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Peri-Urban Developments and Processes in Africa with Special Reference to Zimbabwe

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Chapter 1
Introduction

The Peri-urban and Peri-urbanisation: Context, Scope, Dimensions and Limits

Innocent Chirisa, Shingai T. Kawadza, Elias Mazhindu and Elmond Bandauko

1.1 Introduction

The problematic of conceptualising the "peri-urban" interface (PUI) has been an implicit theme of development policy studies in developing countries for several decades (Mbiba and Huchzermeyer 2002; Allen 2003; Kombe 2005). As a direct product of the theoretical debate on the peri-urban, the definitions, interpretations and emphases of the per-urban phenomenon have spawned diversity in urban planning policy practice and contestations.

As the Third World cities increasingly experience "unprecedented political, economic, social and ecological transformations", particularly in the low and middle countries of the global South (Hall and Pfeiffer 2000; Watson 2009), it is hardly surprising that the peri-urban interface has gained currency in peri-urban studies as a self-standing discipline of study. However, the bulk of peri-urban and urban research on the peri-urban transformations has been enduringly quantitative descriptive shunning the contentious nature of development in the peri-urban spaces of developing countries (Mbiba and Huchzermeyer 2002). The theoretical hiatus has mainly been situated in the relegation of African ordinary cities in mainstream Euro-American urban theory (Robinson 2002, 2006; Pieterse 2008; Myers 2011)

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responsible for the simplistic transfer of modernist planning approaches to ill-suited African political cultural contexts (Watson 2009). In an era of intensifying transformations under the neoliberal restructuring processes (Bayat 2000; Briggs and Yeboa 2001), a critical engagement with the relevance of structuralist modernist policy perspectives seems urgent and justified.

Moreover the integration of rapidly fragmenting peri-urban spaces of African cities such as Harare (Chirisa 2010), Dar es Salaam (Briggs and Mwamfupe 1999, 2000; Kombe 2005), Maputo (Jenkins 2000) and Gaborone (Sebego and Gwebu 2013) in response to the new global restructuring poses new policy questions about the structural impacts of uneven development on Third World cities—despite their various links to the world economy (Briggs and Yeboa 2001: 18). Clearly, while government policy responses to the challenges of rapid urban change still remain enamoured with the prescriptive modernist planning trajectories, the structuralist approaches have failed to grapple with the diversity and changing character of peri-urban life adding to the limited capacity of indebted and poor countries to plan (Watson 2009; Robinson 2002, 2006). The conceptual deficits of modernist planning perspectives on addressing uneven development in the poor economies have brought Elgåker (2011: 13) to lament the "inadequacy of spatial planning, related policies and legal frameworks to cope with rural-urban change." Moreover these inadequacies are made worse by the general "…paucity of data available for planners to identify and monitor the rate of change in the peri-urban areas" (Wadsworth and Choy 2011a, b: 8) in sub-Saharan Africa. Even the available descriptive statistical data does not expose the fragmented and contested nature of land uses impacting on the everyday life of residents in the African peri-urban space.

Not surprisingly, the peri-urban interface has been problematised as a zone of contestation in terms of the conflictual values and interests of different population groups and institutions that have a stake there (Adell 1999a, b). In Zimbabwe, since the violent land invasions of 2000, struggles involving access to land and infrastructure services have enduringly pitted state apparatus, municipal authorities and monopolistic firms against "illegal" settlers over claims to peri-urban land (Moyo 2005; Moyo and Yeros 2005). While the land reform struggles have intensified recently, thereby widening the electoral cleavages between the ruling Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) party and the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), cases of lower profile conflicts and high level corruption relating to peri-urban land still prevail.

These are narratives of the heterogeneous nature of 'peri-urban' as a multiple reality, a contested concept and geographical space, a phenomenon with substantive socio-spatial and temporal policy implications shaping peri-urban governance, safety and liveability. With that in mind, in this edition comprising recent case studies on the new socio-spatial configurations and geographies in peri-urban Zimbabwe, the key contributions reflect on some of the peri-urban transformations and associated policy modalities shaping the governance of contemporary African cities. This introductory chapter starts by offering an overview of the peri-urban as a

concept and a spatial temporal phenomenon. Using this perspective, the chapter presents the theoretical framework emanating recent scholarships on peri-urbanisation. As explained under the 'structure of the book', the contributions to this edition discuss an array of peri-urban policy strategies and implementation challenges of land management experienced in Southern Africa with a special focus on the Zimbabwe experience.

