locations for storey housing facilities. In this regard, owners of residential stands are expected to comply with the stipulated heights for buildings in their areas. There are stringent regulatory laws, such as the Environmental Management Act and the Regional, Town and Country Planning Act that must also be complied with when designing these plans. Thus, before the implementation of any housing project, the housing officers in the Harare City Council research potential development sites for residential stands, and then recommend the planning and surveying department to do further research – in consultation with engineers – on the feasibility of such areas for housing development. When this department is through with its assessment, the virgin land is then serviced before it is allocated to the applicants on the council housing waiting list. Before the allocation of residential stands, the council conducts interviews with all potential beneficiaries to assess their financial capacity to purchase the stand and to develop it afterwards. This makes the housing waiting list an important document in the implementation of urban housing policy in Zimbabwe. For example, Section 13 (1) of the City of Harare's Housing and Social Development Department Policy Document underscores that housing waiting list registration is a requirement for all applications for housing in Harare as this will facilitate the housing allocation process.[167] In the section below, I present the urban housing policy implementation strategies and delivery models in Harare.

[167] City of Harare's Housing Policy Document – page 7.

6.4.1 Urban Housing Policy Implementation Strategies and Delivery Models in Harare

In Harare, different urban housing implementation strategies have been proffered and developed. These include but are not limited to: the regularisation of informal settlements, urban renewal, site and service schemes, pay schemes, densification, the cooperative model, and the land developer's approach as discussed below.

6.4.1.1 Regularisation of Informal Settlements

The regularisation of informal settlements is a process of legalising the tenure of formerly illegal settlements and upgrading social services such as sewer reticulation systems, water pipes, electricity and road networks (Manandhar, 2019). The objective of this process is to eliminate the threat of eviction and improve the standard of living for the inhabitants of these settlements. In the year 2010, the Harare City Council has made concerted efforts to regularise illegal structures in collaboration with the Urban Development Corporation and other private sector institutions that provided funding and technical assistance. As the first step in this exercise, the council issued notices to the inhabitants of the settlements and requested them to pay some fees towards regularising their structures. The money was to contribute towards processing their building plans and towards the installation of water and sewer pipes. The strategy has been implemented in formerly informal settlements like Caledonia and Hatcliffe Extension as an effort to make these settlements complete residential locations. This strategy provided relief for most of the inhabitants, but some did not have the money requested for their structures to be regularised. While the council saw this strategy as important in reducing illegality in Harare, to date, the number of informal settlements continues to increase in the city, and this can make one question the effectiveness of the regularisation strategy. Below, I describe and analyse the urban renewal urban housing policy implementation strategy.

6.4.1.2 The Urban Renewal Model

This is the process of demolishing old public housing facilities such as old flats, replacing them with new or modern ones. Urban renewal is mainly done to upgrade the state of housing facilities that were built by past standards. Under the urban renewal model, capable organisations with proof of capacity for Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) can be allocated land for urban renewal with the

due diligence of the council.[168] In Harare, this was the case with the Tagarika flats in Mbare where the old flats were demolished by the Harare City Council and a new modern structure was constructed to improve the housing conditions of the people who live there (Gotora, 2020).[169] The Willowvale and Mufakose flats in Harare have also been targeted for the same programme. When the council identifies these housing facilities, it moves on to organise alternative short-term accommodation for the occupants before moving on to renovate them or completely demolish them and build new or modernised structures. The second option, however, takes more time to complete. Before adopting this approach, it is important to consider the sort of investment required for the urban renewal to be successful. The urban renewal process also there requires a consultant to help in understanding the dynamics and get the views of the people on what they want in the urban renewal process.

In Zimbabwe, the main challenge in adopting the urban renewal model of urban housing policy implementation is the limited funding on the part of urban councils since development partners and investors from the public sector are difficult to come by. For example, regarding modernising buildings through the construction of world-class flats, the Harare City Council and other municipalities in Zimbabwe cannot run elevators due to incessant electricity cuts in urban areas. While the Harare City Housing Policy Document prepared by the Housing and Social Development Department states that urban renewal shall benefit members or property owners who reside at the flat to be affected or renewed[170], this has not been the case in some instances as other people outside the matrix befit instead. There have been allegations that politicians ignore the previous occupants and allocate the renovated flats to their supporters, which defeats the whole essence of the strategy.[171] In the ensuing section, I discuss how pay schemes have been used as an urban housing policy implementation model in Zimbabwe.

6.4.1.3 The Pay Schemes Model

A pay scheme is an arrangement where a local authority allocates unserviced residential land to a group of people who then organise their financial resources towards servicing the land and support

[168] Harare City Housing Policy Document – page 5.
[169] https://www.herald.co.zw/what-comes-first-urban-renewal-or-regularisation/ (accessed 10 August 2020).
[170] Harare City Housing Policy Document – page 5.
[171] Interview with a housing officer in the Harare City Council – June 2020.

each other in the housing construction when the serving of the land has been completed.[172] In a pay scheme, the beneficiary contributes a certain amount of money towards either the servicing of the land, the construction of the house, the purchase of a house, or a residential stand over time. The government and council also contribute a given amount and that together with the individual contributions will be directed towards servicing the stands or constructing houses. Urban councils administer and manage all pay schemes. When these councils do not have readily available financial resources, they utilise personal servings mobilised by members of the pay scheme in servicing land for residential housing. In Harare, it is council policy that infill areas in high, medium, and low-density areas be allocated through pay schemes and employer-assisted schemes in conformity with local and master plans.[173] The pay scheme is administered in terms of a constitution prepared by the Director of Housing. Upon issuance of the certificate of compliance, pay scheme members shall sign an Agreement of Sale with the council and start individual development of housing using model housing plans obtainable from the council. To reduce the possible embezzlement of public funds collected from pay scheme members, the council through the Director of Housing instructs the leaders of the pay scheme to open a bank account in the name of the pay scheme with the council housing and finance directors together with any other two members of the pay scheme being signatories to the account.[174]

There are two ways in which the pay scheme method works in Zimbabwe. The first arrangement is that applicants organise themselves into groups led by a chairperson who directs the process of ensuring that each individual in the group pays some agreed amount of money that is placed into a ring-fenced account for buying residential stands of full houses. In this arrangement, the price of the stands or house is paid in full through instalments by group members before the council allocates the stands or houses to the contributors. Members of such a housing pay scheme contribute funds that are used for incremental development stage by stage.[175] The second arrangement is the employer-assisted pay scheme where people are assisted in buying stands or houses through their employers. Thus, in this approach, companies rather than individuals pay fully for the intrinsic value of stands allocated to their employees who are on the housing waiting

[172] Harare City Housing Policy Document – page 2.
[173] Harare City Housing Policy Document – page 8.
[174] Harare City Housing Policy Document – page 9.
[175] Harare City Housing Policy Document – page 5.

list[176]. Upon allocation of the land, the employer shall enter into a Development Agreement with the City and servicing shall be done as per the terms and conditions given by the director[177]. In Harare, for example, the council established an arrangement where employer organisations assist their employees to acquire stands from the council through pay schemes. In this approach, the employer can assist employees to acquire stands from a local authority and pay the full purchase price for the stands.[178] Employer assisted pay scheme members will be the beneficiaries of this scheme. The provision for such schemes is that if an employer can develop stands using company funds, they can do so and then make an arrangement to deduct the money from the employees' salaries upon a written agreement.[179] The City of Harare maintains a housing waiting list that is allocated housing stands and or incorporated into Housing Pay Schemes.[180]

Employer assisted schemes are monitored by the city of Harare and are given specific deadlines and targets that are in line with the council's housing provision vision and mission.[181] The Harare City Council itself as an employer is also empowered by the Harare City Housing Policy Document prepared by the Housing and Social Development Department to engage in employer-assisted housing pay schemes. Section 14 (3) of the policy states that the council can sell 10% of serviced stands or houses in any housing scheme to its employees on the waiting list as an incentive. The employer will then act as the guarantor in case of default of payment by their employees. In the past, these council arranged pay schemes managed to provide housing for several people, particularly the famous "Start Paying for Your House Scheme" which was a major housing delivery strategy in the early 1990s in Zimbabwe. However, in recent times, these pay schemes have been affected by the macro-economic environment. For example, the use of RTGS dollars, the bearer's cheques, and bond notes as a currency resulted in the value of the contributions being eroded to the extent that they could not buy a single stand. Nonetheless, pay schemes are considered as an effective transparent housing delivery strategy compared to housing cooperatives. Their adoption is often viewed as a measure to avert some of the challenges that are associated with cooperatives, for example, the tendency by housing cooperative leaders to personalise the

[176] Harare City Housing Policy Document – page 9.
[177] *Ibid.*
[178] Harare City Housing Policy Document – page 2.
[179] Harare City Housing Policy Document – page 5.
[180] *Ibid.*
[181] Harare City Housing Policy Document – page 5.

contributions made by members. In the next section, I discuss densification as a method of urban housing policy implementation in Zimbabwe.

6.4.1.4 The Densification Model

Densification focuses on building housing structures going upwards to reduce urban sprawl. This is done to make full utilisation of limited available residential space, for example, through the construction of flats and storey buildings in urban areas. In the City of Harare, for instance, the housing policy prescribes that 30 per cent of the available residential land must be utilised for the construction of high-rise flats to fulfil the goals of the 2012 National Housing Policy which encourages densification with the other 70 per cent of the residential housing land being reserved for detached dwelling units.[182] Densification is a model that promotes vertical or upward housing development to preserve land for posterity. In Harare and other urban areas around the world, the land is finite; thus, the council has proposed to economise it by avoiding sprawl or building horizontally to make maximum use of the available residential housing space.[183] The reality is that urban land is limited, it does not expand; thus, densification is a new measure of addressing land shortages as there is a possibility that councils may run out of housing land due to the increase in demand for housing emanating from the ever-growing urban populations.[184] In some cases, densification may also imply the subdivision of residential stands, which may lead to changes in the layout plans of the city. For this reason, there is potential resistance from landowners to adopt this housing delivery strategy. In Harare's Waterfalls-Prospect area, for example, interviewed owners of residential stands indicated that they are not prepared to let go or subdivide their spacious residential stands.[185] The second challenge is that due to perennial power cuts in most urban areas in Zimbabwe, densification which takes the form of upwards or vertical housing development can only be limited to four floors because elevators are usually not working. In some cases, the council also fails to afford the procurement of elevators for storey buildings and even their maintenance due to financial limitations. The ensuing section focuses on the land developer model of urban housing policy implementation in Zimbabwe.

[182] Harare City Housing Policy Document – page 6.
[183] Interview with former Mayor of Harare – September 2020.
[184] Interview with a planner in the Ministry of Housing and Social Amenities – July 2020.
[185] Interviews with residents of Waterfalls-Prospect in Harare – December 2020.

6.4.1.5 Land Developer Model

In this approach, the council either allocates virgin residential land to private land development companies or a group of people for preparing it for housing development. In the first case, the council allocates the approved housing land to a company whose mandate is to prepare the land for housing construction by servicing it, constructing roads, laying sewer systems, connecting electricity and water before selling the stands to those who want and can afford them. In the second case, the council allocates an unserviced piece of land to a group of individuals who then organise or combine their resources to service the land and prepare it for housing construction. Through these two land development options, the council can also identify pockets of land that are not utilised or have not been developed or earmarked for development and prepare them for housing construction. In an interview, the City of Harare Housing Director revealed that:

> As a council, we do not have funding for infrastructure development all the time; so, we sometimes rely on allocating unserviced land to developers who will mobilise their resources to prepare the land for housing construction. When the land has been fully developed, people then buy residential stands from the land developer under council supervision. The procedure is that the land developer then pays the council an agreed sum of money for the unserviced land from the sale of the stands.[186]

In cases where pockets of idle land in existing residential areas are identified, the council then develops and prepares them for housing construction through this model. The Harare City Council has also instituted a law that forces people to develop idle pockets of land, particularly in Belvedere and Waterfalls-Prospect where there are several idle deceased estates.[187] Furthermore, the council also identifies the owners of residential stands who cannot develop them on their own and link them with investors so that the land can be developed or prepared for housing construction. Unserviced land is cheaper and unprofitable for the council, and this motivates the council's idea to embark on several servicing arrangements through the land developer model. Through this arrangement, the City of Harare has projects for the servicing of stands in different parts of the city, and upon completion, the stands are transferred to deserving applicants. For example, from 2010 to 2014, Fidelity Life Assurance Company was given the mandate by the City of Harare to develop land under the South View Housing project, where 5 300 residential stands of 240m^2 were

[186] Interview with City of Harare Housing Director – July 2020.
[187] *Ibid.*

prepared for housing in Harare South. The company had previously developed the Manresa stands close to Mabvuku and in 2020 it was busy developing the Langford Estates Housing Development project in Harare South.

Councils mandate land developers to apply for a development permit and it also retains the power to issue prohibition orders for those operating without such permits. This is done to ensure that housing development does not infringe upon the environment or adversely affect other activities (Chigudu, 2021). Conformity with development controls ensures uniformity as they outline how, where and why urban development processes such as housing construction will take place (Chigudu, 2021). The enforcement of such standards ensures that urban development procedures are properly followed. While this approach has helped the council to develop housing land in different parts of Harare, there are shortcomings in this strategy as the land developers may corrupt the process in various ways (Gotora, 2016).[188] For example, while the land development scheme states land developers can be hired to provide services but shall not be able to allocate stands without council approval[189], in some cases, the land developers have proceeded to corruptly allocate housing land without the supervision of the council and this has made the land developer model a flawed strategy. The cooperative model of urban housing policy implementation is discussed next.

6.4.1.6 The Cooperatives Model

In this urban housing policy implementation model, councils give land to registered housing cooperatives for them to service and sell residential stands. In Zimbabwe, housing cooperatives were established in the early 1990s to provide housing to low-income earners at their own pace. In Harare, residential locations such as Budiriro, Mabvuku, Glen Norah, Warren Park, Kuwadzana Extension and Glenview were developed through the co-operative model. However, with the introduction of the multi-currency regime and the circulation of the US$ in 2009, unregistered cooperatives mushroomed, and these became agents of illegal allocation of residential land and the foundation of haphazard urban expansion in most parts of Zimbabwe's urban environments, particularly in Harare the capital. It is alleged that the majority of these cooperatives had political

[188] https://www.chronicle.co.zw/land-developers-welcome-proposed-legislation/ (accessed 7 July 2020).
[189] Harare City Housing Policy Document – page 5.

connections such that it is difficult to control their activities.[190] According to Gotora (2014), these unregistered housing cooperatives affect planned urban development due to double allocation of stands resulting in a lot of conflict and confusion.[191] Commenting on this challenge, a town planner interviewed in Harare confirmed that there are several politically connected and unregistered housing cooperatives that are not following rules and proper urban development in Harare.

Registered cooperatives have also come under attack for not servicing the land allocated to them properly as stipulated by the Urban Councils Act. In most cases, it was found that there were no facilities in the areas allocated for residential land development by housing cooperatives.[192] The research revealed that the majority of these housing cooperatives default on their obligations and simply pursue money and misappropriate the financial contributions made by members using them for their agendas. Councils have, however, not stopped regularising the activities of cooperatives to ensure that they provide housing and develop residential areas in line with proper planning standards.[193] The model of cooperatives follows that, once services are in place, beneficiaries shall be allowed to build individual houses using model housing plans from the city.[194] The Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs) model of urban housing policy implementation in Zimbabwe is discussed in the next section.

6.4.1.7 The Public-Private Partnerships Model

The urban housing policy implementation process in Zimbabwe is not the sole responsibility of urban councils. Other players may have a significant contribution to urban housing provision. Thus, councils play a coordinative role by engaging different partners in ensuring that there is a collaboration between private sector institutions and the government in terms of housing delivery programmes and projects. In this regard, the PPPs model has been adopted as one of the main urban housing policy delivery approaches in Zimbabwe as it allows urban councils to partner with private institutions in implementing housing development projects in a shareholding agreement. The partnership will then service the land to enable the construction of both onsite and offsite housing. In such partnerships, the council as a public authority provides the land whereas private

[190] Interview with a housing policy analyst in Harare – July 2020.
[191] https://www.herald.co.zw/be-wary-of-bogus-land-barons/ (accessed 19 December 2020)
[192] Interview with City of Harare director of Housing – July 2020.
[193] Interview with a Housing officer responsible for development compliance in the City of Harare – June 2020.
[194] Harare City Housing Policy Document – page 5.

partners provide funding and technical assistance for both onsite and offsite housing development[195]. The expectation is that at all times, private partners are expected to complete the housing development projects, either servicing the stands or constructing houses in the specified timeframe unless an extension has been granted by full council.[196] Section 15 (5) of the Harare City Housing Policy Document provides that while the council can allow private partners to service the land or construct housing, the prerogative to allocate either serviced residential or constructed houses remains with the Council's Housing Director.

