

SOME INSIGHTS INTO THE INTERSECTION OF PHYSICAL PLANNING AND GOVERNANCE IN ZIMBABWE

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Abstract

This paper presents some insights into the intersection of physical planning and governance in Zimbabwe. It argues that the major theoretical, policy and practice discourses – explaining the intersection of physical planning and governance – relate to the disconnect between the evolution and evolving colonial and post-colonial inward-looking transformation and developmental agenda and approaches as contrasted to the contemporary outward-looking, globally-orientated and overarching principles and framework agenda and approaches. Within the ambit of a dynamic spatial terrain, it traces, tracks and highlights trends relating to the challenges facing physical planning and governance systems, processes and institutions in post-colonial Zimbabwe in tackling urban-infrastructure and service-delivery backlogs and challenges. The study findings acknowledge and corroborate the view that Zimbabwe inherited a relatively strong local governance system from its colonial past, albeit serving primarily sectional interests. However, despite policy reforms and changes effected since the dawn of independence to the physical planning legislation and planning infrastructure, a systematic and systemic synchronised updating, up rating and, perhaps, more critically, the overhaul of both the structuring, configuration and architecture of physical planning and local government institutions have not produced the desired impact, which necessitates the need for introspection and review. In this regard, for example, the horizontal and vertical linkages and alignment of planning legislation, sector, district and provincial plans, processes, systems and institutions, long identified as constraints, are long overdue for re-casting. The paper further argues for the application of a context-specific governance-driven physical planning model that has, at its core, the need to provide collaborative planning partnerships and robust implementation frameworks in tandem with key spatial development drivers, themes, patterns and impacts, as a necessary and viable starting position. In addition, it is stressed that any model or methodology preferred for application is not necessarily a sufficient condition or panacea for addressing urban infrastructure and service delivery challenges in Zimbabwe, or elsewhere for that matter. The realisation of a sustainable urban city with minimal disruption and problems needs to be the product of and stem from concerted efforts from local, regional, national and international stakeholder actions and measures planned, designed, implemented, managed and evaluated for both the direct and indirect beneficiaries. The intersection of physical planning and governance is analysed within the purview of development, economic growth and social welfare, highlighting the key challenges and opportunities for changing the outputs, outcomes and eventual impact. This paper draws extensively from the work undertaken between 1998 and 2003 under the Ford Foundation Good Governance and Sustainable Settlements Outreach Programme in Zimbabwe.

Key words

Physical planning, governance, Zimbabwe, collaborative planning partnerships, infrastructure and services, institutions, processes, systems

Introduction

This paper presents some insights into the intersection of physical planning and governance in Zimbabwe based on empirical findings. The paper argues that the major theoretical, policy and practical governance discourses explaining the intersection of physical planning and governance relate to the disconnect between the evolution and evolving colonial and post-colonial inward-looking transformation and developmental agenda and approaches as contrasted to the contemporary outward-looking, globally-orientated and overarching principles and framework agenda and approaches. The spatial planning governance disconnects and misfits have manifested themselves in various forms impacting on the space economy of Zimbabwe's urban centres differentially. Reactive spatial planning governance, as typified by various development control, enforcement measures and instruments, has been the main form of urban and spatial planning management and development approaches. Since independence in 1980, this has worked relatively well; on a number of times the spatial and institutional planning governance framework has been stretched, tested, shaken by 'earthquake' social-economic events and processes such as the *Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP)*, the 'fast track land reform programme' and most recently '*operation murambatsvina*' and '*operation garika*'. The impact, effect and implications of these activities, processes and outcomes have been a fundamental questioning of the underlying principles that govern, define and explain the structure, configuration and architecture of urban physical planning, development, management and sustainability landscape in Zimbabwe. At the centre of this debate has been the question of the relevance and appropriateness of the inherited British town and physical planning legislation and associated by-laws. Consequently, the paper also argues for the application of a context-specific governance-driven physical planning model that has at its core platforms for building partnerships and collaborations between urban centres, universities, polytechnics, research institutions, CBOs, civil society, international community and networks working in the urban planning field. City planning, management and governance attributes and foundations are home, drivers and a jigsaw of relational discordance and contestations. Inherently, the city theoretical, philosophical and administrative foundations based on legislative frameworks have inbuilt points and areas of discordance that are fertile for contestations in city spatial planning, management and governance practice. Overall, the paper calibrates the city spatial planning, management and governance barometer in Zimbabwe and advances suggestions and recommendations to addressing such.

Problem statement elaboration

The broad objective of urban development, planning laws and regulations is to ensure the orderly development of urban areas. Regulatory frameworks govern the manner in which plans are formulated, implemented and enforced, and usually include land-use regulations such as zoning and development control, subdivision regulations, standards for planning, building and service provision, administrative and institutional procedures, and enforcement mechanisms (UNHCS, 1999). It has been argued that, under conditions of globalisation, regulatory frameworks form one of the few instruments available to governments to influence urban land, housing markets and investment decisions of private-sector

developers. Regulatory frameworks therefore have significant implications for the physical and also the socio-economic environments of built-environment communities and directly or indirectly impact livelihoods (Mhone, 1995; Wekwete, 1989; Chakwizira, 2002).

Many of the current physical planning regulations, standards and administrative procedures have been imported from Britain, whose economic, social, institutional and climatic conditions are significantly different from those existing in Zimbabwe (Jordan, 1984). The result is that current planning legislation and regulatory frameworks in Zimbabwe are argued as being 'unsuited' for a rapidly urbanising, organic, poor and largely informal urban city landscape (Chakwizira, 2002). In Zimbabwe, just like in other African countries there has been a continuous reliance on 'classic, rigid master plans', which are 'often unrealistic, technocratic and too expensive' to implement. Often they also lack an inclusive perspective in city visions. Failure to address the mismatch between old standards and lower levels of affordability, and rigid application of zoning regulations leads to growing exclusion, proliferation of slum and squatter settlements with little or no regard for formal rules and regulations. This may lead to unsustainable urban development (Whittle *et al.*, 1979).

