

Accountability and Social Action in Health: A Case Study on Solid Waste Management in Three Local Authority Areas

of Zimbabwe

Training and Research Support Centre (TARSC), Civic Forum on Housing (CFH)



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Foreword

The world today is becoming increasingly complex and relatively simpler development aspiration of poverty alleviation has become complicated with a whole range of concerns including economic issues income inequalities to social issues like inclusion and environmental issues like climate change which affect both the rich and the poor people and nations. Participation, transparency and accountability are being seen as common principles which help to navigate the process of coming to consensus solutions. COPASAH (Community of Practitioners on Accountability and Social Action in Health) is a collective of practitioners who have been applying these principles in the field of health governance in different places around the world. Health care is a contested area of governance and public policy action. In many countries, especially in the Global North, it is provided through state support, whereas in many countries in the Global South public services are in disarray and the private sector is flourishing, creating huge inequalities in access and health outcomes. 'Privatisation' and 'fee for service' are a common refrain from many development think tanks, while a case for 'universal health care' is put out by others.

While cost of care and nature of public or private provisioning continues to be matter of public debate, it is undeniable that there is a huge power asymmetry between people, especially poor people in distress and providers. This power asymmetry affects the ability of the poor to access services in their best interests. In many countries communities have themselves come together to negotiate better health care services from the state. In this Case Studies series we wish to highlight some of these organised efforts. These case studies describes the work of colleagues in COPASAH, outlining how they conceptualised, organised and implemented these processes, drawing upon the principles of participation, transparency and accountability.

We hope these Case Studies will serve as stories of hope and inspiration for other practitioners to adopt similar practices while we strive for better health outcomes and for health equity in our common march toward health for all.

About Authors

This case study is documented by **TARSC and CFH**. TARSC is a nonprofit learning and knowledge organization. The work of TARSC is organized around our core areas of work, that are community based and participatory research, community monitoring, general research, sectoral skills training, research skills training, information resource centre, web, IT and publications. It has a particular focus on skills building, research and technical support and a commitment to long term capacity building in the public sector and in civil society. For more information visit www.tarsc.org

The Civic Forum on Housing (CFH) comprises different constituent organizations representing the community, finance sector, building material suppliers, technical organizations and local authorities in Zimbabwe. CHF was formed in 1995 with a mission to ensure that democratic forms of urban governance are used to address housing needs and challenges faced by low-income communities. CFH takes on issues relating to housing delivery, housing policy formulation and the implementation of measures to improve shelter, particularly in low-income communities.

Accountability and Social Action in Health: A case study on solid waste management in three local authority areas of Zimbabwe

This case study is part of a series of papers commissioned by the Community of Practitioners on Accountability and Social Action in Health (COPASAH).

Acknowledgement

Report prepared by Artwell Kadungure and Rene Loewenson TARSC Tracey Tariso Sibanda implemented interviews and prepared an initial draft. Sam Chaikosa (CFH) organized the collective meeting guiding points and reviewed the case study. The community members in Epworth shared their stories and experiences. The community based researchers in Epworth, Chitungwiza and Mutare shared their perspectives on the research and actions. Rakhil Gaitonde peer reviewed the case study. Copy edit by Virginia Knight. The work reported was funded by Open Society Foundation. Permissions for quotes, naming of sources where used and photos obtained from the sources. Cover photograph: A meeting with community members in Epworth, October 2012, on their experiences relating to the SWM process and accountability for health © TARSC 2012.

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Executive Summary

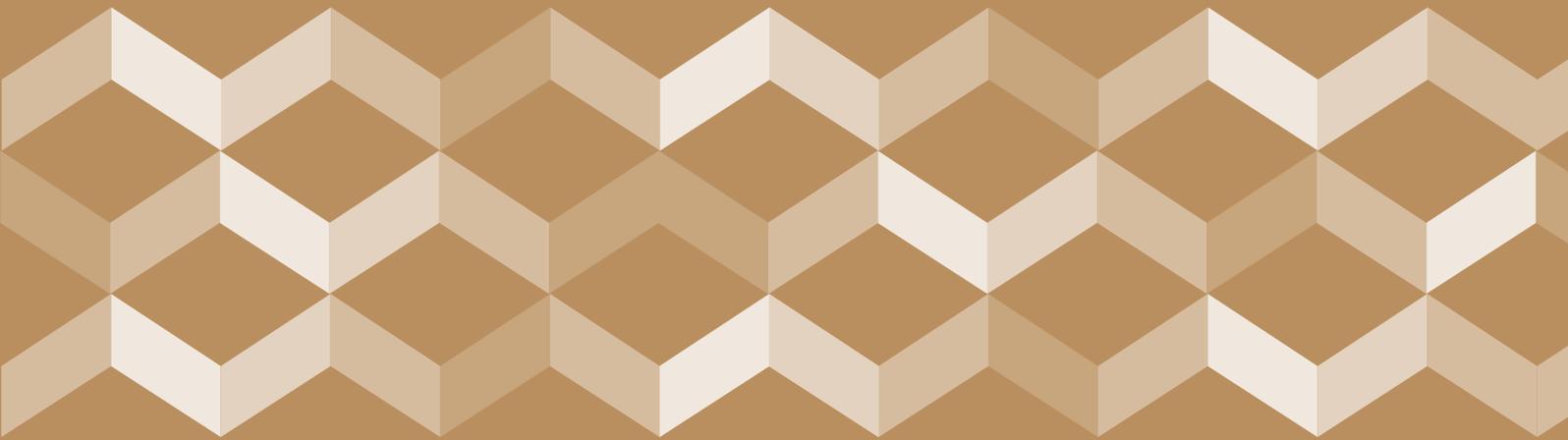
Solid waste management is a major challenge to most urban local authorities in Zimbabwe. Rapid urbanisation in the last decade, coupled with economic decline and social disruption, placed considerable strain on local authorities' resources, resulting in their failure to provide adequate services to residents. By 2009, residents were discontent about waste management and the social problems created by waste dumping. To build capacity, strengthen accountability and facilitate sustainable options at the local level on solid waste management, Training and Research Support Centre (TARSC) and Civil Forum on Housing (CFH) used participatory research in 2010 to map the situation. Training and working with community-based researchers, TARSC and CFH identified actions for communities, the private sector and service organisations in three local authority areas of Zimbabwe (Chitungwiza, Epworth and Mutare). Researchers and civil society organisations met with the local authorities and industry to identify areas for follow-up action. The community-based researchers implemented civic education on solid waste management and clean-up campaigns. As civil society, the researchers also engaged with local authorities and the private sector on waste recycling and reuse, monitored and raised issues with the local authority on waste disposal and used community feedback meetings to raise awareness and provide feedback and review of actions. This case study shares the evidence and experience of the research, activities and the lessons learnt by TARSC and CFH.

Table of Contents

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	v
CHAPTER 1 THE ORGANISATIONAL CONTEXT FOR THE WORK	1
1.1 TARSC work on participatory research and knowledge	2
1.2 Civic Forum on Housing engaging on housing	3
CHAPTER 2 URBAN SOLID WASTE MANAGEMENT IN ZIMBABWE	5
CHAPTER 3 INITIATING THE WORK ON SOLID WASTE MANAGEMENT	9
CHAPTER 4 GATHERING THE COMMUNITY LEVEL EVIDENCE	11
CHAPTER 5 USING COMMUNITY LEVEL EVIDENCE IN STAKEHOLDER ENGAGEMENT	15
CHAPTER 6. COMMUNITY EXPERIENCES ON THE WORK ON E SOLID WASTMANAGEMENT	19
6.1 Social action on solid waste management	20
6.2 Social accountability on solid waste management	26
CHAPTER 7 CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS	31
ACRONYMS	33

Chapter 1

The Organisational Context for the Work



1.1 TARSC work on participatory research and knowledge

Training and Research Support Centre (TARSC) provides training, research and support services to a range of public actors, including community-based organisations, membership-based civil society and the state. TARSC seeks to build capacities, networking and action and to strengthen community interaction and engagement with the state and the private sector on social, economic and environmental conditions and policies. While TARSC also implements a range of work on policy analysis, epidemiological and policy research, the institution uses a spectrum of approaches to organize knowledge at community level to raise societies' voice and engagement and to support action. These approaches include participatory action research and community- based research and monitoring. In a context of significant inequalities in wealth, power and access to resources, TARSC aims to make a more direct connection between public actors and political forces that shape and build accountability on public policy, through a number of linked processes that produce and use community-level evidence and knowledge, as shown in Figure 1 (Conceptual Framework for TARSC Community level research and knowledge.) This is based on the understanding that the systematic processes that produce marginalization and inequality need to be challenged and that knowledge and evidence of conditions at community level are important for this (Loewenson et al 2011)¹.