In Harare, the main partners of the council with regards to housing provision in Zimbabwe are banks, building societies, cooperates, and international housing development organisations and these include CABS, Shelter Zimbabwe, Delta Cooperation Limited, Dairibord Holdings Limited, Zimplats and World Vision.[197] These private institutions have been engaged by the Harare City Council to collaborate in housing development projects in areas such as Mabvuku and Tafara, Budiriro, Dzivarasekwa Extension, Carrick Creagh and Sunway City opposite Zimre Park where stands have been serviced, roads have been constructed, water, sewer pipes and electricity have been connected. Shelter Afrique, which is a Pan-African financial institution, also partners urban local authorities in Zimbabwe in implementing housing projects. Zimbabwe is a contributing member to the Shelter Afrique, and this has made partnerships with this institution to become one of the vehicles used to access housing funding in Zimbabwe. The PPP model has been regarded as more effective and reliable than other models because most public sector institutions adhere to the stipulated operating rules since they do not want a bad name for themselves unlike some housing cooperatives who may not care about their brand image.[198] The next section focuses on Site and Service Schemes as another urban housing policy implementation mechanism used in Zimbabwe.

6.4.1.8 Site and Service Schemes (SSSs)

In this urban housing policy implementation strategy, the local government identifies an area suitable for residential housing development, then proceeds to service it, ensuring that it has all essential services and such as roads, sewer lines, running water and electricity. The council will

[195] Harare City Housing Policy Document – page 9.
[196] Harare City Housing Policy Document – page 9.
[197] Interview with housing officer responsible for PPPs in Harare – August 2020.
[198] Interview with housing officer responsible for PPPs in Harare – August 2020.

then proceed to sell the serviced residential stands to those applicants on the housing waiting list. Following this will be the construction of social amenities such as schools, shops, parks and community halls. Town planners have argued that ideally, these social amenities should be developed at the same time when roads, sewer pipes, electricity connections, and related services before the residential stands are allocated. In Zimbabwe, this is the traditional mechanism of urban housing delivery as it gives the council full control of the urban housing development process. However, this method has not been used for a long time because the urban councils lack financial resources to service the land identified for housing development. As a result, most councils have resorted to other models of housing delivery. When it was used, urban councils would proceed to the council-go it alone individual allocation where it allocates serviced or unserviced residential stands to individual applicants who are at least eighteen years of age. The beneficiaries should be on the council housing waiting list (Gotora, 2020). However, the major challenge to the implementation of these housing development strategies has been the lack of capital which the country does not have at present. The economic woes currently prevailing in Zimbabwe have hindered the success of SSSs.

Generally, most urban local governments in Zimbabwe have a choked fiscal space to implement the SSSs model. These local governments often have several competing demands on their agenda with a limited budget such that it becomes difficult for them to prioritize housing provision through SSSs over some issues such as water provision, refuse collection, water provision and sewer reticulation. As a result, capital expenditure on housing in most urban local authorities in Zimbabwe has been significantly reduced. This has been worsened by the fact that there has not been significant investment in off-site housing development for a long time in Zimbabwe. While the existing urban council housing facilities are dilapidated, there has not been an indication to direct the available funds towards their urgent refurbishment and this has worsened the housing plight of the occupants of these facilities. While every urban local government in Zimbabwe has a housing account which is set up under section 301 (1) (*a & b*) of the Urban Councils Act, this account has not helped to ease the financial woes of councils. This account was set up to raise funds for housing development purposes, which is critical in the formulation and implementation of urban housing policies as these two processes require sufficient funding for them to be effective.

Funds from this account are generated from rents, fees, and charges made by councils[199]; donations and subscriptions to the local authority[200] as well as the dividends received from the investments made by the council from the money taken from the housing account.[201] The establishment of the housing account is an effort to make the council the major funder of housing development[202] as provided under section 17 (1) of the Harare City Housing Policy Document.

Despite the establishment of the housing account, local governments in Zimbabwe remain underfunded to fully implement their housing delivery policies. For example, while the city of Harare in its annual capital budget usually has a target of servicing at least 3 000 stands over the years, it has only managed to service at most one-third of this figure. Under the above circumstances, the most viable options for councils would have been to solicit funds from Central Government through the National Housing Fund as provided for under section 17 (4) of the Harare City Housing Policy or to borrow funds from the private sector and other willing lenders. While government grants have been hampered by a dwindling economy that limits the capacity of central government spending on housing development, the option of borrowing is not easy due to some legislative bottlenecks. For example, the final approval for a council to borrow money is granted by the Minister of Local Government[203], who also has the power to cancel or reverse the borrowing powers given to the council if they are not exercised within the stipulated time.[204] The Minister is also involved in the financial administration processes of councils, as section 6 (4) (*f*) of the UCA states that "rates for levies are payable in a manner that is specified by the minister". This housing finance crisis in urban councils has been worsened by the delay in the utilization of contributions made by co-operatives as some funds become valueless before they are expended.

Furthermore, the governance of land barons is another serious challenge in most urban areas, as these continue to con people and allocate land illegally, leading to the continuous extension of informal settlements. In Harare, informal settlements are a health time-bomb and a threat safety of their inhabitants because they experience erratic water supply challenges, sewer bursts, overcrowding and are prone to the outbreak of communicable diseases such as cholera and typhoid

[199] Section 301 (2) (*c*) of the Urban Councils Act.
[200] Section 301 (2) (*g*) of the Urban Councils Act.
[201] Section 301 (2) (*j*) of the Urban Councils Act.
[202] Harare City Housing Policy Document – page 10.
[203] Section 290 (4) of the Urban Councils Act.
[204] Section 290 (8) of the Urban Councils Act.

due to their inhabitable or dilapidated state (Chigudu, 2021). Donor funding is no longer pronounced, just as government support towards housing and infrastructure development has also decreased. Largely, all other housing delivery challenges are hinged on financial incapacity due to the ailing state of the economy and this has deprived shelter to the majority of urban citizens in Zimbabwe. As a result, most housing delivery models end up failing to achieve their objectives, with the current housing facilities failing to cope with the expanding urban population in Harare. Due to the inability to increase the housing stock, the existing infrastructure cannot cater for the growing population. The council ends up reducing housing standards because of the limited financial resources.

During the implementation of all urban housing programmes and projects, housing officers also ensure that there is stakeholder by in. Without this buy-in, implementers may be faced during the implementation process and include a lack of support from the community, especially in cases where consultations with stakeholders were not properly done during the formulation of the policy in question. People may reject the projects that are implemented towards the achievement of the goals of the policy. Where there is such resistance, the goals of the policy will be defeated. In this regard, local authorities in Zimbabwe are expected to implement urban housing policies in a manner that respond to the housing needs and demands of the people under their management. As a result, local councils operate at the level of subsidiarity with the belief that services must be provided efficiently. To achieve this, housing officers in the urban councils conduct social-economic surveys to see if the current housing implementation model fit well with the income levels of the majority of home seekers. The research found that in Harare and other urban areas in Zimbabwe, while the formulation aspect of the policy may not be problematic, the implementation part leaves a lot to be desired. Urban housing policy implementation has been marred by a myriad of problems, particularly the challenge of limited financial resources. Most of the projects are abandoned because of a lack of funding. This was confirmed by an interviewed housing officer in the Harare City Council who stated that:

> While urban housing policy strategies are ambitious and clear-cut, their effective implementation is problematic because of the matrix of issues. If you look at the policy on paper, you can be deceived, but on the ground the situation is different. We lack both financial resources and creditworthiness as a council. Unfortunately, the council is known to be corrupt such that no one wants to partner with us in terms of financial support for housing development. This is exacerbated by the negative perception of

> the council by the general public. For example, if we call for consultative meetings to discuss public housing matters with the general public, people don't come because they say they are tired or talk shows. They argue that even if they attend, nothing is going to come out of it, as they see the council with a negative eye.[205]

While the council's primary role is to create a suitable environment for private players to freely participate in urban housing development guided by policy, some projects spearheaded by private developers are not successful because these private players charge unaffordable prices for both the serviced residential stands and completed housing units. Furthermore, while the council is mandated to continue setting a conducive environment for potential investors into the housing sector, the past confusion over the national currency and the current absence of a strong currency in Zimbabwe has scared away both local and international investment into the housing sector. In an interview, a housing officer in the Harare City Council confirmed this by saying:

> The instability of the Zimbabwean currency drives housing investors away. Investors cannot commit without a proper currency to return their profits, hence the efforts to lure investors have been marred. International investors who want to come into the country are not prepared to accept the local currency because it's not real money, it's a bond, it's not a currency that they can use in their country. They consider it as imaginary money; hence they will not come until the currency issue is resolved.[206]

The result of a poor currency has been the slow progress in the implementation of housing projects and the perpetuation of the dire housing situations in Zimbabwe's urban areas. As a result, financial resources towards urban housing policy implementation remain scarce as the government has a lot on its agenda. In the ensuing section, I analyse how specific institutional properties in the Harare City Council influence the formulation and implementation of urban housing policies in Zimbabwe.

6.5 The Influence of Institutional Structures in Urban Housing Policy Making in Zimbabwe

The study found that institutional structures are the functional operatives of urban housing policy decision making in Zimbabwe. As I indicated in the first two chapters of this thesis, institutional structures are the constituent properties that give a public institution a unique identity (Albano et al., 2010) and these properties include but are not limited to; the vision and mission statement of the institution, the institutional hierarchy of authority, operating procedures and codified rules,

[205] Interview with a housing officer in the Harare City Council – June 2020.
[206] *Ibid.*

institutional ideologies, sanctions and discipline systems, principles and value systems, power relations as well as institutional culture and traditions (Giddens, 1984; Peters, 1999). This section explains how these institutional structures influence the decisions and actions made by policy makers or actors involved in the formulation and implementation of urban housing policies in Zimbabwe. The discussion dovetails the practical urban housing policy making process experiences in the City of Harare with the theoretical and literature propositions presented in chapter four of this thesis.

6.5.1 Vision and Mission Statement

The vision of an institution is its declaration of what is hoped to be achieved. The vision is pursued through a mission – which is a description of the operational objectives to achieve the vision. In Zimbabwe, every urban council has a vision and mission statement guiding how urban housing policies are formulated and implemented. In this regard, the study found urban housing policies in Zimbabwe are born out of the vision and mission statement of an urban council. The vision of urban councils regarding housing provision is framed in the vision of the Ministry of National Housing and Social Amenities, which is also developed from the broader long-term blueprint of the central government, i.e., Vision 2030 which the President of Zimbabwe espoused in 2019 to provide the guiding framework for all government programmes. With regards to housing policy in Zimbabwe, Vision 2030 seeks to guide the Government of Zimbabwe towards achieving an upper-middle-income economy in which sustainable, accessible and affordable housing is guaranteed. These empirical cases confirm the propositions in current literature, that the vision and mission statement of an institution is the cardinal point for all institutional processes (Jung et al., 2020; McDonald et al., 2009).

Vision 2030 has a long-term focus, but it has short-term targets and milestones in it, for example, the target to construct 200 000 houses and flats by 2023. In tune with this vision, the Minister of Housing acts as the principal/agent of the central government in ensuring that this vision guides all housing provision activities at the ministerial level. At the council level, the mayor also acts as the principal/ agent of the Ministry of Housing in ensuring that the ministry's vision is actualised at the local government level. Thus, the decisions and actions of housing officers and technocrats in both the Ministry of Housing and urban council structures are expected to be in line with the

attainment of the expected housing provision status as espoused under Vision 2030. The housing delivery vision for each urban council in Zimbabwe must dovetail with the Vision 2030, which then becomes the reference point for actors involved in urban housing policy formulation and implementation. The fact that the vision and mission statement provides a reference point for urban housing policy making in Zimbabwe affirms the premises of the institutional theory which states that these components of institutional structures persist over the decisions made by policy-makers within an institution as framed by scholars such as (Friel, 2017; Spiller & Tommasi, 2007).

For one to understand how the vision and mission statements of urban councils shape urban housing policy formulation and implementation, it is important to know how these two guiding frameworks of the council are developed. When an urban council develops its housing vision and mission statement, it considers the various pieces of legislation that guides council activities and these include the Regional, Town and Country Planning Act [Chapter 29:12] and the Urban Council Act [Chapter 29:15] and the national constitution. These Acts and other legislative frameworks give direction on the measures to be put in place to ensure systematic city spatial distribution in terms of housing development, which makes them relevant when the council's vision and mission statement are being formulated. For example, each urban local authority in Zimbabwe draws its housing provision vision from Section 28 of the Constitution of Zimbabwe, which provides that "the State and all institutions and agencies of the government at every level must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within the limits of the resources available to them, to enable every person to have access to adequate shelter".[207] In June 2020, the Harare City Council was working with the vision crafted in 2012, and this vision sets to ensure that Harare achieves a world-class city status by 2025, with a target to provide adequate and affordable housing for all citizens. However, this vision has been regarded as unrealistic and far-fetched, with suggestions for the need to develop and work with a simple doable target not and not an 'unrealistic dream'.[208]

The research revealed that urban housing policies in Zimbabwe are an outcome of consultations that are guided by the housing vision of local authorities. Thus, during the urban housing policy formulation process, the total of the views obtained from the different stakeholders during

[207] Government of Zimbabwe: Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment [2013]
[208] Interview with former Harare mayor – April 2020.

consultations are aligned with the vision of the council to give a comprehensive policy framework. In this regard, urban housing policy formulation is both a top-down process where the vision guides all activities and a bottom-up process in that the policy content should capture the views of the stakeholders as drawn from the consultations. In literature, the vision of an institution is regarded as one of the key reference points for the actions of members of an institution (Irfan et al., 2018). Housing policy making experiences in Harare validate this claim. In the City of Harare, while the vision directs what the urban housing policy should encapsulate theoretically, widespread consultation with stakeholders must always be done to give council officials the contextual practicalities of what needs to be in terms of the policy on the ground. The Harare City Council's vision and consultations with stakeholders shape the content of the urban housing policy during its formulation.

The mission statements of urban councils in Zimbabwe also influence the content of the urban housing policies that they formulate and how they implement them. In the Harare City Council, for example, the mission statement focuses on ensuring the provision of adequate and affordable housing to all, and this mission statement guides the actions and decisions made by housing officers and actors when formulating and implementing urban housing policies. Regarding housing policy, the mission statement of the Harare City Council addresses three fundamental pillars which are sustainability, modernity, and affordability. This means that all urban housing policies are expected to promote sustainable housing, modern housing, and affordable housing. Thus, the mission statement provides the pivot for the coordination of policies that encourage the sustainable and affordable provision of modern housing in the City of Harare. This reality resonates with the arguments made by Jung et al., (2020) that the mission statement as part of institutional structures consistently influences the actions and choices made by members of an institution. Thus, guided by its mission statement, the Harare City Council is mandated to create an environment that is conducive and accommodative to all stakeholders in the housing sector to freely participate in housing provision. The vision and mission statement are complimentary as they both guide council urban housing policy processes in Zimbabwe. In the ensuing section, I discuss the influence of power relations and institutional politics on the decisions and actions made by officials in the formulation and implementation of urban housing policies in Zimbabwe.

6.5.2 Power Relations and Institutional Politics

Politics is ubiquitous and the influence of political power in public institutional processes is common (Blöchliger et al., 2017; Murphy, 2016). Thus, most institutional processes are largely influenced by their power, relationships and politics that occur within their structures. This trend applies in Zimbabwe where the formulation and implementation of urban housing policies are largely influenced by power relations which are embedded in the political nature of the structure of urban councils. The research revealed that there is a conflation of politics and administration in Zimbabwe's urban councils as technocrats work hand in glove with councillors who are elected officials representing political parties. Most often, decisions in the formulation and implementation of urban housing policies are marred by the constant battle for supremacy between council officials or administrative staff and councillors. For example, in the formulation of the urban housing policy in Harare, consultations and reviews must be conducted extensively with stakeholders in different constituencies within the housing sector. While this process must be facilitated by both council administrative staff and councillors for different wards, it seems that housing officers are relegated to bystanders in this process because councillors seek to be in total control of every activity so that they can influence the overall content of the policy. This was revealed in an interview with a housing officer in the Harare City council who averred that:

> When we are in the process of reviewing the housing policy or making consultations for the formulation of a new policy, we are assigned a team of councillors to lead us into the forty-six wards in the city asking people policy-relevant information. However, our experience has shown that these consultations always change into political missions, as most often, political party business by the councillors overrides the housing policy consultations. The housing issue is made a minor issue as political matters take over the consultations. We end up being submerged in the political discourse by the councillors. The contribution to be made by the people is then weakened by political rhetoric. Eventually, we end up not collecting enough policy-relevant information as the exercise ends up becoming a political rally.[209]

The above observation indicates how institutional politics can influence the content of an urban housing policy during its implementation. These experiences also authenticate the observation made by Kong & Yoon (2018) that politics inherently intrudes institutional processes such as public policy making. As such, the clash of interests between politicians and administrators seems

[209] Interview with a housing officer in the Harare City Council – June 2020.

to obtain in the Harare City Council. Administrators who are technocrats knowledgeable in local government management cannot exercise their roles without political intrusion. This suggests that the demarcation between political and administrative functions is either not clear or not observed during urban housing policy formulation and implementation. As a result, politics inevitably affects the processes of urban housing policy formulation and its implementation in Zimbabwe. Largely, the political-administrative structure of urban councils in Zimbabwe creates operational problems. For example, in Harare, while councillors are supposed to be reporting and inquiring to the town clerk about council matters, they sometimes bypass this route and make decisions without consultation with technical experts.

