Abraham R. Matamanda
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Urban Geography in Postcolonial Zimbabwe

Paradigms and Perspectives for Sustainable Urban Planning and Governance

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Editors

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Urban Planning and Governance

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To all the urban dwellers living on the margins in Zimbabwean cities and towns and some who may be struggling to be there

Preface

Urban Geography in Postcolonial Zimbabwe is written for all those who seek to gain insights into the urban governance and planning practice in Zimbabwe between 1980 and 2020. Throughout this book our main focus is on providing insights on the urban geography of Zimbabwe through a postcolonial lens, focusing on how the past, present and future city planning and governance is related to sustainability, and how the lives of the urban residents, especially those of the poor, have been influenced. To understand these realities of the urban dwellers, the book covers various themes and topics which are relevant in contextualising the development of cities and towns. The substantive issues that are covered in the book also confirm the growing realisation that cities are complex systems that need to be explored holistically so as to have greater insights into their socio-economic realities. In this way, the focus of the themes and topics discussed and presented in the book has been on urban health, disasters, economy, informality, land markets and housing, all of which are critical in understanding the evolution of the urban centres.

The increasing rate of urbanisation in Zimbabwe has motivated the writing of this book, particularly considering the nature and manner of the urbanisation over the past four decades, which have seen several socio-economic and political events that made the urban areas contested spaces, worthy of analysis. While recognising the multiplicity of urban challenges in contemporary cities, the book does not provide all the solutions to these problems. Rather, it is exploratory and helps in shedding light on the nuances in urban areas and revealing the lived experiences of the poor and those living on the margins, whose stories are oftentimes swept under the carpet. Our focus was on the urban poor, neglected, exploited or victimised by the political elite. Using case studies that considered various aspects of urban life and its spatial implications, we explored the challenges, opportunities and prospects for sustainable urbanisation in Zimbabwe.

These stories are critical in urban policy analysis as they give insights to the urban geography of Zimbabwe. This is so because no other book has the same geographical and urban planning focus. While other books have a specific topic—such as governance, housing or peri-urban areas—this book examines a range of

spatial issues related to urban areas. We adopted a spatial (geographic) lens, coupled with social, ecological and governance perspectives to multiple issues facing urban areas in Zimbabwe.

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December 2020

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Verna Nel is a qualified Town and Regional Planner with 30 years' experience in practice. In 1998, she was appointed chief town planner at the Centurion Town Council and then managed the city planning of the City of Tshwane during the transition period. She moved to the University of the Free State in 2009. In addition to supervising postgraduate students and teaching responsibilities, she undertakes research that includes spatial and urban resilience, spatial governance and local economic development. She has presented her work at numerous international conferences and has published her research in leading journals as well as in books.

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Abbreviations

BCC	Bulawayo City Council
CBD	Central Business District
COVID-19	Coronavirus Disease
CPTED	Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design
ESAP	Economic Structural Adjustment Programme
FTLRP	Fast Track Land Reform Programme
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MDC–M	Movement for Democratic Change–Tsvangirai
MDC–T	Movement for Democratic Change–Mutambara
NCD	Non-Communicable Disease
NUST	National University of Science and Technology
OG/HK	Operation Garikai/Hlalani Kahle
OM	Operation Restore Order/Murambatsvina
PADD	Protected Area Downgrading, Downsizing, and Degazettement
PF–ZAPU	Patriotic Front–Zimbabwe African People's Union
RTCP	Regional, Town and Country Planning Act
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SI	Statutory Instrument
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
TB	Tuberculosis
UA	Urban Agriculture
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UNISDR	United Nations International Strategy for Disaster Risk Reduction
WHO	World Health Organisation
ZANU–PF	Zimbabwe African National Union–Patriotic Front
ZPIL	Zimre Property Investments Limited

Chapter 1
Introduction to the Urban Geography Scape of Zimbabwe

Check for updates

Abraham R. Matamanda, Verna Nel, and Innocent Chirisa

Abstract Zimbabwe is a dynamic country that has undergone several socio-economic and political changes over the last four decades. The urban areas have been significantly transformed as a result of these changes which is the focus of this book that focuses on the urban geography of Zimbabwe. Specifically, the post-independence context is considered where the various issues pertaining to the evolution, development and planning of the cities are explored. The chapter thus introduces and provides a background of the post-independence socio-economic and political context of urban Zimbabwe. This background context is given in relation to the post-colonial theory which is the lens through which the book has been developed. The paradigms and perspectives of urban geography for Zimbabwe are spelt out followed by the structure of the book which provides a roadmap of the book.

Keywords Postcolonial · Paradigm · Perspective · Urban geography

1.1 Context and Background

Since 2009, more than half of the world's population now resides in urban areas and the twenty-first century has come to be referred to as the urban age (UN 2009). It is estimated that by 2050, the percentage of the global population residing in urban areas will have risen to 68%, and 90% of the additional urban citizens will be accommodated in cities and towns in Africa and Asia as these two regions have the highest rates of urbanisation (Githara et al. 2020; UN-Habitat 2015). Currently, only 43%

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of the African population reside in urban areas but the rapid rate of urbanisation in the continent, which is only second to Asia, will lead to urban spaces accommodating 61.6% of the continent's population by 2050. This increasing concentration of people in cities and towns has brought new dimensions and perspectives for urban scholarship focusing on different aspects of cities.

Zimbabwe is not an exception to the global trend, as the country has been urbanising rapidly over the past years. With an annual urbanisation rate of 4.3% per annum, Zimbabwe, like most of the countries in the Global South, is experiencing rapid urbanisation (Government of Zimbabwe 2015). Sixteen per cent of the country's population is accommodated in Harare, the capital and dominant city that represents a multitude of urban challenges that transcend the spatial, social, economic, environmental and political spectrum (City of Harare 2012; Matamanda and Chirisa 2014; Mbara et al. 2014; Mbiba 2017). Rapid urban growth continues in the other cities and towns (see Table 1.1).

The urbanisation process in the country is largely a result of push factors such as famine and drought, failure of harvests, poverty and landlessness, rather than the pull factors of economic opportunities described in the National Habitat Agenda III Report of 2015 (Government of Zimbabwe 2015; Matamanda 2020a). Therefore, the prospects of better employment, higher standards of living, better educational opportunities, diversity and improved health facilities in urban areas remain a utopian dream as cities and towns in Zimbabwe are overwhelmed by the demands of the fast-growing population.

Beyond the demographics, urban areas are increasingly becoming complex spaces that need to be explored beyond the urban age thesis, as suggested by proponents such as Brenner and Schmid (2014). The scholarship and fixation on the urban

Table 1.1 Population figures for selected towns and cities in Zimbabwe

Town/City	1982 Census	1992 Census	2002 Census	2012 Census	2017
Harare	656,011	1,189,103	1,444,534	1,485,231	1,592,368
Bulawayo	413,814	621,742	676,787	653,337[a]	700,466
Chitungwiza	172,556	274,912	321,782	356,840	382,581
Mutare	69,621	131,367	170,106	187,621	201,155
Gweru	78,918	128,037	141,260	157,865	169,253
Kwekwe	47,607	75,425	93,072	100,900	108,178
Kadoma	44,613	67,750	76,173	92,469	99,139
Masvingo	30,523	51,743	69,993	87,886	94,226
Chinhoyi	24,322	43,054	56,794	77,929	83,550
Marondera	19,971	39,384	52,283	61,998	66,470

Source Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency (2013, 2018)
[a]Local authorities in Bulawayo argued that the population of the city is much more than the census figure and they estimated the population of Bulawayo to be at least 1.1 million (Dube 2015; Mlotshwa 2012). This figure is based on the Council's own study, which they termed the Consolidated Bulawayo Municipal Housing and Population Statistics (Dube 2015)

age intensify as example from the increased attention on urban geography among scholars from different disciplines, which include sociology, urban planning, geography, public health, economics and engineering, all showing the importance of urban areas (Cardoso et al. 2019; Gleeson 2012; Mishra et al. 2020; Robinson 2016; Roy 2009; Science 2016). These studies indicate the complexity of cities as spaces that are intricately entwined and whose form and function are fluid and cannot be easily generalised. The diversity encompassed in urban geography that calls for a holistic approach in understanding cities is evident from the definition by Schneider-Sliwa (2015: 800):

> Urban geography deals with the analysis of the complex dimensions of urban social, economic, cultural, and political processes, patterns, and structures and urban planning processes to build up or retain local comparative advantages, while retaining cities as livable urban places and securing their sound social and environmental development for future generations.

From the foregoing definition, it is evident that urban geography is broad and complex and extends across different disciplines, thus calling for a holistic approach to gain more insights and analysis of the dynamic urban issues. It is for this reason that Brenner and Schmid (2014) warned scholars against generalising on the notion of the urban age by simply focusing on numbers alone as an indicator for determining the urbanity of an area. Rather, urban spaces are unique spaces that need to be explored systematically by dissecting them and looking at each particular grain in detail (Nel 2009). This is true, considering the variations in geographical contexts of cities, the nature they evolve, their governance and their occupancy that, in most instances, have unique socio-economic demands. Moreover, in the age of globalisation where some proponents have brought to attention the concept of planetary urbanism which considers the wider geographical context of cities and towns (Lesutis 2020; Myers 2020; Vanolo 2019), it thus becomes interesting to explore how the urban geography of cities in the Global South has been transformed and evolved over the past decades. This understanding of urban areas is an ideological issue that is viewed through a particular lens, considering that urban systems are complex and dynamic. Hence, urban paradigms and perspectives are best articulated and explored at a local level.

1.2 Paradigms and Perspectives of Urban Geography in Zimbabwe

In its basic terms, a paradigm refers to a model or pattern for something. A paradigm depicts the way individuals or communities view the world, thus forming a framework from which to understand the human experience (DeCarlo 2018). This framework also enables an understanding of how individuals or communities view the world, how they have come to construct the world and understand it and most importantly becomes a norm among them. According to Kuhn (1962), to think of anything else outside this 'worldview' is considered to be insane and illogical. Hence, a paradigm

is consistently free of significant contradictions which enables the individuals or community to plan, organise and classify information and phenomena. From an urban geography perspective, the notion of paradigms also applies and is critical in understanding how the postcolonial urban context is now being organised, understood by the citizens and authorities as well as their expectations and experiences in these spaces. Human knowledge and experience of the world around them are embedded in the paradigm which influences how certain individuals, in particular contexts, become conditioned to the physical, social, economic and political environment that they inhabit.

The critical issue would be the understanding of the term 'urban' from a Zimbabwean perspective. Generally, areas are classified as being urban based on population size. The demographic component has been largely used to define and classify urban areas, for example, the minimum population for an urban area is 2,000 people (UNICEF 2012). However, there are global variations on this minimum population as evident from the Zimbabwean context where urban areas are those spaces with at least 2,500 people who are clustered and engaging in non-agricultural activities (Infrastructure and Cities for Economic Development 2017). From this definition, it is noted that urban areas are also functional spaces where the dominant land uses are in the service and tertiary sectors, and therefore other land uses that are agricultural-related tend to be sanctioned on the premise that they compromise the urban nature of cities and towns. Moreover, 'urban' is also synonymous with the built environment and the presence of improved basic amenities and services (Pacione 2009). This confirms the modernist approach that many governments try to mimic by designing cities and towns such that they become 'world-class' with state-of-the-art infrastructure and services (De Satgé and Watson 2018; Van Noorloos and Kloosterboer 2018; Watson 2014).

Thus, in Zimbabwe, urban areas are characterised as dense settlements with at least 2,500 people engaging in non-agricultural activities. These urban settlements are premised on the modernist ideology such that activities and land uses should conform to the statutory plans (Chigudu 2020) otherwise they are deemed to be informal. Moreover, 'informality' is perceived to be an urban ill that ought to be swept under the carpet lest it embarrasses the officials if seen by outsiders (Kamete 2017; Matammanda 2020b), while force can be used to ensure that citizens conform to the prescribed form of the city (Kamete 2020; Moyo 2018; Rogerson 2016). Overall, urban areas in Zimbabwe are recognised as being metropolitan regions, cities, municipalities, towns and small urban centres. There are currently only two metropolitan regions in the country: the Harare Metropolitan Province and Bulawayo Metropolitan Province.

It has been observed that the urban paradigm and perspective for Zimbabwe have changed significantly from the colonial era and what is in existence now. On the surface, the colonial city was an enclave of the Europeans who had designed such cities as their own havens, while a few Africans were allowed in the city, only living as second-class citizens (Chigudu and Chirisa 2020; Muzorewa 2020). This was made possible through the segregation laws that limited the Africans' right to the city (Cirolia and Berrisford 2017). Yet, at independence in 1980, there were significant

changes in the geopolitical factors that impacted on the urban geography. Therefore, a range of factors that need to be explored, considering that, when Zimbabwe attained her independence from the British colonial rule in 1980, the urban areas, despite being spatially and racially segregated, were functional. However, many factors have caused changes over the past four decades (Mbiba 2017). At independence in 1980, many socio-economic and political changes took place, which transformed the urban geography of Zimbabwe.

First, the 'right to the city' that came with independence ushered in a new era that saw an influx of Africans into the previously restricted (for whites only) urban areas. The aspirations of a better life mainly pulled the majority of these migrants into urban areas, while some came to join their husbands in the city (Chirisa 2010). The result has been a rapid growth of most of the country's towns and cities. In addition to the rapid rate of urbanisation linked to the right to the city, the new black elite scrambled for property, farms and businesses, a situation that perpetuated the colonial segregation in the cities (Meredith 2002).

Second, the first decade of independence—described by Meredith (2002) as the honeymoon period—saw the government introducing a Growth Pole Policy that emphasised decentralisation intended to develop the previously 'neglected' rural areas. The socialist ideology that was simultaneously introduced with the decentralisation policy influenced the urban geography of the country as the government promised equality for all, across all dimensions of the citizens' lives, including urban life (Matamanda 2020b; Moyo 2018). The socialist mantra was also meant to extend to basic service delivery, which previously developed and operated on a capitalist basis and mainly for the settlers.

Third, the recurring droughts in the 1990s, followed by the structural adjustment programmes affected both urban economies and food supply (Compagnon 2011). The capitalist city that had evolved, based on Harvey's (1985) concept of cities as developing through the production of capital, began to experience various shocks as the levels of unemployment began to soar. This was accompanied by massive retrenchments that followed the liberalisation of the economy and privatisation of some parastatals, spawning the urban informal economy (Ndakaripa 2020). This has created a set of problems with which the local authorities have been grappling over the past years. The main response has been the criminalisation of the informal economy. Yet, in a country that is deindustrialised and in which the unemployment rate is high, this stance is puzzling. This book responds to this by exploring the urban economy of the country and how the informal sector has given a new meaning to the country's urban economic system.

Fourth, the socio-economic and political dilemmas that plagued the country since the late 1990s, emerged as a turning point in the country that saw a decade (1999–2008) of suffering and hardships for most Zimbabweans (Godwin 2011; Meredith 2002). The 'lost decade' as it has come to be termed, commenced with the establishment of a vibrant opposition political party, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) by the late Morgan Tsvangirai (Hammar et al. 2010). Gaining a support base in urban areas, mostly among the youth, the MDC also won a majority of seats in urban councils and this influenced urban governance with opposition party ruling at

the local level and the Zimbabwe African National Union–Patriotic Front (ZANU–PF) in power at the national level (McGregor and Chatiza 2019; Raftopoulos 2006). It is during this period that urban governance and management in the country were adjusted with great implications for its urban geography. The recent social movements and protests that began in 2016 have become imprinted in the cities and towns of Zimbabwe and this affected the spatial and social planning and the governance of the urbanscape (Gukurume 2017; Nyarota 2018).

Another critical issue in urban areas has been the government's responses to informal settlements. Following the proliferation of informal settlements in the country, the government has responded in different ways and the responses tend to be politically driven instead of being guided by legislation (McGregor and Chatiza 2020). Operation Murambatsvina of 2005 has been identified as a gross violation of human rights and several similar demolitions and evictions have come to characterise the urbanscape of Zimbabwe in recent years (Kamete 2007, 2009).

Fifth, the 'fast-track' land reform programmes launched by the government in the early 2000s had a major impact on the urban geography of Zimbabwe. The land grabbing that characterised the process has affected urban perspectives in the country in multiple ways. The citizens' perspective towards land markets, urban ecology, land allocation and management, livelihoods, human settlement development, urban form, basic service delivery and, most importantly, urban informality, have never been the same since the land reform programme was launched (Marongwe et al. 2011). Lastly, natural phenomena over the years have also contributed to the alteration of urban geography, as evident from climate change-induced disasters (Chirisa et al. 2016).

These events over the past four decades have contributed to the current state of the urban geography in Zimbabwe that is characterised by malady, informality, corruption and a lack of basic services. Despite these challenges, Zimbabwean cities remain focal points of growth, which may support the national economy. Moreover, the impacts of cities on the environment and climate are immense and require to be redressed proactively to avoid compromising the cityscapes. This book provides a sectoral and case study-based approach to the changes, challenges, opportunities and prospects for sustainable urbanisation in Zimbabwe to assist the country to advance and develop in a sustainable and resilient manner.

1.3   The Postcolonial Lens and Urban Geography of Zimbabwe

The postcolonial narrative takes centre stage in this book, providing the context in which the contemporary urban geography of Zimbabwe is situated. 'Postcolonial' is associated with that which exists after a colonial era and is perceived to be rooted in the decolonisation of systems and the eradication of the segregation and oppression that existed during the colonial era and deals with the legacy of colonialism in the present day. Postcolonial theory is a highly contested thesis that has sparked debate

among urban geographers, such as King (2005), who described the postcolonial city as a space too complex and unpredictable for easy classification. Generally, the postcolonial theory is described as the antithesis of the colonial system. In this perspective, the postcolonial city is defined and explored through reference to its colonial past.

The central argument of the theory is that colonialism influenced societies and their culture through the colonial system that imposed political and economic processes that often constrained local communities. As a result, the present-day situation in the postcolonial environment is defined by various legacies, including communities trying to 'decolonise' themselves and be detached from the oppressive colonial system. It is for this reason that Yeoh (2001) argued that an understanding of the postcolonial city is best articulated through critical analysis of the identity of the contemporary urban spaces because postcolonial cities emerge as sites where claims of an identity, different from the colonial past, are expressed and indexed, and, in some cases, keenly contested. Radcliffe (1997) asserted that postcolonial cities are referenced, following an attitude of critical engagement with the colonialism after-effects and its construction of knowledge. The issue of identity applies in Zimbabwe where over the years there have been enchantments of nationalisation and sovereignty which has extended to place-making; thus, it becomes critical to gain insights on how the need to inculcate a national identity has informed the shaping and functioning of the postcolonial urban context.

Moreover, the postcolonial theory recognises that sociospatial encounters are inherent in urban spaces (Yeoh 2001). These encounters are a result of the struggles among different stakeholders often contesting for their right to the urban space, what Lefebvre (1991) has called the right to the city. With independence, there have been promises of freedom and emancipation, yet the frustrations and failure to realise the fruits of the 'freedom' often causes the 'oppressed' to engage in demonstrations as they seek to influence the shaping of the urban spaces and claim their rights to services and goods. The advent of social movements which act as agencies for the vulnerable groups has been on the rise in the past decades. Issues of power also come into perspective because when there are contests and struggles, there tends to be the oppressed and the oppressor. Hence, urban geography in a postcolonial context sheds light on these power dynamics.

Power is used by different groups, especially the economic and political elites (Grant 2019; Kamete 2016), to advance their agendas, which at times may compromise the form and function of cities, especially the environment. The dawn of democracy and freedom associated with decolonisation to some extent empowers the previously marginalised communities who may have the capacity to voice and advance their concerns, and in this regard, there may be some conflicts. These conflicts are inherent in urban governance and planning and are central in influencing the manner in which cities are managed and planned.

In our analysis of the urban geography in postcolonial Zimbabwe, we argue that the urban space is dynamic and complex and requires a nuanced analysis that recognises the multifaceted and interwoven nature of cities. In recognition of this complexity, we situate our analysis in the context of the work of Brenner and Schmid (2014),

who recommended a holistic approach in urban geography studies. We recognise the following:

- The urban is not a universal form but a historical process that needs to be explored within the context of particular sociocultural and geographical contexts. This also explains the adoption of the postcolonial thesis that guides the development and argument of this book, as shall be explained later in this chapter.
- Urbanisation has become a planetary phenomenon such that the form and function of urban centres require a deeper analysis that integrates global processes (Lesutis 2020). According to Brenner and Schmid (2014: 751), the urban represents an increasingly worldwide, though unevenly woven, fabric in which the sociocultural and political–economic relations of capitalism are enmeshed. It follows that cities are now a part of a larger system that extends beyond the locale; thus, cities become constituents in an integral global network in terms of virtual infrastructure, governance systems and resource use and extraction. Planetary urbanisation is evident in the phenomenon of sovereignty and nationalisation which seems to be inherent in African states that seek to detach themselves from their colonial masters and their past and forge an identity of their own, yet try to be a part of the global network.
- The sociospatial dimensions of urbanisation are polymorphic, variable and dynamic. As Brenner and Schmid (2014: 752) recommended, we conceptualise the urban by going beyond the given territorial variables and rather "explore the inherited assumptions regarding the morphologies, territorializations and sociospatial dynamics of the urban conditions". By so doing, the book brings a more nuanced analysis of the events in urban conditions that are explored in the context of Zimbabwe.

1.4   Aim of the Book

It is against this background that this book seeks to explore the issues articulated above and how they have influenced the urban geography of Zimbabwe. Reflecting on the four decades of independence in Zimbabwe, from an urban geography perspective, the following were the key objectives of the book:

- To identify the existing and emerging paradigms related to the urban geography landscape for Zimbabwe.
- To explore how these paradigms in urban geography have an impact on urban systems and the creation of inclusive, resilient, sustainable and safe urban areas.
- To analyse the opportunities and challenges that are associated with the urban geography of Zimbabwe cities.
- To theorise the urban geography of Zimbabwe through a postcolonial lens.

1.5   Structure of the Book

In Chapter 2, Verna Nel, Abraham Matamanda and Innocent Chirisa explore the spatial governance, social justice and the right to the city in postcolonial Zimbabwe. This chapter examines how the spatial governance system can be used to improve the lives and livelihoods of particularly the poor, by embracing informality and concentrating on controlling only the most critical activities that affect the health and safety of particularly the residents, but also that of the socio-ecological system. In addition to the management of informal settlements, specific attention is paid to how spatial governance can support poor residents through a more tolerant approach to non-hazardous home-based work activities, supporting informal transport and trading to encourage new economic nodes and opportunities, as well as accommodating informality within formal areas.

In Chapter 3, Gift Mhlanga, Innocent Chirisa and Verna Nel examine the urban planning and policy framework in Zimbabwe. They diagnose the relationship between the planning of urban areas and the existing policies formulated and implemented in urban Zimbabwe, a country that has gone through a full cycle of policies—colonial and postcolonial, capitalism and socialism, and chaotic and orderly. The chapter reveals that the urban regional space is one that stresses the interconnections between rural space—which largely constitutes the hinterland—and the urban spaces which speak of the core, hence, core-periphery interactions.

In Chapter 4, Abraham Matamanda, Tiisetso Dube and Maléne Campbell explore an emerging urban paradigm in Zimbabwe which relates to studentification and its interplay on urban policy. They reflect on experiences from Bulawayo city.

Chapter 5 by Elmond Bandauko, Tafadzwa Mutambisi, Percy Toriro and Innocent Chirisa examines the urban governance–poverty nexus in Harare, Zimbabwe. This chapter examines how the institutions of urban governance (policies, laws and organisational practices) have addressed poverty, deprivation and inequality in Harare, and whether, how and in what circumstances poor urban residents have been able to make claims on the system. By using Harare as a case study, the chapter attempts to explain the governance arrangements and policies identified and their outcomes for the poor, especially those living in slums or informal settlements.

Public health is the focus of Chapter 6, where Abraham Matamanda and Verna Nel explore the urban public health-scape in the poor neighbourhoods of Harare. The authors map and characterise the public health problems that are increasingly overwhelming cities in Zimbabwe. They demonstrate that due to poor urban management, cities are experiencing degradation of natural environments, poor quality built environments with unsafe drinking water, sanitation and waste management, all arising from, and contributing to urban poverty. The chapter argues that, despite the vulnerability of these urban areas to health threats, the planning and management of cities seem to marginalise health concerns, rather than integrating them into the land use and urban planning systems.

In Chapter 7, Innocent Chirisa, Trynos Gumbo, Simbarashe Show Mazongonda and Margaret Marewo navigate the informal city through a focus on urban economy

and question whether there is deviation from the norm or it is transgression or digression. This chapter attempts to dissect the Zimbabwean urban economy in terms of its normative versus positive developments, emerging especially after 1990. It focuses on the urban economic geography, which is a critical issue in cities and towns, considering how informality is increasingly being entrenched in the Global South and its potential to contribute to local and even national economies. Overall, this chapter provides a nuanced narrative and discussion of the informal city as a dominant phenomenon of the Zimbabwean urban economy.

In Chapter 8, Abraham Matamanda, Verna Nel and Lucia Khetsi-Leboto analyse the ecological risks of the postcolonial Harare. Through the human ecosystem model, the chapter seeks to provide answers to some questions that include: What are the urban ecological risks in the postcolonial city? and how does politics influence the governance of urban ecosystems? These questions are posed in the context of the rapid urbanisation of postcolonial African cities with different impacts on the urban environment. The chapter reveals that urban ecosystems are complex and fragile spaces that face multiple stressors associated with increasing urbanisation.

In Chapter 9, Jeofrey Matai, Shamiso H. Mafuku and Willoughby Zimunya bring into perspective the strategies for managing urban crime and insecurity in urban areas. Urban insecurity and violence are increasingly becoming a common phenomenon in most towns and cities. Specifically, the chapter examines the role of urban planning and design in managing crime and insecurity. The chapter addresses the question: How can urban crime and insecurity be managed through urban planning and design in Zimbabwe's postcolonial era which is characterised by exponential urban population increase?

In Chapter 10, Percy Toriro looks at urban agriculture through the use of a case for planning for urban food security in Zimbabwe. Using Harare as a case study, the chapter aims to examine the different components that comprise an urban food system to demystify the efficacy and single narrative of urban agriculture as the only and most important measure to address urban food security. Planning can, and should, address urban food security from several perspectives. The questions that the chapter seeks to answer include: How prevalent is urban food (in) security in Zimbabwe's urban areas? What strategies have been proposed and used to address urban food security? How effective are the current interventions? What else should be considered to achieve urban food security?

In Chapter 11, Innocent Chirisa and Thomas Karakadzai proffer a prognosis of Zimbabwe's future in dealing with urban development management amid climate change. This chapter suggests the broadening of urban planning practices and tools which effectively include mainstream disaster risk management into urban development. Undoubtedly, an integrated framework for the urban development management in Zimbabwe should accommodate a wide range of concepts, strategies and models of climate change together with the underpinning policy implementation modalities.

In Chapter 12, Nicholas Muleya focuses on public spaces and leisure in the post-independence context of Zimbabwe. Reflecting on the case of Bulawayo city, this chapter employs the multisensory approach, and in particular user's experiences,

to document the current state of public space and identify challenges, opportunities and prospects for sustainable urban living. Detailed observation of the interaction of users with streetscape and public parks and interviews with the users were employed in gathering data, following an exploratory qualitative research design and a phenomenological strategy of enquiry. The chapter confirms that public space can be harnessed to bring inclusivity and sustainability in cities and that the multisensory approach to public space provides a window that links the production and management of the physical environment of the public space with the aspirations of the users.

In Chapter 13, James Chakwizira examines the urban land markets in postcolonial Zimbabwe. This chapter uses a dynamic complex systems approach, transitions theory and discourse analysis in unpacking the narrative of urban land markets and performance in Africa. The lessons from the review act as a benchmark, mirror and analytical lens for infusing new insights on how post-independence Zimbabwe can utilise both formal and informal urban land markets in transforming and transitioning towards sustainable human settlements. The chapter also describes how the existing land market struggles in Zimbabwe play out as reflected by the appearance of new housing standards, products, technologies, formats and geographies. The policy implications and consequences of urban land market dynamics and failures in terms of urban spatial organisation, development and transformation of towns/cities are outlined.

In Chapter 14, Charles Chavunduka and Marylin Gaza, through a political economy analytical lens, explain the persistence of informal settlements in Zimbabwe. Using a case study approach, they draw upon academic literature, recent empirical studies, project experiences and interviews in doing a critical analysis of urban informal settlements. The chapter argues for a shift in the view of urban informal settlements, as a result of rapid urbanisation, poor economic performance and the urbanisation of poverty. In that sense, informal settlements need to be understood in the broader context of changing urban politics and policies, economic and social forces that influence their development. Only through the political economy approach and its extension, can we realise the limitations placed upon households' efforts to improve their shelters. The chapter illustrates how informal settlements are shaped by the interaction of economic interests and political considerations in a postcolonial state.

Chapter 15 is a synthesis of the whole book, where the authors reflect on the postcolonial state of Zimbabwe and its spatial implications and move from challenges to constructive proposals for putting the broken pieces together and rewiring the urban geography of Zimbabwe.

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Chapter 2
Social Justice in Spatial Governance

Verna Nel, Abraham R. Matamanda, and Innocent Chirisa

Abstract Spatial governance pertains to the planning and management of activities in space, with the primary purpose of ensuring that the activities and development support and improves the sustainability of the urban system. Key considerations of sustainability are the health of the broader socio-ecological system and that of the people who live and work within it. Sadly, there are many spatial governance or development control approaches that cater only for one section of the population and ignore or harass other groups whose way of life and livelihoods do not conform to their vision. This chapter examines whether the spatial governance system is used to improve the lives and livelihoods of the poor by embracing informality and concentrating on controlling only the most critical activities that affect the health and safety of residents within the socio-ecological system. However, our findings revealed high levels of injustice, particularly to those who are considered dissidents or stand in the way of realising the image that the municipal and national government wishes to project to the world.

Keywords Harare · Social justice · Urban informality · Spatial governance

2.1 Introduction

The governance of an urban area affects the lives and livelihoods of all its residents and users. Not only does it determine the allocation of resources and the provision of infrastructure and social services but it also regulates the development of land

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and the nature and extent of activities that may occur. Unlike 'government', which is viewed as a hierarchical top-down ordering with the right to use force, governance is generally a more inclusive concept that incorporates a range of stakeholders such as businesses and communities and is thus not solely controlled from the centre (Van Doeveren 2011).

There is no generally accepted definition of 'good' governance; however, there is some consensus on the elements that constitute 'good' governance. It not only includes the rule of law but the recognition of human rights, accountable government, transparency and "meaningful participation by citizens" (Weiss 2000: 801). The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN 1948) provided for universal rights, including the right to not be discriminated against based on ethnicity, political opinion or social status, the right to be "recognised as a person before the law" (Article 6) and be protected against discrimination or arbitrary attack and to employment (Article 7).

The concept of spatial governance is generally applied to spatial planning, land development and land regulation processes (Schmitt and Wiechmann 2018). Berisha et al. (2020) viewed spatial governance as the activities that allow the state or local government to control changes to physical space by regulating property rights. A different perspective emphasises "the formulation and implementation of public policies, programmes and projects for the development of a place" (Schmitt and Danielzyk 2018: 16).

For this chapter, spatial governance is defined as the planning and regulation of activities in space and place. We consider how spatial governance is applied, or neglected in the management of urban spaces, with specific emphasis on the lives of the poor. Governance is fundamentally a normative activity (Garcia 2006). The values that underlie its application have implications for social justice, environmental sustainability and economic development (Duit et al. 2010). Issues of equity are far more than merely the distribution of resources; they extend to the rights that inhabitants possess to access and use spaces and public services such as transport (Moroni 2020). Poor regulation of natural green spaces and inadequate infrastructure have serious impacts on the environment and health of the community. In addition to the transparency of regulation, levels of taxation and the quality of roads, energy and other infrastructure influence businesses and investor confidence. Rules and regulations limit the opportunities of the poor to earn a living, particularly in environments characterised by high unemployment, are contrary to the ideals of social justice and deny the poor the right to access the city (Lebrevre 1968, cited in Purcell 2002).

This chapter further looks at the current situation in Harare and how the regulation of livelihood activities affects the poor from a social justice perspective. As the values and norms developed by colonial governments are still espoused by authorities, the consequences thereof are the same segregationist and discriminatory patterns of the colonial city. We argue that a different approach to spatial governance is required that is more participatory and propose changes essential for an inclusive and sustainable city.

The chapter follows a qualitative approach, based on secondary data from academic journals, official reports, policy and legislation, news reports as well as

primary research conducted by the authors. The primary data were collected from key informants that include planning professionals working in both the private and public sector. These interviews were also triangulated with focus group discussions and in-depth interviews with citizens in Harare.

Following an overview of the literature on spatial governance with an emphasis on informality, we discuss the situation in Zimbabwe and the extent to which spatial governance supports (or defeats) social justice. We close the chapter with a few concluding remarks.

2.2 Literature Review

Many cities in Sub-Saharan Africa have continued to use spatial governance practices and legislation inherited from colonial governments. Generally, such practices and legislation were developed to control the indigenous population and parade the colonialists' conceptions of superiority (Home 2015; Watson 2009). As Njoh (2009) pointed out, colonial spatial governance was intended to strengthen the power of its rule and it did so through separation and segregation, both physical and psychological. Often legislation was taken directly from European contexts, which was completely inappropriate then (and even more so today) in the Sub-Saharan African context (Berrisford and McAuslan 2017).

Although cities in Africa are very diverse with different cultures and histories, many face similar challenges. Watson (2013), along with Alterman (2014) and Berrisford and McAuslan (2017), identified several of these 'stubborn realities'. Competition for land between the global market-driven forces and the poorer residents of the city provokes contestations between the state, developers and the inhabitants of the city. Conflict may be fuelled by demands for human rights, which could be contained in national constitutions but denied in reality. Poverty, competition for resources, crime, xenophobia, domestic violence and religious conflict, all contribute to producing cities where violence is pervasive (Watson 2013: 85). Under these circumstances, the spatial governance system is manipulated to extract social, economic and political gains by the political and economic elites (Berrisford and McAuslan 2017; Njoh 2015; Watson 2009, 2013, 2014).

A weak local government with inadequate resources to provide services or regulate development contributes to slum conditions (Berrisford and McAuslan 2017; Parnell and Pieterse 2010). The divides between the elite in well-serviced and controlled areas and the poor in less formal settlements reproduce the colonial landscape where the focus on exclusive districts made it easier to ignore the rest of the city (Cain and Midi 2019; Njoh 2009). Informality, as "modes of human settlement and trade or exchange that occur outside of formal legal structures and processes" is pervasive (Porter et al. 2011: 115; see also Porter et al. 2017; Watson 2013), as well as unplanned and underserviced settlements. The rise of informality in the Global South may stem from "the unwillingness of those in power to invest in the overall cohesiveness of the national society" (Simone 2000: 3). While the informal may not always be subject to

formal rules, it is still subject to established governance and other processes (Banks et al. 2020: 227). It is particularly in the spatial manifestations of informality that spatial governance is applied, suspended or abused:

> Informality is seen as the unregulated, uncontrolled, messy and inefficient settlement and use of land. In this sense, it is positioned as fundamentally different from the ordered, regulated, efficient notions of planned land use and settlement. (Porter et al. 2011: 116)

Informal activities such as self-built settlements and housing, hawkers and street vendors operate between the legal and illegal, straddling the boundaries or moving between them as required. The 'informal' is not a separate activity or sector; instead "it is a series of transactions that connect different economies and places to one another" (Roy 2005: 148; see also Recio et al. 2017).

For many organisations, informality is viewed as a social pathology, a problem to be solved, cleaned up or cleared out (Dovey and King 2011; Porter et al. 2011). This approach partly arises from a modernist, neoliberal desire for order and control, often seeking an ideal city—typically symbolised by Dubai or Shanghai—instead of the messiness of the real city (Bhan 2013; Lindell 2019; Recio et al. 2017). However, several authors considered informality as a direct result of this modernist view (Kamete 2017; Porter et al. 2011) or produced by poverty and inequality (Devlin 2011; Jabareen 2014), or as a form of insurgency against conditions in the city that arise from the (in)actions of the state (Parnell and Pieterse 2010; Roy 2005). For Banks et al. (2020: 226),

> informality is much more than the absence of rules or regulations. Crudely put, if the formal sphere follows a set of rules defined by the state, then the informal sphere can be seen as a different set of rules negotiated and enforced by diverse actors who frequently include, but go beyond city-based or national elites.

One arena where the rules may be enforced, ignored or suspended is the informal economy. Jabareen (2014: 414) defined the informal economy as "economic activities that are outside of the government's legal framework". These unlicensed activities function with low start-up capital, with easy entry requirements that are labour-intensive and livelihoods-orientated, in contrast to formal activities that are growth-orientated and have higher capital requirements and tax implications (Recio et al. 2017; Yusuff 2011). Many households simultaneously engage in several informal opportunities, never knowing which will be most profitable (Simone 2000).

Street trading is one of the most visible informal economic activities and is often targeted by authorities for being dirty, unhygienic, and detracting from the image of a modern 'world-class' city that they wish to portray to attract investment (Lindell 2019). The response is the removal of traders from city centres to peripheral sites and, at times, the destruction of stalls and goods (Chirisa 2009; Kamete 2017; Recio et al. 2017). Other responses may be more ambivalent, tolerating street trading to a greater or lesser extent. This depends on the context of who makes the decisions, what benefits accrue to the (persons in) authority and the strength of traders' associations or collectives. Nonetheless, some cities are more accommodating, recognising the role of street trading in supporting livelihoods (Lindell 2019; Recio et al. 2017; Watson 2009).

Research in South Africa has shown that urban planning regulations appear to be oblivious to the livelihoods of the poor and do not accommodate the informal economy (Charman et al. 2012, 2017). Most livelihood opportunities, such as small stores providing convenience goods (*spazas*), services such as hair salons or childcare, small-scale service industries and manufacturing, are not permitted. Thus, many activities are 'informalised' through planning or building regulations. Furthermore, the spatial governance system makes it either unaffordable or, at times, impossible to access the rights through the lack of legal title deeds. This endorses the view that informality is produced by the state (Roy 2005).

Informal settlements also fall outside of formal spatial governance and its regulatory procedures. These can include upmarket gated estates such as those in India that enjoy high-quality services and security of tenure, yet do not comply with the law (Roy 2005). However, most informal settlements are associated with the poor as "do it yourself urbanism" (Jabareen 2014: 414), where low-income households seek land in an affordable location (Watson 2009). Dovey and King (2011) identified three main sites of informal settlements: peripheral settlements, occupation of vacant land within the city and extension of existing areas. Land may be appropriated by powerful land mafias often working in conjunction with state actors and using the threat of force to impose their will (Banks et al. 2020; Simone 2000; Watson 2009).

Although the policy may change from demolition and relocation to upgrading and *in situ* formalising/legalising of informal settlements, the risk of eviction remains as informal settlements are an embarrassment, a scandal for the image of a modern, globally competitive city that reduces their competitiveness to attract investment (Banks et al. 2020). Formalisation may make the settlements attractive to other income groups and the most vulnerable can be displaced through downward raiding of properties (Roy 2005). While a prime location enables access to work, the very visibility of such settlements can make them susceptible to demolition to make way for more lucrative land uses (for the city or rent-seeking elites). Less visible locations can be ignored; "invisibility both protects residents and enables the state to abrogate responsibility" (Dovey and King 2011: 23). Nonetheless, while safer from eviction, their invisibility may also pertain to planning and budgets for infrastructure. Furthermore, informal settlement upgrading can improve the infrastructure, but it seldom affects structural causes of poverty and informality (Roy 2005).

The exploitation of people working in the informal economy (Yusuff 2011) and of people in informal settlements is common. Banks et al. (2020: 231) cite a case of exploitation through "deliberate and organised forms of water scarcity that enabled 'thugs' to ensure their monopoly on private water supply to an area".

If informality is produced through inequality, then it is fundamentally about social justice and equity (Moroni 2020; Roy 2005). Alterman (2014: 330) contended that spatial governance "can deeply influence the existing socio-cultural and economic order" and can deepen social exclusion and inequity and is thus "strongly related to notions of social justice", a view echoed by Lindell (2019: 9) who also noted the "inherently political nature of urban space". This is clear in Kamete's (2017: 83) description of the discrimination against informality that occurs because people do not fit into the state's "definition of a useful citizen" rendering them "worthless", not

through who they are, but because where they live or what they do which does not fit with its "modernist dream".

Although the concept of social justice is not new, Fainstein (2001, 2009, 2010) framed it as an urban issue, related to equality (distribution of resources), acknowledgement of diversity and democracy (participation in decision-making). Young (1990) extended the concept of social justice to include oppression and discrimination. Israel and Frenkel (2018: 648) identified justice as more than the distribution of burdens and benefits, but also the capability to do things, which could be extended to the freedom to use public spaces.

These conceptions of social justice all have governance implications. Moroni (2020) pointed out that urban institutions are a critical locus of urban justice. They determine the access people have to resources, opportunities and spaces. Furthermore, social justice is inherently linked to the execution of power, which permits or prohibits certain activities and actions by various groups in different places. Unjust governance occurs when unjust situations are ignored or perpetuated by governance institutions. This implies that "institutions are just when no arbitrary distinction is drawn among individuals in the recognition of fundamental duties and rights, and when public rules define a proper balance among competing claims" (Moroni 2020: 259).

2.3   Spatial Governance in Zimbabwe

2.3.1   Current Legislation on Spatial Governance

In 1980, the new democratic Government of Zimbabwe introduced socialist ideology which was dramatically different from the colonial system of capitalism. However, the colonial institutional governance system continued as a system from the earlier British colonial government with some changes, for instance, focusing on the de-racialisation of spaces that had been developed and governed based on race (Chigudu and Chavunduka 2020). Hywel (1981: 75) pointed out that "these urban centres during the colonial times were racially segregated as they had been conceived, planned and built by and primarily for the needs of the white minority following white technology and economic and administrative systems of the day". During the first years of independence, the government, like many post-independent African countries, was characterised by a belief among the new political leadership and in society that the state could dismantle colonialism and deliver development (Swilling 1997). Wekwete (1989) maintained that the central role adopted by the government in spatial governance cannot be wholly attributed to the socialist ideology, but to the fact that the government thought it was better positioned to spearhead urban development. It is also for this reason that the government adopted an ideology that focused mostly on redressing colonial injustices.

The Regional, Town and Country Planning Act (Chapter 29:12) of 1976 (RTCP Act) became the main statute guiding spatial planning and governance. The RTCP Act provides for the creation of urban spaces through zoning, promotion of order and aesthetics as outlined in its preamble that envisions the creation of spaces that are safe, convenient and orderly, while also contributing to the improvement of public health, efficiency and the general welfare of citizens. The complexity of urban spaces has resulted in the RTCP Act being used alongside other allied acts that focus on different issues in space. Chief among these is the Public Health Act of 1924 (Chapter 15:09), the Urban Councils Act (Chapter 29:15) of 2015 and the Environment Management Act. Although the RTCP Act is hailed as the mother of all spatial planning in Zimbabwe (Wekwete 1989), it has been widely criticised as a tool that perpetuates the colonial planning system (Kamete 2007; Tibaijuka 2005). Ankoma (2014) has defined the RTCP Act as the curse of the Rhodesians and advised local authorities to cease behaving like the former colonial masters. This legacy of colonial legislation used by the colonial government has been described by Matamanda (2020a) as a strategy by the Mugabe government to perpetuate the colonial system that largely centralised power, as evident from the various acts of parliament that greatly empower the president.

Additionally, Part V of the RTCP Act espouses development control where the local authority grants permission for spatial development, while also having the powers to restrict development that it considers potentially compromising sustainable urban development. Overall, the power to make decisions has been centralised as the minister and president are frequently identified as having the final say in spatial development matters. Public health matters are regulated by the Public Health Act of 1924 that provides guidelines concerning the promotion of liveable spaces that do not compromise citizens' well-being. The Urban Councils Act provides for the establishment and administration of urban areas. It empowers local authorities to engage communities in a participatory manner when managing their areas of jurisdiction. This is in line with Fainstein's (2009) concept of spatial justice and proponents of collaborative and communicative planning (Healey 2006; Innes and Booher 2010).

The Constitution of Zimbabwe (hereafter Constitution), Amendment No. 20 of 2013 (Government of Zimbabwe 2013) guides spatial development processes in the country and was prepared after a long process of consultation with various stakeholders. Unlike the previous constitution that was prepared in 2005, mainly by the ruling Zimbabwe African National Union–Patriotic Front (ZANU–PF) party, the 2013 Constitution was a product of the Government of National Unity; hence, proponents such as Musekiwa and Chatiza (2015) have stressed that the Constitution enhances good governance. Furthermore, the Constitution also promotes human rights and good governance in the management of space as evident from the Bill of Rights that is more detailed than the previous constitution (Kondo 2017; Muchadenyika and Williams 2016). Local authorities are empowered in Section 274(1) to govern all the affairs in their locality (Government of Zimbabwe 2013). Mapuva (2015) explained that these powers to govern are meant to ensure that the local authorities look after the interests of citizens in their areas of jurisdiction. However, Muchadenyika and Williams (2016) have argued that the powers

bestowed on local authorities are somewhat vague and weak since the Ministry of Local Government Public Works and National Housing tends to have the final say in decision-making. This local-centre relationship has been identified as being a major impediment to effective spatial planning and governance, especially after 2000 in Harare (Matamanda 2020b; McGregor and Chatiza 2020). Centralisation is viewed as contrary to the concepts of local democracy (Fainstein 2009).

In the early years of independence, the government focused on the eradication of colonial injustices. One of its first actions was relaxing the rural–urban migration restrictions that had been imposed during colonial times, limiting urbanisation by black people. The result was a surge in urban growth as people flocked to urban areas in search of better socio-economic opportunities. Concurrently, as people migrated to urban areas, the government focused on developing rural areas through its growth point policy that stressed empowering these previously disadvantaged rural areas. Moreover, a decentralisation policy was also put in place that attempted to enable local authorities to make decisions in their areas of jurisdiction—in both rural and urban areas. This decentralisation policy empowered both rural and urban local authorities to have autonomy on matters of development planning in their areas of jurisdiction (Conyers 2003; Mutizwa-Mangiza 1986; Wekwete 1990). Furthermore, a socialist approach was also adopted to guide national development through a distributive and welfarist state (Rambanapasi 1989; Wekwete 1989).

However, although de-racialisation was fostered in the early years of independence, ethnicity and tribalism became key issues that would eventually stall spatial development in some parts of the country, especially in the Midlands and Matabeleland provinces. Eppel (2014) described this region (Midlands and Matabeleland provinces) as "stereotyped as marginalised and underdeveloped and also a hotbed of political opposition". This marginalisation of the region and Bulawayo, specifically, can be attributed to the politics of difference that existed between the ZANU–PF and Patriotic Front–Zimbabwe African People's Union (PF–ZAPU). In the 1980 election, ZANU–PF lost in Matabeleland, which was also the same outcome in the 1984 parliamentary elections; hence, the government went on to label the Ndebele as opposing the government. As a result, the Ndebele who predominantly occupy the Matabeleland region and part of the Midlands province, have experienced much prejudice by the government in national development initiatives as a way to 'punish' them for voting differently. Thus, based on ethnicity, the government has over the years neglected cities such as Bulawayo (Muzondidya and Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2007). For example, the proposed Zambezi Water Project that was meant to alleviate the water woes that affect Bulawayo and most parts of the arid Matabeleland Province, has never been implemented, leaving the city with immense water challenges to this day. Musemwa (2006) suggested that the failure of the implementation of this water project was based on the Shona–Ndebele ethnic politics and what he refers to as the government's strategy to punish the 'Dissident City'.

2.3.2   Settlement Development and Forced Evictions

Settlement development in Harare has been characterised by many policy incon-
sistencies since the early 1990s, which have greatly compromised the lives of the
urban poor. First, forced evictions along with the demolition of settlements, which
displaced the urban poor, have frequently occurred in the city. In 1991, the govern-
ment removed some informal settlers from Epworth and Mbare to Porta Farm, a
30-minute drive from Harare's city centre. This decision to relocate these citizens to
Porta Farm was prompted by the need to clear Harare of any slums and paint a picture
of an ideal city without slums when Queen Elizabeth II visited the Commonwealth
Heads of State and Government Meeting that was being hosted by Zimbabwe (Auret
1995; The New Humanitarian 2004). This reflects the 'urban fantasies' decried by
Bhan (2013) and Kamete (2017) as a denial of justice. The need to clear Harare of any
slums confirms the modernist approaches that have been identified by many scholars
(Lindell 2019; Moroni 2020; Roy 2005; Watson 2014), and which Banks et al. (2020)
have described as being perceived by the authorities as an embarrassment and blight
on the image of the modern city. Kamete (2017) pointed out that such decisions and
actions are just a reflection of how certain citizens are deemed as being worthless
and thus they can be tossed around like pieces on a chessboard.

This decision to move citizens to Porta Farm was taken without consulting these
households. Initially, it was supposed to be a temporary move as the government had
committed to resettling them to a permanent location. Kamete (2017) described this
process as a 'state of exception' where the government can normalise rather 'illegal'
activities to fulfil a particular purpose. In this regard, the citizens are likened to
inmates of a prison camp where they are vulnerable to different types of abuses and,
at most, their rights are next to non-existent. This is evident from how the government
eventually treated the citizens whom they had hastily settled at Porta Farm. In 1995,
authorities of the City of Harare began labelling Porta Farm as an illegal settlement
from which the residents had to be evicted (Chitekwe-Biti 2009). With the help of
ZimRights Lawyers, the residents managed to obtain a court order that allowed them
to remain at Porta Farm.

In August 2004, a delegation from the Ministry of Local Government visited
Porta Farm and informed the residents that they would be evicted in two weeks. No
appeal was possible, despite some residents indicating that they had been living in
the settlement for the past 14 years and their livelihoods (fishing activities) were
dependent on Lake Chivero. Others reasoned that their children had registered for
the Grade 7 exams that were to take place in a few months and it would not be logical
for the families to be relocated to an area without any schools. As the government
was adamant to displace the residents on the pretext that a sewerage plant was to be
constructed on this site, they ended up using youth militia from Mbare and Epworth
and riot police to try and evict the 10,000 residents from Porta Farm. The militia and
police used tear gas, burnt the houses, leading to the death of eleven residents in this
altercation (Amnesty International 2004).

Eventually, in 2005, the residents from Porta Farm were displaced together with many other people across the city who were victims of Operation Murambatsvina. Operation Murambatsvina was branded as a means to rid urban areas of informal activities. It led to the demolition of houses and structures that were deemed as being informal. It was estimated that 700,000 people lost their homes, while two million individuals lost their livelihoods due to this operation (Tibaijuka 2005). Although the government justified its actions as 'bringing order in the city', many have argued that this operation was politically motivated to punish those urban citizens who were increasingly supporting the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) party (Chitekwe-Biti 2009; Matamanda 2020a).

2.3.3   Slum Upgrading and Unjust Governance

The emergence of slums and informal settlements in Harare has been on the rise since the 1990s. The government has not been able to effectively address this problem (Matamanda 2020b). The role of the government in the establishment of the settlements has been two-sided. Incremental development has been approved through the Housing Policy of 2012 that allows individuals to reside on their plots before connections to reticulated water and sewerage systems were provided (Government of Zimbabwe 2012). In this way, residents have been able to access housing, which tends to increase their disposable incomes as many save on rentals (Chirisa et al. 2018). However, this decision to permit incremental development contradicts the provisions of the RTCP Act and the Public Health Act, which stipulate that citizens should only occupy their plots after reticulated sewerage and water systems have been connected. Such provisions were meant to enhance the liveability of the settlements as water and sanitation are critical services that support the health of citizens. The outcome of incremental development has been the establishment of settlements that depict medieval cities where wastewater flows along the streets, residents rely on unsafe water extracted from shallow wells, while epidemics of infectious diseases such as cholera and typhoid are common (Matamanda 2020c; see Chapter 6). Although the incremental development policy may have had positive intentions, it has proved to be a justification for the failure of the government to provide services. This situation reveals how the authorities simply do not care about the poor, as this 'do it yourself' urbanism described by Jabareen (2014) has resulted in the poor living under appalling conditions.

The development of some settlements in Harare has also been politicised, confirming what Banks et al. (2020) and Simone (2000) have called 'land mafia' often working with state actors who end up capturing state land and allocating it and benefitting economically from such ventures. Similarly, the existence of these 'land mafias' is evident from how the allocation of residential plots has tended to be done on a partisan basis, where most of the beneficiaries are affiliated with ZANU–PF (Muchadenyika 2015a). Conversely, individuals who support the opposition party

may not be able to access residential plots, in conflict with Section 28 of the Constitution which states that every citizen is entitled to the right to housing. Furthermore, such discrimination contradicts Section 56(3) of the Constitution that states that 'every person has the right not to be treated in an unfairly discriminatory manner on such grounds as their nationality, race, colour, tribe, place of birth, ethnic or social origin, language, class, religious belief, political affiliation' (Government of Zimbabwe 2013). Such actions are both unjust and unlawful and contradict the aspects of social justice, as postulated by Fainstein (2001, 2009, 2010).

Slum upgrading initiatives have had different outcomes in Harare. The success of the slum upgrading process initiated by the Dialogue on Shelter in Harare has been commendable (Muchadenyika 2015b). This has been made possible owing to the participatory nature of the programme. However, not all programmes have been as successful as this particular slum upgrading programme. At times, the government has hampered initiatives from civil society or non-governmental organisations intending to upgrade certain settlements on the premise that the beneficiaries would lose their trust in the government and instead rally their support to the MDC that they constantly associate with non-governmental organisations and donors (McGregor 2013). The upgrading of Matapi Flats in Mbare that was scheduled to be funded by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (Masunda 2011) serves as an example. This development was not undertaken as it was hindered by the political interference of ZANU–PF militia youth who wanted a 51% stake in the development project, in line with the indigenisation policy that was meant to empower locals. Masunda (2011: Online) recounted that:

> We have received $5 million from the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation for Mbare and other communities in the high-density suburbs, but Chipangano, backed by Zanu (PF) Politburo member, Tendai Savanhu, and Zanu (PF) Youth League chairman, Jim Kunaka, said Mbare is now a 'no go area'. Their politicisation of development is likely to hinder progress.

Subsequently, the upgrading was never done in Mbare; yet at the time, the upgrading of the hostels was critical due to the perilous state of the hostels and their water and sewerage services were such that the Ministry of Health has on numerous occasions condemned these hostels as being a threat to public health. A resident from the flats lamented: "We live in a pool of faeces. Yet they want to control who we vote for" (GroundUp 2018: Online). However, the government has done little to upgrade these flats but often intimidate the residents to vote for ZANU–PF, while failure to do so would result in their eviction from the flats.

2.3.4 Urban Informality and Small Businesses

Urban informality had been on the rise in Harare since the mid-1990s when the government introduced the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme that resulted in the retrenchment of many people in formal employment. Recognising the growth of the informal sector, the authorities responded by providing three major

sites in Harare (Siyaso in Mbare, Gazaland in Highfields and Glen View) to accommodate the informal businesses (Chinyamunzore 1997). Various other small centres, categorised as home industries, were established, mainly in high-density residential suburbs across Harare. This approach by the authorities to integrate informal activities and small businesses in the low-income residential suburbs was meant to sustain the livelihoods of the poor and show the government's concern for the poor at the time.

The economic meltdown of the early 2000s, following the fast-track land reform programme and the emergence of the MDC as a major opposition party that had most of its supporters in the urban areas, had major implications for urban informality. Consequently, the occupation of certain spaces by the informal traders and small businesses would eventually be based on patronage (Matamanda et al. 2020; McGregor 2013). A typical example has been the stalls at Mupedzanhamo in Mbare that have for long been allocated to ZANU–PF supporters (Kamete 2017; VOA News 2006). Individuals known to be allied to the MDC have found it difficult to access trading space in this and other markets in the city. In the worst instances, intimidation and violence have been used against those who have been purported to oppose the ruling party (Kriger 2012). The ZANU–PF youth, army and police have on several occasions been used to deal with those traders accused of opposing the government.

Space barons, who are similar to the 'land mafia' (Banks et al. 2020; Simone 2000) are also common, and these include mainly the ZANU–PF youth and others who capture space and then rent it out to desperate vendors at inflated fees. Statutory instrument 159 of 2014 made provisions for the local authority to establish vending sites where small businesses may operate within the city (City of Harare 2014). However, the selection of such sites has been done without consultation with the vendors and this has led to the establishment of vending spaces that are far from the central business district and, hence, not economically viable for the vendors. According to many vendors, the Coca-Cola site is not viable for their business due to the limited number of customers in comparison to the central business district (Mahanya 2019; Matamanda and Chinozvina 2020). The use of public space by the informal traders culminates in another form of injustice as they do not have the capability to do things as they please, which according to Israel and Frenkel (2018), extends to the freedom to use public spaces.

Just spatial governance is also premised on participation that ensures that different stakeholders contribute to the developments in space. Governance that lacks participation is flawed and compromises the development of inclusive urban spaces. The provisions for citizen participation and inclusiveness as outlined in Section 35 of the Constitution, empowers every citizen to equal rights, privileges and benefits subject to duties and obligations of the country (Government of Zimbabwe 2013). The role of civil society organisations in spatial governance has been limited since the early 2000s following the establishment of the MDC. Many civil society organisations have been linked with the opposition MDC party, because of their humanitarian work that raises issues that include human rights abuses that exposes the incompetence and injustices of the government. Consequently, the government has closely monitored the activities of such organisations, at times criminalising individuals or

civic society organisations (Kamete 2009). Recently, the government, through the Information Minister, reacted harshly to a letter that had been written by some clergy bemoaning the current state of social (in)justice in the country. The statement issued by the Minister described the letter as "evil message … trumpets petty tribal feuds so it can sow seeds of internecine strife as a prelude to national disintegration" (Tshuma 2020: online). The Bishops in their letter have stated that:

> It feels as though the poor have no one to defend them. They don't seem to feature on the national agenda. Their cries for an improved health system go unheeded. Their plea for a transport system that meets their transport blues are met with promises and more promises and no action. The only time we see real action is when our leaders are jostling for power, to secure it or to ascend to offices of power. It is not clear to us as your Bishops that the national leadership we have has the knowledge, social skills, emotional stability and social orientation to handle the issues that we face as a nation. All we hear from them is blame of our woes on foreigners, colonialism, white settlers and the so-called internal detractors. When are we going to take responsibility of our own affairs? (AllAfrica 2020)

2.4 Discussion and Concluding Remarks

The chapter set out to explore the spatial justice and governance nexus in postcolonial urban Zimbabwe. Emerging from the analysis are critical insights which reflect on how the notion of government has persisted and where governance remains a pipe dream in Zimbabwe. First, it is recognised that marginalisation manifests in spatial development based on ethnicity, where the Matabeleland Province has remained on the periphery. These findings confirm the thesis of oppression articulated by Young (1990), who noted how certain individuals and groups in society are oppressed and this oppression manifests through marginalisation, exploitation and violence.

The government created a highly centralised one-party state. The Urban Councils Act was introduced to empower local authorities to make laws governing affairs in their areas of jurisdiction. A non-racial hierarchy of cities was also put in place. For the rest, the legislation that guides spatial development has been largely inherited from the colonial government (Swilling 1997). For example, the spatial planning process that is guided by statutory plans was merely replicated by the postcolonial government. This confirms the argument by Berrisford and McAuslan (2017) that in most parts of Sub-Saharan Africa the postcolonial governments simply inherited the European legislation, even though it was inappropriate for the African context.

The RTCP Act points to the need for statutory plans to be prepared before any spatial development can be undertaken. Any development to be undertaken should be guided by these statutory plans that include master plans, regional plans and local plans. Such plans focus on the zoning of land uses which is deplored and criticised by Todes et al. (2010) and Watson (2009) as static, inappropriate to the context and have little to say about their implementation.

This is evident of how domestic violence and conflicts have been triggered by ethnic differences resulting in pervasive violence, as noted by Watson (2013). The condition that has prevailed in Matabeleland of central government neglect and stalled

development speaks of the rot in the governance system which was recognised by Berrisford and McAuslan (2017) and Njoh (2015) as being perpetrated by the political elites seeking to advance their socio-economic and political gains. Such is a perpetuation of spatial justice as there has been, what Moroni (2020) described as an occurrence of an unjust situation and a perpetuation of unjust governance.

Aside from the ethnicity issues, there have also been instances of displacements and evictions which mainly disadvantage the poor. It is in this regard that the notion of urban penalty comes into perspective as it seems that the poor are swept out of the urban cities under the auspices of clean-up campaigns, while the political 'enemies' of the ruling party are also included and punished with the poor. The politicisation of spatial development is inherent in the upgrading of informal settlements. The case of Chipangano and the Melinda and Bill Gates Foundations shows how politics is at play and influences spatial governance, thus leading to spatial injustice. Such a situation shows the extent of coercion and intimidation that McGregor (2013) defined as the surveillance of the city and the politics of urban control. This manipulation and coercion defy the essence of justice and democracy where citizens are free to participate in parliamentary elections. Instead of alleviating the conditions of the poor, the upgrading projects end up being a curse for these poor who must pay in one way or the other, or extreme cases that face the wrath of what Roy (2005) identified as the raiding of properties by some elites who may have speculated on such upgrading processes, just like the ZANU–PF youth in Mbare did.

There is a clear disconnect between the Constitution and the actions of the state towards any that are viewed as dissidents or in the way of realising the urban fantasy and the image that the government wishes to project to the world. While the elite and well-connected citizens benefit from patronage, other citizens suffer discrimination, harassment and even extreme violence. Informality is tolerated when it suits the state or is invisible, such as markets out of sight of international eyes, or settlements located on the periphery of the city. However, force is frequently used against those people, activities or settlements that are an embarrassment, or perceived to be a threat to the state. Often, the state uses the ZANU–PF youth to enforce its agenda, to distance itself from its ruthless treatment of its citizens. Social justice and good governance entail genuine democracy and equality, which includes freedom from discrimination and a fair allocation of resources and acceptance of difference (diversity). Our analysis revealed that these are sadly lacking in Zimbabwe. Oppression and grave injustices happen frequently, and people are denied the benefits of good governance. Social justice can only be realised if all people—no matter what their ethnicity, or where they live or work—are acknowledged as worthy members of society and, hence, accorded the right to be heard and, most importantly, for their views to be taken into account. Just governance cannot be achieved while the informal is ignored or subjected to discrimination, forceful removal and destruction of property.

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Chapter 3
Urban Planning and Policy in Zimbabwe: Change with Continuity

Gift Mhlanga, Innocent Chirisa, and Verna Nel

Abstract The purpose of this chapter is to diagnose the relationship between the planning of urban areas and the policies on the ground concerning Zimbabwe, a country that has gone through a full cycle of policies—colonial and postcolonial, capitalism and socialism, and chaotic and orderly. The urban–regional space is one that stresses the interconnections between rural space that largely constitutes the hinterland and the urban cores; hence, core–periphery interactions. Seen in the light of these symbiotic relations, this chapter studies the colonial ideology introduced in the country in 1890, which defined rural areas as predominantly occupied by the majority of black African populations serving as labour reserves on land that the capitalist society relied on for workers on its farms, mines and urban areas. The black government after 1980, has always tried to paint a picture of rural areas that are more populous than urban areas for political and election purposes. In addition to political marginalisation, however, the major towns and cities are facing increasing difficulties as the shrinking economy over the years, with limited employment and a fragile taxation base, has rendered planning a useless tool in the hands of a weak state. If the planning is to meet the twenty-first-century demands in Zimbabwe, the policy environment and goals must become clearer, more specific and pragmatic than now.

Keywords Urbanisation · Urban sprawl · Socio-economic segregation · Stakeholder participation

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3.1   Introduction

Once a British Colony before the Unilateral Declaration of Independence in 1965, most of Zimbabwe's urban planning and policies still reflect British standards (Wekwete 1990). The anchor of the pre-independence urban planning and policies was white supremacy over the indigenous Africans (Magwaro-Ndiweni 2011). This ideology led to the segregation of the indigenous people on the grounds of the race for political purposes. At the dawn of independence, the Zimbabwean government tried to do away with the racist policies and thus promoted an African identity and sovereignty through policies and plans that were meant to be inclusive. Nonetheless, such inclusivity had its price: it was a magnet in attracting people into the once 'only-whites' territories. Subsequently, rapid urbanisation ensued, and the new government sought to control the influx of people into the urban areas (Chirisa 2014). Hence, both the colonial government and the post-independence governments planned and implemented (or drafted) policies as a reactionary stance of controlling the urban populace (Mjanga 2016). The thrust of this chapter is to demonstrate that there was little change, but rather a continuity, of urban planning and policies, albeit from different perspectives, of both pre- and post-independence governments.

The chapter is organised as follows: Following this introduction is the conceptual framework, African literature review, methodology, contextual background, the results that include the case studies of the four major cities of Zimbabwe, discussion, and conclusion and future direction.

3.2   Conceptual Framework

The concept of urban planning is complex and dynamic. Rather than focusing on physical planning, most countries are now inclined towards 'spatial planning', which is a more integrative approach to planning and urban development (Ferreira et al. 2009). With regard to spatial planning, Albrechts (2006: 1492) noted that there is a need for "levels of government to work together (multi-level governance) and in partnership with actors in diverse positions in the economy and civil society". Such a collaborative stance in urban planning and development dissects the planning problems more efficiently to come up with one identifiable sustainable system of development in the urban areas since it involves stakeholder engagement (Healey 2006). This is the basis of the Hydra model of urban planning, which maintains that inclusivity in urban planning encourages competent engagement through dialogue from various perspectives to derive the best solutions for different problems (Ferreira et al. 2009). This idea echoes Davidoff's (1965) theory on advocacy and pluralism planning, which submits that planning should be pluralistic and represent diverse interests., The pluralistic stance in planning lead to the concepts of community planning, participatory planning and bottom-up approaches today (Cornelius et al. 2017).

However, Watson (2003) argued that urban planning in the Global South, and Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) in particular, is defined by conflicting rationalities, whereby the central authorities and other stakeholders, the communities in particular, often have divergent interests. Therefore, Sarkis et al. (2008: 2582) observed that "it is important to take a broad view incorporating broader stakeholders and communities, beyond immediate investors or building users … [taking into account] the intergenerational aspect of sustainability … [and] influencing the needs and requirements of future generations". As such, it is pertinent to note that the employment of the Hydra model in urban planning incorporates issues of the economy, society and environment at large and this results in a better future for both the users and inhabitants of the urban landscape (Chirisa 2014).

During the colonial era in Zimbabwe, national and local authorities converged in promoting white supremacy, while their instruments for urban planning were skewed towards the suppression of Africans. Nonetheless, after independence, the Zimbabwean government inherited these instruments, particularly, the Regional, Town and Country Planning Act (RTCP Act) that was marginally 'panel-beaten' to suit the interests of the new regime (Watson 2009). However, critics asserted that little had changed (UN-Habitat 2006).

3.3 African Literature Review

As highlighted above, modernist planning and policies in SSA can be traced back to the colonial era when the European regimes foisted Global North planning designs and policies on their territories. De Satgé and Watson (2018) argued that theorising about the nature of cities and regions and the kinds of interventions that are appropriate and possible, based on assumed characteristics of Global North regions, has lost traction; the planning environment in the Global South is different from the ideal one of the Global North perspectives. This infers that urban planning and policies, based on colonial instruments, such as the marginally revised British Town and Country Planning ordinances, are bound to result in planning failure. Nonetheless, Watson (2003) argued that in Africa it is not always justified to blame colonial planning and policies on the failure in planning, but to rather blame the stewards of urban planning.

Noteworthy is the fact that urban planning and policies in SSA are unique in the sense that there is a significant influence of colonialism. Home (2015) and Njoh (2009) both observed that the settlement policies during the precolonial era were centralised on the promotion of safety and health for the settlers, whereby medical experts advised racial segregation to curb the spread of diseases believed to emanate from the 'black' people. As colonial planning policies were founded in racial segregation ideologies, this resulted in discrete residential areas for Africans, Asians and Europeans (Rigon et al. 2018). Watson (2009) pointed out that the colonial era left behind a planning legacy that is difficult to redress.

On the other hand, Okeke (2015) submitted that urban planning in SSA is discernible through certain distinct characteristics: the resilience of informality, and the poor relationship between the rhetorical and practical meaning of urban planning. In the African context, the superficial dichotomies, such as state/society or legal/illegal, do not reflect reality on the ground since their implications depend upon the whims of those in power. As such, spatial urban planning and policies in SSA are seldom aligned with social dimensions (Roy 2005). This assertion echoes the sentiments of Bolay (2015) who observed that urban planning in the Global South mostly partially addresses the real problems facing urban populations, generally abandoning the vulnerable housing neighbourhoods, areas poorly regulated by-law and urban peripheries. Thus, the urban poor are neglected, favouring the urban affluent, discouraging the role of civil organisations in planning and policy implementation. This paves the way for political opportunism, allowing the usurpation of urban settlements by the political elite that echoes urbanism during the colonial era (Filipe and Norfolk 2017).

Urban planning and policies in SSA mostly resulted in territorial and social exclusion, as depicted by informal settlements (Roy 2004); yet local authorities, in their bid to replicate alien models of urban development, hobble local possibilities (UN-Habitat 2020). Subsequently, Bolay (2015) pointed out that planning, as accepted in the 1960s, is no longer appropriate as it can no longer operate in a linear and progressive perspective. Agboda and Watson (2013) concurred that African city planning and design are changing rapidly, albeit, with inadequacy being evidenced in dealing with informal settlements, climate change and city inclusivity. In general, the urban landscape is more open to the African and foreign elite than the less affluent. Consequently, the African urban landscape is mostly characterised by illegal urban sprawl, while exposed settlements are bourgeoning outwards (Bolay 2015).