Good governance is at the heart of sustainable development, economic growth, poverty alleviation and reduction. It augments production inputs, such as labour and capital, and enhances the productivity of those inputs (Jensen, Wekwete and Williams, 1997). It can also influence the distribution of the benefits of economic growth: income distribution is a crucial factor in transforming growth into poverty reduction in Africa. Governance thus has a dual impact: on growth and its distribution (Mubvami, 2000). So, better governance, by increasing growth and improving income equity, can reduce poverty and spur advances towards the Millennium Development Goals (Tibaijuka, 2005; UNDP, 2003). Governments have a role in promoting economic efficiency by improving governance and making markets work better (ADB, 2003). They have to put in place solid strategies for development, providing information to engage the widespread involvement of the people at all levels, devising incentive structures that work for most people, not just a few (Makumbe, 1996). All this has to be buttressed by policies that seek to build systems with integrity, promote competition, promote diverse media, foster transparency to build confidence in the state, and deepen mechanisms for democratic practices. Governments also have to pay attention to a broad social services agenda, facilitating education, developing agriculture, protecting the environment, formulating appropriate population policies *etcetera* (Hyden, 1992).

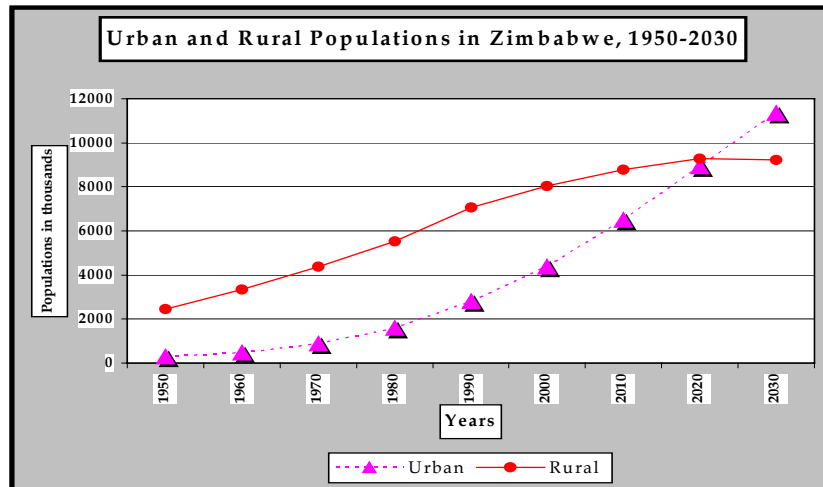
The context of urban governance in Zimbabwe

Beyond the year 2000, estimates predict that over half the world's population will be urbanised (Habitat, 1996: xxvi). The bulk of this new urban population is postulated to be African and Asian, joining the bandwagon of urban citizens in Europe, North America and Latin America. Such projections and scenarios have prompted some commentaries on urban governance to raise questions concerning the systematic capacity and capability of city planning, management and governance in many African governments to adapt to urbanising phenomena (Klaus Töpfer, 1999). The challenges of urbanisation are multi-pronged and are not restricted to proactive city planning, strategic city management and efficient city governance, sustainable healthy city sustainable and efficient settlement technologies, sustainable waste recycling and management systems and programs, and adaptable, democratic and flexible institutions, systems and processes.

Zimbabwe's population has increased 35 times from only 344 000 in 1890 to more than 12.3 million people today. The population is projected to reach more than 15 million people by the year 2010 of which

more than 42% would be urban residents (United Nations, 1996 in Mubvami, 2000:1). By the year 2030, more than 55% of Zimbabwe's population, projected to be 20.57 million people, would be urban dwellers as presented in the graph in Figure 1. The graph in Figure 1 highlights the case for auditing the current city spatial planning, management and governance systems in place in Zimbabwe, with a view to assessing their currency to meet the challenges of high population concentrations in urban areas.

Figure 1: Urban and rural population growth trends graph in Zimbabwe, 1950-2030



Source: Based - Zimbabwe State of the Environment, 1998 in Mubvami, 2000:2

The unfolding dynamic urbanisation and industrialisation challenges are happening in the context of parallel city planning, management and governance systems in developing countries. The dual-city spatial-city planning, management and governance have one side reflecting former city colonial standard and technologies, the other local city standards. The result can be a muddle of city planning, management and governance approaches and regulatory conflict, discordance and contestations for productive and reproductive space allocation, distribution, utilisation, control and destiny with city residents circumventing city building laws and by-laws, land development statues and control conditions (Panos Briefing No. 34, 1999). The Zimbabwean economy and city processes, dynamics, architecture, morphology and landscape have not been spared from these phenomena. Telescoping such developments within the context the of Zimbabwe's city planning, management and governance experience and practices facilitates enhanced understanding of the dimensions and facets of the city challenge with a view to developing city spatial planning systems, strategies, models and prototypes that are better able to cope with the challenge. Figure 2 places Zimbabwe city's urbanisation level in the context of other countries. The important issue is that the urbanisation challenge will double, and comparing notes with other countries undergoing and who have undergone similar processes becomes key.

Figure 2: Comparative levels of urbanisation

| | Level of urbanisation % | | | Urban Population (000) | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------|------|------|------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| | 2000 | 2010 | 2020 | 2000 | 2010 | 2020 |
| Africa | 37.2 | 42.7 | 47.9 | 295 228 | 425 596 | 589 408 |
| Asia | 37.5 | 43 | 48.7 | 1 375 519 | 1 783 600 | 2 231 108 |
| Latin American Countries | 75.4 | 79 | 81.8 | 391 342 | 469 755 | 543 166 |
| Zimbabwe | 35.3 | 42.5 | 49.1 | 4 459 | 6 380 | 8 652 |

Source: Global Report on Human Settlements 2003, UN-Habitat

The major cities of Harare, Bulawayo, Mutare and Gweru attained population growth rates of over 5% per annum throughout the 1980s. Figure 3 highlights the fact that urbanisation is happening rapidly in Zimbabwean cities at a time when the Zimbabwean economy is shrinking in terms of growth and poverty is worsening, given the upward trend of inflation. An important dimension would be to understand the coping systems and mechanism that cities under stress and crisis, like the Zimbabwean cities, are able to discharge their obligations.