First, the discourse revolves around recent scholarships on the problematic of defining the "peri-urban"—a term coined and used by Smith (1937) in his discussion of the "urban fringe" around Louisiana (Smith 1937). It signifies "the built-up area just outside the corporate limits of the city" (Smith 1937 in Pryor 1968: 202). As indicated earlier, defining and theorising the "peri-urban" has been fraught with difficulties as it has variously been represented as "a place, concept or process" (Narain and Nischal 2007: 261). The "peri-urban" has been used to refer to the peri-urban fringe or the geographic edge of cities as a place; the movement of goods and services between physical spaces and the transition from rural to urban contexts as a process; and finally, as a concept denoting an interface between rural and urban activities (Marshall et al. 2009: 3). How the "peri-urban" has segued into our understanding of peri-urbanisation and urban sprawl—is the question discussed in the next section.

1.2 Defining Peri-urbanisation and Related Dynamics

In linking peri-urbanisation with urban sprawl, Mancebo (2008: 1) captures urban sprawl as the process fuelling the outward spread of the urban development densities and associated socio-economic cultural influences onto the surrounding rural areas. He points out that urban sprawl is sustained by the provision of supportive infrastructure and services, mainly transport, which usually facilitates the accessibility and development of new residential estates on the outskirts of the city. Without the essential infrastructure, "precarious" peri-urbanisation takes place and such development is generally associated with informality (Chirisa 2013). However, as Peters (2011: 38) points out, urban policymakers often ignore or underplay investment in peri-urban areas. This urban bias often results in the inadequate provision of facilities for education, sanitation, and health as well as the poor enforcement of zoning and building standards on the city-edge.

Defining peri-urbanisation is arguably a bigger challenge than defining the peri-urban since the term peri-urbanisation has been viewed from different angles and country contexts. Generally, peri-urban areas result from extensions of urban activities beyond existing administrative boundaries in urban regions. Therefore, peri-urbanisation can be defined as a process in which rural areas located on the outskirts of established cities become more urban in character, in physical, economic, and social terms, often in piecemeal fashion (Webster 2002: 5). McGregor et al. (2006) further note that the terms "peri-urban' and "peri-urbanisation" are

generally used interchangeably connoting the urban fringe. Often referred to as the "urban fringe" ("*Stadtrandzone*" German for "fringe belt") in the Euro-American academic urban literature (Roy 2009), the peri-urban zone is constructed as an area of dominant social and economic change associated with spatial restructuring. More specifically, the peri-urban has been theorised as a "producer of zones of chaotic urbanisation resulting in fragmented urban space" (Chirisa 2013). The "peri-urban" has also been equated with the newly urbanised zones on city edges—dubbed as the "peri-urban interface" (Adell 1999b). Generally, peri-urban zones in Africa are shunned as places of possible disaster outbreaks in terms of disease epidemics and other social hazards due to the general lack of planning and institutional integration which commonly translates into '*laissez faire*' development, land fragmentation and social exclusion (Chirisa 2010; Iaquinta and Drescher 2010a, b).

Peri-urbanisation as a way of life evokes a desire by poor households to take advantage of the social and economic life chances that the peri-urban space presents. The proximity of peri-urban areas to the city means that peri-urban residents can more readily tap into urban services offered in the city. Since many low-income households can scarcely afford the more expensive life in the city, they are forced to relocate into peri-urban areas where housing provision is either free or relatively cheap (Peters 2011).