Consequently, as urbanisation tends to be synonymous with informal settlements in SSA, it infers obsolete urban planning and policies (UN-Habitat 2020). Conversely, Tomor et al. (2019) argued that SSA planning systems and bureaucracies are not buttressed by their original legal foundations and this exposes the limitations of reactive planning. Thus, most SSA national urban planning designs and policies are weak, and are propelled by dysfunctional governance systems, guaranteeing unsustainable urban development (UN-Habitat 2014, 2020). Resultantly, there is an incessant lag between urban population growth and housing development in the SSA region (UN-Habitat 2020).

Moreover, as a direct consequence of ad hoc planning in SSA, of the world's 2.4 billion people without access to sanitation, 695 million are residents of the SSA (United States Department of State Humanitarian Information Unit 2018). Such deprivation affirms the cost of improvised planning in contrast to deliberate planning and design; hence the call for densification policies in most urban areas of the SSA region (Wisner et al. 2015). Unfortunately, as Smit and Pieterse (2014: 157) asserted, "very few African states have explicit policies to deal with urbanisation and intra-urban development challenges". Part of the problem is the denial by most African statesmen and authorities that the region is urbanising at a rapid pace that "creates a

public policy vacuum", and exposes the urban space to land grabbing opportunists (Pieterse 2014: 201).

However, some countries in the region have adopted national urban planning policies, for example, Morocco, Ethiopia, Rwanda, Ghana and South Africa (Bolay 2015). For instance, Morocco launched a three-year progressive human settlements policy for the integration of slum settlements into the formal urban fabric, namely, the National Action Plan for Reabsorption of Slums (Lahlou 2014). On the other hand, Ghana's national urban plan is an epitome of pragmatic planning as evidenced by the stance to recognise informality, where the policy guide emphasised "changing the official attitude towards informal enterprises from neglect to recognition and policy support" (Government of Ghana 2012: 24). Nonetheless, ambivalence in planning and policy implementation has pushed national authorities to launch such reactive and fantasy planning designs, and this is typified by the erstwhile South African official position in informal settlement integration, preferring rural development instead (Turok 2015).

3.4 Research Methodology

This study employed a desktop research, scrutinising secondary data sources, particularly parliamentary presentations, central and local authority reports, non-governmental organisation reviews, journal papers and interview extracts. The wide sourcing of information ensured the collation of accurate information. Furthermore, the analysis of the information collected was made more explicit through the use of case studies. The major cities of Zimbabwe, Harare and Bulawayo, and two provincial capital cities, Gweru and Mutare, were included in the study since they reflect the general urban planning and policy trends in the country.

3.5 Contextual Background

Concerning Zimbabwe, just like most countries in SSA, the bottlenecks in planning may be traced back to the colonial era where urban and rural development was heavily influenced by the political ideology of white supremacy and the subsequent suppression of the indigenous people. Legal instruments, such as the Land Apportionment Act, Act 30 of 1930, the Land Husbandry Act of 1951, and the pass laws, controlled and minimised the flow of people into urban areas that were mostly designated and reserved for the whites (Magwaro-Ndiweni 2011). Before the 1950s, colonial legislation regarded blacks in urban areas as temporary residents whose main base was their rural homes and therefore there was no need to provide them with family accommodation but only bachelor hostels (Auret 1995; Mangizvo and Dzikiti 2009). Hence, urban planning during the colonial era promoted dual residence, whereby the rural areas were meant to be the permanent homes, and urban

towns were meant for the Europeans. Later, when family housing was established, this was mostly the responsibility of employers to provide accommodation and this was more evident in mining towns such as Kwekwe. Additionally, urban planning and policies during the colonial period were skewed against the Africans, as evidenced by the establishment of black townships that were located far away from the central business centres. Subsequently, spatial inequality between the European areas and the African areas, and between residential areas meant for Europeans and African townships, was captured in zoning area planning that was segregationist.

3.6 Results

The spatial imprint of the colonial era is still evident in post-independent Zimbabwe as reflected by high-density lower income suburbs being located further away from the urban centres. Interestingly, Chirisa (2014) noted that Zimbabwean planning systems use master and local plans that are statutory plans prepared by following the provisions of the RTCP Act of 1976, Chapter 29:12 (revised in 1996). Wekwete (1989), cited by Chigara et al. (2013), observed that the RTCP Act "maintained a large measure of continuity in town planning, with the major innovation being the inclusion of regional planning in the new legislation". Subsequently, the United Nations Special Envoy Report of 2005 described the RTCP Act as outdated and in need of immediate revision (Tibaijuka 2005).

Nonetheless, Chirisa (2014) observed that the post-independent Zimbabwean government used a cocktail of instruments, ranging from a technocratic-induced minimalist ideology to socialist populism to redress the impacts of colonial policies. Policies, such as the home ownership programme, were meant to facilitate the ownership of immovable property by Africans, which had been public property during the colonial era (Paradza 2010). Such housing programmes were facilitated through the Public Sector Housing Finance System, whereby the central authority transferred funds to local authorities to benefit low-income households (Mutekede and Sigauke 2007). However, the duration of such socialistic interventions was short-lived, since the number of units owned by the government was limited. Also, the 1980s saw the government introducing rent control policies that placed a ceiling on rents determined by the government to protect the urban poor. Such regulations led to the limited supply of new immovable property since private players now made little profit from offering such services (Chirisa 2014).

While the pursuance of socialist tendencies by the government alienated it from private players, at the same time it transformed the central government into a set of highly politicised institutions. The centre–local relations in Zimbabwe reflected this trend with politically motivated decisions which increasingly undermined the integrity of local governance (Paradza 2010). Such tendencies were also reflected in 2013, before the general elections, when the Ministry of Local Government, Public Works and National Housing issued a directive to all municipalities to cancel all the rates and water bills owed by residents. This led to a drastic fall in the revenue of local

authorities in urban areas (Poperwi 2018), whereas there was a need to deracialise the urban landscape through consolidating and inclusive policies. The overall effect was partisanship in local governance that stifled any urban planning efforts.

The culmination of the central–local impasse was Operation Restore Order/Murambatsvina (OM) of 2005 (Bratton and Masunungure 2006). OM was a major slum clearance operation that sought to restore order in urban areas through ridding Zimbabwe's cities and towns of illegal structures and unlicensed trading practices in the form of flea markets, tuck shops and street trading (Government of Zimbabwe 2015). However, Paradza (2010) asserted that OM was motivated by ulterior agendas other than that of planning: it was retribution against urban dwellers who voted for the Movement for Democratic Change in the previous elections; it served to disperse selected urban populations to rural areas where the Zimbabwe African National Union–Patriotic Front (ZANU–PF) could more easily control them; and OM was a pre-emptive strategy to prevent a popular uprising in light of the deepening food insecurity in the country. On the other hand, Kamete (2009) opined that it was fundamentally poor planning and monitoring that permitted the emergence of illegal settlements in the presence of planners that led to OM. However, Muchadenyika and Williams (2016) concurred with Paradza (2010), asserting that planning became a useful scapegoat to achieve the political objectives of the ruling regime.

The Government of Zimbabwe sought to redress the adverse effects of OM by injecting three trillion US dollars into the Ministry of Local Government for the construction of basic four-room core houses for affected families, a programme that became known as Operation Garikai/Hlalani Kahle (OG/HK), a central government intervention discouraged by the International Monetary Fund (Mutekede and Sigauke 2007). This demonstrates that urban planning and policies are intrinsically tied to politics. Thus, the quest to retain power may be regarded as the driving force for the central authority to radically intervene in urban local government issues (Muchadenyika and Williams 2020).

3.6.1 Harare

Harare, the capital city of Zimbabwe, developed from a military fort during the colonial era (Munzwa and Wellington 2010). As the capital of the country, rapid urbanisation and its adverse effects, have been evident even during the colonial period. By 1969, at least 56,018 houses were needed to accommodate Harare's 280,090 Africans at an average of five persons per family (Mangizvo and Dzikiti 2009). This ongoing housing backlog has long been a prominent feature of the city. Spatial growth is evident in Harare, a metropolitan city. Marondedze and Schütt (2019) found that in 1984, high-density residential areas covered 51.79 km^2 (5.81%) of the total Harare metropolitan area and in 2018, this area had more than quadrupled to 218.35 km^2. Besides the expansion of residential areas, the relative area of the city's central business district also grew from 3.7% in 1984 to 7.17% in 2018 (Marondedze and Schütt 2019). Nonetheless, red tape and the complexities associated with the RTCP Act in

construction procedures and plan approvals were contributing factors towards the proliferation of informal settlements (Chirisa 2014).

3.6.1.1   Reactionary Planning

The inefficiency of strategic planning, among other factors, led to OM and its adverse effects on the city in 2005. Many residents in metropolitan Harare were evicted. The national authority has nevertheless initiated resettlement programmes for some of the victims of OM (Government of Zimbabwe 2015). For example, The Hatcliffe Consortium development was a government initiative of OG/HK projects meant to provide housing units for the OM victims (Tibaijuka 2005). However, a parliamentary committee formed to investigate the progress of the OG/HK programme, questioned the destruction of home-based businesses; yet Statutory Instrument 216 of 1994 allowed residents to operate businesses from their homes (Parliament of Zimbabwe 2006). Furthermore, in most cases the evicted residents found their way back through a political ticket as in the Dzivarasekwa Extension where informal settlers reinvaded the area that had no planning or infrastructure services (Muchadenyika and Williams 2016).

3.6.1.2   Fantasy Planning

Caledonia was established through piecemeal planning with only Phases 1 to 3 (6960 residential stands) having an approved layout plan, while Phases 4 to 20 (15,450 stands) had no approved plans (Government of Zimbabwe 2015). However, it was through a presidential proclamation (Statutory Instrument SI 119/2012) that led to the incorporation of this informal settlement into the Harare municipality, a remarkable example of how politics play a hand in urban area planning and policies. Muchadenyika and Williams (2016) revealed that the central authority, through the Urban Development Corporation, began a process of regularising the settlement and approving the layout plans for Phases 4–20. However, this regularisation process was central government-directed and bypassed the City of Harare although it was the envisaged local planning authority, a political manoeuvre on the part of the central authority (Muchadenyika and Williams 2016).

3.6.1.3   Ad Hoc Planning

Improvised planning and policy implementation are evident in Harare, and political influence at both national and local authority levels was the major driving force. Chirisa (2014) pointed out that Harare city planners often clashed with politicians concerning environmental impact assessments. Moreover, the Value for Money Report revealed that there were no approved layout plans for the Hatcliffe North

settlement, and the occupants of the land were thus deemed illegal (Office of Auditor-General 2019). Such land use violations highlighted the socio-economic and political segregation of Zimbabwean planning and policies: the poor are neglected or penalised under the guise of urban planning, while the rich and influential of the society are protected by the system.

3.6.2 Bulawayo

Bulawayo, the second-largest city of Zimbabwe, covers around 450 km^2. The city grew during the industrial phase (1940 and 1952) of colonial occupation and became an industrial hub for the country (Wekwete 1990). Recently, the city has experienced deindustrialisation with some factories unable to operate, partly due to water shortages (see Chapter 2), but also because of the country's economic crisis (Magwaro-Ndiweni 2011). The colonial legacy remained evident in the development of the city. To utilise land more efficiently, Hugh Ashton, the former director of African housing, lobbied for high-rise flats that were constructed in the Nguboyenja, Makokoba and Tshabalala high-density suburbs. Additionally, Makokoba, the city's oldest residential area, is densely populated and trapped between major roads that could be used to contain the rebelling populations, with access to the city from the suburb channelled through narrow causeways and tunnels and a flyover across the roads to provide strategic points for locating troops, if required (Stewart et al. 2017).

3.6.2.1 Progressive Planning

After independence, the city council also promoted socialist policies, such as home ownership programmes that benefitted indigenous Africans. However, Ashton (1991) pointed out that cheaper housing units at 50 m^2 could be obtained in the Lobengula Township, as a result of following the World Bank's advice. These 'matchbox' houses were, however, unpopular among residents (Magwaro-Ndiweni 2011).

3.6.2.2 Strategic Planning

The 2000 Master Plan for Bulawayo stressed the need for proper planning for the city to meet the demands for rapid urbanisation. Subsequently, the city's 2009 Housing Policy revealed the need for a compact city to avoid urban sprawl (Chirisa 2014). Thus, the authorities planned to utilise all the existing available land within the current city area, prior to developing new land outside the existing boundaries (Magwaro-Ndiweni 2011). However, such a policy stance led to a distortion of the zoning system and resultantly benefited mostly politicians, business moguls and foreign business enterprises (Muchadenyika and Williams 2016). It also led to "the unpopularity of planning and its association with the wealthy and powerful" (Kamete 2011: 83).

3.6.2.3 Reactive Planning

Like many urban areas in Zimbabwe, the city suffered under OM 2005 and the OG/HK. Although this was meant to be a redress programme, it was marred with poor planning and corruption. For example, of the 10,000 Bulawayo residents affected by OM, only 43 benefitted from houses built under OG/HK (Parliament of Zimbabwe 2006). On the other hand, the invisible hand of politics in planning is also evident in the development of Cowdray Park that is a compromise of normal planning with poor supporting infrastructure and narrow plots (Magwaro-Ndiweni 2011; Muchadenyika and Williams 2016).

3.6.3 Gweru

Gweru is one of the major cities of Zimbabwe established during the colonial era as a gold mining village in 1894, and it attained city status in 1971. The city experienced exponential growth: between 1936 and 1946, Gweru's population more than doubled, then quadrupled between 1951 and 1974 and then almost doubled in just four years from 46,000 in 1979 to 79,000 in 1982 (Munzwa and Wellington 2010). Such rapid population growth that continued during the 1980s, was driven by rural–urban influx. This was triggered by low economic development in areas, such as Chiwundura, Shurugwi and Chirumanzu, signifying the failure of the growth pole policies, which was exacerbated by droughts (Mangizvo and Dzikiti 2009).

3.6.3.1 Progressive Planning

After independence, the Government of Zimbabwe renovated some of the 'bachelor structures' in the former African townships, such as Munhumutapa, Ascot, and Mkoba (Government of Zimbabwe 2015). Nonetheless, as overpopulation became a problem, the Gweru City Council adopted a densification policy to identify and develop 'undeveloped' space. However, this programme was not welcomed in Gweru, especially in the Ivene suburb where residents submitted some complaints against it in the 1980s (Munzwa and Wellington 2010). Additionally, the City Council, in a move towards progressive planning, invited prospective land developers to go into partnership for the servicing of land for housing development in Mkoba 21 and Randolph Phase 1 through General Notice 903 of 2020 (Government of Zimbabwe 2020).

3.6.3.2 Strategic Planning

Gweru City Council, like most urban authorities in Zimbabwe, had a challenge of piecemeal planning in the establishment of some of its suburbs as evidenced by poor

infrastructure. Burst pipes and sewerage problems are common in Senga/Nehosho, while water shortages in Mkoba 19 occur frequently. These have been problems of planning and policy implementation since future-orientated planning would have anticipated growth, such as that triggered by the Midlands State University. On the other hand, maladministration and corruption saw eleven councillors of the local authority being suspended in 2016, although only two of them were later found guilty (Parliament of Zimbabwe 2017). However, the appointment of a commission to undertake council duties in the local authority was ineffective as cases of abuse of office and corruption escalated (Parliament of Zimbabwe 2017).

Nonetheless, the revision of the city's Master Plan allowed the local authority to tackle the service delivery problems legally (Paradzayi et al. 2019). The new Master Plan proves that the city has adopted strategic, future-orientated urban planning and policies. However, one questions the cancellation of a call for a joint venture between Gweru City Council and interested private partners in various projects, which included the following: upgrading of the Gweru aerodrome, conversion of closed council beer halls into shopping malls, solar street lighting, and development of a special economic zone (Government of Zimbabwe 2020). The cancellation of such initiatives, though temporarily, exposes the local authority's policy inconsistency that may scare away prospective private city developers, hobbling the efforts in strategic planning.

3.6.3.3 Reactive Planning

OM, as a reactive policy to informal structures, disrupted urban livelihoods in Gweru. As elsewhere in Zimbabwe, local authorities had developed an ambivalent attitude regarding backyard structures and informal settlements. This might be regarded as pragmatic, ad hoc planning, whereby common sense dictated that there was, for example, no immediate and formal solutions to housing backlogs. However, following a directive from the national authority, Gweru City Council razed the Rarara slum settlement along with other structures that had no approved plans (Mangizvo and Dzikiti 2009). Nonetheless, there were less informal settlements affected in Gweru as evidenced by the initial target of only 106 houses to be constructed under OG/HK for the victims of OM (Parliament of Zimbabwe 2006).

3.6.4 Mutare

Mutare is a secondary city that developed from a trading outpost (UN-Habitat 2020). Oppressive colonial rule influenced the city's urban planning and policies. For example, housing in Sakubva, once an African township, could only accommodate single individuals which intended to frustrate rural–urban migration. However, despite the segregation that was in effect during the pre-independence era, Africans were still attracted into the town for various reasons, which included the need for

employment. Consequently, the population for Mutare was 3566 in 1936; by 1974 it had grown to 48,000, and approximately 70,000 in 1982 (Auret 1995; Wekwete 1990). The influx of Africans as workers into the town led the white regime to establish Sakubva as the first African 'location'. The city has continued expanding, and in 2012, the Mutare city boundary encompassed an area of 16,290.75 ha, and a population of 187,621 (Mabaso et al. 2015; Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency 2012).

3.6.4.1 Strategic Planning

The local authority used a master plan that was approved in 1993 for spatial development. It appears to have been effective with over 95% of development conforming to the plan (Mabaso et al. 2015). However, Mabaso et al. (2015) found that Birkely was designated as an open space to preserve the woody ecosystem, which was now developed for residential purposes. This reflected a need to be more responsive to the environment.

3.6.4.2 Progressive Planning

In response to a backlog of housing, the local authority, funded by the national authority, embarked on affordable housing schemes. One successful development was the Hobhouse Home Ownership Scheme. However, the beneficiaries of the programme, instead of being the poor urbanites of the city, were mostly the middle-income earners. Nonetheless, the City of Mutare sought the renewal of the Sakubva Suburb (Zimbabwe Ministry of Local Government and Public Works 2020) that was among the first residential areas developed for Africans under colonial rule, where most of the structures are now dilapidated and unsuitable for human habitation. The Sakubva Urban Renewal project is a partnership between the City of Mutare, Plan Infrastructure Development and ABC Holdings Limited (operating under the brand BancABC). The project is aimed at improving the liveability of Sakubva through phased demolition and eventual regeneration of residential flats, market stalls, public and social amenities.

3.6.4.3 Reactionary Planning

There is evidence of reactionary planning in the Mutare local authority. A report indicated that the local authority sought to evict Devonshire informal settlers, one of several others on the periphery of the city; however, the move was resisted by the settlers (Nyangani 2017). On the other hand, a national newspaper, The Herald, reported on 28 July 2011 that illegal shacks in areas such as Federation and Gimboki have become a sore eye and breeding areas for water-borne diseases (Mamvuto 2017).

This suggests that the City Council needs to revise its urban planning policies to be pragmatic, proactive, participatory and future-orientated.

3.7 Discussion

Zimbabwean urban areas have undergone socio-economic transformation and politics has been at the forefront of this change. During the colonial era, the white minority protected its rule through racial legislation, which controlled the mobility of indigenous Africans into cities. The economic polarity of industrialisation in urban areas and an agrarian economy in rural areas drove Africans into urban areas seeking work in mines and industries. The postcolonial era witnessed rapid urbanisation through a large influx of people into the previously European areas. The demand for resources such as housing, water and sanitation, and employment, far exceeded their delivery through local authorities. Although spatial development plans were prepared for the major cities in Zimbabwe, the local authorities were overwhelmed. Providing decent housing units for urban residents was a challenge for both central and local authorities, despite the adoption of policies, such as home ownership schemes.

The government further tried to redress the rural–urban influx through the implementation of policies such as the Transitional National Development Plan in 1982. These policies were meant to redress the colonial imbalances through, for example, the provision of employment in rural areas (Wekwete 1990). The other significant policy that was adopted by the government to curb the rural–urban influx, was the establishment of growth points in all major rural centres and equipping these with infrastructure akin to that found in urban areas (Mapuva 2015). However, these ambitious policies were derailed by economic challenges that affected the country from the 1990s, leading to increased rural–urban flows (Mapuva 2015). Ironically, the flows may be reversing due to the ongoing economic hardships in urban areas, as well as other policies such as OM (Muchadenyika and Williams 2020).

Nonetheless, cities in Zimbabwe have still been experiencing rapid urbanisation and this caused serious housing problems. All the policies adopted by both central and local authorities on housing problems were mainly focused on the quantity of units rather than their quality, which compromised the sustainability of urban areas (Kamete 2006a). For example, planning that resulted in small and narrow houses in Cowdry Park and the 'matchbox' houses in Lobengula Township were not sustainable since they did not promote transformation and conversions in keeping with current development trends (Magwaro-Ndiweni 2011).

Local authorities have generally shifted from being the architects of urban housing to become mere onlookers and occasionally referees in the game of accommodation and resettlement. There were more private players than public interventions in urban development, a situation lamented by Kamete (2006b) who posited that the role private developers played should be complementary to that of the state. This opened doors for 'tenderpreneurs' that led to the emergence of corrupt land barons (Rakodi 1995).

Affordability was at the heart of housing problems in Zimbabwean cities (Kamete 2001). Therefore, if the provision of accommodation is privatised, the chances are high that the urban poor will not be able to afford the houses, hence the present socio-economic segregation of accommodation. Consequently, postcolonial urban policies mostly marginalise low-income earners by encouraging home ownership. It is not home ownership per se but rather adequate accommodation that is required. Notably, a commission set up to investigate the OG/HK, recommended that the Zimbabwean government build adequate rented accommodation to cater for low-income earners (Parliament of Zimbabwe 2006).

Planning and politics are inseparable (Ferreira et al. 2009; Forester 1999). However, urban planners are the professionals, while councillors and ministers are politicians who usually have an allegiance to their parties. In Zimbabwean cities, the collusion of planners and politicians resulted in OM (Chipungu and Adebayo 2012) and the emergence of informal settlements, such as Caledonia in Harare (Chirisa 2014; Muchadenyika and Williams 2016). On the other hand, while OM was clearly politically motivated (Paradza 2010), the Economic Structural Adjustment era eroded the efficacy of urban planning and its ability to stand up to politicians (Muchadenyika and Williams 2016). The urban landscape was commercialised, as evidenced by city fathers promoting private business interests at the expense of public welfare. The cumulative impact of OM, indigenisation, land reform and affirmative action, has led to politics overriding planning and the indirect acceptance of informal planning systems (Muchadenyika and Williams 2016). Therefore, there is a need for institutions that protect and promote local authority decisions against political pressure, as enshrined in the 2013 Constitution.

3.8   Conclusion and Future Direction

Most problems in Zimbabwean cities are associated with urbanisation. Therefore, there is need for the central authority to support and promote growth pole policies, focusing on smaller towns, where resources, such as land for expansion are still available. However, small towns may also indulge in reactive, piecemeal planning, which is not sustainable over time. Hence, the central authority should assist small towns to properly plan for development through the adoption of responsive and participatory plans (Chigara et al. 2013).

Notably, the most common planning approach in Zimbabwe is improvised and reactionary planning. Regulation, development control, and enforcement measures have characterised urban and spatial planning approaches in Zimbabwe. This approach, supported by archaic legal instruments and masterplans, is no longer suitable for sustainable urban development in Zimbabwe, nor Africa at large (Chakwizira and Mashiri 2008).

While the 2013 Constitution of Zimbabwe requires that local authorities should be allocated at least 5% of the national revenue, the World Bank observed that intragovernmental transfers do not support the local government (Government of Zimbabwe,

World Bank 2017). Thus, urban local authorities are usually financially constrained since their tax base is very restricted due to the longstanding economic crisis. However, if the National Treasury injects some capital and enables local authorities to create their independent investments, the ties between the latter and unscrupulous private land developers would weaken. Conversely, central authority political manoeuvres, such as debt write-offs are destructive as they financially cripple the local authorities and stymie efforts towards lasting solutions for urban development.

Stakeholder participation, as envisaged by the Hydra model, is critical for sustainable development in urban planning and policies. The 2013 Constitution calls for all stakeholders to participate in budget allocations and no local authority budget can be approved without proof of consultation of the stakeholders, which include residents and business owners (Government of Zimbabwe 2015). The problems of urban sprawl may be solved if all key stakeholders, such as resident trusts, local authorities and the central government, enter into dialogue to map the way forward. If the residents participate in planning, slum settlement problems could be better managed more efficiently. However, accountability is essential to avoid rent-seeking, double allocation of stands and patronage and other forms of corruption. Hence, there is a need for councillors who are professional in their conduct, putting aside partisan politics in finding sustainable solutions for urban areas (Nyikadzino and Nhema 2015).

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Chapter 4
Studentification and Its Interplay on Urban Form and Urban Policy: Reflection from Bulawayo, Zimbabwe

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Abstract The chapter contributes to the ongoing debates concerning studentification as an emerging urban policy agenda in university cities. On-campus accommodation shortages compel students to find accommodation in the private sector. This chapter explores the opportunities and constraints of off-campus student housing and its influence on the spatial form of urban areas and ultimately urban policy. Adopting a qualitative research approach with Bulawayo as a case study, key informant interviews, focus group discussions and document analysis informed the collection of data that was inductively analysed through thematic analysis and content analysis. It emerged that studentification is an emerging trend in urban Zimbabwe and is associated with various challenges and opportunities. However, the existing urban policy framework for Bulawayo does not integrate studentification in the urban fabric. The spatial configuration of the city of Bulawayo is therefore compromised due to increasing communal housing amid detached housing, increased rentals and commercialisation of residential properties. Therefore, this chapter provides an insight into this emerging phenomenon of studentification and how it can be used for urban policy reform and decision-making for the development of sustainable urban forms.

Keywords Bulawayo · Studentification · Gentrification · 'student ghetto'

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4.1   Introduction

Western education in Africa is a legacy of the settlers who introduced it during colonial times when they conquered Africa (Berman 1975; Higgs 2012; Nyamnjoh 2012). The introduction of this education system was a strategic move by the settlers to provide literacy training to natives who would help them as catechists, messengers and with other duties to advance their socio-economic development needs (Omolewa 2006). Unlike the South African government that established bush colleges[1] in the homelands where natives would acquire tertiary education, the situation in most parts of Southern Africa, including Zimbabwe, was different as the colonial governments never attempted to invest in tertiary institutions for Africans (Anderson 2003; Cebekhulu and Mantzaris 2006). This is evident from the numerous alumni among the Pan-African leaders that include the late former Zimbabwean President, Robert Mugabe, who obtained their tertiary education at the Fort Hare University in South Africa. This shows that there was no chance for Africans to study in Zimbabwe where the opportunities for tertiary education among Africans were next to zero. However, at the time, tertiary education was also considered a privilege for the African elites and not many would be enrolled (Davies 1996; Reddy 2004).

In Zimbabwe, education for Africans was largely limited to secondary education, and university education remained a privilege for the settlers only. The small population of these Europeans on the continent meant that there was less need for the establishment of multiple tertiary institutions, considering that most of them would even acquire their university education in their home countries abroad. This is evident from the case of Zimbabwe. The British first settled in present-day Harare in 1890 but it was only in 1952 when the first university in Zimbabwe, the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (now University of Zimbabwe) was established, and only accommodated a small number of students. Resources and infrastructure were adequate to cater the needs of the students, for example, on-campus accommodation, which was even in excess, as reported by Chung (2006: 39–40): "There were only four black women students. Two from Zambia, one from Malawi and only one from Rhodesia. They too had a whole corridor and sitting room to themselves"!

Studentification refers to the urban transformation process that is spurred by the increase in, and concentrations of student populations in cities or specific neighbourhoods (Smith 2008). The focus on studentification is mainly on students at tertiary level.

Researchers have already explored the definitions and trends of studentification. However, most of this scholarly work is situated in the Global North context, considering the long history of universities in this region, especially in Europe and the United States of America (Smith 2008). Only in the recent past has there been a boom of universities in the Global South, especially in Africa, where tertiary education for the minority remain restricted. Within the African context, studentification

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[1]As part of the apartheid government to accommodate Africans in tertiary institutions, separate universities were established in the different bantustans where Africans could be enrolled. These universities include the University of Zululand and University of Western Cape (Davies 1996).

is a phenomenon that is in its infancy and thus it can be identified as an emerging paradigm. This may be explained by the fact that postcolonial governments have been making attempts to decolonise university education and enable the previously disadvantaged natives to acquire higher degrees. The studentification may also be explained as being spurred by government initiatives to develop human capital, which is believed to be a driver for socio-economic development and sustained national development (Benneworth et al. 2010; Revington et al. 2020).

Therefore, more recently, especially in South Africa, researchers increasingly undertook studies on studentification (Gregory 2020; Gregory and Rogerson 2019). The focus of such studies tends to be on the perceptions of residents and students on studentification (Ndimande 2018), to safety issues among the students (Ijasan and Ahmed 2016) and gentrification (Ackermann and Visser 2016). In this chapter, we add onto this growing scholarly work by situating the debates on studentification in the Zimbabwean context where there is a dearth of such investigations, notwithstanding the proliferation of universities over the past two decades. Using the case of Bulawayo, we focus on the interplay and ways in which studentification, urban form and housing policy are intertwined in Zimbabwe. We argue that studentification is an emerging urban trend that seems to be ignored and marginalised in policy and research, a situation that compromises the form and function of urban spaces.

Against this background, the chapter asks critical questions that are situated on the phenomenon of studentification, which is an emerging paradigm in the Zimbabwean context. First, we seek to understand the spatial extent of studentification in Bulawayo. In this regard, we interrogate how studentification unfolds in Bulawayo and examine whether is it has involved the displacement of the settled local population who have been residing in family houses in the neighbourhoods around the tertiary institutions. Second, we explore the sociospatial problems and opportunities that are currently being presented by the growth in student numbers and the growth of off-campus student housing in Bulawayo. Last, the chapter focuses on how planning in Zimbabwe has dealt with studentification.

4.2 Studentification and University Towns: A Literature Review

Studies on studentification sought to understand the changes brought about by the increased concentration of student populations in certain suburbs around the universities. This concentration has different socio-economic and physical implications on urban space and ultimately urban policy. First, studentification results in the transformation and creation of 'student ghettos' that are segregated and concentrated in particular urban areas (Duke-Williams 2009). This phenomenon of student ghettos has been prevalent in the English college towns, to such an extent that students end up dominating entire neighbourhoods (Smith 2002). The same situation has been recounted as occurring in Braamfontein, Johannesburg, where studentified districts

have emerged due to the increased concentration of students at the University of Johannesburg and the Witwatersrand University (Gregory and Rogerson 2019; Visser and Kisting 2019).

It is also critical to note that this concentration of students in neighbourhoods close to the universities is often temporary but may result in the replacement of 'settled' residential groups (Kinton et al. 2016). The result of 'student ghettos' includes changes in the sociodemographic structure of certain neighbourhoods that may be characterised by the out-migration of displaced families who fail to adapt to the increased presence of students in their neighbourhoods (Gu and Smith 2020). In this way, studentification results in the disruption of the wider existing housing and the displacement of established households from these student ghettos (Hubbard 2009; Smith and Hubbard 2014). As a result, urban dormitories emerge and consist of the proliferation of student housing in residential areas previously owned by families (Revington et al. 2020). What emerges is youtification as the neighbourhoods eventually end up being accommodated by the students and other young adults, usually young couples (Moos et al. 2019).

Miessner (2020) pointed out that studentification is associated with some form of segregation which is spurred by the property owners through their rentals. This argument is premised on the context of Germany where rental housing serves the majority of urban dwellers, which is also typical in most Zimbabwean cities considering the high proportions of individuals who do not own properties but depend on rental housing (Chirisa and Matamanda 2016). In such instances, it has been found that property owners take advantage of the students who are better-paying tenants as they are willing and can afford to pay more for their rentals, especially if the properties are close to the universities. Thus, property owners influence urban segregation as the displacement of marginalised groups is noted due to the high rentals charged (Miessner 2020).

The out-migration of settled families is caused by anti-social behaviour that is associated with students. These include the noise and litter problems that are so often characteristic of students' lives of partying and a general lack of stewardship for the places they rent. Moreover, the increased density of students also comes as a burden on public service delivery as family houses tend to be occupied by more residents. Kinton et al. (2016) also point out that a reconfiguration of local population structures is evident where unrelated students live in shared housing, while young cohabiting students change the local class and household structure through the emergence of a distinctive student-cultural lifestyle.

The rental housing market is a major area that is influenced by studentification. The result is often gentrification where property owners try to reconfigure their houses to make them suitable for occupation by the students. In their effort to regenerate their properties, some owners compromise the cultural value of a place, as is evident in the case of Stellenbosch, where some historical buildings have been demolished to pave the way for student communes (Donaldson et al. 2014). In most instances, the universities and municipalities fail to keep pace with the influx of students and come up with alternative urban and housing policies that regulate studentification (Donaldson et al. 2014). The result is that the rental housing market becomes informalised and

unregulated (Uyttebrouck et al. 2020). On the other hand, property prices tend to be inflated, as the demand for housing in areas close to the university increases to such an extent that low- and middle-income earners are excluded from the housing market, leaving it for high-income earners and developers who then buy most of the properties on sale and convert them into student communes or blocks of flats (Donaldson et al. 2014). The form of the housing put up by the developers may be flats, resulting in the emergence of vertical studentification, as noted in Australia (Holton and Mouat 2020).

Urban planning responses to studentification in Africa are still limited while absent in many instances. This can be explained by the point previously highlighted which emphasises the concept of studentification as an emerging paradigm in Africa that governments are still grappling with. In South Africa, albeit the increasing challenges being posed by studentification in university towns such as Bloemfontein, Stellenbosch and Johannesburg, it seems planning is still grappling with addressing these challenges and maximising the gains of this emerging trend (Ackermann and Visser 2016).

It is imperative that the housing market be regulated so that there is a restriction on exorbitant rental prices being charged by property owners. Another point of concern is the quality of the housing which, in most instances, remains neglected as property owners reconfigure their properties to be suitable for accommodating the students (Donaldson et al. 2014). Revington et al. (2020) have argued that planning for studentification must be adaptive and forward-thinking as evident from how the University of Waterloo in Canada has managed to project and integrate the opportunities and constraints of studentification in urban development.

4.3 Methodology

This chapter is qualitative by nature and is based on a case study research design, which situates studentification in the context of Bulawayo. The case study design enabled the examination of the concept of studentification in Bulawayo and this helped to bring insights regarding the interplay of studentification, urban form and housing policy. This is supported by Merriam (2009: 40), who pointed out that case study research enables an in-depth description and analysis of a bounded system. This bounded system is the city of Bulawayo and the selected neighbourhoods that are affected by studentification. In understanding these bounded systems, we sought to provide a descriptive study that unpacks the aforementioned interplay in the city. Therefore, data was collected from both secondary and primary data sources. In-depth qualitative research was undertaken through interviews with students living off-campus, established settled residents and key institutional actors, who include officials from universities, the City of Bulawayo, the Department of Physical Planning and real estate development companies or local housing agents. These interviews were triangulated with secondary data sources. Content analysis was used to analyse

the secondary data, while the primary data was analysed using textual and thematic analysis.

4.4   Contextualising Bulawayo

Bulawayo is the second-largest city in Zimbabwe. Although the settlement had for long been occupied by the Matabele under the kingdom of Lobengula, the current city was officially declared on 1 June 1894 by the British colonialists who anticipated to find some mineral prospects in the region (Ranger 2010). This followed the discovery of the goldfields of the Witwatersrand in South Africa, but it transpired that the lands further north of South Africa were not as prosperous, considering that the same pursuit had been undertaken in vain in Harare in 1890. The absence of mineral prospects in the region resulted in the city thriving as a transport hub due to the construction of the railway line, which eventually bolstered Bulawayo as an industrial hub during the colonial period (Ranger 2010). This railway network was initially developed in 1897 and enabled Bulawayo to be identified as the regional capital for the southern region of Zimbabwe, while also linking the city and Zimbabwe to various neighbouring countries including South Africa and Botswana (Gumbo 2013; Hamilton and Ndubiwa 1994). The development of this railway network was to become a critical infrastructure that enabled the city to evolve and develop into an industrial, commercial and cultural centre and capital for the south-western parts of Zimbabwe. The industrial dominance of the city is evident from the presence of important heavy industries, food processing factories and a thermal power station (Gumbo 2013).

Bulawayo was then the second capital city, while Harare was established as the politico-administrative centre for the colonial government, a situation that has persisted post-independence. Urban development (including the establishment of a university) in Bulawayo during the early years of independence was stalled by the civil unrest caused by the politics of difference between the ruling Zimbabwe African National Union–Patriotic Front (ZANU–PF) party and the Patriotic Front–Zimbabwe African People's Union (PF–ZAPU) (Musemwa 2006a). It was recounted by Falola (2003: 119) that "those in power tend to reward areas where they come from roads, universities, and a host of other amenities". Therefore, the National University of Science Technology was only established in 1991 and became the second-largest university in the country.

The antagonism between these two parties was also based on ethnic grounds, considering that Bulawayo, like most parts of the Matabeleland Province, was predominantly inhabited by the Ndebele who had voted for the 1980 presidential elections of the PF–ZAPU, as well as the 1984 parliamentary elections. As Moyo (1992: 28) pointed out:

> The ruling party's incessant losing streak in elections in ZAPU's dominant constituency of Matabeleland, first in 1980, then in local municipal elections in Bulawayo in 1984, and finally in the 1985 national elections, was a source of humiliation and anger for ZANU–PF.

Musemwa (2006b) described Bulawayo as a segregated city that was planned and developed based on the colonial ideology of racial segregation.

4.4.1 Evolution of Tertiary Institutions in Bulawayo

The Zimbabwe School of Mines was established in 1926 and operated from Gifford High School with only 39 students. In 1934, the Zimbabwe School of Mines was moved from Gifford High to resort under the Bulawayo Technical School until 1994, when the Zimbabwe School of Mines moved to its current premises in Killarney. The institution mainly offers full-time study to students at the following levels: national certificate, national diploma and higher national diploma in mining-related courses. The student enrolment per annum has been increasing over the past five years in the various departments. On average the Zimbabwe School of Mines has 600 students per annum. The existing hostel within the institution can only accommodate 86 students, leaving the other students to reside in off-campus accommodation.

Hillside Teachers' College was established in 1956 as a secondary school teacher's training college. The institution continues to train secondary school teachers who graduate with diplomas and degrees. At its inception, the College had two departments with an annual enrolment of 120 students, but both the departments and enrolment have increased significantly over the years. Currently, there are ten departments at Hillside Teachers' College that accommodate approximately 1 500 students. Considering the initial capacity of the college that only had two departments, the current enrolment places a burden on the institution concerning accommodation, because there are only six hostels, with the capacity to accommodate only 699 students. The remaining students are thus forced to reside in off-campus accommodation. There are plans to construct two hostels, each with a capacity to accommodate 100 students to meet the demand for student accommodation.

At independence, the University of Zimbabwe emerged as the only university in the country, and by the mid-1980s, the strain on the institution was beginning to show due to the decolonisation of tertiary education and the increasing number of Africans who were completing their advanced level education. A commission of inquiry was set to assess the feasibility of establishing another university and it recommended that a "Second university should be established with a Science and Technology bias and this university should be located in Bulawayo" (National University of Science and Technology [NUST] 2019: 40). Mlambo (2005) pointed out that the Government of Zimbabwe took a hasty decision in the establishment of NUST because it did not engage in much forward planning, especially for adequate sustainable long-term funding and infrastructural development. This lack of forward planning contradicts the suggestions by Revington et al. (2020) who have advocated that governments should embrace adaptive and forward planning approaches in their attempts to address studentification.

Moreover, the establishment of NUST in 1991 was followed by the 1992 droughts and the structural adjustment programme of 1994, which limited government spending on public services. The economic meltdown that was to follow from 2000 and the political mayhem in the country made it even more difficult for any meaningful development to be undertaken at this institution. Consequently, although NUST sits on a 160 ha piece of land, it offers very limited on-campus accommodation for its students, forcing most of the 10,000 or more students to be accommodated in off-campus accommodation. In 1991, NUST accommodated a mere 270 students, but at present, there are approximately 156 rooms on campus, with 48 at Mpilo Hospital, mainly reserved for medical students, and an additional 42 at Rose Flats in the central business district (CBD). There is a mismatch between student enrolment and available on-campus accommodation.

Although NUST was established in 1991, the demand for university education kept on increasing and the government urged that more universities be established to meet this demand (NUST 2019: 39). The Catholic University is one such university that has its campuses dotted across the country. Likewise, the Catholic University Bulawayo Campus was established in 2014, and currently, there is an approximate enrolment of 704 students; yet the university only has three hostels that can only accommodate 108 students.

4.4.2 Role of Studentification on the Form and Function of the City

Figure 4.1 shows the spatial extent of the tertiary institutions in Bulawayo. The institutions are located close to the CBD and on the eastern side of the city, which initially accommodated whites from the colonial times, as described by Musemwa (2006b: 187): "the emergence of both the white city of Bulawayo (that is, the CBD) and the northern and eastern suburbs) and the African township of Makokoba followed different developmental trajectories". The Hillside Teachers' College was established during the colonial era and was situated on the eastern side of the city, while the postcolonial situation of NUST is also situated in the same proximity. This may be explained through the zoning regulations for the city that seeks to cluster similar land uses. On the other hand, this emerges as a perpetuation of the colonial city form that was based on segregated land uses in urban development. The CBD emerges as a buffer that separates these institutions from the western suburbs that accommodate the low-income suburbs.

As explained earlier, all the tertiary institutions in Bulawayo experience a shortage of on-campus accommodation, forcing most of the students to reside in off-campus accommodation. Due to the critical shortage of accommodation within the NUST halls of residence, a large percentage of the student population stays in privately owned rented accommodation. However, as a way of assisting students at the beginning of each semester, the university places an advertisement in the public newspaper
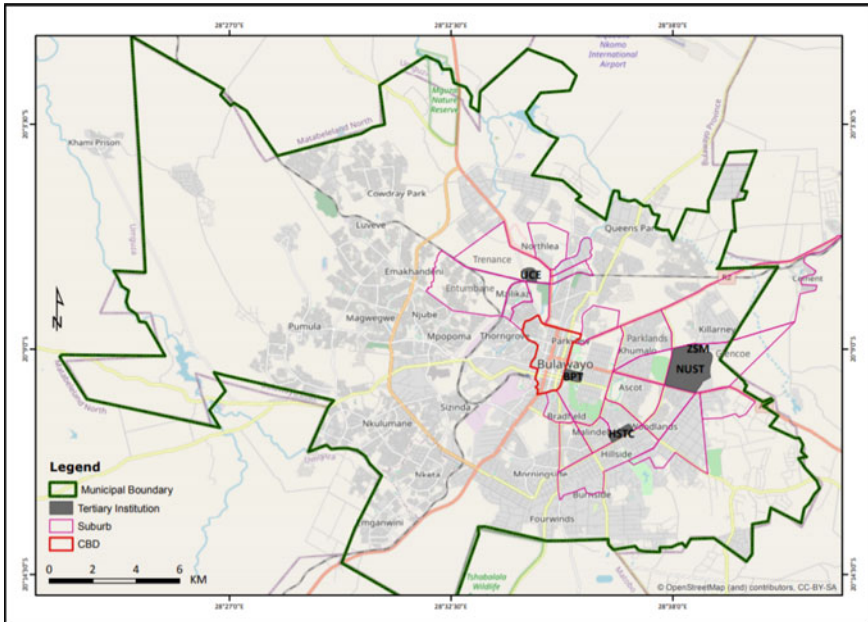
Fig. 4.1 Spatial distribution of the tertiary institutions in Bulawayo

soliciting accommodation from the Bulawayo community. NUST is not directly involved in the management but only indicates to prospective tenants where the houses are located. The rest is a private arrangement between the landlord and the tenant, although the university does regular checks and interventions to ensure the liveability of such environments in which students are accommodated.

As of July 2020, 227 people have registered with the university's student affairs departments for possible accommodation of students. The suburbs with the largest number of prospective landlords are located near the university, namely, Selbourne Park (52), Matshemhlophe (29), Sunninghill (22), Riverside (20), Khumalo (25), Killarney (9) and Parklands (15). These residential neighbourhoods have a locational advantage, being in the vicinity of NUST; hence, they are within walking distance from the university and the students do not have to incur transport costs. Additionally, twelve properties within the CBD also registered for student accommodation. The CBD, though about 7 km from the university, has a locational advantage in terms of availability of transport. The number of properties offering student accommodation reduces with increased distance from the university. For example, in Hillside, five property owners advertised; in Woodlands four; in Lochview four; in Morningside three and suburbs three. Other residential neighbourhoods such as West Somerton, Mahatshula, Glengary, Malindela, Entumbane and Gwabalanda advertised properties, but these are very few, as that would mean transport costs on the part of the students.

Fig. 4.2 Cottage built for student rental

The implication is that property owners within the vicinity of the university have taken advantage of this demand for student accommodation. Most have thus modified and reconfigured their houses, built cottages or even rent part of their detached houses to students. Figure 4.2 shows a cottage that has been constructed by one property owner for renting to students. The property owner indicated that he built the cottage in 2012, specifically targeting NUST students due to the critical shortage of accommodation for students. This particular cottage is among those that are registered with NUST and constitutes four bedrooms, one with an en-suite bathroom, as well as a communal kitchen and lounge. Each room accommodates two students, meaning that eight students can be accommodated in the cottage. The landlord indicated that he provided basic amenities that are critical for students. These include a stove and fridge in the kitchen, as well as a Wi-Fi connection.

The official from NUST pointed out that "[p]property owners are encouraged to register with NUST so that the university knows where students stay. However, not all property owners have registered with the institution". It was explained that such an arrangement helps to create a synergy between the university and the residents, as the students are expected to behave as if they reside in university accommodation. Moreover, the arrangement also helps as the university assesses the accommodation and provides guidelines that make the rooms suitable for students to reside comfortably. Besides, NUST periodically visits the landlords to see the conditions and establish how the students behave so that they may provide advice. Meetings are held between the landlords and the NUST student division to discuss NUST's expectations, rentals, space and behaviour. Students are not expected to drink while in the hostels on campus; they are equally not expected to drink while residing off-campus. The residence officer from NUST remarked: "Landlords need to play a fatherly and motherly role – the place is the new home for the student, but they should also feel as being part of NUST".

Property owners and developers have taken advantage of the demand for off-campus accommodation. However, most property owners have not made any effort to register their properties with the local authority, as they fear they may be asked to desist from such practices, or they might have to pay some form of tax to the Zimbabwe Revenue Authority. The official from Bulawayo City Council (BCC) also indicated that there is no specific by-law that regulates the student housing in the city, especially when individuals extend their properties. The official from the development control section at BCC further stated:

> On a high-income plot – more than 2,000 m^2 permitted developments are the main house, cottage (100 m^2) and an outbuilding. As a result, students are being accommodated in the above structures – no need for a change of use or application for special consent as the developments are permitted. A change of use of properties would only apply when the development is non-residential.

Unlike in other cities and contexts where studentification has been concomitant with gentrification, the situation in Bulawayo has proved that studentification does not always correlate positively with gentrification. Rather, property owners have simply made improvements on their own to existing properties to enhance the look of their properties and to make them more appealing to the students. Notwithstanding developments, it emerged that the council has not put in place any statutes or policy that guides and regulates the development of such housing meant to accommodate the students. The official from the BCC pointed out:

> Special consent is the basis upon which non-residential uses can be permitted as long as the proposed developments are not obtrusive. It should be noted that special consent applications do not mean a change in zoning, has a timed life span as things may change and the land use may revert to the original use.

This situation confirms the study by Uyttebrouck et al. (2020), who indicate that the emerging housing market for students and young professionals is evolving, yet remains unregulated. The argument raised by the local authority is that student accommodation is categorised as residential use, such as that there is no change of reservation of the place—use the main house and retain the character of the house; not change the fabric of the area. However, the house plans have to be submitted for approval to the local authority if a new dwelling is to be developed so that the council can determine if the proposed development conforms to the designated land use.

The studentification process in Bulawayo has also spurred a different kind of housing market and development that includes private corporates who have made plans to invest in off-campus rental accommodation. However, the main challenge has always been the demand for land, as the most lucrative sites are those close to the university; yet there is limited space and the available space tends to be highly priced, considering its proximity to the CBD. In 2019, Zimre Property Investments Limited (ZPIL) refurbished one of its properties in the CBD (NICOZ House) to pave the way for student accommodation units (Ndlovu 2018). This property accommodates 200 students on the second and third floors, while the ground floor has been retained for commercial purposes—a restaurant and surgery that are complementary to the residential use. Furthermore, ZPIL is scheduled to construct the US$16 million

Selbourne Park Student Accommodation Hub that is expected to accommodate 2000 tertiary students in Bulawayo. An official from ZPIL stressed the lucrative nature of providing student accommodation: "The next frontier in investment is in student accommodation, especially for pension funds. It's not a social investment" (Chikono 2019).

The other players engaged in student accommodation in Bulawayo is the Infrastructure Development Bank of Zimbabwe that is currently constructing the Bulawayo Student Accommodation Complex in Matsheumhlope. The project will accommodate students from all tertiary institutions in and around Bulawayo, thus easing the existing housing woes among the students (Infrastructure Development Bank of Zimbabwe 2017). They have also unrolled similar projects in other university towns across the country to contribute to the social well-being of students. Figure 4.3 shows this complex still under construction, with the development expected to accommodate 1032 students. Moreover, there will be 12 small shops, four offices, a banking hall, a gym and other commercial spaces that will also be open to members of the public (see Fig. 4.4).

The implications of studentification on urban development in Bulawayo are multi-faceted. For example, the residents raised concerns about the invasion of students in the neighbourhoods surrounding NUST and the other tertiary institutions. The major concern raised was the lack of stewardship that students bring to the houses where they stay. This has been identified as a major problem, especially in homes

Fig. 4.3 Student hostel being constructed by the Infrastructure Development Bank of Zimbabwe

Fig. 4.4   A diagrammatic representation of the final form of the Bulawayo Student Accommodation Complex showing the upmarket facility

where the owners do not live on the property, but rent the entire home to the students. Waste management has been a challenge that got out of hand in the suburbs where students live, because they have no sense of responsibility to take care of the environment where they live. One property owner who rents out his house pointed out that "[t]he students are not willing to clean the yard; "*tinobhadhara ka mdhara imi motowona kuti matsvaka munhu*". (We pay our rentals, so you have to find someone responsible for the cleaning.) As a result, he ends up cleaning the yard by picking up the excessive waste disposed of by the students. This situation is exacerbated by the local authority not managing the waste in the city effectively, resulting in such problems. One property owner lamented:

Vandalism is a major challenge especially the plugs and doors. Constant repairs have to be done to the door handles, electric stove and burnt plugs while the outside environment remains unmanned and can be an eyesore unless someone intervenes.

Noise was identified as another major nuisance that characterises the studentification in the various neighbourhoods in Bulawayo where students reside. Permanent residents bemoan the fact that, with the increasing number of students in the various neighbourhoods in Bulawayo, noise levels are increasingly becoming unbearable due to the lifestyles of the students living in rented houses, as they usually throw parties over weekends, playing loud music and singing, which is a great nuisance to the neighbours. Moreover, studentification in Bulawayo has also been blamed for the surge in crime and anti-social behaviour in the suburbs where they live. The presence of students in off-campus accommodation has increased incidences of crime, as criminals target the students, especially those who study in the library till late at night. Besides muggings, which often happen, resulting in students being robbed of their valuables such as laptops and phones, it was also reported that burglary cases were on the increase in the neighbourhoods. However, the victims may not always be the students (Tshili 2018); prostitution has also been identified as another anti-social behaviour that is being fuelled by the studentification process. Most students come from poor backgrounds and some end up engaging in prostitution to support themselves.

The constraints on the existing bulk services in the city, especially water and sewer services, are a major problem that haunts the city authorities. Bulawayo has always experienced water problems from its inception (Musemwa 2006b) and as the student population increases in off-campus accommodation that was meant to accommodate single households, the constraints on these services are immense. This is a challenge that the local authority has not anticipated and for which it has no immediate solution.

These challenges associated with the studentification process in Bulawayo have thus forced some property owners in the affected suburbs to rent out their properties and move to other suburbs far from areas with a high concentration of students. However, this is not a practical option for most property owners, as few have the financial means to buy a property in another location. Some have sold their properties and moved out of their family houses. The class displacement thus comes into perspective here as the poor and affluent are segregated, based on their ability to relocate or else put up with the 'nuisance' of the students and live in these dormitory towns. It is for this particular reason why the construction of the Selbourne Park Student Accommodation Hub scheduled to be constructed on five consolidated plots in an area designated for family housing, has been met with resistance from the BCC (Nyoni 2018). Also, at a consultation meeting during the preparation of an environmental impact assessment, property owners in Selbourne Park, Matshemhlophe and Riverside objected to the construction of student hostels. On the other hand, the town planning officer from the BCC development control section mentioned that "the local authority is not doing anything to facilitate the provision of land within the abutting residential areas as NUST has adequate land within its size for all the

envisaged developments". Her reasoning, and that of the local authority, was that "NUST must be a self-contained development as it has adequate land".

The reasons for objections were depreciation in property values (they knew about townhouse development which improves or retains their property values, not hostels, hence the reason why they bought properties, otherwise they would have bought elsewhere); the increase in crime rates; the fact that the development will fuel moral decadency among their children through association with students from higher learning institutions; and the capacity of the neighbourhood and services to hold such a large population (overpopulation). The capacity of the suburb to absorb an additional 2000 students would exacerbate the existing water woes in the suburbs. The residents thus argued that the development should be on the university premises and not off-campus (Moyo 2017).

4.5 Conclusion

The chapter recognises that studentification is an emerging paradigm in urban Zimbabwe, following the government's initiative to establish state universities across the country. However, this policy decision was not supported by a comprehensive plan that would facilitate complementary infrastructure development in these college towns. First, studentification in Bulawayo has been concomitant with the increasing density of students in suburbs around the universities. This has been a result of the limited on-campus accommodation that leaves the students with no option but to reside in off-campus accommodation.

Second, this increased concentration of students in the various neighbourhoods has resulted in various socio-economic problems, which include an increase in crime in the neighbourhoods as perpetrators target students for their electronic equipment such as laptops and mobile phones. Noise and littering have also been identified to be on the rise, following the proliferation of students in these suburbs. The increased density of students in the residential areas has thus placed a burden on the already constrained urban infrastructure and services in Bulawayo. The major constraint is on water access, a challenge the city has been grappling with for decades.

Third, the proliferation of students has thus resulted in some 'settled' residents moving out of these suburbs as they indicated that the presence of students has diminished the residential value of their properties. However, some residents have taken the initiative to regenerate their properties to accommodate the students in the informal rental housing that is not regulated by the local authority or the universities. The displacement of families from these student ghettos has been based on classism as some families cannot acquire alternative properties; hence, they are stranded with no option but to live with the students in their midst.

The local authority has been reluctant to formulate any policy that relates to studentification, namely, the sociospatial transformations associated with the process. To this end, the urban change has remained unregulated, as the BCC argues that as long as the properties retain their residential function, there is no need to change

policy. What the BCC fails to consider is the complexity of studentified neighbourhoods that influence sociospatial development. They argue that it is the responsibility of the university to provide student accommodation on-campus, because they have adequate land available. However, such an instance has opened up an opportunity for property developers who have been investing in flats that depict the vertical studentification in Australia. This vertical development is also characterised by the development of other complementary services and functions, which include a restaurant, bank and surgery. These complementary services somehow increase the value of the neighbourhoods.

The process of studentification in Bulawayo has thus been associated with the spatial reconfiguration of the city as is evident from the renovations made by respective property owners seeking to attract students. The role of the private sector in property development can also not be underestimated, because considering the limited role of the government in funding off-campus student accommodation, which is supposed to be a social responsibility, considering that most of the students come from poor backgrounds and cannot afford the upmarket services offered, for example, at the ZPIL hostels in the CBD, the urban poor will remain marginalised in accessing housing.

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Chapter 5
Urban Governance and the Political Economy of Livelihoods and Poverty in Harare, Zimbabwe

Elmond Bandauko, Tafadzwa Mutambisi, Percy Toriro, and Innocent Chirisa

Abstract This chapter examines the interface between urban governance and poverty, using the case study of Harare, Zimbabwe. The chapter focuses on the following specific urban policy areas that impact directly on the urban poor: access to land, mechanisms for citizen participation and voice, attitude towards the informal sector, attitude towards informal housing and regulatory environment. The chapter argues that urban governance (laws, policies and administrative practices) either positively or negatively impact the lives and livelihoods of the poor. Overall, the urban governance frameworks of Harare remain largely 'poor-unfriendly'. The urban development aspirations, such as the drive towards a 'world-class city' are at variance with the livelihoods of thousands of the urban poor, the majority of whom engage in informal street trading. In Harare, the urban poor have vulnerable tenure insecurities, which exposes them to evictions and displacements, disrupting their livelihoods. The urban poor in Harare is also alienated from decision-making processes such as budget formulation. Without an active voice in urban governance, the needs of the poor in Harare remain marginal. Urban governance frameworks in Harare need to be rethought, so that they become responsive to the needs of the poor, especially those living and working on the 'urban margins'.

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5.1 Introduction

Urban poverty and governance are now at the centre of international development policy and agenda. With the rapid population of the urban poor now living in cities, poverty can no longer be regarded as a rural phenomenon (Haddad et al. 1999; Satterthwaite 1997). Therefore, there is increased attention from researchers and policymakers on issues of urban poverty (Devas 2005). There is also widespread recognition of the interface between poverty and governance at all levels (UNDP 2000; World Bank 2000, 2003). The structures and processes of urban governance, including policies, laws and administrative practices, have significant implications on how urban poverty is produced and addressed. In the case of urban governance, the debate about structural reform has tended to focus on technical issues of planning, infrastructure development and service delivery (Devas 2005). However, there are important issues about the impact of the local political economy on those living in poverty, and how political processes may include or exclude the urban poor. For instance, while Zimbabwe made progress in improving the general standard of living, many urban dwellers still live under poor conditions characterised by extreme poverty and socio-economic marginalisation. The provision of goods and services by urban councils is ineffective and inefficient due to bad urban governance (Chekai 2020).

Past studies in this area have tended to focus on the nature of poverty and livelihoods of the poor (Beall 1997; Moser 1998; Rakodi 1995), or on urban development and urban management (Devas and Rakodi 1993). The question guiding this chapter is: How does governance affect urban poverty? The chapter examines how the organisations, mechanisms and institutions of urban governance impact on poverty, deprivation and inequality, based on insights from Harare, the capital of Zimbabwe. The chapter focuses on specific policies that affect the urban poor, including attitudes towards the informal sector, attitudes towards informal housing, regulatory environment, mechanisms for citizen participation and voice and access to land. The chapter draws largely on the analysis of secondary data sources, including peer-reviewed papers, policy reports from the city of Harare, newspaper articles and other relevant material.

The chapter is structured as follows: The chapter starts with an overview of the conceptual framework guiding the analysis and focuses on the key concepts such as urban governance and urban poverty. The chapter then provides a brief overview of the context of the study, highlighting factors shaping Harare's urbanisation, urban economy and overall urban development. This is followed by a detailed discussion on the specific policies that affect the urban poor in Harare, focusing on the regulatory environment (Sect. 5.4.3), access to land (Sect. 5.4.1), attitudes towards the informal sector (Sect. 5.4.4), attitudes towards informal housing (Sect. 5.4.5) and mechanisms for citizen participation and voice (Sect. 5.4.2).

5.2 Conceptual Framework

The term 'governance' is broad, often involving different perspectives such as the relationships between the state, citizens and civil society (Kihato 2011). Governance is about relationships between the state and civil society, rulers and the ruled, government and the governed; it is about the way the power structures of the day and civil society interrelate to produce a civic public realm (Swilling 1997). Obeng-Odoom (2012) underscored that there are three perspectives through governance: governance as a broader concept than government, governance as a set of rules and processes, and governance as an analytical framework. Governance also comprises the mechanisms, processes and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their differences (Resnick 2014).

Much of the writing on the concept of urban governance has focused on empirical case studies that have led to the exploration of outcomes of different institutional arrangements for the characteristics of cities (Melo and Baiocchi 2006: 587–588). Aspects of such literature have either emphasised a neoliberal model of urban governance (Guarneros-Meza and Geddes 2010), used various theories of power to analyse the behaviour of actors in urban governance (for example, Lindell 2008; Nicholls 2005), or focused on the factors and forces that inhibit urban governance in practice (Beumont and Nicholls 2008). Devas (2001) conceptualised city governance as a process involving the interaction between different actors and institutions in shaping what happens in cities. These different actors include businesses, both corporate and informal; civil society, including community organisations, non-governmental organisations, political organisations, religious groups. Thus, urban governance deals with power relationships between these different actors. These power dynamics determine the extent to which certain groups of stakeholders can influence the urban policy agenda. For example, the actions of institutions of city governance can either enhance or constrain the ability of the urban poor to pursue their livelihoods.

As a political and economic concept, urban governance is supposed to go beyond the state–market framework and produce outcomes that meet the needs of urban citizens (Obeng-Odoom 2013). Processes and institutions of urban governance have very tangible implications for everyday urban life (Muyeba 2019). Devas (2001) highlighted three critical factors, which determine the extent to which the urban poor can influence decision-making processes at the local level, namely: inclusive political processes, enabling the voice of the poor to be heard and to have influence; the capacity of city governance institutions to respond to the needs of the poor; and the role of civil society in enabling the poor to exert influence and achieve access and benefits. Inclusive and participatory governance contributes to poverty reduction by focusing on the needs of the poor (Mitlin 2004). The currency of inclusive governance is driven by several factors, chief among them civil society, government policies such as decentralisation, and the desire to pursue legitimate politics. Inclusive urban governance emphasises governance arrangements that promote the inclusion of the people, in particular the poor and marginalised. Inclusive urban governance

"emphasises the need to introduce mechanisms to encourage the involvement of those who do not find it easy to participate in state structures and processes because they are generally far removed from their own cultures and practices" (Mitlin 2004: 4). Inclusive governance is anchored on new structures and processes of engagement which are friendly, and specific to the needs of the poor. Smith (2004) pointed to the potency of processes leading to inclusive governance and the role of weaker groups in negotiating and fighting for transfer of power in urban management. Inclusive urban governance is closely related to citizen participation and civil society engagement.

The literature on citizen's participation is diverse, with Cornwall (2004) pointing to 'invited spaces' of participation with questions about who is invited, for what reasons, by whom and how, as key. Principally, this leads to inclusion as well as exclusion of some stakeholders (Muchadenyika 2015). There are different participatory mechanisms which enable choices to be considered by those affected, and which give the poor influence over decisions affecting them. In Johannesburg, South Africa, the preparation of local integrated development plans has involved extensive citizen participation. In Colombo, Sri Lanka, through community development councils, poor communities were able to influence local community action plans. In some Brazilian cities, participatory budgeting has opened up opportunities for the poor, and those hitherto excluded, to influence budgetary choices (Souza 2000). In Cebu City in the Philippines, there are a variety of forums in which citizens, community organisations and non-governmental organisations participate to address particular issues. Yet, as with any participatory mechanism, there are risks that the loudest voices carry the day, that minority views are marginalised and that large sections of the poor, especially the poorest, are effectively excluded. Shand (2018) argued that inclusive governance requires the creation of spaces where the views of low-income communities can be heard through deliberative problem-solving.

The ability of the urban poor to influence the agenda of city governments depends on how strong the civil society in that local context is. However, Devas (2001) argued that the interests of corporate business society are at variance with the interests and needs of the urban poor. For example, business corporates may prohibit informal traders from operating from certain spaces, especially where public space has been privatised. In Cebu City, the city government managed to negotiate with the formal business sector for a 'maximum tolerance policy' towards street vendors; however, with limited success. Informal business organisations can also influence urban governance. Devas (2001) also discussed the role that community-based organisations play in urban governance. Through community-based organisations, the urban poor can negotiate for improvements in infrastructure and services.

The growth of civil society organisations in many parts of the world has provided opportunities for the voice of the poor. But there are huge obstacles such as lack of resources of the poor, conflicting interests within and between poor groups, and lack of accountability of the leadership of community organisations to members (Mitlin 2004). Many civil society organisations primarily represent the interests of those who are better off, while non-governmental organisations often have interests that are at variance with the people they claim to represent. Recent global trends of democratisation and decentralisation have opened political space at the local level

in many countries. Whether or not the poor can make use of that space depends on two things: first, the institutional arrangements through which the poor can make their voice heard, and second, the ability of the poor to organise themselves to exert influence. There is, of course, no necessary correlation between either of these and the size and structure of city government (Devas 2005). Urban governance also impacts the livelihoods of the urban poor.

A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets and activities required for a means of living. The urban poor adopt a range of livelihood strategies to survive, cope with impoverishment and reduce their insecurity (Rakodi 2001). In addition, they seek to improve their social well-being, provide themselves with secure and adequate living accommodation and exert their political rights (Rakodi 2001). The urban poor are therefore not only concerned with income poverty, but also with other aspects of deprivation. The traditional approach of governments to the problems of poverty and deprivation has been a 'top-down' approach, whether reliant on the 'trickle–down' of increased incomes resulting from economic growth, positive redistributive policies, attempts to alleviate poverty or the direct provision of infrastructure and services. What is of interest is the interaction between these formal attempts to alleviate poverty at city level and the efforts of deprived or excluded groups to gain access to resources and decision-making structures (Rakodi 2001).

The approach adopted in this chapter goes beyond focusing on the incidence of income poverty or household coping strategies to examine ways in which poor groups influence decisions and the agendas of government institutions. Important here are debates about representation and accountability, in particular the extent to which local democratic political systems provide opportunities for poor people to influence the urban policy agenda, and the role of civil society organisations in directly providing services, representing poor residents or ensuring accountability.

5.3 Context of the Study

Harare is the national capital of Zimbabwe. It serves as the main political and administrative centre for the country. The city was originally established by the British colonial authorities in 1890 and it was then known as Fort Salisbury. The term 'fort' was borrowed from the concept of fortified cities and towns in Medieval Europe whose design was mostly influenced by the need to protect citizens from potentially hostile neighbours. During the colonial period, European modernist planning approaches of order, aesthetics and economic efficiency guided urban development, while urban informality was not tolerated under these strict planning regulations (Matamanda 2020). The end of the colonial era also brought with it the end of segregationist policies which had been used to restrict the movement of indigenous people to urban areas. The removal of these restrictions gave rise to extensive rural–urban migration. Harare experienced rapid urbanisation from the 1980s onwards, leading to a large deficit in affordable housing and associated services (Muchadenyika et al. 2019). The drastic decline in the capacity of the national government and the City

of Harare to deliver low-income housing in the post-2000 socio-economic crisis, left the urban poor even more vulnerable. As such, there was a large and growing demand for housing against a critically constrained supply, which led to a dramatic increase in self-help initiatives (Muchadenyika et al. 2019).

Harare's urban economy has also become highly informalised. Since 2000, the political economy of Harare changed. Following the collapse of urban services, mass impoverishment, deindustrialisation and hyperinflation, the city failed to sustain its growing population (Alexander and McGregor 2013). Informal economic activities, especially street trading, has recently expanded (Njaya 2014). The expansion occurred in a range of different forms of informal retail, including mobile, stationary, fixed and itinerant vendors; in addition, organised car boot sales were a growing phenomenon (Njaya 2014). The statistics from the City of Harare show that there are approximately 30,000 registered vendors in the city; yet, in 2017, at least 100,000 vendors were operating in Harare, while approximately 20,000 were vending in the central business district (Matamanda et al 2020). By mid-2018, there were numerous abortive attempts by both government and the Harare City Council to remove the illegal street vendors through the conventional method of forcible eviction. The illegal street vendors resisted every attempt to remove them from the streets, reasoning that they had no other alternative to survive (Ndawana 2018).

In terms of housing, Harare has a huge backlog. The housing crisis in the city has resulted in the urban poor resorting to self-help approaches by building their own settlements. Most of these settlements developed without proper planning and lacked adequate infrastructure and services such as water and sanitation. Currently, Harare has over 63 informal settlements scattered around the city. Examples of the largest informal settlements in Harare include Hopley, Epworth, Hatcliffe Extension and Caledonia. These settlements also developed without institutions serving them, and their connection to the city is often contested.

5.4 Specific Policies Affecting the Urban Poor in Harare

This section examines the impact of specific policy areas on the urban poor in Harare. The areas examined include access to urban land for the poor, mechanisms for citizen participation and voice, regulatory environment, attitudes towards the informal sector and towards informal housing.

