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Water Access in Accra, Ghana and Cape Town, South Africa 2012 Survey Data Report

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*EDGES and AOW survey on Water Access and Governance in
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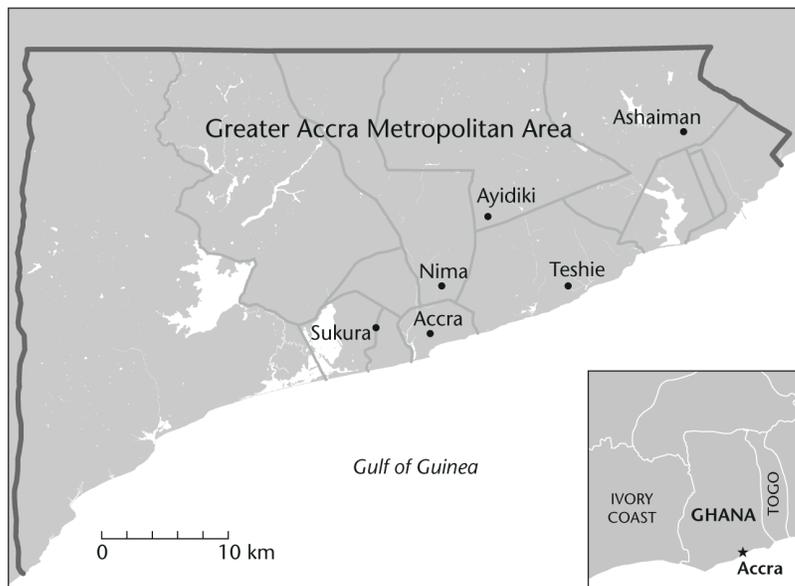
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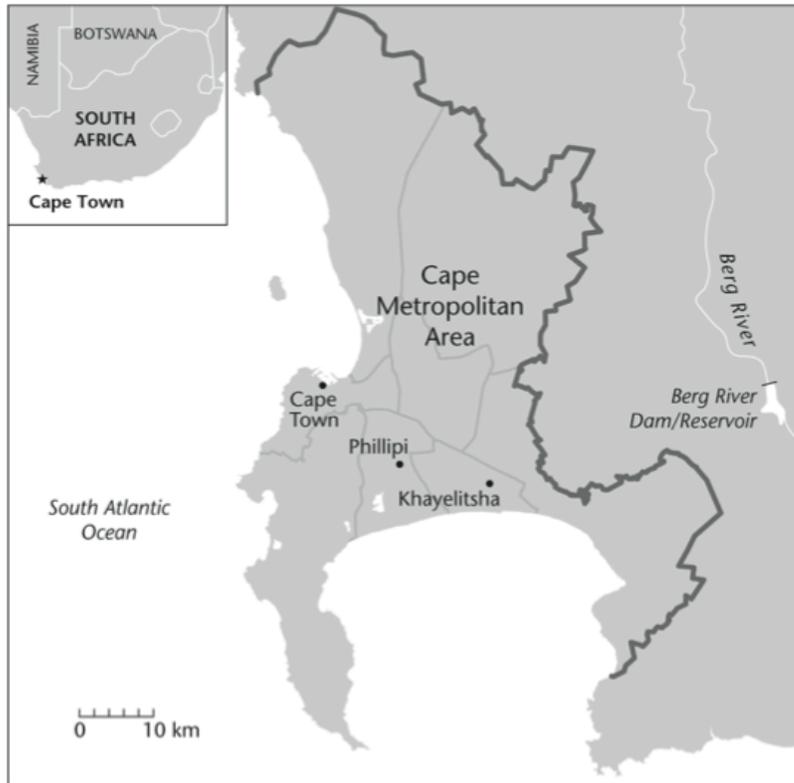
OVERVIEW