FIGURE 1. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR TARSC COMMUNITY LEVEL RESEARCH AND KNOWLEDGE



¹ Loewenson R, W Flores, A Shukla, M Kagis, A Baba, A Ryklief, C Mbwili-Muleya, D Kakde (2011) 'Raising the profile of participatory action research at the 2010 Global Symposium on Health Systems Research', MEDICC Review, July (13)

KNOWLEDGE AND ACTION ARE BUILT FROM A RANGE OF APPROACHES AS SHOWN IN FIGURE 1 THAT ARE DETERMINED BY CONTEXT, WITH COMMUNITY-LEVEL RESEARCHERS INVOLVED IN ALL OF THEM.

- **Community monitoring** is implemented through sentinel site surveillance. Community monitors living within sentinel sites are drawn from membership-based civil society. They gather evidence on areas of social and economic rights that civil society has defined as priorities for state policy and practice and for watching private sector practice. The monitoring covers health, education, income, employment, production, assets, gender inequality and food security.
- **Community-based research** explores issues raised by communities or civil society on services, such as waste management, primary health care, social security and urban services. The research assesses the situation and the community's and frontline workers' views on actions to feed into discussions and negotiations on policies. The people gathering the evidence are directly involved in the dialogue and actions that follow.
- **Participatory reflection and action** is a research method to gather, organize and reflect on experience and other information and to identify actions to produce change. TARSC has led work on participatory action research with trade unions on occupational health, with communities in public health, including at regional level in EQUINET, and used participatory methods in literacy and action on youth reproductive health issues in the Auntie Stella program and in a health literacy program where communities and health workers interact and engage on health and health services.
- **Community photography** has been used by EQUINET in 'Eye on equity work' with support from TARSC to enhance communication of community-level evidence from participatory action research to local, national or regional policy dialogue. Community members from civil society are trained in photography skills.

1.2 Civic Forum on Housing engaging on housing

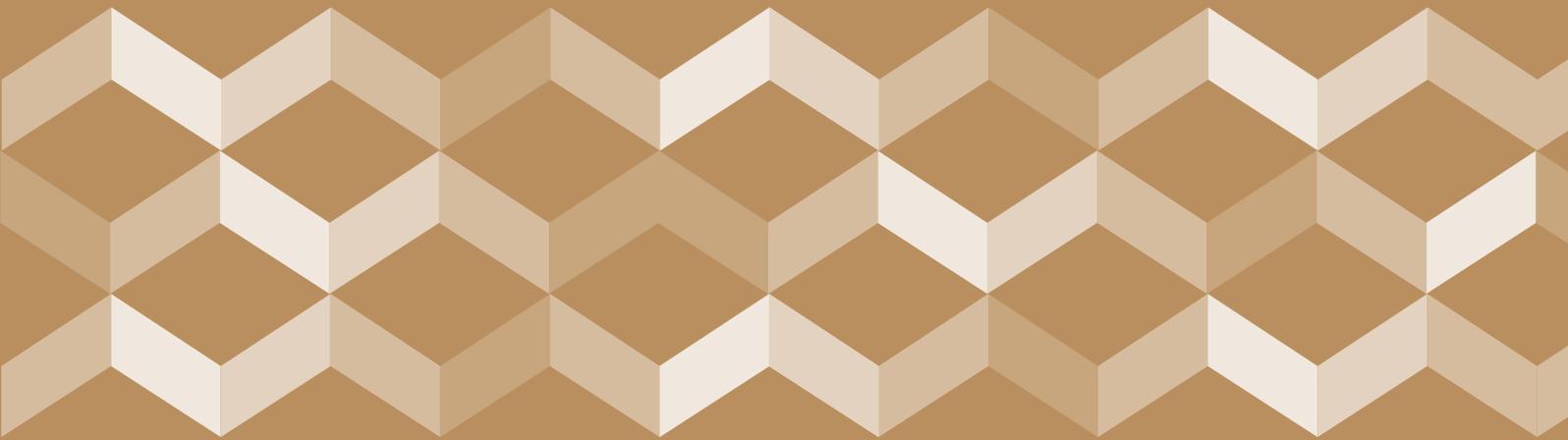
The Civic Forum on Housing (CFH) comprises twenty constituent organizations representing the community, finance sector, building material suppliers, technical organizations and local authorities in Zimbabwe. CHF was formed in 1995 with a mission to ensure that democratic forms of urban governance are used to address housing needs and challenges faced by low-income communities. TARSC has co-operated with the CFH since its inception. CFH has the distinction of being one of the founders of the TARSC. The CFH thus takes on issues relating to housing delivery, housing policy formulation and the implementation of measures to improve shelter, particularly in low-income communities.

It fosters positive communication, information dissemination and problem solving within civil society groups on housing issues in Zimbabwe and builds capacity in for civil society organizations to play a more proactive role in housing delivery, strengthening the

interaction between local organizations and local and central government in housing policy and delivery. The CFH seeks to ensure that community inputs on housing are effectively articulated and organized. In recent years, the CFH has also supported the work and capacity of residents associations, providing guidance on their roles and supporting them with information to support access to housing in their members. CFH has also strengthened civil society participation in integrated urban development initiatives and programmes in local authorities, including establishing local authority-civil society organization forums.

Chapter 2

Urban Solid Waste Management in Zimbabwe



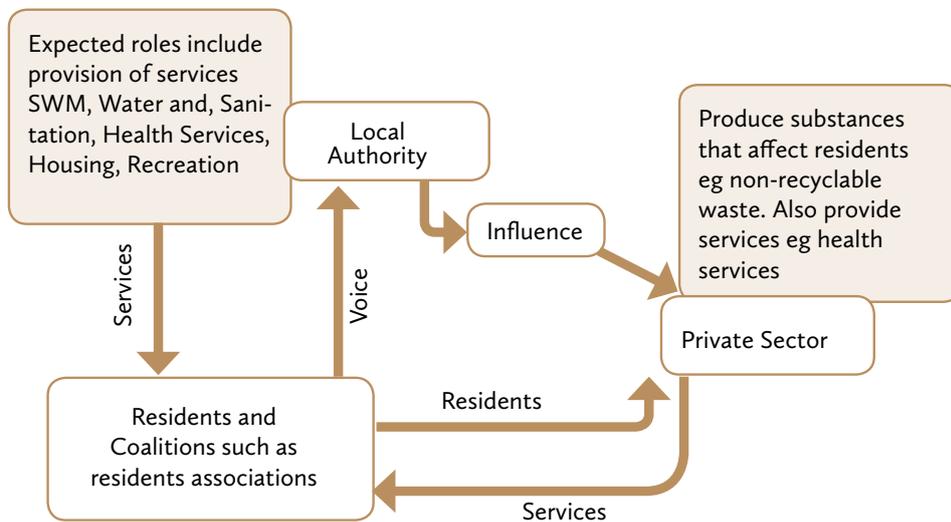
Solid waste management (SWM) is one of the major challenges to most urban local authority areas in Zimbabwe. Rapid urban population growth during the last decade, coupled with economic decline and political discord, among other factors, placed considerable strain on local authorities' resources. This resulted in the authorities' failure to provide adequate services to their residents and areas under their jurisdiction. The relationship between local authorities, private sector and residents has been conceptualized as shown in Figure 2.

