



# Sanitation policy and spatial planning in urban East Africa: Diverging sanitation spaces and actor arrangements in Kampala and Kisumu



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## ARTICLE INFO

### Article history:

Received 21 February 2013

Received in revised form 22 June 2013

Accepted 10 August 2013

Available online 21 September 2013

### Keywords:

Sanitation  
Urban planning  
Colonial history  
Urban East Africa  
Kisumu  
Kampala

## ABSTRACT

This paper discusses sanitation policies and spatial planning in Kampala (Uganda) and Kisumu (Kenya) from colonial times to date and their implications for the siting of sanitation technologies and involving actors. During colonial times, a strict spatial duality was maintained between immigrants in townships and natives in peri-urban areas, with a sanitary divide between them. Also currently, different urban spaces support different sanitation technologies provided by different actors. Actor arrangements are often viewed as a combination of public, private and voluntary sectors, but households should be considered part of the arrangement. Information on spaces and actor arrangements is imperative for location of sanitation technologies and rebalancing them with actor arrangements.

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## Introduction

Many interventions have been sought in the past to address sanitation challenges, but globally, 2.5 billion people still lack access to improved sanitation (WHO/UNICEF, 2012). Hardly have spatial policies and resultant spaces and actor arrangements been addressed as contributors to this poor state of affairs. A number of authors have noted that different spaces require different sanitation technologies. Nielsen and Clauson-Kaas (1980) proposed a plan for Morogoro (Tanzania) in which they proposed three different forms of sanitation for different types of neighbourhoods based on the nature of settlement spaces. Wright (1997) advocated for widening technological options to suit different local conditions like density, income and nature of settlements; coupled with innovative institutional arrangements for service provision. Mara (2008) argues that urban and rural settlements require different sanitation technologies. Three types of spaces relevant for sanitation provision have been identified: urban, peri-urban and rural (Mara, 2008; Nielsen & Clauson-Kaas, 1980; Wright, 1997). However, when settlements are considered, the three types should be further divided into planned and unplanned settlements (Table 2). Although the characteristics of urban spaces seem imperative for

the kind of sanitation technologies to be applied, most urban spaces for sanitation services follow a conventional urban master plan characterised by availing of planned urban settlements to facilitate sewerage connections. Planned urban spaces are accessible and homogeneous in housing stock, density and degree of urbanisation (Letema, 2012; Newman, 2001; Oosterveer & Spaargaren, 2010). However, urban planning in urban East Africa have had limited impact, as about 50–70% of urban population live in unplanned settlements (Kombe, 2005; Nawangwe & Nuwagaba, 2002; Omila, 1993; UN-Habitat, 2008). The existence of planned and unplanned settlement spaces in urban East Africa calls for different sanitation technologies to fit local urban spaces, but such information is not readily available. Therefore, a first goal of this paper is to explore and categorise the different sanitation technologies that are located in the various urban spaces in East Africa.

The second goal refers to the actor arrangements in sanitation service provision. The literature portrays actor arrangements in service provision as a triad – public, market and voluntary sector, with partnerships in-between (Blair, 2001; Claassen, 2009; Cohen & Peterson, 1999; Glasbergeren, Biermann, & Mol, 2007; Picciotto, 1995; Tukahirwa, Mol, & Oosterveer, 2013). The view of provision as carried out by the state, market and voluntary sector is inspired by a rather ideological Western frame of thinking. The majority of African households have always provided their own sanitation such as latrine construction, operation, and emptying, but they are rarely framed as a service provider. Whereas majority of on-site

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sanitation is provided at household level by households and for households, householders are conceptualised as either private within a profit or social context. Within African social context, household is framed as both family and non-family members sharing a housing unit and providing for their daily needs and well-being (Oberlin, 2011). This also entails sanitation provision. The second goal of this paper is thus to explore the actor arrangements supporting the provision of sanitation infrastructure services in urban East Africa with inclusion of the role of households in sanitation provision. The exploration of sanitation technologies in relation to urban spaces and actor arrangements is imperative since if sanitation provision is to succeed where different spaces, technologies and actors exist, it should be based on mixed options at multiple spaces and by multiple actors, which moves us away from one-model-fit-all to multiple approaches to sanitation provision.

The paper is built up as follows. The next section (2) presents the analytical framework and methodology utilised for gathering and interpreting the data obtained in Kisumu and Kampala. In section 'colonial spatial and sanitation policies', the colonial heritage of sanitation planning and provision in Kisumu and Kampala is explored, which offers valuable explanations for today's spatial and sanitary structures. Post-colonial spatial and sanitation policies in Kisumu and Kampala are then discussed in section 'post-independence spatial and sanitation policies', ending with the assessment of spatial diversity and accompanying actor arrangements in sanitation provision. The concluding section 'conclusion' argues that the insights on diversity in spaces, sanitary technologies and actor arrangements form a starting point for intervention strategies towards achieving the MDG goals on sanitation.