5.4.1 Access to Urban Land for the Poor

In urban areas, access to land is an important policy area that has implications for the poor, not just for housing but also for the livelihood opportunities which land offers. In Harare, there are cases that demonstrate that the land management processes

are 'poor-unfriendly'. The urban poor, especially those living in informal settlements, have precarious land tenure insecurity, which restricts their ability to invest in key infrastructure and housing improvements. State allocations of urban land and housing to the urban poor ceased to be made based on need via housing 'waiting lists'. Rather, party political interests came to predominate in processes of distribution that worked both through state institutions, and outside them, directly via the party structures. State institutions themselves were securitised and subject to political capture (McGregor 2013; McGregor and Chatiza 2019). The ruling elites in Harare control and dominate the land allocation and management processes in the city's largest informal settlements, making land a political resource that can only be accessed by those connected to patronage systems (McGregor and Chatiza 2020). Additionally, the system of 'waiting lists' is viewed by the City of Harare as a management tool and the most equitable way to allocate urban land. However, it is overly bureaucratic and marginalises the urban poor and new immigrants into the city, especially those who often do not have the requisite documentation or information to enlist (Chitekwe-Biti 2009).

Using the case study of Hopley, Matamanda (2020) underscored that despite having been allocated plots in 2005, the residents lacked entitlement to their plots. The lack of entitlement to plots through the absence of title deeds, even for residents who were allocated plots by the City of Harare, is an indication of the strategy of politicians to alienate the residents of Hopley and make sure that they have no claim to the land (Matamanda 2020). The lack of entitlement to the land means that residents cannot invest in housing improvements and most of them continue to live in substandard housing.

5.4.2 Mechanisms for Citizen Participation and Voice in Harare

Harare uses representative democracy, where residents elect councillors whose duty it is to champion the interests of their local communities. In each ward, there are ward development committees whose purpose is to bring people together and discuss issues of community development. The Harare Residents Trust and the Combined Harare Residents Association are citizen-driven associations whose mandate is to engage the City of Harare and influence urban governance, to ensure that the needs of residents are considered in urban planning and development. Street traders in Harare have also mobilised themselves and formed associations such as the Vendors Initiative for Socio-Economic Transformation. This association acts as a platform for street vendors to advocate for urban governance reforms. Despite the existence of these mechanisms and platforms, the voice of the urban poor remains marginalised. For example, street vendors continue to be alienated in decision-making processes on the production and reproduction of urban spaces. Street vendors in Harare are not consulted on relocation schemes and urban regeneration projects. The efforts of

these groups to express their concerns through popular protests are always thwarted by coercive municipal responses. Decisions on the siting and development of market-places have a direct impact on the livelihoods of street vendors, but they are always absent from the negotiating table. These decisions are made by technical experts using top-down approaches.

There are some positive developments related to the ability of civil society to influence the agenda of urban policy in Harare. For example, under the Harare Slum Upgrading project (2010–2016), the Zimbabwe Homeless People's Federation, with technical support from the Dialogue on Shelter Trust, signed a memorandum of understanding with the City of Harare (Muchadenyika 2015). The alliance between the Federation and Dialogue on Shelter is the largest social movement in Zimbabwe advocating for housing access to the urban poor. Through intense negotiations with local government, the alliance has managed complex relationships, built a collective coherent voice across its membership, built and manages alliances with other organisations working towards the same goals and constructively engages with the government on a set of very tangible outcomes (Chitekwe-Biti 2009). The Harare Slum Upgrading project created platforms for representatives of the urban poor to engage the urban policymakers on issues of housing and infrastructure development in underserved communities. However, the majority of the residents of informal settlements in Harare still lack formal, direct and sustainable relations with local authority structures (Chatiza 2019). While they vote for councillors in elections administered by national institutions, most of them do not have financial, technical and broader service delivery links with their councils. For instance, regardless of Hopley's proximity to established settlements, the community remains isolated and disconnected from the formal system that serves most parts of Harare (Matamanda 2020). This limits the opportunities for residents of such settlements to participate in decision-making processes that have a direct impact on their lives and livelihoods. Informal settlement residents have limited opportunities to participate in budget consultation processes, without which their ability to influence the agenda of local governments is limited. Therefore, the needs of informal settlements are not captured within municipal budgets.

5.4.3   Regulatory Environment

A particular obstacle in addressing the needs of the poor is the regulatory environment within which city governments are operating. Harare, for example, has inherited a collection of repressive by-laws and planning and building standards, which are not suitable for the needs of the poor. The events on the ground in the central business district of Harare raised questions concerning the legitimacy of Statutory Instrument 159, as there have been numerous occasions where blitz actions were undertaken to clear street vendors in the city, even from sites once designated by the City of Harare for such purposes (Bandauko and Mandisvika 2015). Dorman (2016) argued that the colonial era by-laws, plans and statutes remained essentially unchanged. The

informal sector in the city of Harare has remained stunted by the operative institutions that have failed to reform for the integration of the informal sector. The informal sector has therefore remained disenfranchised for their rights to the city because they have not been given the chance to access space in the city centre because of the operating legislative instruments that continued to marginalise activities of the informal sector.

5.4.4 Attitudes Towards the Informal Sector

The second aspect is the city's approach towards informal sector businesses, in which the tensions between the demands of formal (taxpaying) and informal enterprises, and between the desires of politicians and professionals for an orderly city, and the behaviour of informal businesses competing for locations and customers, are evident. Experiences from Harare demonstrate that targeted actions to support informal entrepreneurs such as street traders are not on the agenda of urban policymakers (Rogerson 2016). The City's plans, policies and programmes do not always provide for the integration of the informal sector. Therefore, people who operate within the informal sector have continued to do, without formal recognition from the institutions of urban governance. The informal sector in Harare continues to operate on the margins of the urban economy. In fact, "the contemporary directions of policy responses occurring in Harare suggest an unpromising future for their city's informal entrepreneurs" (Rogerson 2016: 229). The responses of the City of Harare to informality vacillate between actions of frontal aggression and of unleashing bouts of forced evictions to repressive tolerance within which formalisation is increasingly promoted as a means of extracting revenue flows from already economically hard-pressed informal entrepreneurs. The City of Harare has on many occasions demolished market stalls and other vending sites on the basis that they have been established illegally; thereby contributing to the loss of livelihoods and economic opportunities.

5.4.5 Attitudes Towards Informal Housing

Informal housing in Harare is widespread in peri-urban areas, such as Stoneridge, Hopley, Saturday Retreat, Odar Farm, and Hatcliffe Extension. About 35 farms were incorporated into the City of Harare boundary through Statutory Instrument 41 of 1996. Hopley consists of about 7,200 officially allocated lots. The City of Harare's initial intention was to plan, service and install infrastructure services before allocation. However, this process did not come to fruition. In Harare, there are areas of informal housing which the city authorities refuse to recognise, and hence provide even the most basic services such as water. Similar issues arise concerning the recognition of informal settlements. Official urban development programmes tend to ignore informal settlements which have significant problems over land rights. Residents of

informal settlements in Harare have a history of evictions with the government and city councils failing to adopt inclusive and sustainable solutions (Muchadenyika 2015).

5.5   Discussion and Implications

This chapter has examined the impact of urban governance on livelihoods and poverty in Harare, Zimbabwe. The chapter analysed how specific policies affect the urban poor in the city, focusing on access to land, mechanisms for citizen participation and voice, regulatory environment, attitudes towards the informal sector and informal housing. Devas (2001) argued that for urban governance to meet the needs of the urban poor, requires a system in which their votes count. There also needs to be a pro-poor municipal government that can deliver, as well as a dynamic civil society that can work towards an accountable relationship with the state. The situation in Harare represents the exact opposite of what Devas (2001) conceptualised as pro-poor urban governance. Instead, the urban poor, especially those living in informal settlements, are detached from the formal urban governance systems (see Chatiza 2019). The unequal development that exists in Harare is a direct result of marginalisation of the urban poor where the development landscape is dominated by prioritising the needs of the few elites.

Though residents of poor neighbourhoods elect their local councillors every five years, their representation in municipal policy structures is not effective. Thus, their needs and aspirations do not always feature on the agenda of urban policy in Harare. In most cases, the elected officials do not advance the interests of the urban poor (Mitlin 2004). Local community leaders sometimes advance their interests and operate on a clientelist basis (see Banks 2015). The participation of the urban poor in decision-making processes in Harare is limited. For example, those living and working on the urban margins do not always get opportunities to express their concerns during budget consultation processes. Without an active voice in municipal policymaking, the needs of the poor remain marginal.

The chapter has also demonstrated that if effectively mobilised and organised the urban poor can also exert some influence on urban governance. The case of the alliance between Zimbabwe Homeless People's Federation and Dialogue on Shelter reveals the power of strong social movements in advocating for the housing rights of the urban poor (Chitekwe-Biti 2009; Muchadenyika 2015). However, the ability of the urban poor to influence the agenda of local government depends largely on the strength and capacity of existing civil society organisations (see Devas 2001). Despite the existence of street trader associations, the voices of these informal sector actors remain marginalised in urban policymaking. The continued marginalisation of street traders in decision-making processes, for instance, exposes them to endemic livelihood insecurities.

Access to land is also important for the livelihoods of the urban poor (Devas 2001). The case of Harare reveals that the urban poor are marginalised when it comes to

issues of land. For example, residents of informal settlements endure endemic tenure insecurities and threats of evictions because they do not have entitlement to the land. The urban poor in Harare also face a serious housing crisis. Economic hardships may also be attributed to informal settlement developments where the citizens (mostly the poor) fail to access adequate housing. Hence, they end up settling informally in the urban fringe in areas that are not usually served with basic services. Informality thus thrives in this context as people resort to illegal means of land and housing appropriation and illegal subdivisions (McGregor and Chatiza 2020). The city's housing delivery models and approaches remain largely 'anti-poor'. For example, the City of Harare has limited or no programmes on social housing to cater for the needs of the poor. Faced with precarious housing challenges, the urban poor resort to self-help schemes, which expose them to vulnerabilities such as forced evictions and displacements. As McGregor and Chatiza (2020: 20) rightly put it: "Harare's informal settlements continue to be symbols of poverty, thwarted development and political control". These cities have therefore been characterised by widespread incidences of poverty.

Another critical area is the city's policies towards the urban informal sector. As highlighted in this chapter, the urban poor in Harare derives their livelihoods by engaging in informal economic activities such as street trading. However, informal sector activities such as street trading are still regarded as illegal and not legitimate livelihood strategies in an urban setting. The City of Harare's attitudes towards the informal sector is often hostile, repressive and coercive, thus contributing to the disruption of livelihoods for thousands of the urban poor working in the 'street economies'. The City's by-laws are often used to 'criminalise' those working in the informal economy, thereby deepening their socio-economic marginalisation. Devas (2001) argued that most cities in developing countries inherited a collection of repressive by-laws and planning standards that are not amenable to the needs of the urban poor. The City of Harare's municipal by-laws and planning approaches are implemented to uphold order and aesthetics as part of the city's quest towards urban modernity. This is not to say urban modernity is bad, but rather, the drive towards urban modernity must also factor in the existing socio-economic realities in the city. The poor in Harare are therefore experiencing living conditions that are constantly militating against building positive livelihoods and therefore have a negative impact on their quality of life (Parnell and Robinson 2012). The livelihoods of the poor are fast becoming real issues of urbanity in Harare, but they are facing strong resistance from institutions that do not recognise these land uses; hence, they are excluded from the planning and management of cities. Informality as an urban land use should therefore find expression in Harare where most institutions are failing to recognise them.

Though the uses of Harare as a case study, the arguments raised in this chapter resonate with other contexts in sub-Saharan African cities. Like in Harare, most cities in sub-Saharan Africa use neoliberal urban governance and policies. As rapid urbanisation has set in and formal economies have failed to cope, socio-economic conditions have progressively become unpalatable and 'poor-unfriendly' (Kamete 2013). The nature of urban governance in most cities in Sub-Saharan Africa has failed to realise

the livelihood realities of most of the population who live in slums and derive their livelihoods from informal economic activities. Various political economic processes are exerting ever-growing pressures on people working in the urban margins. The current neoliberal models of urbanism and governance in Zimbabwe propagate policies, ideas and aspirations that are often unfavourable to these groups (Lindell and Ampaire 2016). Harare also remains guided by its neoliberal urbanisation policies that do not recognise the needs of the poor (Kamete 2013). They are determined to keep the city clean and orderly and such behaviour has resulted in the marginalisation of people in the informal sector in terms of providing essential services that will make their spaces safe and liveable. A long-time scholar on urban Sub-Saharan Africa concluded that planners, who are instrumental in spatialising the search for urban modernity, have "little understanding about how the poor survive" (Rakodi 1993: 207).

5.6   Conclusion

In this chapter, we have argued that urban governance (laws, policies and administrative practices) has a direct impact on the livelihoods of the urban poor. Using the case study of Harare, the chapter has demonstrated that the use of neoliberal urban governance models works against the needs of the poor. The specific policies that were examined, include access to land, mechanisms for citizen participation and voice, regulatory environment, and attitudes towards the informal sector and towards informal housing. Access to urban land is important not just for housing, but for the livelihoods of the poor. In Harare, the land delivery systems are 'anti-poor' and biased towards serving the interests of the political and business elites. Without access to land, the urban poor continue to live in precarity and endure tenure insecurities. This undermines the ability of the poor to live dignified lives, as they encounter multiple evictions and displacements that often disrupt their livelihoods and productive assets. The City of Harare uses the model of representative democracy, where residents elect leaders to advance their interests on the policy agenda. However, there is underrepresentation of people living in poor urban communities such as informal settlements. Those who live in informal settlements have limited opportunities to participate in decision-making processes that affect their lives and livelihoods. Therefore, their needs rarely feature on the urban policy agenda.

The City of Harare has also inherited colonial by-laws and planning standards that they have failed to adjust in line with existing socio-economic realities. The city's regulatory environment remains largely hostile and unresponsive to alternative economic activities such as street trading. Despite the contribution of street trading to the urban economy and livelihoods of the urban poor, this sector remains the primary target of discursive policy measures by the city's authorities. The City of Harare's attitude towards informal housing is also hostile. Public sector interventions and other development initiatives are not always directed towards such places, which continues to widen infrastructure deficits.

There are some key policy measures that the City of Harare can adopt to make its urban governance frameworks pro-poor. These measures can also be replicated in other Sub-Saharan African contexts. First, the urban poor must be actively involved in decision-making processes that impact their lives and livelihoods. The city must move beyond consultations and embrace the practice of coproduction, where the poor become partners in defining how urban resources and opportunities are to be distributed. They must also open spaces to make the voices of the urban poor count.

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Chapter 6
(Un)Healthy Cities: Reflections on Urban Public Health in Poor Neighbourhoods

Abraham R. Matamanda and Verna Nel

Abstract Health is a critical indicator of human well-being because an ailing population cannot spur socio-economic development of a community. As high population densities allow the spread of infectious diseases, cities were historically unhealthy places, only able to maintain their populations through in-migration. The provision of clean water and sound sanitation changed the situation dramatically, enabling the growth of large urban areas. However, where basic services such as water, sanitation, and stormwater drainage are neglected, the situation can rapidly deteriorate. The prevailing patterns of urbanisation in Zimbabwe expose urbanites to numerous infectious diseases such as typhoid, cholera, influenza, and zoonotic diseases and sexually transmitted diseases. Based on a mix of desktop and empirical research from Harare, this chapter maps and characterises the public health problems that are increasingly overwhelming cities in Zimbabwe. Cities in Zimbabwe are experiencing degradation of natural environments, poorly built environments with unsafe drinking water, sanitation and waste management, all arising from poor urban management and contributing to urban poverty. This chapter therefore argues that despite the vulnerability of these urban areas to health threats, the planning and management of cities seem to marginalise health concerns, rather than integrating them into the land use and urban planning systems.

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6.1 Introduction

Governments are increasingly recognising the need to prioritise urban health issues as being integral in urban policy considering that the greater part of the world population now lives in cities. The WHO (1948: 1) defined health as "a state of complete physical, mental and social wellbeing and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity". Health is dependent on several factors, some innate to the individual, but many are linked to the social, economic, natural, political, and governance environments (Nhamo 2017). It implies access to adequate housing, living conditions, nutrition, and education, along with the absence of illness and freedom from violence, crime, pain, and excessive stress (Anaemene 2017: 208). Through the African Union Agenda 2063, African governments have committed to being among the best performers in global quality of life measures through various strategies that include the provision of health, nutrition, water, and sanitation (African Union Commission 2015). Likewise, the world leaders have also committed to advance urban health as highlighted in Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 3. Specifically, the SDG 3 targets to:

- end the epidemics of Aids, tuberculosis (TB), malaria and neglected tropical diseases, and combat hepatitis, water-borne diseases and other communicable diseases;
- achieve universal health coverage, including financial risk protection, access to quality essential health care services and access to safe, effective, quality and affordable essential medicines and vaccines for all; and
- substantially reduce the number of deaths and illnesses from hazardous chemicals and air, water and soil pollution and contamination.

Although the health issues are clearly stated in SDG 3, other SDGs are inseparable from this goal on health. These include SDG 1, 6, and 11 that respectively focus on extreme poverty, water and sanitation and making cities inclusive, resilient, safe, and sustainable by 2030 (Dora et al. 2014). The strong link between health and equality means that sustainable development does not take place without health equity (Porritt 2012). Creating healthy cities is thus a complex undertaking that cannot be embarked on without understanding the range of factors that influence it. This requires a complexity perspective that views both health and a city as part of a socio-ecological system that comprises natural, social, economic, physical, and governance components (Folke et al. 2005).

6.2 Background to Urban Health in Postcolonial Africa

Africa, particularly sub-Saharan Africa, was long seen as the "dark continent" and remains the poorest continent with low average incomes and high levels of wretched poverty (Maathai 2009). Despite its recent economic growth and its vast potential,

the continent still faces numerous development challenges: conflict, climate change-induced natural disasters, poverty, inequalities, poor governance, rapid urbanisation, and a high burden of disease (Anaemene 2017; D'Alessandro and Zulu 2017; Takeuchi and Aginam 2011; UN-Habitat 2014).

Many African cities already struggle to accommodate their growing populations and provide essential services, leading to the proliferation of slums, shanty towns or informal settlements, which lack potable water, proper stormwater, wastewater, and solid waste management, and are poorly served with social and transport services (UN-Habitat 2014: 23). Unsanitary conditions not only harbour enteric diseases such as cholera and typhoid, but can attract disease vectors such as mosquitos which transmit malaria, dengue, Zika chikungunya, and yellow fever (Anaemene 2017). Also, new communicable infections are most likely going to spread in overcrowded cities rather than in rural areas, for example, the coronavirus disease (COVID-19) has proved to be more prevalent in urban areas than the rural areas in most parts of the world, including Africa (Chirisa et al. 2020).

Urban development in many African cities is linked to human–environmental and sociopolitical challenges (Njoh 2016; UN-Habitat 2014). Over and above the unhealthy conditions present in many informal settlements, urbanisation is linked to a range of environmental problems, including climate change, air quality, urban heat islands, flooding, noise, lack of urban green space or unsafe open areas, crime and traffic accidents or the risk of new zoonotic diseases (Douglas 2012; Glasgow Centre for Population Health 2013). Among the social issues are poverty, lack of skills, unemployment, the lack of access to social services and amenities, and lifestyles that lead to chronic diseases (Grant et al. 2012; Vearey et al. 2019). These problems are compounded if there is poor governance or corruption.

During the first two decades after independence in 1980, most African countries saw an improvement in the health of their population. Unfortunately, some of these gains were lost due to the impact of the World Bank and the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme of the International Monetary Fund which led to reduced state spending on social services, including health (Anaemene 2017: 211). Nonetheless, there has been an improvement with a reduction in child and maternal mortality rates, while adult mortality has also decreased over the past decade (WHO 2014). However, there are still many challenges. Many of these infectious diseases are preventable and treatable, for example, respiratory diseases, diarrhoea, and malaria, but remain a major problem. Furthermore, non-communicable diseases (NCDs) and accidents account for about a third of the disease burden. NCDs creates a double burden of diseases as it is predicted that NCDs will be killing more people by 2030 than the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV), malaria, and maternal conditions (Maher et al. 2010). Another serious issue is improving the quality of and access to health systems (WHO 2014). Private health care is now available but because of financial reasons, it cannot be accessed by the majority. In most sub-Saharan African countries, the majority of the population depends on either public health facilities (about 66%), while non-profit organisations serve the remainder of the people as there are only a few private health facilities (South Africa is the exception with a well-developed private health sector). Most of the public funding on health is spent

on specialist hospitals, with far less available for primary health care. Due to the poor quality of health systems and possibly the cost of health, poor people might not bother to seek medical care (Castro-Leal et al. 2000).

Despite the aspirations for healthy cities envisaged by the Government of Zimbabwe, there have been recurrent public health problems that have affected major cities in the country since independence in 1980. Since then, the city of Harare has been a locus of several disease pandemics that include successive cholera epidemics in the 1990s, 2008–2009,[1] and 2018 (Chigudu 2019; Chirisa et al. 2015) and COVID-19 in Zimbabwe in 2020. There seems to be a dearth of studies among urban geographers focusing on public health issues in African cities (Njoh 2016; Oni et al. 2016). Against this background, the purpose of the chapter is to examine the role of urban management and sound infrastructure and services for healthy communities and the effect of poor management on vulnerable populations. The chapter reflects on the urban public health problems in poor neighbourhoods in Harare by focusing on the following questions:

- What are the health risks overwhelming poor neighbourhoods in the postcolonial Zimbabwean cities?
- In what ways does the urban poor remain at risk from the public health problems in postcolonial cities?
- How has the government responded to the urban health concerns among the urban poor?
- What are the implications of the urban health risks in postcolonial Harare on urban planning and management?

The remainder of this chapter consists of four sections. The next section contains an overview of the literature on the determinants of a healthy city, followed by a discussion of the current situation in Zimbabwe based on data from secondary sources as well as empirical research. This is followed by a discussion on the implications of the data, while the final section concludes the chapter.

6.3 The Healthy City

The health of citizens cannot be divorced from their environment. A healthy city provides the context and potential for achieving health. As this context is complex, multifaceted, and interconnected, it must be considered holistically. "The complexity framework for development views a nation, or any community of people for that matter, as a complex adaptive system" (Rihani 2002: 134). In this perspective, a city is a complex socio-economic system comprising its residents and the various

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[1]The 2008–2009 cholera outbreak was the worst pandemic for the country and Harare was greatly affected. This is evident from the statistics which show that as of 30 July 2009, 98,592 cases had been reported nation-wide with at least 4,288 deaths. From these figures, approximately 20% of the cases and deaths were concentrated in Harare which shows a high vulnerability of the city to the outbreak.
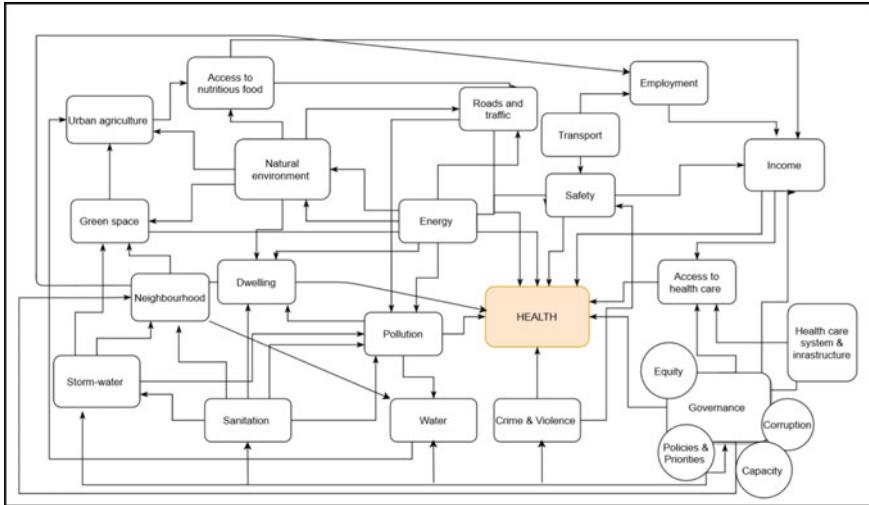
Fig. 6.1 The complexity of the environmental determinants of health (Authors own compilation)

environmental, social, economic, political, and governance systems that affect them and how each influences the other (Rydin et al. 2012). From a complexity perspective, local conditions matter, as the interconnected and non-linear nature of the system can mean that events in one part of the system can ripple through it, changing the entire system, or large interventions can be dampened through negative feedback and have a limited effect locally. Figure 6.1 is one such depiction of the complexity of the urban environment.

Consequently, understanding urban health requires an understanding of the larger system, which include the environmental determinants of urban health which is a growing body of literature (Barton and Grant 2006; Bonnefoy 2007; Sverdlik 2011; Vearey et al. 2019; WHO 2014). While the authors approached the issue from different standpoints, there are several common themes, such as the role of water and sanitation in preventing water-borne diseases, adequate housing, poverty and *inter alia*, food security, the quality of the immediate urban environment, access to health care, and urban governance.

Several authors have developed models or frameworks that portray the links between health, the environment and in most cases, urban governance (WHO cited by Barten et al. 2011; Thompson and Kent 2014). The place framework developed by Thompson and Kent (2014: 262) considered the role of the local environment on physical and mental health. They identified green spaces, safe spaces, third (or neutral) spaces, streets, and neighbourhood spaces, as well as the role of community gardens, allotments, and farms. Douglas (2012) focused on the health of urban ecosystems and their relationship to human health. In addition to urban ecological aspects, he included urban planning and political, socio-economic development strategies. Douglas (2012) indicated various issues and risks at local, city,

city-region, and global scales, which affect the urban ecosystem and human health. These include the natural environment (ecology and habitats for disease vectors), socio-economic aspects such as density, access to services and health, violence and social capital, urban infrastructure, urban governance, economic conditions, and potential for natural disasters and global influences (Douglas 2012: 387).

A governance model for healthy cities (Barten et al. 2011: 897) places equity at the centre, stressing participatory governance components such as intersectoral and community partnerships and empowerment, along with improving the physical and social environment and (public heath) policy coherence. Barton and Grant (2006: S131) developed a "health map" that depicts concentric layers of determinants that begin at the scale of the people and move through their lifestyle, community, local economy, built environment and natural environment to the global environment, along with economic, political, cultural, and climate change influences and impacts. A similar model that begins with the individual's characteristics (age, gender, genetics), and subsequently includes lifestyle factors, social and community influences, living and working conditions, socio-economic, cultural, and environmental conditions mediated by urban governance, is depicted in Fig. 6.2.

Based on the literature review, the following factors influencing urban health have been identified: adequate housing and infrastructure, the quality of the neighbourhood, the social and economic environment, including access to health, education, and employment, and governance and equity considerations (PwC Health Research Institute 2019).

The right to access adequate housing is recognised in international law as part of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN 2009). The right to housing includes "a place which protects privacy, contributes to physical and psychological well-being, and supports the development and social integration of its inhabitants" (Bonnefoy 2007: 413). This means that adequate housing includes a dwelling that is sturdy and habitable, has basic infrastructure potable water, adequate sanitation
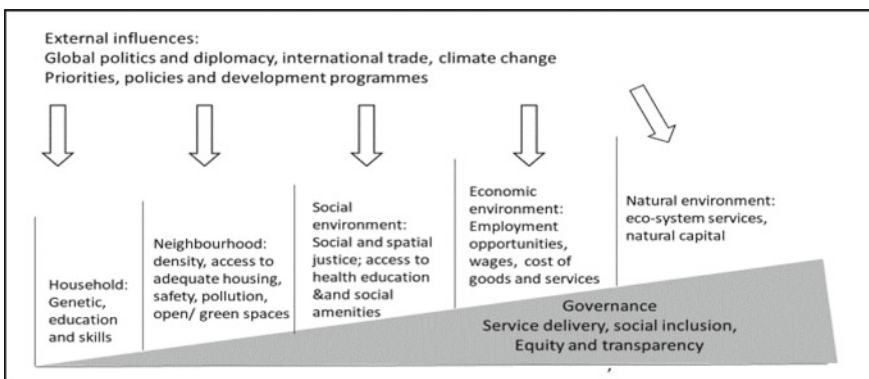
Fig. 6.2 Environmental determinants of health (From Barton and Grant 2006 and Thiele 2002)

and energy, access to health and education facilities as well as employment, and is culturally appropriate (Bonnefoy 2007; UN 2009).

The quality of the housing unit is critical for health, protecting the occupants from heat, cold, dampness, indoor pollution and poisoning, and accidents in the home while ensuring ventilation and light (Braubach et al. 2011; Grant et al. 2012; Howden-Chapman and Chapman 2012; Thiele 2002). This is impacted by the security of tenure, without which households are less likely to invest in the home and its surroundings (Rolnik 2011; Rydin et al. 2012). Equally important is the availability of adequate safe water and decent sanitation, which are critical in the prevention of infectious and other diseases. Besides contamination of water supplies, inadequate sanitation can pollute the natural environment and have knock-on effects on the ecology. Solid waste removal is essential to protect the natural environment and prevent rodents or other vectors of disease in urban areas. The accumulation of waste in watercourses and stormwater drains can lead to flooding (Barten et al. 2011; Dora et al. 2014; Mara et al. 2010; Rydin et al. 2012).

6.3.1 The Quality of the Neighbourhood and the Right to Access

The quality of the neighbourhood has implications on the health of the citizens within a particular locality. This is evident through the quality of the environment that may enhance the psychological well-being of the residents. In this instance, the focus is on expenditure on the natural environment, urban agriculture, green spaces, safety; pollution and the quantity and quality of open and green spaces; ecosystem services and natural capital, the ecology of the area (Douglas 2012; Gelormino et al. 2015).

Transport is essential to provide access to employment opportunities, education, and health facilities. While the wealthy can afford private vehicles, the poor are dependent on public transport or non-motorised transport. However, neighbourhoods located on the periphery of the city may not be close enough to walk, and public transport may not be available. The residents are either dependent on informal transport with all the associated risks (Escamilla et al. 2019). Furthermore, the paths and roads may be of poor quality, without provision for pedestrians or cyclists and thus dangerous (Pirie 2013). The challenge is worse for the poor who may then be forced to walk for longer distances as indicated in the case of Nairobi, Kenya, where the poor, especially women, cannot afford transport fares, hence they have to walk to the nearest health facilities (Escamilla et al. 2019). Accessing health services in emergency cases may be a great challenge as the ambulances may even fail to navigate the roads leading to these patients, while the informal transport may also be unreliable; thus, placing residents at risk when they need urgent medical attention, which is usually absent in the peripheral settlements or poor neighbourhoods. Noise and air pollution from traffic also affect health detrimentally (Grant et al. 2012; Sverdlik 2011).

A healthy city is also determined by the availability of health facilities and services in an area. Most poor neighbourhoods in African cities are located far from health facilities and the situation is dire for citizens who require special medical attention, for example, those living with mental health problems, as pointed out by Nguendo-Yongsi (2020) using the case of Yaoundé in Cameroon. The distance from the health services and facilities affect health-seeking behaviour as highlighted in numerous studies which show that those living far from hospitals have poor health-seeking behaviour (Chileshe et al. 2020; Owusu-Ansah et al. 2016). Therefore, three delays lead to negative health outcomes, namely, first, the delay in deciding to seek medical health care; second, the delay to identify and get transport to a health facility; and last, and the delay to receive services at the health facilities.

6.3.2 Urban Health Governance

Urban health issues are affected by governance which tends to have a bearing on the health outcomes of the cities. Rydin et al. (2012) emphasised the need to have an inclusive policy formulation process with representatives from a range of communities to ensure that all needs and viewpoints are included within the policy and interventions. Budgetary issues come into perspective as envisaged in the Abuja Declaration where governments committed to allocate at least 15% of their national budgets to health care services with the view to enhance the respective countries' preparedness for diseases, especially TB, malaria, and HIV. However, government spending on urban infrastructure and services, which includes health infrastructure in most African countries, has been deteriorating over the past years. This has been a result of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme that was introduced in most countries in the 1990s such that municipal authorities had to raise revenue to support their activities instead of relying on governments' financial support (Anaemene 2018). The situation was worsened by low tax bases, emanating from high unemployment levels, corruption and financial misappropriations which all made it difficult for local authorities to invest in health infrastructure (Boadi et al. 2005).

Governance issues involve the interplay of different actors who include the government, civil society, and citizens. Barten et al. (2011: 900) pointed out that the pursuit of urban health equity requires a form of joined-up governance that brings together the health sector and actors in other sectors of municipal governments and especially engage and empower the marginalised groups. Ironically, the situation on the ground is often characterised by differences that are described as follows by Barten et al. (2011: 899):

> Rationalities, structures, power, interests, resources, as well as agendas, may differ between actors … different forms of governance, and the way they are exercised, are closely linked to (multi-level) political processes, with major implications for the health of people residing in different locations.

Instead of having full participation, often participation takes place in name only, what Arnstein (1969) refers to as tokenism. Barten et al. (2011: 899) stressed that in countries characterised by deeply rooted political, social, and economic disparities, the relationship between different stakeholders is vague, while a few individuals influence decision-making, much to the detriment of public health. This situation is characteristic in most postcolonial contexts where the political elites are marginal, especially the civil society, on the pretext that they advance a Western agenda of the former colonisers. Yet, effective urban health can only be achieved when hindrances are removed to enhance the citizens' capacity to engage with decision-makers (Fukuda-Parr 2003: 303). Rihani and Geyer (2001: 242) confirmed that development can only ensue "if individuals were *free* to interact and *capable* of interacting, and if their interactions were facilitated by *appropriate rules* that command popular support" (emphasis in original).

6.4 Discussion of the Current Urban Health Situation in Zimbabwe

From the foregoing discussion, it is evident that urban health is broad and complex. Yet, some certain key issues and indicators may be used to examine the (un)healthiness of a city. For this chapter, we thus focused on the following indicators which we explored in the context of Harare as discussed hereunder:

- Health and social and economic conditions focusing on poverty, inclusion, and equity.
- Health and cities and the right to adequate housing.
- Health and infrastructure and services.
- Health and the environment.
- Health and governance—collaborative policy and understanding the dynamics.

6.4.1 Health and Social and Economic Conditions Focusing on Poverty, Inclusion, and Equity

Social and economic conditions had a large bearing on the health situation in Harare. Poverty has largely been associated with rural areas, but the situation in Zimbabwe was such that urban poverty is mounting. Poverty in Harare has been exacerbated by several factors that include the Economic Adjustment Programme of the mid-1990s that resulted in the retrenchment of many citizens, closure of many industries and the removal of government subsidies for accessing basic services (Anaemene 2017). In 1995, poverty in Harare was estimated to be at 41%, rising to 63% in 2001, and currently, the poverty levels are above 90%, considering that even the employed citizens live below the poverty datum line due to the low salaries they

receive (The Consumer Council of Zimbabwe 2001). The household poverty level for Harare, according to the Poverty Income Consumption and Expenditure Survey of 2011/2012, was 35.7%, with extreme poverty at 3.3% (Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency 2013). Yet, the levels of poverty in certain neighbourhoods tend to have been higher, as evident from the study by Manjengwa et al. (2016), which showed that the levels of poverty in Epworth and Highfields were 64% and 55%, respectively.

The implication of poverty for many of the residents in Harare is food insecurity. In January 2020, 48% of the households in Epworth were food insecure and the implications included child stunting due to poor nutrition (Anyadike 2020). The lack of food has also been identified as an issue that aggravates the condition of TB and HIV patients receiving home-based care as their health continue to deteriorate when they lack adequate food (City of Harare 2008). Lack of adequate food has been identified with undernutrition in pregnant women and subsequently preterm birth (Feresu et al. 2004). The result has also been caused by other social problems that jeopardise the health of pregnant women such that the infant mortality rate in Harare had been increasing between 2002 and 2015, standing at 42 deaths per 1,000 live births in 2015, while the national rate for 2015 was 38.5 deaths per 1,000 live births (see Fig. 6.3). This situation depicts the dire conditions in Harare, the capital city, where many have the belief that health care services are always top-class (Manjengwa et al. 2016). This is also evident from the food aid programmes that have always been concentrated in the rural areas with the belief that rural areas have more poverty than urban areas, whereas urban poverty has been on the rise in Zimbabwe. The marginalisation of the poor also manifested through the lack of basic services such as water, which makes it difficult for maintenance of health environments as the unhygienic conditions make them vulnerable to other diseases
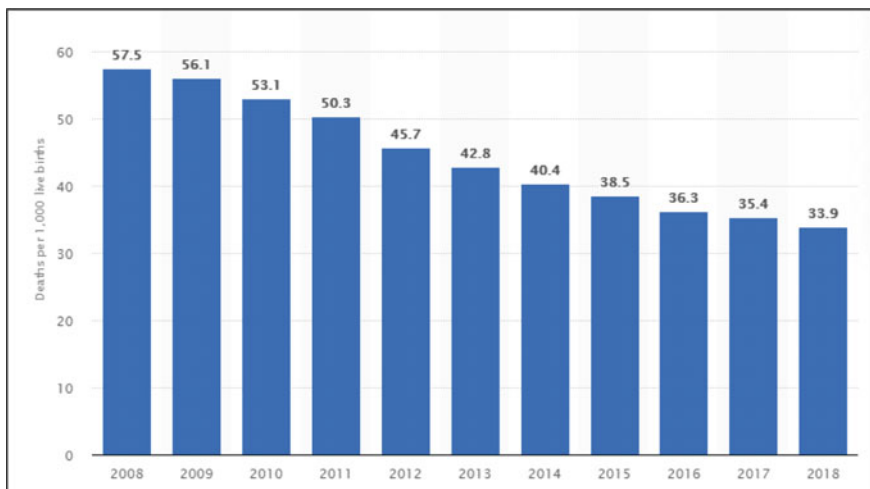
Fig. 6.3 Infant mortality rate for Zimbabwe from 2008 to 2018 (in deaths per 1,000 live births) (Government of Zimbabwe 2016)

such as cholera and typhoid (Sithole 2017). The marginalisation of the poor is also evident in how they lacked access to essential services as reported by Amnesty International (2010), where 21 infants died at birth over a five-month period in Hopley Farm Settlement, mainly due to deliveries being done at home, and mothers being unable to afford transport fares to travel to the nearest health care centre. Some children were reported to have died from lack of warmth at birth and basic postnatal treatment for the mothers.

Also associated with poverty is the inability of the poor to pay for health services, which are often beyond the reach of many people in Harare. In the early years of independence, the government adopted a socialist ideology where the government subsidised most basic services, which included primary health care. But this was scrapped during the mid-1990s when user fees were introduced, following the introduction of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme. Furthermore, the privatisation of health services in Harare, resulting from the collapse of the public health system, affected the poor. Therefore, this led to avoidable deaths with people ending up dying in their homes because of a lack of affordable health care services (Sithole 2017). The inability to pay for health services is also associated with the lack of a national health insurance scheme that could have cushioned the needs of the poor.

Less than 8% of the people have medical insurance in Zimbabwe. This leaves the majority of people depending on cash payments for health services, which creates a vicious cycle in which poor people are prone to many diseases and when they get ill, they spend the little resources they have on health care, pushing them into further poverty, and that further poverty exposes them to more diseases again.

Poverty in Harare is also synonymous with risk behaviours and lifestyles that include prostitution and drug abuse. In Epworth, one of the poorest suburbs in Harare, child prostitution has been reported, and the same applies to Hopley Farm Settlement where poverty pushes children into prostitution (Matamanda 2020a). The children charge as little as US$0.50 for sex just to enable them to buy a meal, and in the process, they risk contracting sexually transmitted infections, and specifically HIV, which is prevalent in the city of Harare (Sithole 2017).

The abuse of alcohol and drugs among the youth in Harare has been rising over the past years. Moyo (2018) stressed that this trend of alcohol and drug abuse attributed to poverty and hopelessness, especially among the youth who resort to these intoxicants as a coping strategy to forget about their worries. Moreover, the health implications of drug and alcohol abuse have been on the rise, where 57% of all admissions to psychiatric institutions in 2018 were attributed to substance abuse, with 80% of these admissions being youth aged between 18 and 40 years (Moyo 2018). Besides mental health, dementia, seizures, and liver diseases, early death and suicide have been known to afflict the users of these addictive substances.

6.4.2 Health and Cities and the Right to Adequate Housing

At independence, the government maintained strict standards in the housing development where the installation of basic services such as access to roads, reticulated water, and sewerage systems always preceded housing development or occupation (Chigwenya 2019; Matamanda 2020b). With the increasing rate of urbanisation, the urban population soared, and the housing demand increased exponentially far beyond what the government could deliver (Kamete 2001). The government's failure to provide adequate housing has fuelled informal settlements in major towns and cities, such that by 2014, it was estimated that more than 25% of the urban population lived in slums under squalid conditions (Moyo 2020).

The land reform in the early 2000s also resulted in some of the urban homeless occupying land on the periphery and commencing housing developments in areas that lacked reticulated water and sewerage systems. Although Operation Murambatsvina of 2005[2] was meant to address such issues by "cleaning the filth" and bringing sanity into the urban areas (Bratton and Masunungure 2007; Tibaijuka 2005), it proved to be a political move as argued by various proponents because, in 2012, the government continued to reward its patrons with residential plots in areas without basic services (Dorman 2016; Mbiba 2019; Potts 2006). While the government in 2012, through the housing policy, permitted housing development to commence and be occupied in areas without reticulated sewer and water facilities, contrary to other laws such as the Public Health Act, Urban Councils Act, and Regional, Town and Country Planning Act, which still prioritise the provision of these services in human settlements. The absence of running water was not only synonymous with the emerging settlements, although many established suburbs, especially the poor neighbourhoods in Harare, had also experienced months without running water in the taps and residents had to use alternative water sources (Manzungu et al. 2016). At times when the water was running in the taps, its quality was poor, and residents could not use it for drinking, as stressed by one resident from the Glen View suburb:

> We only use municipal water for watering the garden and washing clothes. We do not risk our lives trying to drink it … The water has a stench, contains several impurities and even when you boil it, it produces a green froth. (Cited by Murekedzi 2018, Online)

The bulk of the water and sewerage infrastructure in Harare was installed during the colonial time and little has been done to maintain or replace it; with most of the infrastructure having reached its lifespan (City of Harare 2012). The result had been regular sewer bursts and blockages, mostly in high-density areas that include Glen View, Mbare, and Mufakose where the poor reside. The problems intensified during the rainy season and led to the contamination of groundwater which has also been identified as a direct cause of diarrhoeal cases in the poor neighbourhoods (City of Harare 2008; Human Rights Watch 2013).

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[2]It was reported that at least 700,000 people were directly affected by the Operation which left many destitute and without adequate housing.

Overcrowding, the proliferation of backyard shacks, slums, and poor housing conditions have been on the rise in Harare since independence (Auret 1995; Kamete 2001; Matamanda 2020b). As far back as the early 1990s, Auret (1995) indicated the problems of overcrowding in Harare due to housing shortages. In recent years, the situation has intensified owing to continued urbanisation and concomitant urban growth that brought with it health consequences (Matamanda 2020b; Musemwa 2010). In Mbare, families now occupy flats that were previously used to accommodate bachelors working in the industries during the colonial times (Matamanda 2020b). Such living conditions, where an average of six people shared a single room with limited ventilation, placed the residents at risk from infectious diseases such as TB. The findings of the 2008 annual health report of the Harare City Council showed that TB and gastroenteritis were among the five leading causes of deaths in Harare (City of Harare 2008). What made matters worse was that cooking was undertaken indoors using paraffin which exposed the inhabitants to respiratory diseases (Sverdlik 2011).

6.4.3 Health and Infrastructure and Services

Aside from the abysmal housing conditions and settlements that lacked access to reticulated water and sewerage systems, the health infrastructure and services in Harare was also a cause of concern. Despite the continued growth and expansion of the city, there had been limited expansion of health infrastructure commensurate with such growth. Since independence in 1980, no new public hospitals have been constructed in Harare and the city continued to rely on the four public hospitals inherited from the colonial government. The failure of the government to invest in the development of public hospitals, notwithstanding the continued urban growth, has resulted in the increasingly constrained and incapacitated health infrastructure of the government.

The public health institutions in Harare consist of two hospitals—Parirenyatwa and Harare Central Hospital—and twelve local authority clinics. Two specialised hospitals focus on infectious diseases, namely the Wilkins and Beatrice Infectious Diseases Hospitals. The clinics are located in residential areas where they serve the communities. However, most of these are located in the old townships and there are limited health infrastructures in the emerging settlements, which forces the residents to access health services in remote areas. Moreover, even in the old townships, the clinics are overwhelmed as their service areas tend to be larger than intended. For example, Taderera et al. (2016) reported that a local board clinic in Epworth serves at least 114,000 residents, while Gwaze (2009) has also pointed out that the clinic in Budiriro serves the 115,000 residents in Budiriro and the neighbouring suburbs that include Mufakose, Kambuzuma, and Glen View. The inadequacy of the public health facilities in Harare is evident from the low health facility density of approximately 0.3 per 10,000 people in 2015, against a target of two per 10,000 people (see Fig. 6.4).

Despite the presence of these clinics, they offer limited services and when there are complications, especially pregnancy-related issues, the patients are referred to
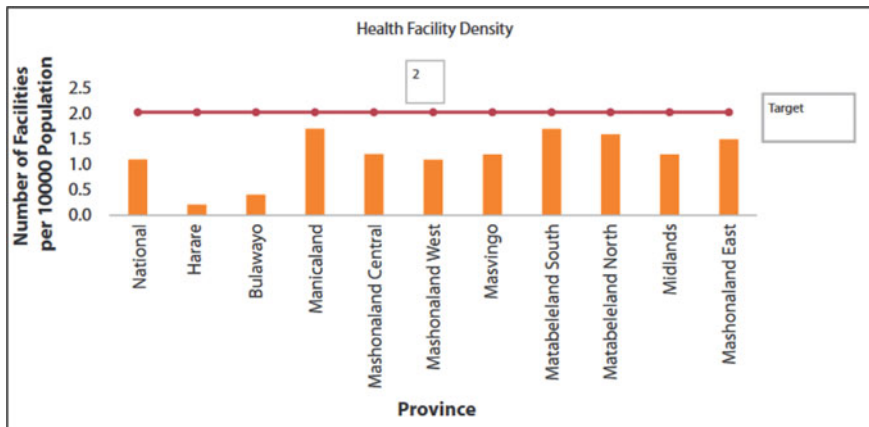
Fig. 6.4 The health facility density per 10,000 population (Government of Zimbabwe 2016: 6)

the hospitals where they are supposed to access better services (Chikadaya et al. 2018). The limited capacity of the health facilities and the burden on the poor have been evident by the high proportion of citizens who died at home and not in the hospital. In 2008, 40% of the deaths in Harare occurred at home and the majority of such were chronically ill patients diagnosed with HIV, TB, and pneumonia (City of Harare 2008). These would have been discharged for home-based care due to the failure of the health facilities to cope with the increasing number of ill patients.

Parirenyatwa Hospital and the Harare Central Hospital are the two major public referral hospitals in the city and they also have a threshold that extends beyond the city's boundaries due to their specialised services not offered in other district hospitals. There is also the dearth of primary health care facilities and those that exist, lack resources while the referral system is now dysfunctional. Consequently, cases that should be treated at a local clinic go straight to Parirenyatwa or the Harare Central Hospital, which places a burden on the referral hospitals. Ironically, the Harare Central Hospital was opened in 1958 and has only 1,200 beds to serve the city's population of more than one million citizens, while Parirenyatwa Hospital has a capacity of 5,000 beds. In addition, there are two other hospitals for infectious diseases only. Consequently, the inadequacy of these health infrastructures is often exposed when disease outbreaks occur. This was evident during the 2008 cholera pandemic in Harare where it was reported that no TB admissions were recorded at Wilkins Hospital in the last quarter of the year as the TB wards were used to admit cholera patients (City of Harare 2008).

The gross inadequacy of the hospital beds is shown in Fig. 6.5 where the inpatient bed density for Harare in 2015 was at 10 per 10,000 population, far less than the target of 25. The COVID-19 pandemic has also shown the gross inadequacy of the health infrastructure in Harare where the Wilkins Hospital has been made the main COVID-19 treatment isolation centre for Harare; yet, after refurbishments, the maximum capacity of the hospital is 60 beds with an additional 10 for an intensive care unit
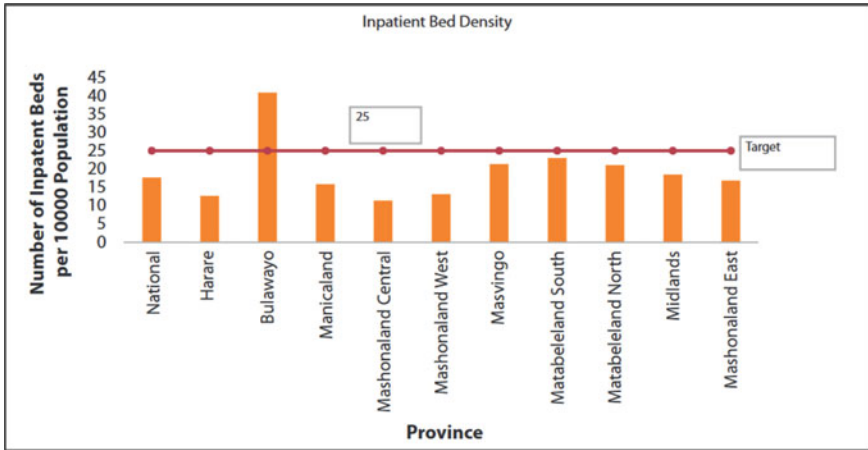
Fig. 6.5 2015 inpatient bed density per 10,000 population across Zimbabwe (Government of Zimbabwe 2016: 6)

(AllAfrica 2020). The Parirenyatwa Hospital now has a designated COVID-19 centre as well that has a bed capacity of about 150.

The spatial distribution of both the public and private hospitals in Harare appears to the disadvantaged poor neighbourhoods as they are all concentrated close to the central business district and nearer to the affluent suburbs. Except for the Harare Central Hospital, which is located closer to the southern suburbs, the remainder of the major hospitals are in the northern suburbs of the city (see Fig. 6.6). This is a colonial imbalance that was supposed to be rectified in the postcolonial era as stipulated in the Harare Combination Master Plan that pointed out the infrastructure deficit in the city (City of Harare 1999).

Poor working conditions and inadequate salaries in public health institutions have resulted in a brain drain as health professionals leave the country for greener pastures or go into private practice (Anaemene 2017). The situation has been exacerbated by constant strikes by the professionals in the public sector for better salaries and working conditions (Kulkarni 2019). The result has been poor service delivery in the public health facilities.

Taderera et al. (2016) pointed out how the Epworth Local Board Clinic experienced shortages of health care professionals where a population of 114,000 was served by only ten nurses, three midwives, and two nurse aides. The situation was the same in other clinics in low-income residential areas in Harare which lacked the requisite number of health professionals and essentials that are critical for quality health delivery. The low core health workforce density in Harare, which was reported to be 14 per 10,000 population, clearly showed how deficient the health system was (see Fig. 6.7).

The lack of health professionals in public institutions has been catastrophic and the strain has been felt particularly by the poor who are dependent on public services
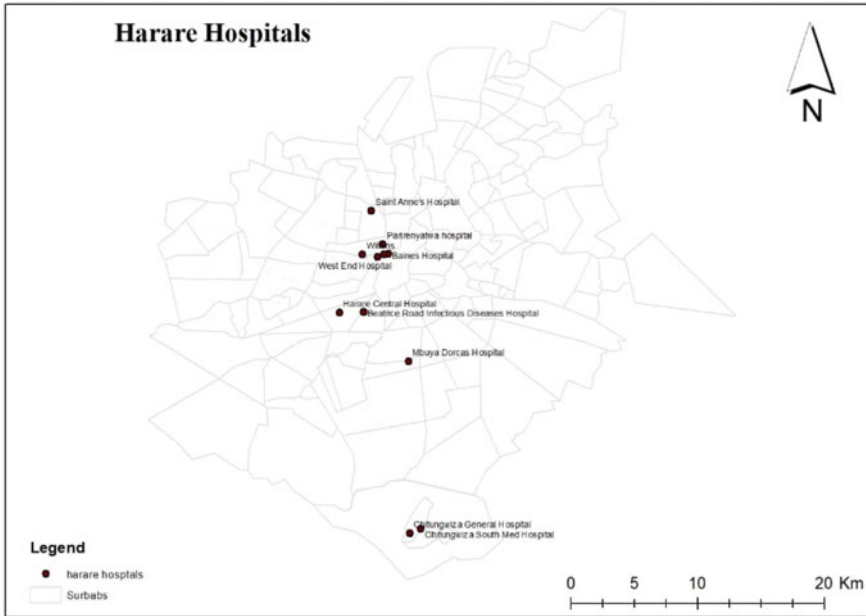
Fig. 6.6 The hospitals in Harare which are concentrated around the central business district and closer to the northern suburbs
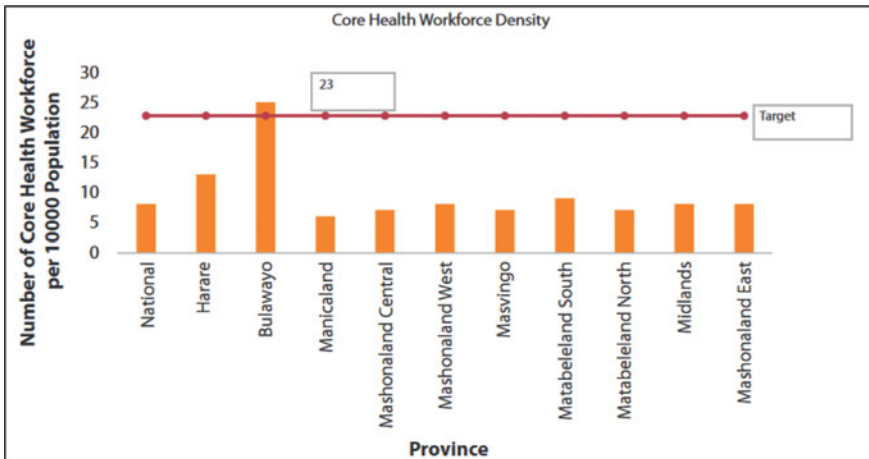
Fig. 6.7 Core health workforce density per 10,000 population (Government of Zimbabwe 2016)

as they cannot afford private facilities. In July 2020, seven stillbirths were recorded in a single night at the Harare Central Hospital, attributed mainly to delays in urgent treatment owing to the lack of essential equipment in the hospital and as the nurses and doctors were on strike (Harding 2020). A doctor at the hospital emphasised that "These are not isolated incidents. This is repeated every day and all we can do is watch them die". This situation has often forced many citizens to go to private facilities, but the costs of such service are beyond the reach of many; maternity costs at a private hospital are charged in US dollars and are approximately US$300. Yet, the salaries of most citizens are equivalent to US$50 per month, and many people not earning much, for example, residents in Hopley earn less than US$1 per day (Matamanda 2020a).

These citizens must give birth at home with the assistance of informal midwives (often elderly women) in the high-density residential suburbs of Harare (Mutsaka 2019). Pregnant women are now resorting to seeking traditional birth attendants as highlighted by the Mbare mbuya nyamukuta[3] cases. This is not safe and may result in higher maternal and infant mortality.

6.4.4   Health and the Environment

There are environmental issues that have been responsible for various recent public health challenges in Harare. The pollution of groundwater, the main source of water for most households in the low-income residential areas, is often polluted from constantly bursting sewers. Even in cities, people now resort to using boreholes, which were mainly seen in rural areas before. However, even the borehole water was found to be contaminated during the last cholera outbreak. Moreover, the contamination of groundwater through pit latrines has been reported in a study by Ndoziya et al. (2019), while leachate from dumpsites has also been identified as a major contributor to groundwater pollution. These conditions have been linked to increasing cases of gastrointestinal diseases in Harare.

The Harare City Council has also failed to provide effective waste management services in the city, especially in the low-income suburbs where months can pass before their solid waste is collected. Consequently, residents dump garbage on undesignated sites in their neighbourhoods that provide breeding grounds for disease vectors leading to a surge in communicable diseases that include malaria, cholera, and fever (Tsiko and Togarepi 2012). Alternatively, the residents burn solid waste, polluting the air and creating a risk for respiratory diseases. The Harare City Council has also allowed people to build infrastructure on wetlands, which will further decrease water quality, increase pollutants, and increase the likelihood of floods. (Chapter 4 explains this in more detail.) The Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights has filed many cases against the City Council regarding this.

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[3]These are informal midwives who are often old women who have no professional training or medical background to engage in the delivery process.

The unregulated developments in Harare since 2000, have been characterised by the encroachment into open spaces and environmentally sensitive ecosystems. Such developments limit the spaces that provide ecosystem services, including psychological benefits which have been identified as enhancing mental well-being (Glasgow Centre for Population Health 2013). Furthermore, most low-income suburbs are synonymous with crime and safety issues which also make it difficult for the residents to engage in outdoor physical exercises, thus exposing the residents to risks of NCD, such as obesity.

6.4.5 Health and Governance—Collaborative Policy and Understanding the Dynamics

Several policies since independence have influenced urban health in Harare. The socialist ideology that was adopted at independence in the 1980s led to the introduction of a policy where all citizens earning less than ZWD150 (at independence ZWD1 was equivalent to US$1.47) per month were entitled to free health services. By 1985, approximately 90% of the country's population were earning salaries below ZWD150 (this was equivalent to approximately US$150), hence they were entitled to free health services (Buzuzi et al. 2016).

There are two sides to the exemption schemes. First, they were a form of a "Gutsaruzhinji"[4] and populism strategy which the Mugabe government introduced to garner the support, or reward people for voting him into power. Second, the policy was genuinely meant to alleviate the health inequalities that were inherited at independence. However, the burden on the government became too much, and in 1991, the government introduced a cost recovery revenue collection system that was meant to support government revenue. Bijlmakers (2003) pointed out that in 1998, the government stopped giving health grants to municipalities, which forced the municipalities to increase user fees to sustain their budgets. In 1999, the government further increased the user fees in public health institutions due to the reduction of the budget allocation to the health sector, which meant that institutions had to be self-sustaining. Although user fees were introduced, certain vulnerable groups remained exempted from paying these fees, which included the elderly above 65, children below the age of five, individuals with mental health conditions, pregnant women and HIV, and TB patients. This was not backed by any financial support by government to hospitals, so hospitals waived fees for these groups but then their resources quickly ran out and with no financial support they could not replenish vital items such as medication and sundries. In the end, people have free access but to no services.

Over the past years, the national budget allocation for the health sector has been decreasing significantly and this is evident from the health allocations that fall far

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[4]The Gutsaruzhinji is a populism strategy that was used by the Mugabe government to gain political mileage through patronage and clientism.

short of the 15% target set during the Abuja Declaration[5] in 2001. For example, in 2018, the health budget was 8.3% of the total budget, while in 2020 it was at 10% (UNICEF 2018, 2020). This decrease in health sector financing affects investment in health facilities and services which then results in poor services in public health, a burden for the poor who cannot access health care services (Buzuzi et al. 2016). Because the elites relied on medical attention from abroad, local public health institutions were neglected. For example, history has shown that most of the government ministers and political elites have always gone abroad for medical treatment such as the late former president Robert Mugabe who eventually died in Singapore where he was seeking medical treatment. It is for this reason that Zimbabwe has never met the Abuja Declaration as there has been no political will and commitment to invest in health care.

The centralisation of decision-making in urban health has also been a challenge that compromises public health. This situation worsened during the early 2000s when many non-governmental organisations were banned by the ruling party on the pretext that they were agents of the West keen on revolting against the government. At that time, the non-governmental organisations involved in health care, especially for HIV, ceased operations causing a gap that the government could not fill. This gap was strongly felt during the 2008/2009 cholera pandemic when the government tried to handle the situation alone, first by concealing information and not admitting to the crisis, and then refusing assistance from some non-governmental organisations (Mukandavire et al. 2011).

6.5   Discussion of Implications of the Data

At independence, Zimbabwe had one of the most revered health systems in Africa. It was, however, characterised by facilities and health professionals who largely concentrated in urban areas as a legacy of the colonial government that invested heavily in urban infrastructure and services. Figure 6.8 shows a causal loop diagram of the urban health situation in Harare in the early years of independence. Although there was general poverty within poor suburbs, along with the deteriorating natural urban environment and poor housing conditions as a result of the segregated urban policies of the colonial government against blacks, the health system was relatively functional. Notwithstanding the additional burden of the poor and increased health risks, the health facilities and services remained robust as the government was committed to ensuring health for all.

However, over the last decades, the health sector in Zimbabwe has deteriorated significantly owing to years of maladministration, corruption, brain drain, and poor governance. The health sector has been described as a slow/silent genocide within

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[5]The Abuja Declaration is the pledge that was made by African governments in 2001 to allocate not less than 15% of their annual budgets to the health sector with the view to improve health services in the respective countries.
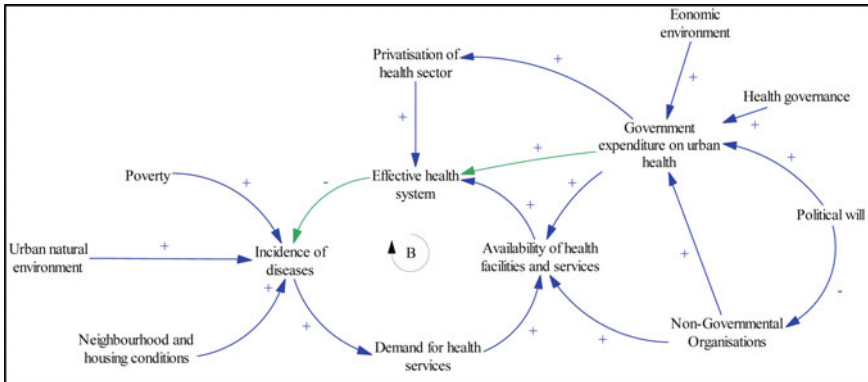
Fig. 6.8 Causal loop diagram of the health system in Harare in the early years of independence (Created by the authors using Vensim Software)

the country, a term that reflects the inefficiency of the current health system across the country.

Being the capital city, Harare had the comparative advantage of having a robust health system, albeit its segregationist roots. Yet, currently, urban health in the city is in a sorry state and this is attributed to several sociopolitical, environmental, and economic factors. The situation in Harare confirms the argument by Rydin et al. (2012) that cities are complex and so are health issues. First, the current state of Harare may be likened to the medieval cities that lacked reticulated water and sewerage systems; thus susceptible to diseases such as cholera, typhoid, and malaria, while the prevalence of TB is also high in the city. Second, the issue of adequate housing that has been reiterated by proponents such as Thiele (2002) as being a critical contributor to healthy cities, has simply been neglected in Harare. The housing conditions in most areas where the poor reside are characterised by overcrowding, lack of adequate open spaces with safety being a serious issue. A lack of transport infrastructure in these poor neighbourhoods is similar to the case of Yaoundé in Cameroon, where women are disadvantaged. As in Harare, the poor often fail to travel to health institutions on time while transport costs may be high. These conditions are responsible for the perpetuation of unhealthy urban environments where the poor reside. Lack of transport is not only about accessing health care but also about moving to cities with heavy traffic that is extremely dangerous for pedestrians and cyclists.

As shown in Fig. 6.9, the ongoing political and economic instability in the country has had dire consequences on the health situation in Harare. The economic collapse since independence has forced many health professionals to emigrate, thus leaving a huge gap in specialist services across the country. The economic burden on the government has resulted in less spending on the health sector as evident from the reduced health sector budget. Consequently, the health system that was once a public commodity has now been largely privatised out of reach of the majority. Poor nutrition and housing, limited finances, and associated stress affect people's immune systems,
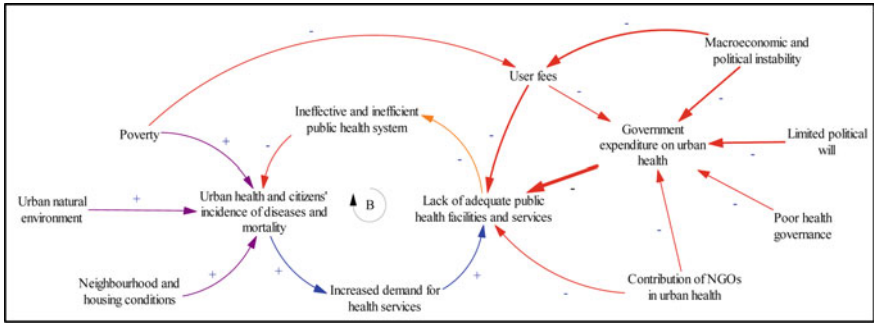
Fig. 6.9 Causal loop diagram of the existing health system in Harare (Developed by the authors using Vensim Software)

making them more susceptible to diseases. Poverty has also been linked to other risky behaviours among the citizens in Harare and these include child prostitution, substance abuse, and crime which ultimately has health implications on the poor.

6.6   Conclusion

The discussion above has revealed the close association between income, health, and the environment. People living in poverty are forced to reside in low-quality environments that, due to the inadequacy of their housing, impact negatively on their health, often pushing them deeper into poverty. The emergence of NCDs has also been noted due to the poor residing in unhealthy environments, with unhealthy lifestyles. Hence, there is a need for cities to have policies and infrastructure that encourage exercises such as cycle tracks, promoting the use of stairs rather than elevators and sporting facilities in settlements. Given the systemic nature of the socio-ecological system, addressing the health of the poorer communities requires a multipronged approach that simultaneously improves the built and natural environment, basic services such as water, sanitation, energy, and solid waste removal, extends the provision of basic health services to all communities and deals with the sociopolitical roots of the problems. Improving the health of the population can contribute to a healthier growing economy that Zimbabwe desperately needs.

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Chapter 7
Deviation, Transgression or Digression? The Informal City as the Dominant Phenomenon in the Zimbabwean Urban Economy

Innocent Chirisa, Trynos Gumbo, Simbarashe Show Mazongonda, and Margaret Marewo

Abstract This chapter is an attempt to dissect the Zimbabwean urban economy in terms of its normative versus positive developments emerging especially after 1990. There is a general construct that the country had high regard to urban planning and development standards before and immediately after independence. The change in the political economy of the country, particularly after the adoption of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme in 1991 and other economic reforms afterwards, ushered in and brought about an imprint of economic informalisation in the urban areas. The purpose of this chapter is to provide a nuanced narrative and discussion of the informal city as a dominant phenomenon of the Zimbabwean urban economy. The work adopted a case study research design and a qualitative methodological approach where a thorough distillation of literature sources relevant to informal city discourses was conducted, and case studies on Zimbabwean cities with respect to all the economic sectors were studied. Case studies were drawn from the various sectors—land and housing, trade and commerce, farming, energy, transport, water and environmental health. The preliminary results revealed that the informal economy has become the mainstay of the Zimbabwean economy, contributing not only to household income but also to national economic development. The conclusion is that it is difficult to speak of participation of the generality of the urban dwellers in

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the urban economy and leave out informality as the defining label and parameter. It is therefore proffered and emphasised that the informal sector plays an incubator role for innovation towards creating an acceptable and appropriate economy in that economic indicators such as the gross domestic product and per capita income are reference points for growth, investment in Zimbabwe and comparable with other countries and nations.

Keywords Informality · Postcoloniality · Spatiality · Urbanity · Policy · Governance · Regularisation

7.1 Introduction

The transition from a colonial to a postcolonial state has seen the Zimbabwean economy changing from formal to informal. It has been argued that this is largely inclined to the main tenants of political and economic policies adopted by the post-colonial government (Gumbo 2013; Gumbo and Geyer 2011; Dube and Chirisa 2012). It is further argued that urban Zimbabwe, since the colonial days, has been characterised by rigid planning standards most adopted from the colonial master, Britain. Such standards have negated informality and tended even to criminalise it as an urban economic activity. However, independence, in 1980, has brought in some element of paradigm shift (Chirisa and Dumba 2012). Overall, this transition has been met with mixed reactions depending on the alignment of the interpreter. This chapter dissects the Zimbabwean urban economy in terms of its normative versus positive developments that especially emerged after 1990. Essentially, it provides a nuanced narrative and discussion of the informal city as a dominant phenomenon of the Zimbabwean urban economy. This narrative was developed using a case-based reasoning design and a qualitative methodological approach. A thorough distillation of literature sources relevant to informal city discourse was carried out. Case studies were drawn from various sectors such as land and housing, manufacturing, trade and commerce, and farming. The chapter is structured to first give a fundamental assumption that sets the scene for what follows. This is followed by a review of global perspectives on informality, and the Zimbabwean context before and a few years after the 1980 independence. It also has a background on informal sector, from the global to the local scale. Then, a presentation of cases drawn from different sectors is used to advance the argument that informality is a dominant phenomenon in the Zimbabwean urban economy. This set the scene for a brief discussion, drawing conclusions and prescription of policy options.

7.2 Premise of the Chapter

There is a general construct shared between Zimbabwean insiders and outsiders that the country had high regard to urban planning and development standards before and immediately after independence. By then, the city reflected and maintained high standards of planning (Kamete and Lindell 2010). However, renowned scholars have referred to Zimbabwe as an unfriendly city that segregated against the poor, stripping them of their rights of belonging, and dumping them outside its boundary (Munzwa and Wellington 2010; Potts 2011; Wekwete in Rambanapasi 1989). While the colonial city was planned, it lacked inclusivity and diversity, that are the hallmarks of the twenty-first-century city. The same can be said of efforts to maintain the status quo during the first ten years after the 1980 independence. Colonisation brought about a socio-economic and political new dispensation that was based on resource exploitation to the best advantage of the colonialists (Munzwa and Wellington 2010). Zimbabweans were not allowed to carry a freehold title in the urban areas. This was supported by the requirement of having a dual existence where one was supposed to have a permanent rural home and a temporary urban residence (Wekwete in Rambanapasi 1989). The pre-independent governance system was segregatory in a way and it neglected the high-density residential areas that were originally meant for Africans. By then, formal activities dominated the urban terrain with less consideration of the informal. In terms of infrastructure provision, the colonial cities lacked infrastructure and services for the informal sector.