In the late 2000s, these relations were somewhat eroded. For example, waste collection by local authorities was reported in 2007 to have dropped from 80% of total waste across different local authorities in the mid-1990s to as low as 30% of total waste in some large cities and small towns in 2006 (Practical Action, 2007)². Addressing these challenges calls for integrated waste management programs that reduce the source and level of waste through domestic recycling and manage the way waste is sorted, disposed of, collected and recycled.

Solid waste management (SWM) refers to the collection, transport, processing, 'recycling or disposal and monitoring of solid waste materials produced by human activity, and is generally undertaken to reduce their effect on health and the environment. The adverse impact of solid waste is best addressed by establishing integrated programmes where all types of waste and all facets of the waste management process are considered together.

United Nations Environment Programme

FIGURE 2: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR ACCOUNTABILITY IN URBAN AREAS IN ZIMBABWE

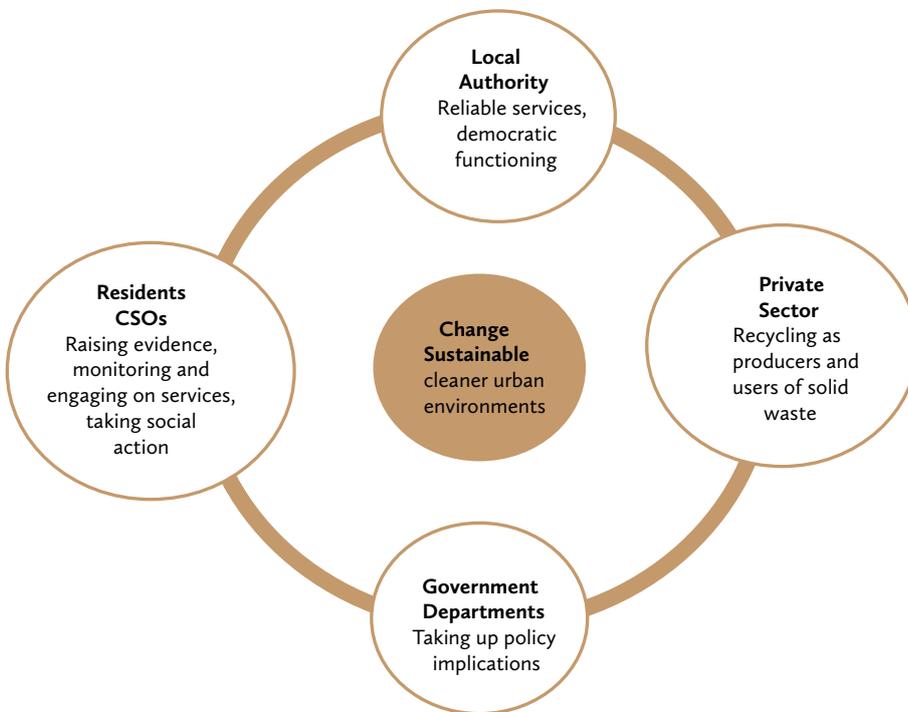


Source: Adapted from Ringold et al 2012³

2 Practical Action (2007) 'Community-based solid waste management in urban areas', Paper prepared for the second International conference on Appropriate Technology, Harare
 3 Ringold D, Holla A, Koziol M Srinivasan B.(2012) citizens and service delivery assessing the use of social accountability approaches in human development World Bank Report Washington DC

Reviews of the literature and experiences in other countries showed that strategies that reduce the level of waste and recycle waste at individual or community level are more cost effective and pose less risk to the environment and public health than traditional approaches of waste disposal in landfills do. In urban areas, as population sizes increase, it is not sustainable to generate and manage the increasing volume of waste without such strategies. The public should thus be encouraged to participate in SWM programs to improve the performance of waste management systems. At the same time, public involvement is more likely to take place when local authorities and the private sector play their role. TARSC and CFH thus initiated work to promote sustainable management of solid waste, and accountability of private sector and local authorities in solid waste management, as shown in Figure 3.

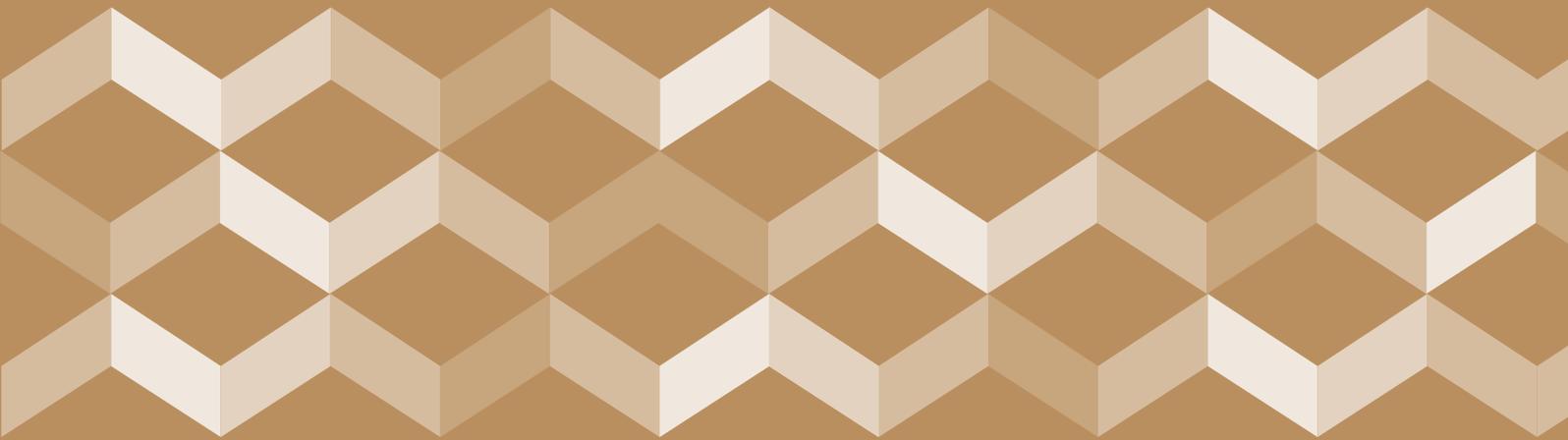
FIGURE 3: TARSC AND CFH CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE RELATIONS ON SOLID WASTE



Local government provides and maintains public services and infrastructure using funds generated from the local community, and grants and loans from central Government. Democratically elected structures should identify the needs of the people at grassroots level and ensure the translation of those needs into social waste management, Water and sanitation, health, road and street lighting, licensing and other services. Transparency and accountability are central to decisions on services. Several laws provide the legal framework for this functioning of urban local government, particularly the Urban Councils Act (Chapter 29:15) and Urban Councils Amendment Act (Chapter 29:16). By laws regulate specific activities. Residents are expected to participate in urban planning, pay fair charges for their services, comply with the law and raise and ensure response to grievances on services.

Chapter 3

Initiating the Work on Solid Waste Management





Since 2010, TARSC and CFH have worked on a public health initiative in three local authorities of Zimbabwe that aimed to:

- Build capacity
- Strengthen accountability
- Facilitate sustainable options at local level on solid waste management

This case study shares the experiences of community-based researchers, community members and the two leading institutions, TARSC and CFH. The case study captures the learning points in this process. The three local authority areas included are described in the BOX 1 (Profile of participating sites.)