Figure 3: Urbanisation trends, exchange rates, inflation and per capita income trends in Zimbabwe 1985-2005

| | 1985 | 1990 | 1995 | 2000 | 2005 (est) |
|--------------------------------------|-------|--------|--------|--------|------------|
| Total population (000s) | 8 392 | 10 241 | 11 190 | 12 627 | 13 805 |
| Urban Population (000s) | 2 116 | 2 797 | 3 556 | 4 387 | 5 370 |
| Urbanisation Level (%) | 25.2 | 28.4 | 31.8 | 35.3 | 38.9 |
| Household (000s) | | 2 031 | 2 331 | 2 664 | 3 088 |
| Household Average size | | 4.88 | 4.83 | 4.70 | 4.48 |
| Z\$ to 1USD | 1.64 | 2.64 | 9.31 | 55.07 | 9.896.02 |
| Inflation % | 8.49 | 17.38 | 22.59 | 55.86 | 140 |
| GDP per Capita (Constant Z\$) | 1.995 | 2.099 | 1.988 | 1.986 | >1.000 |
| % GDP growth P.a. per capita | 3 | 4 | -2 | -7 | -7 |

Source: Un-Habitat, Global Report 2003, Financial Gazette, IMF

A myriad and hybrids of land-use planning and management policy initiatives, city strategies, responses, projects and programmes aimed at creating and anchoring appropriate environments for city social, economic, political and physical transformation have been piloted, experimented with and implemented as urban space organisation, configuration and exploitation as city space remains a contested terrain that is home to relational discordance and contestations. Agreement on the substantive city planning, management and governance challenges involved in social, economic, political and physical transformation is common but reaction and solutions are isolated, ad-hoc and not representative of stakeholders involved in city development planning, management and sustainability. Spatial planning frameworks and developments effectiveness and efficiency enshrined by city master plans have been roundly criticised by some sections of practitioners and academics auditing their currency and value as restructuring and configuration elements in the built-environment landscape.

Despite all the challenges that the Zimbabwean economy faces, the cities have remained relatively immune to the squatter settlement challenge that pervades all cities in Africa. Figure 4 compares slum population by major world regions.

Figure 4: Levels of urbanisation, urban population and percentage of slums

| Continent/Country | Total Pop (000s) | Urban Pop (000s) | % Urban | % Slums | Slum Pop (000s) |
|-----------------------------|------------------|------------------|---------|---------|-----------------|
| Europe | 726 315 | 534 263 | 73.6 | 6.2 | 33 062 |
| Sub-Sahara Africa | 667 022 | 231 052 | 34.6 | 71.9 | 166 208 |
| Latin America and Caribbean | 526 657 | 399 385 | 75.8 | 31.9 | 127 567 |
| East Asia | 1 364 438 | 533 182 | 39.1 | 36.4 | 193 824 |
| West Asia | 192 445 | 124 943 | 64.9 | 33.1 | 41 331 |
| Zimbabwe | 12 800 | 4 600 | 36.0 | 3.4 | 157 |

Source: UNHABITAT, 2003

This study had, as one of its key aims, identifying city spatial planning, management and governance best practices that are socially equitable, ecologically sustainable, economically viable, replicable and genuinely participative or alternatively spelling out the gaps and misfits in city spatial planning, management and governance in Zimbabwe. The result of such a gap analysis is expected to provide fertile ground for the incubation of innovative and creative city planning, management and governance typologies that score greater mileage in tracing, tracking, tackling and approaching the millennium development goals, among other considerations. A leading item on the agenda for the study became an attempt to challenge the existing city master-planning paradigm efficacy or alternatively anchoring a substitute city spatial planning, management and governance paradigm formatted and customised to address the evolving and mutating city planning, management and governance content, process, system and outcome issues. At the same time, exploring and making a contribution to perspectives and ideas towards the emerging body of knowledge and information on second generation city planning, management and governance were also exciting territory for the research project.

Structure of paper

This paper is organised into *four sections*. *Section one* has introduced the city planning, management and governance research purpose as well as providing a detailed overview of the background to the study and a statement of the problem. *Section two* spells and enumerates the research approach, instruments and methodology adopted for the study. *Section three* presents and discusses the main findings and recommendations of the city planning, management and governance study in Zimbabwe. In conclusion, *Section four* critiques and raises questions on city planning, management and governance relational discordance and contestations in Zimbabwe. Overall, concluding remarks on the paper are summarised.

Methodology

A mixed research methodology approach was utilised in conducting the research on city planning, management and governance in Zimbabwe. The methodology drew heavily on positivist and post-positivist scientific quantitative and qualitative approaches to data and knowledge generation. This facilitated the mapping and articulating of convergence and divergence governance points. Triangulation methodologies allowed the factoring of a phenomenological dimension to unravelling and seeking in-depth understanding of contestation and relational discordance atlas of city planning, management and governance in Zimbabwe.

Figure 5: Location of Sample City Case Study Areas



Source: Adopted www.mapsofworld.com

The research approach was generally underpinned by physical observation surveys, structured and unstructured questionnaire interviews with key informants, stakeholders, residents or ratepayers over and above analysing recycled secondary data libraries. The participant observer concept was utilised to enable an in-depth understanding of processes and structures in local government with Ruwa Local Board being the reference outreach research programme station point. Participant observations were done for the period spanning 1998 to 2003. Participant as observer (PAS), observer as participant (OAP) and participant as observed (PAO) variations were used so that rich and multi-dimensional approaches and perspectives on city planning dynamics could be better scrutinised. Random and systematic sampling techniques were utilised in choosing samples of elements from the population for participating in the research project.

Research methodology

Using Zimbabwe's settlement hierarchy classification, four urban centres – that represented various city category, ranking and size, functions and services, urban design form, style and practices, administrative and management diversity and complexity – were the project's case study. Figure 5 shows the geographical location of Zimbabwe in Africa as well as the geographical location of case study city areas sampled for the study. The participating case study cities and urban centres are Harare, Bulawayo, Gweru, Kwekwe and Ruwa Local Board. The mixture of the urban centres of different ranking and order in the settlement hierarchy