Background

Across Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) urban water supply systems face a range of challenges—so much so that the situation across the region has been classified by the United Nations as being among the most dire globally with respect to provision of water and sanitation (UN-HABITAT 2007). Among the tremendous challenges is the issue of uneven and variable delivery of services, often with some middle and high-income locales receiving safe and affordable water, while nearby lower income areas do not even enjoy basic access to safe water for drinking and other domestic uses. This report provides data from a survey implemented early in 2012 with focus on basic household water uses and sources, perceptions of accessibility and affordability, and other elements of the lived experience associated with water access and governance in four relatively underserved sites of Accra, Ghana and Cape Town, South Africa. Please note that we targeted underserved sites for the survey, so the data speaks to the conditions in these sites, rather than for the cities overall. Specifically, the survey was undertaken in the communities of Teshie and Ashaiman in Accra, and Philippi and Khayletisha in Cape Town (see Maps 1 and 2). In Ghana there were a total of 243 respondents, with 123 respondents from Ashaiman (Roman Down) and 120 from Teshie (51% of the Ghanaian sample were female, and 49% male). For the South African sites, there were a total of 256 respondents—132 from Khayelitsha and 124 from Philippi (of the South African survey respondents, 61% were female and 39% male).



Map 1: The 2012 survey was conducted in Teshie and Ashaiman, Ghana.



Map 2: The survey was conducted in Khayelitsha and Phillipi, South Africa

There are considerable socio-cultural, political-economic and other differences across these study sites. The survey results presented here help to capture and elaborate some of these differences. The data, both in aggregate senses, and for each specific country, also serves to capture how relatively impoverished and underserved communities in both urban contexts access and assess water as part of their everyday lives. Indeed, we find the differences across the sites to be instructive in several ways, including highlighting key concerns that face relatively impoverished communities in either context, and also as background information to evaluate and understand the importance and effects of different policy and historical contexts that help to shape the realities as reported by respondents. For instance, one observation is that affordability is a key concern in Ghana, yet respondents in this country do not believe that water should be free, revealing a stark difference from their South African counterparts.

Our survey results have also informed several publications, as noted in the bibliography.

Context

Accra, Ghana

In 1990, official estimates of the proportion of Ghana's population with access to improved drinking water was 84% in urban areas and 39% in rural areas. Recent 2015 figures suggest that these numbers have increased to 93% in urban areas and 84% in rural areas (JMP 2015). These increases in water access are mainly due to new infrastructure implementation and water sector reform. For urban areas, water provision is the responsibility of the state-owned utility, the Ghana Water Company Limited (GWCL). With a population growth rate of 3.1% a year and ongoing urbanization trends, water managers and infrastructures in Ghana are challenged by associated rapid increases in water demand (GSS 2012). From 2006-2011 the private consortium Aqua Vitens Rand Limited was responsible for the operation and management of Accra's water system but was heavily criticized for excluding public stakeholders, including NGO's, from decision-making processes (Adank et al. 2011), in addition to complaints that AVRIL did not deliver promised improvements such as reductions in non-revenue water during that period. As such, the contract was not renewed in 2011, and the management was returned to the Ghanaian government. Another key feature of the urban water system of Accra is that until recently (including during our survey implementation period of 2012), there was a significant deficit in the urban water supply for Accra and surrounds, meaning that water supply did not meet demand. As such, there was a rationing schedule that meant that even if access to the piped system was available, supply was intermittent at best—a situation that has only changed very recently.¹ Linked to this reality, a considerable proportion of residents of Accra rely heavily on water vendors and other modes of informal supply for at least part of their daily needs, including a growing sachet water sector that is increasingly important for drinking water requirements of urban residents (WDSSP 2014, Stoler et al. 2012, Adank et al. 2011, Peloso and Morinville 2014, Morinville 2012). While higher income areas of the city might have made considerable investments in water storage, relatively impoverished sites might be facing various crises of supply related to a lack of storage infrastructure, inability to pay for basic water connections, or higher per unit prices for water associated with water vending (ibid).

Cape Town, South Africa

In South Africa, by contrast, many urban residents are served by formal municipal water supply connections, although the situation remains uneven and importantly marked by apartheid-era legacies and inequalities. Notably, the 1996 Constitution of South Africa includes the constitutional right to water and sanitation, in addition to other related laws such as the Free Basic Water Policy (2001) that are meant to ensure that all South Africans are able to enjoy access to basic services. Yet, considerable implementation challenges and inequities remain (Rodina 2016, Mehta 2006, McDonald, 2008). The Free Basic Water policy, for instance, is one policy that

¹ Based on interviews conducted in 2015, this situation has recently changed with a new desalination facility coming online.