Upon realising this segregatory nature of governance, the postcolonial government introduced the 'one city concept' meant to promote a single service delivery system concurrently improving service delivery in the high-density residential areas. The roles of planning saw a twist after the attainment of independence, where planning became an instrument for the restructuring of society and the economy (Muchadenyika and Williams 2016). However, the adoption of the colonial planning frameworks led to several challenges because of the changes that happened in the socio-economic and political environment that had been brought about by the new dispensation after the attainment of independence in 1980. The introduction of the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) in the postcolonial era (in the early 1990s) came with profound effects and influence in urban planning. ESAP led to the loosening of the planning instruments (law, restrictions, development plans) that were used to govern the urban activities. ESAP came along with the influx of informal activities within the urban terrain of Zimbabwe, specifically in cities such as Harare (Kamete 2017). The independent government adopted an indigenisation and economic empowerment policy that promoted the informal sector in the form of home industries (Dube and Chirisa 2012). This led to the dilution of zoning ordinances that were very strict during the colonial era to the adoption of the mixed-use approach. Such changes, as argued in this chapter, presented themselves as a divergence, transgression and deviation from colonial planning standards. Perhaps the Zimbabwean issue will be contextualised through global perspectives on informality.

7.3   Global Perspectives on Urban Informality

Several sources concurred that informality is very high in developing countries, though it also characterised economies of developed countries (Mukhija and Loukaitou-Sideris 2015; UN-Habitat 2003). On the one hand, the UN-Habitat (2003) noted that 78.2% of the urban population in developing cities live in informal settlements. On the other hand, Mukhija and Loukaitou-Sideris (2015: 445) used the case of the United States of America (USA) to explain the state of informality in developed countries and noted that 'every day in cities across the USA street vendors spread out their wares on sidewalks, food trucks serve lunch from the curb, homeowners hold sales in their front yards, and day labourers gather outside home improvement and construction supplies stores to solicit work'. Such demonstration indicates that informality is a fundamental part of developed cities. Some of the noted driving forces include globalisation, laissez-faire, immigration, unemployment and inadequacy of existing regulations to curb complex issues of the contemporary built environment (Mukhija and Loukaitou-Sideris 2015). While cities in developed countries are traditionally known for a strict formal set-up, rules and regulations, there is also informal urbanism (Talen 2012).

Roy (2009) used the concept of 'idiom of urbanism' to explain the driving and restraining forces of informality in India. In explaining this concept, a metaphorical style was used to describe two scenes in Indian urbanisation. Roy (2009: 80–81) argued that there are two ways in that this idiom has been actualised:

> First, informality is inscribed in the ever-shifting relationship between what is legal and illegal, legitimate and illegitimate, authorised and unauthorised. This relationship is both arbitrary and fickle and yet is the site of considerable state power and violence … Second, while it has been often assumed that the modern state governs its subjects and conducts planning though technologies of visibility, counting, mapping, and enumerating, in previous work I argued that regimes of urban governance also operate through an 'unmapping' of cities.

Evidence from Indian cities revealed that informality is not synonymous with poverty, and presents itself in a deregulated fashion rather than an unfettered one. Informal subdivisions of land in peri-urban settlements of many developing cities are a mere expression of power by a few powerful individuals. Some informal activities are labelled illegal, while some are regularised. It has, therefore, been reasoned that deregulation breeds informality through deliberate privatisation of growth control with the view of accumulation of wealth, misallocating resources and retaining electoral loyalty from people exercising informality. Moreover, the use of modern technologies such as geospatial intelligence to manage settlements has been deliberately withdrawn to easily tamper around with city and property boundaries. Likewise, the exact size of informality remains unknown to many, and the number of players in informal enterprises remains known to vote-seeking politicians. The crisis in Indian cities is not a mirror of failure of planning, but an idiom of urbanisation 'through systems of deregulation, unmapping and exceptionalism' (Roy 2009: 86).

In an African context, informality has been largely driven by a non-smooth transition from colonial to postcolonial political and economic policies. Most African

nations adopted the planning approaches and frameworks of their former colonies. For several years, there had been strict implementation of the planning frameworks and approaches of the developed nations in developing African countries, without much consideration of the country's local context (Berrisford 2011; Sietchiping 2004; Todes 2011). The planning process is not a universal truth, but rather context-defined. The failure to recognise the contextual nature of planning led to the rise of informality in several former colonial African cities, including Zimbabwe. The capacity of urban planning in African nations has been limited by the ineffectiveness of conveying universal planning approaches to a different local context. Rapid urbanisation characterised by informality has become a common dilemma in most Sub-Saharan African cities (Castells et al. 2012).

Due to the ever-increasing urbanisation that is not accompanied by industrialisation, informal activities are dominating most of the African urban economies. Kessides (2006) noted that most African cities are experiencing counter-urbanisation that is associated with several challenges, including urban informality. The rise of informal urban economies in most African countries has been rooted in trying to fix the disparity that had been created by colonisation. Infrastructure was provided along racial lines, and this created a disparity between the rich and the poor (Dube and Chirisa 2012). During the colonial era, infrastructure was provided in a negatively skewed manner with the African areas deprived of infrastructure provision and service delivery. In a bid to promote equality, some of the colonial restrictions, including restrictions on the right to the city, were removed from place. The city became attractive to everyone and this led to rapid urbanisation. However, segregation is said to be still in existence in African cities, but now with a new face as it has shifted from racial segregation to economic segregation. There has been a discrepancy between urbanisation and economic growth in most African countries. Illegality and extra illegality are more acute in African urban cities; planning systems are becoming inefficient, and incapable of controlling and managing developments in most cities (Farinmade and Anyankora 2012; Rakodi 1993). This has led to most urban dwellers relying on informal sources of income and informal housing.

Regardless of driving and restraining forces, informal settlements are characterised by poor service delivery, low-standard housing, illegality, insecure tenure systems, impoverishment, exclusion and overcrowding (UN-Habitat 2003). Most cities of the world are experiencing informal urbanism. Therefore, urban informality is a common scenario around the world, but what only differs is the intensity of informality. Furthermore, the informal economy is also a significant source of income and employment in several urban areas around the world. Global cases have shown that informality is context-specific. To contextualise this chapter, a review of the Zimbabwean context is paramount.

7.4   Background of Informal Sector Development
in Zimbabwe

Before the realisation of independence in 1980, informality was at its minimum, considering the existence of heavily enforced statutes and instruments such as the Town and Planning Act of 1946, the Vagrancy Act of 1960, and the Vendors and Hawkers' By-laws of 1973 (Brand 1986; Gumbo 2013). By then, planning was an instrument that was used to regulate and control the development in urban areas (Potts 2011). The colonial planning instruments were too restrictive and not inclusive in terms of accommodating everyone. At that time, society was racially divided (Chirisa and Dumba 2012). It has been argued that during that pre-independence era, informal manufacturing activities were common in African locations, included welding, carpentry and crafts (Gumbo 2013). The assessment in this chapter is limited to the realities of post-independence (from 1980 onwards) because before 1980, informality was largely insignificant to receive mass attention, a situation that extended into the greater part of the first decade after attaining independence (Gumbo and Geyer 2011; Wekwete in Rambanapasi 1989; Wekwete 1989; Zinyama et al. 1993).

The country's political ideologies and approaches changed since the new dispensation in 1980. The ideology was rooted in a dual objective of addressing historical imbalances with a vision of promoting the prosperity of the country. The Zimbabwean government embarked on a socialist political ideology to promote growth with equity (Rambanapasi 1989). The government's socialist strategy came with huge government expenditure, deficits and debts that then led to its abandonment and the adoption of a capitalist approach. The gradual and gripping socio-economic upheavals of the late 1980s ignited the government to seek a conditional loan from the International Monetary Fund. One of the conditions attached to this loan was the nation's adoption of ESAP. Hasty implementation of ESAP saw changes such as the chronic exodus of industrialists, a downwards spiral of economic activities, privatisation of firms (Zinyama et al. 1993). Landslide retrenchment of workers pressured them to find sanctuary in informal enterprises. The enactment of Statutory Instrument SI 216 of 1994 (Government of Zimbabwe) saw home industries being permitted in residential areas through special consent, change of use and the mixed-use approach. In a way, ESAP strategies changed the conventional planning approach (Magure 2015; Muchadenyika and Williams 2016). Furthermore, precipitating the progression of informal enterprise was the awarding of millions of dollars in compensation to ex-combatants in the late 1990s, that left the country's economy in tatters (Mzumara et al. 2015).

The onset of the fresh millennium was characterised by the historical Fast Track Land Reform Programme that loosened the planning powers and violated planning procedures (Mabhena 2012; Muchadenyika 2015). Muchadenyika and Williams (2016) noted that the Fast Track Land Reform Programme transgressed the bureaucratised and technocratic planning system in Zimbabwe. This led to a lack of services and infrastructure in most parts of the country being affected by the programme, and has also led to a further massive exit of industrialists leaving people jobless.

The gradual 'wilting' of the formal trade sector, coupled with client decrease and corruption, saw the retrenched workforce joining the informal trade sector where they formed small manufacturing clusters (Chirisa 2007; Gumbo 2013; Muponda 2012). This reactionary resort by desperate employment-seeking citizens gave rise to a marked increase in informal enterprises.

While earning a living through informal activities, a harsh clean-up campaign dubbed Operation Murambatsvina (OM) of 2005 that dehumanised people as it destroyed their sources of livelihood (Gumbo and Geyer 2011; Tibaijuka 2005; Williams 2014). If a second option is lacking, they draw lessons from the parable of endurance. This has been highlighted as one of the explanations why informality is resistant to enforcement (Chirisa 2007; Miraftab 2009; Varley 2013). The period after the historical OM was marked by increased tension between the ruling party, Zimbabwe African National Union–Patriotic Front (ZANU–PF), and two formations of the main opposing party, Movement for Democratic Change–Tsvangirai (MDC–T) and Movement for Democratic Change–Mutambara (MDC–M). This political crisis was largely pronounced in the form of socio-economic crisis characterised by another significant rise in informality. Table 7.1 succinctly summarises this growth in informal enterprise development in Zimbabwe.

The summary in Table 7.1 shows that informal enterprise development was not an event, but a process that fed on political and economic policies adopted by government from 1980. The same argument resonates well in one study that tested and proved the hypothesis that the development of the informal trading sector is the result of economic and political policies adopted by the new Zimbabwean government from 1981 to 2010 (Gumbo 2013). Confirmation of this hypothesis followed a historical trace that packaged the economic and political ideologies adopted by the Zimbabwean government over thirty years, with a view of highlighting its implications for the development of the informal trade sector (Gumbo 2013). Three major ideologies were noted as socialism (1981–1990), neoliberalism (1991–2000) and authoritarianism (2001–2010). Each of these ideologies contributed to the growth of the informal sector. Informality has grown to a point where it is now more of a pseudo-permanent development than anything else. It is against this realisation that the government called for the compilation of a national informal sector database in 2014. This chapter intends to answer two major questions, namely: Did the post-independence era in Zimbabwe lead to the rise in informality? What sort of changes were brought about by economic and political policies adopted after 1980? The responses to these questions constitute the major discourse of this chapter.

In comparing urban informality with formality, Averitt (1968) noted that the formal sector is rational, planned, organised and regulated, whereas the informal sector is the opposite of that. The informal sector provides a broad spectrum of livelihood opportunities to the economically disadvantaged. In this regard, an unplanned city is therefore inclusive, as opposed to planned cities that are associated with restrictions on the right to the city. for instance restrictions that were imposed by the colonial government in Zimbabwe made it difficult for Africans to establish easy links with the city.

Table 7.1 Informal enterprise development in Zimbabwe

Period	Probable cause	General description	Comments
Early 1990s	Adoption of ESAP	ESAP presents the following prescriptions among others: • Deregulation of the transportation sector • Privatisation of companies • Withdrawal of state aid on some companies	Reduction of state aid in diverse sectors exposed companies to heavy shocks and stresses that saw the downfall of many companies. Other retrenched workers found sanctuary in the informal trading sector
Late 1990s	Awarding of millions of dollars to ex-combatants	This left the economy in tatters	Appeasement of ex-combatants at the expense of addressing pressing issues is tantamount to misplacement of priorities. This strained an already overstrained economy. Various effects were pronounced in an increase in informal activities
Early 2000s	Fast Track Land Reform Programme	Transfer of land titles from the white minority to the black majority	Being an agricultural-based economy, a significant percentage of upstream and downstream industries collapsed, leaving a substantial quantity of people jobless. This partly pushed employment-seeking citizens into informality
Late 2000s	Political and socio-economic conflict among political parties	General lack of consensus among the ruling party, ZANU–PF, and two formations of the key opposing party, MDC–T and MDC–M, especially prior to, during and after the 2008 presidential elections	Protracted political and socio-economic conflict melted the economy down to its knees. Nearly all systems became dysfunctional and everything turned informal with high levels of clientelism and corruption more pronounced

Source Adapted from Gumbo and Geyer (2011), Wekwete (1989), and Zinyama et al. (1993)

Planned cities, by nature, are not inclusive, especially to the urban poor and their right to the city, who are robbed by failure of planning frameworks to accommodate them. The informal city defends the right to the city of the urban poor. The strategies employed by the urban poor to defend their right to the city cannot be separated from the livelihood strategies they employ to sustain a living in the urban landscape (Park 1967). This indicates that those people that are restricted into the city are the ones who usually get involved in informal enterprises. The urban poor have strategies of silent encroachment into the planned city (Bayat 2000: 553). In doing so, they use strategies variegated by sector. Cases reviewed in this chapter include land and housing, manufacturing, trade and commerce, and farming.

7.5 Case Studies from the Various Sectors

Brown et al (2014: 11) argued that 'the informal economy is now a significant and permanent phenomenon in most parts of the world in response to the ongoing global economic crises'. Just like in any other country around the world, informality appears to be the mainstay of the Zimbabwean economy. Considering the prevailing continuous decline of Zimbabwe's formal sector, the urban terrain of the nation is therefore entangled in the informal sector. The informal sector has become a magnetic pool of livelihood for the majority of urbanites. The rapid growth of the urban informal economy has attracted forward and backward linkages with the formal economy (Meagher 2013). This section uses data from a case study to show how informality has become the mainstay of the Zimbabwean economy, contributing not only to household income but also to national economic development.

7.5.1 Land and Housing

Numerous sources concurred that a significant number of the world's population dwell in informal settlements and informal housing (Narayan et al 2000; UN-Habitat 2008). Biderman et al. (2008) identified lack of land and housing ownership, shortage of infrastructure, non-compliance with the planning and regulatory frameworks such as building by-laws, and lack of amenities and services, as the major driving forces to housing informality. In the Zimbabwean context, unapproved and illegal subdivision of private, public and state land may also be classified as informality. Section 39(1) of the Regional, Town and Country Planning (RTCP) Act [1996, Chapter 29:12] states that:

> No subdivision or consolidation without permit
> (1) Subject to subsection (2), no person shall—
> (a) subdivide any property; or

(c) consolidate two or more properties into one property; except following a permit granted in terms of section forty: Provided that an undivided share in any property, whether or not it is coupled with an exclusive right of occupation, shall not be regarded for this subsection as a portion of that property.

It is important to observe that the law prohibits division or merging of properties without permission of the local planning authority. Such practices have wider economic, health, order and amenity implications. Despite this clarity in the legal regime, unapproved subdivision and consolidation of properties is common in Harare and other urban areas. Since the attainment of independence in 1980, the Government of Zimbabwe has used enforcement of planning control to curb housing informality characterised by the subdivision of properties. The first president of Zimbabwe, Canaan Banana, in his opening address to the parliament in 1983, stated that 'it is the government policy to remove urban squatters and accommodate them in properly planned residential areas' (Butcher in Zinyama et al. 1993: 68). This policy had earlier on been practically demonstrated in 1980–1981, when the squatter settlement of approximately 30,000 people in Chirambahuyo (15 km from Harare) was bulldozed (Butcher 1986; Patel and Adams 1981). Again in 1983, an informal settlement of a further 10,000 people at Russelldene was bulldozed. The same policy was practically demonstrated in the historical OM clean-up campaign of 2005, referred to earlier in this chapter.

In an effort to provide decent accommodation to urbanites, the Government of Zimbabwe has used a wide range of models: a self-help model, pay schemes, consortia and syndicates, joint ventures, wet cores, rental accommodation and housing cooperatives (Toriro 2006). In as much as several models have been adopted, housing informality is increasingly becoming common. The housing cooperatives model has become a common vehicle for low-income urbanites. Murowe and Chirisa (2006) noted that this model is largely driven by land barons, most of them who are linked to the ruling party (ZANU–PF). Such cooperatives are named after heroes who participated in the liberation struggle that gave birth to the 1980 independence. They use names such as Sally Mugabe Housing Cooperative and Josiah Tongogara Cooperative. To some extent, these cooperatives adhered to incremental planning standards, but lacked basic infrastructure such as roads, piped water and sewerage. Similarly, critical to note, the introduction of cooperatives has seen, in some cases, illegal compartmentalisation and parcelling out of land.

Synonymous with housing informality are developments on buffers, riverbanks, water reservoirs, open spaces, wetlands and other environmentally sensitive areas. It has also proved to be a threat to the operations of urban councils since it put pressure on services and amenities. In Zimbabwe, land and housing informality has led to water shortages as these informal settlements illegally connect to water and sewerage systems; yet they do not pay user and connection charges. Studies by Chaeruka (2002), Mazongonda and Muromo (2006), Murowe and Chirisa (2006) have revealed that rising informality in land and housing is usually attributed to costly ambiguous and bureaucratic planning procedures that are difficult and tiresome to follow. This attracts informality, especially from the urban poor, most of them who live below the poverty datum line.

7.5.2 Manufacturing

As noted earlier in this chapter, the pre-independence era was characterised by laws and legal instruments that thwarted informal manufacturing. At the same time, the formal manufacturing sector was able to absorb employment-seeking urbanites. As such, informal manufacturing was insignificant to receive mass attention and this extended into the greater part of the first decade after attaining independence. The adoption of ESAP brought with it a rise in informal manufacturing. Retrenched skilled individuals found sanctuary in the informal sector where they ventured into manufacturing in their backyards and along roadsides (Mazongonda and Muromo 2011). In an attempt to bring sanity in most low-income residential areas, a mixed approach was adopted that saw the enactment of SI 216 of 1994. SI 216 set the parameter and practice of manufacturing in residential areas. Specifically, the instrument set use groups 4, 5 and 6 to provide for the services industry, warehouses and general industrial use, and storage and special industrial use, respectively. Mazongonda (2018) carried out a study on the intensity and implications of informal manufacturing in three home industries in Harare. The study revealed six practices that violated the fundamentals of planning goals. Noted in that study are issues inclined to roadside manufacturing, carriageway manufacturing, riverbank manufacturing, land parcelisation practices, need for redevelopment of planning areas and manufacturing outside the designated boundary. This a true reflection that informal manufacturing has heightened to a level that threatens order, safety, amenity, health, convenience and welfare of the general public.

7.5.3 Trade and Commerce

This category of informality is characterised by players who are into buying and selling, and provision of services. These enterprises are not registered, do not confirm to formal regulations and they operate outside the purview of the governing authorities. Chirisa (2007) described strategies used by vendors in the streets of Harare to cushion themselves against enforcement of planning control. At the time of compiling this chapter, vending in the streets of the capital city, Harare, has dominated almost every street, with vendors selling goods such as food, clothes, electrical accessories, furniture manufactured at home industries and backyards, groceries. All this is taking place at sidewalks and carriageways. Some sections of carriageways have been totally blocked, making it impassable to vehicular traffic. Figure 7.1 shows a scene captured at one road intersection in Harare where the intersection has been completely blocked by vendors.

Interpreting Fig. 7.1, imagine a mega retail store set-up conveniently at the heart of the central business district (CBD), thriving with the most affordable fresh farm produce, premium brand products at competitively low prices and specialised attendants for every product who help you select what best suits your needs and have it

Fig. 7.1 Intersection blocked by vendors (captured by one of the researchers, 2019)

at their sole discretion to knock off a few dollars for your best interests. It would be convenient and cost-saving for the customer.

Also imagine the same mega retail store but with no proper entrance and exit, no organised shelves, no do-not-eat-and-drink regulations, no security, no guarantees or warrantees on all products, no proper disposal of residual rubbish and absolutely no prevailing order. The extent to that the good outweighs the bad of the informal sector is a debate for ages to come. The hive of activity in the middle of the road as shown in Fig. 7.2, blocking the passage of vehicles that are both commercial and personal; the noise is deafening because touting is the easiest and most implemented marketing strategy across the market. Many also report cases of theft during their short stays in the hyperactive informal market, whether they were actively participating in the shopping or were simply part of the crowd that uses the road to reach their desired destinations.

The majority of the sellers are also usually smoking and drinking on the job; perhaps their justification is that the carts they push around town are not to be regarded as 'heavy machinery'. The rusty machines also pose considerable risk to unsuspecting people who could be in the market area when law enforcers (police and council officers) decide to descend on the informal traders. These raids usually result in loss of investment and minor to major road traffic accidents.

The war is unending as the traders have become accustomed to the routine fines that they have to pay to be released from the cells in the event that they are caught in the act. Moments after release from the police station they are back in business. Thus, all transactions are performed very fast in anticipation of a raid at any given

Fig. 7.2 Vendors at one road intersection in Harare (captured by one of the researchers, 2019)

time. Everyone in the area is almost always in high alert; a lapse in judgement will imminently result in a loss of fortune.

The market grows significantly in number from around 15:00 and dismisses around 21:00. The prime time provides easy catchment of customers who are rushing home after work. The vendors set-up their market along roads that most customers use to go to their bus stations. This is convenient for most customers who save themselves the hustle of queueing in a formal shop. The products sold are also daily essentials for any viable homestead, provided that vending stalls in the CBD do not have the capacity to house the vendors. This is evident enough that informality has overshadowed formality in Zimbabwe, something that depicts a loophole in the provisions of the legal, policy, regulatory and governing frameworks.

7.5.4 Farming

Informality manifests in farming through unregulated urban and peri-urban agriculture. Urban agriculture (UA) has gained popularity due to a concern for food security by urban dwellers, especially in developing cities. UA has been described as the growing, processing and distribution of crops and rearing of livestock within urban areas for the purpose of food for the local population without the consent of the local planning authority (Game and Primus 2015; Goldstein et al. 2011;

Hardman and Larkham 2014; Hendrickson and Porth 2012). The significant distinguishing characteristic of UA is that it is an integral part of urban socio-economic and ecological systems as it relies on urban resources and is influenced by urban conditions such as policies, urban land and urban markets (Mougeot 2000). UA has two dimensions that are called controlled environment agriculture involving farming under controlled environmental conditions, for example, green infrastructure, and uncontrolled environment agriculture or open space agriculture, and this involves community gardens, backyard fowl runs and rooftop farms (Wallimann 2014). UA is dominant in Zimbabwe in several urban areas. However, the old development plans did not cater much for UA as there was no land reserved for that use. This saw the invasion of open spaces, buffers, wetlands and land reserved for future developments. This has brought about some challenges, especially to the governing authorities.

The Administrative Court of Zimbabwe has handled numerous cases of unregulated UA. For example, in the case of *Olivia Zenda Phiri versus City of Harare T9/15*, the appellant who was rearing more than 880 chickens at a residential property was served with enforcement, prohibition and demolition orders in pursuance of Sections 32, 34 and 35 of the RTCP Act [Chapter 29:12] by the City of Harare (the local planning authority) to stop the project and demolish fowl runs at her property. She appealed against the orders, citing the fact that the six-month period given to wind up operations was too short considering the nature of her business. The case was decided in favour of the City of Harare because continued use of the property for chicken-rearing exposed neighbours to fowl smells and health risks. So, the appellant was given a further 12 months to wind up, failure of which the City of Harare was given a court order to forcibly evict the appellant without any further adjudication of the matter through courts.

Nevertheless, informal settlements tend to locate themselves in the peripheral areas of the city, and in Zimbabwe such land parcels were once designated farmlands to provide food for the city. This invasion accompanied by sprawling of these settlements into the peri-urban farmlands has largely affected farming, causing food insecurity. Brook and Dávila (2000) argued that traditional farms are disrupted by urban newcomers seeking to develop in such areas. In terms of planning, this brings about pressure to planners to try to fit in UA as alternative to promote food security. However, UA cannot produce as much as commercial farms due to constraints such as land, water, adequate space and resources. There exists a policy gap as the existing policy frameworks, and development plans do not provide for UA; yet it is now a dire need for increasing food security, especially for the urban poor. Several measures in terms of farming have been made in Zimbabwe. For example, in Bindura town, peri-urban land was allocated to the urban poor for farming purposes.

7.6 General Overview of Informality Dimensions in Harare, Zimbabwe

Most African cities are experiencing urbanisation of poverty and this is associated with informality in all its dimensions (Braud 2004). The urban poor tend to fit themselves into towns and cities through the creation of informal settlements that are deprived of services, amenity and infrastructure provision. In terms of broadening their livelihood activities, informal trade and commerce is the only option, especially in Zimbabwe where there is an economic downturn and high unemployment rate. This has brought several delimitations such as food insecurity that the urbanites are trying to overcome through UA. However, informality and overcrowding are now the norm for many developing cities and the city authorities are incapacitated to cope with the downstream challenges brought about by these issues. Urban councils are, therefore, faced with enormous challenges in providing adequate infrastructure and services, sufficient employment, provision of basic needs such as decent housing, maintaining green spaces and environmentally sensitive areas and managing urban wastes. This has enormously affected planning in a negative way in Zimbabwe where local authorities lack local autonomy. Urban areas are continuously becoming territories of reactive planning and intervention of strategies to eradicate informality and all its consequences.

Rising informality in Zimbabwe has led to institutional incapacity for urban local authorities to provide for adequate water and supply sewerage, garbage collection, service and amenities. Informality has brought about too much pressure on services, amenities and infrastructure, accompanied by less and inadequate funding to provide for this service. Informality has proved to be the mainstay for Zimbabwe's urban economies and there is minimal consideration for urban informality in the current policy frameworks. This actually indicates a policy gap.

The Government of Zimbabwe has a tendency of handing over informal settlements to the city of Harare to provide services and this creates more pressure and affects city planning. For example, Caledonia that was once a state land, was handed over to the City of Harare to provide services, infrastructure and amenities in 2015 (Zimbabwe Department for International Development 2015). There is a challenge of dealing with informality and all its problems considering the available dilapidated infrastructure, obsolete and incapacitated water and sewerage systems and poor waste management. Informality has constrained everything and brought about a continuous headache in the ways in that local authorities operate and in planning at large. Informality is a result of lack of planning, and trying to fit it into planning requires some reactive strategies and coping mechanisms that are very difficult and expensive to employ into action. These actions are usually faced with resistance and requires great amounts of money; yet, the Harare City Council, for instance, is financially incapacitated.

7.7 Discussion

It is inevitable that urban informality is the mainstay for Zimbabwe's urban economy. Portes and Sassen-Koob (1987) argued that urban informality is an undeniable marginal and transitory phenomenon that would inevitably be absorbed by the modernising urban industrial sector. From the above evidence, it is an undeniable fact the informal sector has grown and expanded within the urban landscape of Zimbabwe and is now the major contributor of urban economies. While the informal sector provides for employment creation, broadens the livelihood framework for the urbanites and immensely contributes to the national gross domestic product, it acts as a detour in attaining urban sustainability, effectiveness and efficiency in urban functioning and systems. There is therefore a need to integrate the informal sector into a sustainable urban structure. Urban informality is the prevailing reality that cannot be run away from; therefore, it is of great importance to merge it into the urban set-up but now in a regulated and planned manner.

'Informality is often presented in much critiqued dichotomies' (Banks et al. 2019: 1). Informality is viewed in a unidisciplinary approach as an awkward, unforeseen and unregulated phenomenon that most authorities believe can only be dealt with through regulation. However, we believe urban informality is a result of socio-economic, sociopolitical and geographic exclusion. As indicated above, this exclusion, specifically of the urban poor, will lead to informality. For instance, informal settlements are mostly created as a result of excluding the urban poor from obtaining decent housing. This exclusion comes in the form of high housing costs, that the urban poor cannot afford, the inability of local authorities to provide adequate services, for example, markets and transport facilities, and most significant, the failure to integrate urbanisation with industrialisation. Urban informality is a multidisciplinary phenomenon, yet it is still viewed in a narrow perception as a problematic reality with specific domains. In the case of Zimbabwe, urban informality exists in dimensions, including manufacturing, trade and commerce, land and housing, and farming.

7.8 Conclusion and Policy Options

Therefore, it is proffered and put to the fore that the informal sector be seen as playing an incubator role for innovation toward creating an acceptable and appropriate economy in that economic indicators such as the gross domestic product and per capita income, are reference points for growth, investment in Zimbabwe and comparably with other countries and nations. Moreover, the changes in the sociopolitical environment ushered the rise and domination of the informal sector in Zimbabwe's urban terrain. Several measures and much effort have been put into dealing with the increasing informality, but the situation still prevails in urban areas. The informal sector dominated both the urban economies and the national economies as it provides

most of the employment to the urbanites and most of their income as well. Informality in form of informal trading is normally practised for subsistence. Informal housing has been led by the lack of local authorities to provide adequate housing for the growing urban population. More so, the idea of the restriction to the right to the city, especially to the urban poor who are automatically isolated from obtaining decent housing in urban areas and are left with no option than forcing themselves into the urban areas through situating informal settlements.

The above literature study indicated the application of Western planning regulations that do not fit into the local context. The adoption of the British regulatory framework has also led to the rising informality. The post-independent new dispensation adopted the pre-independent planning regulatory frameworks without realisation of the changes in the sociopolitical and economic environment that have been brought about by changes in policy objectives and strategies. These frameworks were applicable in urban areas with highly controlled urbanisation and rural–urban migration rates. The new dispensation failed to adjust the frameworks in the context of rapid urbanisation. The regulatory framework is way too strict to apply into the local context, and failure by the urban population to comply with such regulatory requirements has led to the rise of urban informality. The planning procedures are bureaucratic, too long and cumbersome; therefore, impatient urbanites will end up not following procedures and that is where urban informality begins. Furthermore, the failure to integrate urbanisation with industrialisation led to the rise of urban informality that now dominates urban economies. Therefore, there is need for the revitalisation of the industrial sector to match with the current urbanisation rates and accompany urbanisation with industrialisation.

Failure to provide strategies to deal will urban informality in Zimbabwe's urban landscape has an effect of continued suffering from economic, social and environmental informality challenges. There is need for a critical analysis on the sociopolitical and socio-economic nature of urban informality so as to understand the shortcomings and opportunities brought about by this phenomenon and then use them to determine policy interventions and policy options. Considering the rigidity of planning frameworks as an inhibitor to deal with urban informality, there is a need to do a routine review of such frameworks to match their provisions with the prevailing planning environments. Bearing in mind the undeniable reality that informality is the mainstay of Zimbabwe's urban economies and is here to stay, it is imperative to incorporate informality within the urban planning and regulatory frameworks. In other words, there is need to formalise the informal through providing for it, but in a regulated and controlled manner. In this regard, urban local authorities need to provide sites for informal trading. While this has been done, it does not appear to be successful because of the spatial location of the trading stalls they had provided. The areas that were provided were isolated and difficult for customers to access because of larger distances from public spaces and town centres. Therefore, there is a need to reconsider the spatial location for vending stalls and areas into public spaces where buyers and sellers can easily integrate.

Moreover, multitasking infrastructure would also help in incorporating urban informality in the urban areas of Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe's urban infrastructure is

not being utilised to its maximum or full utilisation because of lack of activity. Some infrastructure is laying idle, especially during the night and during weekends. Reconsidering the 24-hour city concept can also help to curb urban informality challenges. For example, parkades within the CBD can be made robust in a way that they can be utilised for trading during the night and during weekends. A paradigm shift towards public participation if informality in Zimbabwe is to be deal with effectively. There is a need to incorporate the urbanites involved in informal activities in planning. This will help in understanding them, their needs, their views and ideas. A better understanding of a situation leads to the provision of noble and best strategies to deal with that specific situation. This inclusive way of planning reduces risks such as resistance that is currently happening, especially in Harare. When the people who are engaged in informal activities are involved in the planning of those activities, they feel involved, and this makes them adhere to the strategies that would be employed.

Proper enforcement of law, rules and regulations is critical in dealing with urban informality. The prevailing planning law provides to setting aside designated parcels of land for uses such as home industries and markets in land use planning. However, these designated areas are not adequate, considering the urban population engaged in informal trading and also the invasion of such areas by other land uses through change of use. The enforcement of planning frameworks has been loosened due to the abuse of the provision for 'change of use' as prescribed by the RTCP Act [Chapter 29:12]. Most of the small parcels of land that have been left for land uses such as home industries and UA have been converted to residential areas that are not serviced, leading to more promotion of informality. Informal traders are left with no option but to invade the streetscape. There is a need to provide basic infrastructure and basic services as a measure towards formalisation of the informal sector. This may be achieved through the provision of well-serviced informal trading areas that are easily accessible and healthy, through providing health and sanitation services. Moreover, informal settlement upgrading can be employed to curb the effects of informal settlements. Provision of a smooth flow of public transport systems, especially mass transit, and enforcement in terms of designated vehicle drop and pick-up points may help in curbing the effects of informal transport systems.

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Chapter 8
Ecological Risks of the Postcolonial City: Experiences from Harare, Zimbabwe

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Abstract The human ecosystems model is used to explore the human impact on urban ecosystems in Harare. The chapter explores several questions: What are the urban ecological risks in the postcolonial city? How do residents perceive urban ecosystems? How do politics and urban governance systems exist to regulate or manage the relationships between humans and urban ecosystems? The chapter reveals that urban ecosystems are complex and fragile spaces that face multiple stressors associated with increasing urbanisation. The nature and characteristics of the urbanisation process have resulted in degradation, downsizing or loss of open spaces and protected areas such as wetlands and public parks. Land and water resources are increasingly polluted due to the dumping of solid waste and the run-off of chemicals and fertilisers from urban agriculture. The continued degradation of the environment is deeply disturbing and challenges the notion of stewardship of the environment where communities value ecosystem services and, hence, act as good stewards of their environment. Furthermore, political ecology features in the urban ecology literature and influences environmental sustainability together with unclear and overlapping statutes and governing institutions, or gross neglect of the legislation on the urban environment.

Keywords Urban ecology · Downsizing · Downgrading · Open spaces · Urban environment

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8.1 Introduction

Cities are characterised by socio-economic activities which mainly involve infrastructure development. These activities are largely aimed at enhancing the form and function of the built environment so that it satisfies the various human needs. However, increased human concentration in cities, and their various socio-economic activities, alters and ultimately jeopardises the natural environment (Kosheleva et al. 2018; Okeke and Ukonze 2019). Harare is no exception as the city has been experiencing rapid urbanisation over the last four decades.

Consequently, there are inherent impacts on the natural environment associated with rapid urbanisation as people shape and reshape the urban space. Currently, Harare accommodates approximately 2.1 million of the country's 14.8 million population, yet the city was initially designed to accommodate 325,000 people (City of Harare 2012). With this large population increase in the city over the years, it is critical to examine the ecological risks from the increased concentration of citizens through rural–urban migration and natural increase.

Harare, as a colonial city, was designed by the European settlers, based on a garden city approach that sought to inculcate the ecological values within Harare (Matamanda and Chirisa 2014). In this way, an effort was made to preserve the natural flora and fauna. Streets in Harare were lined with trees, especially the exotic jacaranda trees in the avenue areas, while open spaces were designated as public parks in the central business district (CBD), for example, the Harare Gardens, Africa Unity Square (formerly Cecil Square) and Kopje, which was left in its original state while ecologically sensitive sites such as wetlands were conserved (Matamanda and Chinozvina 2020). These values are synonymous with the British town planning system which considers order, aesthetics and zoning as important. With the dawn of independence and the ushering in of nationalism and black empowerment, there have been significant changes to the form and function of the city of Harare (Chigudu and Chavunduka 2020; Chirisa and Matamanda 2019a). Such changes impacted on the environment as various developments undertaken in the postcolonial city digressed from the colonial city design that recognised the ecological values of the environment (Mandishona and Knight 2019).

In this chapter, we explore the ecological risks currently overwhelming Harare. These ecological risks range from the pollution of water bodies, contamination of groundwater, downsizing, degradation and degazettement of protected areas to climate change (Matamanda et al. 2018; Mushore et al. 2017; Ndoziya et al. 2019). Considering that ecosystems are complex systems, it is difficult at times to identify the root causes of certain environmental challenges and risks that they face (Nel 2009). Thus, this chapter examines the ecological risks in Harare through the lens of the postcolonial city theory and the human ecosystems model postulated by Machlis et al. (1997). We specifically explore the interaction between the critical resources and human social system and how the colonial and postcolonial planning practices have impacted on the ecological risks in Harare. Therefore, the focus will be on mapping the socio-ecological resources in Harare and how this influence or are influenced

by the activities in the development and management of infrastructure and services, while also reflecting on the politics and governance system that relate with urban socio-economic activities.

Following this introduction is the conceptual framework which focuses on the postcolonial city and the human ecosystem model. A discussion on the context of Harare follows to orientate the reader to the case study through a brief historical background of the city. This is followed by the exploration of the ecological risks in Harare which is based on Campbell's (2016) proposition that human activities impact on the composition of urban systems through five themes, namely economic activities and livelihoods, activities in development and management of infrastructure and services, shaping and reshaping of space and settlements, social and cultural dimensions and values of the communities, and lastly, the politics and governance system that relate with urban socio-economic activities. Two other themes are included: climate change and the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP). This section is followed by a discussion and conclusion of the study.

8.2 Conceptual Framework

8.2.1 Postcolonial City

The postcolonial city is a largely contested thesis that has sparked debate among urban geographers (see Chapter 1). It is for this reason that King (2005) described the postcolonial city as a space too complex and unpredictable for easy classification. Given that socio-ecological systems are complex (Chaffin and Gunderson 2016; Du Plessis 2008), it is not always easy to follow their dynamics. Combining a discussion of ecological risks within the complexity of the postcolonial city thesis is a daunting task. The focus of the postcolonial city thesis is on the legacies of colonialism in the colonial city following the end of colonialism and the ushering in of 'democratic' governments. Radcliffe (1997) asserted that postcolonial cities are referenced, following an attitude of critical engagement with colonialism after-effects and its construction of knowledge.

The British colonial cities were characterised by Western planning ideologies and urban designs and forms that were largely rooted in the garden city approach (Bigon 2013; Home 1990; Howard 1902). Howard's (1902) ideas were to integrate the values of the urban and the rural to promote the liveability of cities, drawing inspiration from the proliferation of air pollution that characterised European cities during the Industrial Revolution. Hence, beyond the aesthetical appeal and spatial ordering, British urban design ideologies were mainly defined by the integration of green open spaces and vegetation. Segregation of land uses, and people was also a common feature in these cities and natural resources were often used as buffers to segregate communities. Efforts were made to preserve natural environments, especially ecologically sensitive sites such as wetlands, rivers and vegetation (Cobbinah

and Darkwah 2016). Such planning was executed using the power of the colonial government to determine the spatial ordering of cities without any input from the indigenous communities, who were often excluded from the heart of such cities (Home 2019; Matamanda and Chinozvina 2020; Mphambukeli 2019).

Various authors have recognised that this Western type of planning imposed on African cities was characterised by multiple problems (Todes 2011), which at times even exacerbated the ecological functioning of the cities (Cobbinah 2021). Watson (2014) has also greatly criticised the adoption of these Western plans by the post-colonial governments on the basis that they fail to relate with the local realities and may have triggered some ecological risks. For example, it has been widely reported that there used to be a river that cut across what is central Harare today, along Julius Nyerere Way (Broderick 2012). This may explain the constant flash floods experienced in the Harare CBD whenever there are heavy rains in the city centre. Furthermore, the establishment of Harare on the upstream of Lake Chivero, which supplies water for the city, has been criticised by many as a planning disaster as the lake is constantly polluted from the city through run-off and wastewater (Magadza 2003; Manjengwa et al. 2019). It is thus interesting to note that the postcolonial ecological problems are somehow a result of the past planning practices by the colonial governments.

The postcolonial city is therefore recognised as a complex urban space inherited by the postcolonial state following the end of colonial rule. This conceptualisation recognises the efforts by the postcolonial governments to transform the cities through decolonising urban spaces (Herbst 2014; Mamdani 1996). However, we recognise that such efforts are not always achieved. According to Yeoh (2001), postcolonial cities often depict the failure to decolonise urban spaces such that the conditions of colonialism remain unchanged, albeit changes in the appearance of cities. Rather, the postcolonial city is synonymous with three major transformations which are the identity of the city, its heritage and encounters in the city which focus the discussion on the right to the city (Yeoh 2001).

Identity is inherent in that the postcolonial city seeks to detach from the colonial past and assume an 'independent' identity that may be visible and tangible. In this regard, efforts are made to adopt a paradigm shift from the colonial system and the result may be changed in urban forms so that the visible identity demonstrates the values of the new system and its communities (Loo 2016). This may mean a change from Western planning ideologies and the fetish for garden cities that are recognised as being a reminder of the colonial past (Matamanda and Chirisa 2014). However, the quest for a new identity may come at a cost. One such cost is the risk of previously conserved ecosystems from new practices that were previously regulated during the colonial era.

Heritage pertains to the reorientation of cities to recognise the liberators and embed a new meaning and history to certain spaces. Johnson (1995) succinctly explained that heritage enables the urban citizens to examine the nexus of memorialisation of the past and the spatialisation of the public. Heritage may also include issues such as postcolonial urban land use planning, land reform and the reallocation of land rights

in cities and how they are remapped by the state and institutional mechanisms (Njoh 1998).

Postcolonial cities also reflect encounters that are inherent in cities as different individuals and groups seek their right to the city.[1] Encounters are integral to postcolonial cities as they are embedded in power relations as those once colonised, now struggle to claim their rights. Power is used by different groups, especially by the economic and political elites, to advance their agendas, which, at times, may compromise the form and function of cities, especially the environment. The dawn of democracy and freedom associated with decolonisation to some extent empowers the previously marginalised communities, as they may now have the capacity to voice and advance their concerns (Badescu 2017; Barry 1995). This could, however, result in conflicts based on different worldviews and understanding of the value and significance of the environment.

8.2.2 Human Ecosystems Model

The human ecosystems model provides a framework to examine the relationships between humans and society (Machlis et al. 1997). Its focus is on the major social, economic and biophysical elements that disrupt the environment and subsequently result in ecological risks at different scales in space (Matamanda and Chirisa 2014). The human ecosystems model, as postulated by Machlis et al. (1997), recognises the environment as composed of two major interrelated systems, namely critical resources and human social system. The critical resources include three essential elements that are natural resources (all ecosystem services fall under this category), socio-economic resources (labour and capital) and cultural resources (myth and beliefs). First, natural resources include all ecosystem services such as water, land, wildlife, flora and fauna and minerals that have use and non-use values. Second, the socio-economic resources include elements such as population, labour and capital. Population is a critical resource as it can be a stressor to the natural resources; thus, resulting in their degradation (Brandt et al. 2017; Iwamura et al. 2016), or the ingenuity of a population can also result in the preservation of the natural ecosystem when stewardship is practised (Henderson and Loreau 2019). It has been argued that capital is a critical element because it can either enable or disable conservation strategies or initiatives owing to a lack of technology or innovation. Lastly, cultural resources are the myths and beliefs that guide the purpose and reason for human action within society. From an African perspective, these may be certain taboos that are observed and recognised by certain communities (Chibvongodze 2016).

The second part of the human ecosystems model is composed of the human social system, which is also categorised into three groups, namely social institutions, social cycles and social order. The human social system is intricately linked to the critical

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[1] The encounters inherent with the postcolonial city have been unpacked in Chapter 1, which focused on the ideological issues of the theory and the interest of the different groups.

resources and the relationship between these two is complex as it is nested in a range of flows, processes and feedbacks. The social institutions include the formal and informal rules and laws that govern the use and management of critical resources. Under this strand, the political issues come into perspective and also include the power issues as resources are always contested and need to be allocated and apportioned equitably. It follows that justice should be a central theme in this regard as espoused by Campbell (2013) and other proponents who advocated for environmental justice. Figure 8.1 illustrates the key components of the human ecosystem model and how they are connected. Through the human ecosystems model, it is possible to identify the underlying factors that are responsible for the emergence of ecological risks. These systemic factors tend to be overlooked with the focus being placed on the issues on the ground, and underlying socio-economic issues are neglected. We use the human ecosystems model as a basis for understanding the ecological risks in postcolonial Harare.
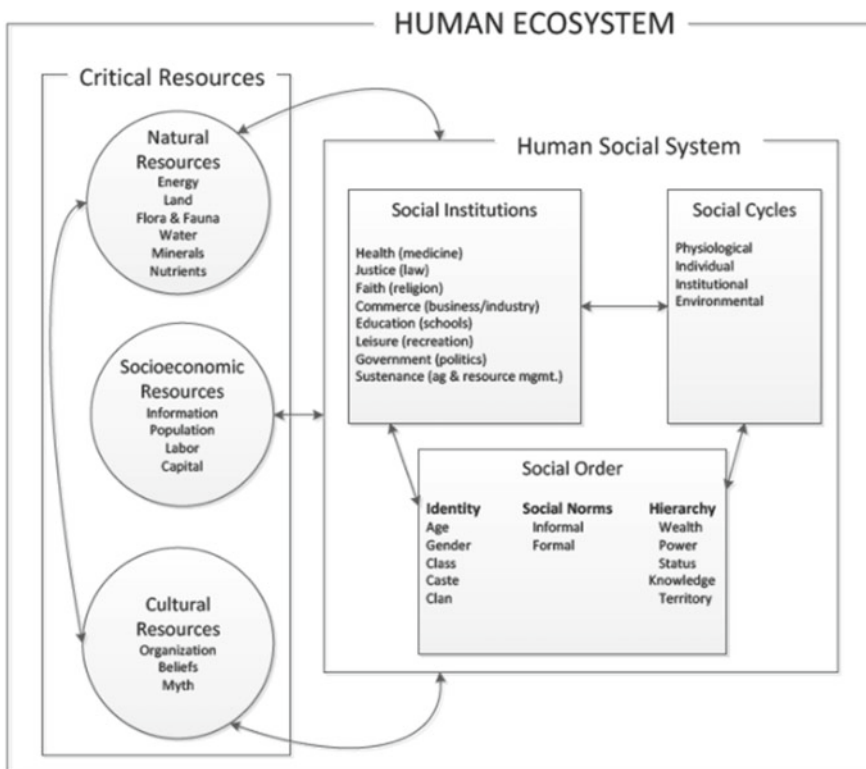
Fig. 8.1 The human ecosystem model showing the linkages between the critical resources and the human social system (Machlis et al. 1997: 352)

8.3 Situating Harare

Harare was established by the European settlers in 1890 when they occupied the area around the Harare Kopje as it provided a panoramic view of the surrounding areas while being close to water supply from the Mukuvisi River. Harare is endowed with multiple natural resources that range from good red soils that are ideal for crop cultivation. The establishment of Harare on a watershed also means that there is a diversity of flora and fauna around the city. This is evident from the high presence of wetlands within the city's boundary. A temperate climate characterises Harare where the annual average rainfall of 840 mm falls mostly between December and February, while the temperature range is a low 15 °C and an average high of 26.2 °C.

The first town planning scheme of the city was prepared in 1891 and it set the guidelines for urban development practice that sought to maintain order and aesthetics. At the time of its establishment, the colonial government was planning for a small population that comprised mainly of the European settlers with a provision for a few Africans. This is evident from the fact that the city was originally designed to accommodate a mere 325,000 people (City of Harare 2012). In the initial stages of the development of the city, efforts were made to plan for water and sanitation facilities as a mitigatory measure against water-borne diseases and the environmental consequences emanating from unhygienic practices in cities as observed during the Industrial Revolution. As Harare continued to develop and prosper, a Town and Country Planning Act was enacted in 1945 to control development in urban areas across the country. This act had its roots in the British planning law that put much emphasis on ecological protection and conservation of nature (Matamanda and Chirisa 2014).

At independence in 1980, the colonial racial laws that restricted Africans from migrating to urban areas were relaxed and this resulted in an influx of migrants from rural areas coming to urban areas in search of economic opportunities and ultimately a better life. The promises of this better life were never really realised, due to the shrinking economy that resulted in the adoption of the structural adjustment programme of the World Bank in the early 1990s (Bourne 2011). The unrestricted rural–urban migration and the natural population increase saw the population of Harare increasing from 656,011, according to the first national census, to 2.1 million in 2012 (Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency 2013). Between 2002 and 2012, it was estimated that the urban growth rate of Harare was at 6%, while the natural increase in the city was 3.1% in 2017 (Infrastructure and Cities for Economic Development 2017). These statistics show that Harare continued to grow at a rapid rate. The structural adjustment programme resulted in the massive retrenchment of many urbanites who were eventually pushed into the informal sector. Urban poverty began to rise in the capital where the cost of living soared beyond the affordability scale of many. Mbiba (1995) identified how urban agriculture became a survival strategy for many, while Auret (1995) pointed to the rising homelessness and poverty among the Africans living in Harare.

In the early 2000s, the FTLRP was launched where white commercial farmers were disposed of their land. The homeless in Harare took advantage of this chaotic

process and grabbed farms around Harare, including the open spaces that had previously been reserved for conservation purposes (Mbiba 2017). Under Mugabe's policies on indigenisation, nationalism and black empowerment, there was chaos in Harare as several environmental injustices went unchecked. These included developments in wetlands, land grabbing, deforestation and stream bank cultivation. The activities were undertaken under the banner of 'the land, our economy'. This was part of Mugabe's efforts to strengthen his fading support among urban citizens; hence, many unsustainable environmental practices were tolerated. These unsustainable developments were worsened by the central–local conflicts that were at play between the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) and Zimbabwe African National Union–Patriotic Front (ZANU–PF) (McGregor and Chatiza 2020). ZANU–PF was the ruling party at the national level, while the MDC was in charge of local governance for Harare. The serious tensions between the parties were reflected in land use and land allocation and ultimately compromised the integrity of the environment. We then situate the ecological risks in Harare against this background of the city.

8.4 Ecological Risks in Harare

The ecological risks in Harare are explored in this section and this has been made possible through a focus on the following themes which have been based on the human ecosystems model:

- Urban space and settlement.
- The Fast Track Land Reform Programme.
- Climate change.
- Infrastructure and basic services.
- Social and cultural dimensions.
- Economy and livelihoods.
- Politics and governance.

8.4.1 Urban Space and Settlement

Settlement development in Harare over the past two decades has been characterised by urban sprawl, where residential land uses have encroached over the boundary of Harare (Chirisa and Matamanda 2019a). As pointed out by officials from the City of Harare, the Harare Combination Master Plan of 1994, which is the blueprint guiding the spatial development of Harare, proposed the development of residential suburbs on the southern side of the city. This resulted in development encroachment into land previously designated for agricultural use (City of Harare 1992). Although the Harare Combination Master Plan stipulated the need for compact development and conservation of the environment during development on the city edge, the reality has

been an urban sprawl type of development characterised by various environmental challenges, which is mainly deforestation. The lack of electricity in these emerging settlements also exacerbates deforestation because firewood is used as the main source of energy (Hammar 2017; see Fig. 8.1). The lack of environmental stewardship in housing development is often identified as contributing to such environmental risks (Chirisa and Matamanda 2019b).

The trend in settlement development in Harare over the recent past has also seen settlements being established in ecologically sensitive sites. The proliferation of such settlements in these ecological sites, such as wetlands and watersheds, has been associated with some environmental disasters that include constant flooding during the rainy seasons. Machlis et al. (1997) have contended that population is a critical stressor on the environment, and this has been evident from the settlement development patterns in Harare over the past years. An environmental advocate working for a non-governmental organisation in Harare lamented that the city of Harare has been allocating people plots in areas that include wetlands. She bemoaned that, 'albeit the need for housing the homeless, there are certain urban spaces that need to be left in their natural state'. The consequences of such developments are recognised annually in Harare in areas such as Borrowdale, Budiriro and Malborough where widespread flooding occurs, resulting in the damage of property, and also being a threat to human health and life (Kawadza 2016; Zivira 2018). While the establishment of settlements in these vulnerable urban spaces is linked to the flooding, it has also been argued that the failure of the local authority to maintain the drainage system in the city also causes flash floods when it occurs. Especially in the CBD and the low-income residential areas, drainage canals that ought to channel wastewater when it rains, are often clogged with solid waste which eventually results in flooding.

8.4.2   The Fast Track Land Reform Programme

In the early 2000s, the government launched the FTLRP, intending to redress the colonial imbalances in land ownership across the country. At the time, white commercial farmers owned approximately 40% of all the country's land and two-thirds of the most productive farming areas. The FTLRP relates to the postcolonial theory as it sought to decolonise the land system in the country and empower the indigenous citizens. The farms on the boundaries of Harare were grabbed and such land frequently included environmental buffers that had been an integral component of the urban system under the garden city approach that influenced the development of Harare (Matamanda and Chirisa 2014).

Moreover, it has also been found that firewood is also harvested from other previously protected areas. This includes wetlands in Harare, as evident from the study by Mandishona and Knight (2019), which found that the respondents were harvesting firewood in the Belvedere and Borrowdale wetlands.

Unlike in other areas where the land was used for agricultural activities, most of the farms around Harare were occupied for residential development (Marongwe

Fig. 8.2 Housing development in Harare showing extensive damage to the vegetation (Chirisa and Matamanda 2019b)

2003; Mbiba 2017). The FTLRP was also an opportunity for most of the urban homeless to occupy any open spaces in the city (Muchadenyika 2020). Development of settlements such as Hopley Farm and Hatcliff resulted in the conversion of farms into residential land uses and thus had immense ecological consequences, including deforestation as land is cleared for residential development (see Fig. 8.2).

8.4.3 Climate Change

Climate change in Harare is increasingly becoming an environmental threat that is not only attributed to the urban sprawl as discussed in the foregoing section. Over the past years, there have been heat-waves, droughts and floods in the city, which are all related to climate change (Matamanda et al. 2017). Many proponents have attributed the climate change problem to anthropogenic factors that include increasing the built environment and destruction of open spaces which ought to help in carbon sequestration. The land cover change that is experienced in Harare has also been blamed for triggering climate change in the city over the years (Mushore et al. 2017). Moreover, although no comprehensive studies have been undertaken to document the impacts of public transport used by the residents in Harare, there seems to be a relationship between public transport use and climate change, considering that many citizens in Harare use private cars and commuter buses to commute to and from work. As indicated by a transport planning official from City of Harare: "This [public] mode of transport is not sustainable and exacerbates greenhouse gas emissions." Furthermore, the use of landfills as dumpsites in Harare, which causes

raging fires during the summer season, has also been attributed as contributing to greenhouse gas emission and eventually climate change (Govera 2017). An official from a non-governmental organisation lamented that "it seems the officials do not care about the landfills which are causing substantial air pollution and impacting on climate change".

8.4.4 Infrastructure and Basic Services

The sprawling settlements around Harare have come to accommodate the poor. With the increasing financial constraints having been haunting the central and local governments in Zimbabwe over the past two decades, service delivery has been compromised in most emerging settlements (Matamanda 2019).

Moreover, the provisions of the Housing Policy of 2012 that allowed for incremental housing development (Government of Zimbabwe 2012), have resulted in settlements being developed and occupied without any bulk infrastructure and services such as access roads, waste management, water and sanitation. The result is makeshift urbanism in which residents improvise in accessing the basic services. Pit latrines are often used for sanitation purposes and studies in Hopley Settlement found that these pit latrines resulted in the contamination of groundwater, while also causing unpleasant smells (Matamanda 2019; Ndoziya et al. 2019). A planning official highlighted: "The lack of access roads and the distance of these sprawled settlements from the city core has implications on waste management as there tends to be no refuse collection in these settlements." The residents are left with no option but to dispose of their waste on the streets or behind their houses as shown in Fig. 8.3.

We found that the problem of solid waste management is not limited to the settlements on the edge of the city of Harare. Rather, owing to the rapid rate of urbanisation that characterises Harare, there has been a surge in the amount of solid waste generated in the city. It is estimated that Harare generates 891 tonnes of solid waste daily (Nhubu and Muzenda 2019). The officials from the City of Harare indicated that they are constantly overwhelmed in attempts to provide services in Harare as the city

Fig. 8.3 Waste disposed on the street and behind houses in Hopley Settlement pose environmental threat due to the lack of waste management services in the settlement

has expanded extensively, while the local authority remains financially constrained. Consequently, it emerged that the local authority continues to grapple with waste management practices and the result is often informal disposal of waste by residents when the waste is not collected.

The local authority has not introduced any sustainable waste management practices as it continues to make use of landfills where all forms of solid waste are disposed of without prior separation. In this way, such disposal practices are susceptible to environmental problems that include eutrophication, acidification, global warming and ultimately climate change (Feresu 2010; Nhubu and Muzenda 2019). The Pomona dumpsite in Harare has been responsible for air pollution from methane gas and fires that are caused from these gases and this situation is a cause of concern for the communities that reside in Mt Pleasant and Vainona, among other suburbs (Chisvo 2016; Mawonde 2016). Moreover, cases of leaching of heavy metals and other poisons have been reported from the same dumpsite, a situation that results in the pollution of groundwater (Chihanga 2015).

8.4.5   Social and Cultural Dimensions

The ecological risks in Harare, such as the loss of biodiversity and degradation of ecologically sensitive sites, may also be attributed to the perceptions and values of the Africans[2] who also came to occupy the urban space after independence. As illustrated by Yeoh (2001), identity is a critical issue in postcolonial discussions. Independence saw the previously white enclave being dominated by Africans whose ideology and appreciation of ecosystem services is different from that held by the white settlers. The common belief among many is that the white settlers were more concerned with the intangible services and non-use values of ecosystem services in the city, whereas the indigenous community has been intent on benefitting from the tangible ecosystem services derived from the various ecosystems in the city. From the interview with an environmentalist working for a local non-governmental organisation advocating for environmental conservation, it emerged that cutting down of trees in and around the city is an ideological issue common among most Africans who view the ecosystem as a supply depot. This was confirmed by some residents in a high-density residential area who argued that 'since we now have freedom and access to it [ecosystem], we can enjoy those services to which we were previously restricted'.

It was explained by an environmental expert that such thinking is not based on the fact that Africans do not value ecosystem services and the environment; rather, it is a way of confirming their freedom and ownership, regardless of the environmental consequences. This may be explained by the fact that there have always been taboos and some local practices that have always been practised to safeguard the environment (Chibvongodze 2016). Thus, it would be misleading for one to attribute the

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[2]Indigenous citizens of Zimbabwe not of European descent.

persisting environmental degradation in Harare on the premise that there is a lack of environmental stewardship among the Africans.

Moreover, such actions are inherently based on the satisfaction of immediate needs at the expense of long-term needs and benefits. The community leaders in Marlborough where residents have been cultivating in the core of the wetlands sympathised with the community and reasoned that 'it may be argued that this worldview that values the immediate gains is not an ideology but determined by poverty and uncertainty. People who are not sure if they could have food next week tend to have a very short-term perspective, while the well-being of people could adopt a longer-term view'. There is also the view of saving for tomorrow rather than using today (Sanchez-Jankowski 2008). Studies by Matamanda et al. (2014) and Mandishona and Knight (2019) have brought this argument to the fore where the continued degradation of wetlands in Harare by communities is an ideological issue where the indigenous citizens have argued that they need to benefit from the wetlands through harvesting reeds, fishing, hunting small game and birds, instead of leaving the ecosystem in their precinct state for whites, who only come to take photos of the birds and frogs. Moreover, some even argued that why would we preserve the urban wetlands just to save some snakes and frogs.[3] It was illustrated by an ecologist that

> Due to lack of broad understanding and genuine need among indigenous communities/citizens, most view preservation of the ecosystems, for example, preserving urban wetlands for the sake of snakes and frogs/biodiversity, as unfair, unreasonable and pretentious.

8.4.6   Economy and Livelihoods

In recent years there has been rampant illegal sand mining in Harare as individuals contravene the provisions of Statutory Instrument 7 of 2007 that make it mandatory to have an environmental management plan or a certificate before mining sand. The activity resulted in trails of gullies and holes that are left in open spaces where the sand is mined. A Business Reporter from Mining Index (2018) quoted the director of the Environmental Management Agency who confirmed that Harare had lost an estimated 314 ha of land to illegal sand miners by 2018. The ecological consequences of such losses are immense when one considers the flora and fauna that are compromised in such situations.

Illegal sand mining has been on the rise in new residential suburbs where the demand for sand is high among those constructing their own houses as the sand is used to mould bricks and in mortar that is mixed with cement. The rise of illegal sand mining has been attributed to high levels of unemployment and poverty in Harare which forces individuals to engage in such illegal activities to make living (Mujuru 2017).

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[3]In Western ecology, frogs are an indicator or the purity of the water (Hoefer and Starrs 2016), but according to most Africans, frogs are identified as a nuisance and their ecological function is undermined.

Agriculture is mainly associated with the African culture typified by ownership of land for cultivation and subsistence farming. This cultural value is pervasive among the blacks in Harare where poverty makes it worthwhile for the households to hold a small piece of land where they can grow vegetables and maize for subsistence purposes. The agricultural activities are practised in various spaces in the city and may comprise ecologically sensitive open spaces. Often, nearby land in the city is scarce and the only available land could be wetlands and riverbeds where development is restricted by law. Agricultural practices in these spaces often have detrimental effects such as the use of fertilisers and chemicals which pollute groundwater and kill biodiversity. The cultivation in wetlands is also a great challenge considering the ploughing impacts on the moisture of the wetlands (Fig. 8.4).

In explaining their motivation to cultivate the wetlands it emerged that many residents are more concerned with, and value provisioning services more than any other service provided by wetland ecosystems. One of the participants in the focus group discussion shared the following view:

> What we value more is what we get from the land. When I sow maize seed, I have a guarantee that I will get a maize crop from the land which is what I want because considering the economic hardships in the country and Harare especially, the wetlands are our only source of survival since they provide us with tangible goods.

The same is true for those who engage in poaching of fish in Lake Chivero, using nets and chemicals to kill the fish. By so doing, the aquatic system is compromised as the chemicals have a detrimental effect on the biodiversity in the lake, while the use of nets to catch the fish is not encouraged as all sizes of fish are caught and this

Fig. 8.4 Cultivation of a wetland (Author's own 2020)

reduces the quantity of fish in the lake. Moreover, the biodiversity in Lake Chivero is also compromised by the disposal of raw sewerage by the City of Harare which has been associated with the eutrophication of the lake. Although Lake Chivero has been designated as a Ramsar Site, the continued downgrading of the lake jeopardises its sustainability. According to Mascia and Pailler (2011), protected areas downgrading refers to the decrease in legal restrictions on the number, magnitude or extent of human activities within a protected area by the relevant authority.

8.4.7 Politics and Governance in Urban Ecology

The influence of political elites on urban development in Harare over the past years has been overwhelming. Using their power, political elites have on numerous occasions influenced land use plans and development initiatives that have had ecological consequences. First, there have been increasing development in ecologically sensitive sites with most of such developments being in wetlands. The construction of the Long Chen Mall is a typical example of how politics implicate on the ecological well-being, as they played a major role in the development of the mall on Belvedere wetland, despite the objections from the Environmental Management Agency and other civil society groups. It was alleged that there were diplomatic issues concerned in the development where a high-ranking diplomat from China was said to own the development (Mujuru 2018). At the time, the Government of Zimbabwe had strong ties with the Chinese government; hence, the development was given a green light contrary to the legislative and institutional frameworks that made such a development illegal. Borrowdale wetland has also been threatened because of the decisions from the authorities and politicians to approve development on the wetland (Matamanda et al. 2018; The Zimbabwean 2013). These cases highlighted how power is used by the elites to sacrifice the ecosystems for their financial gains.

Second, the downsizing and downgrading of protected areas in Harare has also come to be viewed from a political ecology perspective. In this manner the planning and development regulation of land uses is largely politicised as the demand for land uses increases due to urban growth (Goodfellow 2013). Land in the Harare CBD is now limited and the only remaining undeveloped spaces are the public parks that were integrated into the city for their ecological functions (Matamanda and Chirisa 2014). In efforts to create a new image for the city through infrastructure development that symbolises the power and authority of these officials, the environment tends to suffer. Moreover, the economic gains that are associated with the infrastructure development are lucrative for the officials who at times receive large payments for approving such developments. It is in this regard that plans have been finalised to downsize Harare Gardens, a public park in central Harare. The decision to downsize the park and pave way for the construction of a hotel has many ecological risk implications, as open spaces within the CBD continue to shrink. Despite the ecological risks associated with this development, the project has been approved and some politicians have been identified for liaising with developers, thus benefitting financially. Priority has

been given to individual economic gains from the construction of the park, over longer-term community benefits, while the urban greenery continues to shrink.

The legislation and statutory instruments that regulate the management of the environment appear to contribute to ecological risks and are exacerbated by the uncoordinated institutional framework that fails to work in harmony towards a single goal. From 2000, the centre–local conflicts between the ruling ZANU–PF and the opposition party MDC have been responsible for several environmental challenges in Harare. The power dynamics and scrambling for the electorate have often resulted in environmental integrity being compromised by politicians who find ways to reward and incentivise their patrons. The result has been the allocation of residential plots in areas such as wetlands, approval of development plans without proper environmental impact assessment processes, even when some development projects have environmental consequences.

The lack of coordination between the Environmental Management Agency and the City of Harare has at times compromised the environment, while the battle for supremacy has also been an issue. The marginalisation of the urban civil society, who are often associated with the MDC party and thus accused of advancing a Western ideology, has been such an issue that, at times, the advocacy work of civil society is not recognised. The marginalisation of civil organisations in environmental work has been identified as being at the helm of the environmental crises in Harare. Officials from local non-governmental organisations have often lamented how the City of Harare had been approving development projects even when the communities disagreed with such. A typical example is the case of Monavale Vlei and its surrounding area where civil organisations have been engaging in continuous battles with the City of Harare (Matamanda and Chinozvina 2020).

8.5 Discussion

The case of Harare shows that as a postcolonial city, the capital has been subjected to a plethora of socio-economic stressors that trigger ecological risks in the city. First, the issue of identity and belonging from the indigenous community who were previously denied the right to the city during the colonial period before independence in 1980, is significant in the ecological threats currently overwhelming Harare. This is explained by the fact that in the dawn of independence, the right to the city was translated to the right to the use of natural resources in the urban space for immediate gain, ignoring the long-term consequences. The settler–native divide and the mantras of empowerment, indigenisation and nationalisation that were popularised by the late president Robert Mugabe somehow encouraged the environmental destruction by the indigenous communities.

Second, the ecological risks in Harare may also be explained through the concept of political ecology. The influence of political elites who use their power to influence land use and development initiatives has resulted in the negative impacts on the environment as some of the development has environmental consequences. While

development is good, some of the development plans are associated with ecological destruction and this is evident from the downsizing of the Harare Gardens and the construction of Long Chen Mall on a wetland.

Third, the perception and values of the indigenous community are largely based on provisioning services and direct use-value of the environment. Unlike the settlers who got much satisfaction from the non-use values of the environment, the direct uses come at a cost and this has a negative impact on the environment as some of the extractions are unsustainable, for example, the cultivation in wetlands and use of fertilisers by those farming on stream banks, resulting in contamination of groundwater.

Fourth, poverty emerges as a critical issue that both creates and deepens ecological threats in postcolonial Harare. The urbanisation of poverty that characterises the city leads to many individuals and families resorting to the environment as a supply source for their livelihoods. This is evident from practices such as illegal sand mining by unemployed individuals seeking to eke out a living. On the other hand, the marginalisation of the urban poor who end up residing in settlements that lack access to basic services compels the residents in such communities to engage in informal activities recognised as makeshift urbanism, and these practices prove to compromise the environment because the main focus of the poor is on surviving with little regard for the sustainability of the environment.

8.6 Conclusion

The chapter found that both natural and anthropogenic activities are responsible for the environmental risks that characterise Harare. However, the anthropogenic factors seem to be widespread and cut through the socio-economic lines, with poverty being the major driver of these effects. The chapter recognised that the ecological risks facing Harare are enormous and rooted in socio-economic activities undertaken by the citizens, while the institutional and legislative framework guiding the environment, also played a role in their inability to limit the occurrence of the damage. The lack of awareness of the ecological value of different ecosystems and the implications of certain activities among some citizens is an issue that exacerbates the ecological risks. On the other hand, the role of politics is also critical as it shapes the perception of individuals who use power to override some statutory provisions, resulting in the environment being sacrificed. The sprawling development form of Harare enables environmental exploitation. In efforts to curb the environmental damage, there is a need for committed efforts from various stakeholders who need to work towards a common goal and vision. The authorities may also need to prioritise environmental care over individual monetary gain, for the common good. Furthermore, decision-makers need to integrate the natural processes in land use planning along with issues such as climate change. Given the numerous contemporary challenges in postcolonial cities the need for robust climate change adaptation strategies that recognise both the natural and anthropogenic factors triggering them, is all the more urgent.