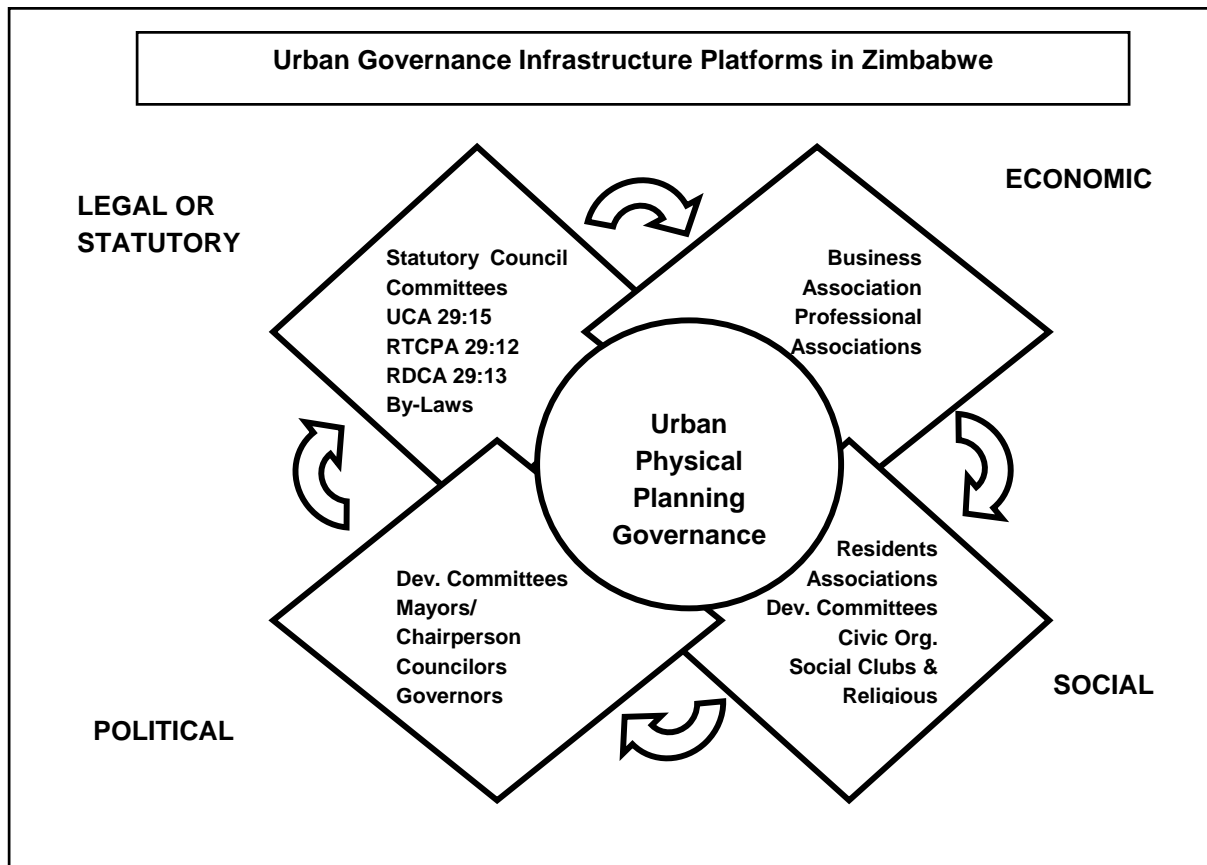
of Zimbabwe was to ensure a wider representativeness of the research findings data to the various urban centres in Zimbabwe, and also inbuilt reliability and validity of research project findings. However, the master planning research findings should be treated with caution. In reality, no two urban centres are identical and each urban area is unique in its own right. The manner in which the structures, processes and actors behave and respond to urban challenges are not identical. These have more to do with the socio-economic and political environment obtained in their areas than anything else does. Nevertheless, it is hoped that any innuendos from the study will provide important signposts, pointers, beacons and lessons upon which better management of the urban centres in Zimbabwe can draw inspiration from.

Discussion and recommendations

City planning, management and governance in Zimbabwe

Zimbabwean cities are laid on a superstructure of legal, political, social and economic pillars. Figure 6 highlights that comprehensive infrastructure and platforms for enhanced and sustainable city planning, management and governance exist in Zimbabwe. It affirms observations by earlier studies that the city and local government system and structure that were inherited by the Zimbabwean country from the British colonisers are strong. However, as the research findings will highlight, despite this good foundation city governance relational discordance and contestations abound in Zimbabwean cities.

Figure 6: City Planning, Management and Governance Infrastructure Platform in Zimbabwe



The urban governance infrastructure platforms in Zimbabwe are used in conjunction with existing municipal organograms. The typical organogram used in city and local planning decision making and management structure clearly separates the political organs of the city from the executive organs of the city. Theoretically the structure and system are amenable to sustainable city planning, management and sustainability with some degree of tightening in one area or the other. However, in practice the system offers gaps and misfits that provide fertile ground for urban governance relational discordance and contestations. For example, the Executive Mayoral system is a recent introduction, and the relationship and roles of the Mayor (Head of Council politically) and the Town Clerk (Head of Council technically) have a lot of rough edges. No standard template is provided by legislation on this aspect.

City planning, legislation and governance

The study findings acknowledge that post-colonial Zimbabwe inherited a highly regulated planning system that controls and regulates development as revealed by city plans. Schemes were criticised as rigid and inflexible and instead city master and local plans were conceived and adopted as a flexible city planning, management and governance framework (Whittle *et al.*, 1979). The change has been cosmetic. The successor city master plans have carried over the scheme shortcomings, among other issues, making the change rhetoric and cosmetic and an act of city planning, management and governance rhetoric (Chakwizira, 2002). City planning and development is faced with problems of funding shortages, human capital capacity drawbacks, institutional constraints while technical challenges coupled with lack of political support have cumulatively compounded and mystified the whole exercise. The planning philosophy and theory informing and anchoring city planning, management and governance have invariably been challenged and questioned (Chakwizira, 2007). Key to this challenge is the lack of vertical and horizontal alignment and integration of the city planning, city management and city governance. City master plans are poorly aligned, informed and integrated with city financial plans and the budgeting system. City master plans reflect poor factoring in of society's specifications. Others have queried the legislative foundation of city master planning activity. City planning outreach mechanisms are either absent, flawed or implemented, a mockery of healthy city governance in both theory and practice. It is against such observations that the legislative basis of city planning, management and governance in Zimbabwe has witnessed a metamorphosis since the colonial times. During the colonial period it was modified and revised three times in line with shifts in paradigms of planning from being physical engineering to incorporating the social engineering aspects (Taylor, 1985). After independence, the Act has seen two major studies commissioned in 1982 and in 1996. However, both these reviews endorsed the city planning theory and philosophy governance and made incremental conservative changes. No radical change was made to the systematic and systemic framework of city planning, management and governance. Currently, the Department of Physical Planning is spearheading work on an anticipated major overhaul of the physical planning Act with a view to entrenching an authentic legislative framework for city planning, management and governance framework that is able to respond and provide a sustainable approach to resolving city planning, development and management issues in Zimbabwe.

The study findings further acknowledge that all major city centres in Zimbabwe have approved city master plans or city plans at advanced stages of preparation. Despite this, it should be stated that city master plans exhibit long gestation and incubation periods from the conception of the idea up to the statutory gazetting of the city plan. Such a scenario runs the risk of dating and quickly aging city master plans whose relevance becomes questionable. As an example, Gweru City Master Plan, which was initiated in 1984, was approved in April 1997, thirteen years later (DPP, 1997). This example makes one wonder how flexible and relevant city master plans are as documents for city planning, development, management,

governance and sustainability. Consequently, city master plans documents gather dust in shelves of trophy cabinets, inspire little commitment and reveal slow implementation progress (Nkomo, 1998). Figure 7 highlights a tabulated overview of city master plans in Zimbabwe clearly showing that master plans have a long gestation period from inception to approval.