² At the time of the survey, residents in Khayletisha were not paying for water. Interviews with city officials

has drawn both critique and praise, and is indicative of the lived realities associated with what is often viewed as progressive water legislation. The policy states that all municipalities must provide 6KL of water to every household free of charge, based on an assumption of 25 L per person per day and an 8 person household (Department of Water Affairs and Forestry 2008). However the average per capita consumption of water across the country is 229 L per day (DWS 2015), thus inciting concern about distributional equity, use of cutoff mechanisms, and tariff increases above this minimum amount. As well, impoverished households often house more members than the assumed 8, and may be particularly hard hit by the burden of disease and other challenges, which can affect household water needs. As well, there is tremendous concern about what happens after this minimal allocation is reached, as often households may be cut off despite continuing need (especially a problem when there are leakages). The policy has thus been the subject of considerable critique, together with other concerns related to the use of prepaid meters and other technologies linked with demand management (Loftus 2009, Von Schnitzler 2008, Smith and Hanson 2003, Rodina 2016, Wilson and Pereira, 2012). In 2011, it is estimated that 87.3% of Cape Town residents have water access points either inside their dwelling or yard, 12% of people having access outside of their dwelling or yard and an estimated 0.7% of inhabitants having no regular access to improved water (CCT 2012). Recent estimates for the country on the whole suggest that South Africa had ensured access of high quality drinking water to more than 98% of urban residents and 81% of rural residents in 2015 (JMP 2015). Our study sites, Khayletisha and Phillipi have numbers lower than this as they are relatively underserved sites in this context (both are legacies of spatially segregated apartheid planning—predominantly black townships located on the outskirts of the city).

By focusing on issues of water access, use, and governance among low-income and relatively underserved residents in both of these contexts our aim is to enrich understanding of the real lived experiences of daily water realities in underserved and relatively marginalized communities. We highlight some key summary findings here, and refer you to other publications on our website for more in depth analyses found in a range of student theses and peer-reviewed publications.

2012 Survey Results

The complete survey instrument, and related results are available at www.edges.ubc.ca.

Basic Water Conditions

The majority of Ghanaian respondents reported that they buy their water from a vendor (47%) and 19% reporting the use of in house or in-yard connections. 59% of respondents from South Africa reported they use in house or in-yard connections and 27% use communal taps or wells. Note the heavy reliance on vendors in Ghana, while no respondents in South Africa provided this response.

Figure 1. Primary Source of water for households

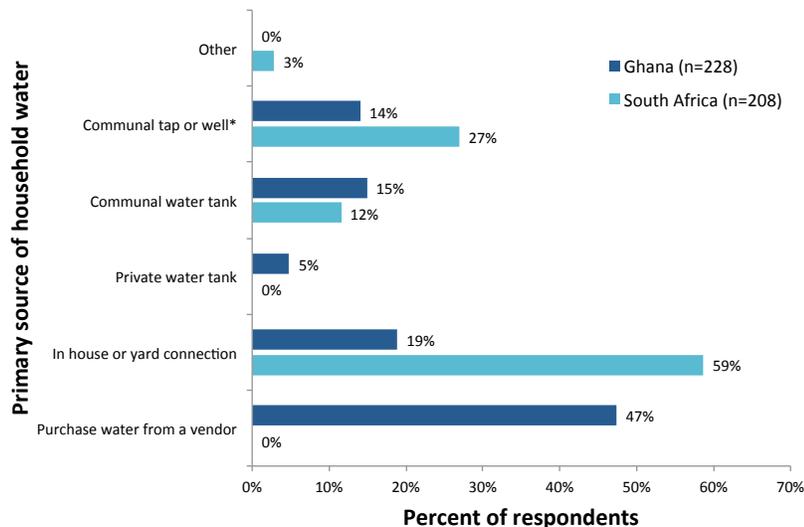


Figure 1. Primary sources of household water in Ghana and South Africa

* Question wording: From which of the following sources does this household get its water? “Tap” includes standpipes and “well” includes boreholes. The private water tank, or in-house or in-yard connection, generally refers to private/individual access (although it is possible that some might have given this response for shared communal access, particularly in Cape Town).

2. Primary uses of water

Table 1: Question wording: For which of the following activities does this household use most water?