Councillors as politicians determine whether or not resolutions are adopted as a policy during the drafting stage of the urban housing policy formulation process in the Harare City Council. They also influence decisions on the allocation of stands, which is a policy implementation activity that administrators in the council are mandated to do. This conflict of interest between politicians and administrators begets and intensifies some of the challenges that are faced in the urban housing policy process in Zimbabwe. It appears that councillors as politicians have the power to censor administrative decisions to suit the interests of their political parties. As a result, administrative officers cannot make professional decisions because at times professional decisions are contrary to political preferences. The research found that in the City of Harare, this awkward situation creates a lack of operational autonomy on the part of administrative staff, which drags urban housing policy processes and perpetuates housing challenges. In addition, there seems to be a lack of trust between political players in the council and their administrative counterparts and this affects the effectiveness of the urban housing policy process. For example, councillors consider the town clerk to be an 'appendage' of the central government. This is mainly because of the 'invisible involvement' of the Local Government Minister in the appointment of the town clerk, allegedly to provide a watchdog function against the activities of councillors who are mainly from the opposition political party.[210] Most often, council activities seem to be censored or vetoed by the Local Government Ministry through the town clerk under the guise of oversight or stewardship of local governance affairs. This censorship affects urban housing policy decision making as there is not flexibility and a receptive attitude to accommodate diverging views. Thus, institutional

[210] Interview with a councillor in Harare – May 2020.

politics discourage innovativeness in the making of urban housing policy as actors do not give each other enough room to express their ideas on how to improve the design of the urban housing policy. Some actors feel threatened by new ideas, resulting in restrictions of innovation on urban housing policy matters.

The implementation of urban housing policies, programmes, and projects in Zimbabwe largely reflects the political dimensions and climate subsiding at the time of their formulation. The research revealed that in Harare, councillors generally want to ensure that all urban housing policy implementation activities are done in line with their political aspirations. To them, the housing policy implementation process signifies the actual platform upon which resources are distributed to the electorate, hence they manipulate this process so that they can score some political goals. The urban housing policy implementation process marks the stage at which the interference of politicians in council affairs becomes more vivid. At this stage, most often, politicians make secretive and unprocedural demands on how the allocation of residential stands should be done. Such secretive demands will be outside of council standard operating procedures and leave the council without an economic return from the allocation of stands, yet the sale of stands is one of the major sources of council finance. The standard procedure is that in allocating a residential stand, 30% is paid upfront and the balance is paid over 30 days by an applicant who must be interviewed before the allocation is made. However, the by-pass of council residential stand allocation procedures due to political interference can only trigger illegal land invasions, which has become a bone of contention in the administration of local authorities in Zimbabwe. This was confirmed by an interviewed housing officer in the Harare City council who stated that:

> The implementation of urban housing policies is an entanglement for us as housing officers. Most often, politicians influence people to invade the land, and then they force council officers to push for its regularisation. It's difficult for council officers to say no because everything is dictated by the politicians. In the allocation of stands, practice is alienated from the standard operating procedures guiding this process.[211]

As a result, most often, housing officers are under extreme pressure to comply with political demands in the housing implementation process and this is against the standard operating procedures of councils. Technocrats or administrative officers in the council have to balance the conflicting political rationalities daily to avoid creating disharmony in the governance of the

[211] Interview with a housing officer in the Harare City Council – June 2020.

council. Balancing the political interests of all politicians – the is, both the interests of the Minister of Local Government, Minister of Housing and opposition councillors – is a psychological mandate for housing officers. It is an everyday practice although there are no specific written down rules for this to be done. This position was confirmed by an interviewed housing officer in the Harare City Council who lamented that:

> Sometimes we panel bit resolutions made up top by politicians so that they 'fit' into the council regulations. This is both ironic and difficult for us because all activities and decisions are evaluated for compliance to ensure that housing officers do not temper with council affairs, yet at the same time, we are forced by the political hand to bend rules. The people who force us to alter the operating procedures will not be there to defend us when the audit report comes out. You are audited on a decision that is not yours. The decision comes from somewhere, and we must fine-tune it to make it compliant with the procedures so that the audit report reflects compliance.[212]

The main reason for the conflation of politics and administrative process in the council is that politicians occupy offices through manifestos, and since they work with council administrative officers, they see to it that their manifestos are satisfied. What makes this issue more complicated in Harare is that it has a majority of opposition MDC councillors who have a different party manifesto from that of the party running government (ZANU-PF). This makes the job of the administrative staff more difficult as they have to balance the political rationalities from two fronts, i.e., the interests of the ruling as represented by the Minister of Local Government who oversees council business and the interest of opposition councillors who work for hand in glove with council technocrats daily. This dilemma was confirmed by an interviewed housing officer in the Harare City Council who stated that:

> Our office is like a referee or umpire in a tightly contested political match. While we must work cordially with opposition councillors and advise them on how to properly run council affairs, we also at the same time seek to work towards the accomplishment of the vision of the President who is from a different political party. As a result, our role is to balance the contesting political realities between these two political extremes. This is a difficult but necessary mandate for us.[213]

The involvement of central government ministers in urban housing policy making is also a major concern in Zimbabwe. The research revealed that the Local Government Minister and the Minister of housing have powers to dictate urban housing policy direction. These two ministries set the

[212] *Ibid.*
[213] Interview with a housing officer in the Harare City Council – June 2020.

expected standards to guide urban local authorities in managing issues of urban housing provision and related urban housing developments. All urban local authorities must then provide periodic submissions, resolutions, and reports to these ministries on the housing delivery progress. In Harare, this requirement is complicated by the fact that the council, which is made up of a majority of councillors from the opposition MDC reports to two ministries headed by political figures from the ruling ZANU-PF which creates a tense operational environment.

For example, the Urban Council Act gives the Local Government minister the power to rescind the resolutions made by the council. Thus, in the case of Harare and other urban local authorities in Zimbabwe, there is a high likelihood that the resolutions and reports from the council can be crashed by the minister for being politically incorrect.[214] For example, politics can come into play forcing the council to reverse some land allocations because to the minister this does not serve the interest of his party. The minister also returns the power to reverse directives authorised by the mayor who is also part of the opposition, and these political and power squabbles delay and affect the urban housing policy implementation process. Urban Management regulations such as the Urban Council Act and the Regional, Town and Country Planning Act also give the Minister of Local Government so many administrative powers to control local government affairs and this results in the minister interfering in council housing affairs which are outside his jurisdiction.

The research revealed that in Zimbabwe, politicians control housing development processes, particularly the distribution of resources such as residential stands and completed housing units. They determine who gets what, when, and how. In this regard, they seek to manipulate council housing officers to act in a manner that meets their political interests, and in so doing, power relations as an institutional structure influence the process of urban housing policy implementation. In an interview, a housing officer in the Harare City Council confirmed this by saying:

> Due to unstable power relations, politicians cannot sleep if they are not sure of or happy with the person in charge of housing, as they ponder the extent to which that person is detrimental to their political interests. Therefore, as a housing officer, I must allay those fears of both members of the ruling party and the opposition so that they can find sleep. The theatre or the art of balancing interests becomes my daily responsibility. However, I always have difficulties, if I allocate something that satisfies one party and not the other, I will be associated with that party, and it makes my profession complex. These contestations occur daily. Every officer is labelled and allocated a political party

[214] Interview with a housing policy analyst – August 2020.

> while we try to balance interests, the director has a party, and everyone has a party given by other politicians, I have my label also. I must have that kind of flexibility as a public housing officer, otherwise, I will lose my job.[215]

The above narrative is a confirmation of the power struggles in the Zimbabwe local governance structure, and this power contestation and political interference is inherent and found in every urban local authority. The research found that to cement political control of council business, most positions are strategically filled with people who are partisan and compliant regarding bending rules and procedures to satisfy the interests of politicians. As a result, there is always an invisible hand of the politician in council affairs, particularly in trying to dictate the pace of housing implementation and formulation. In such cases where there is no massive political meddling, there is a complementary relationship between politicians and council officers. For example, since consultation between political heads and administrators is key for the success of council business, there are certain instances where the Ministry of Housing is clear on the expectations and council deliverables. Nevertheless, this does not stop politicians from bending the rules in the allocation of stands. Sometimes, it is very difficult to implement council procedures because the planning process might have been funded by politicians. Thus, political interference is largely responsible for the fraudulent dealings in the allocation of residential stands in Harare. This was confirmed in an interview with the Director of Housing in Harare who stated that:

> We live in fear of losing our jobs because we don't know what politicians will do after we make a professional decision or move in line with policy provisions. It is very difficult to decide as it is subject to censorship by top politicians. Effectively, politicians are in control of the urban housing policy implementation process, especially regarding who gets which stand. Politicians are the drivers of policy, they were voted by the majority, so they must see with it that the will of the majority is achieved, hence their control of the development process in all facets of government.[216]

In line with the above observation, the research revealed that in government institutions, it is the manifesto of the ruling party that guides all government activity. He argued that if the president through the Ministry of Housing says a certain number of houses must be built by a certain date, councils should make efforts to deliver and achieve this target. He held that whether this target will be attainable or not is a different story. In this regard, the research further revealed that while urban councils in Zimbabwe make efforts to deliver housing towards achieving the set targets, the

[215] Interview with a housing officer in the Harare City Council – June 2020.
[216] Interview with the Director of Housing in the City of Harare – August 2020.

bureaucracy from the central government ministry may stall housing development processes. For example, if the council allocates land to a private developer, the government through the Ministry of Housing or the Ministry of Local Government will take time to approve such an arrangement, scrutinising the developer to check if they are not aligned with the opposition who are regarded as regime change agents. Thus, most often land developers are forced to make presentations to convince the government that they are not working with the opposition and this stalls urban housing policy processes. In the next section, I analyse the influence of the institutional culture in the formulation and implementation of urban housing policies in Zimbabwe.

6.5.3 Politicised Administrative Organisational Culture

Zimbabwe is a unitary state with a polarised political environment, in which the central government is controlled by the ruling party ZANU-PF while the local government is controlled by opposition councillors, mainly from different MDC formations. This polarisation translates into a polarised administrative organisational culture reflected in urban local authorities. This type of culture dictates the mode of operating for all housing officers in the local government fraternity and governs the activities done by urban local councils. This practice is consistent with the argument embedded in historical institutionalism – that public institutions have established a culture that provides authoritative guidelines for individual and group behaviour in that institution as argued by Steinmo et al., (1992).

Thus, consonant with this literature exposition, the research found that all urban housing policy processes in Zimbabwe are governed by a politicised administrative organisational culture that exists psychologically but not codified or written anywhere. Often, this culture forces urban housing actors into balancing the interest of politicians with that of the council when making urban housing policy decisions and choices of action. This empirical exposition also validates the view advanced by institutional theorists (Garret & Tsebelis, 1996; Ott, 1989; Pfeffer, 1982) that culture is like the glue that consolidates and shape the decisions and choices of action made by members of the institution. This was confirmed in an interview with a housing officer in the Harare City Council who stated that:

> The policy may not say we must cater for politicians, we can't put that in the policy, but the administrative culture complies us to be political organisations such that sometimes you risk your job by being politically 'insensitive or incorrect'. As a result,

> we always face challenges in ensuring that we manage the politics of the day, as most often politicians make unrealistic demands, which may threaten the successful implementation of the urban housing policy.[217]

In light of the above narrative, it can be argued that housing officers have the daily difficult task of satisfying both political and social imperatives so that the city becomes an inclusive city. The research revealed that in whatever they do, housing officers become too cautious of the political implications of their actions and decisions. Subsequently, self-censorship becomes the inherent and biggest challenge as the technocrat are self-critical of any decision regarding whether it is politically correct or not. Housing officers and actors cannot delineate their omissions and commissions in such a politically demanding operating environment. This is largely because of a polarised administrative culture, which compels members of an institution to act and decide in a manner that is congruent with political imperatives. This was confirmed in an interview with a housing officer who highlighted that:

> I constantly ask myself the question: what will the politicians say if I do this, say this or not do or not say this? I don't have the operational autonomy to make objective and progressive decisions that advance the effective formulation, implementation, and review of the urban housing policy. We are not free as individuals because we are guided by the party manifestos in urban housing policy formulation and implementation. The housing policy is for everyone, but once it becomes partisan it leaves out others. We are compelled to entertain all political players because of the nature of our political system where government and political party business are not separated. This makes our administrative mandate so complicated to execute.[218]

These sentiments demonstrate how the polarised administrative culture that prevails in urban local government in Zimbabwe impedes the effectiveness of the urban housing policy. This culture causes the neglect of operational guidelines and standards by housing officers who are coerced to prioritise political imperatives at the expense of the need to achieve established housing development objectives as enshrined in urban housing policies. This observation confirms the view that sometimes culture can persist over rational actions and decisions which causes the adoption of immaterial policy options or alternatives as claimed by Weingast (1996) in his criticism of the role of culture in institutional processes. For example, the study revealed that, most often, chief land surveyors are forced into doing things unprocedurally by the politicians, as in cases where the

[217] Interview with a housing officer in the Harare City Council – June 2020.
[218] *Ibid.*

surveying department does not have money, and the politician has, the politicians will covertly give the surveyor money to approve land outside the procedure of council. These observations are consonant with claims that the institutional culture is always infused and ossified in members of an institution such that their actions become confined and predictable, which always ensure that institutional interests prevail over rational action as argued by institutional theorists such as Ott (1989) and Olsen (1988).

During the implementation of urban housing projects, the clauses of the urban housing policy are not properly followed due to the polarised administrative organisational culture that protects political interests at the expense of public housing delivery imperatives. For example, the study revealed that while the urban housing policy framework in Harare states that 10% of the serviced stands should go to disabled people in the city, in practice, this is not followed due to the politicised administrative culture that allows the political allocation of residential stands such that in some instances, all available or serviced residential stands may be allocated to non-disabled beneficiaries only. This practice confirms the view by Bakir & Jarvis (2018) that institutional culture compels and moderates individual behaviours and sometimes solidifies compliance with irrational options. Thus, one can argue that urban councils in Zimbabwe have a political-administrative culture that is deeply ingrained and dominant in the processes of implementing urban housing policy.

On a positive note, however, the institutional culture in most urban local authorities in Zimbabwe sometimes promotes diversity, inclusivity, and consultation in housing provision development. This is consistent with the view that an institutional culture sometimes enables the institution to buttress common purposes, mutual positions, and shared procedural rules that influence every actor's operating behaviour and manner of decision making as advanced by institutional theorists such as Ott (1989) and Weingast (1996). For example, it is the culture of the Harare City Council to engage the public in the formulation and implementation of all urban housing policies. Through the facilitation of ward councillors as described in the previous sections, consultative forums are held to obtain the support of the communities in which the policies will be applied. This was exposed in an interview with a spatial planning officer in the Harare City council who stated that:

> While we may fail to implement the policy, we have a culture of consulting and engaging the public to see understand what they want in terms of housing. Councillors are our immediate faces in this exercise. As planning officers, we work with them in these consultations. Councillors also communicate with the residents on what the

> council is doing. Councillors also bring back to the council what residents are saying, there is the mode of communication used by both the council and residents. Overall, the culture of consulting citizens in housing policy processes has been beneficial to the council.[219]

The culture of ensuring stakeholder consultation is important in the formulation of urban housing policies as they enable the council to identify policy gaps, policy requirements, and areas that need urgent attention through a new housing policy or amendment. For example, the practice of parallel development – an approach in which residential stands are allocated to beneficiaries before the area is serviced and then the construction of the structures is done simultaneously with servicing of the area – now discouraged by local authorities across Zimbabwe because consultations with stakeholders in 2012 revealed that it was promoting haphazard urban expansion, particularly in Zimbabwe's major urban areas. However, while stakeholder consultations are an important cultural trait in the formulation of urban housing policies in Zimbabwe, it is important to acknowledge that it is not feasible to consult everyone, hence, most often, efforts are made to consult only the representatives of the people e.g., residents' associations, board of engineers and other recognisable stakeholders in the housing sector. These representatives are then expected to consult with their respective constituencies.