Figure 7: City Planning, Management and Spatial Frameworks in Zimbabwe

| Master Plan | Year Initiated | Year approved | Year Operative | Review |
|---------------------|----------------|----------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|
| Harare Combination | 1983 | December 1993 | 1 February 1994 | Due 1999. Not yet done. |
| Bulawayo | 1979 | 1983 ¹ | 1983 | Initiated 1989 |
| Mutare | 1978 | March 1992 ² | June 1993 | Due 1998 |
| Kwekwe | 1983 | November 1997 ³ | 1998 | Due 2003 |
| Kadoma | 1989 | 1995 | 15 January 1996 | Due 2001 |
| Masvingo | 1983 | December 1993 | February 1994 | Due 1999 |
| Kariba ⁴ | 1989 | 1994 | 5 April 1994 | Due 1999 |
| Bindura | 1993 | 2000 | 28 April 2000 | Due 2005 |
| Chinhoyi | 1989 | 9 May 1994 | 28 October 1994 | Due 1999 |
| Chegutu | 1989 | Not yet | Not yet | - |
| Marondera | 1979 | 1987 | 1987 | Review pending |
| Shurugwi | 1987 | 2000 | 2000 | 2005 |
| Ruwa ⁵ | 1990 | 2000 | 2000 | 2005 |

Source: DPP August, 2000 in Chakwizira 2002

The fact that plans for Bulawayo, Kwekwe Redcliff Combination, Mutare and Gweru Master were approved with conditions underscores critical issues. On one hand, it raises questions about the quality of city master plans being delivered on the market. On the other hand, it raises questions in terms of the obtaining city master plan standards, regulations and procedures as being either inappropriate, or too cumbersome and at worst, unattainable. Alternatively, it underscores the fact that the preparatory agencies have capacity difficulties in meeting the requirements/standards for city master plan approval. Equally, preparatory agencies might not be clear on city master plan standards and hence produce inadequate plans. The need to demystify the puzzle in city master plan preparation is a component of the wider master planning challenge. The jigsaw of city master plans either lies in legislation or the non-legislation factor or a combination of both.

City planning, infrastructure provision and governance

In all the urban areas the implementation of master plans has been affected by lack of financial resources. In addition, capacity in terms of checking and enforcing the standards is an issue. All participating urban centres conceded to a lack of institutional and technical capacity to prepare, implement and enforce the master plans (Habitat, 1996:255-258). The environment of rapid urban population growth demands exacerbates the problems. Attending to challenges of rapidly, urbanising cities cannot be appropriately

¹ [Approved with conditions]

² [Approved with conditions]

³ [Approved with conditions]

⁴ Kariba Local Development Plan has the effect of a City Master Plan

⁵ Ruwa Local Development Plan has the effect of a City Master Plan

and adequately addressed by the current master-planning concept as enshrined by legislation. The legislation is geared towards addressing problems of master planning in a democratic, slow growth economy that has a highly literate, sensitive and strong civil society aware of its rights and the obligations of the Councils. Such conditions do not exist in the participating urban centres. Those who participate are the elite who are incidentally Councillors, or leaders in the main groups of society such as residents association. Master plans and proposals therefore tend to be elitist plans reflecting the interests of the vocal, the participative institutionally and the politically strong in the society.

Figure 8 summarises the key points of inflexion in terms of the city planning, management and governance findings. What stands out is that the city relational discordance and contestations have the municipal managers (politicians and executives), the private sector, the government as well as the public (intended service beneficiaries/ratepayers) being involved in changing roles and relationships being defined totally by a change in the political philosophy and ruling group in the country. This demonstrates how important structural changes that cascade from the state can have far reaching and permanent scars on the local city municipal level. Discordance and contestations operate at all levels from the household level, local level, neighbourhood level, city level and beyond. The nature of flows, associations, relationships and forms of discourses can range from formal to the informal and vice versa. However, in one way or the other these are either captured, ignored or rejected by the existing city planning, management and governance system at any one time.

Figure 9 highlights that relational discordance and contestations common in city areas of Zimbabwe are sparked by lack of service or product delivery. However, one practical way of resolving this is the provision of better outreach knowledge systems, establishment of municipal/city information communication technologies/centres, and partnership and collaboration to seal in gaps and correct misfit areas of city governments. It should be noted that initiatives towards reformation and transformation of ex-colonial legislation have not been radical and have proceeded on the assumption that the basic tenets and principles behind town and country planning legislation in Zimbabwe is beyond reproach. This may explain the dilemma and continued contradiction between city and national urban policy intentions and statements and the practice of the reality of city project execution and outcomes. The current initiative to do a detailed situational review of the Regional Town & Country Planning Act (RTCPA) is therefore welcome and should be taken to its logical conclusion.

Figure 8: Matrix Table of urban spatial governance in Zimbabwe findings

| Key Parameter | Relationship | | Contestation | | Governance | Actors | Comment |
|--|--|---|---|--------------------------------|---|---|---|
| Colonial City planning System (prior 1980) | Discordant | | City spatial planning, management and governance fragmentation | | Apartheid | Dominant group | Governance, policy and philosophy gaps & misfits Spatial, social, political and economic fragmentation Skewed development landscape |
| | Dual Spatial Fragmentation System | | | | White autonomy | Dominant group | |
| | European Areas | Natives Areas | Suburbs | Black Townships | Black dominance | Observers | |
| Municipalities Rural Councils | Districts Councils | Low Density | High density 'Ghettos' | | | | |
| Early independence city spatial planning, management and governance phase | | | | | | | |
| Post – independence city planning (1980-1990) | Discordant therapy | | City spatial planning, management and governance integration & transformation | | Democratic Systems and Structures | Government | Cosmetic Discordant Reforms & Remedies Dual municipal system for urban areas and rural districts |
| | Unitary Spatial Structural Transformation System | | | | Popular franchise and elections | | |
| | Urban Areas Settlement Classification Hierarchy | Merging of Rural & District Councils | Class/Income classification | Spatial Development Frameworks | | | |
| Contemporary city planning, management and governance phase | | | | | | | |
| Post – independence city planning (1991-2007) | Discordant reactive and proactive outcomes Incremental legislative reforms of main Acts | | Urbanisation challenges failure management City spatial plans gaps Peri-city farm land occupations | | Democratic Flagship Service Delivery Audits | Public Sector Private sector Civil Groups & Society | Executive Mayors Introduced Ministerial Powers Invoked |
| Legislation reforms to city planning, management and governance overview | | | | | | | |
| Legislation | Unidirectional | RTCPA (29:12) RDCA (29:15) UCA (29:13) Sl. 214 of 1994 | Democratic City municipal budget consultation City budget approved by MoLGPW&NH | | Public Sector Private sector Civil Groups & Society | Assumes democratic, literate and wealthy society Eurocentric | |