Uses of water	Ghana	South Africa
Drinking	2%	38%
Washing clothes	41%	55%
Cooking	9%	5%
Bathing/washing	47%	2%

The largest group of respondents from Ghana (47%) as opposed to 2% of South Africans said they use the most household water for bathing. A large number from both countries reported using water for washing clothes (41% from Ghana and 55% from

South Africa). Thirty eight percent of South African respondents use household water for drinking and 2% of Ghanaians responding similarly (this likely suggests reliance on sachet, bottled water, or another source for drinking water specifically in the Ghanaian sites). We do not go into detail here, but we expect that the politicization around safe and affordable access to drinking water in the South African context is largely responsible for the skew in the reporting on primary water uses between the countries, with many more in South Africa citing drinking water as an important use of water. Quality considerations would also make it more likely that South African respondents do drink water that they receive from piped connections, while Ghanaian respondents might purchase water separately for purposes of drinking (due to water storage and other facets of water access in Accra that could affect health). In Ghana, it seems that respondents also were likely thinking more volumetrically about water uses in a way that might not be as politically charged as the South African case (and also due to the fact that many households are drawing on supplemental sources for drinking water). See summary policy briefs at www.edges.ubc.ca for more on related policy considerations.

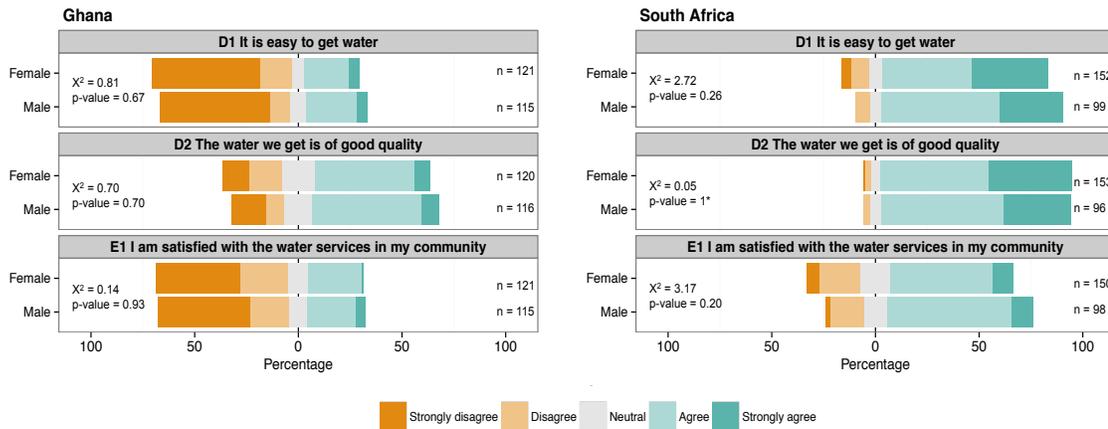


Figure 3: Experiences of water in Ghana and South Africa

The χ^2 analysis was done on three categories of “Agree”, “Neutral”, and “Disagree”, with the “Strongly Agree” and “Strongly Disagree” being grouped in their corresponding categories. The tests are between women and men within the same country. All tests had a degree of freedom = 2.

*Indicates χ^2 with a Monte Carlo simulation (2000 iterations) because of low frequencies (df = NA)

Perceptions of Water Access

3. General experiences of water

Figure 3 displays three scenarios regarding household water experience, which are also described in more detail below. Overall data from South Africa was more positive, suggesting that there is higher satisfaction amongst those respondents.

As shown, the tests for statistical significance between male and female respondents related to these questions reveals that male and female respondents did not answer these questions differently in a way can be considered statistically significant (issues we delve into in considerable detail in Harris et al, *Journal of Gender Studies*, 2016).

4. Ease of access to water

Table 2: Question wording: Is it easy to get water?

Easy to get water	Ghana	South Africa
Strongly agree	5%	35%
Agree	24%	48%
Neutral	7%	6%
Disagree	12%	8%
Strongly disagree	52%	3%

This table suggests that Ghanaians perceive access to water as much less 'easy' than their counterparts in South Africa, with 52% of Ghanaian participants stating they strongly disagree with it being easy to get water, while 83% of South Africans either strongly agreed or agreed that it is 'easy' to get water in their community. This characterization is generally consistent with official data related to water access in these sites (as cited above).