The study revealed that an institutional culture has a dual effect on urban housing policy formulation and implementation processes in Zimbabwe. This observation is consonant with the concept of duality of structure, which was advanced by Giddens in the structuration theory when he states that institutional structures are both enabling and constraining. For example, while culture can ensure consistent and predictability of actions and decisions, it also mars the innovativeness or creativity, which may be required for these policies to be formulated and implemented effectively. This was confirmed in an interview with a town planner in the Harare City Council who had this to say:

> The fact that the institutional culture gives officers a yardstick of what must be done and by whom it is a barricade to progress as whatever we do must then reflect institutional interests which may not be the same as the public interest motive of the urban housing policy. Ideally, an officeholder is as good as an organisation itself. Thus, all officers are guided by organisational culture in their day-to-day activities. Personal opinions may not override organisational culture. The officers are authorised to do what the government expects and not what they think is right. As a result, we do things

[219] Interview with spatial planning officer in the Harare City Council – May 2020.

> that advance the interests of the institution, and sometimes this may not serve the interests of home seekers out there. We generally don't have that freedom to innovate. We can't use our insight. We only have the latitude to provide policy recommendations and it ends there. Additionally, these recommendations can be quashed instantly before they reach top-level management.[220]

These views demonstrate the negative impact of institutional politicised administrative culture in urban housing policy making in Zimbabwe, where it inhibits the operational autonomy of housing officers and other actors. In the ensuing section, I discuss the influence of the hierarchy of authority on the decisions and choices of action made by actors when they formulate and implement urban housing policies.

6.5.4 Hierarchy of Authority

The hierarchies of authority in urban councils in Zimbabwe dictate how urban housing policies are formulated and determine the pace of their implementation. Urban councils in Zimbabwe have a hierarchy of authority with actors who constitute the supreme decision-making body when urban housing policies are formulated and implemented. This is mainly because the demarcation of powers is not a clear cut in the hierarchy. For example, in terms of the exercise of power and authority in Zimbabwe, it is ironic that the town clerk seems to yield more power than the mayor, although the former has a lower rank in the hierarchical structure. In literature, the hierarchy of authority is defined as the sequence of accountability levels and the ladder of decision-making echelons in an institution (Georges & Romme, 2019). Scholars argue that public institutions essentially set up hierarchies of authority to delineate power relations, demarcate areas of responsibility amongst personnel, and coordinate policy making and work process, which improves accountability (Georges & Romme, 2019; Guido & Raith, 2004; Thompson, 2016). In the case of urban councils in Zimbabwe, the hierarchies of authority are conceived as vertical arrangements of positions showing various decision-making authority levels and organized responsibility levels, where lower positions on the hierarchy are supervised by higher ones. In figure 12 below I give a simple graphical illustration of the hierarchical structure of Zimbabwe's urban councils with a specific focus on the personnel involved in making urban housing policy formulation and implementation decisions.

[220] Interview with town planner in Harare – August 2020.

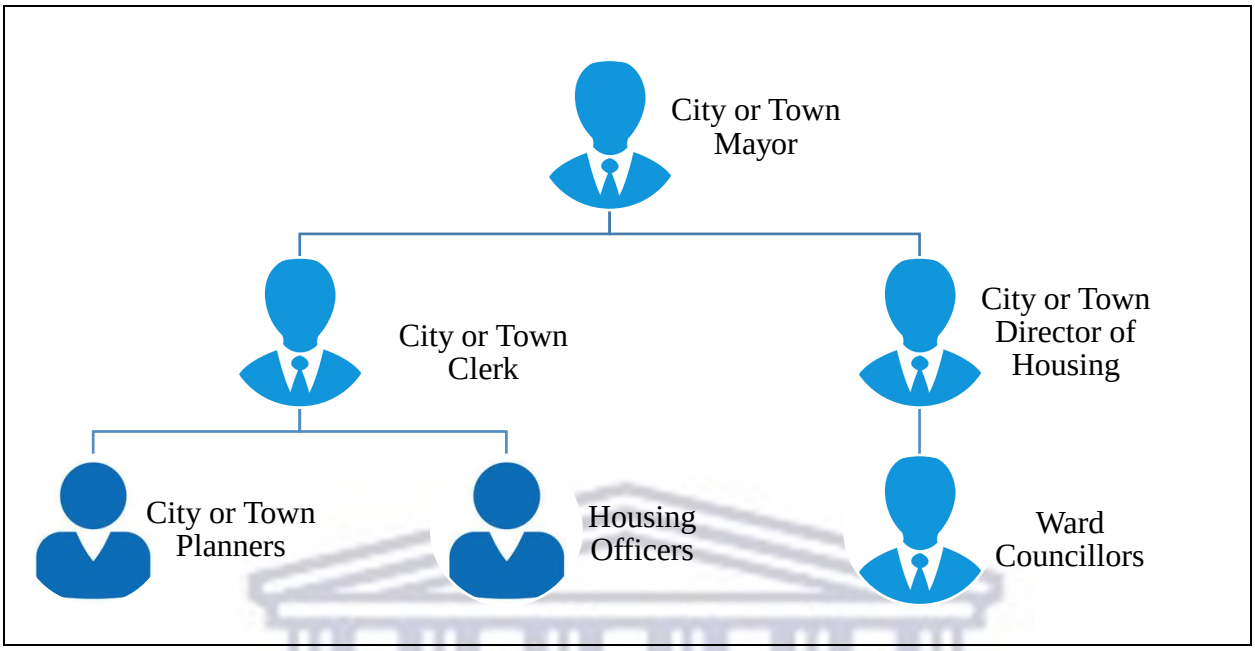


Figure 12: Hierarchical structure of urban councils in Zimbabwe with housing policy actors – (Source: Author's construct, January 2021).

In the structure of urban councils in Zimbabwe, the hierarchy of authority reflect the domain of control and responsibility, illustrating lines of accountability during the process of urban housing policy making. This observation is consistent with the view that the hierarchy of authority can specify the lines of authority and power relations and accountability areas as advanced by Matte (2017). However, the major challenge with these hierarchies of authority regarding the formulation and implementation of urban housing policies in Zimbabwe is that they are 'politically infested'.[221] This means that the hierarchical structures in urban councils provide an avenue for the abuse of power by elected officials who will use it as an instrument to promote their political party and personal interests and as weapons to crush their political opponents.

While the hierarchy of authority is there to demarcate the power structure and accountability networks, in Zimbabwe, it is politically invested or controlled. The research observes that while the urban councils in Zimbabwe have a broader organisational structure, in terms of the housing policy making process, the mayor occupies the top level of the structure, followed at the lower level of authority by the town clerk, then the director of housing who heads the Department of

[221] Interview with a housing policy analyst in Harare – April 2020.

Housing and Community Services, with housing officers and planners at the bottom of the hierarchy as shown in figure 12 above. For example, within the Harare City Council, the highest office is the mayor, then the town clerk, the director of housing, and then officers and planners as the operating core. From the bottom upwards, this structure reflects the local government reporting structure in Zimbabwe.

In addition, the research revealed that while this hierarchical structure in the Harare City Council helps to remove the duplication of roles and clarify levels of authority, there often is a lack of consensus or teamwork spirit between and amongst actors in this hierarchy. For example, in the hierarchy, there are cases where initiatives from lower rank employees can be censored by those occupying top positions and this can cripple innovation which is one of the critical principles of sustainable policy making. This observation resonates with the view that the hierarchy of authority can make some people feel more important than others in terms of status, power, and recognition within the institutional structure, as framed by Garret & Tsebelis (1996). In the City of Harare, for example, there are so many conflicting preferences in the hierarchy as some actors dictate and dominate instead of collaborating with others, and this stifles innovativeness and trust amongst them, which act against the effectiveness of urban housing policy decisions. The research found that as a result, there are structural wars within the hierarchy in a perennial battle to control the direction of urban housing policy formulation and implementation processes. In most cases, these battles either delay decision making or stall it, which affects the process of formulating and implementing urban housing policy strategies for addressing varying urban housing challenges.

The research also found that the hierarchical structure of urban councils in Zimbabwe causes delays in decision making during the formulation and implementation of urban housing policy. For example, the process of approving policy drafts and suggestions takes long because of the requirement for a step-by-step cumbersome approval process from the bottom to the top of the hierarchy. Too many signatures are required for one letter and this drags progress in urban housing policy implementation. As a result, some of the policy proposals can be overtaken by events or time due to the long hierarchical process involved in government institutions. In most cases, when the urban housing policy is implemented, it will no longer be relevant or applicable in certain quarters due to changing times and circumstances after the hierarchical delays. These practices confirm Held & Thompson (1989)'s argument that hierarchies of authority often derail the

decision-making process in public institutions. In the hierarchical structure responsible for housing matters within the Harare City Council, the information flow is very slow and as information moves down or up the hierarchy, it may arrive at the recipient amended or distorted. An interviewed housing officer lamented the red tape which comes from the high-powered levels of consultation involved in the hierarchical structure of the Harare City Council. The interviewee who is part of the lower rank and operating core in the hierarchy stated that:

> No matter how brilliant our ideas can be, they will not be accepted within a reasonable time. There is always an unnecessary bureaucratic red tape in the hierarchy. Whatever the proposal or suggestion made by a housing officer must get the by-in of the director of housing first, then the town clerk must also be convinced, and eventually, the mayor must accent to it, before it is also examined by the Minister of Housing and Minister of Local Government for its alignment with the vision of the central government. This hierarchical procedure is a long tiring process, but there is nothing we can do because that is how it is in government institutions.[222]

Nevertheless, while the hierarchy has its problems, some positives come with it. Firstly, the hierarchy can enable further additions to policy proposals at different levels as each actor can have a chance to review others' input and make suggestions for improvements. During the formulation stage, for example, actors in the hierarchy can make comments and contributions to the policy draft as it moves up the hierarchy for approval because these people know housing matters within the context of their local government. Each actor in the hierarchy can bring new perspectives to the policy, something that the others may have overlooked. The hierarchy also improves on checks and balances as well as guarding against the possibility of abuse of decision-making power by one person since the policy making process is not a solo effort but a teamwork process. Thus, if each person in the hierarchy can freely make suggestions, then a comprehensive policy can be developed from the diverse inputs of hierarchy actors, which makes the hierarchy a significant institutional structure when formulating and implementing urban housing policies. In the next section, I discuss how institutional rules influence the processes of formulating and implementing urban housing policies in Zimbabwe.

[222] Interview with a housing officer in the Harare City Council – June 2020.

6.5.5 Institutional Rules

Institutional rules are instructive declarations and standards that prohibit or permit individual actions (North, 1990). In Zimbabwe, local government institutions are guided by several rules when they make decisions and choices of action regarding the formulation and implementation of urban housing policies. The majority of these rules are drawn from codified laws or Acts of Parliament such as the Urban Council Act, the Regional, Town and Country Planning Act, the Housing Standards Control Act [Chapter 29:08] and Housing and Building Act [Chapter 22:07], the Official Secrets Act [Chapter 11:09] and the Public Service Act [Chapter 16:04]. In the City of Harare, the rules drawn from these pieces of legislation are behaviour controls or operating frameworks as they spell out what needs to be done and how it should be done when urban housing policies are formulated and implemented. They determine the code of conduct for officials in an institution.

The research revealed that institutional rules make urban housing policy actions and outcomes predictable in the City of Harare. While the aforementioned pieces of legislation provide the reference for the majority of the rules governing the processes of formulating and implementing urban housing policy in Zimbabwe, some of the rules are not crafted, but practised; there is no specific physical document to refer to regarding some of the rules, standard operating procedures or manuals. Such rules are not written anywhere; they are only practised and routinized. For example, the rules governing the procedure for identifying infill residential stands in different locations are not written in any document, but only practised at regular intervals by urban councils.

Largely, the formulation and implementation of urban housing policy by urban councils in Zimbabwe are rule-driven. Everything that policy actors do or say must be compliant with the institutional rules. For example, there are rules governing housing officers in inspecting housing facilities, stating how the inspections should be done and the inspection standards that must be met. If a housing inspection officer acts contrary to these rules, he or she may be charged or discharged by the council for failure to follow the stipulated protocols.[223] This rigid application of rules, however, blocks innovativeness, which may reduce the council's ability to move to modern

[223] Interview with a housing inspection officer in the Harare City Council – July 2020.

housing trends. Some rules stipulate the need to service residential locations before allocating residential stands and these guide the implementation of urban housing projects.

In urban development, are known as development controls and they enable the council to maintain certain housing standards. These development controls also stipulate how houses should be built in different residential areas as well as how residential stands should be serviced with all these issues constituting an important part of urban housing policy implementation in Zimbabwe. Chigudu (2021) define development controls as the guidelines for organised urban growth to ensure that all development process follows a set of principles and procedures and the failure to follow development controls results in the sprouting of slums. In Harare for example, slums are more pronounced because of this. These standards guide town planners in developing master plans and layout plans, ensuring that residential land is not used for commercial purposes. The influence of these different rules on the decision and activities of urban housing policy officials confirms the view held by Hindriks & Guala (2015) as well as March & Olsen (1989) that any public institution is a formal collection of rules that are used to control the decisions and actions of the members.

Institutional rules in Zimbabwe's urban councils are very clear on the standard operating procedures to be followed by the actors involved in formulating and implementing urban housing policies. All operating divisions or departments of urban councils are expected to abide by these rules when they pursue all their official urban housing policy making activities. Development control units or panels within all urban councils in Zimbabwe are responsible for enforcing rules. Urban local authorities as government institutions do not create their codes of conduct, but they are guided by the regulations formulated by the central government through the Public Service Commission (PSC).[224] Thus, some of the rules governing the operations of urban housing policy decision-makers in Zimbabwe are drawn from the Public Service Regulations (PSR)[225] which delineate the code of conduct for officials across all government departments. In terms of housing development, the code requires officers to be transparent in housing resource utilisation. The PSR must be followed because failure to do so leads to disciplinary action under Part VIII of the PSR.[226] An interviewed housing officer for the Harare City Council confirmed this position by stating that:

[224] Interview with a Public Service Commission General Manager – May 2020.
[225] Commonly known as the civil service code of conduct, and also known as Statutory Instrument 1 of 2000.
[226] Sections 42 to 52 (Part VIII) of the PSR deals with the disciplinary procedure in the public service in Zimbabwe.

> If you deviate from the rules stated in the code of conduct set by the PSC, you are disciplined, suspended or be fired. Therefore, to avoid trouble, we try to stick to the rules and regulations in making urban housing policy formulation and implementation decisions and this guides us in terms of conducting ourselves.[227]

While rules are important in ensuring consistency and setting the yardstick in the mode of operation for actors (Mohamed, 2017), the research revealed that in some practical instances in the Harare City Council, the application of rules has become a barrier to innovative thinking when urban housing policies are formulated and implemented. This practice confirms what Giddens' structuration claims that institutional rules have a regulatory effect on the activities of actors (Adams & Sydie, 2001). Some institutional rules in the Harare City Council are rigid or "cast in stone"[228] such that their inflexible application is incompatible with the dynamism of the policy environments and peculiar urban housing policy contexts. This negatively affects the urban housing policy making process, which by nature is fluid and dynamic – it is greatly affected by environmental trends. This was confirmed in an interview with an academic and town planner in Harare who stated that:

> Unlike institutional rules that are fixed, the policy making process is not static. It moves. Realities may change from the initiation of the policy to its implementation. Rules may force you to adhere to things that no longer make sense in the policy environment. Housing provision is a social process where one case is different from the other, such that the rule of thumb will not work benefitting the policy.[229]

The research also revealed that there is a selective application of punishment that comes after breaking institutional rules during the formulation and implementation of urban housing policies in Zimbabwe's urban councils. Political power and connections determine who is/not punished for breaking rules and the severity of the punishment. While to some officials breaking rules results in immediate suspension or dismissal, some are only cautioned and given a chance to rectify their mistakes. As a result, some public officials do not take some housing development rules such as development controls seriously because they know that even if they break them, they will be exonerated. The research established that some officers connive to politicians to allocate land illegally because they know that they are 'shielded' or 'protected' against punishment by those with political connections. This makes it difficult for policy consistency to be achieved as rules

[227] Interview with a housing officer in the Harare City Council – June 2020.
[228] Interview with an academic and town planner in Harare – August 2020.
[229] Interview with town planner in Harare – August 2020.

are adhered to in one area and ignored in another area. Rule application is therefore difficult if there is a selective application of punitive measures for rule-breakers. In the next section, I analyse the effect of institutional traditions when urban housing policy decisions and actions are made in Zimbabwe's urban councils.