So far, it is discernible that the "peri-urban" has been defined as a concept, a geographical space or zone and a phenomenon of temporality (Adell 1999a; Narain and Nischal 2007: 261). As a space Ubink (2008: 23) maintains that peri-urban areas are "tenurial flashpoints where property relations are subject to intense contestation and where access to wealth and authority undergo rapid change." He portrays the peri-urban area as an interface zone between urban and rural areas harnessing the demographic, marketing and transport flows between the distinctly rural and urban space economies. In agreement with Ubink, Narain and Nischal (2007: 261) are convinced that the "peri-urban is perceptible as an interface of rural and urban activities and institutions." Although the contributions in this book will draw on Ubink (2008), Narain and Nischal (2007), the discussions recognize the intersections and divergences defining the perceptions and interpretations of the 'peri-urban' as a concept, space, temporal phenomenon and as a process.

It will be borne in mind that the discourse on peri-urbanisation cannot not only be confined to the Zimbabwean context, but rather encompasses all cities in the world that are experiencing rapid expansion and change. As the existing conurbations continue to grow spatially, they tend to expand and extend their geographical territories to the outskirts of the cities as they network with cities in other parts of the world via diverse forms of mobility. The issues discussed in this book such as land tenure insecurity, land management strategies, access to water, green economies in the peri-urban areas, political economy of peri-urban development are evident in other countries such Uganda, Kenya, Botswana, Zambia, South Africa among others.

1.3 Structure of the Book

In the second chapter of the book, Mazhindu draws explains the relevance of the political economy of neoliberal globalisation to our understanding of the new and emerging social-spatial configurations of peri-urban areas in Zimbabwe. In the chapter, the major assertion is that the global-local forces embedding local contingency responses to current structural reforms can serve as a useful lens for unravelling the contradictions and antagonisms undergirding uneven development in African urban spaces. In the discourse, Mazhindu sheds light on how the dialectical processes of global restructuring processes have generated local planning strategies discussed through the rest of the book.

In the Chap. 3, Innocent Chirisa, Munyaradzi Shekede and Elmond Bandauko discuss the prospects of "earth observation" in reading the land use patterns and trends of physical growth of Harare as the city sprawls. Earth Observation has been found helpful for describing the Harare Metropolitan Region including Harare City and its satellite towns of Chitungwiza, Norton, Epworth, Ruwa, and Christonbank and environs. The major reason that explains the rapid sprawl of Harare southwards has been found to be the burgeoning population being pushed by both inmigration and natural increase. The rapid sprawl of Harare threatens the environmental sustainability of the region. Such development also has downstream social challenges in terms of the adequacy provision of basic services and infrastructure in the form of reticulated potable water and sanitation facilities, energy, educational and health services. Although there have been proposals to densify Harare such that nearby towns have been on the cards towards this development, the financing and technological capture still emerge as major constraints. By technological capture, is meant the capacity to develop, advance and effectively utilise new techniques, methods and equipment essential for building sustainable metropolitan regions. For instance, high-rise buildings that are durable and matching technological needs of the times always require huge investment. In common terms, urban centres ought to accommodate people who are well fed thus bringing the food security question into play as well. Incorporation of peri-urban areas in the metropolitan region is attainable through adopting the use of earth observation in the monitoring peri-urban development.

Innocent Chirisa and Elmond Bandauko assess the utility of appropriate technology for peri-urban dwellers in Chap. 4 on 'Peri-Urbanisation and the Question of Appropriate Technology in Harare Zimbabwe: Putting the Grassroots Housing Model to Task'. The currency of appropriate technology has ascended in research and policy through fostering grassroots initiatives towards attaining sustainable habitats. The study examines shelter and land development in peri-urban Harare and interrogates Alexander (1973)'s Grassroots Housing Model which capitalises on the collective action of poor households in addressing their housing development needs. The chapter examines the poor housing situation in peri-urban Harare using five selected case studies of Nehanda, Dzivaresekwa Extension, Magada in Epworth, Harare South and Whitecliffe.

Peri-urbanisation in Zimbabwe, as in most countries of sub-Saharan Africa, is becoming a menacing reality today. Yet, the issue of appropriate technology for the peri-urban dwellers and improving their habitats remains scantily discussed in academic and policy discourses. Largely, the principles of the Grassroots Housing Model, while appealing for inclusive development for the poor—the low-income groups which choose to locate at the city-edges due to inhibitive costs of living in the city cores.