BOX 1: PROFILE OF PARTICIPATING SITES

Chitungwiza has a population of about 354 472 and is a city approximately 30km south of the capital city, Harare. The houses are mostly high-density, single story, detached units with small yards that are used for growing vegetables. Most of the people work in Harare, as there is little industry in Chitungwiza.

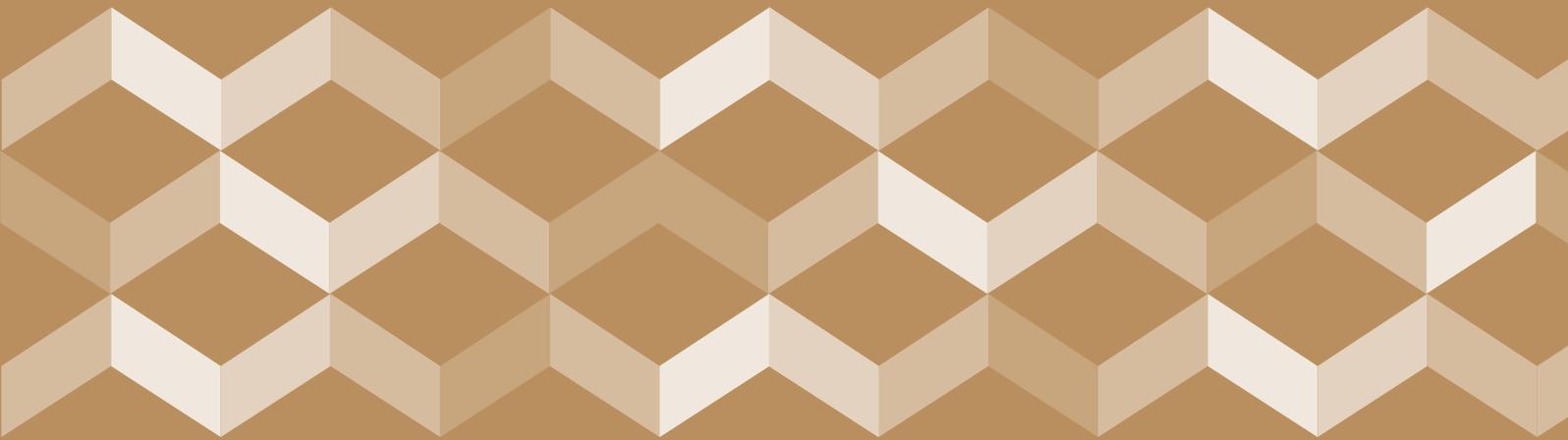
Mutare has a population of about 188 243. It is the capital of Manicaland Province and is about 8km from the border with Mozambique. It is a mixed residential area with high and low residential areas on the eastern side of Zimbabwe.

Epworth has a population of about 161 840 and is a suburb of southeastern Harare about 12km out of the Harare city centre. It is a high-density suburb populated by mainly poor residents of Harare. A large influx of people occurred during the late 1970s and early 1980s, with the population rising from 20,000 in 1980 to 35,000 in 1987 and to 114,000 by 2002. Epworth was not planned as an urban residential area, and the rapid increase in population took place on land without any water supply and sanitation facilities. Of the seven wards, only ward seven does not have running water. Most people earn an income through informal small-scale manufacture and vending. Epworth became the only informal settlement tolerated by government in the post-independence period because of the long history of settlement of residents. The government decided to upgrade rather than demolish the settlement. A local board formed in 1986 under the Urban Councils Act, and whose members are elected by the community, is responsible for managing the area, including collection of rates and other levies (Zimstat 2012; ZimbabweInstitute 2005).⁴

4 Zimbabwe Institute (2005) 'Local government policy review paper': Cape Town. Available at www.kubatana.net/docs/locgov/zim_institute_loc_gvt_paper_0506.pdf Accessed 26 April 2013
Zimstat (2012) 'Database on Zimbabwe population projections by district, unpublished database

Chapter 4

Gathering Community Level Evidence



A community based participatory action research approach was used to gather evidence. Twenty-two community based researchers from three local authority areas of Zimbabwe: Chitungwiza, Epworth and Mutare, participated in the work, with guidance and leadership from TARSC and the CFH. The process undertaken is shown in Figure 4 (Process for the work by TARSC and CFH on solid waste management)

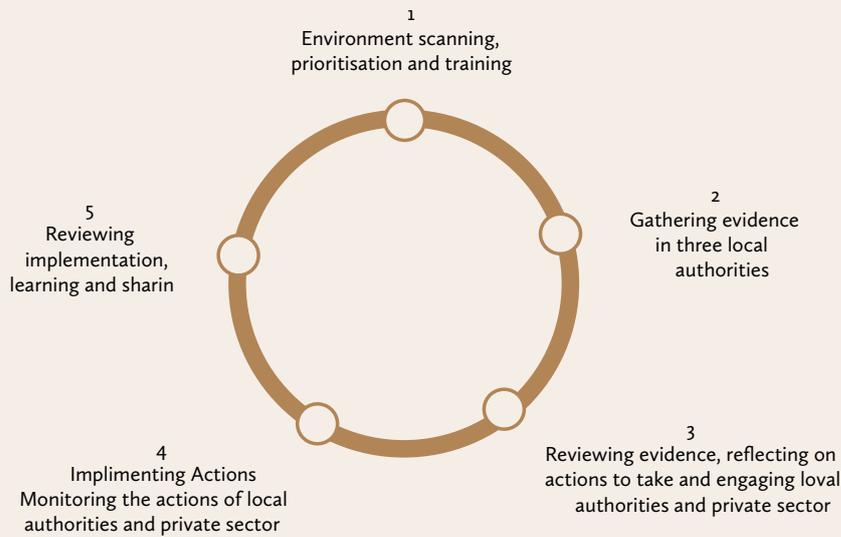


Rutendo Chasinda receives a certificate after training in research methods (c) TARSC December 2009 Rutendo Chasinda receives a certificate after training in research methods (c) TARSC December 2009

The community-based researchers are:

REGION	COMMUNITY RESEARCHER
• Epworth	• Victor Kamba , Augustine Basket, Martha Bazariyo, Philip Muzengeri, Theresa Paul
• Chitungwiza	• Piniel Mahodzo, David Chamwaita, Vimbai Tauzen, Johnson Mironga, Yvonne Rutendo Katiyo, Melba Tambudzai Kasambira, CollenTawanda Chibvoora, Esnath Gambe, Lewis Chitovoro
• Mutare:	• Idah Chatindiara, Kundai Madzimure, Alfred Mhere, Rutendo Chasinda, Addlaph Mundembe, Wallace Ngoni Shiridzinomwa, Tonderai Brian Sango and, Monica, Kudzayi Nyawo

FIGURE 4: PROCESS FOR THE WORK BY TARSC AND CFH ON SOLID WASTE MANAGEMENT



Source: TARSC & CFH (2010)

The background scanning and training for Stage 1 has already been described.

In Stage 2, community-based researchers in the three local areas Chitungwiza, Epworth and Mutare, collected data from 220 households on:

1. Households' perceptions, attitudes and practices relating to management of solid waste and knowledge of local authority roles in solid waste management.
2. Community/local authority interactions and complaints handling, including perceptions on outcomes on complaints.
3. Community and local authority priority areas to improve management of solid waste.

Most households were from high-density (low-income) residential areas, with 5.8 people per household, two-thirds with secondary school qualifications and most living in detached housing. Community-based researchers were trained in research skills to collect data, how to use their data to produce reports and how to communicate and engage with their evidence. This was the capacity-building element of the process in stage 1.

The findings raised issues and options from the local level for wider discussion and input to the overall process of community-based solid waste management.