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Chapter 9
Managing Urban Crime and Insecurity in Zimbabwe

Jeofrey Matai, Shamiso H. Mafuku, and Willoughby Zimunya

Abstract This chapter examines the role of urban planning and design in managing crime and insecurity. The chapter further addresses the question: How can urban crime and insecurity be managed through urban planning and design in Zimbabwe's postcolonial era, which is characterised by an exponential urban population increase? Informed by the Defensible Space theory and the theory of Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED), the study adopted the pragmatist research paradigm and the mixed methods approach with questionnaires, interviews, observations and document analysis as the instruments of data collection. Data was gathered from residents of Hatcliffe suburb in Harare, which is among the neighbourhoods characterised by a high prevalence of crime, with the help of key informants to get insight into the types and nature of crimes and the role of urban planning and design in managing crime and insecurity. The key findings were that crime is prevalent in certain spots in the neighbourhood that provide conducive environments for crime to occur, which then increases insecurity. The recommendations are that disciplines for urban planning and design should play a more central role in the management of places to make them safer and less conducive to criminal activities.

Keywords Crime · Crime prevention · Urban planning · Urban design · Urban · Insecurity

9.1 Introduction

Cities are increasingly becoming vulnerable to various threats, including urban crimes and insecurity. The high incidence of these threats and their impact on cities have raised debates about approaches for crime prevention and crime reduction (Crowe and Fennelly 2013; UN-Habitat 2008). The broadening perception of urban crime and insecurity has revealed that several strategies can be used to prevent crime and reduce insecurity, in addition to traditional approaches used by the police

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force (Armitage 2013; Chiodi 2016; Crowe and Fennelly 2013). This realisation has witnessed the adoption of urban planning and design approaches to stem the crime menace and reduce insecurities (Crowe and Fennelly 2013).

Crime is understood as a defilement of general societal rules of behaviour in terms of the provisions of criminal law, which replicates public opinion, traditional standards and morals as well as the viewpoint of people presently holding public and political power (Schiller et al. 2010, cited in Haider and Iamtrakul 2018). Crime can take many forms that can be physical or psychological with resultant effects of compromised human dignity and the creation of an atmosphere of fear and violence (Gimode 2005). The effects include the erosion of the quality of life, breeding insecurity, reduction in economic growth and long-lasting negative social impacts (Gimode 2005; World Bank 2011). Crime is, however, a very complex phenomenon that differs across places, cultures and over time (Ghani 2017). This is supported by Gimode (2005) who argued that crime is an index of changing times which symbolises tensions and problems of social, economic and political life.

Crime in cities has been on the rise globally, although not uniformly. While crime is on the increase in some cities across the globe, others are experiencing a decline. For example, Shamsuddin and Hussin (2013, cited in Ghani 2017), reported that urban crime in Malaysia has increased by more than 300% since 1991. On the other hand, Francis (2003) reported that violent crime in New York declined by 56%, better than the national average of a 28% decline. In Africa, urban crime is on the increase. In Nigeria, property crimes and crimes against persons have increased from 90,156 in 2008 to 98,378 in 2009 and from 35,109 in 2008 to 38,378 in 2009, respectively (Ghani 2017). In South Africa, Cape Town has seen an increase of 40% in murder rates between 2011 and 2012 and also between 2015 and 2016 (Ngobese et al. 2017).

Cities in Zimbabwe are no exception to the issues of crime and insecurity as mentioned. Following independence in 1980, people migrated to the major cities in search of employment. This led to an exponential increase in the urban population in the postcolonial cities of Zimbabwe. The population increase was not accompanied by a proportional increase in employment opportunities, housing provision and other crucial urban services. Harare is experiencing a massive in-migration of people that is uncontrolled as the incoming migrants have the right to the city. However, most of the migrants are not employed; consequently contributing to the increase in unemployment and number of poor people in the city. In most cases, these people will have restricted access to employment opportunities and basic services such as water and health care (Bandauko and Mandisvika 2015). They also have restricted access to land for housing, prompting them to settle at the edge of the city where land is either cheap to acquire or free. As alluded by Chirisa et al. (2016), Elfversson and Höglund (2019), Gimode (2005) and Meth (2017), high levels of poverty, unemployment and increased inequalities and access to facilities are some of the causes of urban crime. On the other hand, politics plays a significant role in perpetuating and sanitising crime in urban areas in the postcolonial Harare. Perpetrators of crime often hide behind political parties while committing crimes, whereas the victims fear to report or take action against the perpetrators.

Studies conducted on urban crime in Zimbabwe have successfully examined the causes of urban crime and policy options for addressing urban crime (Chirisa et al. 2016; Matamanda and Chirisa 2014; Nyabvedzi and Chirisa 2012). However, the focus of these studies was generalised to cities or in some medium-density suburbs. In light of the view that urban crime is more prevalent in old high-density neighbourhoods, areas with high population concentration and high incidences of poverty and unemployment (Cabrera-Barona et al. 2019; Cahill 2004; Kinney et al. 2008; Konkel et al. 2019; Ogneva-Himmelberger et al. 2019; Weatherburn et al. 1999), it is important to establish the characteristics of urban crime in emerging high-density neighbourhoods and examine how urban planning and design can be used to address crime. If urban crimes are not controlled, it will lead to perpetual fear among residents, disruption of livelihoods, loss of property and increased costs of security for residents and ultimately deterioration of quality of life (Osmana et al. 2015; UN-Habitat 2007). Therefore, this study sought to inform the practice of urban planning and design on how to reduce crime levels and increase safety in residential neighbourhoods.

The following section presents and discusses the conceptual framework of the chapter. This will be followed by a review of literature on urban crime, urban planning and design. The theoretical framework that informs the study follows the literature review section, followed by the methodology that was adopted in the study in Sect. 9.5. The results of the study are presented in Sect. 9.6, which is then followed by a discussion of the findings and finally the conclusion and recommendations.

9.2 Conceptual Framework

Urban security refers to the unavailability of danger with regard to criminality and the subjective awareness of protection and a sense of safety. On the other hand, urban insecurity is the existence of danger due to the threat of criminality and an emotional sense of being unprotected and unsafe. The major threat to urban security is an urban crime, which is understood as a defilement of general societal rules of behaviour in terms of the provisions of criminal law, which replicates public opinion, traditional standards and morals as well as the viewpoint of people presently holding public and political power. Schiller et al. (2010, cited in Haider and Iamtrakulb 2018) also defined crime as acts or omissions forbidden by law that can be punished by imprisonment and/or a fine. Crime is, however, a very complex phenomenon that further differs across cultures and across time.

Figure 9.1 shows a diagrammatic presentation of the conceptual framework. The diagram shows the relationship between urban crime, the causes of urban crime, the negative impacts of crime as well as the strategies that have been adopted and that have been recommended to address urban crime. It also shows how urban planning and design can be useful in addressing urban crime.

Urban crime and insecurity are problems that need to be controlled because they have adverse social, economic and environmental impacts on cities (Haider and Iamtrakulb 2018; Nnaemeka and Ashiru 2018; UN-Habitat 2007). The **negative**
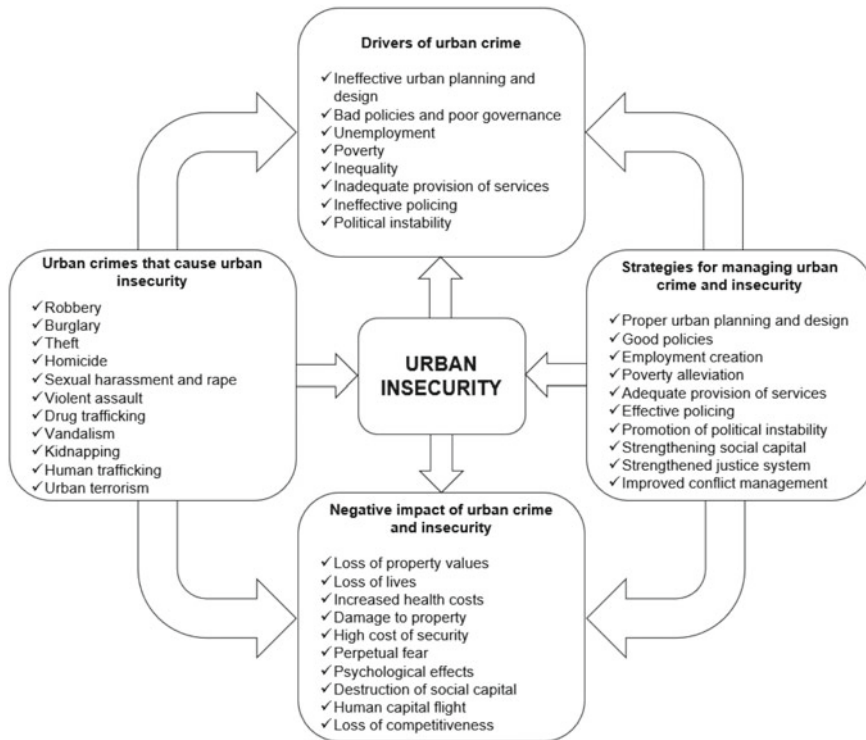
Fig. 9.1 Conceptual framework: The role of urban planning and design in managing urban crime and insecurity (Author's own compilation, 2020)

impact of urban crime and insecurity includes loss of property values, loss of lives, increased health costs, damage to property, high cost of security, perpetual fear, psychological effects, destruction of social capital, human capital flight and loss of urban competitiveness. The ultimate outcomes of urban crime and insecurity are urban decay and the loss of quality of life. Thus, urban crime and insecurity are a threat to sustainable urban development (Haider and Iamtrakulb 2018; Nnaemeka and Ashiru 2018). To this end, these twin problems are a cause for concern to governments and urban managers because they undermine the function and existence of cities and hence need to be controlled.

Among some of the **urban crimes that cause urban insecurity** are robbery, burglary, theft, homicide, sexual harassment and rape, violence, drug trafficking, vandalism, kidnapping, human trafficking and urban terrorism. Several factors contribute to urban crimes, thereby comprising security in cities. The **drivers of urban crime** include ineffective urban planning and design, bad policies and poor governance, unemployment, poverty, inequality, inadequate provision of services, ineffective policing and political instability. For instance, a recent study by Gardini (2020) showed the interplay between urban crime and insecurity in Madagascar, and

various drivers such as unemployment, poverty, inequality, inadequate provision of urban services and political instability in Antananarivo. Furthermore, in Mutare, Zimbabwe, the severe water shortage and rationing is forcing residents, mainly women and children, to fetch water at night, thereby exposing them to criminals (Ranga 2016). This vulnerability to criminality is worsened by the lack of public lighting in cities.

There is a connection between the planning, designing and use of space and the opportunity for criminal activities. A literature assessment on hotspots of crime and patterns showed that high urban crime is associated with certain urban environments (Chiodi 2016; Haider and Iamtrakulb 2018; Nnaemeka and Ashiru 2018). This means that criminals capitalise on opportunities presented by inherent flaws in the poorly planned and designed urban spaces (Armitage 2013; Crowe and Fennelly 2013). Thus, poor planning and design increase the vulnerability of urbanites and properties to perpetrators of crime.

There are several **strategies for managing urban crime and insecurity**, such as proactive and reactive approaches to the management of urban crimes and insecurity in cities that are linked to the tackling of drivers of crimes (Crowe and Fennelly 2013; UN-Habitat 2007). These crime and insecurity problems can be partly and effectively addressed through proper planning and designing of neighbourhoods by including physical measures that reduce the incidences of crime and improve security. Figure 9.1 further shows urban planning and design as one of the key strategies for promoting crime prevention and enhancing urban security. Urban planning and design are public tools for guiding proper development in cities to create safe and secure urban environments. In this case, proper urban planning and design, crime prevention ideas and strategies can be applied to create a safe built environment that can lead to a reduction in the occurrence of crimes, thereby enhancing security and the quality of life (Chiodi 2016). These crime prevention ideas and strategies are operationalised through incorporating them in planning and building guidelines, urban policies and traffic regulations which are applied in shaping new development areas and also in improving existing problematic crime-prone areas (Armitage 2013; Chiodi 2016; Crowe and Fennelly 2013).

The effectiveness of the planning and designing of crime prevention ideas and strategies in managing crimes and security is affected by several challenges. These challenges can be addressed by integrating planning and design crime prevention strategies with other strategies depending on the setting (Chiodi 2016; Crowe and Fennelly 2013). Additionally, the effectiveness of urban planning and design is also enhanced by stakeholder participation and collaboration (Chiodi 2016), proper situational analysis of the crime and security situation, as well as the institutionalisation of crime prevention in local authorities and capacity building of various agencies involved in crime prevention (Crowe and Fennelly 2013; UN-Habitat 2007). Despite the challenges faced in improving the physical environment in crime prevention, urban planning and design strategies remain some of the most effective and less expensive options for reducing urban crime and enhancing security in the long term.

9.3   Literature Review

The global urban population is currently greater than the entire world population. Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean, North America and Oceania have all become highly urbanised with more than 70% of their total populations living in cities since 2005. It is expected that by 2030, 50% of the populations of Africa and Asia will be living in urban areas. Urban areas in developing countries are expected to be the sites of nearly all future population growth worldwide. This has resulted in the development of megacities with high populations. While many megacities are engines for economic growth and centres of diversity and change, they also pose formidable challenges for local authorities in ensuring the safety and security of their citizens and the quality of the citizens' lives (Shaw and Carli 2011).

Rapid urbanisation, especially in developing countries, is one of the engines of fast-growing economies (Macaluso and Briscoe 2014). Some of the influences that are recognised as the causes of crime in urban areas include unemployment, city density as a result of urbanisation, as well as inequality. Countless researchers have also explored the relationship between crime and poverty. There is a general supposition that the urban poor are the main perpetrators for and victims of crime. Besides the poverty argument, other scholars also argued that crime is linked to inequality and exemption from the law of other societal groups (Adams 2014; Justino 2009; Macaluso and Briscoe 2014; Muggah 2012). Various income and social inequalities, particularly those affecting specific cultural and racial groups, often result in higher rates of violent crime, as well as oppressive policing in post-conflict surroundings (Muggah 2012).

Activities that are legal in one country are sometimes illegal in others. Crime is, therefore, multifactorial because the causes, drivers, risks and protective factors are generally locality-specific and influenced by historical, political, cultural and socio-economic conditions (Haider and Iamtrakul 2018). Vanderschueren (2013) concurred that the problem of city crime has multiple causes, and it originates from diverse variables depending on each specific urban setting. It is the communal set-up and the organisational and historical dimension of each city that explain the variation of crime rates in a specific period. Crime is part of urban life and it has become a serious concern for law enforcement agencies, local government as well as urbanites since pre-industrial society to this day. Urban security, on the other hand, is defined as the unavailability of danger with regard to criminality, and the subjective awareness of protection today depends on numerous organisational and local aspects (Vanderschueren 2013). The world is urbanising at alarming rates, with more than half of the world's population now living in urban areas, and this has become one of the greatest aspects affecting the security of cities. The complexity of crime increases as cities continue to expand and become globalised. This therefore requires both the local governments and other local actors such as civil society to develop new strategies for security in the new urban set-ups as the urban areas expand (Vanderschueren 2013).

Urban crime is unevenly distributed and experienced in cities, whether it is drug trafficking, human trafficking, homicide, violent assault, rape, robbery, hijacking and kidnapping or gang-related armed violence. It affects safety in homes, schools, commercial establishments, public transport, sports and other public venues. Fear of crime affects people's lives in significant ways and increases inequalities. Concern about crime can drive wealthier populations out of city centres into segregated and enclosed private suburbs, creating "fortified enclaves for home, leisure and work" (Nnaemeka and Ashiru 2018; see also Shaw and Carli 2011). In most megacities, high levels of inequality and accelerated privatisation of security and public spaces are often a feature of high-crime societies. Gated communities and semi-public spaces, increasing use of technological security such as closed-circuit television, and the proliferation of private security guards, are all common reactions and features of high-crime cities (Shaw and Carli 2011; UN-Habitat 2008). It is therefore important to emphasise that the marginalised urban poor are excessively the victims of the three threats to safety and security observed in the Global Report on Human Settlements 2007 which constitute crime and violence, insecurity of tenure and natural and human-made tragedies (UN-Habitat 2007). This is related to the rapid rate of urbanisation and the consequential urbanisation of poverty. Rapid urban development intensifies the pressure on the deprived urbanites to earn an income and to acquire acceptable shelter, basic infrastructure and vital social amenities, such as health care and education (UN-Habitat 2008).

Most important to note is that crime in many cities, based on the way it is often publicly reported and discussed, mainly affects the wealthier residents. However, in reality, it affects the lives of the most disadvantaged, especially those living in slums and informal settlements, much more than the wealthier groups (Nnaemeka and Ashiru 2018). Slum-dwellers are among the most vulnerable as they are less likely to be able to secure their homes and property and often have poor police oversight or access to services. Furthermore, because they have fewer resources, any loss or disruption is more costly to them (Shaw and Carli 2011). Access to safety, security and justice is often unequally distributed in cities. Responses to urban crime have tended to be reactive and repressive. There has also been an increasing tendency in countries in some regions to criminalise behaviour that is considered as uncivilised or anti-social and to use exclusionary laws and regulations and other measures to exclude certain segments of the population and privatise public space. These practices tend to exclude those who appear to be outsiders. This is in contrast to prevention strategies, which are aimed at increasing safety and security through inclusion and community mobilisation, better services and transport and the provision of green and public spaces as opposed to "shutting people out" (Marzbali et al. 2011).

The nature of urban development that has been taking place mainly in developing countries, indicates an overwhelming sprawl that leads to disjointed cities with low levels of social unity, with unequal access to social and urban services, and with diverse standards and progressions of socialisation among the youth. Furthermore, the migration process involves the cohabitation of various cultures and beliefs within the metropolises and highlights the challenge of handling these differences and the conflicts they incite. Therefore, the types of criminality vary from city to city, reaching

in some cases to unruly and ungovernable neighbourhoods (Vanderschueren 2013). Spatial manifestations of violence and crime in cities are thus particularly imperative, with the role of spatial design in endorsing crime and insecurity now widely recognised. Cities and their fringes, where many of the urban underprivileged reside, often comprise dangerous spaces that reflect poor planning and poor infrastructure and where rape, mugging and violent crime occur. Unsafe spaces in the periphery also include public transport, and secluded or unlit spaces such as dark paths and lanes, isolated bus stops or deserted public toilets. The need to travel long distances to work in the early hours of the morning or very late at night also intensify the existing spatial risks.

While the foregoing discussion indicated various factors that contribute to urban crime and insecurity, it is also important to address the spatial consequences of the phenomenon of the crime itself. Increasingly, urban space is being reorganised in response to crime and security by incorporating crime prevention ideas and strategies in planning and building guidelines as well as urban policies (Moser 2004; Vanderschueren 2013). This chapter, therefore, brings out the fact that urban design is important for crime prevention because poorly designed and managed built environments can create opportunities for crime and threaten people's safety. Urban design, which is the practice of shaping the built environment, including buildings, streets, public spaces and neighbourhoods, to improve the liveability of cities and towns, when done well, can provide social, cultural, economic and environmental benefits.

9.4 Theories Underpinning the Study

The Defensible Space theory and the CPTED theory inform this study. The rationale for the theories is hinged on the nature of the study, which sought to understand how crime and insecurity in cities can be managed through design. The Defensible Space theory by Newman (1996) provides comprehensive coverage of residential environments which constrains crime through the creation of physical environments that are self-defensive. The theory identifies four aspects that are critical to the creation of defensible spaces, namely territorial definition of space, maximisation of natural surveillance, non-stigmatising housing designs and location of housing estates in safe urban environments. The territorial definition involves using the physical elements to create a sense of belonging among communities (Shamsuddin and Hussin 2013). Newman (1996) asserted that crime can be prevented when each space in an area is owned and is cared for by the parties responsible. Thus, according to the Defensible Space theory, the physical design of neighbourhoods constrain surveillance and social control, for example, tall buildings and buildings that face inwards, rather than the streets as well as buildings with many corridors and exits; anonymous open spaces provide suitable environments for criminal activities (Gilling 1997). This implies that, areas with high-rise buildings tend to have more crimes as compared to those with low-rise buildings. Although the theory faces criticisms due to its overemphasis on the physical design of housing (Meth 2017; National Crime Prevention Council

2003), it explains how environmental design can be used to mitigate crime and insecurity. In this study, the theory plays a critical role in explaining and justifying the role of design in managing crime in cities at a neighbourhood scale and a building scale.

CPTED is based on the argument that most crime is associated with opportunities that environmental design creates; hence, user behaviour can be influenced through the reduction of opportunities for crime events by manipulating the built environment (Shamsuddin and Hussin 2013). Robinson (1999, cited in Shamsuddin and Hussin 2013) explained that urban design, the design of streets, parks and terminals reduce opportunities for criminals to commit crimes, thereby preventing crime. The idea behind the CPTED is that through design, defensive environments can be created by employing design features that discourage crime and encourage proper use of the environment. Like the Defensible Theory, the CPTED theory focuses on design at the building scale through target hardening and surveillance as well as at community or neighbourhood level through the principle of territoriality. However, Meth (2017) argued that target hardening is less effective in deterring than housing layout in the reduction of crime and that the principle of territoriality is less effective in places where land rights are limited, since the principle depends on the rules, practices of possession and the physical expression of property ownership. Similarly, the theory does not address factors such as politics, poverty and police capacity in shaping crime; rather, it focuses on housing materiality and the neighbourhood. Despite the aforementioned shortfalls, the theory goes a long way in explaining how environmental design can be used for designing out crime in cities. Hence, the theory is both explanatory and prescriptive in the context of this study, making is suitable when combined with the Defensible Space theory.

9.5 Methodology

The purpose of the research is to examine the role that urban planning and design can play in the management of crime in emerging high-density low-income residential areas. To realise this aim, an exploratory approach and a mixed methods research methodology were adopted. A sample size of 80 participants was systematically selected from the four sections of Hatcliffe that comprise Old Hatcliffe, New Hatcliffe, cooperative areas and consortium areas. Three focus group interviews were conducted with the youths in the study area, the selection of which was through snowballing. Targeting the youth for their input was necessitated by the fact that the youths are major perpetrators and victims of crime in most cases. For example, McCord et al. (2001) noted that ages between 10 and 17 accounted for 17.7%, or about 2.6 million arrests in America, while ages between 10 and 17 accounted for 11% of the population; 32% of all arrests for property index crimes were arrests of ages 10 to 17. Focus group interviews provided an in-depth understanding of experiences of the youths with crime and insecurity, types of crime as well as the description of the major crime spots. Questionnaires, focus group and

face-to-face interviews, were used to collect primary data from the residents, youths and key informants, respectively, during the study period. Observations were also used to collect data on the location and characteristics of the places where crime mostly occurs within the study area. Questionnaires were distributed to residents to collect both qualitative and quantitative data; hence, closed-ended and open-ended questions were used. Key informant interviews were conducted with key informants who were purposively selected from government departments and the municipality. Data was analysed through descriptive statistics and thematic narratives. Consent was sought before data collection and high levels of confidentiality of information from participants were ensured.

9.6 Results

This section presents the study findings. The first part provides an overview of the major types of crime in Hatcliffe, the areas in which these criminal activities occur and the characteristics of these areas. This is meant to examine the relationship between the crime spots, crimes and urban planning and design that will provide the basis for recommendations on the planning and design approaches that can be adopted to address crime and insecurity.

Figure 9.2 presents the types of crimes that are common in Hatcliffe. Drug abuse is the most common type of crime in the study area as indicated by 20% of the respondents. This is followed by robbery and theft with 21% and 16%, respectively. Physical violence, sexual abuse and murder are some of the most prevalent crimes in Hatcliffe. These crimes are concentrated in certain hotspot areas as shown in Fig. 9.3.

Drug abuse is common in youths aged between 15 and 35 years of age. A considerable number of young people, both boys and girls, takes intoxicating, drugs although data from the interviews indicated that males are dominant. The causes of drug
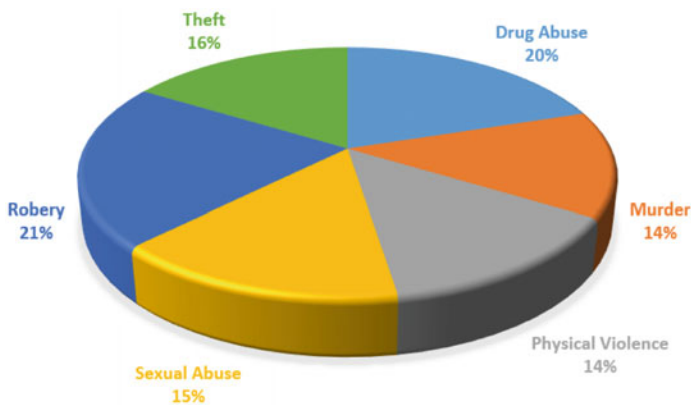
Fig. 9.2 Type of crimes in Hatcliffe (Research findings 2020)

Fig. 9.3 Crime hotspot areas in Hatcliffe (Research findings 2020)

abuse are linked to stress of unemployment, poverty and peer pressure. Participants also indicated that the presence of drug bases within the ease of reach by the drug abusers, also contributed to the uptake of drugs; hence, the increase in the number of youths abusing drugs. Certain areas are associated with drug abuse in Hatcliffe. These include places surrounding the Takarangana nightclub, Busy Corner, the dam area and some neglected open spaces in the peripheral zones of residential neighbourhoods that are commonly used for drug abuse (Fig. 9.3). However, suppliers of drugs are dotted throughout the residential area and some participants indicated that houses that are used as supply bases for drugs are known. In some cases, the drug abusers take advantage of the darkness during the night where groups of young men gather and take drugs and commit other forms of crime. The impacts of drug abuse include mental destabilisation, dropping out of school and uncouth behaviour.

Robbery is another crime that is high in Hatcliffe, but it is confined to places that are isolated, dark, and with tall grass due to lack of maintenance. The robbers take advantage of the site characteristics to attack and rob unsuspecting people. *Padam* (meaning the dam area), is one of the areas where robbery takes place. This site consists of a dam that is surrounded by an open space that is a buffer zone but is not being maintained. As such, there is generally tall grass, despite the area being used as a shortcut by pedestrians who are then targeted by the robbers. Hatcliffe turn-off is characterised by undeveloped spaces which are road servitudes. The area is also used as a pick-up and drop-off point; hence, during the night when it is dark people are attacked and robbed. The findings revealed that all the areas where robbery activities occur are either isolated, or peripheral, dark during the night or have tall grass and/or

trees that create a suitable environment for robbery. The items that are targeted by robbers include money, cell phones and other valuables. The causes of robbery are mostly lack of employment, poverty and drug abuse in which people are attacked and robbed by drug abusers under the influence of drugs or because of a need to raise money to buy more drugs. In some instances of robberies result in the death or injury of the victims.

The research findings also revealed that cases of theft are common in crowded areas such as marketplaces and bus termini. The thieves capitalise on the large crowds and steal valuables such as cell phones and money. The places where prostitution takes place are also characterised by darkness during the night and alcoholic and drug abuses. In a way, drug abuse and alcoholism are criminal activities that occur at places of similar characteristics. Theft, like other crimes, is also caused by poverty and high unemployment levels. For instance, theft is rampant among child-headed families where children sometimes resort to these crimes to raise money for the upkeeping of their families.

Additionally, physical violence and sexual abuse are some of the crimes that occur in Hatcliffe. Violence occurs in places where alcohol and drugs are abused, and people usually fight when they are under the influence of alcohol. Injuries and deaths are some of the resultant effects of violence. The research revealed that cases of sexual abuse and harassment are common at bus termini, nightclubs, home industry area, marketplaces and drug bases. The victims of sexual abuse and harassment are mostly young women. In some cases, the abuse goes beyond indecent assault and shouting derogatory words to rape. The effect of physical violence and sexual harassments are fear and insecurity to the victims.

Furthermore, murder is another crime that occurs in the study area. Cases of dead bodies being found dumped are common in the study area. The murder cases usually take place in hotspots for robbery and physical violence. Most murders were found to be the result of robberies and physical violence emanating from disagreements in elicit deals related to drug dealing and prostitution.

The common issues about crimes in Hatcliffe are that they occur in places with similar physical characteristics that make them suitable for such crimes to be committed. According to the research findings, the places where most criminal activities occur in Hatcliffe are open spaces such as buffers and servitudes that are not maintained, places that are not illuminated at night, isolated and peripheral areas, as well as places where informal activities take place. The poor management and maintenance of these areas by the Harare City Council make them fertile grounds and traps for crime victims. The existence of some of these areas is caused by poor planning and design that results in the creation of incidental spaces that have no one to manage. Besides that, most crimes also occur in busy public places such as markets, termini and entertainment areas where the criminals take advantage of overcrowding conditions to pounce on their victims.

The standards that guide the planning and design of residential neighbourhoods are silent on how places such as buffers and servitudes should be managed. The Layout Design Manual (Government of Zimbabwe 1996) and Circular 70 of 2004 (Government of Zimbabwe 2004), which are the key manuals for the design of

residential places, emphasise the standards in terms of sizes of stands, the mix of land uses required in residential areas, the road network and other infrastructural requirements. In other words, these two documents assume that designing and planning of residential places is a means to an end; the end being the creation of the residential environment. The management and maintenance of the environments are not included. Zoning makes it difficult to use the buffers and servitudes for other purposes, making it difficult to dedicate the open spaces to other uses. The Urban Councils Act empowers local authorities to maintain and manage places within their jurisdiction, but is also silent on what must be done when the places are not being maintained and managed.

9.7   Discussion

The study showed that urban crime is associated with certain physical environmental conditions. For instance, dark places, unmaintained open spaces with tall grass and vegetation, drug bases, isolated and peripheral places and public places such as bus termini, are hotspots for crimes. The characteristics of the places in which most crimes take place show that the physical environment, which is a product of urban planning and design, determines the types and nature of activities that take place in a given area. In the case of this study, the physical environment creates opportunities for crime to be committed because of the characteristics that include darkness and peripheral locations that all limit surveillance. Proper urban planning and design are activities that promote functionality, safety, orderly development and promoting economic activities. Crime can be eliminated or reduced by creating environments that are devoid of unmaintained open spaces, dark and blind spots. This confirms the arguments put forward by the Defensible Space theory. It, therefore, entails that through proper planning and designing, crime can be reduced, safety should be ensured and insecurity and fear reduced. Thus, addressing the causes of crime is also another way of managing crime in urban areas.

Another way of managing urban crime is through addressing poverty and unemployment issues that are the major causes of crime. These can be addressed through urban planning and design by providing spaces for formal economic activities in places that are safe. Tapping on the rising informal activities in the study area to create a formal economic system that recognises small actors provides opportunities for employment and subsequently reducing poverty levels.

The manual and frameworks used in guiding the design and planning of residential places in Zimbabwe are good at ensuring that neighbourhoods are functional, safe and environmentally friendly. However, there are gaps in terms of enforcing the implementation of the designs and the extent to which the manual and frameworks encourage maintenance of places made through design after the implementation of the design. This makes design and planning in Zimbabwe partial in that it focuses on producing plans and designs as products of the exercises of planning and designing

instead of extending to the management and maintenance of spaces to ensure sustainability. This might explain why there are spaces that are exploited by criminals and therefore compromising security in residential areas.

9.8   Conclusion and Recommendations

The study concludes that crime in urban areas occurs because there are physical environments that are suitable for the occurrence of crime. Dark places, isolated and peripheral areas, and unmaintained open spaces are potential hotspots for crime. Thus, eliminating the characteristic features of the crime hotspots through proper planning and urban design will reduce the levels of crime in high-density residential areas.

It is also concluded that poverty and unemployment are some of the causes of crime as poor and unemployed people seek to make ends meet. In a way, the absence of adequate working spaces in residential places where people can carry out economic activities will address unemployment and poverty. This is also a design matter as the provision of spaces for economic activities in an inclusive manner is a principle of planning and designing residential settlements.

The study also concluded that insecurity and fear increase when levels of crime are high. To ensure that residents are secure and feel safe, residential planning and designing should result in the production of spaces that discourage crime. Such spaces include well-illuminated open spaces, well-maintained open spaces, including buffers and servitudes, and functional and strategically located bus termini.

In light of the conclusions above, the study recommends that the planning and designing of residential settlements should be used as one of the strategies to manage urban crime and lower insecurities. This entails adopting urban planning and design in its totality, that is, as processes that lead to the production of designs and plans and as processes to manage the settlements and the places therein; specifically, the concept of CPTED.

It is also recommended that the planning and design of residential places should be guided by the principles of mixed uses. Mixing uses allow for the integration of commercial and industrial activities that create employment opportunities to neighbourhoods. This will go a long way in addressing poverty and unemployment that are the main drivers of crime in the study area.

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Chapter 10
More Than Urban Agriculture: A Case for Planning for Urban Food Security in Harare, Zimbabwe

Percy Toriro

Abstract Urban food security is a growing concern in many cities across the world due to the increasing global challenge to feed the world. This concern assumes increased prominence in the fast-growing cities of the Global South where most of the new urbanisation is taking place. As many cities in the Global North adopt a raft of measures to ensure their cities are food secure, little is happening in cities of the Global South. The few efforts taking place do not always take a holistic approach to urban food security. In many cities, there is a conflation of urban food security with urban agriculture. Officials in the public and non-governmental organisation sectors take urban agriculture to be the most important, if not the only strategy to combat hunger in cities. This chapter challenges the notion of urban agriculture as a panacea to urban food security on its own. Through examining literature on what strategies cities are adopting to address food security and through interviews with key informants, the chapter established that approaches to food security are narrow-minded and misplaced. Officials also display indifference to comprehensive planning for food. A new paradigm shift that takes a food systems approach is recommended.

Keywords Food security · Urban agriculture · Food systems · Planning · Strategies

10.1 Introduction

In many parts of Africa, food is one basic need that has not received as much attention as other needs in planning and development discourses (Battersby 2018; Pottier 2015). Planners and city authorities focus on providing housing, transport, recreation, water, sanitation, but rarely focus on food (Toriro 2018b). Where food has received attention, solutions tend to be inappropriate or misplaced because the discourses are not placed in a holistic and appropriate context (Haysom and Battersby 2016). Concerns regarding urban food security in the African context have been framed

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mainly using a productionist and rural approach with the emphasis on increasing food production so that food is available (Battersby 2018). Yet, food availability only addresses one aspect of food security. This productionist approach is reflected in literature that mainly projects urban agriculture as the main solution to urban food security. Approaches and strategies being suggested to municipal governments by mainly the non-governmental organisation community point to production as the only or primary solution to avert urban food insecurity. No doubt, urban food production or urban agriculture contributes significantly to providing fresh food to many urban communities (DeZeeuw and Drechsel 2015). While accepting the significant importance of the contribution of urban agriculture to address the documented increasing urban food insecurity due to increasing poverty levels in cities, including postcolonial Zimbabwe (Tawodzera et al. 2012), urban agriculture can only be part of the solution as it is only one component of the food system. The food system is broad and includes the whole value chain from food production through its processing to consumption, and even includes waste management.

Literature proves that there is growing urban food insecurity in many parts of Southern Africa. Extensive work undertaken by the African Food Security Urban Network in eleven cities in nine countries of the Southern Africa Development Community concluded that in many low-income areas in these cities, there is chronic food insecurity (Crush and Frayne 2010). In Harare, Zimbabwe, similar studies showed similar trends of high levels of starvation and food insecurity in the low-income, high-density suburbs of Mabvuku, Mbare and Epworth (Tawodzera and Zanamwe 2016; Tawodzera et al. 2012). Understanding the link between food security, urban geography and planning is critical in addressing the growing food insecurity in the Southern African region, generally, and in Harare, specifically.

Using Harare as a case study, the chapter aims to expose the different components that comprise an urban food system in order to demystify the efficacy and single narrative of urban agriculture as the only or most important strategy to address urban food security. The reality is that planning can, and should, address urban food security from several perspectives by adopting a food systems approach (Haysom 2014; White and Hamm 2014). The questions that this chapter seeks to answer include: How prevalent is urban food (in)security in Zimbabwe's urban areas? What strategies have been proposed and used by the Harare City Council, non-governmental organisations and government to address urban food security? How effective are the current interventions? What else should be considered to achieve urban food security? Various research methods were used to collect data that answers the questions, including interviews with key informants, a desktop survey of the planning and regulatory framework, reviews of existing literature as well as field observations of food spaces.

The outcome of this research should be an increased awareness of the need for food security consciousness in African cities that takes a holistic and planning-based approach to urban food security. The findings also contribute to knowledge on urban food systems to geography and urban planning and management discourses. This chapter also contributes to the production of teaching materials for training future planners and other social science and public health professionals who will not be

blind to food as a basic need, warranting inclusion in urban plans and all aspects of life.

Having introduced the subject, the chapter now proceeds to review literature on urbanisation, planning, food security and food systems. It further discusses findings, starting with approaches from non-governmental organisations to urban food security, before examining planners' understanding of their role in urban food systems. The chapter will also suggest what a sustainable urban food system should look like before drawing conclusions and making some recommendations.

10.2   Literature Review

Since the year 2008, the character of the world population attained a significant milestone in terms of rural–urban composition. For the first time in history, more people lived in cities than in rural areas in a move now referred to as the 'tipping point' (UN 2015).

Africa remains the least urbanised region in the world with an average urban proportion of the population still at around 40% (UN 2014). This is, however, changing fast. By the year 2030, the proportion of Africans living in cities is projected to breach the 50% mark. It is further estimated that as much as 90% of all new urbanisation in the world is happening in sub-Saharan Africa (UN 2018). There is, therefore, rapid urbanisation in many African countries, including Zimbabwe.

Meanwhile, there is increasing food insecurity in many African cities (Battersby 2013; Cohen and Garrett 2010; Tawodzera et al. 2019). The definition of food security has evolved over time but refers to a state in which people have sufficient appropriate food. This chapter adopts the World Bank's definition that defines food security as a state in which there is 'access by all people at all times to enough food for an active and healthy life' (Staatz et al. 1990:1). Food insecurity has in many instances been interpreted as hunger, but some scholars have argued that it is more than just hunger (Battersby et al. 2014). According to the Food and Agriculture Organization, food security is based on the following four pillars: 'availability, accessibility, utilization and stability' (cited by Battersby 2018:204). Several organisations have used the pillars of food security of the Food and Agriculture Organization to develop local strategies. The City of Cape Town, for example, has modified them to suit their focus (Table 10.1).

It is acknowledged that the 'determinants of food insecurity in urban areas are diverse and complex' (Toriro 2018a:6). The four pillars of food security that were adopted by the Food and Agriculture Organization in 2006, all have a bearing on urban planning and city management. Food availability, accessibility, utilisation and stability are all influenced and affected by urban planning and urban geography. One source of urban food is urban agriculture. Urban agriculture refers to the growing of plants and animals for food within the confines of cities (Mougeot 2000; Mudimu 1997). The important role of urban agriculture in feeding urban communities and supplying them with fresh food is well documented (Chaipa 2001; Redwood 2012;

Table 10.1 The pillars of food security (adapted from Haysom 2014:38)

Food security pillar	Explanation of focus
Availability	Food in sufficient amounts to meet people's needs
Accessibility	People are assured physical and economic access to food
Adequacy	Food that is nutritious, diverse and safe in accordance with what is needed to maintain health, while being produced in environmentally sustainable ways
Acceptability	Food that is culturally acceptable and food produced and obtained in ways that do not compromise people's dignity, self-respect and human rights
Agency	Where people are empowered by a food system environment that ensures that policies and processes, driven by government, society, or both, are in place, implemented and accessible so as to enable food security. Agency recognises that communities have specific knowledge about food system activities and seeks to validate and integrate this knowledge into processes and plans

Toriro 2009; Crush et al. 2012; De Zeeuw and Drechsel 2015). Urban agriculture has, however, not always been acceptable to city policymakers and management (Mbiba 1994; Simatele and Binns 2008; Taru and Basure 2013).

In Zimbabwe, the position of authorities has changed over the years, from controlled urban agriculture during colonial times to hostile and sometimes violent regulation during the early years of independence, to today's uneasy tolerance (Toriro 2018b). A milestone was achieved in the year 2002 when the country's 31 urban councils came up with a policy position to accept and facilitate urban agriculture in their towns and cities. This became to be known as the Nyanga Declaration on Urban and Peri-urban Agriculture. The urban councils are committed to planning for urban agriculture. Sadly, almost twenty years later, only the City of Bulawayo has produced plans for urban agriculture and formulated relevant policies (City of Bulawayo 2008; Dubelling et al. 2010). The rest of the cities do not have clear positions on urban agriculture; in some years, food production is supported, while in others it is criminalised (Toriro 2018b).

There is little evidence of the prioritisation of food as a governance issue or as part of holistic planning that addresses urban people's food needs. Only a few studies have adopted an urban food systems approach in Zimbabwe and the wider Southern Africa region, excluding South Africa. A further examination of the studies on food revealed that even for these, most only included some components of the food system but did not take a comprehensive food systems approach (Mkwambisi et al. 2011; Mutonhodzo 2012; Smith 1998). This is even though feeding cities is a mammoth task. As one scholar remarked, it takes a 'gargantuan' effort to feed the large populations of cities (Steel 2008); but, without a comprehensive approach, achieving food secure cities is unlikely.

Scholars such as Frayne et al. (2016) and Haysom and Battersby (2016), argued against an exaggerated role of urban agriculture in urban food security and argued that urban agriculture is often overrated in terms of its contribution. They argued that

with the limited spaces available for agriculture in urban areas, its contribution can only be limited to certain levels that cannot sustain urban food provisioning. Other scholars have estimated that urban agriculture may, at best, be capable of providing only up to 30% of urban food needs (De Zeeuw and Drechsel 2015). Thus, although urban agriculture makes a significant contribution to food in some cities, it still leaves a huge gap of approximately 70% in the food supply. It can therefore not be regarded as the solution to urban food security but rather as being complementary to local urban food supply. Some scholars have referred to the tendency to believe cities can be capable of feeding themselves without outside supply as the 'local trap' (Born and Purcell 2006; Libman 2015). It is therefore important that planners and city managers do not fall into the 'local trap' but rather understand the complex nature of the urban food system.

There are notable differences in approaches to urban food discourses and strategies to achieve urban food security in the developed and developing countries. In the Global North, the approaches to urban food security are comprehensive, complex and take a city-region approach. Urban agriculture is accepted and viewed as only one of the issues and strategies in addressing urban food security. Discourses are broader and tend to include issues such as nutrition, food variety, food sovereignty and food-related issues such as obesity. This also includes the complex distributional and geographical availability of food in different parts of the city where areas of lack are identified as 'food deserts' (Battersby and Crush 2014; Dutko et al. 2012; Furey et al. 2001). Meanwhile, in the Global South, urban agriculture is presented as the main or only strategy to address urban food security (Haysom and Battersby 2016; Walker et al. 2010). The links between the city and its surroundings are ill-defined and lack planning for critical flow. In Harare, for example, there is limited documentation of food markets, vending of food in central Harare and outlying areas, as well as lack of information on the distribution of food (Mougeot 1999; Kwiri et al. 2014; Tawodzera and Zanamwe 2016; Toriro 2019).

10.3   Methodology

The data was gathered using interviews with key informants purposively selected for their knowledge of planning, urban geography and food systems. The key informants comprised urban planners and geographers, policymakers, and non-governmental organisations working in the area of food. Ten urban planners were selected in total; five from regulatory authorities, three from tertiary institutions and two were from the central government. The sample reflected the numbers of planners in the different sectors. Five policymakers, comprising three municipal councillors and two members of the house of assembly representing Harare constituencies were also interviewed. Five representatives from non-governmental organisations working in the area of urban food security were purposively selected for their knowledge of urban food

matters. A semi-structured interview guide was used to collect data on the respondents' understanding of food systems and food security. Secondary data from planning documents such as master plans and planning laws were also used. The chapter also reviewed existing published scholarly work.

10.4   Planning and Food

Planning as a profession was identified by a former director of the UN-Habitat, Anna Tibaijuka, as an influential profession with the potential to solve most urbanisation challenges in Africa. Tibaijuka (2006) also observed that current planning professionals have not been able to provide solutions as expected. Although planners regulate all land uses, planners in Zimbabwean cities do not see food security as one of their areas of responsibility (Toriro 2018b). This is not uncommon; in earlier comprehensive studies of practicing planners in theUSA, most were found to be blind to food systems planning (Pothukuchi and Kauffman 2000). It appears that planners have generally been blind to food matters in their planning and management of urban settlements.

10.5   Approaches by Non-Governmental Organisations to Food Security in Harare

Most non-governmental organisations in Harare and Zimbabwe conflate urban food security with urban agriculture. They take the position that by addressing urban agriculture they are addressing urban food security. This came out in several interviews with officials from non-governmental organisations. The response of an official of a non-governmental organisation to whether they are involved in urban food security is typical:

> We are heavily involved in addressing urban food security in Harare. We train small-scale farmers in crop production and post-harvest handling. We also support them with inputs for their nutrition gardens. Before we came, they were not organised, and their production was very low. Now they produce enough to feed themselves for several months of the year. A few of them even produce excess which they sell. (Interviewed 14 July 2020)

This idea of interpreting urban agriculture as the major strategy to address urban food security is common among officials from non-governmental organisations. Most of those interviewed were of the opinion that urban agriculture is a sustainable food security intervention. They were comparing it to other ways of feeding people such as food handouts and cash payments. They argued that it is sustainable because beneficiaries can be able to meet most of their food needs. This popular view, however, is not supported by evidence. While urban agriculture certainly contributes as much as 30% of fresh food to urban residents, on its own, it is not capable of feeding cities

(Thornton et al. 2010; Van Veenhuizen 2006; Viljoen and Wiskerke 2012). Additional food must therefore be sourced from outside the cities. Urban food is supplied through formal and informal markets and comes through various corridors and distribution networks (Weatherspoon and Reardon 2003; White and Hamm 2014).

10.6 Linking Sustainable Development Goals to Urban Food Security

For many years, scholars such as Watson (2016) and Willis (2016) argued that there was insufficient attention on cities and food on the global development agenda of the UN as articulated in the Millennium Development Goals. Planners, in particular, argued that 'governments should take cities and planning more seriously' (Watson 2016: 435). There was therefore a concerted effort to bring cities to focus as well as ensure that residents of these cities were food secure. To some extent this has been captured in the successor agenda to the Millennium Development Goals, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). There are three goals that deal with the determinants of food security by targeting cities, poverty and food, albeit in a disconnected manner. SDG 1 intends to end poverty, SDG 2 aims to end hunger, SDG 11 aims at making cities inclusive, safe and resilient (UN 2015). A consideration of these three goals as a combination can be useful in creating cities that are food secure. It can thus be concluded that globally, urban food security is an agenda item that is receiving attention.

The many urbanisation challenges captured in the SDGs are further broken down into action areas in the New Urban Agenda (Valencia et al. 2019). There are different clauses that specifically focus on urban food security. Paragraphs 51, 95 and 123 show the New Urban Agenda's urban food security focus. Paragraph 51 requires cities to 'strengthen food system planning'. Paragraph 95 draws attention to the contribution of secondary cities and requires officials to 'strengthen the role of small and intermediate cities and towns in enhancing food security'. Paragraph 123 states: 'We will promote the integration of food security and the nutritional needs of urban residents, particularly the urban poor, in urban and territorial planning, in order to end hunger and malnutrition'. At global level, there is therefore both clarity and a call to action towards attaining food secure cities.

10.7 Harare Planners' Attitudes to Planning for Food

Due to the many clear responsibilities that urban planners and city managers are expected to assume in order to achieve the relevant SDGs, this section examines planners' attitudes to urban food matters to assess their capacity to implement the measures. Town planners wield immense power in the planning and management of

any urban settlement (Kamete 2012, 2013). They envision the growth of their settlements, imagine and plan for different land uses. They also set standards for development such as the types of buildings and even spaces between buildings. Anything that they deem unnecessary or unwanted cannot be accommodated. Planners also control development by assigning rights to activities thereby giving legitimacy to land uses. Any land use that has not to be legitimised by the planning process is generally criminalised (Toriro 2019; Watson 2014). Most planners interviewed, did not regard planning for food as their responsibility. They believed that some other offices in government should have the responsibility to plan for food security. Yet, it was only them who would determine and have power over land use and land use rights. Although they assumed that someone would plan for food, they were indirectly depriving space for food production, processing, retail and related uses, particularly if it is related to the informal food sector (Skinner and Watson 2018; Toriro 2018a).

Most of these planners think it is enough that there are formal food markets such as supermarkets and restaurants.[1] A senior planner from Harare city remarked: 'There are many supermarkets and other food outlets. I am not sure what else planners should do'. However, studies indicated that most of the food consumed by the low-income people comes mostly through informal channels (Skinner and Watson 2018; Tawodzera et al. 2019). A study of one of the urban settlements in the greater Harare metropolitan area is a useful reference. According to findings from a study in Epworth, 90% of all food purchases were found to take place in outlets that were deemed illegal and informal (Toriro 2018a). This is also documented in recent studies of vending in central Harare where, despite fierce antagonism from authorities, many people buy vegetables and other traditional food stuffs from informal vendors who are said to be illegal in terms of the planning law (Toriro 2019). Planners and policymakers continue to harass traders in cities and therefore denying many people access to food that they may not get in other areas.

An examination of the tools used by planners can help understand their attitude to food. Two areas are useful for examination and these are statutory plans and city policies. Statutory plans refer to plans that are prepared in terms of the law (Berrisford 2011; Smit 2016). This specifically refers to master plans and local plans. They derive their basis from the law and once approved in accordance with the procedure set in the law, they assume legal authority. If any resident violates the provisions of the master or local plan, they are said to have broken the law and can be prosecuted. The Harare Master Plan is the statutory planning framework for the City of Harare and includes other urban areas in the greater Harare area such as Chitungwiza, Ruwa, Epworth and even the surrounding service centres such as Goromonzi and Mazowe (City of Harare 1993).

An examination of the key provisions of the Harare Master Plan revealed that food is mainly addressed by way of giving some land agriculture user rights (City of Bulawayo 2008; City of Harare 1993). The only way the city deliberately plans for food, is urban food production or urban agriculture. Other aspects of food flows, such as distribution corridors from the peri-urban areas, are not given prominence.

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[1]Interviews with several planners in Harare, July 2020.

They are addressed indirectly; for example, there is no planning for food shops. It is assumed that when shopping centres are planned, some private individuals will set up food shops. The City of Harare does not even have an urban agriculture or food policy.[2] The cursory reference to food in the main planning tools and its total absence from the city's policies reflects how detached the city's planners and politicians are from food. It is not their core business. Where they address it, it is only incidentally, as a coincidence.

Planners also displayed modernist tendencies. In the interviews, most planners had a vision of beautiful cities based on images of cities that they see in development magazines and online such as Dubai, Toronto or Singapore. This is also reflected in the vision statements of the cities. For example, the vision of the city of Harare is to be a 'world class city by the year 2025' (City of Harare 2012). This vision does not reflect the reality on the ground. For a city battling to provide basic services such as clean and sufficient water, health services, housing and public transport, a focus on aesthetics and an aspiration for a Dubai-like appearance are utopian. These 'fantasies' are described by some scholars as 'nightmares' because of their failure to consider the lived realities of those citizens (Watson 2014). The planners focus on high-level modernist projects at the expense of the simple but basic needs such as food security that most residents would benefit from.

We can learn a lot from understanding the planners' attitudes. It has been argued that scholars and trainers of planners can learn from observing what happens in the planning practice, 'the documentation and analysis of the many and varied activities of planners' (Watson 2002: 178). This can help in formulating practical interventions that address the planners' attitudes.

10.8   Towards a Sustainable Urban Food System

Having exposed the reality that there is no direct and deliberate planning for food in Harare and the limited approach to food,[3] this section proposes a food systems approach to addressing urban food insecurity. It is important that planners, other city officials and officials from non-governmental organisations take a food systems approach to address food security (De Zeeuw and Drechsel 2015; Dowding-Smith 2013). The food system is defined as all processes and infrastructure involved in feeding a population. This begins with production up to harvesting and includes processing, packaging, transporting, marketing, consumption and disposal of food and associated products (Ericksen 2008; Pothukuchi and Kaufman 2000; Smith 1998). A food systems approach will not only focus on urban agriculture, which is

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[2]Interview with a senior urban planner in the Harare City Council. This was corroborated by planning professionals in the central government agency, Department of Physical Planning.

[3]The Food and Nutrition Council is assumed to have a broad food mandate, but their assessments show their limitations to food availability, health and nutrition issues as reflected in ZIMVAC reports.

production, but considers spaces for other components such as storage, processing, markets, transport networks and disposal of waste from food and food processing.

It has already been argued that cities cannot produce sufficient food within their boundaries. Plans must be incorporated into the city plans, including where the additional food comes from and how. This calls for a creation of linkages between the city and the sources of food (Mah et al. 2016; Zasada et al. 2019). These linkages translate to infrastructure such as route networks, storage zones and warehouses, processing areas and markets. The markets are not just formal but also informal. In some areas of Harare, informal markets dominate the food sources, and this must be planned for and accommodated so that people have choices, thereby addressing some of the pillars of food security such as accessibility and acceptability of food. A supermarket vegetable section full of exotic vegetables will not address the vegetable needs of residents looking for traditional vegetables. For that segment of the market, there is thus no food security.

A comprehensive food system planning also maps the city for adequacy in all sectors and identifies areas of lack by typology. Areas that are not adequately supplied with certain foods can still be referred to as 'food deserts' only because they lack certain types of food. A food systems approach minimises the prevalence of food deserts. The concept of food deserts is a complex one as it not only refers to shortages of food in some parts of the city, but also examines the adequacy of different food types for different ethnic groups. Otherwise, areas may appear to satisfy food needs when for certain groups whose specific food needs are not available, would still see themselves in a food desert (Battersby and Crush 2014; Widener and Shannon 2014).

Although planning is touted as being practised in public interest, planners are often criticised as 'undemocratic by not consulting the people most directly affected by their planning initiatives' (Fainstein 2005: 123; see also Faludi 1973; Hall 1988; Teitz 1996). The concept of public interest has always been contested because there are different publics. Stakeholders in the planning process are heterogeneous and must be unpacked as part of the consultation process. To achieve food security in Harare, planners must consult more widely. This means asking different income and cultural groups about their food needs in order to address their needs. Planners and city managers must engage more deeply to address the multiple concerns of the majority of the residents.

Food matters must occupy prominent spaces in town planning documents so that the regulation of food is considered as part of the city planning process. There must also be relevant city food policies that clearly articulate the cities' position of how to deal with urban food production, processing, transportation, markets, up to food waste disposal. The current situation where most cities, including Harare, do not have food policies is untenable. The fact that only one city in the whole country, Bulawayo, has an urban agricultural policy and strategy, leaves urban food planning without anyone operating it. For most urban areas, there are no authorities overseeing food planning.

10.9 Conclusion and Policy Options

City officials and policymakers in Harare, Zimbabwe, as is common in most of the Global South countries, are not placing food security at the centre of urban planning and management (Battersby 2018; Toriro 2018a). Evidence has shown that many officials and politicians do not think it is their role to ensure urban food security. In cases where they grudgingly or reluctantly try to address urban food security, there is a disproportionate focus on urban agriculture. This is also reflected in the support programmes of non-governmental organisations working in most of these cities who conflate food security with urban agriculture. This is both incomplete and unsustainable. There is an absence and little knowledge of an urban food systems approach to achieve urban food security. This deprives city residents of a comprehensive planning of food systems that address all the food security pillars so that food is available, accessible, acceptable and adequate for different income and cultural groups.

It was found that most planners were illiterate when it comes to food, and therefore they are 'blind' to urban food knowledge. Perhaps this 'blindness' is caused by a lack of knowledge on how to integrate food with land use planning. Capacity building of practicing planners and the introduction of food planning modules in the planning curriculum can help reduce the capacity gap. Current planning tools do not give priority to food security. While there is a cursory reference to urban food production, other components of the food system barely receive attention in planning, urban management and development discourses.

Attitudes of city officials and policymakers are modernist and appear to be influenced by utopian values that are detached from the lived reality of residents. Even though in many parts of Harare the main supply of food is informal, there is little consideration of accommodating informal food traders. City officials must accept and consider the harsh realities in which most residents live. Only practical plans rooted in the contextual realities of a Global South city will solve the current rampant food insecurity by adopting a food systems approach.

Finally, planners must take full responsibility for planning food systems as much as they assume responsibility for planning housing, infrastructure, employment creation and other needs of the people. They already determine all other aspects affecting urban food systems and therefore denying responsibility for food only means the food system is neglected. As Pothukuchi and Kauffmann (2000) observed many years ago, when planners do not give priority to food systems in their planning, the result will not be neutral and food provisioning will suffer. The high food insecurity levels in most Global South cities are only reflective of how detached the officials are from planning for food secure cities. Just like other needs such as housing and transportation that they give priority to, food systems need to be planned so that cities are food secure.

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Chapter 11
Urban Development Management in Light of the Risks and Disasters Caused by Climate Change

Innocent Chirisa and Thomas Karakadzai

Abstract This chapter proffers a prognosis of Zimbabwe's future in dealing with urban development management amid climate change. The tragic impacts and apparent enormity of risks and disasters induced by floods, drought and cyclones have caused many damages in most urban centres around the country. In effect, infrastructure and social systems as well as damage to the environment have been significant. The chapter deals with thematic content analysis, with particular reference to Zimbabwean urban hierarchy of city, municipality, and town growth points. The chapter acknowledges that the growing recognition of natural disaster risk as a development issue, calls for the need for conscious effort on development guidelines supporting greening of the environment. This chapter points to the broadening of urban planning practices and tools that effectively address mainstream disaster risk management in urban development. Undoubtedly, an integrated framework for urban development management in Zimbabwe ought to accommodate a wide range of concepts, strategies as well as models of climate change, together with the supporting policy implementation modalities.

Keywords Urban development · Risks · Disasters · Climate change · Zimbabwe

11.1 Introduction

Zimbabwean cities continuously face significant disaster risk. The existing trend of increasing disaster risks in several urban areas can be reduced, ceased and even reversed. This can be done through adopting urban land use management processes,

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provision of opportunities for better understanding of how natural hazards across cities interact with current as well as future urban growth patterns and the types of investments necessary to promote development in a risk-sensitive way (Asian Development Bank 2017). The urbanisation process must be associated with new planning strategies, and disaster mitigation approaches. In this way. cities will be less exposed to high and probably increasing, natural hazard risks.

The rising body of knowledge on risk governance recognises that only considering climate risk as measurable uncertainty is problematic when measuring dynamic and changing climate risk (Jones and Preston 2011). This is due to its failure in accounting for complication, vagueness as well as scientific uncertainty (Renn et al. 2011). Thus, improved urban management and planning is imperative to ensure a reduction in disaster risk and climate change impacts in cities. In order to reduce disaster risk, urban planners need sufficient aid from the government to ensure that effective legislation, strengthened institutions, leadership as well as enhanced capacities are available. Insufficient preparedness for climate-related risks has resulted in huge clean-up costs, and increased development costs in hazard-prone areas (World Bank 2010).

This chapter proffers a prognosis of Zimbabwe's future in dealing with the planning and management of urban development amid climate change. This chapter engages both a case study and a critical literature review approach to examine the experiences and practices on how planning and management of urban development is dealing with climate-induced risks and disasters. The goal is to expose the dynamics and intricacies of risk and disaster management in urban cities of Zimbabwe.

This chapter is organised as follows: The section following the introduction comprises a review of the theoretical perspectives underpinning the study. It explains urban management, risks and disaster management and urban resilience for climate change. This is followed by a review of published books, journal articles and case studies, as well as other publications linked to the study. It furthermore specifies the research methods and techniques used in this study. The next section deals with the results by giving a presentation and analysis of the research findings. The final section of the chapter is a summary of the work, and provides conclusions and recommendations for the way forward.

11.2 Theories Underpinning the Study

This section explains the various theoretical concepts underpinning the study, which include urban management, risks and disaster management, urban resilience for climate change and elements of resilience.

11.2.1 Urban Management

Urban management is the restructuring of urban areas 'administration, with the primary task of attaining a much-needed balance between the social and economic development of the city (Bačlija 2013). Mattingly (1994) pointed out that without a more theoretically rich and varied approach to urban management and aid from the research community around the world, the notion has a slight potential for survival within the fast and varying international marketplace of development ideas. Several authors have made efforts in presenting adequate definitions; however, convergence with urban management has not yet occurred (Bačlija 2013). As Stren (1993) noted, the elusiveness of the idea exists, despite systematic and comparative work on this sub-discipline. Davey (1993: 4) believed that 'urban management is concerned with the policies, plans, programmes, and practices that seek to ensure that population growth is matched by access to basic infrastructure, shelter and employment'. Bramezza (1996: 34) also defined urban management as 'the co-ordinated development and execution of comprehensive strategies with the participation and involvement of all relevant urban actors, to identify, create and exploit potentials for the sustainable development of the city'.

11.2.2 Risks and Disaster Management

Cities experience risk differently in scales and intensities. The continuous exposure and the perception of potential impacts as perceived by a community or settlement is risk (KARAKUŞ 2008). The interaction between an extreme natural event and a susceptible population, ecosystem or infrastructure can create risk. The extent of managing urban development and safeguard provision of the essential infrastructure in countries has a great effect on the magnitude and impact of disasters (Bull-Kamanga et al. 2003). There is growing occurrence of natural disasters with distressing effects on human settlements. Disaster propensity is increasing in relation to trends such as global warming, environmental degradation and the increasing rate of population growth in and around metropolitan areas. However, these risks need to be managed. 'Disaster risk management seeks to reduce a society's vulnerability to extreme natural events so that even if such events occur, they do not result in a disaster' (Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development 2015). Natural disasters cannot, generally, be avoided but their impact can be mitigated.

11.2.3 Urban Resilience for Climate Change

There is increasing prominence on the resilience concept across a varied set of literature on urban areas and climate change. It is noteworthy that resilience in city studies

is grounded in a range of literature that can be generally organised into four categories: urban ecological resilience; urban hazards and disaster risk reduction; resilience of urban and regional economies; as well as promotion of resilience through urban governance and institutions (Leichenko 2011). The emphasis on urban hazards and disaster risk reduction needs to be positioned on enhancing the capacity of urban areas, infrastructure systems and urban populations and communities to rapidly and effectively recover from natural and man-made hazards.

However, various efforts that contribute to long-term urban sustainability and urban resilience through adaptation and mitigation approaches need to be associated with wider development policies and plans. The effectiveness of development policies may be limited, and sectoral susceptibility improved if climate change adaptation and mitigation are not considered (Halsnæs and Verhagen 2007).

> The unpacking of pathways to climate resilience in cities, however, is usually dualistic in nature, viewing the resourcefulness of local community actors as a downstream approach that is parallel to and sometimes conflicting with upstream interventions, which are influenced by municipal regulations, economic trends, technological advancements, geopolitics, and other global forces. (Kareem et al. 2020: 3).

Thus, the approach to urban resilience should be concentrated on a wide-ranging set of policy evaluation conditions that combine traditional economic and sectoral goals and broader social issues linked to health and income distribution.

11.2.4   Elements of Resilience

Basically, there are three resilience elements that are policy level, administrative level and implementation level.

Policy level Resilience should be taken into consideration at macro level, where a disaster mitigation map is organised on a national scale. The macro level produces a land use base map that identifies areas prone to natural disasters. It is crucial to prepare a macroscale spatial policy document (KARAKUŞ 2008). The document outlines national scale policies and approaches to mitigate the disasters. Urban development strategies and procedures are viewed as a valuable entry point for resilience planning processes (Bulkeley and Tuts 2013; Satterthwaite 2013; Wardekker et al. 2010). This could be either by revising provision of services and making changes to accommodate new risks, for instance safeguarding that health centres are prepared to deal with natural disasters that have become more recurrent, or by shaping land use, for example warranting that there are no new developments on exposed areas (Satterthwaite 2013).

Administrative level It is critical to observe that administration plays a pivotal role in promoting resilience. The administrative structure of any particular country and the institutional coordination and organisation chart, in the case of a natural disaster, should be clarified. Management of climate-related risks is dominated by distinguishing and different technical disciplines, each with a specific set of processes, standards and strategies that influence framing and responses developed on risk that,

in turn, affect the decisions taken. Decision-making by local authorities on climate change effects is driven by planning that functions under a quasi-legal framework and struggles for certainty of outcome; engineering or hazards that, even though risk-based, is dominated by quantifiable risk and historical experience; and emergency management that focuses on immediate response and recovery from extreme events (Lawrence et al. 2013).

Implementation level The degree of execution of spatial plans is hinged on three key result areas that include legislation and control, the planning process, as well as institutional organisation and coordination. Building a disaster-resilient urban settlement requires effective urban planning. Disaster mitigation practices should be encompassed in the preparation process of a spatial plan for preparation of analysis maps, and preparation of a synthesis map by inserting data from the analysis maps and preparation of a spatial plan based on the synthesis map (KARAKUŞ 2008). The implementation level should consider resilience to be a process that facilitates better than outcomes in the face of adversity. In other words, there is need to better understand the extent to which resilience promoting resources are needed, by gaining a better understanding of the adversities confronting communities. By understanding the perspectives of individuals and their communities, policymakers and service providers can better identify, establish or provide relevant individual and contextual resilience resources that support positive mental health outcomes (Ungar et al. 2013).

The interdependence among stakeholders and their decisions for climate resilience is vital from a multi-actor viewpoint, where for instance, societies and intermunicipal collaborations take lead to build networks that catalyse efforts towards confronting extreme weather events (Bansard et al. 2017; Fünfgeld 2015; Giest and Howlett 2013). Given the existing inadequacies in technology and use of resource in less economically developed countries and the inherit institutional weaknesses, one of the main circumstances for climate change adaptation and mitigation strategies would be to understand how policy implementation can be integrated with local development efforts and partnerships (Halsnæs and Verhagen 2007). African cities are shaped by informality that is characterised by multiple ecologies and infrastructures that may be unique pathways to resilience in the face of climatic hazards (Fraser et al. 2017).

It is important to be able to recognise and better comprehend these elements, so that management policies can be focused on maintaining or restoring communities to optimal conditions to maximise the survival of communities after stressful disturbances (Hughes et al. 2012). However, a key challenge for consultants lies in how to clearly inject standards and to navigate trade-offs in resilience between groups, locations as well as timescales. The inter-reliant nature of systems makes any changes in resilience, resulting from interventions in one sphere of activity, difficult to discern and thwarts attribution (Tanner et al. 2017). Thus, it is critical to coordinate and build networks across all sectors when dealing with climate resilience.

11.3 Literature Review

The literature review paid specific consideration to the experiences of global climate change in urban areas in both developed as well as developing countries. The main emphasis was on analysing how various countries have used different urban development techniques and processes in dealing with climate change-induced disasters and risks.

Global climate change presents extreme threats to development efforts as it poses risks to humans, the environment and the economy. Globally, urban areas are at risk of being affected by natural hazards. Prominently, cities in developing countries tend to be more vulnerable to natural disasters than those in developed countries (KARAKUŞ 2008). In the poorest countries in the world, the population growth continues to increase significantly and almost 90% of disaster-related deaths occur in these countries (UN 2019). In its 2020 Global Assessment Report, the UNISDR (2019) office identified that 7,348 major recorded disaster events claimed 1.23 million lives, affecting 4.2 billion people (many on more than one occasion), resulting in approximately US$2.97 trillion in global economic losses from 2000 to 2019. Thus, in these potential consequences of extreme natural events, disaster risk management not only needs to be incorporated into individual development cooperation projects but must also be mainstreamed as a cross-cutting issue in urban development and management.

Since the late 1990s, there has been growing acknowledgement by governments as well as donors of the necessity to mainstream disaster risk reduction into development (Benson 2009). For instance, the Philippines formulated disaster legislation dating back to 1978 which was primarily reactive to disasters. However, there has been a paradigm shift from a disaster management approach to a disaster risk management approach with much emphasis given to forecasts rather than actual results (Benson 2009). The significant changes of the disaster legislation from being reactive to ex ante strengthened the links between the needs of local communities in reducing risks and formal development of policies and strategies as well as providing a model for guiding disaster-resilient urban settlements in the Philippines.

The spatial, temporal and sustainability-related qualities of urbanisation are significant for considering the shifting, complex interactions between climate change and urban growth. Given the important and frequently rising levels of urbanisation, a growing proportion of the world's population is exposed to the direct impacts of climate change in urban areas (Revi 2008; UN-Habitat 2011). The hazard and risk increase as urban areas grow both geographically and demographically, exposing and altering local hydrologic characteristics (Muttarak and Lutz 2014). The rapid urbanisation gave birth to several processes that were initiated to assess the potential effects of climate change on cities and responses. These efforts included the 2004 New York City Regional Heat Island Initiative, sponsored by the New York State Energy Research and Development Authority, and the establishment of a climate change task force by the New York City Department of Environmental Protection. Both processes involved the development of collaboration between scientists and

policymakers in the city, with the goal of downscaling models of climate change to assess potential impacts in the city and to identify potential solutions (Corburn 2009; Rosenzweig et al. 2007).

The international efforts and processes to consider climate change in urban development stimulated initiatives in different regions such as Asia, Latin America and Africa. Many cities in Africa and Asia feature on the list of highest risk cities to both large and small-scale disasters, especially with regard to climate change (World Bank Group 2016a). Millions of urban dwellers in Africa, Latin America and Asia are at greater risk from the direct and indirect impacts of current and projected climate change, such as an increase in floods, heat-waves, extreme events and food and water shortages; these add new and complex dimensions to how risk is understood and addressed (Dodman and Mitlin 2013). In addition, the report of the World Wide Fund for Nature (2009) noted that cities such as Manila, Dhaka and Jakarta are the most vulnerable, with the highest exposure and the lowest adaptive capacity.