Source: Adopted Chakwizira, 2007

Figure 9: Confluence and discourse points in City Planning, Management and Governance in Zimbabwe

| Urban governance spatial planning and management historical trend analysis | | | |
|---|---|---|--|
| Prior 1970 | 1971 - 1980 | 1981 - 1997 | Major reforms suggested |
| Colonial period Town planning Schemes & Ordinances Covered all urban settlements including the peri-urban areas Excluded rural/communal/native areas Tripartite spatial planning, management and governance exercised | Imminent independence RTCPA of 1945 repealed and replaced by RTCPA of 1976 City Master Planning Introduced Bulawayo city master plan approved in 1984 Sebungwe Regional Plan never completed PM 1984 Directives – decentralised and village planning PAA (1985) – Provincial Strategy, Plan and Budgeting Mechanism | City Strategic Plans Better City Governance & Programmes Municipal Development Program World Bank Urban I and II programme & projects USAID Housing Projects ENDA Zimbabwe urban agriculture project | City Spatial development Frameworks City spatial development Perspective Plans National city physical planning Framework |
| Urban Governance Confluence and discourse atlas : urban spatial governance <i>discourse terrain remains terraced</i> | | | |
| Legal | Technical | Social | Political |
| Migration of city legislation into a single act still outstanding Lack of a single municipal system and Act in Zimbabwe Lack/absence of Constitutional entrenchment of local government/municipal system | Training & retraining Learning, un-learning and re-learning Networking Collaboration Partnerships Evolving city planning, management and governance learning, knowledge and information society need continued nursing, galvanisation and solidification | Planning rights and education Community Training Empowerment | Evolving and struggling democracy Acknowledge Zimbabwe cities inherited strong local government system |

Source: Adopted Chakwizira, 2007

Enhanced city planning, management and governance methodologies and practices in city master planning conception and development management anchor a robust and effective foundation for built infrastructure and service efficiency (Makumbe, 1996). A quality governance-driven city master plan instrumentation is lubrication for sustainable city making and remaking, city creating and recreating city forms, styles, designs and product deliverables (Wekwete and Helmsing, 1990).

Up-rating and up-scaling existing city planning, management and governance methods and techniques remain a key challenge in the urban and regional planning discipline. Mainstreaming and entrenching appropriate participation and consultation devices, instruments and principles are crucial. In terms of the study findings, generic participation modes and techniques used revolve around word of mouth, newspapers, and data gathering methods. Buttressing the fact sheets, notice board audio and visual methods techniques that are rarely used could increase the participation rates in the case study city

centres. However, sight should not be lost that city planning, management and governance typologies are not a straight metal jacket. The key lies in designing public participation programmes that account for diversity of places, people and cultures if meaningful public feedback is to be harvested (Hidehiko Sazanami, 1992:11).

Operation *murambatsvina*: A case study of urban governance discourses crisis in Zimbabwe

The governance discourses that seek to provide a solid explanation to '*operation murambatsvina*' reflect diversity, complexity and dynamism. These range from social, economic, political and to physical planning governance. It has been argued by critics that whichever orientation the governance argument favours, the weaknesses of these are that they seek to provide justifications rather than provide a scientific rationale to the exercise. It is for this reason, among others, that '*operation murambatsvina*' governance debate terrain remains terraced.

'Operation *Murambatsvina*'s' spatial framework legal governance discourse school of thought has to be telescoped against a background of a general deterioration of the rule of law in Zimbabwe, dating back to year 2000 'fast track land reform programme' events that may have set a bad precedent. The legal context is mixed and seems to reflect a set of conflicting legislation. On the one hand there are the Regional, Town and Country Planning Act and attendant municipal by-laws emanating from the colonial era meant to keep Africans out of the cities by setting 'very high' housing and development standards beyond the reach of the majority of the people. On the other hand there are the international commitments and obligations requiring governments to provide adequate shelter to all its citizens. The national laws seem to have been subject to inconsistent policy statements that led them to be mostly ignored after independence, leading to the rapid formation of 'backyard extensions'. The sudden application of the laws governing towns and cities under 'operation restore order' has exposed the clear conflict of these laws with human rights provisions under both national and international law. The debate around the 'operation restore order' may therefore go beyond legality and border on morality.

In terms of Mengistu's urban governance model school of thought '*operation murambatsvina*' was a well thought out project with aims, processes and outcomes. The aim was to depopulate the urban areas and pre-empt possible urban uprising against the government given the deteriorating economic situation in Zimbabwe. Phase one was to demolish flea markets suspected of fuelling economic crimes, mainly illegal foreign-currency trade. After the flea markets, other vendors were next in line – particularly those who operated push carts in cities and those who hawked goods at road intersections. The major exercise, the destruction of so-called illegal structures that included shacks and backyard homes and industries, was to come in the last phase. Army and police vehicles would be at hand to ferry urban residents left homeless by the clean-up operation to rural areas, even if they did not have homes in rural areas. It should be emphasised that the social, economic and political circumstances in which the operation took place were first and foremost specific to Zimbabwe. They share, however, many common and similar aspects with historical and present trends that characterise the rapid and chaotic urbanisation occurring in many African countries and cities. While Zimbabwe entered independence in 1980 with promises for peace and prosperity, several underlying and unresolved issues became the root causes of future conflicts and, arguably, laid the grounds for the circumstances which culminated in the 'clean-up operation'. Among such causes one could list the failure to meaningfully address the land question and governance problems (UN-Habitat Report, 2005).

Figure 10, tabulates the spatial distribution and range of space economy activities affected by operation *murambatsvina* throughout Zimbabwe's urban areas. However, the weakness of the statistics alone is that they fail to capture the sociological and physiological impacts and effects such as trauma, pain and anguish of the victims. To put a name or a face to even a handful of the victims somehow brings home the intensity of the suffering in a way any number of statistics cannot do. The Zimbabwean government's clean-up operation code-named 'operation *murambatsvina*' or 'cleanup' was succeeded by 'Operation *Garikai/Hlalani Kuhle*', which literally means 'live comfortably', to address the gaps and misfits associated with the first project. 'Operation *garikai*' or 'live well concept' is that the government will construct houses as well as micro, small and medium business facilities across the country by the end of August 2005. A lot of contradictions ensued as government battled to redress shortcomings but, at the same time, provide a strategic and pro-active framework for the resolution of tackling urban shelter, informal sector entrepreneurial development and human rights within the auspices of an urban setting. This raises questions as to whether the 'operation *murambatsvina*' was a well thought out process, or rather, was an extension of 'government's disjointed instrumentalism' in planning. Others critics have coined this 'GBO' 'governance by operation'.