In Chap. 5 Livinia Binala present the case study of an irrigation cooperative as a strategy of peri-urban poverty reduction. She reminds us that non-governmental organizations such as Plan International have been promoting irrigation cooperatives in ward 5, Epworth. The study case study collected data through household surveys, key informant interviews and by consulting secondary sources. The argument raised in the chapter is that the irrigation cooperatives such as Kubatana-Kubatsirana are contributing towards improving the people's livelihoods through buttressing income sources and food security. The chapter urges Epworth Local Board to set aside more land for irrigation cooperatives as an important strategy for poverty reduction in the peri-urban areas.

In Chap. 6 Never Mujere demonstrates how access to safe drinking water and adequate sanitation facilities is essential for human health and socio-economic development in the peri-urban settlement of Epworth. The chapter presents study findings on access to safe potable water and the availability of human waste disposal facilities for households in Harare's satellite slum settlement of Epworth.

In Chap. 7, Innocent Chirisa, Archimedes Muzenda and Elmond Bandauko put to test strategies of inclusive growth and greening economies in Africa in the context of sustainable peri-urban development. The authors deploy the case studies of Accra (Ghana), Nairobi (Kenya), Gaborone (Botswana), Lusaka (Zambia), Cairo (Egypt), Lagos (Nigeria), Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban (South Africa) to illuminate current peri-urbanisation trends in Africa.

Ruwa, an emerging town on the fringe of Harare manifests phenomenal growth trends in recent years. The rapid growth of the small edge-city is largely attributable to its proximity to the country's capital city of Harare. Starting as a small sprawling township on the western edge of the administrative province of Mashonaland East and subsequently engulfed by the extended Harare Province, the locational advantages of Ruwa in terms of housing, industrial and commercial linkages with Harare have paid dividends in investment. In Chap. 8, Innocent Chirisa and Joel Chaeruka discuss why Ruwa, despite her exceptional growth through place marketing policy strategies, is still understudied.

Banking on the capital investment support from China, the government of Zimbabwe has embarked on an urban development policy route of prioritising the development of new satellite towns and recreational centres throughout the country. A partnership model between the Government of Zimbabwe and the China Fund International Consortium (CFIC) seems to be the mainstay of the successful implementation of this urban development policy initiative. Discussing the establishment of new satellite towns in Zimbabwe in Chap. 9, Chirisa, Bandauko and

Muzenda interrogate the robustness of such a policy via a literature review of relevant experiences.

In a case study of the security and plight of households in peri-urban Bulawayo in Chap. 10, Magwaro Ndiweni and Madiro trace out the correlations between security of tenure, housing and land management of peri-urban settlements. The second biggest city of Zimbabwe, Bulawayo is experiencing a surge in spatial growth which is encroaching on surrounding small-scale commercial farming and rural settlements. The encroachments have fuelled contestations between the municipality of Bulwayo and residents of affected peri-urban areas over claims to land and access to existing infrastructure. The study reveals that the relationships between the current tenure systems, planning laws and development trends have an impact on the livelihoods of peri urban communities in the country.

Since the *jambanja* (vernacular for "chaotic and violent unruly behaviour") land occupations of 2000 during fast track resettlement programme in Zimbabwe (Moyo 2005), the peri-urban areas of primate cities such as Harare and Bulawayo have experienced a spiralling peri-urban settlement pressure and the widespread informalisation of land use. In Chap. 11 Kudzai Chatiza analyses policy responses to the challenges of peri-urbanisation and land management in the country focusing on Harare. He asserts that these challenges have been worsened by overlapping institutional responses of public authorities thereby further marginalising the peri-urban poor. Despite the successes in the arena of cooperative housing construction, Chatiza makes a case for studies that can effectively tap into the many realities of the cleavages in the governance of peri-urban space in sub-Saharan Africa. He makes an impassioned appeal for scholarships to tease out informal planning strategies of the ordinary citizens in the shaping of shared peri-urban spaces.

Before unravel the various contributions on the challenges of new and emerging peri-urban geographies in Zimbabwe and other countries in Southern Africa, we first turn to the political economy of peri-urban transformations in Zimbabwe under conditions of neo-liberal capitalism.