6.5.6 Institutional Traditions

Institutional traditions are organisational systems that are transferred from one generation to the other to determine the ways of doing things (González & Alfonso, 2018). In Zimbabwe, urban local authorities have traditions that guide members of the institution in making decisions regarding how to formulate and implement urban housing policies. For example, it is a tradition that all urban housing policy formulation decisions must be made after comprehensive grassroots consultation with stakeholders in different wards and constituencies so that the policies can reflect the interests of the affected parties. Thus, urban housing policy actors do not just make policy decisions just because they think the decisions are good, but because they will capture the input of diverse stakeholders to co-opt their views into the final policy. This practice is consistent with historical institutionalism, which states that the actions and decisions of an institution's members are shaped by the traditions that are crystalised over time to become a formalised apparatus guiding the way things should be done in the institution as framed by historical institutionalists such as Thelen & Steinmo (1992) and Berthod (2016). Commenting on how traditions and value systems are maintained in the Harare City Council, a housing officer stated that:

> Council has a lot of experienced people with institutional memory of the value systems and traditions that have guided policy making in the council from time immemorial. These *veterans* are cherished in the institution because of their ability to share past experiences with the new blood joining the organisation. New officers tap into the institutional memory of these persons through consulting them. From these long-serving members, we recall what happened in the past, to guide present and future actions. They remind us of the traditions of policy direction. They are our reference point when we are stuck, and they shield us from getting lost.[230]

The second main tradition, which specifically guides urban housing policy implementation, pertains to the spatial arrangement of residential locations in urban local authorities. The tradition that has persisted from the colonial era is that a low-density residential area must remain low

[230] Interview with a housing officer in the Harare City Council – June 2020.

density, with some standards expected for medium and high-density locations. From a planning perspective, this tradition must not be broken because it is part of the urban planning protocol in Zimbabwe. High-, medium- and low-density suburbs should not be mixed because doing so will distort the systematic spatial arrangement of locations in urban areas. This tradition goes to guide planners in the determination of the size of residential stands in urban areas, which guides the implementation of urban housing delivery projects. In Harare, for example, the planning tradition is that a high-density residential stand should not exceed 300 m^2 in size while medium- and low-density residential can range between 400 – 2000 m^2. The study found that while these traditions are important in setting standards, some of them have been repealed because the world is dynamic, which makes it difficult to stick to the same tradition. In the succeeding section, I discuss how principles and standards influence urban housing policy formulation and implementation decisions in Zimbabwe's urban councils.

6.5.7 Principles and Standards

Urban councils in Zimbabwe have a set of principles and standards that determine the direction and manner in which urban housing policies should be formulated and implemented. These principles and standards can either be internal – set by the institution itself – or externally induced, where they are drawn from international best practices. For example, some of the internal principles include that a person may not be allowed to own more than one residential stand when other applicants have not been allocated one. It is also a principle that people on the housing waiting list are prioritised when making allocation decisions. For instance, section 14 of the Harare City Housing Policy Document prepared by the Housing and Social Development Department in 2015 specifies the standard criteria and principles to be followed when allocating housing stands to housing units. This section states that the standard step-by-step procedure is; registration on the waiting list; invitation for interviews for financial capacity as well as special needs; priority using a reference number; deeds and property search for other properties and finally the allocation committee decision.[231]

The rationale for this principled procedure is that a person cannot just pop up from nowhere to buy a council stand, as there is a due application process to be followed. Therefore, the standard

[231] Harare City Housing Policy Document – page 8.

operating protocol is that the applicant should first submit an application to show formal interest in being allocated a residential stand, and when the stands are available, the applicants on the waiting list are then interviewed by the council's allocation committee to determine their suitability to own the residential stand applied. However, the study revealed that in Zimbabwe's urban councils, this formal procedure is often bypassed by political allocation of residential stands as prior discussed, and this makes it difficult for housing officers to enforce the allocation principles.

The principle of modernity also guides urban housing policy formulation and implementation in Zimbabwe. For example, guided by the principle of modernity, the Harare City Council strives to develop urban housing policies that are up to the standard of modern settlements across the African continent and the world at large. In this regard, the council does not want ghost settlements, hence the priority of developing housing facilities that suit modern structural trends. I addition, the principle of sustainability, also guides urban housing policy making in Zimbabwe. This principle gives housing officers direction in pursuing all efforts related to encourage sustainable, organised and coordinated housing development in Zimbabwe as it ensures that the housing development process would take care of future generations and not only consider the present generations.

The principle of sustainability also promotes safety in housing development as policy makers work towards ensuring that the built environment is secure for construction. The basic standard is also that housing development endeavours should not be pursued in a manner that harms the environment. Furthermore, the principle of the functional settlement also shapes urban housing policy making processes in Zimbabwe. The basic premise under this principle is that someone should live and work in a particular settlement, in a one-stop pattern, and not the other way round. In this regard, the Ministry of Housing mandates urban local authorities to formulate and implement urban housing policies to facilitate the provision of human settlements in a coordinated and sustainable manner, through balancing housing and social amenities to people in different parts of the country. Under this principle, urban local authorities are encouraged to design urban housing policies that integrate housing development with related supportive land uses.

The principle of functional settlements states that people should not travel when it is not necessary to do so, people should walk to and from their workplaces and other social facilities such as shops, schools, and other sectors of industry. This principle also guides town planners when making

decisions on the locations of different residential areas. Moreover, the principle of affordability also influences urban housing policies in Zimbabwe to a larger extent. The basis of this principle is that the cost to rent or purchase housing is becoming increasingly less affordable to many and local authorities have been mandated to develop low-income housing schemes to ensure that the majority can afford housing facilities and residential stands.

The lack of affordable housing combined with high unemployment pushes people into homelessness, which results in the sprouting of optional forms of shelter such as shanties. However, while efforts have been made to improve housing affordability in Zimbabwe's urban areas, the shortage of affordable housing for low-income groups has been persistent. Urban local authorities seem to fail to balance the principle of affordability with the principle of economy. The principle of economy implores urban councils to ensure that at all times, housing development projects are economic, that while urban land should generate profit. Thus, the cost of urban housing and that of residential stands has remained beyond the reach of many people[232]. It has been difficult for urban councils in Zimbabwe to implement the principle of affordability in urban housing policy implementation.

Proactiveness is another principle that also guides actors in formulating and implementing urban housing policies in Zimbabwe. When formulating urban housing policies, this principle implores urban local authorities to take the initiative to plan and schedule important housing developments to prevent the possibility of firefighting during different housing crises. The principle of being proactive also enables urban councils to be in a better position to take greater control of the housing development process instead of emergency aggressive or negative housing situations that may be beyond the capacity of the council to deal with in reasonable timeframes. A proactive approach helps urban housing policy makers and actors deal with potential calamities before they get out of their reach. It enables policy makers to manage risks better and orchestrate the execution of projects and programmes in a more organised fashion. However, the research revealed that while urban local authorities in Zimbabwe try to formulate and implement housing policies in a proactive manner, to deal with housing demands, most of the time their approach is reactionary.[233] This is mainly because of limited financial and technical resources to plan.

[232] Views shared in a focus group discussion held in Tynwald South, Harare – September 2020.
[233] Opinion of an interviewed Housing Officer in the Harare City Council – June 2020.

Equality in the allocation of residential stands and housing units is also another principle guiding the administration of urban housing policy in Zimbabwe. This equality is mainly emphasized regarding the issue of gender inequality and disability. For example, section 14 (2) of the Harare City Housing Policy Document prepared by the Housing and Social Development Department states that the council must uphold the National Gender Policy and ensure gender equality in the allocation of residential stands and housing units to applicants. Furthermore, section 14 (6) of the same document provides that to ensure gender equality in housing access, the Harare City Council must follow the fifty-fifty quota system in allocating residential stands and completing housing facilities.

Regarding disability, section 14 (5) of the same policy stipulates that in any housing scheme, the council shall set aside ten per cent of the allocation to applicants with disabilities or parents of disabled children.[234] When followed, such provisions guide how urban housing officers decide who gets which piece of land in the city. However, the research revealed that in Harare, the practice is far from the principle of equality in the allocation of residential stands due to different inequality experiences. The consistent application of principles in urban housing policy decision making processes in Zimbabwe's urban councils authenticates the argument made by Immergunt (1992), that different institutional structures prescribe the actions of institutional members.

In addition to these principles, some standards govern the operations of actors when formulating and implementing urban housing policies in Zimbabwe. The main standard in urban housing policy formulation and implementation in Zimbabwe pertains to the planning and development patterns to be followed by the council in urban housing development processes, particularly in the implementation of urban housing projects. The standard is that there should be no development pending the approval of layout plans. This standard guides the council on matters of planning, and it is invoked when there are unplanned housing developments. Regardless of this standard, unplanned development has continued to persist in different parts of Harare as unplanned settlements continue to grow.

Some of the principles and standards governing urban housing policy formulation and implementation in Zimbabwe are extracted from global conventions such as the Vancouver

[234] Harare City Housing Policy Document – page 10.

Declaration on Human Settlements of 1976[235], Istanbul Declaration on Human Settlements of 1996[236] and several resolutions established by the United Nations Habitat. These declarations place human settlements as objects of national socio-economic progress, with urban housing policies becoming key instruments and frameworks for guiding social and economic development efforts in all countries. In the section below, I discuss how different institutional sanctions impact urban housing policy formulation and implementation processes in Zimbabwe.

6.5.8 Institutional Sanctions

Institutional sanctions are disciplinary punishments that are invoked against public officers who fail to adhere to stipulated rules, procedures, and instructions when making urban housing policy formulation and implementation decisions. In the Harare City Council, for example, urban housing policy officers who act in a manner that is contrary to, or inconsistent with the institutional protocols set for guiding decision making when formulating and implementing urban housing policies are reprimanded through sanctions. These sanctions come in the form of penalties such as suspension or dismissal after a formal disciplinary hearing. This observation corroborates Dequech (2006)'s argument that institutional sanctions specify the limit of permissible action and help to avoid a breach of institutional orders. In the Harare City council, the application of institutional sanctions has seen some housing officers being arrested for acting in a manner that defeats the proper formulation and implementation of urban housing policies.

Housing officers have been sanctioned for their involvement in underhand dealings in the allocation of residential stands to undeserving people, while those on the housing waiting list are overlooked. In terms of urban housing policy making, policy actors who act or decide in a manner that falls outside the institutional policy making template are sanctioned. This is done to ensure that the standard operating procedure for urban housing policy making is maintained. However, while the application of these sanctions in urban housing policy decision making is important for

[235] The Vancouver Declaration on Human Settlements was a resolution made after the United Nations conference that was held in Vancouver, Canada from 31 May - 11 June 1976, imploring governments to pursue the provision of adequate shelter to citizens and making recommendations for each country to achieve it.

[236] The Istanbul Declaration on Human Settlements of 1996 was a firm commitment by the Heads of State or Governments across the world to endorse the universal goals of ensuring adequate shelter to ensure that housing facilities are more habitable.

consistency and predictability in policy decision making, it often restricts innovative thinking, which makes it difficult for urban housing policy making institutions to respond to the diverse and ever-mutating urban housing problems prevailing in the country. These cases confirm the arguments in the institutional literature, that the fear of sanctions restricts innovative thinking which morphs institutions into dreadful and dull places (Abdelnour et al., 2017).

Some of the institutional sanctions applicable in urban housing policy making in Zimbabwe are drawn from legislation such as the Prevention of Corruption Act as well as the Urban Council Act. For example, section 144 of the UCA states that an employee of the council may be sanctioned if they "solicits, exacts or accepts or agrees to accept or attempts to obtain any fee or reward whatsoever, other than any remuneration or allowance paid to him by the council, as an inducement…".[237] Furthermore, the UCA also stipulates that where an employee steals any money or property of the council; that person shall be immediately dismissed from his or her position and it will only take the Minister of Local Government's written notice for such a person to be employed by council again.[238] These provisions provide the basis for controlling the activities of urban housing policy actors in urban councils around Zimbabwe.

In the same vein, the Prevention of Corruption Act also provides some sanctioning measures for public officials who accept bribes in the allocation of residential stands. A public officer involved in these malpractices is guilty of corruption and liable to a fine or imprisonment [239] and as such may be convicted under the Criminal Procedure and Evidence Act [Chapter 9:07].[240] The research found that in urban housing policy making experiences in Zimbabwe, sanctions are mostly applied in cases involving corrupt or unprocedural allocation of housing land by public housing officials. In the City of Harare, for example, many public housing officers have been dismissed or suspended for their involvement in the unsanctioned allocation of residential land without the proper authorisation of the council. Where there is suspicion, the council investigates the illegal allocation and occupation of land, tracking the allocator of the land and applying necessary sanctions to the perpetrators. An interviewed housing officer in Harare confirmed this sanctioning process by stating that:

[237] Section 144 (*a*) of the Urban Councils Act.
[238] Section 144 (*c*) of the Urban Councils Act.
[239] Section 2 (a & b) of the Prevention of Corruption Act.
[240] Section 3 of the Prevention of Corruption Act.

> Council does not condone corruption in the allocation of residential stands. If you are involved in corruption, you are prosecuted and eventually suspended or dismissed. Housing land should not be allocated through the backdoor. The council procedure is that when residential stands are ready for allocation, we call people who are on the housing waiting list for interviews to verify if they still need a stand, and then we adjudicate to see who is appropriate or not to be allocated the stand. Any action or decision outside this procedure is considered as corrupt allocation of residential stands.[241]

Institutional sanctions are also imposed for incompetence and poor performance by housing officers, which culminates in ineffective housing delivery. The procedure is that after some regular performance evaluation, housing officers are summoned and advised of the areas that they need to improve on and this in a way brings corrective measures. In cases of gross incompetence and severely poor performance, an officer can be suspended, cautioned, or disciplined by superiors.

6.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter has demonstrated how the different components of institutional structures can set preconditions for the everyday operations of urban housing policy actors and its consequences on the content and implementation trajectory of urban housing policies in Zimbabwe. In the chapter, I started by giving an overview of the nature and scope of urban housing policy in Zimbabwe, before discussing how it is formulated and implemented in urban councils around the country. Following this was a discussion of how the different institutional structures embedded in urban councils in Zimbabwe influence and shape the decisions and activities of urban housing policy actors. As discussed in the foregoing narrative, some institutional properties have a dual effect on urban housing policy making as they both facilitate decision making and policy certainty, while at the same time there are circumstances where the same properties mar effective policy decision making. The rigid application of some institutional structures such as institutional rules as well as political interference in the technical council housing policy process has been shown to be the major barriers to the effectiveness of urban housing policies in Zimbabwe.

[241] Interview with a housing officer in the Harare City Council – June 2020.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SOME CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND POSSIBLE FURTHER RESEARCH ON URBAN HOUSING POLICY INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURES IN ZIMBABWE

7.1 Introduction

The overall purpose of this thesis is to give a descriptive and explanatory account of the nature of urban housing policy in Zimbabwe and explain how its formulation and implementation processes are influenced by institutional structures such as institutional rules, codes of conduct, the hierarchy of authority, institutional sanctions and related properties. In this chapter, I give a summative outline of the thesis in which some research conclusions are made, policy recommendations are proposed, and possible areas for further research on urban housing policy and urban housing challenges in Zimbabwe are suggested. I start by discussing the study conclusions before moving to policy recommendations and winding up the chapter by giving suggestions for further research on other dimensions of urban housing policy in Zimbabwe.

7.2 Conclusions of the Research

The research provides an empirically anchored understanding of the processes of urban housing policy formulation and implementation in Zimbabwe and explains how institutional structures influence these processes. The first objective of the research was to examine and understand the nature of urban housing policy in Zimbabwe through exploring the process steps and challenges involved in its formulation and implementation. In this regard, the research established that an urban housing policy is a local government strategy or framework for guiding activities involved in housing delivery within a specific locality. This means that each urban local authority in Zimbabwe has its distinct housing policy that is different in scope to the other local authorities due to varying contextual housing realities. The main goal of having an urban housing policy is to ensure that in all urban local authorities, the quality of housing supply is improved and that there is access to affordable housing by all citizens towards creating a safe habitat. The research concludes that without an urban housing policy, it is difficult for urban councils to manage urban public spaces as well as to regulate urban housing land access, its use, and its tenure to curb the

chances of unauthorised land use in these areas. Urban housing policies in Zimbabwe are by-products of national housing policies with their main difference being that the former is found at the local government level while the latter is found at the level of the central government. Urban housing policies can be regarded as the microcosm (local) of the macrocosm (national) because the aims of the national housing policy are partly achieved through urban housing policies.

The urban housing policy model in Zimbabwe is a collaborative state-controlled arrangement – an approach in which the state and its apparatus such as local government is the focal point for housing provision while it also sets the operating guidelines for non-state actors to partake in housing delivery. The formulation of urban housing policies in Zimbabwe is a four-step iterative and consultative process, and the main process activities are **scoping** – a process in which policy makers set the scope for making decisions on what they want to achieve through a policy, and what they must do to achieve this target; **consultation** – a process in which policy makers in the city council conduct formal widespread consultative forums with all stakeholders in the housing sector to gather their views as input into the proposed policy; **drafting** which is the compilation of information from stakeholders into a draft policy document; and **policy validation** which is a process in which the draft is sent back to the stakeholders who were consulted to check if they agree with the contents of the draft policy before its substantiation.