The whole manner in which the 'operation *murambatsvina*' was handled raised a couple of questions on urban governance in particular and governance in Zimbabwe generally. One key question was that the contradictions and conflicting signals by both policy and decision makers painted a map of leadership that is ashamed of admitting wrongdoing and apologising to its ratepayers and citizens at large. Secondly, the 'tsunami', as it is/was referred to by local Zimbabweans, called to question the appropriateness of the town planning law and the dual municipal system of governance in Zimbabwe. Maybe it is time that exploring the concept of a single municipal system and a major overhaul of the physical spatial planning and development legislation in Zimbabwe needs serious consideration.

Figure 11 depicts that urban physical planning governance is subject to dynamic city policies, plans, priorities discourses *etcetera*. The key pillars of urban spatial governance are urban social governance, urban economic governance, spatial planning governance and urban political governance. The harmonious coordination and connections among these will create conditions conducive to enhanced and sustainable urban physical planning governance. The lack of a synchronised and well-aligned arrangement and systems of urban spatial planning governance will result in dysfunctional, fragmented and segmented spatial planning governance that impacts negatively on the socio-economic spatial landscape of a region. Although governance-driven city planning and management approaches are being advocated, impediments to such an approach have to be taken into account. These relate to staff prerequisites, the extent of the costs and time budgets and the degree of satisfaction with the derived decisions. This can actually constitute the city master planning, management and governance dilemma.

Recommendations

The major recommendation of the study is that it is important that city planning, management and governance be aligned and consistent with legislation, human capital and budgeting or financial systems if enhanced service delivery and better infrastructure development and sustainability are to be achieved. In that regard, a city planning, management and governance-challenges analytical model in the context of a developing country such as Zimbabwe has been advanced. This framework of analysis is flexible and can be applied elsewhere as a benchmark and starting point for unlocking and unpacking complex and dynamic plethora of issues that impinge and are being impinged on cities. However, the contribution of this research project should be understood and implemented in the context of global and local city

planning, management and governance initiatives and programs meant to achieve the MDGs such as Healthy Cities, Sustainable City, Green Cities, Energy Efficient Cities, Cyber Cities, etc. In summary, the key findings of the study are:

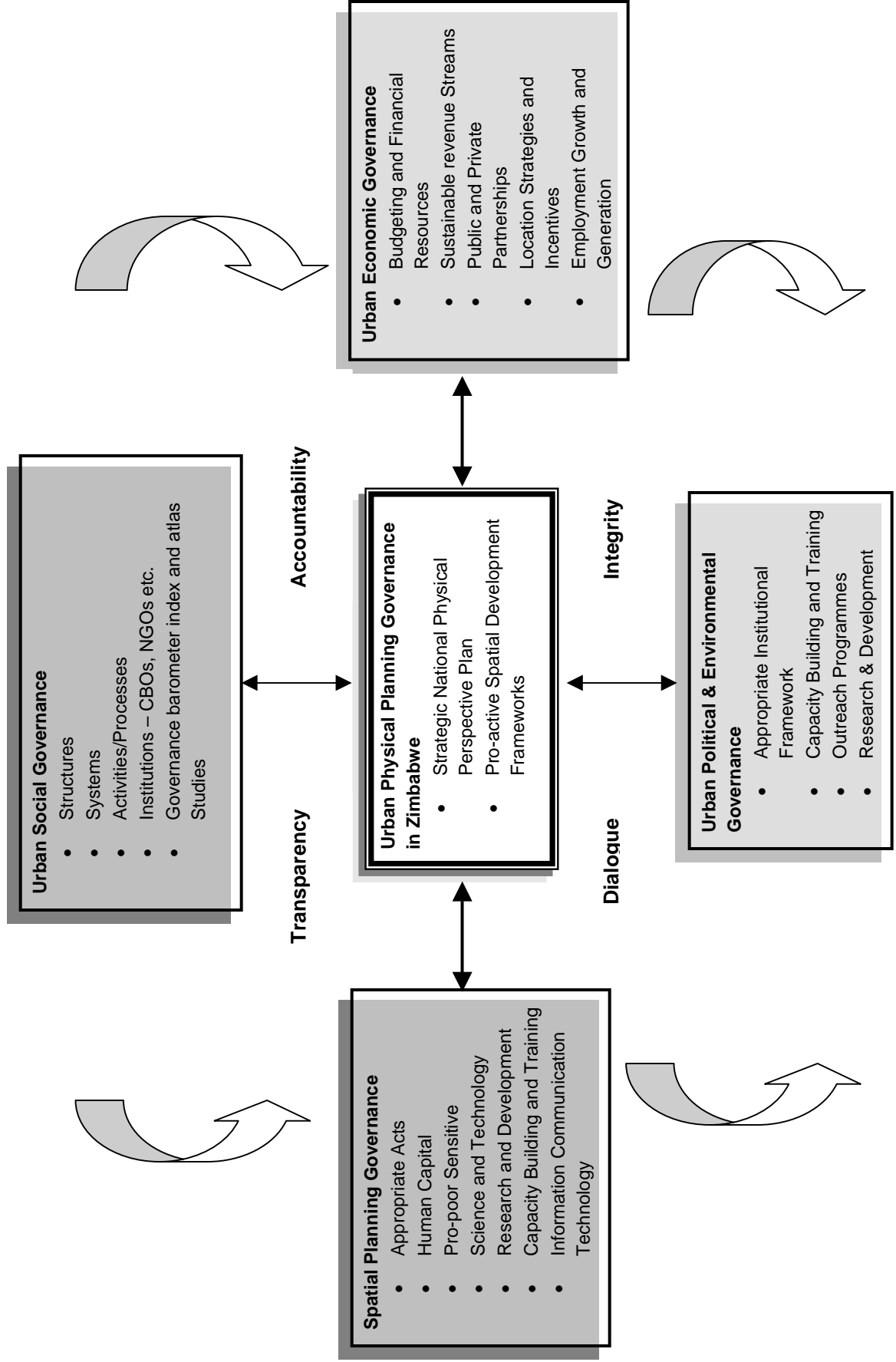
- City planning, management and governance in Zimbabwe exhibit relational discordance and contestations. These can be traced to the infrastructure planning platforms inherited from the colonial period. Cosmetic reform actions by the existing government have been inadequate to resolve the urbanisation challenges that cities in Zimbabwe face today. City relational contestations and discordance pre-date independence times.
- City planning, management and governance are a melting point where convergence of stakeholders in a city and country exist. For that reason contestations are bound to be innumerable. What separate a healthy and sustainable city from one that is struggling are the conflict resolution and management systems, processes and structures in place, and their religious use for the explicit purpose for which they were established for. In short, the political landscape and democracy temperature tend to circumscribe and condition values, perceptions and perspectives that stakeholders hold of city planning, management and governance in any context.
- City planning, management and governance are bound by the planning legislation theory, philosophy and practice. The need for vertical and horizontal linkage and integration of planning laws, acts and institutions that impact on spatial land development are fundamental if city relational discordances and contestations points and thematic areas are to be reduced
- Developing, entrenching local government in the constitution, as well as practicing and the application of appropriate information technology systems, knowledge management systems, information communication systems in city planning, management and governance are ways of reducing pressure points and divergence routes for discordance and contestations in city lifestyles, livelihoods and development architecture.
- City planning, management and governance experimentation, research and development activities should be placed higher on the agenda with healthy budget provisions so that city strategies, alternative spatial development paths, proto-type and model developments among other actions can be pursued with minimum restrictions, so that more sustainable, more efficient, more effective and more democratic city blocks and outcomes are realised.