In Africa, several climate change strategies and action plans have been drawn up by the government and its ministries. Significant trails to resilience are urban agriculture and forestry for alternative food and income sources (Lwasa et al. 2015) and household energy alternatives from wastes and plot-level technologies of retention for run-off, using, for example, vetiver grass for protection against erosion (Carlier et al. 2009). For instance, the plans that were reviewed include that of the City of Alexandria Energy and Climate Change Action Plan (North Africa); the Durban Climate Change Strategy (South Africa); the Kampala Climate Change Action Strategy (East Africa) and the Lagos State Climate Change Adaptation Strategy (West Africa) as shown in Table 11.1.

Case studies and regional reviews evaluating city susceptibilities to climate change have discovered varied physical and societal challenges and large variances in levels of adaptive capacity (Hunt and Watkiss 2011; Rosenzweig et al. 2011). Several studies have been carried out to estimate the scale of urban exposure to natural hazards and climate impacts. Nicholls et al. (2008) looked at the exposure of populations and assets of 136 port cities with more than one million people to one-in-100-year surge-induced flood events. The index showed that cities in Asia have the highest absolute population exposure now and, in the future, in addition to the highest asset exposure by the 2070s. Research on African cities (Castán Broto et al. 2015; Kithiia 2011; Simon and Leck 2010) has highlighted the lack of capacity and awareness of climate change and often extremely high levels of vulnerability among the continent's large and rapidly growing urban poor populations. Rodrigues (2019) also noted urban precarity due to several types of official incapacities when dealing with climate change, making alternative informal and do-it-yourself responses in cities of the developing global south.

Continued growth of urban areas into marginal areas such as flood plains, water catchments and steep hillsides increases vulnerability to disasters. Informality in African cities harbour diverse pathways for resilience to climate change. This is worsened by poor urban planning and management. However, land use planning at city scale is crucial to consider for the location of new developments (World Bank 2016b). Zimbabwe is one of the most urbanising countries of the region today.

Table 11.1 Climate change plans and strategies by city authorities in Africa (Adapted from Kareem et al. 2020: 13)

Name of plan/strategy	Objectives	Main stakeholders	Targets and object(s) to be made resilient	Key implementation programmes
City of Alexandria Energy and Climate Change Action Plan (2012–2020) (North Africa)	1. Adopt targets and establish an implementation framework for reducing greenhouse gas (GHG) emission reductions for 2012, 2020 and 2050	Office of Environmental Quality Department of Transportation and Environmental Services	1. By 2030: All new buildings will be carbon-neutral	City's Green Building Policy
	2. Institutionalise the consideration of the effects of possible climate changes into long-term planning	Alexandria City Council	2. By 2050: Reduce greenhouse gas emissions by 80% below the 2005 levels	City's recycling programme and the Covanta energy from waste facility
	3. Prepare and educate city residents and business owners for a carbon-constrained economy and other climate change impacts	Alexandria Sanitation Authority	3. By 2050: 80% of the city's energy will be from clean, renewable sources	$1.37 million under the federal Energy Efficiency and Conservation Block Grant
	4. Increase the city's preparedness to respond to the possible effects of climate change and environmental emergencies	Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments National Academy of Science		Eco-city challenge on the city's website for citizen engagement Alternative forms of transportation for city employees Land use planning (for example Urban Forestry Master Plan)

(continued)

Table 11.1 (continued)

Name of plan/strategy	Objectives	Main stakeholders	Targets and object(s) to be made resilient	Key implementation programmes
The Durban Climate Change Strategy, approved in 2015 (South Africa)	To convert Durban into a low carbon, green economy that prioritises the sustainable use of ecosystem services, while still overcoming the development challenges faced by the majority of Durban residents	Fire department & metro police	Waste management	KwaZulu-Natal sustainable energy forum
		eThekwini Municipality climate protection branch	Transport and renewable energy	Shisa solar programme
		City planning commission	Water conservation and demand management	Durban solar financial model
		City manager and executive management team	Energy efficiency and energy demand	
			Ecosystem services	
The Kampala Climate Change Action Strategy, 2016 (East Africa)	Increase renewable energy use	Kampala Capital City Authority	50 Megawatts of renewable energy produced on the territory (solar, waste to energy)	Communication with and engaging local stakeholders to participate
	Reduce congestion and travel times	Ministry of Works and Transport	50% of motorists using mass public transport (buses and trains)	Landscaping a more climate resilient and low carbon Kampala
	Improved construction practices	National Water and Sewerage Cooperation	50% of city roads tarmacked 25 km of NMT (cycle/pedestrian) lane length constructed	Developing smart utilities and community services
		Ministry of Water and Environment	30% of waste recycled	Supporting the green economy
		National Environment Management Authority	60% of newly approved buildings with water	Integrated waste management in the city

(continued)

Table 11.1 (continued)

Name of plan/strategy	Objectives	Main stakeholders	Targets and object(s) to be made resilient	Key implementation programmes
			New buildings certified as green buildings	
			Water harvesting units installed	
			500,000 new trees grown (street, park and household)	
Lagos State Climate Change Adaptation Strategy, 2012 (West Africa)	To provide an integrated and systematic approach to reducing vulnerabilities to climate change and increase the resilience and sustainable well-being of the people of Lagos State	Lagos State Emergency Management Authority	Integrated coastal zone management in the State	Launching a public awareness and sensitization programme to educate Lagosians
	To provide a framework for building informed responses and enhancing capacities at individual, community and state levels to implement effective climate change adaptation policies and measures	Ministry of the Environment	Sustainable management of upland wetlands and floodplains	A tree planting campaign and criminalisation of indis-criminate tree felling
		Governor of Lagos State	Improved quality of information about the State's wetlands and freshwater ecosystems	Landscaping of virtually all open spaces
		Nigerian Meteorological Agency	A new drainage network in built-up areas taking into account projected sea level rise	Introduction of a mass transportation system, including the Bus Rapid Transit scheme
		Nigerian Institute for Oceanography and Marine Research		
		Ministry of Local Government and Chieftaincy Affairs		

Much of the urban growth in the country is occurring spontaneously, and is not following official planning frameworks, even should they exist (UN-Habitat 2018). Despite many land use management processes such as land use planning, development control instruments, greenfield development and urban redevelopment, there remain large gaps in implementation. However, the current trend of growing disaster risk in Zimbabwean cities could be reduced, halted and even reversed by adopting resilient urban land use management processes. In a way to reduce disasters and risks, disaster risk considerations should be taken into account when designing and implementing development control instruments. These processes include zoning, land subdivision, land acquisition, purchase or transfer of development rights, and building controls, as summarised in Table 11.2.

Regulating development in hazard-prone cities can be possible through effective zoning, thus limiting exposure of people and property to hazards. An example of effectively using zoning is restricting development on unstable slopes. Klein et al. (2005) suggested that the integration of mitigation and adaptation measures into climate and development policies is crucial for fighting against climate-related disasters. Considering city vulnerability under changes in climatic conditions is thus not only a matter of enhancing knowledge about the latent risks, as well as impacts posed by climate change, but appealing with the often historically complex and politically argumentative factors that structure susceptibility more broadly and with the complex development trajectories. There is a need for an updated citywide disaster risk assessment which largely depends on the need and availability of information.

11.4 Results

This section embarks on the presentation, analysis and discussion of the research findings. It makes comparisons between crucial perceptions on city resilience with empirical findings obtained from current practices across Zimbabwean cities and Africa at large.

The urban landscape of Zimbabwe includes the capital city, Harare, and Bulawayo the second-largest city, other large cities, towns and growth points. The UN-Habitat (2011) noted that the urbanisation rate was increasing at 4.3% per annum in Zimbabwe. However, smaller centres had slow urban growth with the total population in cities growing slowly at 0.6% per annum from 4,029,707 to 4,284,145, compared to the 4.2% average across sub-Saharan Africa (Infrastructure and Cities for Economic Development 2017). Table 11.3 shows the urban settlement changes between 2002 and 2012 in Zimbabwe.

It should be noted that demographic dynamics and their interactions with other mediating factors in urban areas pose environmental threats. Urban growth often refers to the attainment of good agricultural land in the peri-urban areas for further urban development. This results in conflict over urban and agricultural demands on natural resources or arable land, water and forests (Patel 1988). Thus, a growing

Table 11.2 Disaster risk consideration in urban development (Asian Development Bank 2017)

Development control instruments	Actions to integrate disaster risk considerations	Outcomes
Zoning	Zoning maps indicating hazard-prone areas	Zoning ordinances evidently integrate hazard information (along with hazard maps) and requires specific standards to be followed for development in hazard-prone areas Definite zoning instruments, for example setbacks adopted for high-risk areas
	Feature hazard data into density calculations	
	Introduce hindrances or buffers in hazard-prone areas	
Land subdivision	Identify land that is prone to hazards and land use activities that can exacerbate existing levels of risks	Land parcels and associated development are safe from risks from hazards
	Require hazard-related studies (for example, geotechnical studies in seismic-prone areas, hydrology and hydraulic studies for flood-prone areas) and disclosure of studies finding and integrating hazard-resilient standards in the design of utilities	
Land acquisition	Densify high hazard-prone areas, publicly acquire land (where feasible) and restrict development	Development in hazard-prone areas restricted or limited
Purchase or transfer of development rights	Densify hazard-prone areas and either purchase or transfer the right to development from these areas to less hazardous areas	Development in hazard-prone areas restricted or limited
Building control	Integrate locally relevant hazard-resilient design standards into building codes and enforce implementation	Culture of compliance strengthened where all stakeholders are knowledgeable about the current and future risks from hazards and how such risks interact with building location and construction practices
	Provide specifications for retrofitting of buildings in high-risk areas	
	Build the capacity of the private sector to identify and initiate hazard-resilient designs and construction measures	

Table 11.3 Analysis of urban settlement changes between 2002 and 2012 (Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency 2012)

	Urban settlement population cohorts				Total (from province data)
	Small	Meso	Large	Very large	
Urban population (2012)	962,856	970,688	653,337	1,485,231	4,284,145
Number of settlements (2012)	23	5	1	1	
Urban population (2002)	831,557	748,599	676,650	1,435,784	4,029,707
Number of settlements (2002)	24	4	1	1	
Urban population growth	131,299	222,089	−23,313	49,447	254,438
Urban population growth (%)	16	30	−3	3	6
Urban population growth (% per annum)	1.5	2.6	−0.3	0.3	0.6
Urban population growth as a proportion of total (%)	35	59	−6	13	

Note Small: $P < 100,000$; Meso: $100,001 < 500,000$; Large: $500,001 < 1,000,000$; Very large: $P > 1,000,001$

population with an increasing number of households unavoidably exert pressure on rural and peri-urban land for housing, schooling and health services.

The spatial plans such as master and local plans which define the jurisdictions of most urban areas in Zimbabwe have remained static and failed to incorporate rural villages, despite urban sprawl expanding into rural jurisdictions (Mbiba 2017). Delineating boundaries, either rural or urban in areas such as Caledonia, Victoria Ranch and Clip sham, has showed a significant variety from efforts to firmly demarcate differences between the rural and the urban; and thus, to exactly map rural and urban space, is complex (Mbiba 2017). Understanding and quantifying the spatiotemporal dynamics of urban land use and land cover changes and its driving factors are vital to put forward the right policies and monitoring mechanisms on urban growth for decision-making. Most settlements such as cities and towns in Zimbabwe are confronted with rapid population growth and increasing rural–urban migration (Potts 2013).

The rapid increase in urban population presents several challenges that contribute to changes in climatic conditions as a number of climate parameters change due to replacement of vegetation by urban settlements (Patra et al. 2018). Land use as well as land cover changes have noteworthy costs on climate change, hydrology, air pollution and biodiversity. Figure 11.1 reveals an increase in the high-density
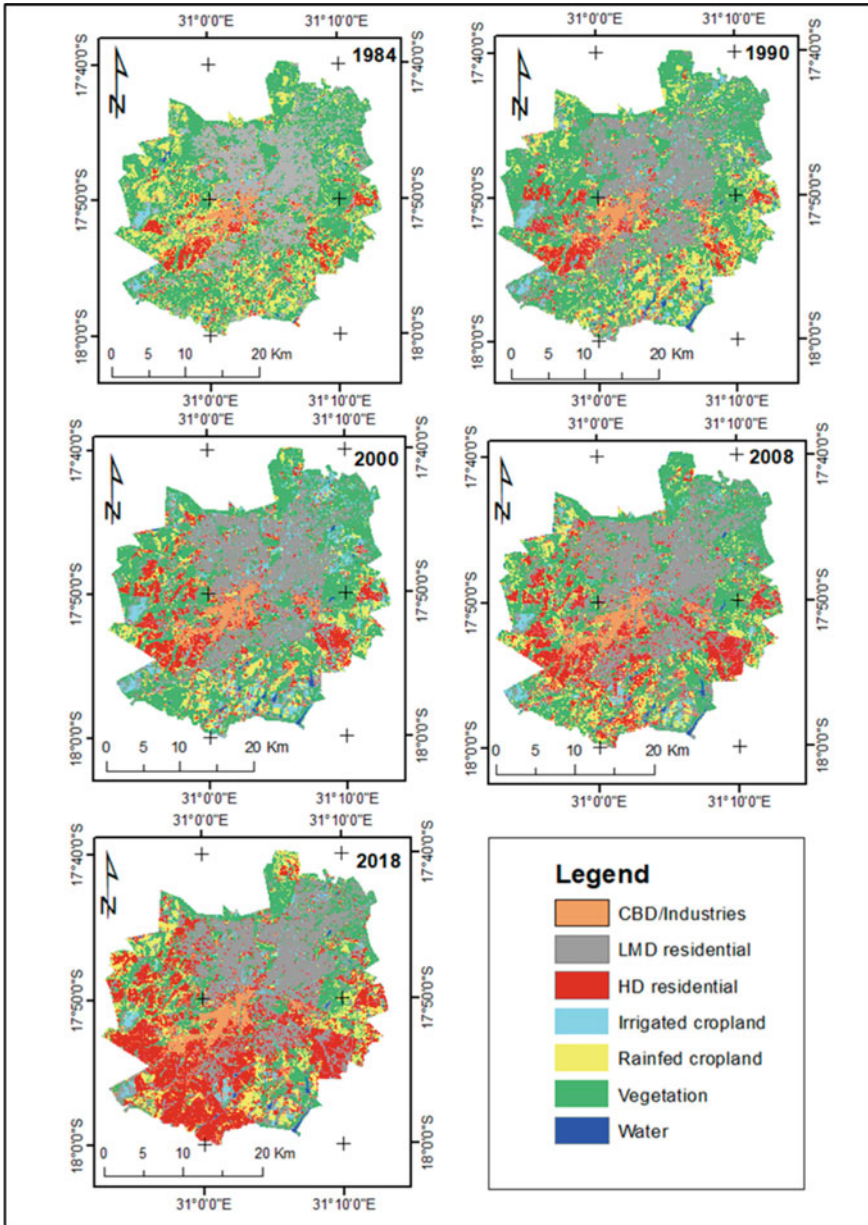
Fig. 11.1 Land use and land cover in the Harare Metropolitan Province for the years 1984, 1990, 2000, 2008 and 2018 (Marondedze and Schütt 2019: 8)

residential areas and, consequently, a decrease in the area covered by vegetation all over the Harare Metropolitan Province. High-density residential areas cover 5.81% of the total Harare Metropolitan Province. However, by the year 2018, high-density residential areas "had more than quadrupled reaching 218.35 km^2, covering almost a quarter of the Harare Metropolitan Province area" (Marondedze and Schütt 2019:9).

There was also an increase in industrial areas from 3.7% in 1984 to 7.17% in 2018 (Marondedze and Schütt 2019). It should be noted that rapid urbanisation with a considerable increase in built-up areas has caused severe losses of land under agriculture, vegetation and water bodies. 'Apparently, in 1984, vegetation covered almost half of the area (448.67 km) of the total Harare Metropolitan Province but decreased by nearly 50% to 223.45 km (25.08%) by the year 2018' (Marondedze and Schütt 2019: 7). While such expansion is attributed to an increasing urban population with greater non-farming activities, significant changes in climatic conditions from land surface to the atmosphere are very likely (Patra et al. 2018). The rise of surface temperature in Harare is associated with deforestation through changes in land use. This, in turn, caused a strong warming in urban environment called an urban heat island.

The increasing frequency and intensity of shocks and stresses due to climate change have been disrupting livelihoods in cities such as Mutare, Masvingo and Bulawayo. Tropical cyclones such as Cyclone Eline, Japhet and Idai destroyed communication systems and infrastructure such as dwellings and roads. Growth points in Zimbabwe have also experienced urban expansion into once rural and farm lands, destroying the ecology. For example, Gokwe Centre Mpandawana, Nyika, has experienced expansion into farm lands which destroyed the ecology, resulting in environmental degradation and climate change. Gokwe Centre that was granted town status in 2013, has been expanding so much that it has exhausted all the land within its gazetted boundaries; hence, the need to expand beyond its boundaries. This has seen the Gokwe Rural District Council designing a layout for residential expansion in respective areas where farming (orchards) and grazing lands are located.

In addition to Gokwe Centre that has sprawled into communal lands, the Mpandawana growth point has also been expanding into communal land that is occupied by local communities. According to the Zimbabwe national census of 2012, Mpandawana had a population of 30,000 people, which later led the government to grant town status in 2014. Land available for development in the Mpandawana town area is approximately 10.500 ha. The Town Council has the mandate to allocate land in the Town Board area. The town centre is expanding on the western side and is located at the Gutu junction area. The Mpandawana town consists of Wards 33 and 34 with a population of 30,000 people, according to the 2012 census.

> Among the most significant risk drivers are: the growing urban populations and increased density, which put pressure on land and services, increasing settlements … along unstable slopes and in hazard-prone areas … [and] [t]he decline of ecosystems, due to human activities such as road construction, pollution, wetland reclamation and unsustainable resource extraction, that threatens the ability to provide essential services such as flood regulation and protection. (UNISDR 2013)

Cities are concentrated with people, poverty and disaster risk. 'The growing rate of urbanisation [in Zimbabwean cities] and the increase in population density (in cities) can lead to creation of risk, especially when urbanization is rapid, poorly planned and occurring in a context of widespread poverty' (Prevention Web nd). Settlements such as Hopley, Epworth and Killarney that lack sufficient infrastructure and services. It is characterised by unsafe housing, inadequate as well as poor health services, which creates new risks that can turn natural hazards into a disaster. Spontaneous residential expansion in wetlands in urban areas such Chitungwiza, Southlands Park, and infills on open spaces in Mabelreign, have exposed the settlements into high risks of flooding and water-borne diseases such as cholera, typhoid and malaria. Understanding climate change risks associated with investment decisions is a critical first step in reducing them as it is difficult to develop strategies to overcome the negative impacts of climate change without measuring adaptation risks and understanding them (Alavian et al. 2009).

11.5   Discussion

This study revealed that cities around the world continue to suffer significantly from climate change that is aggravated from a pool of factors that include poor planning policies, lack of coordination from the policy level, administrative level and implementation level. Bulkeley and Tuts (2013) observed that urban development policies and processes are seen as a valuable entry point for the resilience planning process as it 'helps to put a long-term developmental lens on disaster preparedness and response efforts'. However, in Zimbabwe, there is a logjam between the policy level and the implementation level in dealing with urban development policies with the aim of reducing disasters from climate change. By turning a blind eye to various practices and techniques, such as land use planning, zoning and building control in urban development, there are higher chances of increasing the rate at that disaster risk posing a threat to cities, instead of actually decreasing the climate change risks through proper implementation of planning policies and techniques.

Urban expansion into peri-urban areas has exacerbated climate change risks in towns and cities of Zimbabwe. Stein et al. (2005) observed that rural and exurban forests in the vicinity of urban lands are considerably affected by population growth and associated urban expansion. From a climate change perspective, it is estimated that a significant portion of the eight million hectares of land distributed and cleared for cropping and other forms of land use, has led to the reduction of forests and woodlands that act as carbon sinks (Government of Zimbabwe 2014). It has been reported that the rate of clearance of woodlands in both the commercial and resettlement areas has increased markedly following the changes in land tenure associated with the Fast Track Land Resettlement Programme (Cliffe et al. 2011). This has led to decreased groundwater absorption by the land and more heat absorption as the built environment expands. Zwiers et al. (2013) observed that increased storm frequency

and intensity related to increased variability and climate change, have been exacerbated by local factors, particularly in urban settings such as the increased run-off from hard surfaces, inadequate waste management and silted up drainage. The high density of population and economic activities in urban areas leads to intense anthropogenic heat releases within small spatial scales. These include building heating and cooling systems, mass transportation systems and vehicular traffic, and commercial and residential energy use. Therefore, land use change and urbanisation have influenced the climate in Zimbabwe through changes in surface albedo and hydrological patterns.

Disaster risk experiences in cities of Zimbabwe require an integrated way of tackling climate change. The integration of urban development and climate change has the potential to reduce the cost of emissions that influence urban climates and adaptation that help cities prepare for both slow-onset and extreme events of climate change. It is critical to have an 'integration of information, policies and measures to address climate change into ongoing development planning and decision-making' (Ayers et al. 2014: 293). By integrating climate risk into development programmes and policies cross-sectoral resilience should be promoted; hence, addressing aspects of cities' vulnerability to disasters. However, the effectiveness of climate change specific plans requires strong institutions which are implementing vehicles of ideas (Ayers et al. 2014).

It should also be noted that urban design plays a pivotal role in reducing climate risks. This could be done through paying proper attention to climate-safe siting, energy-conserving building characteristics, and low transportation requirements, which would both limit energy use and also reduce exposure to the possible negative consequences of climate change in low-lying coastal areas or areas prone to flooding (Zhao et al. 2018). Cities need systematic greenhouse gas emissions inventories and emission reduction pathways to prepare mitigation actions. However, diagnosis of climate risks and the vulnerabilities of urban populations and territory is essential.

This chapter also revealed that urban development is a web of systems that require a good understanding of the land's natural, socio-economic and political dimensions. Risk and vulnerability in Zimbabwean cities emanate from a combination of intrinsically linked socio-economic, environmental and political factors. For example, the decline in economic performance in Zimbabwe has had a knock-on effect on all aspects of life and well-being. Instead of weaning populations from overreliance on natural resource-based economies, the rate of exploiting natural resources has increased as a result of the economic decline. The cost of weak natural resource management in Zimbabwe is high, disproportionately affecting the poor who are more likely to depend directly upon resources for their livelihoods. It is of great importance to observe that the boundaries between urban areas and rural areas are porous and there are no distinct lines that separate them. This entails that there are no one-size-fits-all strategies to deal with climate change in urban areas. It should be noted that new spatial and sectoral patterns have emerged along the rural–urban continuum as a consequence of migration, information and production flows. Therefore, the existence of a web of interrelationships, and networks that connect both urban and rural spaces, blurs the distinction between rural and urban spaces.

However, the existing trend of increasing disaster risk in urban areas of Zimbabwe could be limited through adoption of urban land use management processes that offer opportunities to better understand how natural hazards in and around urban areas interrelate with current and future urban growth patterns. It should be noted that reducing disaster risk through urban land use management processes needs long-term systemic thinking that involves inputs from several disciplines as well as across different stakeholders. This chapter has produced rich perceptions on how elements of resilience are central to the manner in which disasters induced by climate change can be managed. For example, it was noted that urban development can manage disasters in cities from policy level, administrative level to implementation level. It is significant to recognise that diverse stakeholders observe risk in different ways and play different roles in shaping risk. This points to the importance of adopting a participatory approach, where various stakeholders are involved in identifying information collected for hazards, exposure and vulnerabilities, and through a process of dialogue, come to a conclusion about risk.

11.6 Conclusion and Way Forward

This chapter has demonstrated that climate change-induced risks and disasters remain an elephant in the room for Zimbabwean cities, towns and growth points. Climate change disasters, such as floods and water-borne diseases, have emanated from poor planning processes and practices amid the spontaneous expansion of cities. It is therefore necessary to integrate a web of systems from policy level, administrative level to implementation level as a way of dealing with climate change risks. The current trend of the increase in disaster risks in cities in Zimbabwe can be reduced by adopting land use management processes for cities, which offer occasions to better understand the natural hazards in cities. In a way to reduce disaster and risks, disaster risk deliberations must be factored into design and execution of instruments for development control.

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Chapter 12
Public Parks and Leisure in the Post-independence Context of Bulawayo City

Nicholas Muleya

Abstract Public parks are an important asset in the promotion of urban public life and in particular human leisure. They are an engine for inclusivity, sustainability, city image building and marketing. However, there has been a realisation that public parks are deteriorating in terms of both quality and quantity. On the other hand, there is a dearth of literature on public space in Zimbabwe, in particular public parks. Based on the case of Bulawayo city, this chapter documents the current state of its two major public parks and identifies challenges, opportunities and prospects for sustainable urban living. In this regard, the study found that the state of the public parks in Bulawayo is worse than it was in the pre-independence era and is thus a displeasure to the users. The study confirms that public parks can be harnessed to bring sustainability in cities and that the leisure perspective to public parks provides a window that can link the design and management of the physical environment in line with the users' aspirations.

Keywords Public parks · Leisure · Sustainability · Human pleasure · Intrinsic motivation

12.1 Introduction and Background

Urban settlements are faced with relatively new sociospatial and environmental issues that have emerged over the last thirty years (Watson 2009: 163). These issues—rapid urbanisation, globalisation, climate change and the ever-changing demands by the urban population—have led to the decline of quality of life. This is happening at a critical time when urban settlements are expected to be "inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable" (Sustainable Development Goal [SDG] 11). Specifically, SDG 11.7 envisages to provide a framework for universal access to safe, inclusive and accessible green and public spaces, especially for women and children, the elderly and people with disabilities by 2030 (UN 2015). Public parks are generally accepted as one

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option to achieve this vision and may also be harnessed to improve urban public life, a high-quality standard of urban life and well-being for all (Gillespies 2007: 4; Lofland 2009: 231; UN-Habitat 2015: 5).

However, there are indications that public parks are dwindling in terms of numbers, quality and sizes (Remigios and Lloyd 2012: 262; Tonnelat 2010: 1) and public life is being privatised, leading to spatial exclusion (Rio 2004: 36), limited provision and restricted access (Urban October Background Paper, 2015: 4). This has led to lifelessness in the public parks (Fainstein 2005: 8). The concern is that the quality and quantity of the public parks continue to decline at a critical time when it is supposed to be harnessed to bring back liveability, inclusivity, resilience and sustainability to the urban settlements. McCormack et al. (2010: 725) argued that:

> Ensuring that parks provide opportunities for participation in different types of activity while serving the needs of different populations will be challenging for local governments and urban developers, yet this approach to planning and design is needed if more people are to be encouraged to use parks.

Despite the realisation that public parks can improve quality of life but that they are in an unfavourable state, only a few studies have been carried out in Zimbabwe to determine their state. No known study has linked public parks and leisure in the post-independence period. According to Muleya and Dube (2019: 175), there is a literature gap regarding the quality of the built environment in Zimbabwe. From a leisure point of view, this chapter contributes to knowledge in this area and contributes to solving the challenging task for local government to ensure that parks provide different opportunities for all. This study was therefore necessary because public parks evolved over time and are increasingly being important in the light of the new sociospatial and environmental issues. This study not only links public parks with leisure, but also highlights parameters that can be employed by governments to understand and subsequently improve the performance of public parks.

This chapter documents the current state of Bulawayo's two major public parks and identifies challenges, opportunities and prospects for sustainable urban living. Through a leisure lens, and in the context of public parks, the study provides a window that can link the design and management of the physical environment to the aspirations of the users. The chapter begins with an introduction of the conceptual issues to be discussed, followed by a literature review on the evaluation of public park performance and leisure. A review of parks in postcolonial Zimbabwe is followed by an evaluation of the performance of public parks in Bulawayo. Finally, conclusions and recommendations are drawn from the findings of the study.

12.2 Conceptual Framework

Konijnendijk et al. (2013: 2) defined *public parks* as "delineated open space areas, mostly dominated by vegetation and water, and generally reserved for public use".

Similarly, Maulan's (2015: 28) definition underscores that urban parks are physically defined, meant for public use and normally characterised by foliage, but also emphasised that parks are meant for human enjoyment, leisure and recreation. Parks create hope for individuals, joy, fulfilment and happiness, its vitality reflects "the soul of the community" and can improve quality of life and well-being (Godbey and Mowen 2010: 3). *Leisure* is not easy to define (Wise 2014: 17) and it has no universally agreed definition (Adesoye and Ajibua 2015: 77; Leitner and Leitner 2012: 3; Wise 2014: 18). Raising a torch on the complexity of the definition, Wise (2014: 18) used an example of fishing: "Depending on how it is used, fishing can mean a leisure practice, a work practice, or something else". Despite the conceptual difficulties, various attempts have been made to attach meaning to leisure. Adesoye and Ajibua (2015: 77–81) described the concept of leisure in relation to time, activity, play, state of mind and work. In terms of time, leisure refers to free or discretionary time (Adesoye and Ajibua 2015: 78). It is "free or unobligated time that does not involve work or performing other life sustaining functions" (Leitner and Leitner 2012: 3; Ngesan et al. 2013: 20). As an activity, leisure refers to "an activity that is freely chosen and pursued for its own sake … oriented towards self-fulfilment or self-expression". These are discretionary activities (Adesoye and Ajibua 2015: 79). Leisure as play is self-explanatory. Leisure as a state of mind relates to the need to recreate to escape stress (Adesoye and Ajibua 2015: 80).

The conceptualisation of the two concepts shows that they are related; in particular, one of the objectives for the development of public parks is the promotion of leisure. The ability for a public park to promote and sustain leisure is one facet that can be used to evaluate the performance of public parks. There are many other facets that can be used to assess the performance of parks as will be highlighted in the next section. These facets are interlinked and directly or indirectly relate to leisure in its four dimensions: leisure as free time, as a state of the mind, as play and as an activity.

12.3 Evaluating the Performance of Public Parks

Various methodologies and tools have been advanced to scientifically evaluate the performance of public space and in particular public parks (Mehta 2014; Muleya and Campbell 2020; Wojnarowska 2016). This study evaluates the performance of public parks in the post-independence era, using parameters that were drawn from an extensive literature review: enhancing the image of and attractiveness of a city, promotion of safety and security, accessibility, supporting education and human health, availability and condition of facilities, human development and social inclusivity, contact with nature or environmental protection and culture and heritage. This is a simple approach that can be used where scientific and large-scale evaluation is not necessary, or prior to, or as supplementary to such scientific and large-scale evaluations.

12.3.1   Image and Attractiveness of a City

Public parks can potentially improve the image of a city (Harvey 2009: 4; Project for
Public Spaces 2012: 1; Wojnarowska 2016: 89). Public spaces, and specifically public
parks, contribute to the urban structure, character and attractiveness of the townscape
(Project for Public Spaces 2012: 1; Wojnarowska 2016: 8) and can reposition, rebrand
and market a city and improve its tourism potential (Harvey 2009: 4).

12.3.2   Promotion of Education and Human Health

They contribute to formal and non-formal education (Lofland 2009: 231), such as
nature education, environmental care, physical education, learning history from parks
and interpretive centres (Ellis and Schwartz 2016: 7). Parks promote human health
(Harvey 2009: 4) by encouraging physical activity (Ellis and Schwartz 2016: 7;
Godbey and Mowen 2010: 3; McCormack et al. 2010: 712). Through sports, public
parks promote youth development in sports and discourage youth from immoral
behaviour such as drugs (Ellis and Schwartz 2016: 3).

12.3.3   Interaction with the Natural Environment

Parks allow urbanites to interact with nature (Remigios and Lloyd 2012: 261) and
their naturalness regulates the adverse effects of climate change (Maulan 2015: 28).
Trees are particularly effective in reducing "local outside temperature with the combi-
nation of shade and evaporative cooling" (Conradie 2018: 58). Natural settings are
restorative (Remigios and Lloyd 2012: 261,266).

12.3.4   Human Development and Social Inclusivity

Public parks promote human, social and economic development (Ellis and Schwartz
2016: 4; UN-Habitat, 2015: 8; Urban October Background Paper 2015: 5). Public
parks also promote social inclusivity (Ellis and Schwartz 2016: 2,4; Ngesan et al.
2013: 620; Rio 2004: 38; Urban October 2015: 3; Willemse 2015: 17), because they
are public, have low user cost and are sometimes free to visit (Godbey and Mowen
2010: 2–3).

12.3.5 Promotion of Culture and Heritage

Through art, music, cultural centres, festivals and history, parks promote local culture and heritage (Ellis and Schwartz 2016: 2; Project for Public Spaces 2008: 26), thus contributing positively to the particularity of a place.

12.3.6 Availability and Condition of Facilities

To successfully promote the role and function of public parks, the availability of facilities or their features and conditions must be satisfactory (Remigios and Lloyd 2012: 261,266; Willemse 2015: 15–18). Facilities include playgrounds, play equipment and facilities, signage, parking, landscaping, trash bins, lighting and paved walkways (Willemse 2015: 27), seats, food and drinks (Shaftoe 2008: 102–115; Willemse 2015: 27), public toilets, public art (Shaftoe 2008: 102–115) and public markets (Project for Public Spaces 2008: 26).

12.3.7 Safety and Security

It is important that public parks are safe (Willemse 2015: 15–18). This is in line with the statement by the Project for Public Space (2012: 7) that a great urban park is a "safety valve for the city". Humans need security for themselves and their possessions; protection from physical harm particularly from cars, people, natural elements and structurally unsound buildings; and psychological security in the form of privacy and a sense of belonging (Lang 2007: 217–221). Butterworth (2000: ii) warned that unused space is perceived as dangerous due to lack of surveillance, the so-called "safety in numbers".

12.3.8 Accessibility

A good public park must be accessible. Parks should be distributed all over the neighbourhoods, providing for ease of reach of parts of the park with minimal barriers and should be accessible most of the time, even by means of public transport (McCormack et al. 2010: 716–723). Accessibility is a property of how easy it is to move through an environment and heavily depends upon the paths and the objects within the space (Bentley et al. 1985: 9). Ease of movement is an important characteristic of successful places, what the Project for Public Spaces (2008: 1) regard as the "getting from here to there dilemma". Public spaces should be connected to each other, easy

to get to and move through, and should prioritise pedestrians over vehicles. Collins (2010: 10) concurred that a quality public space must be universally accessible.

12.3.9 Leisure and Parks

According to Ngesan et al. (2013: 613), leisure and work are competitors for time. Leisure is "not the opposite of work as some people think but the end result of work, it is the right balance between work and rest and can be achieved in both" (Adesoye and Ajibua 2015: 80). The distinction between leisure and work is muddled. For example, enjoyable work such as athletics, music, art and teaching may be confused with leisure, but these can be regarded as work since they are obligatory in nature. Unenjoyable free time activities such as jogging may be confused as working, but represent leisure because they are done voluntarily. Therefore, voluntary activities, whether enjoyable or not, are leisure, while obligatory activities, whether enjoyable or not, are work (Leitner and Leitner 2012: 5). With leisure, people have an intrinsic motivation to participate in a certain activity for its own sake, while with work activity, people have extrinsic motivation to participate in an activity for external rewards (Leitner and Leitner 2012: 6). Considering what Adesoye and Ajibua (2015: 81) called leisure pursuits—recreation and tourism—it can be said that leisure is necessary since it allows workers to recreate outside working hours, which makes them perform better at work. The ability of leisure to promote human physical and mental health and the reciprocal nature of work and leisure lead to human and economic development and subsequently contribute to high quality of life.

Leisure plays an important role in the promotion of human pleasure, happiness, enjoyment and flourishing (Wise 2014: 17). According to Godbey et al. (2005: 152), leisure is "often social and primarily characterised by a feeling of enjoyment, relative freedom and intrinsic motivation". It promotes positive growth in adolescents, reduces deviant behaviour, provides opportunities to socialise, explores and forms their individuality and identity, creative expression, relaxation, recreation and self-development (Adesoye and Ajibua 2015: 77–78). Leisure contributes to human physical, psychological and mental well-being and promotes social inclusion, personal growth and satisfaction as well as economic and environmental advantages (Trujillo 2007: 15). According to Adesoye and Ajibua (2015: 77):

> A well adaptation to leisure-centred life could help individuals experience good life. It has been espoused that what is done in free hours has great effects on the growth and development of individuals and by extension, the nation.

It is necessary to note that leisure is not always associated with positive connotations. According to Leitner and Leitner (2012: 8), leisure refers to "free or unobligated time, time during which individuals might choose to participate in positive, beneficial activities, or negative detrimental ones". People are free to choose what to do during their leisure time, which according to Leitner and Leitner (2012), can be positive or negative. Adesoye and Ajibua (2015: 79) warned that "unlimited, unorganised and

undirected leisure hours are dangerous to society". Given the likely negative effects of unlimited leisure time and compared to the effects of minimal leisure time during the Industrial Revolution, Trujillo's (2007: 11) assertion that work and leisure must be balanced, is relevant. Although leisure does not necessarily need to be purely "organised and directed" since people are supposed to choose their leisure pursuits, something needs to be done to influence constructive leisure. Choice of leisure time and activities is influenced by gender, education, culture, social class, religion and the environment (Adesoye and Ajibua 2015: 78). According to Godbey et al. (2005: 152), the same factors can be classified into personal, interpersonal and structural factors. While the personal and interpersonal factors may be difficult to influence directly through place-making, authorities can potentially influence the "environment", which is structural, by creating attractive opportunities for leisure, which opportunities are affordable, accessible and promote constructive leisure.

As stated by Godbey and Mowen (2010: 1,3): "As leisure has taken increased value in contemporary society so have services of parks" and leisure in parks "is now part of life". The design of parks is an important factor which influences urban leisure (Ngesan et al. 2013: 619), However, "[d]efining the right mix of recreational amenities in an urban park system is not easy" (Ellis and Schwartz 2016: 4). Furthermore, and as highlighted in the introduction and background of this chapter (12.1), urbanisation and changing lifestyle expectations, among other contemporary changes, calls for innovative ways to promote a high quality of life. Ngesan et al. (2013: 360) suggested that parks should be enlarged, but this chapter pays attention to more than just the size, but rather the ability to sustain leisure in the post-independence city of Bulawayo, Zimbabwe. The analysis is motivated by the revelation that public parks in the Zimbabwean post-independence city are deteriorating, which is a significant concern.

12.4 An Overview of Public Parks in Postcolonial Zimbabwe

Most public parks in Zimbabwean cities were developed during the colonial era, while many smaller urban settlements such as Plumtree, Beitbridge and Gwanda, remain without formally established public parks till today. The literature suggests that the state of the main parks in cities is deplorable in Zimbabwe, for example Gweru and Harare. In their article, *Urban Parks: An abandoned priority—The case of Civic Centre Gardens in Gweru City, Zimbabwe,* Remigios and Lloyd (2012: 261), highlighted as follows:

> The case of Civic Centre Gardens in Gweru City in Zimbabwe, which used to be a sanctuary, have become an eye sore. The garden has lost aesthetic and therapeutic values due to a number of factors which include general neglect … The deterioration is largely blamed on economic challenges that were experienced in Zimbabwe between 1999 and 2009.

Acknowledging the same deplorable state of Harare Parks, Gandawa (2020: 5) called for the restoration of the Africa Unity Square and the Harare Gardens in Harare. In line with the importance of public parks presented earlier in this chapter, Gandawa (2010: 4) appreciated the role of public space in the following words:

> Public space, parks in particular, should be at the heart of the City. Beyond improving the aesthetics of the city, parks provide opportunities for social interaction in relaxed environments and affords an opportunity to escape from the intense activity of the city, explore, exercise and enjoy gardens for residents of densified housing.

The foregoing shows that most public parks are neglected, while they are a very important asset. Besides the economic situation, parks are not directly profitable in terms of financial returns on investment (Ellis and Schwartz 2016), which may be one reason why the local governments are not investing in the development of new parks and the maintenance of existing parks in Zimbabwe. However, as espoused at the beginning of this chapter, parks have a considerable return on investment which is non-financial and unquantifiable in terms of social, environmental, health and human pleasure benefits. Because public parks are also public goods, Cloete and Yusuf (2018: 36) warned that public space should be "be viewed as a basic service such as transport and sanitation". The development and maintenance of parks is a function of government (Godbey etal. 2005: 151), and in particular, the central and local government in Zimbabwe.

Given the importance of public parks, what is shocking is not only their state but also that there is a dearth in literature pertaining to public space in Zimbabwe. Muleya and Dube (2019: 175) raised the concern:

> [t]here is dearth in literature on the quality of the built environment, in particular public space improvements. Investigations specifically targeted towards the public space, image or physical appearance … and the beauty of cities is absent in Zimbabwe.

In light of the foregoing background, the next section pays attention to two public parks in Bulawayo.

12.5   Public Parks and Leisure in Bulawayo: Challenges, Opportunities and Prospects

The City of Bulawayo is a secondary city of Zimbabwe after the capital city, Harare. It was established in 1893, acquired municipality status in 1897 and city status in 1943. The city had a total population of 653,337 in 2012 (Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency 2012: 12). The city's population growth rate has been on the decline over the past five decades (Mbiba and Ndubiwa 2009: 92). Figure 12.1 shows its location.

This section pays attention to major parks in Bulawayo, namely Central Park and Centenary Park, the two of which are located adjacent and on the eastern side of the central business district, the former on the southern side of Leopold Takawira Avenue and the latter on the northern side of the same avenue.
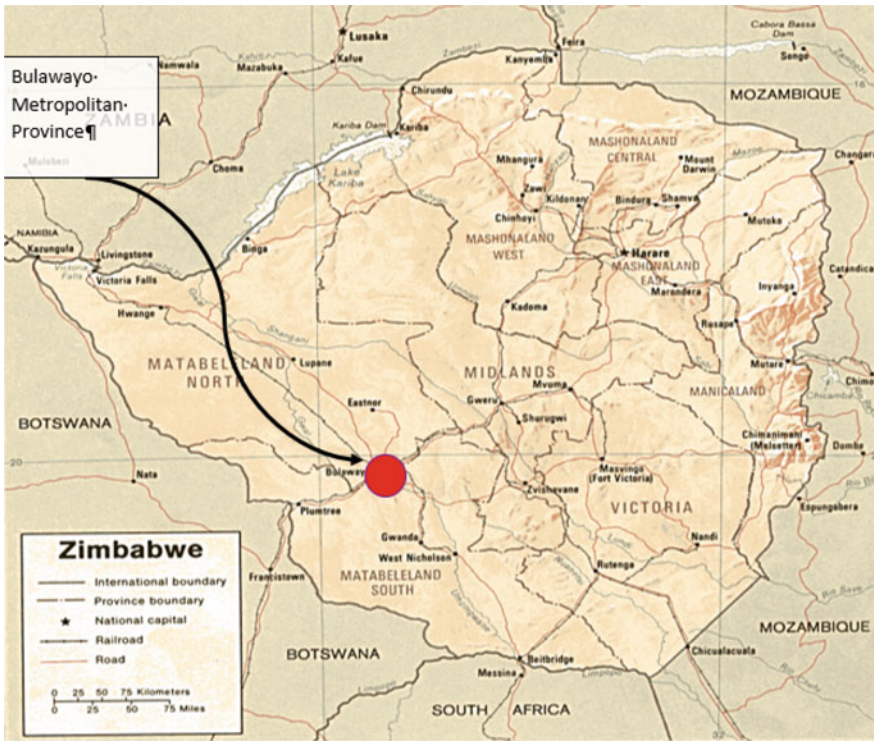
Fig. 12.1   Location of the Bulawayo city in Zimbabwe (from Mapsland 1982)

12.6   Results

Drawing from the foregoing, and in particular the ability of public parks to support outdoor leisure, the evaluation of the two public parks is categorised into the following categories or performance factors: image of the city, safety, accessibility, human activities (passive and active engagement), culture heritage and identity, inclusivity, environmental protection and benefits from nature, availability and condition of facilities and health and education.

The performance factors do not correspond directly with the parameters discussed in the literature review since they are also a product of the themes that emerged from the findings of the study. It is expected that if these public park performance factors are met, leisure and other related benefits are automatically promoted. However, the parameters or categories are neither mutually exclusive nor exhaustive.

Amphitheatre, Centenary Park   Natural History Museum, Centenary Park

Fig. 12.2 Important buildings in the parks (Author's own 2019)

12.6.1   Image and attractiveness of Bulawayo

The two parks are located strategically in relation to Leopold Takawira Avenue (the Beitbridge–Bulawayo highway) and the First Street (the Harare–Bulawayo highway). The two parks are therefore a welcoming feature to the city of Bulawayo and contribute considerably to the first impression of visitors in terms of the image and attractiveness of Bulawayo. Remigios and Lloyd (2012: 261) contended that people do not necessarily have to enter into a park in order to derive enjoyment from it; people may enjoy it from the road, and those staying adjacent to the parks may experience the scenography from their homes. The Amphitheatre, the Natural History Museum (Fig. 12.2), the water fountain and the green landscape contribute to the scenography and attractiveness of the city. The two parks also form a seamless transition from the central business district to the low-density area. However, the deplorable state of the parks and the presence of robbers and muggers (as discussed 12.6.2) undermines the attractiveness of Bulawayo to both visitors and resident users.

12.6.2   Safety

Areas of safety concerns include the presence of street kids, thieves and robbers; the bushy nature of Centenary Park and safety threatening plants. Park users lamented that one safety challenge in the parks emanates from street kids and the homeless who usually snatch people's bags, even during daylight. It was observed that some of the street kids live in Centenary Park, particularly in the bushy herbal garden where they have set up shanty structures. It would seem as if the presence of the homeless brings a sense of negative perceived safety in alignment with Ndlovu's (2015: 177–178) lamentation that the neglected herbal garden has been observed to be a haven for the homeless who are perceived by many users as dangerous. The robberies happen despite the presence of the Zimbabwe Republic police officers who patrol the parks. The missing "safety in numbers" (Butterworth 2000: ii) explained

Fallen branch after a storm, Centenary Park   Thorny plants, Centenary Park
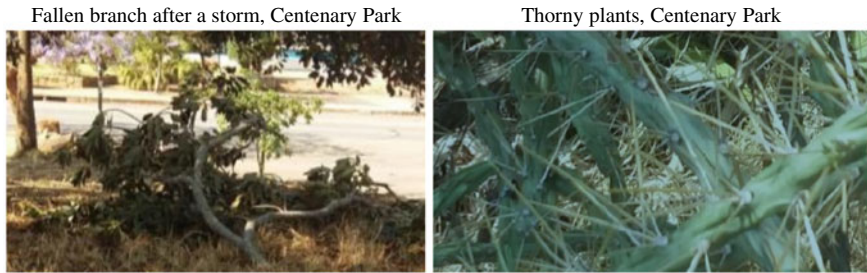
Fig. 12.3 Sensory threatening plants (Author's own 2019)

why the underutilised Centenary Park is less safe compared to the more convivial counterpart, the Central Park.

Although most users are assured that there is no dangerous fauna, including snakes, in the parks, the unmanaged forest landscape, especially at Centenary Park, gives an impression of a negative safety perception to the users. Drawing from observation and complaints by some users, swarms of ants disturb their joy by biting them and the uncomfortable movement on their skin. The ants were observed to interrupt students during their schoolwork in the parks.

This was cited as a management issue that used not to happen in the pre-independence era when the park was better managed, in particular with regular spraying poison against ants.

The minimal vehicular traffic into the parks makes them safe. However, the lack of vehicular traffic control on the busy Leopold Takawira Avenue that separates the two parks is said and observed to be a threat since users have a tendency to cross from one park to the other. Safety threatening plants exist in Centenary Park in the form of branches falling from old trees, and thorny trees are dangerous, especially for children (Fig. 12.3). The need for protection from the physical harm from vehicles, people, natural elements and structurally unsound buildings (Lang 2007: 221) is an important need for physical and psychological comfort. Great urban parks are supposed to be "safety valves for the city" (Project for Public Spaces 2012: 7) and the findings of this study revealed that it was not the case with Bulawayo public space.

12.6.3 Accessibility

The most disturbing accessibility barrier throughout the two parks is the multiple stepped entrances, uneven pathways, pronounced change of levels, the underfoot discontinuity into and within the parks which serve as barriers to the visually impaired and those confined to a wheelchair. The worst scenario is the accessibility to the Central Park where all the entrances are either kerbed or stepped such that people flow, especially for the disabled, is a challenge. It was observed that the old, tired

and sick have a challenge navigating into and through the non-inclusive multi-step entrances and uneven pathways. The informants admitted that this was a big challenge and they pointed out that during weddings, people in wheelchairs are carried over the steps by relatives or friends because this is a necessary function. One user, who claimed to visit the parks at least three times a week, highlighted that he has never seen someone in a wheelchair in the park and has never seen the visually impaired using the parks for optional activities or recreational activities, but only as beggars. In terms of ease of movement for all, the state of the public space is bad and is contrary to the assertion "that spaces must be connected to each other, easy to get around and move through and shall prioritise pedestrians" (Project for Public Spaces 2008: 1).

In Central Park, it has been observed that users usually prefer shortcuts by taking natural pathways outside the planned, defined and sometimes surfaced routes because the former provides straight and shorter routes to their localised or external destinations. Drawing from this walking behaviour, users prefer shortcuts (routes diagonal to the grid) and rarely the geometrical grid routes. They use routes where the routes coincide with straight lines, for example gate-to-gate or magnet facility to magnet facility. People were also observed to pass through the parks to their different destinations by using the route with the notice "No road, trespassers will be prosecuted" because there is no longer tight security like it was during the pre-independence period. According to Ellis and Schwartz (2016: 8), the presence of shortcuts is good for everyone, especially the poor because it encourages walking and cycling and discourages the need for driving. Therefore, deliberately and carefully located shortcuts for users through and within the parks are necessary both for convenience and to encourage physical activity.

12.6.4   Human Activities (Passive and Active Engagement)

Observed ordinary and/or stationary activities include sitting, meditation, reading, smoking, drinking, lying on the lawn, phoning, fasting, reading a Bible and playing with phones. Other activities include eating, whistling, rushing, talking, laughing, hugging and lovemaking, buying and selling and socialising. These activities are kind of passive engagement. Facilities that evoke active engagement also exist in the parks and these were deliberately designed to support an active lifestyle, such skateboards and children's play equipment (Fig. 12.4), miniature trains (Fig. 12.5) and a stage. However, most of the facilities were either not functional at all or partially functional. The observed result is multisensory deprivation because these important activities are not only of an active engagement nature but can positively evoke the visual, the sonic and the tactile sense. Therefore, despite the presence of the facilities, their condition cannot support active engagement, which according to Mastuoka and Kaplan (2007: 11–12), is a necessary requirement. In Centenary Park, male adults were seen playfully jumping around rockery steps—the steps, the height and the natural looking terrain seemed to encourage jumping up and down. The fountain and

a&b) Playground equipment, Centenary Park

c) Adults interacting with a tree, Central Park   d) Playing on an old vehicle, Centenary Park

Fig. 12.4 Interacting with outdoor physical elements (Author's own 2019)

Miniature railway station   Miniature railway line

Fig. 12.5 Miniature railway line depicting the Bulawayo rail heritage (Author's own 2019)

its surroundings have attracted many social activities such as wedding activities in Central Park.

The swimming pool is one important facility that promotes physical activity through recreational swimming, competitive swimming, lifesaving, garden weddings, baptisms, spinning, jumping gymnastics in water, diving and water polo. Other important games are triathlon and synchronised swimming which involve a marathon, cycling and swimming, as well as artistic swimming accompanied by music, dance and gymnastics. In 2014, the swimming bath hosted the swimming and diving competitions of the National Youth Games. Specialists from universities and colleges and police sub-aqua and support unit in swimming and sports train at the bath, while people recovering from stroke practice hydrotherapy in the bath. Others bring their own lifeguards for private swimming lessons. In their paddling pool, children were seen to be happy, laughing and screaming, playing in water, kicking and splashing water and dancing in the water. It seems that the swimming pool is an important facility for recreational, therapeutic effects, physical fitness and promotion of a healthy lifestyle, encouraging a playful mood and promoting life-saving skills in cases of water accidents. It was observed that the pool is one of the best stimulant activities in the parks for people from all walks of life. It further seems that the swimming pool allows people and children in particular to discover their sporting potential. However, the use of the swimming pool is restricted since a few cents' payments are expected to gain access.

Trees were observed to be an important stimulant of physical activity. Figure 12.4c shows an adult male who is playfully climbing a tree with a slanting branch, while his companion was taking photos. Some users were observed to be playfully pulling tree branches and hanging on horizontal branches. This was possible for short trees because they are scaled to the human height. Wedding couples were also observed playing an informal game known as *kuwandirana* (playfully hiding from each other) behind trees and interacting around a Y-shaped tree trunk. Other observations were photographers taking advantage of different tree shapes; a dead tree root used as a background for photographing; wedding couples sitting on a tree stump singing and ululating as they celebrate their marriage. These human behaviours demonstrate how far the need for human contact with nature can go.

Moreover, trees and forests play an important social and leisure role further to what is documented by Ellis and Schwartz (2016: 6), Conradie (2018: 58) and Maulan (2015: 28). However, the observed interaction between users and plants is against Section 18 of the Bulawayo Protection of Lands and Natural Resource By-laws (City of Bulawayo 1975), which spells out that "no person shall … climb up or upon … any tree, shrub, brushwood, turf, fruit, flower or plant". The protection of plants is a good habit although this study contended that the prohibition for tree-climbing conflicts with the human preference to satisfy human enjoyment.

The above-mentioned human preference for active engagement is consistent with Friedman (2014: 86) who argued that the built environment should be "exercise machines for all ages". This need is demonstrated through games in the swimming pool and playground equipment in Centenary Park. Humans also prefer to actively interact with nature and thus should be afforded the opportunity to do so. In light

of the existing laws, an option may be a balance wherein some parts of the parks are for playing with the trees or on the turf being acceptable. In this regard, strong and multi-shaped plants can be introduced to evoke creative play and hammocks. In case of turf, the planting of resistant types may promote human multisensory pleasure. The various games at the swimming pool showed that the public space can be innovatively used to support human life and existence.

There are other unacceptable activities that public park users turn away from, for example public drinking, open urinating, indecent and offensive behaviour by couples. It was pointed out that the youth engage in sexual activities, alcohol drinking and drugging in the parks, taking advantage of secluded spaces, the dusk and where there is minimal human presence. The situation was worse at Centenary Park. Trace evidence such as empty beer bottles and used condoms attest to the activities in secluded areas.

12.6.5 Culture, Heritage and Identity

Many park users are disturbed by the deteriorating miniature railway facilities in Central Park, not only because it stands as a physical sign of neglect but also because it is an emotional sign of the deterioration of the symbolic Bulawayo railway heritage and identity (Fig. 12.5).

Through public art and inscriptions, the public parks are telling the history and identity of Bulawayo. The monument in memory of Ederick Lendy in Centenary Park is one example of such an inscription (Fig. 12.6a), while the sculpture of Cecil John Rhodes next to the Natural History Museum and a sun clock (Fig. 12.6c) are examples of public art, all telling the history of Bulawayo. The Natural History Museum provides a lot of history about Bulawayo and Zimbabwe in general.

The elephant is the most dominant form of art in the public parks. An elephant sculpture is at one of the main portals for Centenary Park, on either side on pillars (Fig. 12.6d). The animal is also part of the Council logo in mosaic (pictorial form) placed at the main entrance of Central Park where it stands as a welcoming feature into the fountain and the rest of the park. One explanation of the meaning of the elephant is that it is the historical emblem of King Lobengula Khumalo. In alignment with the Bulawayo City Council's motto, *"Si Ye Pambili"* meaning "we go forward", the elephant was interpreted to indicate that nothing can stop the Council from achieving its goals, just like the elephant will bulldoze through its way. However, many users who were interviewed did not understand the meaning of the dominant elephant sculpture and other sculptures. Furthermore to Palmer et al.'s (2013: 94) concept of perceptual fluency, the findings of this study showed that people prefer to interact with sculpture or artworks that they understand and that evoke positive memories.

It would seem as if a lack of understanding affected the users' perception, and subsequently resulted in a negative impact on people's identity and ownership of the sculptures, and their preference for certain artworks.

a) Monument in memory of Charles Ederick
Lendy, Centenary Park

b) Elephant sculpture at one gate,
Centenary Park

c) Horticultural art and a sun clock, Central Park

d) Artisic rockeries, Centenary Park

Fig. 12.6 Public art in the parks (Author's own 2019)

Traditional culture is presented through the Ehloseni Arts ensemble at their grass thatched premises within the Centenary Park. They meet every Thursday and Tuesday at 1500 hours to rehearse and practice traditional dance and songs using instruments such as *hosho*, drums, *mbira* and *marimba*. They also hold their annual culture night at the venue. The ensemble provides entertainment in different events such as public gatherings, meetings, conferences and national events. Different songs for different purposes, for example the *Jikinya* festival; *mtshongoyo, majukwa*; *Intwasa* festivals; *ukungenisa umuntu ekhaya*; or presidential functions. The centre also does research on traditional dances and songs, they hold workshops in schools where they teach dances and songs according to the new syllabus for primary and secondary schools. They also produce musical instruments such as the *marimba, mbira* and *drums* on their own, to sell to individuals and schools. They also intend to run the centre as a traditional and cultural museum where they will exhibit cultural dances and operate as a school of arts. Both users with urban and rural backgrounds enjoy the music, dance and cultural activities while in the parks.

It is important to note that the benefits emanating from the centre are not only localised within the park. The benefits are spread to gatherings, events and schools inside and outside the greater Bulawayo. It provides not only a traditional and culture

taste but also has an intellectual contribution. As will be discussed later, traditional plants of medicinal value similarly contribute to local culture.

12.6.6   Inclusivity

As discussed under accessibility, the visually impaired, the disabled, the sick and the old may be excluded from the parks due to physical barriers. The immoral character of the youth and the negatively perceived sense of safety naturally exclude other users of the public parks. Most users of the public parks dislike the presence of the homeless, street kids, street adults (largely mentally disordered) and people in miserable states, some of whom were seen lying on the grass in apparent agony, and dirty beggars since they consider them to be a source of insecurity. Their perception is in line with the findings of Ndlovu (2015: 177–178) that the homeless in the Centenary Park herbal garden are muggers, criminals and murderers. However, some of these disliked people may not be bad people. Philanthropic users do not hate them but feel pity for them to the extent that their park enjoyment is affected. The result is that "certain groups are discouraging others" (Willemse and Donaldson 2012: 223; Mehta 2014: 54) in the use of public parks leading to exclusivity. This is happening despite the call for inclusivity in the New Urban Agenda and Sustainable Goal 11, and the view that public space is a "poor man's living room" (Urban October 2015: 3).

The homeless spend most of their time in the parks (day and night); however, they are the least wanted and they enjoy the park least because most of the time they are foraging, and are in a miserable state (unhealthy, old clothes, unhappy, looking hungry, worried and in apparent agony). This finding raises a torch on some of the practical challenges that authorities meet as they attempt to make cities, and in particular public parks, inclusive. If inclusivity is to be achieved, a way needs to be forged to deal with this group of people without depriving them their rights to the city and to the public space.

12.6.7   Environmental Protection and Benefits from Nature

The public parks are located at the banks of the Matsheumhlope River. The vegetative state of the parks, and through plants seem to stabilise the soil at the banks and reduce incidents of floods by flattening the storm hydrograph. The two parks were designed to include biodiversity. Figure 12.7 shows artificial habitats for ducks, rabbits and birds and a natural habitat for birds. The seniors insist that during the pre-independence era, birds and different animals used to make Centenary Park interesting and livelier.

No diversity of animals and birds currently exists, except for a small number of birds, lizards, butterflies and frogs. The crowns (*amawabayi* in Ndebele) and doves

Natural and artificial habitat (ducks, nests)   Natural habitat (bird nests), Centenary Park

Artificial habitat (bird aviary, Centenary Park   Mimicry of natural rabit habitat,
                                                                                      Centenary Park
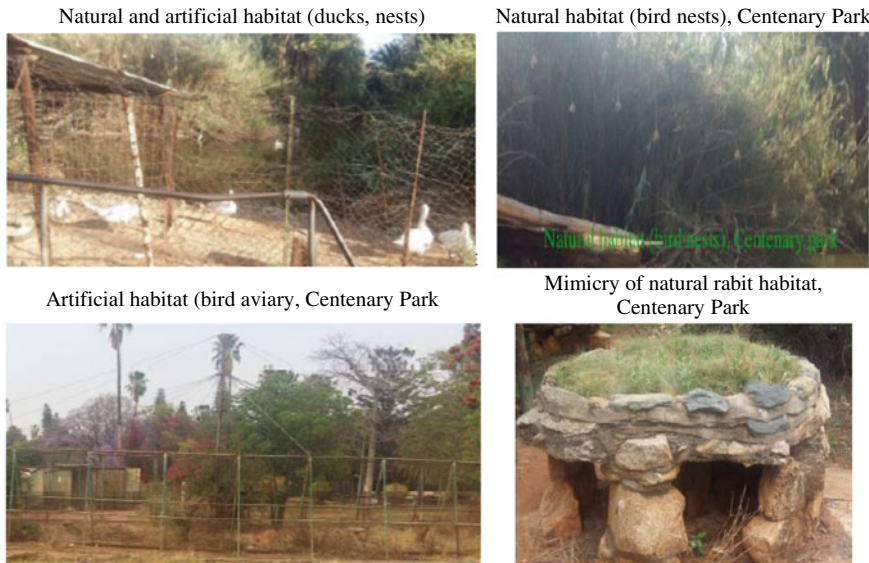
Fig. 12.7 Animal habitat in Centenary Park (Author's own 2019)

are the most dominant birds in the parks. One older adult, in admiration pointed out that in the pre-independence era, the park used to be very interesting with a diversity of wild sounds, views and other sensory stimulations from the bird aviary, the caged snakes and some animals roaming around the park.

The two parks provide plants in the form of trees, shrubs, lawn, hedges and natural grass. This is in line with the definition of urban parks that singles out vegetation or foliage as the most important component of parks (Konijnendijk et al 2013: 12; Maulan 2015: 28). However, the horticultural and arboriculture landscape had deteriorated to an unmanaged bush, especially Centenary Park, with some old, dead or patchy trees, or no lawn and dead grass during the dry season. Detailed observation and interview with users have found that there were no significant or distinctive natural smells from plants. Even without distinctive good smells, users expressed preference for natural or neutral fresh outdoor smell in the parks, which is a "relief from the home smells such as shampoo, soap, toilet chemicals among other artificial smells". Besides the indirect health benefits of plants, it was observed that people, including the homeless, were harvesting edible fruits from trees such as syringa, *umnyi, muhuyu* (fig tree), *umganu* (marula, including nuts), *umbumbulu* and mulberry.

One interesting finding of the study is the existence of trees of traditional medicinal value in the Centenary Park herbal garden and their preference by people. These include *umbandatshatsha, intongazabafazi, iqololenkonyana, umhugugu, ibhanda; umalasangwani; isihaqa, isikhukhukhu* and *iqololenkonyane.* Roots, barks and leaves are used for different ailments such as influenza, male sexual challenges, cleansing

the stomach and strengthening the human body and, particularly, the muscles. Some respondents expressed an outcry over the current unprotected nature of the herbal garden, citing challenges such as extinction of herbs, free usage and selling without maintaining the trees, and likely abuse of the medicines by the youth, particularly those that promote sexual health, leading to social problems. The planting of the trees was a deliberate initiative by the Zimbabwe National Traditional Healers Association that was motivated by the need to preserve trees of medicinal significance.

The foregoing preference for natural foodstuffs of nutritional and medicinal value underlines the deliberate need to grow such important trees. The conclusion is in line with Roe et al. (2016: 757) who recently insinuated that foodscapes are not confined to catering, restaurants and hospitality functions, but includes the landscape for urban foragers (in parks and woodlands) for medicinal herbs and food.

12.6.8 Availability and Condition of Facilities

The two parks are furnished with a number of facilities; however, most of the facilities are now in a state of disrepair. Detailed observational studies have shown that the state of disrepair and neglect for most individual buildings, electricity poles, streetlights, bollards, paved car parks, seats and tables in both parks, railway tracks, bird aviary, children's play equipment, signage, the herbal garden, the sailing pool and two small water fountains in Centenary Park have negatively contributed to the overall visual quality of the two parks. During interviews, it became clear that all the users were disgruntled with the visual state of the deteriorating outdoor elements, especially in Centenary Park.

The two water features, the fountain and the swimming pool seemed to positively support human leisure through multisensory interaction (Fig. 12.8). Users were observed to gather around the fountain, some just sat watching the fountain water as it sprinkles upwards, using the fountain as a background for photographs and weddings. At the swimming pool, people enjoyed different activities as previously described. The two water features promoted conviviality in Central Park. The findings on the human preference for water seem to suggest that the users liked water
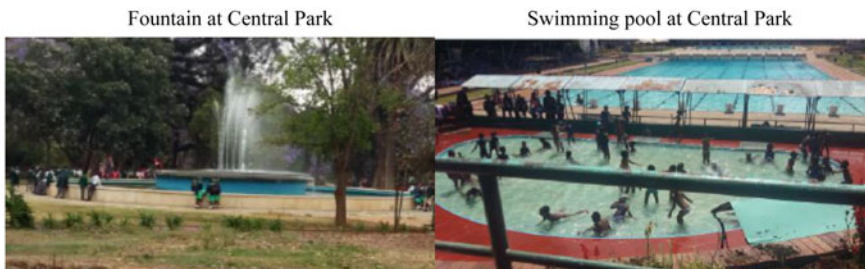

Fig. 12.8 Human interaction with water features (Author's own 2019)

in motion, assuming diverse shapes and heights. It would seem as if water in motion was more stimulating compared to stagnant water. Stagnant water, on the other hand, is a potential habitat for wildlife. Therefore, water in any form, stagnant or in motion, gives a good multisensory experience.

Observation has shown that informative views in the parks include notices, direction and regulatory signs, inscription for building and park names and inscriptions on monuments. All the users appreciated the importance of regulations given through notices. However, the dominance of negative terms like "do not", "prosecuted" and "prohibited" sounds unfriendly and visually threatening and are interpreted as over-regulation by some users. They expected that in addition to these signs, other visually inviting and friendly signs may be introduced such as "This is clean water, you may drink it" or "you may lie or walk on the lawn", "this is your park" (shown in one of the signs), are welcoming and visually comforting statements. Figure 12.9 does not only show the text but also the deteriorating signage.

Food in the parks was provided through a tuckshop, the Bulawayo Club, the Natural History Museum and from the vendors. The food and drinks supply did not satisfy user expectations in terms of diversity, convenience and quality such they had to bring from to the parks or had to visit the central business district for food which they found to be inconveniencing. Users proposed the setting up of a conveniently located cafeteria for selling light refreshments and fresh food such as chips, snacks, fast foods, burgers, coffee and hot dogs, which food products were not available at the time of the study. The eating environment in terms of seats, water supply, toilets and litter bins were also not adequate. The seats were not only adequate for eating and other leisure activities, but most were in a deplorable and unusable state (Fig. 12.10). The two parks, in particular Centenary Park, were dirty, largely from food remains and disposable containers. Therefore, the food supplies and the eating environments, what Roe et al. (2016: 757–758) called "foodscapes", were inadequate in both parks.

Fig. 12.9 Signage and notices in the public parks (Author's own 2019)

a) Metal seat with rounded bars   b) Metal seats – flat bars

c) Wooden seats with concrete support on the side   d) Brick seats with concrete surface

Fig. 12.10 Formal public seats in the public parks (Author's own 2019)

Previous literature has also pointed to the need for eateries and drinkeries in the urban parks (McCormack et al. 2010: 716–723; Project for Public Space 2008:26; Willemse 2015: 15–18).

The contention of this chapter is that food sale points are necessary to conveniently afford users with fresh, diverse and healthy food products. Such introduction of sale points needs to be done alongside the improvements of the parks from all sensory perspectives to attract more users and thus make the sale points economic. The argument is based on the view that a high-quality public space brings "commercial success" (Koray 1999: 12). More users will also mean more natural surveillance that will not only guard against littering, but also make it economic to establish more bins in many parts of the parks. Food supply aside, the study found that food ingestion cannot be separated from the need for clean water supply, litter bins, toilets, seats and shade and eating surroundings that do not present a nuisance from all sensory perspectives, which are the major components that make up what Muleya and Campbell (2020: 59) calls a "gustatory setting".

The study found that the deplorable state of the physical infrastructure, facilities and the horticultural landscape is the primary source of exclusion. This state of affairs has led to limited natural surveillance as many people are no longer attracted to the parks, which natural surveillance continued to be undermined as the parks are occupied by people for wrong reasons such as sexual activity, indecent play and drinking by youth, thuggery and mugging. As such, safety threatening activities and increase of perpetrators, continued to be repel users especially in Centenary Park, which is increasingly considered to be dangerous. The condition of the parks

has also affected the image and attractiveness of Bulawayo especially that they are located in full view from two major highways where they are expected to present a first and lasting impression of the city. After comparing the pre-independence and current condition of the parks, two old adults (one white and one black) bemoaned the deterioration of the two parks and in particular Centenary Park. The white adult pointed out that his friends and relatives who used to visit the two parks before and immediately after independence from Europe, no longer do so because the park is no longer intact.

12.6.9   Health and Education

The two public parks contribute positively to human education and health. For example, the swimming pool does not only promote physical and mental health, a curative role like hydrotherapy, but also promotes physical training, practice and sports. Life-saving is an important activity learnt from the swimming pool. Through play equipment, children do physical exercise, learn new games and interact with peers. The traditional medicine and fruits from plants promote human health. The parks offer informal lessons through the plants, the history inscribed on the monuments, public art, the birds and animals. However, their effectiveness as teaching instruments is dwindling with the deteriorating state of the parks. As discussed, the Ehloseni Arts ensemble contributes to cultural education, both formally and informally, and to health, both by promoting physical activity through dance and the provision of traditional food (including traditional beer) during functions. The Amphitheatre, the Natural History Museum and the Bulawayo theatre promote various educational and social activities. A good example is the Carols by Candlelight and the Mayor's Cheer Fund event that happens annually during the festive season at the Amphitheatre.