BOX 2: FINDINGS OF THE SURVEY

While 92.2% of households reported access to a safe water source, 50% had interruptions in supplies in the past week, on average of eight days. When these breaks occurred, households reported fetching water from neighbours and unprotected wells and using stored water, increasing risks of disease. Further, while 87% of the households had access to safe sanitation, burst sewer pipes reported by 35% of households led to use of nearby public toilets or disposal of faecal waste in or outside the yard, increasing the risk of fly-borne disease. Households and local authorities reported producing high levels of food, yard, plastic and paper waste, particularly from medium density housing, and lower volumes of glass bottles, ceramics and metal tins, more in high than low density areas.

Various receptacles were used to collect solid waste in houses, mainly metal /plastic bins or plastic bags, but one-third of households put waste directly in an outside bin or pit, in open spaces, roadsides and valley/streams nearby. Only one in five households had the local authority or non-government organization support for bins, with no bins supplied in Epworth. Half the households reported that waste was not collected during the three months prior to the survey, and most households rated poorly the reliability of municipal collection services and expressed reservations about the fee for the collection of the waste, they were making given this poor quality of service.

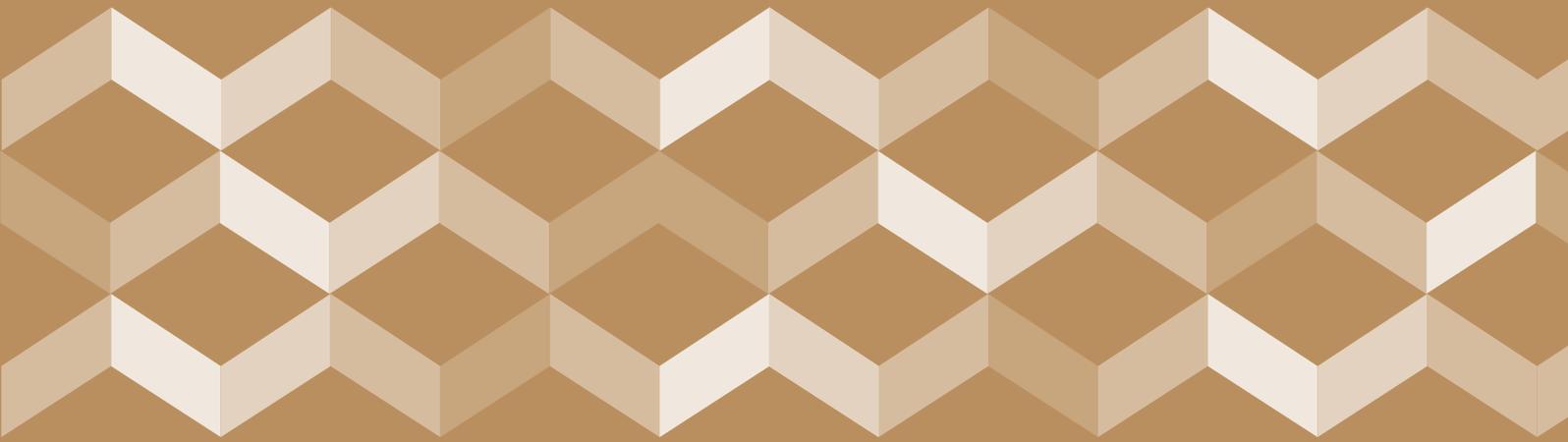
Uncollected solid waste was disposed of in illegal dumpsites on roadsides, open spaces, rivers and bridges, posing a health hazard. Low levels of waste segregation were generally reported in all sites mainly relating to the inconvenience of doing this. While three-quarters of household perceived solid waste recycling at household level as a positive way of managing solid waste, only half the households were actually recycling waste in their homes, more so in medium-density areas. There is a potential to reduce yard waste by a further 25%, for example, if households practiced recycling.

Both councilors and household respondents perceived the SWM problem as very serious, and reported high levels of willingness to participate in future solid waste management initiatives, including solid waste segregation and recycling, particularly in high-density areas, and particularly if supported by local authorities. .

Household respondents felt they could improve SWM by improving equipment and resources for households (bins, stand demarcation in Epworth, pits in yards) communities (roads, community bins, central waste collection sites, recycling services) and local authorities (refuse trucks, fuel, water treatment supplies). They proposed that households and communities receive information and education and be involved in clean-up campaigns, that communities form committees to monitor SWM, and that local authorities fine illegal dumping and increase interaction between health inspectors and communities. Respondents also noted that private companies illegally dumping waste needed monitoring and the practice stopped. There was consistency of views across households, councilors and environmental health technicians on priorities for action in education of residents on SWM, promotion of central waste collection points and recycling, increasing PHI visits and improving local authority resources (staff, trucks and roads) (TARSC and CFH 2012).

Chapter 5

Using Community-Level Evidence in Stakeholder Engagement



In Stage 3: a review meeting was held in February 2010 to present the findings of the assessment to stakeholders and to get input from local authorities and private sector organizations on the interventions proposed at community level to improve the management of solid waste. The stakeholders meeting was attended by the CFH researchers from the three pilot local authorities involved in the assessment, representatives of the three local authorities, private sector companies involved in solid waste recycling, representatives of informal community organizations using waste as a resource for economic production, Delta Beverages, Ministry of Health and Child Welfare, Community Working Group on Health, Civic Forum on Housing and TARSC personnel.



Delegates at the Stakeholder meeting on SWM. (c) TARSC 2010

The meeting proposed that local authorities and private sector companies use their resources to support community-based solid waste management companies. The proposals called for active participation and to take greater ownership at the community level with coordination of actions across different stakeholders and institutions.

Solid waste management was thus seen as a commitment, role and responsibility of all those attending the stakeholder meeting. Among other issues, participants recognised the need for strengthening the accountability of local authorities on solid waste management and the role of community involvement in the processes. The stakeholders proposed various actions at household level, community level and local authority and private sector levels.

The proposals made at the meeting are listed in Box 4.

BOX 4: PROPOSALS FOR STRENGTHENING ACCOUNTABILITY AND COMMUNITY-LED ACTIONS ON IMPROVING MANAGEMENT OF SOLID WASTE

Local authorities and private sector companies should:

- Form partnerships and provide refuse bins to individual households,
- Promote use of food leftovers to reduce the amount of waste produced,
- Site central refuse collection points within communities and promote use of these sites. Provide resources at central refuse collection and segregation sites, e.g. collection cages.
- Fund media SWM educational campaigns (companies).
- Collaborate with residents' associations and community-based organizations on the use of solid waste for economic production at the community level (local authorities, companies), and enforce bylaws relating to SWM.
- Provide resources for environmental health technicians and public health inspectors to regularly visit communities to carry out their SWM-related mandate, encourage communities to segregate waste and collect materials for recycling, provide timetables for refuse collection, meet household representatives regularly and provide feedback on SWM issues,
- Have well-defined and decentralized public relations departments and resources that make follow ups and give feedback, and
- Restrain use of plastic packaging (local authorities, Retailers' Association of Zimbabwe).

Led by trained community-based monitors, the community would: monitor illegal dumping; identify central areas to use for central waste segregation, recovery, compositing, disposal and collection sites; encourage payment of refuse fees; spearhead education on waste segregation, recycling, recovery and safe waste disposal; promote use of central waste collection sites, formation of community-based organizations to recover and recycle waste and use it for economic production; and elect community representatives to meet regularly with local authorities and councilors to get feedback on SWM issues.

Households could be proactive in the management of waste through: use of alternative sources of bins (tins, sacks) to segregate waste; reduce the amount of waste by using leftover food through sharing recipes; practice backyard compositing to reduce yard waste; collect plastic waste for recycling; participate in education on solid waste management; support formation of residents' associations, community-based organizations and community-based monitors; dispose of residual waste legally at central disposal sites or otherwise pay for refuse collection on time.

In Stage 4: Implementing Actions Monitoring the actions of local authorities and private sector implementing actions, a committee consisting of representatives from the three local authorities, private sector, CFH, TARSC and the community based researchers were constituted to steer the proposals forward.