Figure 10: Households affected by 'operation murambatsvina –remove dirt'

| Variable | Harare | Mash E. | Mash C. | Mash W. | Manicaland | Midlands | Bulawayo | Mat N | Mat. S | Masvingo | Unaccounted | Total |
|---|------------|---------|---------|---------|------------|----------|----------|-------|--------|----------|-------------|---------|
| Number of families affected | 36 543 | 1 249 | 2 823 | 16 166 | 31 610 | 6 122 | 7 959 | 7 850 | 2 150 | 3 550 | 17 512 | 133 534 |
| Number of illegal structures affected | 38 065 | 886 | 2 886 | 12 331 | 20 000 | 3 009 | 4 904 | 7 691 | 915 | 1 845 | Na | 92 460 |
| Number of households/stands required | 116 465 | 826 | 3 005 | 44 452 | 2 100 | 21 456 | 70 000 | 6 960 | 15 754 | 3 550 | Na | 284 565 |
| Number of Stands that are serviced | 519 | nil | Nil | Nil | Nil | 821 | 1 003 | 1 620 | 444 | 392 | Na | 4 799 |
| Number of illegal SME structures demolished | 107 572 | 1 873 | 3 129 | 20 408 | 2 100 | 16 955 | 10 997 | 9 777 | 9 360 | 80 120 | Na | 262 291 |
| Number of SME structures required | 8 945 | 88 | 1 747 | 3 514 | 4 000 | 2 250 | 4 915 | 849 | 1 785 | 4 445 | Na | 32 538 |
| Number of SME serviced stands | 7 765 | 36 | 1 626 | 1 069 | 80 | 2 673 | 10 740 | 445 | 3 800 | 3 663 | Na | 31 897 |
| Number of SME un-serviced stands | 49 | 3 | 16 | 69 | 3 | 97 | 46 | 31 | Nil | 5 | Na | 319 |
| People's markets | 603 | 10 | 7 | 224 | 8 | 1 453 | nil | 29 | 1 096 | 232 | Na | 3 668 |
| | 78 | | | | | | | | | | Na | 78 |
| Unaccounted affected households | Na | Na | Na | Na | Na | Na | Na | Na | Na | Na | Na | 17,512 |

Source: Ministry of Local Government, Public Works and National Housing, 8 July 2005

Figure 11: sustainable urban spatial governance analytic framework in Zimbabwe



- The City master planning concept in Zimbabwe should be bolstered through City Spatial Developments Frameworks, City Perspective Plans and National Physical Perspective Plan. In addition, the promotion and marketing of city planning, management and governance initiatives started should be progressively and cumulatively improved and perfected for the realisation of knowledge management and information sharing cities, technology efficient cities, healthy, productive and sustainable cities.
- Consequently, and specific to 'operation restore order' there is need for restoring a climate of trust and dialogue between different spheres of government and between government and civil society. Such a process may emerge from a broad-based consultation among all Zimbabwean stakeholders. The United Nations could facilitate this process.

Conclusion

This paper concludes that, although enhanced city planning, management and governance offers a clue to some of the ills that have riddled the Zimbabwean city landscape and structure, it is not a panacea. One interesting relational discourse and contestation is the fact that most programs on promoting better city planning, management and governance are concentrated at the grassroots or implementation level, i.e. the base structure for a number of understandable reasons. But a key question remains: is the latitude and breadth of city planning, management and governance models to succeed when the superstructure may not comply with sound principles of the city governance barometer? Alternatively, a key question is what platform of opportunities and window entry points can be used as a launch pad or filter to changing and transforming the superstructure? Will good city governance for example spread out from a small local municipality and community areas of influence until the city aggregate spatial national landscape is branded the same colour? If that is so, then how many entry points are considered the minimum, with what geographical spread and concentration, what levels of funding and support and what type of facilitation, growth and change management models and skills are mundane and considered the bare minimum? Such a debate and subject always raises more questions than answers given the complexity, diversity and differentiation of city planning, management and governance subject area. This paper is therefore a part of the bigger picture of initiatives and endeavours of contributions targeting at stimulating further debate and discussion around the good governance concept and its value to city planning and management.

That the need for processes and institutions that are accountable, transparent and responsive has for some time been acknowledged and is an acceptable argument is clear. What seems maybe to be missing is the appropriate ways of grafting good city governance to traditional city planning and management styles such as master planning philosophy. Continued piloting and testing still remains an important part of city planning, management and governance experimentation in the light of feedback from best practices worldwide. Consolidating the trends towards partnership and collaboration between the state or local municipal authorities and the private sector in addressing city challenges as well as keeping close tags on emerging city planning, management and governance themes such as knowledge management in contemporary city planning, management and governance are very important. In this grain, funding and support for R&D, S&T institutions, universities, etc. could never be over-emphasised. It goes without saying that city planning, management and governance that are informed and serviced by quality experimentation, trials, test cases, demonstration projects, etc. are better placed to be a place where it is a joy to work, live, produce and recreate in. The new millennium demands cities that are creative, innovative and always seek new sustainable ways of reaching out communities, galvanising communities

and building strong city statutes in the process. Knowledge, information and technology about better ways of creating and sustaining efficient cities become key, and ways of increasing access, sharing and dissemination have never been stronger.

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