Informal learning also involves learning from others by mere observing or through peer pressure, for example learning the good about weddings in one's life. However, the parks also present bad lessons for children by allowing and providing a breeding ground for immoral activities. Previous literature suggests that the use of parks is likely to positively occupy the youth such that they would not engage in bad leisure habits (Ellis and Schwartz 2016: 3). However, if not well-managed, parks can yield unexpected bad results as is the case of Bulawayo.

One centre of education known as TS Matabele is located in Centenary Park. It trains young boys and girls as cadets to develop skills in watermanship, discipline, radio communications, traffic control, map and compass reading, ropes and knots and sailing. Equally important, they are trained in life skills as basic first aid, basic fire prevention, life-saving skills, leadership skills and teamwork. The value of the trainings is not localised to the parks but is important for the avoidance or management of human suffering (pain and death) in case of accidents, fire or drowning. The youth training on cycling and traffic laws by the Zimbabwe Safety Traffic Council at Centenary Park has the same positive effect that is not only localised to the parks. In

this case, children learn traffic rules practically and this avoids accidents; unnecessary panic and death that has led to both physical and emotional injury. The TS Matabele cadets who are based at Centenary Park are allowed to train as life-saving guards and undertaking recreational swimming free of charge because they are considered helpful to the Bulawayo community when it comes to events such as preparation for games, functions and raising flags.

12.7 Discussion

Five important points can be derived from the results. First, the public park performance factors (including promotion of leisure as a factor) are an interconnected web with one factor contributing to or depending on others. "Safety" for example, can be used to illustrate this point. The unfortunate condition of the park facilities repels users, leading to abandonment and occupation by delinquents, thus compromising safety. The lack of safety perpetuates itself as more people will be unwilling to visit the parks leading to social exclusion. Those who are excluded will therefore be deprived of chances such as leisure, education, health, culture and heritage. Even those who continue to visit the park will not find them enjoyable due to minimal human presence and fear.

Second, leisure pursuits and opportunities can be introduced into public parks in order to attract people so that they can enjoy other park benefits. Figure 12.11 shows the interconnected relationship among the park performance factors, their contribution to the public park environment (inside a blue circular band) and the prominence of leisure opportunities (the blue circular band). The planning, design and management of public parks should be such that the leisure opportunities are known, can be seen or experienced from a distance, or strangers hear about such opportunities. This way, people get attracted and volunteer to use the parks; thus, enjoying leisure benefits and some hidden benefits consciously or unconsciously. This reason is based on the argument that leisure is driven by intrinsic motivation, relative freedom and a feeling of enjoyment (Leitner and Leitner 2012: 6).

Third, public parks/leisure do not only promote a high quality of life but have life-giving and therapeutic benefits. As demonstrated in the results Sect. (12.6), this is done through the promotion of human health and training (TS Matabele, for example) in life skills. Fourth, the results showed that both positive and negative effects emanating from parks, are felt outside the parks and thus influence the day-to-day community life. Two important examples include productivity and the societal role of life-saving cadets trained in the parks. Finally, it must be emphasised that the parks/leisure play an important societal role that deserves more attention.
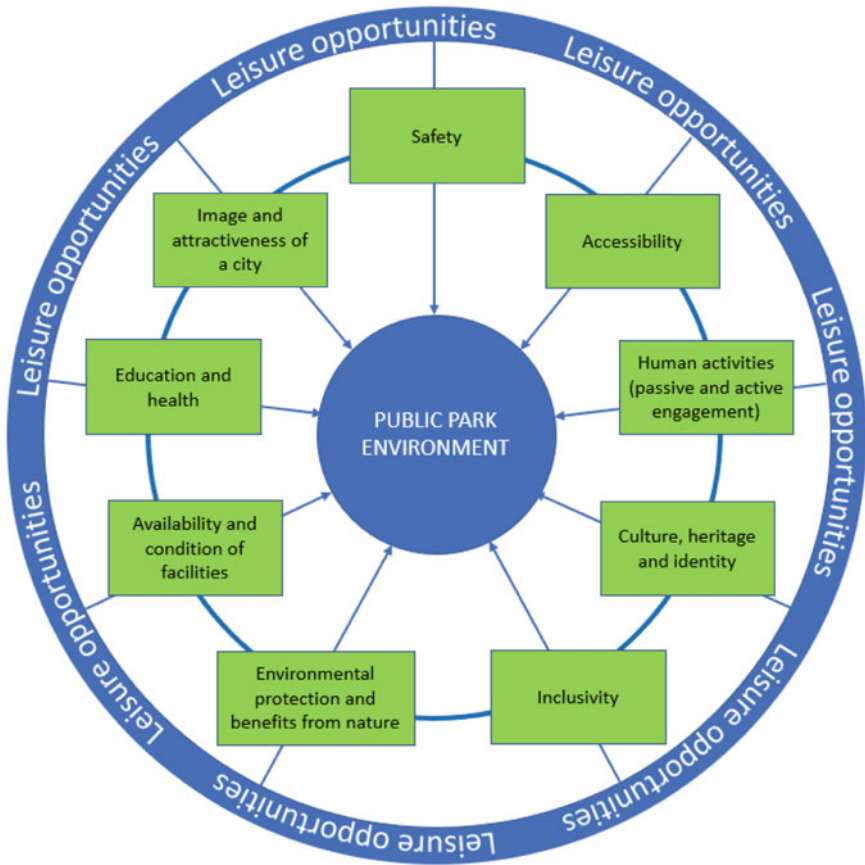
Fig. 12.11 Interconnected relationship among leisure opportunities, public park performance factors and the public park environment (Author's own 2020)

12.8   Conclusion and Recommendations

Public parks can potentially support leisure and other related benefits. The concept of leisure was used as a lens in assessing the potential of the two major public parks in promoting a better quality of life for citizens. The approach is based on the realisation of the relationship between work and leisure and subsequently productivity; the ability of "leisure" to link humans to the physical environment, thus promoting the quality of public parks; the ability of parks to promote constructive leisure and ability of both leisure and parks in promoting inclusivity and sustainability. Leisure, whether as time, as a state of the mind, as play or in relation to work, has a direct bearing on productivity. The promotion of leisure has social, physical and psychological effects that benefit work and, consequently, economic development. Some activities such as

swimming competitions in the swimming pool and cultural activities at Ehloseni are both work and leisure since they are both obligatory and voluntary.

The definition of leisure provides a window to link the park users and the physical environment, thus promoting the quality of public parks. The important terms prominent in the definitions and role of leisure are human pleasure, human enjoyment, intrinsic motivation, voluntary, discretionary time or activity, freely chosen activity, personal growth and satisfaction, rest, relaxation and recreation. These are important concepts in positive psychology, the satisfaction of which contributes positively to people's quality of life. Therefore, if public parks are designed and managed to satisfy leisure, their physical environment must exhibit user's aspirations—environments that support voluntary and intrinsically driven activities. Having been attracted to the parks by the facilities and activities of their choice, users of a well-designed and managed park are bound to enjoy other benefits, such as other activities and facilities, attractiveness of the city, safety, accessibility; education and health, inclusivity, contact with nature; and culture and heritage. Through this humanistic approach to parks, it is confirmed that parks improve the standard for all (Gillespies 2007: 4; Lofland 2009: 231; UN-Habitat 2015: 5), thus contributing to the United Nation's vision that "[o]ur cities must be places where human beings lead fulfilling lives in dignity, good health, safety, happiness and hope" (Section 5 of Habitat II, UN-Habitat 1996: 8) and subsequently making the world a better place for all (Un-Habitat 2015: 2–3,5).

Both the literature and empirical evidence in the two parks confirmed that parks, if well designed and managed to promote human activity and consequently natural surveillance, can promote constructive leisure. The state of Centenary Park revealed that the opposite is true in light of the safety threats and immoral activities by the youth. Public parks and leisure are very useful tools in bringing inclusivity and sustainability in cities. In this way, the three principles of sustainable development, namely social inclusivity, environmental protection and economic prosperity, can be achieved. However, the deplorable state of the parks, the dominance of unwanted and immoral activities and physical barriers, have led to exclusivity in the use of the parks.

The research showed that the two public parks were very attractive in the pre-independence era. The facilities, such as fountains, miniature railway lines and the bird aviary, and activities in the parks, for example at TS Matabele and Ehloseni, are offshoots of pre-independence park development and management. There are no new innovations and improvements in response to contemporary user expectations. On the other hand, it is important to note that the parks in the pre-independence period were not perfect. Accessibility (physical barriers), overregulation, the prohibition of shortcut routes and presence of safety threatening plants have always been challenges.

Inferring from the study of Bulawayo, and if the studied parks represent the state of other public spaces in the country, then the state of public spaces in Zimbabwe is a displeasure. If the same the mindset that led to the deplorable state of Centenary Park is to perpetuate to even smaller settlements where there are no formally established public parks, authorities for such smaller urban settlements may relax forever at the detriment of the citizenry.

In light of the foregoing literature review and the research findings, this study therefore makes the following recommendations:

Central and local governments can employ the leisure concept to attract people to the public parks so that they can enjoy leisure and other park benefits that may be directly or indirectly related to leisure. Since leisure is voluntary, one who is attracted to nature as a leisure pursuit, for example, will unconsciously walk around (health benefits), learn a lot about nature and how others relate (education) and/or find themselves interacting and mingling with others (social inclusion). Therefore, leisure must be understood together with other benefits within which it is interlaced. On the other hand, to promote leisure, ingredients such as naturalness, accessibility, availability and the condition of facilities, safety, among other park performance parameters need to be in place.

Central governments and local governments can use public parks to promote good societal behaviour and constructive leisure and thus build the community's social capital. This can be done by providing a variety of facilities for people in different circumstances, providing artworks that revoke good memories about the local history, heritage and culture, thus building a sense of belonging and peace. For example, public parks must be inclusive and accessible. They should be designed and managed such that the disabled can visit the park on their own or with minimal aid from others for optional and recreational activities.

Bulawayo, and other settlements, should undertake a systematic study to determine the aspirations of the current users before improvements can be made in order to be relevant in terms of the contemporary way of life and the expectations of the users. For the public park performance parameters discussed in this chapter, or any other public space, quality tools can be used to check on the current state of the public parks and expectations of the users.

The responsible authorities are supposed to understand leisure as an important ingredient to human, social and economic development through its relationship with work. It promotes productivity; therefore, it is recommended that the responsible authorities invest not only in basic services such as water, sewerage and electricity, but also leisure, human happiness and hope. Leisure must be understood as a tool (freedom, happiness, good state of the mind, social interaction) that can provide a connection between people and their environment in order to humanise public environments.

Given the multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary nature of the public parks, and as demonstrated in leisure studies, different professionals from both social and environmental sciences need to be engaged in the planning, design and management of public parks. The users must remain at the centre stage.

The Government of Zimbabwe, relevant stakeholders and the people should commit themselves and invest in the quality of the built environment. A sizeable chunk of the local authority's yearly budget should be devoted towards public parks. As discussed in this chapter, the return on investment from public environments is far more than monetary. Take for example the promotion of human happiness and productivity, which cannot be directly quantified in monetary terms.

More studies on the quality of the built environments, and in particular public space and public parks, are required in Zimbabwe to improve the environmental pleasantness of cities and expand leisure opportunities. It will be interesting and insightful if such studies can be done from a multidisciplinary perspective that involves urban planning, urban design, landscape architecture and psychology.

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Chapter 13
Urban Land Markets

James Chakwizira

Abstract Urban land markets play an important regulatory and development function in the efficient and effective access, use and sustainable management of land and property markets. Efficient commodification of urban land markets underpins inclusive and progressive urban human settlement functioning. However, inefficient urban land markets perpetrate suboptimal land and property market shifts and changes that encourage speculation, landholding, fragmentation and splintering of urban land markets, whether for commercial, industrial, residential or recreational purposes. This chapter makes use of the complex dynamic systems approach to unpack the narrative of urban land markets and performance in Zimbabwe from 1990 to 2020. The lessons from the review act as a benchmark for infusing new insights on how postcolonial Zimbabwe can utilise both formal and informal urban land markets in transforming and transitioning towards sustainable human settlements. The results indicate how formal and informal urban land markets can be managed towards sustainable human settlements. Furthermore, the chapter illustrates and advances urban land market transitions and an innovative framework that explains how the contemporary urban land market forces of demand and supply interact in Zimbabwe. The way the current land market struggle is unfolding in Zimbabwe is reflected by the emergence of new housing standards, products, technologies, formats and geographical areas.

Keywords Urban land markets · Transformation · Inefficiency · Fragmentation · Splintering

13.1 Introduction

The literature highlights that urban land markets play an important regulatory and development function in the efficient and effective access, use and sustainable management of land and property markets (Devas and Rakodi 1993; Gough and

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Yankson 2000; Lall et al. 2014; Rakodi 1995; Rakodi and Withers 1993). Invariably, urban land markets are characterised by complex formal and informal urban land market transactions, linkages and interdependencies that can be traced to the various waves of urban development in the respective areas. On the one hand, there is tension between state-regulated and mediated urban formal land markets with regard to spatial land and property value systems, and between informal community and advocacy movement customary land tenure systems (Gough and Yankson 2000). Making urban land markets work better through effective commodification of urban land markets underpins the framing of an inclusive and progressive agenda for urban human settlement (Napier 2009). On the other hand, inefficient urban land markets perpetrate suboptimal land and property markets shifts and changes that encourage land speculation, landholding/hoarding, fragmentation, distortion and splintering of urban land markets, whether for commercial, industrial, residential or recreational purposes. Access to urban land markets can be linked to the property rights and social contracts available, as argued by De Soto (2000), but can also be linked to the *'right to the city'* argument by Lefebvre (Butler 2020; Coleman 2020; De Soto 2000).

In addition, urban spaces provide space for interaction, production and recreation that are essential for the promotion of vibrant and inclusive urban economies, such as distributive social justice, improving the efficiency of spatial urban land markets, functioning and upgrading of spatial governance systems and institutions (Charlton 2006; Yang et al. 2017). A common thread in this discourse is the need to use urban land markets as a platform and steering mechanism in addressing the inequalities of spatial and urban land markets, ensuring that the current urban land market propensity to (re)produce and reinforce marginality, exclusion and poverty is reversed. Indeed, urban land markets can be investigated from different theoretical paradigms, including ecological orientation (Bardo and Hartmann 1982; Chapin and Kaiser, 1979), engineering and infrastructure perspectives (Chavunduka 2020; Rauf and Weber 2017; Turok 2016), regional economics (Muzorewa and Nyandoro 2019; Napier 2009; Taruvinga 2019), social and institutional governance dimensions (Chirisa et al. 2016) and political economics (Chiweshe 2017; Matamanda 2020).

This chapter, therefore, seeks to review the transitions and struggles of urban land markets in Zimbabwe through interrogating the outcomes of urban land markets forces of demand and supply interactions in Zimbabwe. The purpose of the chapter is to achieve the following:

- To describe the general portrait of the urban land markets in Zimbabwe (1990–2020).
- To employ the complex dynamic systems approach in exploring the narrative of urban land markets in Zimbabwe making use of case studies of Bulawayo, Gweru and Harare, together with the Ruwa Local Board.
- To advance the urban land market transitions and innovative frameworks to explain the opportunities and challenges of contemporary urban land market forces for optimising the competitiveness and efficiency of urban land markets.

This chapter is organised into seven sections starting with this introduction. The next section presents the research methods and materials, followed by a literature

review in Sect. 3. Section 4 presents the research results and findings of the case study. Section 5 reviews the case studies of Bulawayo, Gweru, Harare and the Ruwa Local Board. Section 6 presents a discussion and policy recommendations, followed by the concluding remarks to the chapter.

13.2   Research Method and Materials

Four case studies of Bulawayo city, Gweru city, Harare city and the Ruwa Local Board are reviewed. The rationale is to provide a detailed exploration of urban land use market dynamics, complexities and realities in postcolonial Zimbabwe. The representational mix of different hierarchies and categories of urban areas assists in the attempt to understand the granulated and nuanced urban land market issues in Zimbabwe. The gathered data is analysed from a thematic perspective making use of a complex dynamic systems approach. Xie et al. (2002) have used a similar approach in analysing complex and dynamic systems as represented by urban land markets (see also Spinney et al. 2011). The urban transitions theory and discourse analysis are used as complementary methods of analysis (refer to works by Staley 1999 and Wei and Ewing 2018). The results of the analysis constituted the packaging of this chapter.

13.3   Literature Review

13.3.1   The Notion and Concept of Urban Land Markets

The notion and concept of urban land markets involve how land demand and supply factors play out concerning buyers and sellers of land and property, including the accompanying property registration processes (Kihato and Royston 2013; Marongwe et al. 2011; Taruvinga 2019; UN-Habitat 2010). In this set-up, urban rental markets constitute an integral sub-sector of urban land markets. Consequently, urban land markets encompass the following functions: land alienation, land subdivision/consolidation regulations, land property transfer/assignment of rights and limitations and user rights and completed developments (Marongwe et al. 2011).

Generally, urban land markets can be classified as formal or informal. Formal urban land markets operate in compliance with land use planning and management rules, regulations and statues obtained in each country (Kihato and Royston 2013; Marongwe et al. 2011; Muchadenyika 2015a; Rakodi and Withers 1993; UN-Habitat 2010). In this set-up, the interaction is consummated in terms of legal registration of property with property owners granted land development rights as expressed in the title deeds and survey diagram to the property. However, land use planning and

management arrangements can also occur outside the legal and formal rules, regulations and statues obtained in each country. It is common for community-based systems to accord ownership rights to land without state or with complete state involvement and the registration of the land rights in terms of a title deed and survey diagram to the property. In such instances, the created urban land market is informal as it has happened outside the purview, knowledge and approval of formal state land development champions and captains of the industry (Kihato and Royston 2013). In the context of Zimbabwe, urban formal land markets afford legally binding and enforceable property rights, while the urban informal land markets grant rights whose enforcement and validation systems are based on customary, traditional and indigenous ascription set-ups (Marongwe et al. 2011).

13.3.2 The History and (R)evolution of Urban Markets in Zimbabwe

Since colonial times, transactions in land and urban land market property forms in Zimbabwe's urban areas were generally undertaken to make use of the medium of formal urban land markets. Most urban areas in Zimbabwe were established during colonial times, based on the Western urban land market concepts and notion as enunciated by Alonso (1960) in the classical bid rent theory (cited by O'Kelly and Bryan 1996). The bid rent theory was an extension of Von Thünen's (1826) model to urban land uses and, by implication, also urban land markets (cited by Chapin and Kaiser 1979). Alonso's model considered the urban land market as a function of land use, rent, the intensity of land use, population and employment about the distance to the central business district of the city (Duranton and Puga 2015). For urban land markets to operate optimally, there is a need for a solution to an economic equilibrium for the market for space to be achieved. Invariably, the bid rent land use model is an agent-based, spatial competition model utilising unique utility urban land market curves that express spatial land use interests in the form of property uses and values that optimally represent parcels of land on space (Duranton and Puga 2015).

Notwithstanding racial reasons, cities and towns were located amid privately owned large-scale farmland. Spatial planning and development were done under the auspices of the Regional Town and Country Planning Act (RTCP Act) and the Urban Councils Act. Cities, towns, growth points and townships were guided by formal town planning, surveying and land registration processes, at least in theory.

Making use of the inherited physical planning legislation, the postcolonial government applied the same town planning and development standards in advancing spatial development. Consequently, the postcolonial government did not permit the development of slums or informal settlements in various parts of towns and cities (Marongwe et al. 2011). With close to zero tolerance for informal or unauthorised developments, informal or squatter settlements were demolished as soon as they appeared. However,

the inherited spatial planning system was bound to reveal cracks as it was originally conceived to meet the needs of a small and elite white population.

With the attainment of independence in 1980, the Zimbabwean population grabbed the opportunity for spatial mobility, choices and development offered by urban areas. The inherited urban spatial systems buckled under the mounting pressure of rapid urbanisation as the system was built to control and restrict urban populations. The systems requirement for compliance with high planning standards and formality imbued by the colonial administrators created land market supply bottlenecks, land markets delivery friction and shortages with the growing urban population residents. In this conundrum, both the government and private sector could not meet the housing needs and space requirements for undertaking economic activities in a rapidly changing and flux urban environment. The absence of a decolonised urban land market model and implementation roadmap meant placing great expectations on the adaptive capacity of the colonial developed spatial planning systems to provide solutions for decolonised spatial planning growth and development requirements. The urban land market supply constraints failed to meet the population growth demand for urban housing, as well as other economic urban markets to create the leverage for job creation and employment densities in the towns and cities. Figure 13.1 presents a simplified graphical illustration of the Zimbabwe urban land market storyline from 1890 to contemporary times, including supply and population growth demand and dynamics implications.

From Fig. 13.1 we can deduce that with independence, population mobility was no longer geographically restricted as the pass laws were repealed. The attraction of urban areas as efficient urban land markets was a key factor in pulling migrants from rural areas to urban areas. Meanwhile, rural areas were viewed as imperfect and
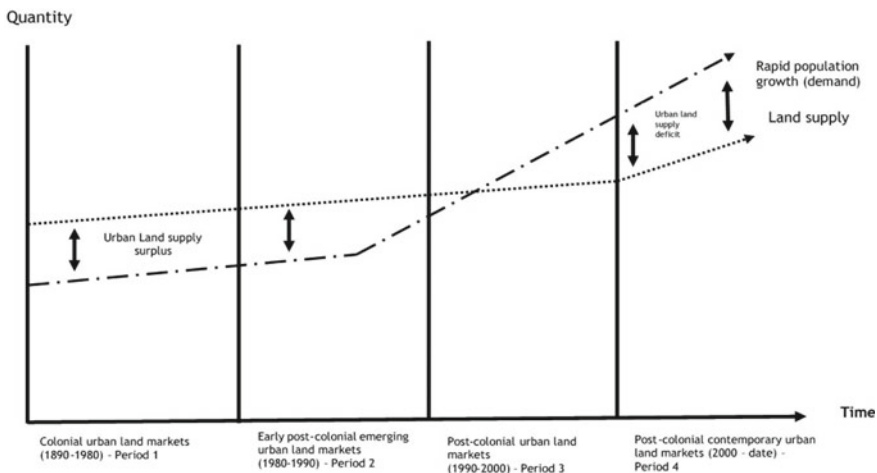

Fig. 13.1 Zimbabwe urban land markets: Supply and population growth demand and dynamics implications (Authors' own conceptualisation, adapted from Marongwe et al. 2011)

inadequate rural land markets to satisfy the various growth and development ambitions that people had. Periods 3 and 4 in Fig. 13.1 reveal how the urban land markets started to fail and inevitably could not meet the urban land market requirements over time.

Even the Government of National Unity that was created post-2008, during a period of hyper-inflationary levels, also engaged in decolonised urban land market paradigm shifts in which the tolerance and formalisation of informal settlements that emerged from the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP), were acknowledged. This approach can be condoned within the confines of the inclusive and sustainable cities approach that incorporates informality as a reality of the rapid urbanisation process in developing countries. This chapter, however, does not attempt to cover the full political discourse in respect of the FTLRP but acknowledges that this dimension should not be underestimated in the debate on urban land markets in Zimbabwe. An interesting thread is that informality has weaved and is entangled in the operations of the formal urban land markets. This is because, in Zimbabwe, the state and its regulatory framework have remained both present and visible in Zimbabwe's informal settlements (Marongwe et al. 2011). This called for the need to investigate the prospect of the role of the government in Zimbabwe being reinvented in seeking to create productive and efficient patterns for enhancing formal and informal urban land markets in the country. The scope exists to experiment with various hybrid models as well as transitional models to move informal urban land markets to formal urban land markets.

However, despite the contours of urban land market inefficiencies, the state and nature of urban land markets in Zimbabwe have largely remained formal. However, questions are being raised in terms of the emergence of new and successive generations of urban land markets. This is because the old stock of property on the land use base that carries the urban land use values is ageing and the need for rehabilitation, reconstruction and new infrastructure is becoming critical. The formal functioning of urban land markets is based on clear prescribed policy and legislation. A key question is to evaluate the adequacy and relevance of existing policies and legislation to support old and new urban land markets in Zimbabwe. Within the historical context of Zimbabwe, the urban land markets are a spatial, architectural and economic representation of the type of actors involved, and the type of land and property rights applicable in urban land areas. As has been the case with all other sectors of the economy, the functioning of urban land markets has been affected by the economic decline that started from the late 1990s and intensified in the post-2000 period, peaking with the intensification of the FTLRP.

13.3.3 *Drivers and Forces in Urban Land Markets*

Rapid urbanisation has been identified as a challenge for urban areas in Zimbabwe that are generally underprepared for such a phenomenon. This partly explains the rise of informal settlements in Zimbabwe's main urban centres (Chigwenya 2019). The

urban population of Zimbabwe rose rapidly from 23% in 1982 to 30% by the early 1990s. In 2019, 32.21% of Zimbabwe's total population lived in urban areas and cities. The rate of urbanisation is estimated at being approximately 2.19% the annual rate of change (2015–2020 estimation). Table 13.1 presents tabulated summaries of Zimbabwe's population growth (1982–2017).

Rapid urbanisation (Table 13.1) by its nature has implications for the performance of the housing land markets in the three categories of high, medium and low density. Failure to respond to especially the low-income housing market demand has witnessed the growth of the parallel informal urban housing market—informal settlements. Epworth, which is located 25 km east of Harare, is Zimbabwe's most famous informal settlement whose roots can be traced to the colonial period.

13.3.4 Urban Land Markets Property Shifts, Spatial Transformation, Mobilities and Geographies—Unmasking the 'Veil'

The inherited urban structures in Zimbabwe from the colonial masters was based on a separatist and racial segregation-based philosophy to spatial planning, land use management and development. The indigenous population was in townships that were spatially located far away from the commercial centre, in comparison with the location of residential areas for the colonial white master's population. Strict and restrictive labour laws made it difficult for the native population to participate in urban land markets. Settlement areas intended for European areas required compliance with high planning standards, such as having measured stand sizes at a minimum of an acre, which are serviced by septic tanks. Most of the operational town planning schemes in Zimbabwe's major urban towns and cities were approved during the colonial period. These inherited town planning framework and associated planning standards have been criticised as creating the urban land use constraints and performance challenges associated with contemporary urban land markets (Chirisa 2010; Marongwe et al. 2011; Zinyama et al. 1993). Table 13.2 presents a tabulated summary of urban land market property shifts, spatial transformation, mobilities and geographies in colonial and postcolonial Zimbabwe.

Over time, former European areas and African townships have evolved into low-density and high-density residential areas, respectively. The contrasting space demands and land market value differentials have continued into postcolonial Zimbabwe. The challenge of the missing middle in respect of the inadequately developed medium-density residential property market is visible from this historical assessment. The segmented nature of land markets is a guideline for urban land market prices as income level bands are matched to the size of residential property stands. Consequently, urban land markets for low-income earners became high-density areas with limited land for small-scale to informal economic activities. The reverse applies for high-income earners, thus painting the urban land market atlas

Table 13.1 Zimbabwe's population growth (1982–2017) (Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency 1992, 2002, 2012 and 2017)

Province	Capital	Area (km2)	Population census (1982–08-18)	Population census (1992–08-18)	Population census (2002–08-18)	Population census (2012–08-17)	Population estimate (E) (2017–08-17)
Bulawayo	Bulawayo	479	413.814	621.742	676.650	653.337	738.600
Harare	Harare	872	828.567	1 485.615	1,896,134	2,123,132	1,973,906
Manicaland	Mutare	36.459	1,103,837	1,537,224	1,568,930	1,752,698	1,861,755
Mashonaland Central	Bindura	28.347	560,847	856,736	995,427	1,152,520	1,441,944
Mashonaland East	Marondera	32,230	667,933	1,034,342	1,127,413	1,344,955	1,366,522
Mashonaland West	Chinhoyi	57,441	854,098	1,112,955	1,224,670	1,501,656	1,567,449
Masvingo	Masvingo	56,566	1,029,504	1,222,581	1,320,438	1,485,090	1,533,145
Matabeleland North	Lupane	75,025	548,250	641,186	704,948	749,017	744,841
Matabeleland South	Gwanda	54,172	515,298	592,398	653,054	683,893	810,074
Midlands	Gweru	49,166	1,086,284	1,307,769	1,463,993	1,614,941	1,514,325
Zimbabwe	Harare	390,757	7,608,432	10,412,548	11,631,657	13,061,239	13,572,560

Table 13.2 Urban land markets property shifts, spatial transformation, mobilities and geographies (Chirisa 2010, 2012, 2013; Chirisa and Chaeruka 2016; Chirisa et al. 2016; Dube and Chirisa 2013; Marongwe et al 2011; Muchadenyika 2015a, 2015b; Muzorewa and Nyandoro 2019; Muzorewa et al. 2018; Nyandoro and Muzorewa 2017)

Indicator	Colonial urban land markets (1890–1979)	Postcolonial urban land markets (1980–1999)	FTLR urban land markets (2000 to date
Policy and legislative framework	• Spatial segregation and division of urban land markets along racial lines	• Spatial transformation and blurring of urban land markets through normative non-racial planning	• Spatial fragmentation, splintering and gentrification through land reform and redistribution mantra
Instructive legislation prescripts	• Native Passes Act (1937) • Land Apportionment Act (1930) • Land Tenure Act (1969)	• Regional Town and Country Planning Act (1976) • Urban Councils Act	• Land Acquisition Act (Chapter 20-10) • Land Acquisition Act (1992)
Mobilities	• Restricted and managed • Exclusive and controlled	• Inclusive and organic • Permissive and expressive	• Ad hoc and fragmented • Movements and coordinated
Land tenure and property rights	• Property rights and title deeds in urban areas • Communal areas: Customary tenure or permission to occupy certificates	• Property rights and title deeds in all areas providing compliance with land development and registration procedures were met • Communal areas: Customary tenure or permission to occupy certificates still persisted	• Property rights and title deeds in all areas providing compliance with land development and registration procedures were met • Social domain tenure model in FTLRP peri-urban areas • Communal areas: Customary tenure or permission to occupy certificates still persisted
Geographies	• Urban areas (whites) • Native (communal) areas (blacks) • High-quality infrastructures and services in urban areas • Inadequate infrastructure and services in other areas	• Repeal of pass laws and universal access to urban areas for all • Pressure on urban land markets due to rapid urbanisation	• Failure by urban land markets to meet the growing demands of people • Inadequate urban land markets to finance new projects in line with market demand • FTLRP movement and discourses

into three main subdivisions, namely high-density (low-income), medium-density (middle-income) and low-density (high-income) residential urban land market areas.

Together with an escalation in the demand for residential properties in the post-1980 period, there was also a shortage of office space because of increased demand by diplomats, international agencies and private companies seeking to contribute to the growth and development of Zimbabwe. The construction industry expanded and experienced some form of boom in the 1980s as new properties were constructed for commercial, industrial and residential use purposes.

Consequently, this period witnessed the construction of blocks of flats, townhouses for rental and stand-alone houses on a rent-to-buy basis by institutional investors, government and aid agencies, especially the United States Agency for International Development (Marongwe et al. 2011).

A critical gap during the early 1980s was inadequate urban land housing markets. This saw the emergence of landlords charging high rentals and evicting tenants at will in cases of failure to pay their rent in time. This partly explained why the government enacted the Rent Control Regulations in 1982. While the original intention was noble, the unintended outcome was that this instrument was later viewed as one negative example of state interference in the urban land markets functioning, which drove private sector investment away from the housing sector.

13.3.5 *The Governance of Urban Land Markets*

Zimbabwe has a set of institutions that operate in the urban land market sector. These include state institutions (central and local government), private sector actors and civil society organisations. State institutions include ministries and government departments, the courts of law, local authorities such as the City of Harare, City of Bulawayo, City of Gweru and the Ruwa.

Local Board and public enterprises. Private sector actors include developers, investors, landlords, formal and microfinanciers, property professionals, private individuals and tenants. Table 13.3 presents a simplified tabular representation of stakeholders (actors and role players) engaged in the land use and management development processes.

Not all actors perform the whole array of functions (refer to Table 13.3). At the same time, the constrained financial sector performance due to economic difficulties since 2000 in Zimbabwe, has resulted in reduced financial institutional participation in urban land markets. Urban land market stakeholders participated at different stages in the land use, development planning and management processes. The governance of urban land markets is based on formal legislation. The main acts and their provisions are summarised in Table 13.4.

In addition to legislative compliance requirements as indicated in Table 13.4, two urban land markets in Zimbabwe are guided by policies and directives that affect the capacity and ability of urban land market stakeholders to deliver various property portfolios required by clients. Furthermore, the land policy (as fully elaborated

Table 13.3 Actors and role players in land use and management development processes

Actors and role players	Land identification and acquisition	Land use planning and demarcation	Land survey and pegging	Land servicing	Land transaction facilitation	Land rights registration	Super-structure designs, approval and construction	On-site infrastructure construction, maintenance and rehabilitation	Off-site infrastructure construction, maintenance and rehabilitation
Central and local government	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
Private land surveyors			×					×	×
Private land developers	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
Financiers/investors	×			×			×	×	×
Property and real estate development professionals	×			×	×	×		×	×
Civil society organisations	×	×	×				×	×	
Private individuals							×	×	

Table 13.4 Some of the mainstream legislation impacting the governance of urban land markets in Zimbabwe (Marongwe et al. 2011)

Act	Provisions
Regional Town and Country Planning Act	Spatial planning, land use and management in urban areas with direct implications on the spatial economy, efficiency and resilience of urban land markets in Zimbabwe
Urban Councils Act (for land delivery)	Planning, registration of property rights, the sale of public land and the change of land use reservation. The adherence and compliance to these provisions constitute an indicator of the extent to which urban land market governance is complied with or not
The Land Survey Act	Applies to any survey used for effecting the registration of any land in the Deeds Registry and it is binding on the state in respect of unalienated state land
Derelict Lands Act	Provision for recourse and remedy in instances wherein the former owner of immovable property cannot be located despite a diligent search for the registration and transfer of property
Consumer Contracts Act	In terms of Sect. 1 of this act, all sale of land must be in writing, in the form of a memorandum of agreement of sale
Capital Gains Tax Act	Tax is chargeable on capital gain made on the disposal of immovable property
Deeds Registries Act	The Deeds Registries Act and the Deeds Registries Regulations (Rhodesia Government Notice No. 249 of 1977) regulate the registration of rights in land through a system that requires the services of a registrar as well as a conveyancer in professional practice

on in the FTLRP), the national housing policy that recognised housing backlogs and acknowledged the need for private–public partnerships in tackling the housing supply/demand mismatch, provide further directions in respect of the functioning of urban land markets. The ease of doing business in the urban land markets is facilitated and enabled through obtaining the national development framework. Included, and critical to the performance of urban land markets, is the governance business barometer in Zimbabwe. Table 13.5 presents an overview of the ease of doing business in Zimbabwe.

The World Bank governance indicators for Zimbabwe (refer to Table 13.5), present the impact of lack or absence of a prudent and conducive socio-economic environment in support of growth and development. Sound economic policies are assumed to lead to an improvement in governance indicators, to attract other stakeholders such as the private sector into the urban land markets field. However, governance indicators for Zimbabwe, as measured by the World Bank, have generally been declining

Table 13.5 Governance indicators for Zimbabwe (World Bank Governance Indicators 2020)

Governance indicator	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2017	2018
Voice and accountability	−0.61	−0.79	−1.09	−1.36	−1.55	−1.54	−1.55	−1.48	−1.47	−1.26	−1.18	−1.20	−1.13
Political stability	−0.46	−0.74	−1.32	−1.52	−1.21	−0.93	−1.21	−1.10	−0.78	−0.71	−0.62	−0.77	−0.71
Government effectiveness	−0.32	−0.33	−0.80	−0.91	−1.00	−1.23	−1.53	−1.51	−1.34	−1.21	−1.16	−1.19	−1.20
Regulatory quality	−0.77	−0.70	−1.42	−1.93	−2.06	−1.96	−2.14	−2.07	−1.89	−1.90	−1.72	−1.56	−1.58
Rule of law	−0.81	−0.66	−1.34	−1.59	−1.80	−1.74	−1.78	−1.82	−1.63	−1.43	−1.37	−1.38	−1.27
Control of corruption	−0.28	−0.48	−0.98	−1.23	−1.33	−1.36	−1.36	−1.37	−1.37	−1.39	−1.25	−1.27	−1.24

since 1996. This mirrors the decline in the performance of the urban land markets in Zimbabwe.

The deed registration offices are centralised in Harare and Bulawayo with every property registered according to the particular area that it falls under (Marongwe et al. 2011). The urban land markets in Zimbabwe are dominated by big role players such as pension funds, life assurance and unit trusts. These institutional investors are estimated to control approximately 85% of all property investments and portfolios in the country. The pension fund industry is expected to invest in property as a hedging mechanism against inflation. The National Social Security Authority, a state agency, is the most active participant of all pension funds in the property market.

13.4   Results and Findings

13.4.1   Zimbabwe's Political Economy and Urban Land Markets Nexus

In Zimbabwe, the past three decades (1990–2020) are punctuated with acrimonious, difficult conversations and political relationships with Western countries, which have implications on the functional efficiency of urban land markets. At the centre of these dialogues are questions concerning rule of law and human rights abuses. This political stand-off, which had wide-ranging socio-economic implications (i.e. pervading the urban land markets), was mainly triggered by the implementation of the widely criticised FTLRP, which was started in 2001. The FTLRP events saw predominantly white commercial farmers being dispossessed of land and movable property.

Thus, Zimbabwe was under trade sanctions imposed by the European Union as well as the United States of America. Consequently, financial and development cooperation programmes support and credit lines were suspended. Access to the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and other international funding agencies was inhibited because the country was not in good standing owing to performance inadequacies on facilities previously granted. This lack of borrowing power and creditworthiness has had implications for the growth and development of the urban land markets in Zimbabwe. Land and property developers have had to look at alternative models for financing urban land market demand requirements. The low-income earners have had to adapt to housing cooperatives and movements as well as joining building societies, while the diaspora urban property demand has also offered capital investment in support of the urban land markets. Bottlenecks and constraints in urban land development and management funding, in turn, affected the performance of urban land markets. The prolonged economic difficulties faced by Zimbabwe have opened multiple socio-economic pressures that had an impact on the efficient functioning of urban land markets.

13.4.2   Generic Overview of the Contextual Realities of Contemporary Urban Land Markets in Zimbabwe

The contemporary urban land markets in Zimbabwe assume a binary market experience and perspective. This can be developed based on two contrasting environments, namely the dollarisation period (2009–2013) and the post-dollarisation period (2013 to date). These two periods are explained in the following sections.

13.4.2.1   Urban Land Property Markets (2009–2013): The Dollarisation Stabilising Effect

During the 2009–2013 dollarisation period,[1] the vibrant property sector due to the strong international currency backing saw an increase in construction activities, better yields from property, and stability in property values. The value for a core house in the high-density areas was pegged at between US$1,000.00 and US$17,000.00. A serviced plot size of between 200 m^2 and 300 m^2 ranged from US$4,000.00 to US$5,000.00 (Chigwenya 2019).

13.4.2.2   Urban Land Property Markets (2014 to Present): The Uncertain Post-Dollarisation Future

The post-dollarisation period (2014 to present) is marked with property market uncertainty since the introduction of a local currency into the basket of currencies that were used in the country (Chigwenya 2019; Chigwenya and Dube 2019). Generally, the property market coiled in terms of the following issues:

- The continued pegging of property prices in US dollar rather than in the local currency.
- The continued decrease in yields from property investment and increase in void levels were linked to the deepening economic difficulties that the government continued to face.

13.4.3   Complexities and Dynamics of Urban Land Property Markets in Zimbabwe

The property market in Zimbabwe reflects the complexities and dynamics of the political economy. As an example, the urban housing land market in Zimbabwe's urban centres is categorised into three main segments. These urban land markets

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[1]During the dollarisation period, the Zimbabwean government adopted a multicurrency system in their economy, where the country was using a basket of currencies that included the US dollar (US$), South African rand, Botswana pula and British pound.

derive their categorisation from stand sizes and, by implication, density. The high-density urban land markets operate on properties whose stands do not exceed 300 m². This property market caters for the bottom end of the property market. Houses built and sold in this segment are typically for the low-income earning working class, those employed in the informal sector and generally the urban poor. The medium-density urban land market segment caters for stand sizes that range from 301 m² up to 1,000 m². This property cohort is for the more financially able, mainly formally employed middle level and supervisory workers and government employees. Houses in the medium-density urban land market are designed for standard occupation by single families. On average, they consist of two to three bedrooms, a lounge, dining room and kitchen. Modest townhouses, sometimes in gated communities, also fall into this medium-density urban land market segment property portfolio. The housing segment of the low-density urban land markets is for properties that measure 1 000 m² and above. Some of these properties are serviced by individual septic tanks and soak ways and have independent boreholes for water reticulation. These properties are usually located in sparsely populated low-density areas. The clientele for these urban land markets includes the wealthy and professional people who occupy high-paying formal jobs or are in business. Dwellings range from single-storey family homes to multi-storey structures.

Over the years Zimbabwe has had an active property market in the major urban areas with the central players being estate agents who are mandated by sellers to sell and by buyers to search for existing properties in the high-, medium- and low-density suburbs.[2] Before the October 2018 monetary policy statement by the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe, the following entry-level prices were obtained:

- Four-roomed houses in the high-density areas were Z$181,250 (US$25,000.00 equivalent).
- Z$580,000 (US$80,000.00 equivalent) for average medium-density properties.
- Z$942,500 (US$130,000.00 equivalent) for cluster homes in gated communities.
- Z$1,812,500 (US$250,000.00 equivalent) for standard properties in low-density suburbs.

According to estate agents, some sellers are people upgrading and moving to superior localities, deceased estates and people emigrating. Buyers in recent sales were local and diaspora-based Zimbabweans with mortgage finance or with own resources, along with nationals of neighbouring countries, Nigerians and Chinese.

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[2]Notable recent projects that added to the housing stock in 2018 and 2019 were done by the Central African Building Society (CABS), which undertook a project of 2,797 units in the Budiriro suburb of Harare and a 1,080 unit project in the Pumula/Nkulumane suburb of Bulawayo. The CBZ Bank serviced 1,174 stands in Victoria Falls and the National Building Society developed 600 houses in the Dzivaresekwa suburb of Harare.

13.5 Case Studies in Urban Land Markets

This section reviews the case studies of Bulawayo, Gweru, Harare city and the Ruwa Local Board. The case studies are organised in terms of historical contextual analysis, the dynamics and complexities of urban land markets, and investment opportunities in urban land markets.

13.5.1 Urban Land Markets in Bulawayo: Urban Land Market Distortions and Inefficiencies

13.5.1.1 Historical Contextual Analysis

The different urban land housing market typologies are linked to different development periods in the growth of the city of Bulawayo. In the 1930s, terraced houses were built in Makokoba, Bulawayo's oldest residential settlement. High-rise flats were built in the late 1960s and early 1970s as a response to the need to satisfy housing demand through vertical urban land housing market solutions, rather than through a horizontal spatial sprawling urban land market solution. Consequently, during the 1964/65 financial year, the city of Bulawayo constructed 112 flats in Nguboyenja, 64 flats in Makokoba for council employees and 376 flats in Tshabalala for employees of the national railways of Rhodesia (Magwaro-Ndiweni 2011).

While land costs were not yet a critical factor, however, the construction of high-rise building was a development infrastructure and cost-saving strategy as higher densities have better economies of scale, compared to the cost of fragmented and sprawling housing developments. In the early 1990s, with changing urban land market dynamics, the city of Bulawayo constructed three pairs of double-storey, semi-detached blocks as a pilot project to determine the acceptability of the high-rise housing development in postcolonial urban Bulawayo (Magwaro-Ndiweni 2011). At the same time, in response to critics of urban land markets, the World Bank suggested that housing standards were too generous and would make attempts at matching supply and demand difficult if these were not revised downwards. As an example, the urban stand houses for high-density areas were recommended to be 50 m². At the same time, the need to use alternative building materials was suggested as a way of cost-saving and efficiency in increasing housing stock supply from both the public and private sector. However, the Lobengula Township which was developed in compliance to the reduced stand sizes and incorporating alternative building materials was criticised for being 'match-boxes' of poor building materials or construction quality (Kamete 2006, 2016; Magwaro-Ndiweni 2011). The houses were labelled mining style compounds, divided by thin acoustic walls in which neighbours' conversation and private confidentiality rules were not observed in Africa and Bulawayo, in particular, given that urban land was in abundance as compared to Europe (Magwaro-Ndiweni 2011: 43).

13.5.1.2 Urban Land Markets Dynamics and Complexities

Since 1980, the movement of people from rural areas to the city of Bulawayo created pressure for urban infrastructure and services, including the provision of a commensurate urban land market system. Property markets in Bulawayo reveal trends that project the urban land market mirror nationally. Another unique and interesting urban land market dimension in the city of.

From 2018 onwards, void levels in commercial and industrial properties in Bulawayo were realised, especially for properties above 20,000 m^2. The dampening of urban land markets was exacerbated by the fact that Bulawayo city is experiencing massive deindustrialisation (Chigwenya 2019). The urban property market future became uncertain when the government decided to abolish the use of multiple currencies and adopted the real-time gross settlement dollar as the local currency in the middle of 2019 (Chigwenya 2019). Figure 13.2 presents a graphical illustration of the Bulawayo city land use map with implications for urban land markets.

Bulawayo is that rural people from the surrounding Bulawayo rural hinterland, such as from Plumtree, Lupane, Umguza, Mbalabala and Matopos, acquire peri-urban and urban properties as an investment for future generations that may have opportunities in urban livelihoods and educational advancement (Potts 2006). Table 13.6 presents the urban land markets in Bulawayo—the housing market segment typologies. Property urban markets in Bulawayo show higher property
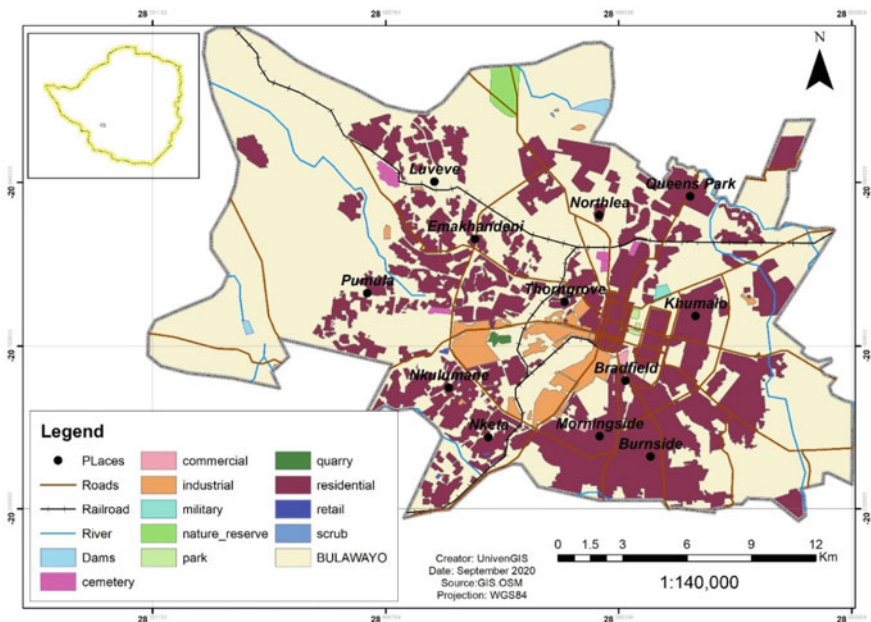

Fig. 13.2 Bulawayo land use map with implications for urban land markets (*Source* Authors own compilation 2020)

Table 13.6 Urban land markets in Bulawayo—The housing market segment typologies (Magwaro-Ndiweni 2011; Magwaro-Ndiweni and Madiro 2016; Taruvinga 2019)

Urban land market housing indicators	High-income urban housing land market	Middle-income urban housing land market	Low-income urban housing land market
Type of housing	Single-family homes and duplexes	Semi-detached duplexes, and row houses in a compact neighbourhood	Detached housing, semi-detached houses, cluster houses, terraced houses
Plot size	800 m^2–4000 m^2	500 m^2–950 m^2	190 m^2–490 m^2
House designs	Three to five bedrooms, two lounges, a dining room, pantry, study room, laundry room, sunroom and playroom	Three bedrooms, lounge, kitchen, a separate toilet and bathroom and a dining room	One-, two-, three- and four-core housing depending on the design
Other features	Fireplace, bar, fitted kitchen and scullery, fitted wardrobes, main en suite and swimming pool	Fitted wardrobes	None

values for commercial properties located in the central business district of Bulawayo (refer to Fig. 13.2). Low-density areas, such as Morningside, Burnside and Northlea, have high property values. Low-income areas, such as Nketa, Luveve, Emkandeni, Makokoba, Luveve, Nketa and Pumula, have the lowest property land values. However, people from these high-density areas travel short distances of less than 10 km to work as the residential areas are located close to industries and city centres, such as Makokoba, Luveve, Nketa, Southwold, Morningside and Hillside. The average rental prices for two-bedroom houses in high-density residential areas range between US$50 to US$200 per month (Magwaro-Ndiweni 2011; Magwaro-Ndiweni and Madiro 2016).

Recent research in the city of Bulawayo revealed that property rental values are functionally correlated to the urban infrastructure and services provided. The sharp rental costs suggest that for the urban land rental market, the quality and quantity of infrastructure plays a critical role in determining rental costing. Consequently, in regions of Cowdrey Park that have inadequate infrastructure and services, the average monthly rentals for a two-bedroomed house ranges from US$40.00 to US$78.00. This contrasts with similar-sized properties that command an average monthly rental market price of US$250.00 with well-endowed infrastructure and services, for example Emganwini, Pumula and Nkulumane. Taruvinga (2019) highlighted how average rental prices in well-serviced areas have tripled, while in poorly serviced areas, the property rental prices have remained stable (Taruvinga 2019). However, rental property values in low-density areas are much higher, i.e.

approximately US$400.00 to US$1,000.00 per month. On the other hand, small-holdings are extremely expensive because of the huge houses, large plots suitable for market gardening and animal husbandry. In these areas, property rentals range from US$1,500.00 to US$3,000.00 per month (Magwaro-Ndiweni 2011; Taruvinga 2019). An interesting observation though is that property sales prices in Bulawayo's low-income residential market segment range from $12,000.00 (US$1,655.00 equivalent) to $25,000.00 (US$3,448.00 equivalent), with an average selling price of approximately $18,500.00 (US$2,551.00 equivalent). This is obtaining a market value price of a standard four-room house in the high-density suburbs of the city of Bulawayo, irrespective of environmental services and infrastructure quality provided (Taruvinga 2019). For this reason, the properties included in inadequately serviced areas such as Cowdrey Park command matching prices with properties in better-serviced areas such as Emganwini, Pumula and Nkulumane. Nkulumane is an example of a high-density residential neighbourhood with standard infrastructure, including tarred roads and a well-developed shopping complex that has an array of different commercial services such as banking, furniture and grocery shops. Yet, despite those spatial locational market factors, a typical two-bedroomed house in Cowdrey Park can be sold for as high as $18,500 (US$2,551.00 equivalent), which is similar to obtaining property sales values of a similar two-bedroomed house in Pumula and Emganwini.

13.5.1.3   Investment Opportunities in Urban Land Markets

Within the housing sector, the city of Bulawayo had a housing backlog of 110,000 (Chigwenya 2019). Given that the city projects an annual supply of 3,000 units, deficits persist in the supply of urban housing property. Given the classical economic theory of market forces of demand and supply, it is logical that the inadequate supply of houses is met with fierce competition for the limited houses, thereby increasing the property prices. This mismatch in the urban land markets has led to the growth of informal settlements in the city of Bulawayo, namely in Killarney, Ngozi Mine, Vundu, Iminyela, Richmond dumpsite and the Burombo Hostels (Mudzengerere and Chigwenya 2012).

In the absence of a social housing policy by the city of Bulawayo, it is difficult to envisage when the problem will be (re)solved. A total of 31,000 people is estimated to be living in informal settlements in and around the city of Bulawayo (Chigwenya 2019). The Bulawayo City Council Master Plan 2000–2015 delivered 10% of property stock houses (i.e. 22,000) concerning the projected target (i.e. 200,000). This mismatch in supply and demand, as well as the gap in planning and implementation, are critical issues explaining the performance of the urban land markets in Bulawayo city. Table 13.7 presents the complementary and supplementary role that private sectors play in adding housing property stock on the market. An uneasy urban–rural interdependency relationship exists between Bulawayo city and the Umguza district council (refer to Table 13.7). Peri-urban residents of Umguza have identified an opportunity for earning a living through subdividing their land into plots for sale (Dube and Chirisa 2013). These developments increase the revenue basis for the

Table 13.7 Private developers active in Bulawayo's urban land markets (Taruvinga 2019)

Developer	Area	Number of stands	Year stands allocated
A	Cowdray Park	532	1996
B	Cowdray Park	75	2004
C	Cowdray Park	274	2006
C	Cowdray Park	126	2003
D	Cowdray Park	983	Not available
E	Phumula South Phase 3	253	Not available
F	Phelandaba	185	2008
G	Mbundane	450 (estimate)	Not available
H	Emthunzini Township	3,500 (planned)	Land bought in 2008

Umguza rural district council through the provision of housing stands to the people of Bulawayo, and assists in curbing housing shortages in Bulawayo city (Chigwenya and Dube 2019; Dube and Chirisa 2013; Sithole et al. 2012). Despite the challenge of premature urbanisation and leap-frogged urban housing market expansion, incorporation debates entail a financial turf fight between the two municipalities.

13.5.2 Urban Land Markets in Gweru City—The Struggles and Possibilities

13.5.2.1 Historical Contextual Analysis

Gweru was granted its city status in October 1973. Gweru city is the provincial capital of the Midlands. It covers a total area of 30,000 ha. Approximately 426.4 km of the city's road network is tarred, while 639.6 km is earth and gravel. A total of 6,000 low- and medium-density stands as well as 30 000 high-density units constitute the combined urban residential property market segment in Gweru city. Figure 13.3 presents the land use map for Gweru city with implications for urban land markets.

By 2015, deindustrialisation in Gweru was compelling industrial property owners to dispose of industrial properties due to non-occupation. Gweru city was at its peak in the 1970s to early 2000s and was the hub of mining-related and agroprocessing industries. However, the prolonged impact of the economic difficulties faced by the Zimbabwean economy since the FTLRP has fractured the urban land markets. The city has been witnessing industrial investment closures of large corporations, for example, the Zimbabwe glass industries, Zimbabwe alloys and Zimbabwe castings.
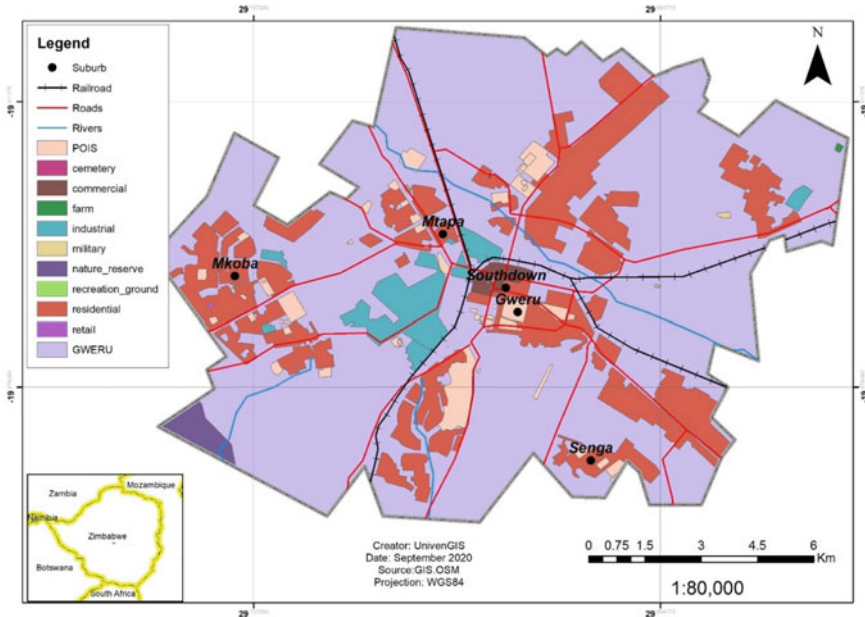
Fig. 13.3 Land use map for Gweru city with implications for urban land markets (*Source* Authors own compilation 2020)

13.5.2.2 Dynamics and Complexities of Urban Land Markets

In Gweru, Zimbabwe, residents in Mkoba have occupied open spaces in the city to conduct urban agricultural activities. This had raised discourses with respect to the efficiency of the urban residential land, high-density market segment of providing urban stands of 150 m^2 (Chaminuka and Dube 2017). Such stands do not offer residents an opportunity to have home gardens to supplement household food security requirements. To address this, residents have targeted so-called open spaces, which are urban land markets in the making or undergoing various land development compliance approval processes for residential, industrial, commercial or recreational purposes. In the absence of a clear urban land market development framework, there are constant clashes, tensions and disruptions between the urban council authorities and those bent on practising urban agriculture.

Many people have migrated from rural areas to the city of Gweru. This rapidly increasing urban population has created various challenges, including unemployment, poverty and a rise in urban farming. The slowing down in the industrial urban land market performance as expressed through the scaling down of the Bata Shoe Company, Zimcast and Zimglass, have led to behavioural change with implications for the efficient performance of the urban residential property segment, including the peri-urban land market system. Most people who lost their jobs from the formal

urban industrial market have shifted to urban agriculture as an adaptation and survival coping strategy (Chaminuka and Dube 2017).

The selling price for the housing units in high-density areas such as Nehosho, Mkoba Extensions 20 and 21, ranges from $15,000.00 (US$2,068.00 equivalent) to $23,000.00 (US$3,172.00 equivalent). In low-density areas such as Clydesdale, South Downs and Riverside, stands range from 1,000 m^2 to 2,000 m^2, with an asking price of $13.80 per square metre. Approximately $10,000.00 (US$1,379.00 equivalent) for 1,000 m^2 or $20,000 (US$2,758.00 equivalent) for 2,000 m^2 is required. In the Gweru city medium- to low-density areas, such as Northlea, Nashville, Ivene, Lundi Park, South Downs, South View, Athlone, Riverside, Harben Park, Daylesford and Ridgemont, rentals are pegged, ranging from US$60 to US$250. This has become increasingly unaffordable for most of the working and middle-class earners in Zimbabwe. Thus, the middle class and upper working class have downgraded by opting to rent in Ascot, Mtapa, Mambo, Clifton Park, Woodlands and Mkoba. This movement is not without serious consequences as it is also pushing out the low-income earners. In high-density areas, rentals are charged in US$, ranging from US$20 to US$100. Most low- and middle-income earners are struggling to cope with these rental property markets and instead have settled to relocating to rural areas. Other low-income earners have since moved out of rented houses and instead are renting incomplete houses without running water or electricity, mainly in parts of Woodlands, Hertfordshire and Mutausi Park.

13.5.2.3 Investment Opportunities in Urban Land Markets

Table 13.8 presents the urban land markets investment opportunities in Gweru city that have implications for the future transformation and shifts in urban land markets supply and demand curves.

From Table 13.8 it can be deduced that the potential for reinventing the urban land markets in Gweru exist in the formal markets. However, as suggested by previous sections of the discussion, the need to integrate, incorporate and streamline informal urban land markets in these new developments is a reality that can no longer be ignored.

Making use of a stick-and-carrot urban land market management approach, the city of Gweru has an enabling development framework that emphasises the following:

- For all industrial, commercial and institutional stands a half down payment is required with the balance payable over six months.

- For residential stands, a minimum deposit of $500.00 (US$70.00 equivalent) is required with the balance payable over 48 months.
- For all stands, a development period of six years from the date of signature of sale agreement is granted.

Table 13.8 Urban land markets investment opportunities in Gweru city (Gweru City Council 2020)

Project name	Description	Location and land aspects
Mkoba 21 High-Density Residential Scheme	Developers can purchase stands or partner with Council in servicing the available 6,484 (200–400 m2) high- and medium-density stands	All stands are title surveyed and located 6 km from City Centre Off-site municipal services are available
Proposed Mtapa Country and Intercity Bus Terminal	Developers can partner with Council in developing a modern transit exchange terminal for long-distance and intercity buses Ancillary modern facilities, for example shopping mall, public car parks, commuter ranks, passenger shelters and conveniences, can be included	This 10 ha site is partially serviced and located 6 km from the City centre
Central Business District Extension	A total of 110 (1,200–10,500 m2) commercial stands will be made available	Off-site municipal services are readily available Stands are suitable for the development of shopping malls, office complexes and leisure facilities
Light and Heavy Industrial Stands	Stands measuring from 5,000 m2 to over 10,000 m2 are available in the industrial areas located within 6 km from the city centre	All stands are title surveyed and off-site municipal services, road and railways are available
Infrastructure provision	A roads network of over 1,066 km A public lighting network of over 300 km Water pumping, treatment and distribution. (Two water treatment plants and three booster pump stations.) Sewage pumping, transmission and treatment (two treatment plants and six pumping stations)	Opportunities to partner with Council also exist in the provision, maintenance and rehabilitation of municipal infrastructure

13.5.3 Urban Land Markets in Harare—About Shadow Urban Land Markets, Parallel Urban Land Markets, Power and Politics in Functioning of Urban Land Markets

13.5.3.1 Historical Contextual Analysis

The Harare city municipal status was granted in 1897. Harare city covers a total surface area of 961 km^2. A total of 5 500 km of road network is tarred. A total of 111,824 low-density and 125,423 high-density urban property segments exist in Harare. Table 13.9 presents the urban land use budgeting in Harare city.

Table 13.9 presents the urban land uses that have implications and are expressed in the spatial urban land market atlas of Harare. Figure 13.4 presents the land use map for Harare city with implications for urban land markets.

South Africans, Mozambicans, Nigerians and Zambians are among those who have invested in Harare's northern and western areas. In the recent past, a surge in residential, industrial and commercial investments by Chinese business people due to the government's 'look-east policy' has been realised. In high-density areas, such as Highfield, Budiriro and Kambuzuma, the entry-level price for a small, basic four-room core house is approximately $25,000 (US$3,448.00 equivalent). While in medium-density areas such as Westlea, Waterfalls, Bloomingdale and New Marlborough, the entry level is approximately $80,000.00 (US$11 034.00 equivalent) for a two-bedroom apartment or basic house. However, in low-density areas such as Harare North, the entry value is $130,000.00 (US$17,931.00 equivalent) to acquire a two-bedroom garden flat. Rentals in medium-density areas range between $300 (US$40.00 equivalent) and $700 (US$100.00 equivalent) per month, while rental

Table 13.9 Urban land use market budgeting in Harare city (Chitekwe-Biti 2009; Zimbabwe, Surveyor-General 2002)

| Land Use	Area (m2)	% of Total
Commercial formal	20,801,000	2.73
Industrial formal	23,085,000	3.03
Industrial informal	1,935,900	0.25
Residential high-income formal	162,560,000	21.36
Residential middle-income formal	91 620,000	12.04
Residential low-income formal	64 800,00	8.52
Residential very low-income—urban poor	15,390,000	2.02
Institutional use	63,610,100	8.37
Open space and other (i.e. parks and golf courses)	317,126,100	41.68
Total	760,928,000	100.0
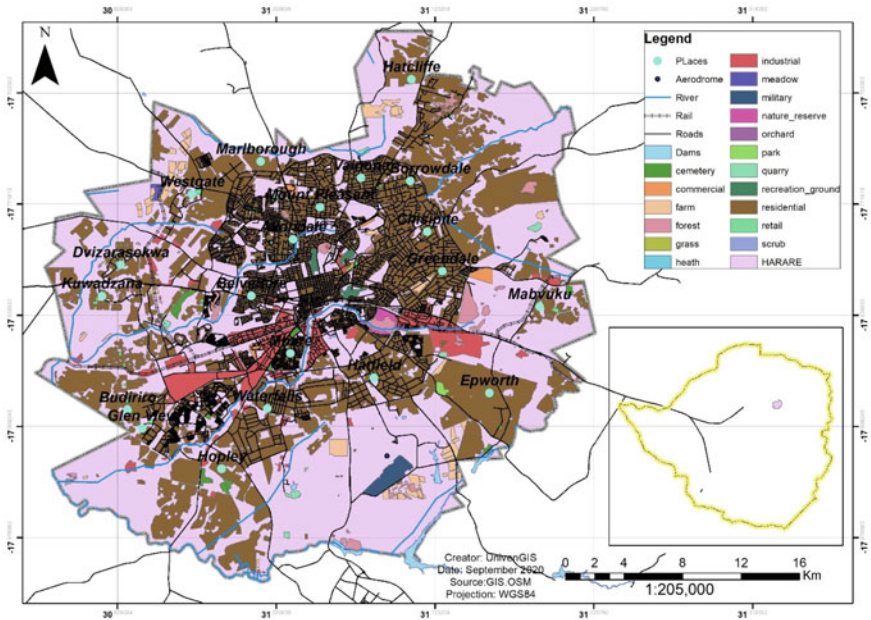
Fig. 13.4 Land use map for Harare city with implications for urban land markets (*Source* Authors own compilation 2020)

prices in low-density areas range between $700 (US$100.00 equivalent) and $2,500 (US$345.00 equivalent) per month.

13.5.3.2 Dynamics and Complexities of Urban Land Markets

A review of the 2016 Corporate services and housing annual report revealed that there was a huge gap between demand and supply for residential stands (Zimbabwe, Office of the Auditor-General 2018). Table 13.10 shows the number of applicants and stands allocated in the most recent years. The situation as expressed in

Table 13.10 Recent trends in demand and supply for residential stands in Harare (Office of the Auditor-General, Zimbabwe 2018)

Year	Total applicants	*Allocated stands	Applicants not allocated stands
	a	b	c = (a-b)
2014	177 703	2 365	175 338
2015	36 215	5 103	31 112
2016	59 563	9 528	50 035

*Allocated stands are the total of stands allocated by the Council and those allocated by housing cooperatives and private developers

Table 13.11 Postcolonial low-income housing market development in Harare (Muchadenyika 2015a, 2015b)

Urban low-income area identity	Year first occupied	Housing market scheme
Warren Park	1981	Core housing scheme; some conventional housing available
Kuwadzana	1984	Mainly site-and-service scheme; funded by the United States Agency for International Development; City Council provided building material on loan
Hatcliffe	1984	Site-and-service scheme for those employed in the northern suburbs; cash loans from City Council
Budiriro	1988	Site-and-service scheme with cash loans from City Council; sponsored by World Bank, local building societies advanced mortgages for low-income housing for the first time

Table 13.10 poses a risk in the increase in illegal settlements due to increased pressure for housing space, thereby distorting the functioning of urban land markets. Options of acquiring more land to provide residential stands, as well as building residential flats or other efficient models of housing to address housing needs were suggested as possible responses.

The City of Harare has since intensified efforts to acquire more land for residential stands.[3] This is in the form of the acquisition of Eyestone Farm, which is expected on full development to create a residential property supply of $\pm$ 7,000 stands, and Mabvuku extension with $\pm$ 4,100 stands. A total of 13,165 residential stands are earmarked for development from these initiatives. While the city of Harare acknowledges that building residential flats is one urban land market maximisation approach to supply land that can be used, the constraint is the need for the huge capital investment required, which the financially constrained city currently does not have. However, various private–public partnership models can be explored in pursuit of the target. Currently, the City of Harare is engaging land and housing development partners to enter private–public partnerships to rehabilitate and upgrade Mbare Hostels first before building new flats. Table 13.11 presents the urban land use budget for Harare city.

In Harare city, the presence of urban housing cooperatives has led to a cocktail of urban land markets, especially within the low-income property segment. Instances have been recorded of homeowners being duped, the creation and emergence of the

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[3]This is despite the existence of several private–public partnerships in residential, commercial and industrial property market developments facilitated by the Harare City Council, with government and property stakeholders in Zimbabwe.

Table 13.12 Urban land markets investment opportunities in Harare city (Harare City Council 2020)

Project name	Description	Location and land aspects
Mixed commercial use development	Quarry	Harare Quarry
	Housing (development of cluster homes, apartments, low-cost housing, on- and off-site infrastructure)	Eyestone Farm, low-density suburbs, Golf Estates
	Road rehabilitation and expansion	Existing road network and new suburbs
	Water and sewerage rehabilitation	Distribution network, Firle and Crowborough wastewater treatment plants
	Public lighting	New suburbs and roads
	Harare resorts	Mabvazuva, Harava Dam
	Mass transport system	Copacabana, market square, Charge office, Fourth Street
	Farms	None
	Waste to energy at wastewater plants and Pomona dumpsite	Firle, Crowborough and Pomona
	Development of modern sports facility	Rufaro Stadium, Gwanzura, Dzivaresekwa, City Sports

formal–informal urban land market tensions, the land baron syndrome, wetlands[4] being subdivided and allocated to land-hungry members, as well political cleavage[5] to seek immunity from eviction by local authorities (Chirisa 2013; Chirisa et al. 2016; Chirisa, Matamanda and Mukarwi 2019; Makunde 2016). These problems are accentuated in peri-urban land markets as contestation emerge, hinging on financial matters between Harare city and the surrounding rural district council. In seeking to address these emergent urban land market challenges, mandate and responsibility of urban authorities have been questioned and challenged concerning inclusiveness and responsiveness to the informal urban land market requirements.