Private sector role in SWM: A can collection cage erected by Delta Beverages © T Chikwature 2010

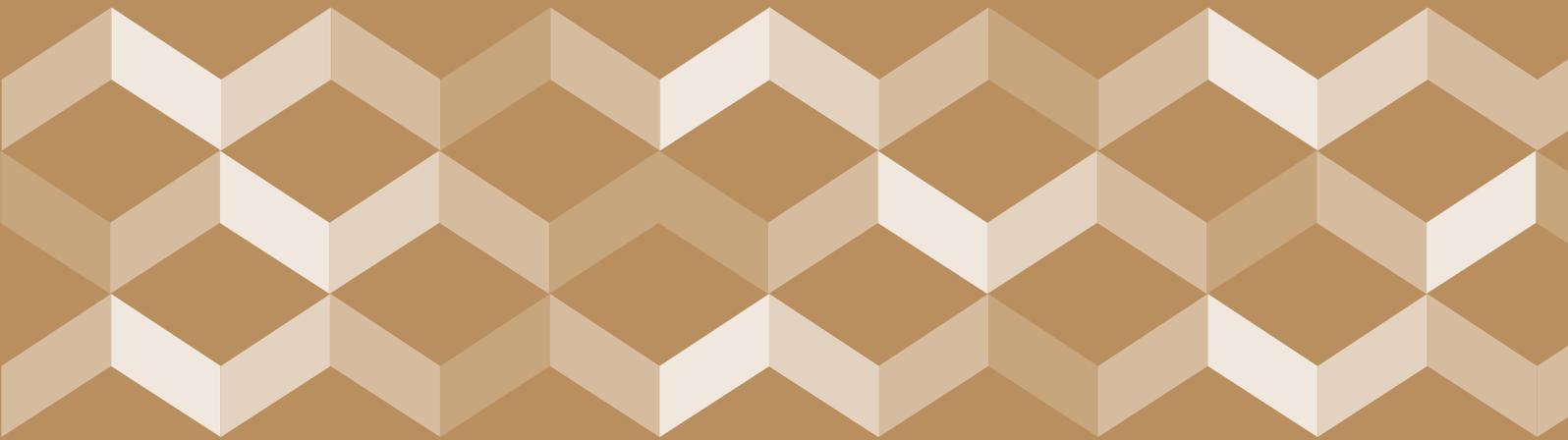
This was not expected to be an easy follow up, given the diverse interests of the stakeholders involved. The committee convened resource planning meetings in May 2010, drawing participants from organizations including Delta Beverages, National Waste Collectors, and Ecoplastics. The committee made proposals and suggested mechanisms for providing refuse bins to households, and for involving residents' associations and community-based organizations and providing cages to collect tin cans and other waste for recycling.

While the private sector showed enthusiasm and willingness to participate in the program, the process took place at a time when most companies were facing viability problems owing to the conversion from the Zimbabwe dollar economy to the multi- currency system. As a result, the private sector organizations did not fulfill their commitments. Communities, however, implemented civic education on SWM, clean up campaigns, promoted waste recycling and reuse, monitored waste disposal and held community feedback meetings.

This work is ongoing and the case study provides an opportunity to reflect on the experiences and the learning to date, as part of Stage 5: Reviewing, implementation, learning and sharing underway.

Chapter 6

Community Experiences on Solid Waste Management



This section presents findings from the case study on the work implemented. The stories are based on findings from meetings with community members in Epworth, community-based researchers in Epworth, Chitungwiza and Mutare, and the reflections of TARSC and CFH.

A journalist gathered stories and photographs in interviews with the people living in the three districts. In addition, a visit to Epworth provided observational evidence and a meeting on the work of CSO researchers and community members reviewed experiences to date. Of the 24 people attending the meeting, fifteen were women and nine were men - two of the nine men were youths.



Meeting the community based researchers in Mutare © TARSC 2012

TARSC introduced the case study, outlining the background to the process, the process to date, aims of the case study and the methods used to collect evidence and how it would be used. After the introduction, all those involved gave their consent to participate in the case study, including consent for electronic voice recordings and photographs. Where participants had reservations in having their direct quotes used, this was noted.

The case study was done at a time of political polarization and economic hardships. The participants expressed a need for resource support for the work the civil society organizers were doing, particularly given the lack of support from the private sector.

6.1 Social action on solid waste management

The community-based research team in Chitungwiza reported a good response to the SWM process: areas cleaned up in 2009 remained relatively clean. Lewis Chitovhoro, the lead community-based researcher in Chitungwiza, noted that

the team would use occasions like funerals where people died from cholera to share the importance of maintaining clean environments and the role of local authorities and communities' in SWM. Lewis said that he lost a friend to cholera, a situation that drove him to work hard and to continue to engage his community in effective waste management.

There is need for more training and support to ensure success and replication in other areas. I am inspired by the levels of behavior change because of this project as some people continue to follow the recommended practices promoted during the weekly health promotion sessions. There is little doubt that family health has improved also as the rate of Cholera infections are now low in Chitungwiza.

Lewis Chitovhoro, Community-Based Researcher in Chitungwiz.

Knowledge on use of waste as a resource within communities is low and capacity building and awareness campaigns were found to have significantly changed the community members' mindsets relating to this. Communities place more value on initiatives that use waste when there is real and tangible financial benefit to them, particularly against a background of rising levels of urban poverty and wealth disparities. People here do not know nor understand the value that is in solid waste. If they knew just how valuable it is then we would not have this much rubbish in our community. They need to be taught how to grade and segregate the waste into categories and how beneficial the whole process is.

Fredson Zuze, Ward 6 Development Committee Member

Nevertheless, there were signs of social action on SWM in Chitungwiza. In Chitungwiza, Lewis Chitovhoro noted how he had integrated the SWM process with a football academy he is running. He explained that issues on health and waste management are key to the academy and they have, as an academy, done a number of clean-up campaigns in Chitungwiza, such as cleaning up the storm water drain shown below that had clogged with solid waste.



Left: Members of Chisa football academy run by Lewis Chitovhoro sit in a storm water drain they cleaned as part of the SWM process. Right, an illegal dumpsite near the storm drain cleaned by the football academy © TARSC 2012

FROM AN ILLEGAL DUMP SITE TO A CAR PARK! TRANSFORMING ENVIRONMENTS FOR HEALTH.

During the compilation of this case study, we visited an area that we photographed in Chitungwiza in 2009 that had an illegal dump site. We managed to find the owner this time (2012) and the area has been transformed. Below is the story of transformation. See pictures on the next page.

“I started living here in 1996 and have been doing my sewing business here. In 1996, this place was clean. As years went by, with the economic hardships garbage started piling up. There was a bin provided by the municipality and the frequency of its collection started to be irregular. We started using our home equipment (shovels and wheelbarrows) to manage the garbage but the amounts were excessive and we could not cope. We talked to councilors and the local authority to provide a front loader that would remove the garbage, but we were frequently told that the trucks had no diesel. They then came after a long time and they only did one load and we were told that the equipment had broken down. We later realized that the equipment had not broken down but some people had paid money to have refuse removed from their areas and the loader thus would disguise a breakdown so that it could attend to those who would have paid. We pondered on the threats the garbage was posing to the people, the smell, flies and so on and we decided to have some local actions and turn the place into a car park. I talked to my neighbors, some of them are vehicle repairers and we used some of the vehicles brought for repairs to ferry the garbage. They also leveraged on their trade to ask people with trucks to lend them vehicles. We then fenced the area and that’s how the area became clean as you see it today. Some people are still throwing garbage outside the fence as you can see”.



An area in Chitungwiza in 2009 during the SWM research.