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Part I
Political Economy of Peri-Urban Transformations in Zimbabwe

This part has only one chapter by Elias Mazhindu. The discourse interrogates the political economy of the contradictions and antagonisms of the neoliberal project in the reproduction of space under creative destruction in peri-urban sub-Saharan Africa. Therefore, Part I casts the theoretical canvass of the contributions to this volume by drawing on the political economy of contemporary peri-urban transformations in Zimbabwe as the country navigates the tidal waves of global neoliberalism.

Chapter 2
Political Economy of Peri-urban Transformations in Conditions of Neoliberalism in Zimbabwe

Elias Mazhindu

2.1 Introduction

The inexorable march of intensifying socio-spatial transformations taking place in the peri-urban areas of Third World cities seems to resonate with the dialectics and logic of capital accumulation and circulation shaping the processes of city making worldwide (Harvey 1973, 1982, 1989, 2006).

Thus, in the tenuous and conflictual peri-urban landscapes of urbanising Southern African countries, we may reasonably ask, how can urban planning policy concepts articulate the claims of the every day life of ordinary residents in negotiating their right of accessing and using urban services? Perhaps, do their negotiating strategies suggest for the democratisation of peri-urban space? What are the possible planning responses to ameliorate the resource challenges that Third World cities encounter in grappling with episodic peri-urban change and political questions?

In offering possible explanations on these questions, the discourse looks at contemporary urban planning policy practices in selected Southern African cities drawing mainly on Zimbabwean experience. To do so, the chapter starts by theorising the socio-economic impacts of neoliberal capital's mode of creative destruction in the reproduction of urban space in the peripheral space economies of the global South. The leading arguments of this volume demonstrate how the economic reform measures prescribed by the Washington Consensus, propagated by the mainstream Northern academy, and pushing even "the once educated and prosperous middle classes to the ranks of the urban poor in labour and housing markets" (Bayat 2000: 534). Hence the question: how has the economic plunge of

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Zimbabwe's economy inspired the self-built house building strategies of marginalised citizens in the country's neoliberal land markets.

Before we preview the local planning responses, discussed throughout the volume, the discourse now casts a gaze at the demographic profile of rapidly urbanising countries of the global South while care must be taken that the tidal wave of urbanisation will always remain uneven where some countries continue to urbanise faster than others. Supporting this claim, Potts (2013) has noted that the rate at which some countries of sub-Saharan Africa are urbanising has actually slowed down in comparison with earlier rates in the first decades of independence. Tracing out the demographic trends in sub-Saharan African cities, Potts (2013) established that the populations of many large towns, sometimes including even the capital city, have been growing only a little faster than the national population. Several cities have grown more slowly and have thus lost population share relative to the country as a whole. Some countries such as Mauritania, Kenya, Tanzania and Zambia have counter-urbanised, in other words, the urban population share has fallen (Potts 2013: 4). But how will these demographic trends concomitant with the spatial futures of these cities look like—is the question explored in the next section.

2.2 Dystopia and the Future of the African City

2.2.1 Demographic Trends of a Dystopic Urban World Future

In their famously pessimistic report to the Club of Rome, entitled "Limits to Growth" cited in Mike Davis (2006) "Planet of Slums", Meadows et al. (1972) portray a dystopic urban future of the world predicting the demise of humankind. For the first time in urban history, they alert us that the urban population of the earth will outnumber the rural or, put differently, there will be more people living in cities than in the countryside (Davis 2006: 5). These scholars on dystopia argue that since the rural population of 3.2 billion will implode in the early 2020s, all the future growth of the world population, estimated to be 10 billion by 2050, will be confined to the cities. By then an estimated 4 billion people will be living in the Third World cities with "the bulk residing in the peri-urban areas of the global South" (Watson 2009a). Painting a rather bleak future of these Third World cities, Davis describes them as:

> …not the rich, vibrant cultural centres beloved of Sunday-supplement dandies and middle-class flâneurs, but vast peri-urban developments, horizontal spreads of unplanned squats and shantytowns, simmering with the unsightly dumps of humans and waste, where child labour is the norm, child prostitution is commonplace, gangs and paramilitaries rule and with no access to clean water or sanitation, let alone to education or democratic institutions (cited in The Guardian 2006: 2).