13.5.3.3 Investment Opportunities in Urban Land Markets

Table 13.12 presents the urban land markets investment opportunities in Harare city that have implications for the future transformation and shifts in urban land market supply and demand curves.

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[4]In Harare City, Monvale wetland was converted to a residential area, the Belvedere wetland near the national sports stadium witnessed the construction of a multipurpose centre (hotel and wholesale), while a school was built on the Ashdown Park wetlands.

[5]Politically linked names for cooperatives were adopted, such as Madzibaba Border Gezi, Sally Mugabe cooperative and the Josiah Tongogara cooperative.

From Table 13.12 one can deduce that opportunities do exist for participating and contributing to the urban land market in Harare. The policy and strategy are adept to providing space and scope for private–public partnerships in further developing the urban land markets in Harare. However, the general valuation roll[6] of the Harare City Council was last updated in 2008 and the statutory updating once every 10 years was pencilled for 2018. However, to date, the absence of a comprehensive, credible and authentic general valuation roll continues to be cited as the reason for failure to recoup and charge appropriately for services discharged to ratepayers by the Harare City Council.

13.5.4 Urban Land Markets in Ruwa: The Case of the Invisible and Powerful Private Sector Arm in Property Development and Management

13.5.4.1 Historical Contextual Analysis

Ruwa, which falls under the auspices of the Harare Metropolitan Province, was established 25 years ago and is located 25 km from the capital of Harare. Ruwa was established as a growth point in 1986 in terms of the Income Tax Act, Chapter [23: 06], and the Sales Tax Act, Chapter [23: 08]. Ruwa was granted local board status through a warrant in 1990. It occupies a total surface area of 3,188 ha. The urban residential land market segments are divided as follows: 3,117 (low density), 3,871 (medium density) and 16,155 (high density). Figure 13.5 presents a land use map for the Ruwa Local Board with implications for urban land markets.

Ruwa is a postcolonial established town in Zimbabwe. This town was established on a previously white-owned commercial farming area, which was under the jurisdiction of the then Bromley Ruwa Rural Council, now the Goromonzi district council of the Mashonaland East Province. Ruwa was established in 1890 as a farming area and its first local administrative authority, the Bromley Ruwa Rural Council, was set up in 1950 (Nyandoro and Muzorewa 2017).

In 1980, when Zimbabwe became independent, the Bromley Ruwa Rural Council changed its name to the Goromonzi Rural District Council, and the area assumed growth point status in 1986 (Muzorewa 2020: 15). Operating as a growth point from 1986 to 1990, Ruwa became an urban area under the administration of the Ruwa Local Board set-up in September 1990 (Ruwa Town Council 2011: 6). It was subsequently granted town status and effectively weaned from metropolitan Harare in 2008, with the Ruwa Town Council given the role to administer the town. Ruwa took two decades to develop from a rural growth point to a town.

Between 2002 and 2012, despite the economic difficulties experienced in Zimbabwe, Ruwa was the fastest growing town in the country (Muzorewa 2020).

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[6]A general valuation roll is a legal document that consists of property information of all rateable properties.
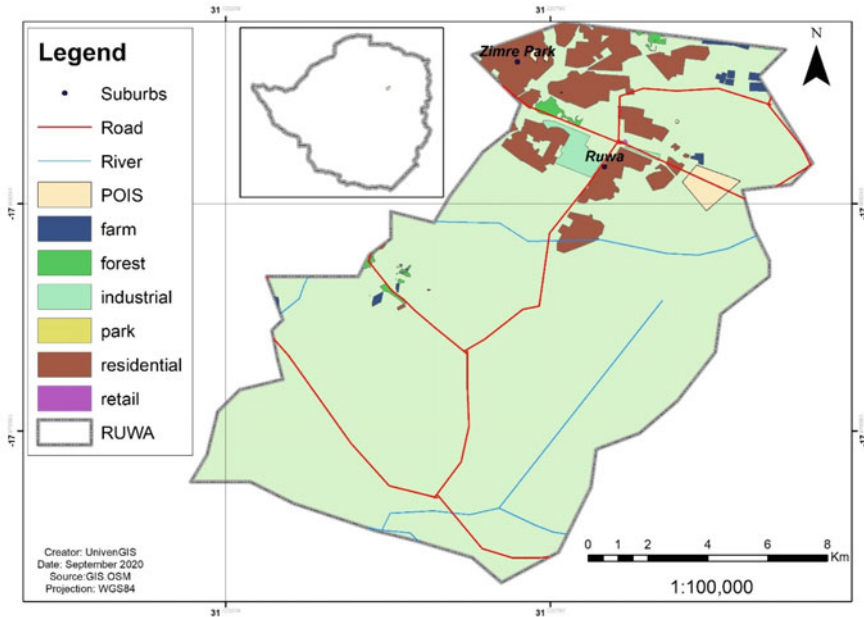
Fig. 13.5 Land use map for Ruwa Local Board with implications for urban land markets (*Source* Authors own compilation 2020)

However, the full development of urban land markets in Ruwa offers an exciting and different dimension on how to develop, manage and sustain urban land markets with private–public partnerships complementing the central and local government development facilitation role.

13.5.4.2 Dynamics and Complexities of Urban Land Markets

The Ruwa urban land market success story hinges on the private–public partnership model and steering mechanism adopted by the Ruwa Board in actualising the spatial transformation and development of the growth point. Before the activation of the private–public partnership model of urban land market development, Ruwa lacked an urban infrastructure base and services to attract property investments to the urban land markets. This is because Ruwa was situated in a commercial farming area, in which the property land market was skewed towards the agricultural market land ventures much more than being an urban land market system. Early urban land market initiatives and efforts in Ruwa were ad hoc, with disjointed microlayout plans and fragmented interventions. The planning capacity to manage these developments was also thin within the Ruwa Local Board.

The Ruwa Local Council Board adopted a land development strategy in which each private land development company was allocated a specific area to develop. This

proved to be a wise land use and urban development strategy as the urban land market was developed from a strategic perspective position. Invariably, after private land development companies were granted land development permits by the Ruwa Local Council Board, per the RTCP Act (Chapter 29: 15), the private land development companies commenced with development projects. This led to the development of both industrial and residential property markets in Ruwa town in response to rapid urbanisation, as well as offering some respite to urbanisation challenges spillover problems for Harare city.

Despite rising inflation post-2000, the low-income housing property segment has been generally perceived as a brisk business market by investors. Six thousand plots of 450 m^2 each in Fairview, as an example, were sold without difficulties for US\$8,500.00 in 2009 (Nyandoro and Muzorewa 2017). However, the downside of massive development of the high–medium-density urban residential market segment was that industrial and commercial urban land market segments were neglected. In addition to participation in the urban and public infrastructure urban market segments, private land development companies were instrumental in the development of commercial areas and shopping areas in Ruwa. Club Construction, a subsidiary of Mashonaland Holdings Company, built the Maha Shopping Centre, which housed restaurants, beer outlets, banks and shops. The Ruwa community benefitted from the business centre, which offered shopping facilities and tertiary services such as health surgeries and banking halls (Muzorewa and Nyandoro 2019).

13.5.4.3   Investment Opportunities for Urban Land Markets

Table 13.13 presents the current Ruwa town opportunities for investment in urban land markets which has implications in transforming the urban land markets supply and demand curves in Ruwa, peri-urban, rural as well as the greater Harare region, including Chitungwiza, Goromonzi and Harare.

13.6   Discussion and Policy Recommendations

In respect to the development and management of urban land markets, the following policy recommendations are suggested:

- The status quo of urban land markets in Zimbabwean cities reflects a prolonged and protracted economically difficult journey which date back to the 2000s. The need for reinvention, disruptive innovation and implementation of urban land markets is critical as a fighting mechanism coupled with incentives to stimulate efficiency, integration and complementarity of formal and informal urban land markets. Various pilots and demonstration projects concerning different modes of urban land market formats under the prevailing conditions require further perfection and development. Both scholars and practitioners need to find each other in

Table 13.13 Urban land markets investment opportunities in Ruwa town (Ruwa Local Board 2020)

Project name	Description	Location and land aspects
Water supply and sanitation	Construction of 10 mg water reservoir	Ward 9 land is available
Solid waste management	Construction of a refuse dumpsite for refuse removal and recycling	5 km from the town centre
Factory shells and home industries	Construction of factory shells	Ward 7 land is available
Shopping mall	Construction of a shopping mall	Ward 7 Lot A of Oaks land is available
Flea markets	Construction of flea market stalls	Ward 3 land is available
Industrial stands	Over 1,000 stands available	Tarisa Industrial Park
Market stalls	Construction of a wholesale market along Mutare road	Ward 1 land is available
Town centre	Lot A of Oaks	100 ha land available
Cultural village	Construction of a cultural village	3.5 ha land available in Timire Park

seeking to improve the policy and planning environment for urban land markets in Zimbabwe.

- Timely and regular updating of the general valuation roll: Urban councils should update general valuation rolls so that revenue necessary to support and promote the city's urban land markets is not lost but is available for supporting projects for the implantation and service management of various urban land markets. The use of modern technologies to assist with financial mapping and tracing of debtors to improve revenue collection and optimise service delivery, is exciting ground for further work.
- An improved stakeholder engagement model and framework for urban land markets should be implemented and continuously improved. This urban land market stakeholder mechanism should have the capacity and capability to bring together central government, local government, resident associations, real estate companies and housing cooperatives in seeking to improve the efficiency, productivity, resilience and competitiveness of urban land markets.
- Generating the disruption and reinvention platforms of informal urban land markets is also important. This platform and system will facilitate the incorporation of informal urban settlements into the mainstream urban planning set-up. This can be approached from an inclusive and one governance approach in which urban land markets, especially for low-income earners, are an outcome of co-engagement, co-development and co-management by intended beneficiaries of urban land markets.
- Urban land authorities need to consider the implementation of tactical urbanism, smart urbanism, compact development and resilient cities development so that in

developing the various urban land markets, negative environmental and ecosystem consequences are avoided.

- Conducting further research and development work covering various urban land markets such as industrial urban land markets, commercial urban land markets, recreational urban land markets and informal urban land markets, are an important dimension in the quest for seeking to improve the efficiency and performance of urban land markets in serving the needs of the people.
- A streaming opportunity for an urban land market governance system exists in respect of reorganising the government ministries for better leadership and oversight in maximising the planning, management and sustainability value chain of urban land markets, for example from land administration, surveying and mapping, to physical planning, title registration and urban land markets property development under one ministry. Perhaps exploring the potential of establishing an urban land markets agency could be a way to overcome the current challenges.

From this chapter's review, the study recommends the use of an urban scenarios transition and innovation framework to improve the efficiency of urban land markets. Figure 13.6 presents a graphical illustration of the recommended decolonised urban land market urban scenarios transition and innovation framework.

From Fig. 13.6 we can deduce that transitional and dynamic urban land market scenarios such as the Mubvumbi *Drizzle* and Mhute *Fog* need to be addressed, integrated and migrated to the Chiedza *Sunshine* urban land markets. There is need for urban land markets policy and planning to move Zimbabwe urban land markets into
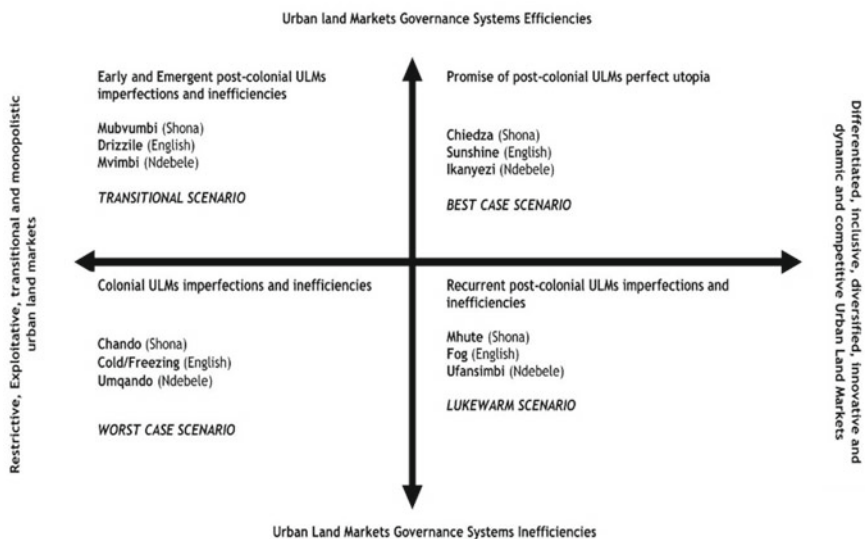

Fig. 13.6 Scenarios for urban land markets transitions and innovative framework in Zimbabwe (Authors own conceptualisation 2020)

desirable scenarios of Chiedza *Sunshine* and policy choices that are needed to avoid falling into a worst-case scenario such as Chando *Cold.*

13.7   Conclusions

This chapter has highlighted the role and contribution of urban land markets in urban economies. The chapter set out to outline the regulatory and development function of urban land markets in facilitating the efficient and effective distribution and allocation of land resources in an urban setting. The extent to which the current urban land markets are distorted and an inefficient reflection of access, use and sustainable management of land and property markets, was unravelled. While, generally, the efficient commodification of urban land markets underpins inclusive and progressive urban human settlement development, the case studies have highlighted how a prolonged period of economic difficulties has tampered with the expected land market outcomes in the urban areas of Zimbabwe. The findings corroborate international findings that highlight that inefficient urban land markets perpetuate suboptimal land and the shifts and changes in the property markets that encourage speculation, land holding, fragmentation and splintering of urban land markets, especially in the peri-urban areas, whether for commercial, industrial, residential or recreational purposes.

Postcolonial Zimbabwe can utilise both formal and informal urban land markets in transforming and transitioning towards sustainable human settlements. Lack of astute urban land markets has the impact of creating parallel and inefficient urban land markets that are vulnerable to manipulation by development speculators, politicians and the public. In this vicious urban land market, vulnerability crisis and risk, the ability and capacity of the government to meet the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals, such as the 17 Sustainable Development Goals, regarding goals that have implications on water, education, health and sustainable cities and communities are compromised.

The chapter has advanced a transitions and innovative framework for urban land markets that explains how contemporary urban land markets forces of demand and supply interact in Zimbabwe. Moreover, the way existing land market struggles in Zimbabwe play out as reflected by the appearance of new housing standards, products, technologies, formats, new spatial identities, pathologies and geographic mobilities, connections and interdependencies were highlighted as key to the future urban land markets research agenda. The policy and planning implications of urban land markets present both positive and negative consequences in the urban and immediate peri-urban areas. The dynamics and failures of urban land markets entail that urban spatial organisation, development and transformation of towns/cities is compromised. However, efficient appropriation of urban land markets presents socio-economic dividends upon which spatial and socio-economic engineering and transformation can be built on.

   The implications of urban boundary or line containment, 'i.e. urban envelopes and growth boundaries' in respect of urban growth and smart urbanism from the chapter, were reviewed to the necessity for financial sustainability of urban areas (Allam and Newman 2018; Millward 2006). To stimulate urban land markets, in terms of cost–benefit, does it pay better for policy restrictions in the form of urban containment or not? Do policies that encourage densification and full bulk factor utilisation of urban land lead to more efficient urban land markets in meeting the requirements of the residents in urban areas? Invariably, does compact development assists in the move towards sustainable cities which are based on efficient urban land markets in which the property valuation is regularly and timeously updated so that municipalities do not lose revenue? How can urban and rural municipalities generate a co-funding, co-development and co-innovation framework partnership model for better managing peri-urban areas for the joint synergetic advantage of the two areas? These are some areas that further research can provide more scope, and policy and planning collaboration on these aspects is critical.

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Chapter 14
The Political Economy of Urban Informal Settlements in Zimbabwe

Charles Chavunduka and Marilyn Chaonwa-Gaza

Abstract Research in the Global South reveals the limitations of sustainability frameworks for understanding urban informal settlements. These frameworks seek to address increasing informality. The narrow focus of these frameworks on informal settlements and their depoliticised definition of sustainability overlook the political dimensions of urban informality. Through an analytical lens of the political economy, this chapter seeks to explain the persistence of informal settlements in Zimbabwe. Using a case study approach, we draw upon academic literature, recent empirical studies, project experiences, and interviews in doing a critical analysis of urban informal settlements. We argue for a shift from a narrow to a broader view of urban informal settlements, such as the outcome of rapid urbanisation, poor economic performance, and the urbanisation of poverty. In that sense, informal settlements need to be understood in the broader context of changing urban politics and policies, economic and social forces that influence their development. Only through the political economy approach and its extensions, can we realise the limitations placed upon households' efforts to improve their shelter. This chapter illustrates how informal settlements are shaped by the interaction of economic interests and political considerations in a postcolonial state.

Keywords Informal settlements · Political economy · Sustainable development · Postcolonial state · Zimbabwe

14.1 Introduction

It is estimated that one billion or one third of the world's urban residents dwell in informal settlements (UN-Habitat 2008). The proliferation of informal settlements is the most alarming in the Global South, with 61.7% of the urban population in Africa living in informal settlements, a figure that has been on the rise (Dovey et al. 2020; UN-Habitat 2014). Increasingly, cities in developing countries are being developed

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on the basis of informality rather than careful formal processes. This casts a dark cloud on the ability of African countries to achieve the desired cities status envisaged in the New Urban Agenda, Sustainable Development Goal 11, and the African Agenda 2063 (Parnell 2016).

In recent years, Zimbabwe has experienced a rapid growth in informal settlements, particularly in peri-urban areas. Available data on informal settlements does not cover the whole country and mostly relates to the capital city, Harare. It has been estimated that 10% of the population in Harare live in illegal settlements, while 93% of them have illegal outbuildings in the high-density residential areas (Kamete 2002). During Operation Murambatsvina (Clean the Filth), an estimated 700,000 people in cities across the country lost their homes that were deemed illegal development (Tibaijuka 2005). More recently, Mtomba (2015) found that there are approximately 6,000 illegal settlers in over 20 settlements in Harare. Countrywide, peri-urban informal settlements have been an issue because they lack basic infrastructure and services, are a potential health hazard, are contributing to premature urban sprawl, and have not offered much scope to the poor to develop decent shelters.

In contemporary times, the problem of urban informal settlements has been addressed using sustainability frameworks (Ericsson 2016; Golubchikov and Badyina 2012; Rogers 1997; UN-Habitat 2002). Yet this framework, even after governance has been added to the economy, social, and environmental dimensions, has proved inadequate to address the problem of urban informal settlements. In developing countries, urban development is indeed distorted by politics, resulting in sustainable cities being a deferred reality (Muchadenyika and Williams 2016). The narrow focus of sustainability frameworks on informal settlements and their depoliticised definition of sustainability disregard the political dimensions of urban informal settlements. Sustainability frameworks need to be complemented by a political economy analysis to better inform programmes aimed at delivering decent housing to the poor. This chapter makes use of a political economy approach for understanding the recent proliferation of informal settlements in urban Zimbabwe. As will be illustrated by informal settlements at Hopley and Caledonia, Harare, and Lot A at Victoria Ranch in Masvingo, some stakeholders have been benefiting from the settlements at the expense of the poor and as of late migrating citizens who fail to access formal housing. On their part, the poor have not been passive agents but have been exercising political agency and clientelism to access urban housing (McGregor and Chatiza 2019). This chapter contributes to postcolonial urban geography in Zimbabwe in that a political economy analysis is central to an understanding of the nature of urban transformation that has been taking place in recent years. In this respect, political and economic events of the past two decades mostly account for the malady, proliferation of urban informal settlements, and their lack of basic infrastructure and services.

We begin by conceptualising informal settlements and explaining the political economy theoretical framework that guided the analysis. The applied qualitative methodology underpinned by a case study design is explained and followed by a presentation of findings. This is followed by a discussion of cases of urban informal settlements. Finally, the conclusion reinforces the fact that urban informal settlements

are shaped by the interaction between economic interests and political considerations in postcolonial states.

14.2 Conceptualising Informal Settlements

The broad concept of informality was developed in the 1970s as part of the endeavour to explain the emergence of the informal sector and informal economy (Jones 2017). This was as an attempt to understand the processes and consequences of large flows of rural–urban migrants to cities in search of jobs and housing outside the formal regulated systems. Even then, there was no global consensus on what informality is, as different disciplines viewed it differently. For example, it has been viewed as a spatial category—slum; an organisational form—characterised by spontaneity and tacit knowledge, rather than explicit rules and negotiability of value, shaped through shifting social relations (McFarlane and Waibel 2012). In this chapter, informality is conceptualised to be territorialised within slum settlements on the legal, political, economic, social, and environmental margins of the city.

Like informality, there is no single definition of what informal settlements are. Various scholars have used different definitions and parameters to define informal settlements. These parameters include nature of land tenure, degree of compliance with planning and building regulations, standards of housing and basic facilities, quality of the physical environment, and the socio-economic status of the residents (Zhang 2011). The use of parameters in defining informal settlements has resulted in them being usually defined by what they lack rather than by what they are (Durand-Lasserve 2006). Notwithstanding their variations across cities and nations, informal settlements are generally characterised by a chronic lack of basic infrastructure services, inferior housing, illegal dwellings, illegal or insecure land tenure, high construction density, poor sanitary conditions, poverty, social exclusion, self-production, and incremental development (Dovey et al. 2020; Huchzermeyer 2003; UN 2015).

Variations to the general conception of informal settlements have focused on the tenure aspect of the settlement or the housing delivery process. From a tenure perspective, informal settlements have been defined as unplanned residential areas "where housing, shelter and services have been constructed on land to which the occupants have no legal claim or which they occupy illegally" (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees 2014: 16). From the perspective of a housing delivery process, informal settlements are areas developed without formal spatial planning procedures of land acquisition, preparation and approval of layout, design and emplacement of services, land allocation, and superstructure development (Dialogue on Shelter and Zimbabwe Homeless People's Federation 2014).

The various definitions of informal settlements provided above give a multidimensional concept, with physical, socio-economic, and legal aspects to it (Fernandes

2011). The informal settlements discussed in this chapter are characterised by unauthorised land use, unauthorised settlements often at high density, unauthorised buildings that do not comply with prescribed standards, and occupation that originates from a land invasion (Huchzermeyer 2003). Their origin has been attributed to state-sanctioned arbitrary evictions, politicised urban land access, land invasions, and political party contestations for the control of urban areas in a context in which land has been used as a political resource (Matamanda 2020; Muchadenyika 2015, 2020; United States Agency for International Development 2019).

14.3 Theoretical Framework

Political economy is the study of social relations, particularly power relations that mutually constitute the production, distribution, and consumption of resources (Mosco 1996). One of the premises of political economy is that the actions of any government can be understood only as consequences of political forces that enable governments to acquire and maintain power (Merlo 2005). Thus, governments can and do use land resources to acquire and maintain power leading to the creation of informal settlements. This power-based model operates through stakeholder incentives whereby institutions are created in favour of powerful interests. Decision-making is affected by power and authority. Politicians and other elites usually have the power and ability to define the norms and have authority to sanction or incentivise the implementation of certain laws (Collinson 2003; Foucault 1981; Serrat 2017). This ruling class also uses power to advance specific agendas that perpetuate their dominance on the working class and this in turn helps to maintain the status quo (Lefebvre 2008). Because of increasing informality, the working class can be equated with those engaged in the informal economy. The agenda of the ruling class includes corporate interests, pursuit of profit, and vote-buying.

Recent interests in political economy analysis have focused on a concern with the role of formal and informal rules of the game, an analysis of power and the processes of contestation and bargaining between economic and political elites, a focus on the interests of different groups, and an analysis of how these interests impact development outcomes, at times to the detriment of broader development objectives (Department for International Development 2009; Menocal et al. 2018).

Rules of the game refer to formal and informal institutions (rules and norms) that shape the quality of governance and influence actor behaviour, relationships, power dynamics, and capacity for collective action (Menocal et al. 2018). Formal institutions are the codified laws and officially sanctioned rules (constitutional and legal frameworks), while informal institutions are rules created, communicated, and enforced outside of officially sanctioned channels through personal, social, and ethnic ties (Helmke and Levitsky 2004). Formal and informal institutions have a role to play in allocating scarce resources such as land. The wheels of the political economy have been identified as power and authority, formal and informal institutions, and values and interests. It is therefore important to identify the haves and have nots of power

and authority and this contributes to an understanding of the proliferation of informal settlements (Serrat 2017). Society and urban development, in particular, is shaped by power and authority groups with interests and incentives that motivate them, while human relations and interactions are influenced by values and ideas, including culture, ideologies, and religion (Serrat 2017).

According to Bah et al. (2018), the political economy of informal settlements is about reconciling the divergent interests from different stakeholders, while ensuring that their expected political and economic benefits are secured. The informal provision of land to the poor in exchange for political support, known as clientelism, leads to the proliferation of informal settlements given the lack of resources to develop decent housing (Deuskar 2019). Thus, in understanding urban informal settlements, it is important to take into consideration the sociopolitical dynamics that shape them, a matter that is usually sidelined (Satterthwaite and Mitlin 2014). Hence, we turn to the political and economic events that have been driving the growth of Zimbabwe's informal settlements.

14.4   Political Economy Context of Urban Informal Settlements

We motivate our political economy analysis by tracing how some key postcolonial developments—the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP),[1] the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP),[2] Operation Murambatsvina,[3] and housing cooperatives and regularisation—led to the proliferation of urban informal settlements in Zimbabwe. In the first decade of independence (1980–1989), Zimbabwe adopted socialism, a policy that saw the central government playing an important role in service delivery, including housing. By 1989, socialist policies were no longer sustainable and financial negotiations with the International Monetary Fund culminated in the adoption of ESAP in 1991. The main features of ESAP were the rollback of the state, trade liberalisation, deregulation, currency devaluation, subsidy withdrawal, and an increase in user fees, particularly for education and health services (Kawewe and Dibie 2000). Through the adoption of ESAP, the government agreed to a policy that contradicted its socialist agenda of trying to close the gap between

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[1]Neoliberal market-driven policy measures which were adopted as prescriptive solutions of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank to the economic crises of the 1980s (Zhou and Zvoushe 2012).

[2]A programme implemented in 2000–2003 which aimed at resettling people on large-scale farms acquired by government, with the promise that provision of infrastructure and services would follow later.

[3]Operation Murambatsvina, a programme of the Government of Zimbabwe, launched on 18 May 2005, meant to deal with crime, squalor, and lawlessness, rebuilding and organising urban settlements and small and medium enterprises to bring dignity, order, and prosperity to stakeholders and the nation at large (Government of Zimbabwe 2005: 2).

the rich and the poor so that it could benefit from funding by the International Monetary Fund, which was mainly captured by the elite. Thus, the government may have unconsciously acted in the interest of political elites who never cared to invest in social housing.

Government, and the failure of the private sector to invest in social housing, led to increases in rentals and the cost of building materials. This was due to the mismatch between supply and demand of housing, with the latter outstripping the former. Given the scarcity of affordable housing, people were pushed into informal settlements where rentals were relatively low and the use of substandard building materials was common (Auret 1995). It was not long before these neoliberal policies began to harm the economy because massive labour retrenchments set in and by 1993, the level of unemployment had risen to 44% (Matamanda 2020). The loss of jobs had such devastating effects that some commentators questioned whether it really had been necessary to embark on ESAP (Brett 2005; Potts and Mutambirwa 1998). The crisis has worsened with mounting foreign debts, declining exports, an increase in food prices, and falling per capita income, further affecting the affordability of housing (Kawewe and Dibie 2000; Potts and Mutambirwa 1998). Homeowners responded to the rising demand for housing and their declining incomes by resorting to renting out rooms and backyard shacks to lodgers. Dorman (2016) noted that councils grudgingly tolerated these developments as they issued permits for some of the outbuildings.

By the late 1990s, negative consequences of the ESAP to the workforce quality and increased unemployment in a wrecked economy were bound to result in political crisis, social unrest, and violence. In that period, Zimbabwe witnessed a series of strikes and food riots which brought the country into its worst political crisis since 1980. This political and economic crisis gave rise to the formation of a formidable opposition party—the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) in 1999 (Brett 2005). When the local government elections took place in 2000, the MDC got control of urban areas which had been dominated by the Zimbabwe African National Union–Patriotic Front (ZANU–PF) since 1980. This led to the contest for urban control between the ZANU–PF and MDC, especially in Harare. For example, in Harare two parallel housing delivery systems emerged, with the City of Harare allocating land to cooperatives that were registered in its Department of Housing and Community Services and also to those linked to the MDC, and the Ministry of Local Government allocating land to cooperatives aligned with ZANU–PF (Muchadenyika 2020). ZANU–PF exerted its power through the Ministry of Local Government which had leverage because it received, from the government, peri-urban farms acquired for urban development. In the prevailing political dynamics, housing cooperatives became amorphous with some formed by opportunists and entrepreneurs who did not derive power from any political party. ZANU–PF used peri-urban farms that were acquired through the FTLRP to gain political support in urban constituencies through urban resettlement, while the MDC was trying to use its majority control of urban areas to allocate land to its supporters (Muchadenyika 2015). However, the MDC had limited success as it was incapacitated with most of the urban land being under a de facto ZANU–PF administration. The growth of informal settlements post-2000 has

been directly linked to ZANU–PF's shift into patronage politics following the emergence of the MDC and transformation of cities into MDC strongholds (McGregor and Chatiza 2019).

When the FTLRP came to peri-urban areas in 2000, farm invasions by war veterans,[4] political elites, and some members of parliament were originally for agricultural purposes but morphed into urban informal settlements under the control of housing cooperatives (Uchena 2019). Historically, the growth of cities in Zimbabwe was managed through the incorporation of neighbouring farms, most of which were owned by white farmers. The incorporation process involved lengthy administrative steps: purchase and conversion of rural land to urban government land, conversion of urban government land to urban council land by means of a grant, and government proclamation of land incorporation. It was only after the incorporated land had been proclaimed municipal land that it would become available for management by the urban council. Since 2000, rather than transferring ownership of acquired peri-urban farms to city councils for planned urban development; the government has been giving it to ZANU–PF-aligned cooperatives, trusts, and land developers for housing delivery. In turn, these parallel housing delivery institutions, by performing this function, undermined the MDC-controlled urban authorities. However, most of the new settlements were informal in the sense that they lacked services such as roads, water supply, sewerage reticulation, and amenities. No wonder, an urban state land audit found the creation of new urban settlements by aspiring or sitting members of parliament being used as a way of mobilising political support (Uchena 2019).

Following the failure of ESAP, the implementation of the FTLRP in 2000 led to a protracted economic crisis in subsequent years, pushing more people into the informal economy (Marongwe 2003; Moyo and Yeros 2005; Muchadenyika 2015). In the face of rising informality in 2005, the government launched Operation Murambatsvina (Clean the Filth); an operation that demolished informal structures, initially in Harare, which later spread to all ten provinces of Zimbabwe. It is estimated that Operation Murambatsvina left 700,000 people homeless (Tibaijuka 2005). Although the Government of Zimbabwe (2005) gave the rationale for Operation Murambitsvina, the operation was also found to have various political motives. For example, it has been highlighted that it was meant to effect retribution against urban dwellers who voted for the MDC in the 2000 elections (Bratton and Masunungure 2006). It has been a way of dispersing selected urban populations to rural areas where ZANU–PF could more easily control them (Paradza 2010). Moreover, it has been a way of stifling the independent economic and political activity in the country's urban areas, especially the foreign black market currency and of preventing an uprising in light of the deepening food insecurity (Bratton and Masunungure 2006; Paradza 2010). This shows that urban housing for the poor was entangled in larger national political struggles and dynamics (Muchadenyika 2015). There is thus a sense that Operation Murambatsvina was implemented not to get rid of informal settlements, but rather

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[4]Peri-urban areas and invaded farms were to be used for agricultural smallholdings but because of the chaos that prevailed, the land was quickly put to peri-urban informal settlements mostly by ZANU-PF aligned housing cooperatives.

an attempt at regaining control of urban areas by making them more apparent in the political arena (Matamanda 2020; Scott 1998). Here, we see urban planning being used as a tool for social and political control.

The issue of control and the legibility of urban space manifests itself in several ways. First, rather than transferring acquired peri-urban farms to urban councils for planning and urban development, the government allocated them as state land to ZANU–PF-aligned cooperatives, trusts, and land developers. Individuals accessed land in the created unserviced peri-urban settlements through ZANU–PF structures with the party's district coordinating committees playing a key role. Second, shortly after the large-scale demolitions, the government resettled the victims through Operation Garikai (Live Well). Under Operation Garikai, beneficiaries were allocated a two-room core house; however, the project quickly ran out of funds and government began allocating unserviced land to cooperatives, developers, and employers to facilitate the building of houses (Marongwe et al. 2011). This resulted in the mushrooming of informal settlements. Operation Garikai also reflects power contestations between central and local government, as central government subverted planning processes to score political points after Operation Murambatsvina. This was due to the conflation of the ruling party and central government and the use of power to gain the loyalty of Operation Murambatsvina victims by providing them access to housing. And third, from 2013, when ZANU–PF took sole control of the state, policy towards informal settlements shifted towards regularisation and introduction of bureaucratic control.

In large informal settlements around Harare, the ruling ZANU–PF casts access to land and security as a gift contingent on the display of political loyalty. This loyalty is, however, questionable as to whether informal settlers were actually victims or manipulated political developments to secure land informally. Many beneficiaries of cooperative housing obtained ruling party cards, not only as a means to access housing but as an assurance of protection against violence (McGregor and Chatiza 2019). Local party committees acted as de facto territorial authorities who policed the public sphere, prescribing rights talk and working with members of parliament to win votes through threats of eviction and promises of land, development, and tenure security (McGregor and Chatiza 2020). This brings up political parties as the main actors in shaping cities and informal settlements, with the settlements being ruled directly by the ruling party rather than by state institutions. ZANU–PF rewarded supporters at all levels and at the top these included military figures, war veterans, members of parliament, and land barons, also at the bottom in informal settlements themselves, local party committees, cooperative leaders, and youths. MDC politicians tried to reward grassroots votes by leading their invasions, especially during the Government of National Unity period (2008–2013) but could not do so as they controlled neither land nor state security institutions (McGregor and Chatiza 2020). To gain insights into the political economy dimensions of informal settlements, the study mostly relied on case studies.

14.5   Methodology

The study made use of a combination of literature and documentary review, case studies, evidence from seminar series, and key informant interviews. There has been an increase in literature, including dissertations on informal settlements in recent years. The literature and documentary evidence based on urban state land audits commissioned by the government and reports based on nationwide surveys of urban informal settlements by Dialogue on Shelter and the Zimbabwe Homeless People's Federation, in partnership with urban local authorities, greatly informed the findings of the study. Primary evidence was drawn from the authors' participation in a bimonthly urban informality series that was hosted by the University of Zimbabwe in 2019. More empirical evidence was drawn from a one-day workshop on 'Migrants on the Margins' that was organised by the Development Governance Institute in 2017. The workshop brought together representatives from the Ministry of Local Government and Public Works, the Urban Development Corporation, Dialogue on Shelter, the Zimbabwe Homeless People's Federation, and the University of Zimbabwe.

Case studies were done on urban informal settlements of Hopley and Caledonia in Harare, and the Victoria Ranch in Masvingo. Evidence from these was verified using key informant interviews of the Harare mayor, and one senior official each from the Ministry of Local Government and Public Works, Urban Development Corporation, Dialogue on Shelter, the Zimbabwe Homeless People's Federation, Development Governance Institute, and the University of Zimbabwe. These stakeholders were selected on the basis of their involvement in some way in the development of the three informal settlements. Content and thematic analyses were applied to the secondary and primary data, respectively. Cases were analysed from various perspectives that looked into a particular case or what it was a case of (Ragin and Becker 1992). Such analysis eluded the political economy dimensions of each case. It is the findings from the case studies to which we now turn.

14.6   Findings and Discussion

The evidence presented on the three case studies of Hopley, Caledonia, and Lot A of Victoria Ranch were mostly drawn from the Development Governance Institute (2017), Migrants on the Margins Project, the Ministry of Local Government, Public Works and National Housing (2015), the Inter-Ministerial Team Investigation Report, and Takuva's (2017) master's degree dissertation, respectively.

14.6.1 Hopley Urban Informal Settlement

Hopley, an informal settlement of 17,000 people is located just outside the south-east city boundary on land owned by the City of Harare. It was established in 2005 as a holding camp as part of Operation Garikai, which was a cover-up by the government following the visit by the UN special envoy whose team condemned Operation Murambatsvina. The settlement serves the interests of the government and much less the victims who were not provided with any housing, infrastructure, and services. Efforts by non-governmental organisations such as UNICEF to bring services to the community, were frustrated as ZANU–PF's control of the area that provided them limited access.

Most residents of Hopley entered lease agreements with the Ministry of Local Government but the City of Harare has been the planning authority with responsibility for the provision of infrastructure and services. After 2005, housing cooperatives carried out development on institutional stands in planned areas as well as on unplanned areas. The subsequent period witnessed an influx of land occupiers, and families which had been left out of initial land allocations by the Ministry, moved out of the holding camp to settle in open spaces. As self-allocation of stands continued, orphans, widows, and those without identity documents occupied vacant stands that had already been allocated to other people (Development Governance Institute 2017). The sidelining of the City of Harare provided ZANU–PF youth the opportunity to allocate open spaces to homeless and desperate individuals. The youth used political power to benefit from the sale of land (Uchena 2019).

The nature of the houses varied, with permanent and well-built structures in the planned areas and temporary houses built of timber, plastic, and bricks in unplanned areas. The settlement has been characterised by informality within formality, ineffective development control, illegal buildings, lack of access roads, and dependence on private sources for water supply. In the circumstances, housing delivery was done outside the framework of the City of Harare with housing cooperatives playing a central role. Commenting on the role of cooperatives, a senior government official remarked that the development in Hopley was not as informal as it looked like (Key informant interview, May 2020). Since 2008, political structures dominated the area when the settlement became part of a ZANU–PF-controlled constituency. It would seem the government found the opportunity of keeping families and individuals in a dependent situation so that they remain loyal to ZANU–PF. They risked eviction if they did not reciprocate the protection from the political party with their votes. ZANU–PF thus ensured that it had an area in Harare where it could win parliamentary seats in a city where the majority of the members of parliament came from the MDC.

Competing interests and incentives of political parties marginalised the role of the City of Harare and the central government in the development of the settlement. Many households have not been receiving Council bills, suggesting weak interaction between the city and its residents. Despite the establishment of a City of Harare District Office tasked, among other duties, with the rationalisation of development

in Harare South, residents of Hopley retained stronger links with their cooperatives. The government responded to informality in Hopley by tasking Urban Development Corporation, a state enterprise responsible for urban development, to undertake regularisation of the settlement. Such response exacerbated informality as people rushed to stake claims to land when the corporation came to Hopley.

The losers from ZANU–PF and central government policy of marginalising urban councils have been the majority poor. Monthly, the poor have lost money to housing cooperatives in return for non-delivery of urban infrastructure and services. It is doubtful whether they could ever get into a position to make savings for the development of their shelters. In a seminar presentation, the director of technical services of the Urban Development Corporation lamented that the power of cooperatives needed to fall away to protect housing beneficiaries (University of Zimbabwe 2019).

14.6.2   Caledonia

Caledonia is an informal settlement of 23,000 residential stands located on Harare's north-east boundary with the Goromonzi Rural District Council. Formerly farmland, it was invaded in 2000 and some individuals began forming housing cooperatives to obtain state land which they later sold (Government of Zimbabwe 2015). The farm was acquired by the government and incorporated into the Harare municipal boundary in 2012. Thus, administratively it falls under the Harare City Council but lies in the Goromonzi South Constituency. Since the land is owned by the state, the Urban State Land Office would be responsible for allocating land in the area, but on the ground, housing cooperative leaders would register a cooperative with the Ministry of Small, Medium Enterprises, and Cooperative Development, which would then approach the district administrator for allocation of state land. Upon receiving an offer letter from the district administrator, the cooperative leader would allocate stands to beneficiaries in the provided area.

Although layout plans were made available through a planning firm commissioned by the government, only three out of twenty such plans had been approved in terms of the Regional, Town, and Country Planning Act. This set-up, and the fact that cooperative leaders instructed a land survey, rendered all development on 17 unapproved layout plans illegal. Beneficiaries deposited an amount of money for the stands and paid monthly instalments towards a fund for infrastructure and service provision, but no insignificant infrastructure was ever developed in the area (Government of Zimbabwe 2015). By selling state land and facilitating development, multiple institutions, including district administrators, a consortium, cooperative, union and trust chairpersons, exercised authority beyond their powers (Government of Zimbabwe 2015).

Before instructing the land survey, cooperative leaders would sometimes give layout preparation instructions to town planning consultants, and at other times to land surveyors, reflecting their effort at creating a formal settlement. Cooperative leaders went as far as mooting the idea of forming a Caledonia–Harare Eastview

Consortium for the coordinated development of the area, but the idea was abandoned for lack of trust by residents.

14.6.3   Lot a of Victoria Ranch, Masvingo

Lot A of Victoria Ranch is located 8 km to the south of Masvingo city centre. The informal settlement was originally a cattle ranch on the city boundary and was compulsorily acquired by the government in 2002 for urban development. The settlement has been said to be a product of the 2003 National Housing Development Programme but also a response to the housing crisis of the late 1990s hence, politically motivated (Takuva 2017). In 2003, the government came up with the National Housing Development Programme to clear the urban housing backlog of 1.25 million housing units by 2008 (Government of Zimbabwe 2003). Through this programme, the state would acquire 310,406.4 ha of peri-urban land in a bid to attain the planned target of housing delivery (Government of Zimbabwe 2003; Marongwe et al. 2011). Thus, Lot A of Victoria Ranch is state land and has an estimated population of 465 residents, consisting of about 93 households with an average family size of five (United States Agency for International Development 2019).

Building plans get approved by the Masvingo City Council under a memorandum of agreement with the Masvingo Rural District Council where the settlement is located; yet the site has no certificate of compliance in the absence of basic roads, water, and sewerage infrastructure. Houses are mainly made of temporary bricks and mortar and there is lack of services such as schools and clinics (Chikomwe 2014). To qualify for stand allocation, one had to join the Vashandi Housing Cooperative that was formed by a politician (Takuva 2017). Through the National Housing Development Programme of 2000, the government had the intention to clear the urban housing backlog of 1.25 million housing units by 2008 (Government of Zimbabwe 2003). To ensure the success of the programme, the government adopted incremental/parallel development in 2006 (Munyoro et al. 2016). Because of its ability to increase housing delivery, a parallel development was integrated into the National Housing Policy of 2012. Lot A of the Victoria Ranch housing project was implemented using the national housing policy's 'parallel development' approach, that is, instead of beginning development with the installation of infrastructure, people were allowed to occupy stands and begin construction of their houses, while infrastructure provision would take place concurrently.

Negligible infrastructure was developed as beneficiary monthly contributions were eroded by high rates of inflation, while part of the money went towards funding political party activities. One distraught resident would say: "I have wasted my money to buy a stand here; this is a typical state-planned informal settlement" (Takuva 2017: 61). The housing project lost 50% of the initial beneficiaries because of failure to pay monthly instalments, and their properties were bought by the middle and upper class. Countrywide, there had been an outcry about the lack of transparency and accountability in the manner in which housing cooperatives managed project funds,

and with the 2013 harmonised election in sight, the government banned the allocation of state land to housing cooperatives.

Based on the findings from the three case studies, some pertinent questions are as follows: Who makes decisions in the City Council area? Who implements decisions and for whose benefit? Resource distribution was found to be defined by political forces and decisions were made by parties with certain interests (Key informant interview, January 2020). Since 2000, local elected leaders in the main urban areas, including the mayor, members of parliament and councillors, were mainly MDC candidates, a situation that meant urban policy would be shaped by the opposition party; yet the national government was controlled by ZANU–PF.

The ruling party countered this through central government interference and control of local government issues, which included housing delivery (Matamanda 2020). Contestation between ZANU–PF and urban local authorities has been ensconced in exclusive ZANU–PF politics, resulting in the latter losing control over some urban spaces (Key informant interview, January 2020). ZANU–PF exercised control through direct interference by the central government in MDC-run urban council affairs. The interference entailed not only direct action by the central government, the ruling party, but the use of state power to alter the norm (Muchadenyika 2020). It would seem that Hopley, Caledonia, and Victoria Ranch informal settlements were a creation of ZANU–PF and central government. High-profile politicians, particularly land barons, have been implicated in this saga and these were identified in all three case studies. As a seemingly puzzled key informant would rhetorically ask: Who is a land baron? Why would a peri-urban farm be offered to one individual and not to the city council? The commission of inquiry into the matter of sale of state land in and around urban areas since 2005, defined a land baron as a politically connected, powerful, and self-proclaimed state land 'authority' who illegally sold state land in and around urban areas without accounting for the proceeds (Uchena 2019). Moreover, a land baron could take on various forms, such as that of an impersonator or opportunist taking advantage of the administrative void in peri-urban areas to further own business interests (Government of Zimbabwe 2015). The same commission questioned the allocation of unserviced peri-urban and urban land to cooperatives, trusts, land developers, and individuals and not to the local authority.

The main institutions in urban housing delivery were ZANU–PF structures that applied the cooperative model. In 2006, the Ministry of Local Government introduced a parallel development policy to facilitate housing cooperatives and other low-income housing projects. Through this policy, stand owners were allowed to build where there was no requisite infrastructure. The policy meant that infrastructure would be provided together with the construction of houses or after the construction of houses. The outcome of the policy was that houses were constructed without the infrastructure in the project areas. In essence, the policy contributed to the development of urban informal settlements (Takuva 2017). We see here that the political elite can subvert town planning in their contestation with the opposition for control of people. Partly because of neighbourhood health problems emanating from the lack of water and sanitation infrastructure, the government has since rescinded the

parallel development policy. Its legacy has been the continued construction of houses in the absence of infrastructure, even in some medium-income residential areas.

Decisions about marginalising and/or subverting the role of urban councils in housing delivery have benefitted the elite and to a small extent the poor. The creation of new urban informal settlements by aspiring or sitting members of parliament has been used for mobilising political support (Uchena 2019). At a broader scale, elites were found to have made political gains in the form of votes as well as those of an economic nature through elite accumulation (Matamanda et al. 2020: 703):

> Instead of being a survival strategy, the proliferation of informality emerges as a cartel that is operated by senior government officials who make large sums of money from this sector that are not taxed, and they find ways to avoid regulating to continue benefiting from the informality.

At a workshop on 'Migrants on the Margins', participants observed that politicians were happy with the set-up in Harare's informal settlements of Hopley, Hatcliffe Extension, and Epworth Ward 7 because they manipulate it for political benefit (Development Governance Institute 2017). This as it may, the political elite had no final say, as the poor have been deploying human agency in ways that have helped them access land and mobilise for regularisation of their informal settlements, while evading payment of taxes and migrating in the city in the exercise of their power of entry and exit.

The weakening of state institutions such as urban councils through the introduction of parallel authority structures such as cooperatives, political parties, and land barons in housing delivery, aggravates the conditions of the urban poor. This weakening of urban councils has also been achieved through not making land available to them for urban development.

14.7   Lessons from the Study

The case of Hopley has shown that de facto ZANU–PF structures were in charge of the informal settlement. The ruling party effectively used its structures to marginalise the opposition-run City Council in urban development. Addressing a seminar organised by the Development Governance Institute (2017), the Mayor of Harare acknowledged that informal settlements were expanding because housing delivery was being done outside the City Council framework: "If it was Harare City Council, it would have been infrastructure development first before settling people".

Party structures used cooperatives in housing delivery whereby access to housing entailed paying allegiance to the ruling party. When the government decided to regularise the informal settlement, this was done through a state corporation that again marginalised the City Council. The aim has been to give advantage to a ZANU–PF government at the expense of an MDC-led council. At the end of the day, the beneficiaries of the regularisation process would be grateful to ZANU–PF and see a reason to vote for them at the next elections.

Caledonia had more complex dimensions of an informal settlement in that two district administrators' offices, one in Mabvuku-Tafara and the other in Goromonzi district outside Harare, were used to marginalise the City of Harare in housing delivery. Cooperative leaders had powerful patrons based at the national level and, in essence, the informal settlement was managed through a shadow state that has maintained informality for electoral purposes. Enterprising cooperative leaders spearheaded the on-site establishment of informal settlements through the sale of state land. Fraudulent activities such as the sale of land by housing cooperative leaders and non-accountability for money paid by beneficiaries towards infrastructure and service provision, was tolerated as a way of incentivising party supporters (McGregor and Chatiza 2020). Thus, the informal settlements became a way of rewarding local political elites, such as cooperative leaders, through the collection of money from desperate home seekers, but the settlements were not recognised by the City of Harare. Hence, Caledonia was incorporated into Harare simply to create urban votes, but it had been part of the Goromonzi district.

Lot A of Victoria Ranch showed that political economy issues of informal settlements are not only confined to Harare. It added other dimensions in that for economic and political benefits the state could adopt policies such as parallel development that enabled informal settlement development. To this extent, the ruling party received donations drawn from monthly payments by beneficiaries towards the development of infrastructure (Takuva 2017).

From the three case studies, it is clear that the state in developing countries can be heterogeneous, contested, conflictual, and at cross-purposes with itself to an extent that can paralyse urban infrastructure and service delivery, leading to the development and persistence of informal settlements. At the bottom of the political contestations in Zimbabwe, has been the practice of exclusive politics. Contestation has existed between the central government and urban local authorities who were in most instances under MDC leadership. There has been contestation over urban votes and lucrative rentals arising from the sale of state land.

14.8   Conclusion

In recent years, Zimbabwe's informal settlements have been shaped by economic interests and political considerations of the ruling class but also by the government's failure to provide housing in urban areas. Political considerations have included the creation of urban informal settlements as a means of mobilising voters and regaining control of urban areas that, since 2000, had become opposition strongholds. This was achieved through practices of the radical elite who captured state institutions but also operated through parallel institutions such as ruling party structures and cooperatives and created anarchy in urban and peri-urban spaces to achieve their purposes. Power was used to deny MDC-controlled urban areas access to acquired peri-urban land, thereby contributing to the incapacitation of their operations.

The case studies have shown how financial contributions by beneficiaries were not channelled to the provision of infrastructure as intended but were diverted through political party structures and for private benefit. With the main economic beneficiaries being land barons and other elites, urban local authorities were denied an important source of revenue leading to the proliferation of informal settlements. The provision of housing through the ruling party-aligned cooperatives, made urban councils redundant in the delivery of the service. The crisis wrought by the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme left the government poorer and weakened with a much-reduced capacity to intervene in housing delivery. State institutions became more amenable to be captured by the ruling party. Capacity constraints explained the emergence of urban informal settlements and non-enforcement of regulations by the state. Tolerated lawlessness became a characteristic feature of the settlements.

What then emerges from this political economy analysis is that the government can use state land as a political resource in times of a political crisis. This can lead to the creation of informal settlements, given that such political challenges tend to be accompanied by economic crises that dry up resources of urban infrastructural development. In Asian, Latin American, and African countries, informal settlements persist because powerful actors, including the state, have over the years learnt to benefit financially through rent-seeking and politically through vote-buying. This has led some scholars and key informants to question whether the concerned governments have any motivation to eradicate urban informality (Deuskar 2019; Key informant, May 2000). When the government and the ruling party become the same thing, conflicts of interest arise. Instead of serving the people regardless of party affiliation, the government begins to serve the interests of the ruling party. State capture by the ruling political parties and elites therefore seems to fuel the emergence and proliferation of informal settlements. State and political structures thus need to be kept separate and independent if any permanent solution to informal settlements is to be found. Furthermore, part of the solution to informal settlements lies in addressing the political crises as history has shown that the economy has political foundations.

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Chapter 15
Putting Together the Broken Pieces: Rewiring the Urban Geography of Zimbabwe

Verna Nel, Abraham R. Matamanda, and Innocent Chirisa

Abstract This chapter synthesizes the issues discussed in the preceding chapters in which the various authors have provided a discussion on the perspectives and paradigms of the country's urban geography through the postcolonial lens. Specifically, the chapter does not provide solutions to solve the maladies that are currently bedeviling the towns and cities in Zimbabwe. Rather, the work is provocative as it discusses the 'taken for granted' issues and helps to raise awareness regarding the living conditions, especially of the urban poor. The chapter concludes that the urban geography in Zimbabwe is characterized by rapid urbanization that is breeding informality and opening wide gaps of inequality as the urban poor are marginalized and forced into 'makeshift urbanisation' and where the notion of stewardship is neglected as citizens seek survival strategies that are contrary to the notions of sustainability. Moreover, it is also revealed that there are marked politics of difference and increasing interference of the central government and the ruling ZANU-PF party in local affairs. This situation depicts a divergence from governance to government which may help to explain the proliferating government rot, embezzlement of public funds, and lack of basic services in many poor neighbourhoods. Implications for sustainable urban governance and planning are provided which recognize the complexity of the urban spaces in Zimbabwe and the need for a paradigm shift of modernism and western-oriented systems to locally based approaches to plan and govern the towns and cities.

Keywords Stewardship · Rapid urbanisation · Inequality · Complexity

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15.1   Introduction

This book set out to explore the postcolonial urban geography of Zimbabwe through a variety of lenses evident in the subjects of the chapters. The focus on urban geography articulated in the book, resonates with the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the global aspirations of enhancing the sustainability, safety, inclusivity, and resilience of cities. To this end, the authors have addressed, or at least alluded to, the majority of the SDGs (specifically goals 1, 2, 3, 6, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, and 16) throughout. The substantive issues related to the SDGs are complex and permeate the socio-economic and environmental contexts of the cities. Several chapters discussed social issues, such as studentification around universities, urban health, crime, and leisure and parks, while environmental and climate change challenges were also discussed. Economic aspects included the informal economy and urban land markets. Urban planning, policy, and governance were both the subject of chapters and emerged as a cross-cutting issue through most chapters.

While many of the challenges identified arise from, or in response to, the policies, decisions, and action of the state, such as the Economic Structural Adjustment Policy (ESAP) and the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP), others are externally induced and also natural phenomena over which policymakers have little influence. These include climate change linked heat-waves, drought, flooding, and other natural disasters. The coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic (Chirisa et al. 2020), although not discussed in this book, is one such external threat that has, and will no doubt continue to, devastate communities and economies worldwide.

Challenges identified include unemployment and poverty that contribute to informality, with concomitant impacts on health and safety, food insecurity, and degradation of the natural environment. Poor governance, through a lack of resources and capacity, or corruption was discussed. However, the authors also pointed to the resilience and innovation of citizens in adapting to and surviving, despite difficult circumstances.

Several themes emerged from the chapters such as rapid urbanisation, informality, inequality, issues of stewardship, the erosion of authority, and resources of municipal councils, and the role of the governing party in the social and economic landscape of Zimbabwe. As noted in the first chapter, the complexity of socio-economic systems was identified in many chapters. These themes are discussed in the following sections. The final section discusses the implications for sustainable urban governance and makes suggestions towards a national urban policy agenda.

15.2   Rapid Urbanisation

Along with most African countries, Zimbabwe has experienced rapid urbanisation (Government of Zimbabwe 2015). Some of the drivers of urbanisation are climate change, drought and other natural disasters, the natural increase of urban populations,

and rural poverty inducing migration to the cities (see Chapters 2, 5, 10, and 14). Furthermore, the development focus of central government has been on rural regions rather than cities. Most cities, especially Harare where the majority of the urban population currently reside, are thus unable to cope with the burgeoning population. Many factors contribute to such inability to cope, including inadequate planning and a lack of resources to proactively provide well-located and serviced land (see Chapters 3, 4, 8, and 13).

The consequences of urbanisation internationally, and in some Zimbabwean cities, are numerous and interrelated. Many African cities are urbanising without industrial or economic development as was the experience of the Global North. Consequently, urbanisation has been accompanied by many of the problems associated with the Industrial Revolution of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, such as slums, but with few of its benefits. Unlike the Garden Cities model which promised the best of urban and rural lifestyles (Hall 2002), for many citizens of Zimbabwe, cities have been a fusion of the worst features of rural and urban life.

As indicated in Chapters 8 and 13, urban sprawl and fragmented development on urban peripheries increase the cost of bulk infrastructure provision for municipal councils, leaving many residents without essential services such as water and sanitation. Additionally, residents living in the urban periphery incur higher transport expenses and lower accessibility to amenities, a situation that contradicts the averred national aspirations of advancing the standard of living of urbanites and taking Zimbabwe on a trajectory to attain a middle-income country status by 2030 (Government of Zimbabwe 2018).

Given the precarious state of the Zimbabwean economy and the high levels of poverty, many people are obliged to live in informal settlements that arise in open spaces, frequently on the periphery of the cities (see Chapters 3, 5, 8, 10, and 14). The fragmentation of settlements diminishes urban cohesion and contributes to urban crime and violence (see Chapter 9). The increase in urban crime and violence articulated in Chapter 9 indicates the social fragmentation in urban areas where the poor and those lacking adequate livelihoods resort to such socially deviant practices. Moreover, it emerges that the spatial configuration of some settlements also exacerbates crime and violence as they tend to be isolated and also lacking basic infrastructure, such as streetlights, that produce crime hotspots. This identified the need to formulate effective urban design models that help to curb crime and violence, by drawing lessons from crime prevention through environmental design approaches which recognise how the built environment may be shaped to influence the behaviour of those intending to perpetrate crime and violence.

15.3   Informality

Roy (2005) maintains that informality is created by the state. This is applicable in Zimbabwe, largely as a consequence of the economic woes besetting the country since independence that have arisen from national policies such as socialism, ESAP,

and the FTLRP (see Chapters 1, 7, 13, and 14). Such policies inter alia depleted the fiscus and extinguished much investor confidence in Zimbabwe, which led to widespread unemployment and poverty. This, in turn, reduced household incomes and tax revenue for the state (see Chapter 6). As consumers' buying power eroded, the demand for goods and services diminished, producing a vicious cycle with a contracting economy, shrinking incomes, and growing poverty.

Two forms of informality have been considered in this book where the informal economy is explored in Chapters 2, 5, and 7, while informal settlements were the focus of Chapters 2, 3, 5, and 14.

15.3.1 Informal Economy

High unemployment has forced many Zimbabweans into the informal economy which currently contributes significantly to the gross domestic product. It is also a critical link in the food system as it is the major supplier of fresh produce to low-income households as demonstrated in Chapter 11. However, the main challenge is the repression of the informal market which compromises the incomes and livelihoods of the poor. The urban food system is also somehow disrupted as many poor urbanites depend on the informal sector for their daily food products.

At times, the informal economy has been promoted by the central government, such as when it permitted home-based industries as illustrated in some cases in Chapters 3 and 7. However, the urban informal economy has also been targeted for eradication when deemed a threat, for example through Operation Murambatsvina (Kamete 2017). The fickleness of the state's attitude to the informal economy is also visible at a local council level where it may vacillate between support, tolerance, or active discouragement and removal of traders and confiscation or destruction of their goods. This confirms the findings from studies by Kamete (2017) and Matamanda et al. (2020) who stressed the political nature of the informal economy and how the elite have used political and economic power to penalise or reward those engaging in the informal economy. Urban fantasies and the desire to present a modern, sanitary image of the city, along with securing votes through (the threat of) violence contribute to harassment of traders (see Chapter 2). Key questions arose from this context where the rights of the poor to the city remain obscured and vague, yet contrary to the national urban aspirations of inclusive and sustained urban growth. However, although some statutory instruments have been put in place to regulate the informal economic activities, they are generally made by the authorities without consulting with those engaging in the activities to establish their needs (see Chapter 5). Thus, conflicting rationalities are evident as the rights of the poor are seldom addressed (Watson 2003), while the informal economic sector is viewed as an urban malady, yet it has proved to be a key contributor to the urban and even national economies.

15.3.2 Informal Settlements

Informal settlements are generally characterised as slums (UN-Habitat 2003) with inadequate essential services, substandard housing, poor quality environments, and insecure tenure. Poverty and other social ills are pervasive, and the residents are often relegated to the margins of the city, socially, economically, and spatially (see Chapter 14). These settlements are seldom planned, growing incrementally, without formal layouts and official authorisations. Yet, as Chirisa et al. in Chapter 3 and Chavunduka and Gaza in Chapter 14 pointed out, they may be sanctioned by the state for its ends, rather the welfare of the people. However, such state sanction may not guarantee the security of tenure (Chapters 2 and 5) or essential services (Chapters 6, 11, and 12), leaving the residents in an unsafe and unhealthy environment that limit their opportunities to improve their circumstances. Nonetheless, residents have to be resourceful and use what opportunities they come across to survive (Simone and Abouhani 2005).

Informal settlements often spring up on marginal or hazardous locations (Matamanda 2020), such as unstable slopes, flood plains, or wetlands, which further compromise the residents' health and safety and erode resilience through multiple small disasters such as flooding after rains (Pelling 2003; see Chapters 2 and 8). The absence of safe sewerage systems or refuse removal results in the pollution of surface and groundwater, with detrimental effects on both human health and the environment, as discussed in Chapter 8.

Inadequate and reactive spatial planning that fails to anticipate and prepare for the growth of the cities, has contributed to informal settlements (see Chapter 3). Planning legislation, inherited from colonial times with only some window dressing since independence, is proving to be woefully inadequate for the current context. Cumbersome and long development processes are side-stepped by the elite and ignored by the poor in the desperate need for shelter. Furthermore, inadequate spatial governance and regulations have played a role in the proliferation of informal settlements.

As discussed in Chapter 14, the urban councils have been fettered by the central government/ruling party, and unable to deal effectively with informality. This situation draws attention to the role of the economic and political elites who engage in rent-seeking behaviour by capturing state resources for personal gain. Moreover, the incidence of the 'state of exception' as articulated by Roy (2005) and corroborated by Kamete (2017), confirms how problems around informality may be constructed by the state when the informal activities suits or benefits the state, while repression and intimidation of those in the informal economy or settlements are used to 'punish' certain individuals and groups or coerce them to support the ruling party.

15.4   Inequality

The inequalities prevalent in Zimbabwe can be traced back to colonial racial policies, which reserved the benefits from resource extraction and the advantages of high-quality urban environments for the white settlers, while indigenous Zimbabweans were confined to rural areas (Chapters 2, 3, and 5). Since independence, racial divisions have been replaced by class, income, ethnic, and political affiliation as determinants of access to resources, livelihoods, adequate housing, and formal employment. Inequalities have been reinforced by poverty, inadequate housing, unemployment, and unsafe environments (Chapters 6, 8, and 9). While state policy ostensibly seeks to improve the lives of the population, the actions of the state, in reality, reproduce and maintain inequality and oppression of the poor. Urban policy and planning are also contributors to the inequities present in cities as explained in the next section.

15.5   Urban Policy and Planning

As mentioned above and discussed in Chapter 3, inappropriate urban planning legislation and ineffectual urban policy have furthered inequalities and informality. The inadequacies of urban policy, planning, and regulation have impacted negatively on many other aspects of urban life and are mentioned in most chapters. Instead of proactive and strategic planning, cities have mostly responded reactively, if at all (see Chapter 4). Urban policy appears to have focused on the more trivial aspects that can be regulated, rather than the serious and increasingly urgent issues of shelter, livelihoods, health, safety, environmental management, disaster risk management, and food security.

Part of the problem lies in the legacy of the legislation and processes, while the rapid growth of the cities has overwhelmed municipal councils. Lack of both governance and planning capacity also influences the ability to respond to the challenges. According to the African Planning Association and UN-Habitat report on planning in Africa (2013: 22), Zimbabwe had roughly two planners per 100,000 people, whereas Australia, Britain, and the United States of America had at least 23, 37, and 12 planners per 100,000 people, respectively. Exacerbating the problems of urban planning and governance is the erosion of local government authority by the central government and the ruling party.

15.6   The Role of the Ruling Party and Party Allegiances

Most of the chapters have alluded to the role of the ruling party, the Zimbabwe African National Union–Patriotic Front (ZANU–PF) in the urban system. It has wielded its power overtly, through actions such as Operation Murambatsvina and the subsequent

Operation Garikai/Hlalani Kuhle, or through decrees that reduced the authority of local governments and councils. Less blatantly, but perhaps as aggressively, it has harassed and intimidated citizens into electoral loyalty, for instance through party youth militia (see Chapters 2, 3, 7, and 14).

The ZANU–PF has used its power to enrich itself in numerous ways, such as illegal land transactions, theft of payments intended for essential services (see Chapter 14), and bribes and payments to avoid persecution (see Chapters 2 and 6). Through these processes, the party not only maintains control but also reproduces the colonial system of resource extraction (rent-seeking) for its benefit, to the detriment of the country as a whole. The state, whose function it is to maintain law and order, is perhaps the source of the most ubiquitous corruption, thuggery, and theft in Zimbabwe.

15.7 Erosion of Municipal Governance

In its exercise of power, the central government has steadily undermined the authority of local councils through various means. Urban councils have been deprived of revenue through, for example, the directive to cancel all rates and services bills (see Chapter 3), or withholding funding from national revenue due to the urban councils as stressed in Chapters 6 and 14. The urban poor, who lack the resources to compensate for the lack of municipal services suffer the most. Chapter 5 indicated how the livelihoods of the poor are compromised by the ill-governance in urban local authorities.

Direct interventions such as Operation Murambatsvina and Operation Garikai/Hlalani Kuhle deliberately bypassed urban councils, as these were viewed as a threat due to the growing allegiance to the opposition party in urban areas. Other decrees have overruled urban planning instruments, such as zoning, by permitting home-based industries as illustrated in Chapter 3, or ignoring municipal planning legislation and processes by incorporating land into urban areas by decree (Chapters 7, 13, and 14). It revealed in Chapter 14, more subtle tactics have included creating alternative structures of local control and the allocation of land by land barons and ZANU–PF affiliates. McGregor and Chatiza (2019) have articulated this issue at length where they brought to the attention the issue of 'partisan citizenship'.

Not only have such actions diminished the authority and effectiveness of urban councils, but they have directly contributed to growing informality and many detrimental social, economic, and environmental consequences such as insecure tenure, precarious livelihoods, and environmental damage (see Chapters 6, 7, 8, 12 and 14).

15.8 Stewardship

Environmental stewardship is associated with perceptions and values regarding the environment. Poverty may influence attitudes towards life and resources, including a

focus on immediate needs rather than a longer-term perspective. A sense of ownership may encourage more care and investment in the environment than the insecurity of temporariness will. The transience of students could underlie the lack of stewardship identified in Chapter 4, while the insecurities of living with and under informality (arising from the capriciousness of the state), may lead to a lack of concern for the wider environment. Additionally, cultural values and power issues influence the use and stewardship of the natural environment for resources and agriculture (Chapter 8).

15.9 Complexity of the Urban System

Throughout this book, the complexity of the urban system has been noted with multiple influences and influencers. As the system and its subcomponents are interconnected, the issues addressed, and challenges identified in the chapters need to be explored holistically. Changes in one area could cascade throughout the system with unexpected and unintended consequences (Teisman et al. 2009).

The natural environment both shapes, and is shaped, by human activity, while its well-being affects human health (Chapter 8). Sociopolitical colonial systems initially determined the spatial structure of cities, whereas economic policies have contributed to spatial informality and the form of urban expansion. These types of decisions thus influence society, creating opportunities for some, and locking others into poverty and informality. At present, one of the most extensive influences in the Zimbabwean urban system is that of the ruling party, which is not only complicit in producing and maintaining informality but modifies other systems as well. An analysis of urban planning and geography should adopt a systemic view of the relationships between different components of the system and how their mutual interactions modify the constituent subsystems. It is crucial that such analyses should seek and identify those leverage points where small changes could shift the entire system (Landman et al. 2019).

15.10 Implications for Sustainable Urban Governance and Planning

This book has considered various facets of the postcolonial urban geography of Zimbabwe. Several problems were identified in the chapters, many of which are the antithesis of the SDGs and the New Urban Agenda. The SDGs call for an end to poverty and inequality, and promotion of the well-being of both people and the planet (Watson 2016), while the New Urban Agenda calls for sustainable urbanisation with just, inclusive, safe, and sustainable cities, where human rights are respected and promoted. Access to adequate housing, food security, safety, quality urban spaces,

productive economies, resilience to hazards, and the protection of the natural environment, all form part of the New Urban Agenda (UN-Habitat 2016). The goals are clear, the pathway to achieving them is murky. However, there are some pointers identified by the authors, as discussed below.

Urban governance and planning need to be strengthened. This requires reinstating and building the authority and capacity of urban councils and their planning functions. Revised building, urban, regional, and rural planning legislation that is appropriate for the current context is required along with the power means to implement it. Adequate financial resources are essential for urban councils to provide essential services and improve the health and safety of citizens.

Participatory governance and collaborative planning are essential, not only in respect of urban development but also in respect of settlement upgrading, urban food systems for food security, and disaster risk management. These processes should empower citizens to improve their well-being and promote the stewardship of their environs. However, sustainable urbanisation and inclusive economy and prosperity for urban residents will require addressing the political foundations of the current urban crises.

The needs of the urban poor should be addressed in a holistic manner. This is evident from how the poor are increasingly being left behind in development trajectory of the country. How can Zimbabwe be identified as a middle-income country by 2030 when raw sewage is flowing in the streets in the poor neighbourhoods? Is the country's urban governance and planning on the right course when the settlements are emerging are riddled with some urban ills that include lack of requisite services which then trigger socio-economic challenges? How can the urban maladies that are increasingly proliferating the cities be addressed with focus on maternal health, water-borne diseases, and lately the non-communicable diseases? In what ways can the poor be alleviated from the urban penalty in which they have for long remained trapped?

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