### Analytical framework and methodology

Urban spaces and actor arrangements supporting sanitation are not well understood as they have not been adequately addressed in literature or in practice in Kampala and Kisumu cities. There has not been a suitable approach to conceptualise and analyse sanitation provision in the context of differentiated urban spaces, with a diversity of sanitation technologies and a multiplicity of service actors as is the case in urban East Africa. The conventional approaches in sanitation provision sketch a dichotomy of large-versus small-scale or centralised versus decentralised actor arrangements, which is not tenable in urban East African contexts. This insight has led to the development of an alternative approach termed modernised mixtures (MM) approach. The approach takes the best features out of both conventional large-scale and centralised and small-scale and decentralised approaches into flexible and diversified arrangements that fit local conditions (Letema, van Vliet, & van Lier, 2012; Spaargaren, Oosterveer, van Buuren & Mol, 2005; Tukahirwa et al., 2013). Urban spaces and actor arrangements are the local conditions that underlie settlement and socio-economic characteristics imperative for local sustainability.

Actor arrangements supporting urban infrastructure provision are often viewed as a triad – public, market and voluntary sector. This way of seeing is in line with colonial and post-colonial policy and planning, but which is not sufficient to understand current actor arrangements supporting sanitation provision in urban East Africa. Especially for sanitation and waste management, households can be considered the fourth actor in sanitation provision. This shifts actor arrangement from being viewed as a triad to a tetragon (Fig. 1). Seeing actor arrangement as tetragon also diversifies the voluntary sector, with those leaning towards non-governmental organisations (NGOs) being welfare non-profit community

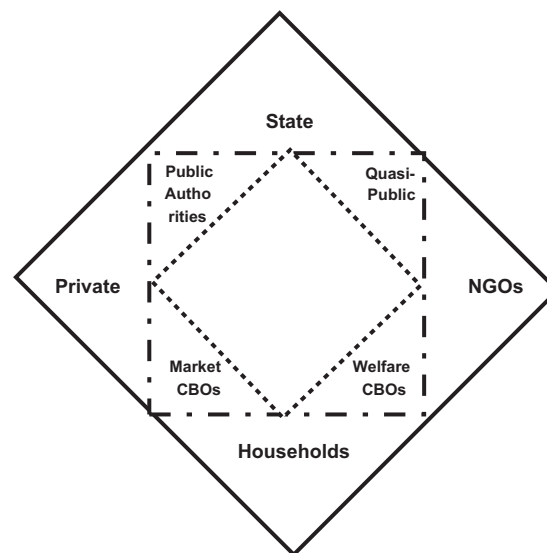


Fig. 1. Conceptualisation of actor arrangement as a tetragon.

based-organisations (CBOs) whereas those towards the market being marketised CBOs within profit social context.

This paper is based on a research carried out in 2008 and 2009 in Kampala and Kisumu. The research aimed to determine and assess (a) sanitation types, location, scales, and performance; and (b) actor arrangements supporting each sanitation technology. Primary data were collected through interviews and observations through site visits. Interviewees comprised of urban sewerage personnel, satellite sewerage operators, onsite sanitation providers, public health officers, officials of voluntary sector organisations, and community and public toilet operators (including householders). Secondary data were obtained through content analysis of service records, technical reports, sectoral reports and archive documents. Secondary data was triangulated with primary data.

To establish the relationship between sanitation and urban spaces and actor arrangements, the findings from Kampala and Kisumu are presented in a tabular form. This enables the merging of information about sanitation technology with actor and space arrangements for sanitation service provision. To depict sanitation provision reality in urban East Africa, actor arrangements supporting sanitation are mapped by way of shading the triangles within the tetragon.

### Colonial spatial and sanitation policies

#### Colonial spatial policies

Colonial spatial policies that have a bearing on sanitation are the designation of townships, zoning regulations and spatial planning. The designation of Kampala township began with the Buganda agreement of 1900, which divided Buganda Kingdom into Kampala (administered by the British Colony), and Kibuga (administered by the King of Buganda) (Nilsson, 2006) and the gazette-ment as a township in 1903 via the Uganda Ordinance of 1903 (UN-Habitat, 2007). Designation of Kisumu in 1903 led to a township administered by a Township Board while African areas were administered by Local Native Councils. Zoning during the colonial period was also used to exclude Africans from townships on sanitary and social grounds. For instance, Kololo, Nakasero and Mbuya in Kampala were zoned for European residential settlements whereas Naguru and Nakawa were zoned for the native Africans, which remained so until independence in 1962. Kisumu was zoned

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