Chitungwiza
in 2012

The same area in 2012, after community members turned the area into a car park © TARSC 2009, 2012

In Epworth, community members noted that they had seen people come to their area and recover waste like plastic bottles but had not taken these actions seriously. Trainings from other partners like the European Union and the SWM process led them to realize the potential value of some of the waste.

The community members in Epworth noted that the SWM process was encouraging because they could see the results from their actions. Using their household resources, they managed to organize clean-up campaigns: the development committee mobilized the community in ward four to clean up the shopping centre. In June-July 2010, the committee organized wards two, three and five and other community-based organizations and a clean-up campaign was held at the clinic area. Ward development committees implemented community feedback meetings (Stages 4: Implementing Actions, Monitoring the actions of local authorities and private sector and Stage 5: Reviewing, implementation, learning and sharing) in the process and promoted using garbage pits and recycling waste. Community members received training in using organic manure in gardening. Other partners working in the area trained people in mushroom production.

In Epworth, one of the community-based researchers spearheaded a project to compost organic waste and use it as manure in a vegetable garden project. When the project was operating fully, we had a healthy supply of vegetables that we used to grow here. We would use the vegetables for our household nutritional

requirements and sell some to get some cash as well. We had a thriving vegetable garden that was well nourished; the project fell apart due water problems.

Mr Victor Kamba, Epworth Community-Based Researcher



A community meeting in Epworth taking place on a site that used to be the garden © TARSC 2012.

Community members who were part of the gardening project concurred with Mr Victor Kamba that indeed they realized waste was a valuable resource for gardening. In Mutare, the community-based research team said that segregation of waste was one of the things they learnt in the process. They said they had made some progress selling paper waste to a local manufacturer, Border Timbers. They also reported, however, that this had stopped because the local authority stopped supplying the plastic bags they used to separate the waste and Border Timbers closed down.



Part of the used for composting organic waste used in the gardening project in Epworth, Zimbabwe © TARSC 2012

People ended up having nowhere to place the segregated waste. The community however now needs to be made aware about the effects of waste on global

warming as some members resort to burning waste when it is uncollected by the responsible authorities.

Community means of managing waste are commendable but at the same time pose a bigger threat, especially looking at the pits that are dug in a yard or near houses. If it is not managed properly there are chances for mosquitoes to breed when the rains come and eventually result in mosquitoes that then cause malaria. The government and local authorities across the country should ensure efficient refuse collection; with uncollected waste marring their homes, residents have no option but to dump the waste irresponsibly.

Idah Chatindiara, Community-Based Researcher in Mutare

The community-based researchers in Mutare, led by Chairperson Alfred Mhere said, they learnt much from the SWM process and continue to reap the rewards from the program. The researchers noted that throughout the program, researchers and the local authority were in continuous communication, largely because a representative from the local authority was included from the beginning (Stage 2). Thus, the Mutare community-based researchers had more meetings and interactions with their local authority on solid waste management than other communities did. To further advance community-level action, Mr Mhere said there is need to embed environment programs in livelihoods and other development program.

In Mutare, for instance, Mr Mhere said community-based researchers integrated the SWM process with other development work being spearheaded by external funders, such as a brick-laying program shown picture.



A brick moulding community livelihoods programme in Mutare, Zimbabwe © TARSC 2012

Using this approach, communities would mobilize around a brick-laying program. During the course of the program, people would earmark some time to reflect on their health and their environment and what they need to do to make their environments safer. The

community-based researchers would present evidence that they had gathered and reflect with the people on what actions they needed to take to improve SWM in their areas, such as through clean-up campaigns. Without the brick-laying program, it would be difficult to mobilize people solely for the SWM program. It was seen as key to not separate issues of health and livelihoods.

Communities faced a number of challenges in implementing their actions. However, this did not stop people from acting. For example, when they lacked equipment for the clean-up campaigns they used some of their own equipment, including wheelbarrows and hoes, to clean up their areas and then persuaded the municipal and local authority to ferry the garbage to dump sites. Sometimes situations arise in which social action reflects the social power of communities, such as having advantage over the local authority to take action.

The experiences show that such community initiatives on SWM work better when they are embedded in economic activities in which people realize waste as a resource. Doing this, whether in gardening or waste recycling, has raised new areas for engagement with local authorities. Such processes take time. Even where progress is made, reversals occur as when one of the industries buying the waste shuts down.

6.2 Social accountability on solid waste management

The waste management program changed community members' perceptions on SWM, a key part of the process for social action and accountability. Communities raised a number of new issues in the process. With the coming of the rains, Epworth communities noted that surface water will become contaminated, leading to contamination of ground water sources that the community relies on through their wells.

Thus, water will need to be treated or boiled before consumption but the absence of power supply and ready firewood make this difficult.

In Mutare, Mr Mhere said that after the initial training of community-based researchers they formed fifteen member groups in each ward (Stage 4 Implementing Actions, Monitoring the actions of local authorities and private sector). These groups are still operating and Mr Mhere is their coordinator. He noted that they also worked with the Environmental Management Authority (EMA), which taught the groups how to segregate waste and use organic waste for composting. Mhere said they started herbal gardens in which they used the organic compost derived from the segregated and composited organic waste.

Although knowledge was growing and communication with some local authorities had increased, the level of engagement and social accountability needed to address comprehensively solid waste management was yet to be achieved.

There is need for the city council to engage the community in various matters especially in view of the fact that few people know their rights regarding the services offered by the authority and also few even know where or how to report when there is a problem like a burst sewer pipe or uncollected garbage.

Rutendo Chasinda, Community-Based Researcher, Mutare

While some in the community were becoming aware of the duties and responsibilities of their local authorities, some areas had not yet built up their voices loud enough to be heard to ensure accountability and improved service delivery.

There is need for the local authority to always be supportive and deliver when people need assistance on areas of sanitation, waste management, and water and service delivery in general. It is the duty of the local authority to provide these services to the people.

Alfred Mhere, Mutare-based Community Researcher and Local Committee Leader



Passive response: Residents in a low density suburb in Mutare resort to dumping waste in an open space when the city council does not collect it on time, © TARSC 2012

Further, when communities do not see action by local authorities they can revert to negative practices themselves. Monica Nyawo, a community-based researcher, said for instance “whenever the city council doesn’t come to collect refuse, residents dump wherever they want.”

There is a direct link between social action and social accountability. As noted earlier. Residents own social action on waste management can lever the action communities want the authorities to take. Inversely where social accountability is low, social action is weak. In Epworth, for example, many of the challenges raised related to issues that

needed action by and engagement with the local authority. The area lacks a regular supply of water and lack of regular watering meant that plants were not growing vigorously, or producing abundantly, particularly with low rainfalls. As the boreholes had also dried up people were expected to buy water in cash, not possible for members of a community that house some of the poorest people in Zimbabwe.

People also raised the issue of lack of adequate space for composting sites. Due to lack of sewer systems, households rely on pit latrines and Blair toilets. Because of the low water tables in some areas, these pits are not deep enough and fill up quickly. After a pit fills up, the household abandons it and digs another pit inside the yard. The yards are not big and thus there is lack of space. Residents suggested that the local board provide central composting sites to assist with such challenges. They said they would need to take this up in the collaboration between local authorities and communities on SWM. They observed that Epworth local authority still does not have a dump site and residents dump anywhere.

Finding rubbish that includes pampers and other rubbish in front of your yard in the morning is not surprising! Says one of the community member. Interactions in Mutare were reported to be better as the community-based researchers included a representative from the local authority during the initial stages of the process (evidence gathering). The community researchers said that in a polarized environment, using a strategy that involves the authorities in the work through participatory reflection and action could improve interactions between households and local authorities and local authority support to community activities. The need to strengthen and facilitate a culture of documenting actions, results and experiences at community level, using community-based researchers, however few, was also noted to play a role in improving communication. This allowed for easier progress tracking, redesign of methodologies and overall engagement with other technical partners.