The research established that when an urban housing policy has been formulated through these steps, it becomes a substantive framework to guide housing delivery action through the process of policy implementation. During the implementation process, the urban housing policy document becomes the anchor, pivot or reference point for all housing delivery activities. Thus, when the urban housing policy is ready, it is implemented through housing delivery programmes, strategic plans, and projects in a three-step process starting with the development of strategic plans as frameworks guiding the actualisation of the policy; breaking down the broad policy framework into manageable housing programmes; and the design of projects for the delivery of housing to different sections of the community. Several models have been designed and proposed for implementing urban housing policy in Zimbabwe. In Harare, the most common ones include the regularisation of informal settlements, urban renewal, site and service schemes, pay schemes, densification, the cooperative model, and the land developer's approach. However, the major challenge to the implementation of these housing development strategies has been the lack of

funding which the country does not have at present, mainly due to the unfavourable economic conditions that have choked the fiscal space of urban councils to implement these strategies.

Furthermore, the research concludes that while challenges such as central government interference in council decisions and shortage of key planning personnel are inherent to the process of formulating urban housing policies, a myriad of challenges is encountered in the process of urban housing policy implementation. These challenges include but are not limited to limited financial resources, political interference in the implementation process has worsened the situation as some political figures used their 'political muscle' to avoid developmental controls, which results in difficulties in the allocation of residential stands. As a result of these and other challenges, urban housing policies in Zimbabwe have not been effective enough to address the persisting urban housing challenges in the country's urban areas. There is also a need to transform the current housing delivery strategies so that they are effective in providing lasting redress to the urban housing challenges bedevilling the country.

The second objective of this study was to examine the roles of institutions and actors that partake in urban housing policy formulation and implementation processes in Zimbabwe. In this regard, the study concludes that the urban housing policy arena is laden with diverse institutions and actors who play complementary roles, have varied interests, mixed backgrounds, and varying levels of effectiveness in the processes of formulating and implementing these policies. While turban councils are at the forefront of urban housing policy administration, the Ministry of Housing is the apex institutional authority for public housing policy formulation and implementation in Zimbabwe, hence it plays a supervisory role to local authorities, ensuring that all urban housing policies, programmes and projects formulated and implemented are aligned to the National Housing Policy. The Ministry of Local Government also yields control of urban housing policy formulation and implementation processes as it monitors the activities of urban local authorities so that all housing development processes are in line with the approved local government development standard and principles. Urban local authorities anchor urban housing policy making processes in their areas of jurisdiction as they administer housing land allocation, to facilitate land use planning, to service housing land, to approve plans for formal housing structures, to certify completed housing facilities for use as well as maintenance and upgrading dilapidated public housing facilities.

The research established that urban local authorities do not work in isolation when formulating and implementing urban housing policy, but they consult and are supported by other institutions such as CSOs, NGOs, residents' associations, international organisations, private sector institutions, building societies, corporate institutions, land development companies, professional institutes, local financial institutions and SOEs among other related institutions. While local authorities provide the regulatory framework and funding, CSOs build effective networks that cut across communities, providing inclusive channels for aggregating the housing concerns of people from all corners of the country. They offer additional value in community building and maintaining the social fabric or network that is so valuable for low income and affordable community housing provision.

In addition, NGOs and International Organisations also provide technical support, social mobilisation, direct provision of housing, capacity building, and financial resources leveraging in terms of urban housing formulation and implementation in Zimbabwe. Corporates such as Dairibord Limited as well as the National Building Society together with local financial institutions such as the IDBZ also provide financial leverage in the implementation of urban housing policy in Zimbabwe. Land Development companies also work with local authorities in preparing virgin land prepared for the construction of housing facilities. Professional institutes provide technical advice to urban housing policy makers so that the policy is formulated and implemented in sync with physical urban planning and urban development standards. SOEs such as the Urban Development Corporation (UDCORP) assist urban councils in designing layout plans for residential, commercial and industrial development. The urban housing policy formulation and implementation processes in Zimbabwe are therefore collaborative processes involving both state and non-state institutions.

Furthermore, the researchers observed that the main individual actors involved in urban housing policy formulation and implementation in Zimbabwe are the Minister of Housing and Social Amenities, Minister of Local Government and Public Works, the Provincial and City Housing Directors, the Mayor, Town Clerk, housing officers, ward councillors, residents, policy advisors and city planners. Some of these actors have the power to make decisions that have a direct and immediate bearing on the content of urban housing policies and their implementation, while some can only make recommendations that are subject to acceptance or rejection by the main actors. Actors who yield more decisive power are the two aforementioned ministers, the provincial and

city housing directors, and in some instances the mayor and town clerk. For example, the Minister of Housing is at the pinnacle of housing policy development across the country, which makes him responsible for the effective administration of urban housing policy in all local urban local authorities in Zimbabwe through providing national leadership to all local authorities towards the achievement of progressive and organised human settlement across the country.

On the other hand, the Minister of Local Government oversees the affairs of all urban local authorities in Zimbabwe and he returns overwhelming powers to direct how urban housing policies are formulated and implemented as provided for under the Urban Councils Act which seems to give him too much power to intervene in urban housing policy decisions. The Provincial Housing Director checks if urban housing policies in his or her province are aligned to the imperatives of the National Housing Policy. Each city has a Housing Director whose role is to receive and review policy formulation, proposals from housing officers and committees of the council, and suggestions from different stakeholders in the urban housing sector, checking if they are consistent with the vision and mission of the city. The research observed that both the Provincial and City Housing Directors in close collaboration with the mayor and town clerks of different local authorities.

The mayor oversees the design of housing provision goals and the designation of land for housing development projects. Nonetheless, there have been perennial clashes between the mayors and Ministers of Local Government, with regards to the later office, continually usurping the other's powers. These tensions have culminated in the dismissal of mayors by the relevant minister on several occasions. The contest between these two actors continues to cause discord in urban housing policy formulation and implementation processes, with the main bone of contention emanating from differing political ideologies. The town clerk sets out the policy designs that enable councils to achieve high-quality housing development standards and set the framework for consultative forums during the formulation of urban housing policies. The town clerk also coordinates stakeholder engagement to create a participatory environment where every actor and institution can freely partake in urban housing policy processes. Ward councillors are also critical actors as they are the immediate faces when reviewing policies in communities and when conducting consultations with stakeholders, especially residents in different wards and constituencies in the city.

Housing officers are also key actors in this process as they administer the activities that contribute to the ultimate urban housing policy and its implementation frameworks and strategies. In addition, city planners are also key actors in this process as they help in developing land use plans for the local authority and this involves decisions around zoning, surveying, and proper land management which include examining plans for proposed facilities, such as schools, community halls, clinics and shops. Policy advisors or consultants are also key actors who are responsible for advising local governments on technical matters of housing policy. Residents are the primary target of urban housing policy and its first beneficiaries. The demands and expectations expressed by residents during consultations make up part of the content of the final policy document. The formulation and implementation of an effective urban housing policy human require the effective participation of the residents.

The third objective of the research was to analyse how institutional structures in Zimbabwe's urban councils shape urban housing policy formulation and implementation processes. The major conclusion regarding this objective is that Zimbabwe has highly centralised and politicised urban councils. These institutions are characterised by high rigidity and fear of job loss by officers and this is maintained by the strict enforcement of institutional structures. In this regard, the research found that urban councils in Zimbabwe are composed of a structure that comprises of distinctive properties such as rules, operating procedures, a hierarchy of authority, sanctions, and rewards systems, as well as a shared culture that acts as a pivot for controlling and coordinating the activities of its members. These institutional structures persist over individual rationality as policy actions and decisions are predetermined by the structure, causing coordinated action and patterned behaviour in urban housing policy formulation and implementation processes. For example, all urban housing policies are formulated from the vision of an urban council and their implementation is guided by the rules that are passed through the hierarchy of authority.

The research recognises that urban councils in Zimbabwe have a political-administrative structure which reflects a conflation of politics and administration in which technocrats work hand-in-glove with councillors who are elected officials representing political parties. This structure affects the urban housing policy decisions due to the constant battle for supremacy between technocrats and politicians. Thus, the political-administrative structure of urban councils creates operational problems as there is often a clash of interests between politicians and administrators in council. By

enlarge, administrators who are technocrats knowledgeable in local government management cannot exercise their roles without political interference as the demarcation between political and administrative functions is not clear.

Furthermore, there also exists a polarised administrative organisational culture in the urban councils which dictate the mode of operating for all housing officers in the local government fraternity. This culture shapes the activities done by local councils, including the processes of designing and actualising urban housing policy strategies. In the same way, the hierarchy of authority for urban councils reflects the domain of control, power relations, and accountability relationships. However, the major challenge with these hierarchies is that they are 'politically infested'[242] as they provide an avenue for the abuse of power by elected officials who seem to use it to promote their political party and personal interests and as weapons to crush their political opponents in council. This delays decision making, especially in the process of approving urban housing policy drafts.

The research established that urban housing policy making is rule-driven because institutional rules spell out what needs to be done and how it should be done in the processes of urban housing policy formulation and implementation. This makes policy actions, decisions, and outcomes predictable. Everything that urban housing policy actors do or say must be compliant with the institutional rules. Some of the rules are not crafted, but practised because there is no specific physical document to refer to regarding such rules; they are not written anywhere; they are only practised and routinized. However, while institutional rules are important in ensuring consistency and setting the yardstick in the mode of operation of actors involved in urban housing policy formulation and implementation, they act as a barrier to innovative and creative thinking in implementation. This is because deviation from them may result in job losses. The research concludes that the inflexible application of institutional rules is incompatible with the dynamism of policy environments and peculiar policy contexts. This is largely because the policy making process is by nature fluid and dynamic, but it is greatly affected by environmental trends.

[242] Opinion shared by an academic and political analyst interviewed at the University of Zimbabwe – November 2020.

Urban councils in Zimbabwe have traditions that shape practice and guide urban housing policy making processes. The research established that the main tradition is that all urban housing policy formulation decisions must be made after comprehensive stakeholder or grassroots consultations in different wards and constituencies so that the policies can reflect the interests of the affected parties. Some principles and standards set the direction and manner in which urban housing policies should be formulated and implemented in Zimbabwe. The main principle guiding the implementation of housing projects is that people on the housing waiting list are prioritised when making allocation decisions. However, in practice, this principle is often overlooked due to the political allocation of residential stands against the council procedure. Urban local authorities in Zimbabwe are also guided by the principles of modernity and affordability in formulating and implementing urban housing policies that are up to the standard of modern settlements across the globe and affordable to all. Institutional sanctions are invoked against public officers who fail to adhere to the stipulated institutional structures discussed above. These sanctions come in the form of penalties such as suspension or dismissal after a formal disciplinary hearing.

The fourth objective of this research was to portray the main characteristics and causes of the urban housing challenge in Zimbabwe. In this regard, the research established that the urban housing challenge in post-independence Zimbabwe manifests as the shortage of housing facilities, overcrowdedness, sprouting of illegal settlements, and cases where people live in a dilapidated shelter that is unfit for human habitation. The conclusion made is that continuous urban in-migration is causing a surge in urban population leading to high demand for housing and shortage thereof. Urban areas in Zimbabwe harbour major industries and advanced social amenities, hence, they become magnets of labour for the rural population. The inflow of people into urban areas raises housing demand and increasing shortages. Thus, the magnitude of urban housing demand has remained enormously daunting in Zimbabwe, as several cases of housing deficits. As a result, informal settlements and other makeshift forms of accommodation continue to grow in urban areas as an alternative shelter in near hazard-prone areas built in unplanned sites. In Harare, while the council has embarked on several phases of demolishing these illegal structures in May 2005, October 2014, December 2015, July 2019, and November 2020, unplanned settlements continue to re-emerge because of housing shortages in the city. In the next section, I proffer recommendations for improving institutional capacity and coordination towards resolving urban housing challenges in Zimbabwe.

7.3 Recommendations for Urban Housing Policy Improvements in Zimbabwe

In the previous sections of this thesis, I have indicated how the shortage of funding is a major challenge impeding the successful implementation of urban housing policies towards addressing the urban housing challenge in Zimbabwe. In the ensuing paragraphs, I present the recommendations for improving the administration of urban housing policy in Zimbabwe. First, to avert urban housing policy challenges in Zimbabwe, there is a need to inject finances into the coffers of housing administration institutions.[243] Realistically, this is not feasible due to the current economic woes in Zimbabwe, but efforts can be made towards sourcing external funds to financially capacitate urban housing policy institutions to successfully implement housing programmes and projects. For example, both the Ministry of Housing and local authorities need to strengthen their institutional finance administration systems, making them more accountable and transparent so that their creditworthiness status can improve. This can go a long way in unlocking lines of credit that are affordable to recapitalise these urban housing institutions. This suggestion was supported by an interviewed housing officer in the Harare City Council who stated that:

> Since our financial resources are limited, we need to improve our financial management approach and our image so that funders can change their perception of us, they need to have trust in us, and see us positively, as creditworthy institutions.[244]

To secure more financial resources, there is a need to engage and reengage the private sector and the international community in funding housing development initiatives. Currently, NGOs and International Organisations have retreated from their traditionally active role in the housing delivery process, hence the need to re-engage them. There is a need for re-engagement with major housing development partners and funders because as long as the country is being secluded, there is not going to be meaningful housing development due to the shortage of funding and related technical assistance. Thus, partnering with international financial institutions can enable urban local authorities' access to idle housing development funds, a process that does not only result in resource transfer but can also translate into sharing ideas and information on effective housing development strategies. In addition, the government should make further efforts to strengthen the housing account as a financial structure to improve the effectiveness of the housing finance system

[243] Interview with an officer in the Harare City Council – July 2020.
[244] Interview with a housing officer in the Harare City Council – June 2020.

in Zimbabwe. While the land is the greatest asset that urban local authorities in Zimbabwe have, there are scant financial resources to develop it into residential housing areas. The need for financial capacitation rises because councils in Zimbabwe do not have money reserved for housing policy implementation to promote an ideal urban settlement. These councils are not well-financed because currently, Zimbabwe does not have a stable, well-performing or sound economy.

While the need to revive direct public sector investment programmes for servicing residential stands or constructing public housing facilities is long overdue in Zimbabwe, it is unfortunate that the prevailing economic situation has not allowed this. A review of the existing housing finance system in Zimbabwe shows a limited capacity for the mobilisation of collective savings to support the public housing sector. In this regard, this research recommends the need to strengthen public-private sector efforts such as the establishment of functional mortgage institutions to stimulate collective savings for housing. In more advanced countries, the mortgage system enables most low-income families to buy houses with a reasonable down payment and monthly payments to make homeownership possible (Aribigbola, 2008; Ganiyu et al., 2017). In light of this, it is recommended that the housing loan system in Zimbabwe should be reconfigured to make it more functional. This can be achieved through creating a decentralized network of building societies with affordable interest rates to support low-income earners and those without collateral to ensure a continuous flow of funds into the housing sector. Such a network could help create a housing financing system where there is a guarantee for a future housing loan for the majority of urbanites. In addition, since affordability is one of the thorniest issues associated with housing delivery systems in developing countries with limited resources (Tsenkova & Andoni, 2017), there is a need for the application of real subsidies in the housing sector in Zimbabwe to enable the majority of urbanites to afford and access housing facilities.

Second, there is a need to re-equip urban housing institutions in terms of physical resources such as machinery, equipment, and technology for servicing virgin land and housing construction. Currently, Zimbabwe's urban local authorities are short of sufficient and modern machinery such as graders, excavators, and related equipment for preparing housing land. The machinery currently used is outdated and always breakdowns, and this largely stalls progress during the implementation of housing development projects. Thus, re-equipping or re-tooling urban councils can strengthen their capacity to develop and prepare housing land towards addressing urban housing woes in the

country. Re-equipping urban councils call for staff retention. Urban councils may have the best modern machinery, but these will serve no purpose without staff to operate them. Thus, effective staff retention schemes are necessary as there is currently high staff turnover since key staff such as engineers and architects are leaving the public sector and even the country. This is saddening because the requisite experience goes away and institutional memory is lost. Thus, there is a need to properly remunerate current urban council staff and conduct regular on-job training to retain the staff available and for skills upgrading so that the council can keep up to date with what is happening elsewhere in the world. Housing provision is a sustainable and dynamic process, hence there is a need for continuous learning. Therefore, regular personnel training and development processes are important in ensuring that council personnel have relevant skills as some of the skills set held by council staff cannot help us in addressing today's urban housing problems.