5. Time spent accessing water

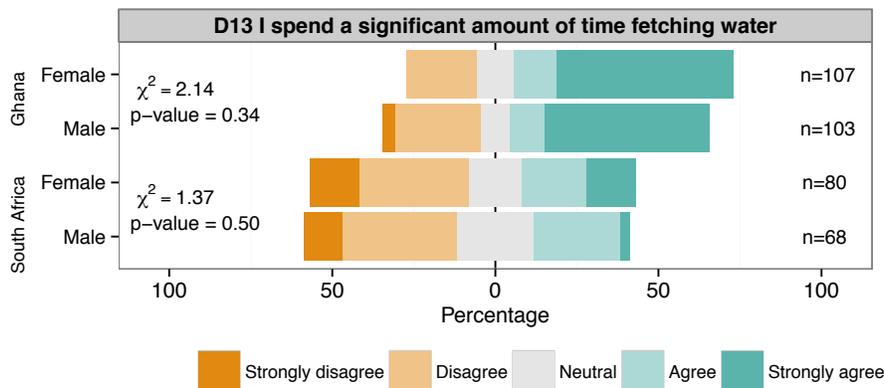


Figure 4: Time spent fetching water in Ghana and South Africa.

The X^2 analysis was done on three categories of “Agree”, “Neutral”, and “Disagree”, with the “Strongly Agree” and “Strongly Disagree” being grouped in their corresponding categories. The tests are between women and men within the same country. All tests had a degree of freedom = 2

The majority of Ghanaian respondents strongly agreed that they spent a significant amount of time getting water for their households, while most South African participants disagreed with this statement.

6. Availability of water

Table 3: Question wording: Water is always available.

Water is always available	Ghana	South Africa
Strongly agree	1%	34%
Agree	11%	53%
Neutral	N/A	7%
Disagree	31%	5%
Strongly disagree	41%	1%

Table 3 shows that 87% of South African participants strongly agree or agree that water is always available to them. Seventy two percent of Ghanaians disagree or strongly disagree with water being always available.

7. Worry about lack of water

Table 4: Question wording: I worry about a lack of water.

Worry about lack of water	Ghana	South Africa
Never	8%	48%
Occasionally	9%	17%
Sometimes	32%	17%
Often	48%	15%
I don't know	2%	3%

Table 4 describes the amount of time that respondents feel that they worry about lacking water. Forty eight percent of Ghanaians felt that they worried often about the lack of water and 32% felt that they worried sometimes. In the case of South Africa, 48% of participants reported that they never worried about the lack of water.

8. Sufficiency of drinking water

The vast majority of South African respondents responded that they get enough water for drinking, with 42% strongly agreeing and 54% agreeing with the statement. In Ghana the results are more spread out, with the largest amount (50%) agreeing and the second largest (17%) strongly disagreeing that they get sufficient amounts of drinking water.

Table 5: Question wording: I always get enough water for drinking.

Always get enough drinking water	Ghana	South Africa
Strongly agree	10%	42%
Agree	50%	54%
Neutral	6%	1%
Disagree	16%	2%
Strongly disagree	17%	1%

9. Affordability of water

Results regarding affordability of water in the two countries are quite distinct. Of interest, thirty seven percent of South African respondents chose not to answer this question, likely due to the fact that many respondents were not directly paying for water at the time of the survey,² as well as due to the intense politicization around water metering and tariffs (with frequent 'service delivery protests' over the past decade, including at the time the survey was undertaken). However, 26% of the remaining respondents agree that household water is affordable. In Ghana half of the respondents strongly disagreed that water is affordable and only 22% agreed with the affordability statement.

Table 6: Question wording: For my household, the price of water is affordable.

Price of water is affordable	Ghana	South Africa
Strongly agree	6%	5%
Agree	22%	26%
Neutral	4%	7%
Disagree	18%	9%
Strongly disagree	50%	4%
Wish not to answer	N/A	37%
Do not know	N/A	12%

² At the time of the survey, residents in Khayletisha were not paying for water. Interviews with city officials confirmed that there will be no expectation of payment until completion of housing formalization.

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- '*It's Your Chance - Ithuba Lakhu*' (2015), a community documentary co-created with Iliso Care members of the Iliso Care Society production team. Available on Youtube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NbG_ljQ-hVo

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