That the local authority in one area (Mutare) had been part of the process from the beginning appeared to make a difference. In Epworth, the social and power imbalance was yet to be addressed and acted as a barrier in addressing SWM issues, particularly for poorer groups.

The local authority does not pay attention to our concerns, we go there to request their audience but we come back empty handed, and the community does not understand that, because they feel like we are not working hard enough or concerned enough about the problems they face. They look down upon us because we are poor and less educated.

A Community-Based Researcher from Epworth and Development Committee Member

A further dimension of social accountability raised was that of the private sector. While the private sector has a key role to play in the management of waste within the community, it made limited contribution, in part due to the economic context

and the limited advantage from the local authorities and government. Where they did play a role, there was positive impact.

This was noted for example in the role of Border Timbers and the waste recycling in Mutare. In Chitungwiza, a higher level of collaboration with the local business community led to better outcomes during the process.

When residents complain to the local authority regarding refuse which needs to be collected, it takes about two weeks for them to respond and by that time, the mound will even be bigger than before. During this time we see the truck which is supposed to be used for refuse collection being used to carry sand which will then be sold to home developers. We believe the drivers are working in cahoots with other council workers to make money out of the already desperate community.

Epworth Community Member

People in Epworth noted that the local authority and representatives are better placed to assist if they lived in the area. As they reside in higher income areas of Harare, they do not experience the problems of a poor-income community.

This is a key barrier in this area. However, the process of participatory research and social action had amongst other processes, raised awareness of the communities' latent power to take up these issues, collectively strengthening social accountability in health.

The community members just do not know how powerful they are if they work together to protest against the way the council is treating us and taking us for granted.

John Chakanyuka, Epworth Community

A further dimension of social accountability raised was that of the private sector. While

Epworth community members' perceptions on accountability and relationship with their local board.

"The officials do not have respect for people from the community"

"The local board relationship with us is exploitative. We don't get any feedback on issues from them"

"Transparency within the local board is lacking"

"The budget meetings are not clear and our inputs are not taken into account during actual implementation despite us having submitted our plans"

"The council ignores complaints from the development committee.. they look down upon us"

the private sector has a key role to play in the management of waste within the community, it made limited contribution, in part due to the economic context and the limited advantage from the local authorities and government. Where they did play a role, there was positive impact.

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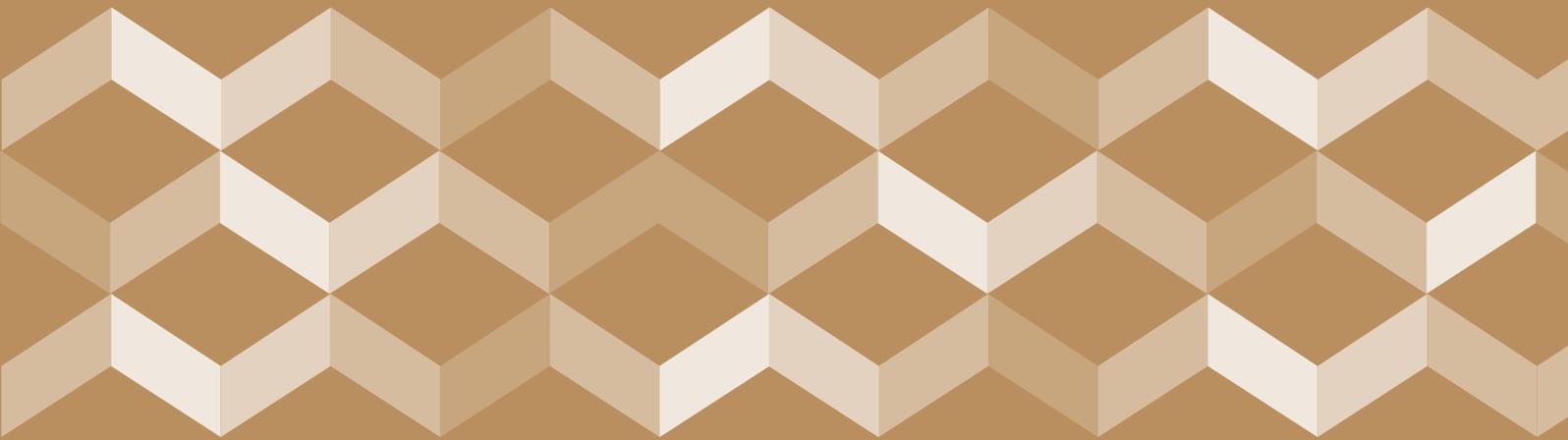
Through the various clean-up campaigns we continue to undertake with the support of the local community and business people, we aim to empower communities so that they can manage their own health and utilise existing resources more effectively. The work is huge and government support is also required.

Lewis Chitovhoro, Community-Based Researcher in Chitungwiza

While the private sector had made commitments at national level meetings, the private sector did not always follow through. This raises the need for more structured legal ways of ensuring private sector contribution to health, such as through tax and other contributions. It also implies that work on social accountability needs to explicitly address the role of the private sector. While the private sector is becoming more responsive to consumers in some parts of the world, communities in Zimbabwe may be seen to have low purchasing power and need much wider levels of social networking and connection to exert similar effect. Equally poorly resourced local authorities in a liberalized environment may not themselves use their regulatory or institutional authority to ensure accountability from large private companies. Further work needs to develop approaches and experience in building accountability from private sector actors as a key part of work on social accountability.

Chapter 7

Concluding Reflections



This case study shows the potential for communities in strengthening social awareness and action in health. The community can strengthen its role in social accountability, highlighting the importance of responsiveness of authorities in sustaining social action in health.

An area such as solid waste management raises rights and obligations of communities, and duties of private actors and local authorities. In all the three areas it was evident that even poor communities were motivated by information, showing leadership and taking social action on solid waste management. Social action is more likely when it is embedded within activities that yields economic gain. However, such action was vulnerable to the wider economic instability, such as when a company buying collected waste closed. The role of local authorities and their responsiveness to communities was equally important in sustaining social action, particularly as measures demanded transport services, water, communal waste measures, and legal enforcement of private actors. Communities were aware of their rights in all three areas. However, where the local authority was involved in evidence gathering and work from the inception, the authority took responsibility for the work, providing trucks for clean-up campaigns or supporting training or waste segregation activities. Where the local authority did not live in the area and where there were high social and power imbalances, the participatory research and social action enhanced community awareness of collective power but were not able to transform the power dynamics.

The work also shows that some social and economic processes advance and reverse, and others take time! This case study is written at a point in time and makes it difficult to judge outcomes, however, it does appear that capacity building, and information exchange, participatory research and social networking promote and strengthen the social cohesion and inclusion necessary for social action and accountability. It may not challenge deeply rooted power dynamics that affect environments for health in low-income communities without other inputs, such as involvement of strategic actors and intermediaries within local government, business or society, or resources to sustain new economic activities that integrate health, environment and livelihoods. There was evidence of processes that build such contributions, such as the dialogue built in Chitungwiza, where community-based researchers led communities in engaging with the Environmental Health Director through feedback meetings and through grievances handling procedures, or the more direct involvement of local authority actors in the research in Mutare. The work highlights that there is likely to be a positive and reinforcing relationship between social action and social accountability in health when interventions are participatory, evidence-based and sustained, when they involve multiple actors, and are able to draw in resources to facilitate good practice. Finally, this work highlights the need to explore the methods that poor communities and poorly resourced local authorities in a liberal environment can build accountability from private sector actors as a key part of the work on social accountability.

Acronyms

CBR	Community Based Research
CBRT	Community Based Research and Training
CFH	Civic Forum on Housing
CMP	Community Monitoring Programme
EMA	Environmental Management Authority
EQUINET	Regional Network on Equity in Health in East and Southern Africa
SWM	Solid Waste Management
TARSC	Training and Research Support Centre

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