Third, it is essential to depoliticise the structure of local authorities as they seem to be political structures, yet they should be an administrative apparatus. It seems urban local authorities in Zimbabwe are battlefields of political supremacy between the opposition (MDC) councillors and the Minister of Local Government who is from the ruling ZANU-PF. The perennial political contestations in urban councils surely affect the effectiveness of urban housing policy. In terms of the internal operations of these urban councils, there is a need for a clear separation of powers between elected officials and technocrats in councils because currently there is clear-cut politics and administration dichotomy such that it is very difficult to separate between a political and administrative decision.

While it is inevitable that politics infiltrate all urban council processes, it is important for housing officers to make efforts to act in a non-partisan manner and not to conflate politics and administrative processes. This can be achieved if there is proper decentralisation of power and a clear-cut demarcation of what technocrats should do and what politicians can do. Urban council business should be technocratic and professional and not politically driven as reflected in the current state of affairs in Zimbabwe. The micro-management of technocrats by politicians is too much as there seem to be no clear-cut boundaries on the exercise of political authority, absence of role clarity, and no protection of administrative employees. A culture change in terms of depoliticising administrative processes is necessary for the effective administration of urban housing policies in Zimbabwe.

Forth, the Government of Zimbabwe should transform its macroeconomic policies so that they become more accommodative and attractive to investors in the housing sector. The macroeconomic policies with a bearing on the governance of local authorities in Zimbabwe must be reviewed to attract investors. The current economic climate is characterised by uncertainty in terms of macroeconomic policies, especially those concerned with the national currency, and this uncertainty scares away investors who are willing to support urban housing development initiatives. Investors only come in in anticipation of meaningful returns for their investments, hence consistent macro-economic policies are required to lure them. The lukewarm response by other private institutions and investors regarding committing their funds into the housing development process is because the current macroeconomic policies could be a possible threat to their investments. For example, the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act is one of the policies that the central government has adopted with a negative impact on investment in all sectors of the economy. Investors seem not to trust central government macroeconomic policies, and this makes them withhold their investments, waiting for a favourable investment climate. Thus, there is a need for behaviour change to enable housing investors to get value for their money.

Fifth, there is a need to strengthen collaboration between and amongst stakeholders and concerned institutions in the housing policy cluster. It is essential to have a clear-cut determination of the roles assigned to the different actors and their relationship to each other in the shelter delivery process from the initial stages of policy development through the implementation stages.[245] The relationship between the various actors in the housing delivery system should be a collaborative one, with each actor or institution being flexible enough to complement and not unnecessarily disrupt the efforts of other actors. Where actors act in isolation, then it becomes difficult to realise success in the urban housing delivery process. In Harare, for example, the teamwork between political actors and technocrats in council is still not very strong, and there is a need to strengthen it as there is still a lot of individualism while pursuing the same goal.

There is a need to realise that housing policy making is not an individual endeavour but a collective process in which key players must be at their undivided best. Actors and institutions need to work in harmony rather than in isolation towards reducing homelessness in urban areas. For example,

[245] Interview with an analyst at the University of Zimbabwe – October 2020.

there is a need to enhance triangular cooperation amongst the key players such as the central government, urban councils, NGOs sector, and private sector institutions. In the same vein, community engagement is also key because the best policy is one that is responsive to the needs of the people. Thus, pre-and post -policy consultative platforms should be accessible to members of the community so that they can effectively participate in the design and implementation of urban housing policies. Good policies are a subtotal of what people perceive; hence consultations should be comprehensive so that people are left in no doubt about government intentions.[246] To achieve this, there is a need for continuous advocacy and lobbying about the policy to make people aware of their right to housing.

Sixth, it is essential to automate council urban housing management processes such as the application of stands and maintenance of the housing waiting list. This thesis proposes that there should be a system that is technologically active to improve efficiency, accountability, and transparency in the administration of urban housing delivery processes. Without vibrant Information Communication Technology (ICT) based systems, no one knows the land available and anyone in the department responsible for the allocation of residential land can do whatever they deem necessary as there is no automated system to account for it. If the application and allocation of residential stands are automated, this reduces the chances of corruption. Ideally, such systems will mean that applicants will not be allowed to come to the council physically as they can apply from home. As long as the allocation decision lies with the individual and not the IT system, corruption and bending of rules will persist. Thus, a robust ICT based system can curb fraudulent processes such as unprocedural allocation of residential stands as the system will reject it. The adoption of ICTs will also enable the council to improve the process of capturing data on current housing deficits or and accurate housing stock.

Seventh, it is necessary to encourage flexibility of operations in local authorities to enable innovation and creativity by policy makers. As discussed earlier, the inflexible application of institutional rules is a barrier to the implementation of urban housing policies in Zimbabwe. Currently, policy makers and officers are guided by rigid rules and operating manuals that make it difficult for them to be innovative. This is an anomaly because public policy processes are expected

[246] Interview with housing officer in the Harare City Council – July 2020.

to be fluid and dynamic, allowing innovation and creativity so that a sustainable policy is produced. While rules, development controls and related institutional structures are important in ensuring policy certainty and consistency, this thesis recommends that they should be enforced reasonably to allow urban housing policy makers to develop policies that align to global standards while they also address local contextual realities.

Lastly, it is important to refine the urban planning process to encompass the development of other small towns and cities as a measure to decongest major urban centres such as Harare. This is largely because the population density of major urban areas like Harare is now unbearable and housing shortages are now a menace in these areas. Councils should develop a proactive planning framework for managing uncontrolled urban development, disregard of land use, local plans and master plans, illegal occupation of land, unclear housing development policies, fragmented development coordination, the inept pace of housing provision, loss of public investment in housing, shortage of housing land, dilapidating flats, lack of services such as water and roads. The planning process should also give a clear policy direction with regards to urban housing delivery. As stated on page 2 of the Housing Policy document for the Harare City Council, proper planning will help the council to fully embrace and implement the Sustainable Development Goal 11, which talks about sustainable cities and communities that have inclusive and functional settlements as previously discussed. To achieve this, there is a need to stop urban planning inconsistencies and do the right thing, that is, plan well.

7.4 Suggested Areas for Further Research

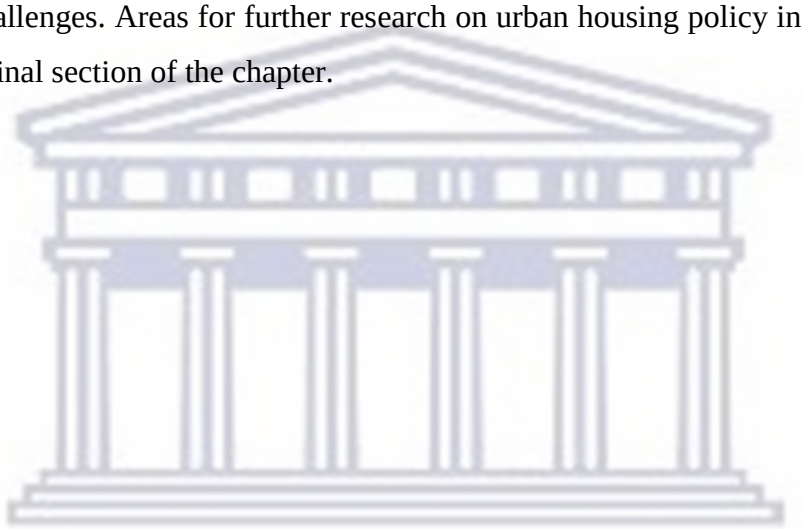
The following research areas could be pursued beyond the analytical scope of this thesis:

- Analysing urban housing challenges in Zimbabwe from a wicked problem perspective.
- Examining the political contestations involved in the process of urban housing policy adoption in Zimbabwe.
- Exploring the inadequacies of the agenda-setting process with regards to urban housing in Zimbabwe.
- Examining the feasibility of the mortgage system in the current economic environment in Zimbabwe.

- A comparative analysis of the urban housing model in Zimbabwe with experiences in other SADC countries.

7.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter was a conclusive summary of the thesis, as it presented the main conclusions drawn from the discussion and analysis of the research findings. The chapter also suggested recommendation for strengthening the capacity of urban housing policy institutions in Zimbabwe to effectively formulate and implement urban housing policies towards addressing the persisting urban housing challenges. Areas for further research on urban housing policy in Zimbabwe were suggested in the final section of the chapter.



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Appendices

Appendix A: My University of the Western Cape Ethics Clearance Letter

UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR: RESEARCH
RESEARCH AND INNOVATION

Private Bag X17, Bellville 7535
South Africa
T: +27 21 959 4111/2948
F: +27 21 959 3170
E: research-ethics@uwc.ac.za
www.uwc.ac.za

08 October 2019

Mr L Poshai
School of Government
Faculty of Economics and Management Sciences

Ethics Reference Number: HS19/8/11

Project Title: Urban housing policy in Zimbabwe and its institutional structures: Reflecting on the housing challenges in metropolitan Harare, 1980 –2019.

Approval Period: 06 October 2019 – 06 October 2020

I hereby certify that the Humanities and Social Science Research Ethics Committee of the University of the Western Cape approved the methodology and ethics of the above mentioned research

Any amendments, extension or other modifications to the protocol must be submitted to the Ethics Committee for approval.

Please remember to submit a progress report in good time for annual renewal.

The Committee must be informed of any serious adverse event and/or termination of the study.

Ms Patricia
Research Ethics Committee
University of the Western Cape

HSSREC REGISTRATION NUMBER - 130416-049

Appendix B: Research authorisation letter issued by the City of Harare

HUMAN CAPITAL DEPARTMENT
TOWN HOUSE, HARARE, ZIMBABWE
POST OFFICE BOX 990
TELEPHONE 752979 / 753000

EMAIL: hrd@hararecity co.zw
ADDRESS ALL CORRESPONDENCE TO THE HUMAN CAPITAL DIRECTOR

CITY OF HARARE

22 November 2019

University of the Western Cape
School of Government
Private Bag X17
South Africa

Dear Leon Poshai

RE: AUTHORITY TO UNDERTAKE RESEARCH: LEON POSHAI

This letter serves as authority for Leon Poshai to undertake a research survey on the topic: **"URBAN HOUSING POLICY IN ZIMBABWE AND ITS INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURES: REFLECTING ON THE HOUSING CHALLENGES IN METROPOLITAN HARARE, 1980-2020".**

The City of Harare has no financial obligation and neither shall it render any further assistance in the conduct of the research. The researcher is however requested to avail a soft and hard copy of the research to the undersigned so that residents of Harare can benefit out of it. The research should not be used for any other purpose other than the study purpose specified.

Yours faithfully

_____

RTD MAJOR M. MARARA
ACTING HUMAN CAPITAL DIRECTOR

Harare to achieve a WORLD CLASS CITY STATUS by 2025

Appendix C: Research authorisation letter issued by the Ministry of Local Government

Ministry of Local Government and Public Works

Telephone 263 4 707615

Fax 263 4 797706

Office of the Secretary
P. Bag 7706
Causeway,
Harare

ZIMBABWE

REF: ADM/23/8

10 February 2020

Mr Leon Poshai
University of the Western Cape
Private Bag X17
Bellville 7535
South Africa

APPROVAL OF AUTHORITY TO UNDERTAKE ACADEMIC RESEARCH: MR LEON POSHAI: UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE STUDENT.

The above subject matter refers.

It is a pleasure to advise you that the Head of Ministry, in his memorandum dated 24 January 2020, approved your application to undertake a field research on **the Role of Housing Institutions in the formulation and Implementation of Policies, Programmes and Projects for the Delivery of Housing in Harare and its Peripheries.**

The research findings should not be subject to external consumption and must be solely used for academic purposes only. You are mandated to complete the Official Secrecy Act before commencement of the research project. In addition, the final copy of the research findings should be submitted to the Office of the Permanent Secretary upon completion.

It is hoped that the research findings will help the Ministry in coming up with relevant strategies in the study area undertaken.

I. Chazuka
FOR: PERMANENT SECRETARY FOR LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC WORKS
Cc: The Director, Housing and Social Amenities

MIN. OF LOCAL GOVT PUBLIC WORKS AND NATIONAL HOUSING
P. BAG 7706, CAUSEWAY
ZIMBABWE TEL: 04-793700

Appendix D: Research authorisation letter issued by the Ministry of Housing

Ministry of National Housing and Social Amenities

Telephone 263 4 707615

Fax 263 4 797706

Office of the Secretary
P. Bag 7706
Causeway,
Harare

REF: NHSA/ ZIMBABWE

21 April 2020

Mr Leon Poshai
University the Western Cape
South Africa

APPROVAL OF AUTHORITY TO UNDERTAKE ACADEMIC RESEARCH: MR LEON POSHAI: UNIVERSITY OF WESTERN CAPE: SOUTH AFRICA

The above subject matter refers.

It is a pleasure to advise you that, the Head of Ministry, in the memorandum dated 24 March 2020, approved your application to undertake a field research on Urban housing policy in Zimbabwe and its institutional structures: Reflecting on the housing challenges in Metropolitan Harare, 1980-2020.

Please be advised that, the research findings should not be subject to external consumption and must be solely used for academic purposes only. You are mandated to complete the Official Secrecy Act before commencement of the research project. In addition, the final copy of the research findings should be submitted to the Office of the Permanent Secretary upon completion.

It is our hope that the research findings will help the Ministry in coming up with relevant strategies in the study area undertaken.

MINISTRY OF LOCAL GOVT., PUBLIC WORKS AND NATIONAL HOUSING
2 2 APR 2020
HOUSING AND SOCIAL AMENITIES
DEPT. TEL: 799125/790948

E. Chigaba (Mrs)
Director Human Resources
FOR: PERMANENT SECRETARY FOR NATIONAL HOUSING AND SOCIAL AMENITIES

Cc: The Permanent Secretary
The Director Housing.

Appendix E: Profiles of the key informant interviewees consulted in the research

Interviewee Number	Position	Interview Date
1.	Housing officer in the Ministry of National Housing and Social Amenities	06/07/2020
2.	Planning officer in the Provincial Housing Director's Office in Harare Metropolitan	05/07/2020
3.	Former Mayor of Harare (2002-2003)	17/04/2020
4.	Former Mayor of Harare (2013-2018)	02/07/2020
5.	Former Mayor of Harare (2018-2020)	08/07/2020
6.	Former Mayor of Harare (2020)	03/10/2020
7.	Director of Housing in the City of Harare	13/07/2020
8.	Spatial planning officer – Harare City Council	14/05/2020
9.	Housing Director in the Ministry of Housing	15/05/2020
10.	Public Service Commission General Manager	16/05/2020
11.	Housing Research Officer in the Harare City Council	02/06/2020
12.	Housing Development Compliance and PPPs Officer in the Harare City Council	03/06/2020
13.	Housing List Statistics and Database Administrator in the Ministry of Housing	12/05/2020
14.	Councillors for Wards 15,16 and 19 in Harare	08/08/2020
15.	Urban development analyst in Harare	16/08/2020
16.	Housing finance expert in Harare	07/08/2020
17.	Housing policy analyst in Harare	10/08/2020
18.	Planning Director in the Ministry of Housing	28/05/2020
19.	Human Rights Lawyer and Academic at the University of Zimbabwe	25/07/2020
20.	Urban Housing policy analyst in Harare	19/04/2020
21.	Academic and political analyst at the University of Zimbabwe	03/11/2020
22.	Town planner in Harare	29/08/2020
23.	Deputy director in the Ministry of Local Government	20/05/2020
24.	Planning Director in the Ministry of Local Government	20/05/2020
25.	Town planning Officer in the Ministry of Local Government	21/05/2020

Appendix F: The composition of Focus Group Discussion participants

Focus Group Discussion 1 (FGD1)

Date: 05 September 2020

Time: 09.10Hrs -10.05Hrs.

Location	Participants and their code	Participant Gender	Participant's Age group	Participant's employment status	Participant's housing status
Kambuzuma	FGD1A	Male	20-25 Years	Unemployed	Stand applicant
	FGD1B	Male	45-50 Years	Unemployed	Owns a stand
	FGD1C	Male	50+ Years	Retired	House owner
	FGD1D	Male	45-50 Years	Employed	Renting
	FGD1E	Female	25-30 Years	Unemployed	House owner
	FGD1F	Female	35-40 Years	Employed	Owns a stand
	FGD1G	Female	20-25 Years	Employed	Renting
	FGD1H	Female	40-45 Years	Unemployed	Renting
	FGD1I	Female	30-35 Years	Unemployed	Renting
	FGD1J	Male	35-40 Years	Employed	House owner
	FGD1K	Female	50+ Years	Unemployed	House owner

Focus Group Discussion 2 (FGD2)

Date: 10 September 2020

Time: 11.00Hrs -12.15Hrs.

Location	Participants and their code	Participant Gender	Participant's Age group	Participant's employment status	Participant's housing status
Waterfalls	FGD2A	Male	40-45 Years	Employed	Stand applicant
	FGD2B	Female	25-30 Years	Unemployed	Renting
	FGD2C	Female	50+ Years	Retired	House owner
	FGD2D	Male	30-35 Years	Employed	Renting
	FGD2E	Male	45-50 Years	Unemployed	House owner
	FGD2F	Female	35-40 Years	Employed	Owns a stand
	FGD2G	Female	20-25 Years	Unemployed	Renting
	FGD2H	Male	50+Years	Retired	Owns a house
	FGD2I	Female	45-50 Years	Unemployed	Renting
	FGD2J	Male	35-40 Years	Employed	House owner

Focus Group Discussion 3 (FGD3)

Date: 15 September 2020

Time: 09.00Hrs -10.15Hrs.

Location	Participants and their code	Participant Gender	Participant's Age group	Participant's employment status	Participant's housing status
Tynwald South	FGD3A	Female	50-55 Years	Unemployed	House owner
	FGD3B	Male	35-40 Years	Employed	Renting
	FGD3C	Male	20-25 Years	Unemployed	Stand applicant
	FGD3D	Female	35-40 Years	Employed	Owns a stand
	FGD3E	Female	40-45 Years	Employed	Renting
	FGD3F	Male	45-50 Years	Unemployed	Renting
	FGD3G	Male	55+ Years	Retired	House owner
	FGD3H	Female	30-35 Years	Employed	Renting
	FGD3I	Male	25-30 Years	Unemployed	Owns a stand

Focus Group Discussion 4 (FGD4)

Date: 20 September 2020

Time: 13.00Hrs -14.15Hrs.

Location	Participants and their code	Participant Gender	Participant's Age group	Participant's employment status	Participant's housing status
Marlborough	FGD4A	Male	35-30 Years	Unemployed	House owner
	FGD4B	Male	45-50 Years	Employed	Renting
	FGD4C	Female	40-45 Years	Employed	Renting
	FGD4D	Male	35-40 Years	Unemployed	Owns a stand
	FGD4E	Male	30-35 Years	Employed	Stand applicant
	FGD4F	Female	30-35 Years	Unemployed	Renting
	FGD4G	Male	50+ Years	Employed	House owner
	FGD4H	Female	30-35 Years	Unemployed	Renting
	FGD4I	Female	35-40 Years	Employed	House owner
	FGD4J	Female	50+ Years	Unemployed	House owner
	FGD4K	Male	45-50 Years	Employed	Owns a stand

Focus Group Discussion 5 (FGD5)

Date: 25 September 2020

Time: 10.00Hrs -11.15Hrs.

Location	Participants and their code	Participant Gender	Participant's Age group	Participant's employment status	Participant's housing status
Warren Park	FGD5A	Male	40-45 Years	Unemployed	Renting
	FGD5B	Female	35-30 Years	Employed	House owner
	FGD5C	Male	45-50 Years	Unemployed	Owns a stand
	FGD5D	Female	30-35 Years	Unemployed	Stand applicant
	FGD5E	Female	30-35 Years	Unemployed	Renting
	FGD5F	Male	45-50 Years	Employed	Renting
	FGD5G	Female	35-40 Years	Employed	Owns a stand
	FGD5H	Female	30-35 Years	Unemployed	Renting
	FGD5I	Male	35-40 Years	Employed	House owner

Appendix G: Harare City Council Standing Committees Membership in September 2020

APPROVED MEMBERSHIP OF STANDING COMMITTEES OF COUNCIL
AS AT 17th SEPTEMBER 2020

FINANCE COMMITTEE	**ENVIRONMENTAL MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE**	**BUSINESS COMMITTEE**
T. Chagaresango L. Gomba M. Kasvosve I. M. Makone T. Mhetu M.S. Mutizwa S. Wutawunashe C. Zumba	T. Chagaresango N. Makondo I. M. Makone T. Matafi T. Mhetu M. Mudariki M. S. Mutizwa C. Zumba	E. M. Chipfiwa L. Gomba T. Katsaria N. Makondo S. M. Manyenga B. Matione T. Mhetu C. Zumba
SMALL TO MEDIUM ENTERPRISES T. Chagaresango L. Gomba M. Kasvosve T. Manase B. Matione M. S. Matinyanya A Shingadeya S. Wutawunashe	**HUMAN RESOURCES** E. M. Chipfiwa L. Gomba M. Kasvosve J. K. Kunashe N. Makondo S. M. Manyenga T. Matafi C. Zumba	**EDUCATION, HEALTH, HOUSING AND COMMUNITY SERVICES & LICENSING** T. Katsaria J. K. Kunashe P. T. Mangwiro-Chikwaka S. M. Manyenga B. Matione M. S. Matinyanya E. Ruzani A. Shoko
AUDIT T. Chagaresango T. Matafi M. Mudariki A. Shoko C. Zumba S.M. Mutizwa I.M. Makone T.Manase	**INFORMATION AND PUBLICITY** E. M. Chipfiwa L. Gomba P. T. Mangwiro-Chikwaka T. Matafi B. Matione M. Mudariki E. Ruzani A. Shoko	

ACTION: ATC & ACS: 18/09/2020

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Research Instruments

Participation Information Sheet

RESEARCH TITLE

Urban Housing Policy in Zimbabwe and its Institutional Structures: Reflecting on the Housing Challenges in Metropolitan Harare, 1980 - 2020.

Dear Participant,

You are invited to participate in a research study conducted by LEON POSHAI, student Number 3924684. It is in partial completion of the researcher's thesis towards the PhD in Public Administration Degree at the School of Government, at the University of the Western Cape.

Before you decide to participate, you need to understand the purpose of the research and what it would entail. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. If you are unclear of anything, I would be happy to answer any questions you may have.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of the research is to examine the influence of institutional structural properties in the formulation and implementation of urban housing policies in Zimbabwe. To achieve this, I will examine how structural properties such as institutional rules and procedures, institutional culture, principles, values and restrictions within relevant urban housing government ministries, departments and agencies shape the processes of housing policy formulation and implementation in Harare, Zimbabwe.

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DESCRIPTION OF STUDY AND YOUR INVOLVEMENT

I am inviting you to participate in this research project because you meet the set criterion for the population of interest and your participation will help other people. You will also be asked to participate in interviews and focus group discussions by responding to questions I will ask concerning the nexus between institutional structures and policy making processes. The study will be done in Metropolitan Harare. The interview will be conducted in an appropriate timeframe and place for you and will last approximately 45 minutes to 1 Hour.

CONFIDENTIALITY & ANONYMITY

Please be advised that the results of the study will neither divulge the organization's particulars nor the individual particulars, as to maintain confidentiality at all times. Any information that can connect the responses to an individual or organization will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission. The researcher shall keep all records and tapes of your participation, including a signed consent form, which is required from you, should you agree to participate in this research study, locked away at all times.

(***Example:*** *All the data will be kept in password-protected computer files known only to the researcher. Data collection sheets and audiotapes will be kept safely in a lockable filing cabinet accessed only by the researcher. All raw data including written documents and tapes will be destroyed after three months of the final dissertation being marked and graded. If we write a report or article about this research project, your identity will be protected.)*

RISKS OF THE RESEARCH?

There are no risks to participating in this research as I shall take all necessary measures to ensure the overall physical and psychological safety of all participants. I will uphold the ethical values of voluntary participation, avoid all forms of harm, deception, ensure the participants' privacy, and right to withdraw from my research at any time without any consequences for the participants. I will use clear language and under no circumstances shall I force you to participate in my research.

Or

The risk/s of the study are outlined as follows:

- No risks.

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BENEFITS OF THE RESEARCH

The Benefits of this research are outlined as follows:

- To develop an understanding of how institutional properties influence the formulation and implementation of urban housing policies in Zimbabwe.
- To suggest measures to strengthen institutional capacity to effectively administer the formulation and implementation of urban housing policies to resolve urban housing challenges in Zimbabwe.

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary, which means that you are free to decline participation. It is your decision whether or not to take part. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind - and without giving a reason. You may also choose not to answer particular questions that are asked in the study. If there is anything that you would prefer not to discuss, please feel free to say so.

PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION

There are no costs to the participant for partaking in the study.

INFORMED CONSENT

Your signed consent to participate in this research study is required before I proceed to interview you. I have included the consent form with this information sheet so that you will be able to review the consent form and then decide whether you would like to participate in this study or not.

QUESTIONS

Should you have further questions or wish to know more, I can be contacted as follows:

Student Name : Leon Poshai.
Student Number : 3924684.

Mobile Number : 061 665 5808.
Work Number : + 27 21 838 8250.
Email : 3924684@myuwc.ac.za

I am accountable to my supervisor : Senior Professor John J Williams.
Department : School of Government.
Telephone : 021-959 3807
Fax : 021-959 3826
Email : jjwilliams@uwc.ac.za

This research project has received ethical approval from the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee of the University of the Western Cape.
Tel. 021 959 2988,
email: research-ethics@uwc.ac.za

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Consent Form for Participants

RESEARCH TITLE: Urban Housing Policy in Zimbabwe and its Institutional Structures: Reflecting on the Housing Challenges in Metropolitan Harare, 1980 - 2020.

I have read the information presented in the information letter about a study being conducted by Leon Poshai towards a PhD in Public Policy and Administration Programme at the School of Government (SOG) at the University of the Western Cape.

This study has been described to me in a language that I understand and I freely and voluntarily agree to participate. My questions about the study have been answered.
I understand that my identity will not be disclosed and was informed that I may withdraw my consent at any time by advising the student researcher.

With full knowledge of all foregoing, I agree to participate in this study.

Participant Name : _____

Participant Signature : _____

I give consent for recordings to be taken:

Agree	Disagree

Date : _____
Place : _____

Student Researcher : Leon Poshai

Student Researcher Signature :

Student Number : 3924684

Mobile Number : 061 665 5080

Email : 3924684@myuwc.ac.za

I am accountable to my supervisor : Senior Prof. John Williams
Department : School of Government (SOG)
Telephone : +27 21 959 3806
Email : jjwilliams@uwc.ac.za

This research project has received ethical approval from the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee of the University of the Western Cape,
Tel. 021 959 2988,
Email: research-ethics@uwc.ac.za

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Interview Guide

The estimated discussion time is 45 minutes to 1 hour.

1 Introduction

- Welcoming of informant and introduction of research

You are kindly requested to participate in a research study titled "Urban Housing policy in Zimbabwe and its Institutional Structures: Reflecting on Housing Challenges in Metropolitan Harare, 1980 to 2019". The purpose of the research is to examine the influence of institutional properties in the formulation and implementation of urban housing policies in Zimbabwe from 1980 to 2019. I am intent to examine how structural properties such as institutional rules and procedures, institutional culture, principles, values and restrictions in your institution shape the dual processes of housing policy formulation and implementation in Harare. This research aims to generate data through face cooperative and reflective discussions on the influence of institutional structures and properties in urban housing policy formulation and implementation in Zimbabwe.

2 Ethical Guarantee

Please be advised that the results of the study will neither divulge the organization's particulars nor the individual particulars to maintain confidentiality at all times. Any information that can connect the responses to an individual or organization will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission. The researcher shall keep all records and tapes of your participation, including a signed consent form, which is required from you, should you agree to participate in this research study, locked away at all times. The has been cleared by the UWC Research Ethics Committee and it is free from any form of harm and deception.

3 Voluntary Participation and Withdrawal

Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary, which means that you are free to decline participation. It is your decision whether or not to take part. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind - and without giving a reason. If there is anything that you would prefer not to discuss, please feel free to say so. There are no costs

to the participant for partaking in the study. Also, there are no payment or material benefits for participating in the research.

4 Rules Guiding the Discussion

Respect for each other opinion, freedom to express contra-views, guide against abuse of persons and objectivity other ground rules to be agreed upon.

5 Other Pre-Discussion Arrangements

Request for audio-recording of the discussion with the consent of the participant.

6 Interview Questions and Conceptualisations

6.1 Questions for policy makers in the Harare City Council's Department of Housing and Community Services

a) Which position do you currently hold in your institution?
b) For how long have you held this position?
c) What are the responsibilities of your institution in urban housing policy formulation and implementation within the context of Harare? (Please explain).
d) Which specific measures have your institution initiated or implemented to resolve housing challenges in Harare?
e) Can you explain the main structural properties in your organisation (rules, value systems, traditions and power relations, codes of conduct, institutional culture, discipline systems, restrictions and guiding principles)?
f) How useful are these properties in urban housing policy formulation and implementation? (Please explain).
g) Who is responsible for making final decisions on housing policy (state whether this is an individual or collective endeavour)? (Please explain).
h) Are there sanctioning measures available to promote institutional discipline with regards to housing policy decisions in your institution?
i) In your own opinion, and with specific reference to your organisation, do you think the application of institutional rules, use of sanctions, the hierarchy of authority and power relations promote or undermine the operational autonomy of policy makers? (Please explain and motivate your position on each of these four institutional properties).
j) What do you think must be done to improve institutional policy making capacity to deal with housing challenges in Harare?

6.2 Questions for Councillors in the Standing Committee on Housing and Social Development

a) What is your official capacity in this committee and what are some of your key responsibilities?
b) What is the Committee's role with regards to the formulation and implementation of urban housing policies in Harare?
c) What are some of the principles and rules that you adhere to in the formulation and implementation of urban housing policies?
d) Can you highlight the main institutional challenges you face in the formulation and implementation of urban housing policies?
e) To what extent is your political party involved in urban housing policy making in Harare?
f) Can you comment on the interface between political party positions and institutional preferences in the formulation and implementation of urban housing policies in Harare?
g) To what extent does your institution impact the content of urban housing policies?
h) What in your view should be done to ensure that institutions responsible for urban housing policy formulation and implementation in Harare are effective in dealing with the urban housing problem?
i) What do you consider to be key areas for improvement with regards to urban housing policy making institutions in Zimbabwe?
j) Is there any personal opinion you wish to express with regards to the institutional urban housing policy making?

6.3 Questions for Policy Makers in the Ministry of Local Government, Public Works and National Housing

a) For how long have you worked in your institution?
b) Which position do you hold in your institution?
c) What are the responsibilities of your institution in urban housing policy formulation and implementation within the context of Harare? (Please explain).
d) Which specific measures have your institution initiated or implemented to resolve housing challenges in Harare?
e) Can you explain the main structural properties in your organisation (rules, value systems, traditions and power relations, codes of conduct, institutional culture, discipline systems, restrictions and guiding principles)?
f) How useful are these properties in urban housing policy formulation and implementation? (Please explain).
g) Who is responsible for making final decisions on housing policy (state whether this is an individual or collective endeavour)? (Please explain).
h) Are there sanctioning measures available to promote institutional discipline with regards to housing policy decisions in your institution?

i) In your own opinion, and with specific reference to your organisation, do you think the application of institutional rules, use of sanctions, the hierarchy of authority and power relations promote or undermine the operational autonomy of policy makers? (Please explain and motivate your position on each of these four institutional properties).

j) What do you think must be done to improve institutional policy making capacity to deal with housing challenges in Harare?

6.4 Questions for Policy Makers in the Ministry of Local Government, Public Works and National Housing

a) For how long have you worked in your institution?

b) Which position do you hold in your institution?

c) What is the role of the Minister of Local Government in urban housing policy making?

d) What are the responsibilities of your institution in urban housing policy formulation and implementation within the context of Harare? (Please explain).

e) Which specific measures have your institution initiated or implemented to resolve housing challenges in Harare?

6.5 Questions for Housing Policy Analysts and Academics

a) How do you define institutional structures or structural properties of an institution?

b) In your own opinion, what is the connection between the internal compositions of an institution the policy making processes within that institution?

c) What are some of the best practices in terms of institutional policy making?

d) Can you explain the root of the persistence of urban housing problems in Zimbabwe?

e) What do you consider and the main drawbacks to the formulation and implementation of urban housing policies in Zimbabwe?

f) What should be done to improve institutional policy making capacity in Zimbabwe, particularly in the formulation and implementation of urban housing policies?

Focus Group Discussions Guide

Estimated discussion time: 45 minutes to 1 hour.

Introduction:

- Welcoming of participants and introduction.
- Ethical discussion: voluntarism, confidentiality and privacy.
- Rules guiding discussion: respect for other opinions, freedom to the expression of contra-views, guide against abuse of persons, avoidance of domination of discussion by few individuals, objectivity other ground rules to be set by the group.
- Need to transcribe information for coding.
- Recording of audio, video and photographs with the consent of participants.

Questions (Area of focus for the discussion):

1. What is your institution's role in the formulation and implementation of urban housing policies in Harare?
2. How much public enlightenment is done to sensitise residents about housing policy formulation and implementation processes?
3. How often are you consulted in the urban housing policy making process?
4. What do you think are some of the challenges to urban housing policy formulation and implementation in Harare?
5. What do you think must be done to strengthen institutional policy making capacity to address housing problems in Harare?

– **End of Research Tools.**