Mike Davis (2006) states that already there are some 200,000 such slums worldwide. He asserts that the slum is becoming the blueprint for cities of the future, which, "rather than being made out of glass and steel as envisioned by earlier generations of urbanists, are instead largely made out of crude brick, straw, recycled plastic, cement blocks and scrap wood" (*ibid*.)

In the imaginaries of Davis (2006), these slums are manifestations of the neoliberal restructuring of Third World cities that has occurred since the late 1970s. Davis attacks the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, the "middle-class hegemony" and international NGOs" for propagating the slum city. More directly, the product of the economic structural reforms in Africa has been an explosive growth of the major cities such as Lagos in Nigeria. Meanwhile the hybrid nature of peri-urban settlements and urban development in China and most of Southeast Asia has led to a theorisation of urbanisation as a process of structural change and intensified interaction at the rural-urban interface.

The resultant landscape, as Guldin (1997: 44) tells us, is "neither rural nor urban but a blending of the two wherein a dense web of transactions ties larger urban cores to their surrounding regions." These new and emerging urban forms have inspired some international urbanists (Hall 1996; Davis 2004; Sassen 2005) to theorise the processes of clustering Third World cities into novel networks, corridors and hierarchies. Typical of these new urban configurations is the Beijing-Tianjin urban-industrial belt akin to the lower Rhine-Ruhr and New York—Philadelphia corridors in Germany and the USA.

Unlike in Europe and North America, the growth of cities in most sub-Saharan African countries—except South Africa—has not been driven by a powerful manufacturing-export engine and massive foreign investment as in the case of China. In the case of sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America, the Middle East and parts of Asia, rapid urbanisation has continued its resolute march de-coupled from industrialisation as opposed to Manchester, Berlin and Chicago—the vaunted "job machines" of the industrial revolution (Davis 2004). In the poor Southern countries, urban growth has not been linked to the capacity of cities to provide employment.

Instead, as a direct result of the economic marginality of African countries in the world economy, de-industrialisation, capital flight and the brain drain from both the cities and national economies themselves, there has occurred a population and economic de-concentration in the Third World city (Briggs and Yeboah 2001: 19). The bulk of foreign currency remittance inflows for investment targeted the housing sector in Dar es Salaam, Accra and Harare resulting in considerable urban sprawl into the peri-urban zones of these cities. In the following sections, we shall see that housing construction remains the mainstay of urban expansion with only limited commercial or industrial development—a pattern replicated in many other African cities. Individual builders are even prepared to build in areas which are at present unserviced, in anticipation of future service and infrastructure provision, by taking advantage of lower land values of peri-urban locations.

2.2.2 Third World Urbanisms and Re-thinking the City

The dysfunctional and haphazard urbanisms of most developing countries, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, are direct outcomes of the late 1970s debt crisis and the impacts of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) austerity measures imposed on Third World countries in the early 1980s.

Most of the surplus population of the rural poor, created by the IMF enforced deregulation of agriculture, was forced to migrate to urban slums even as the hard-pressed cities were confronted with economic stagnation and stifling unemployment rates. This bleak result tallies with the UN-Habitat (2003) global report on human settlements accusing the IMF's structural adjustment programmes of being responsible for the ills of urban poverty and slums, exclusion and deepening inequality. Although the UN-Habitat (2011) global report was criticised for failing to draw attention to the topical land-use challenges of over-urbanisation, unplanned settlements, horizontal expansion, and the degradation of the environment with associated climatic change risks, it was widely recognised for its warnings about the global tragedy of urban poverty translating into reality.

However, recognising the widespread global urban poverty, the question can be asked, how are peri-urban residents responding to the measures of neoliberal restructuring in shaping the governance of peri-urban areas under conditions of declining productivity? In answering this question, the chapter features the findings of recent research on local policy responses in sub-Saharan Africa. But first what do we understand by neoliberalism in the context of this chapter?

2.2.3 Theory of Neoliberalism and Peri-urban Change

The neo-Marxist geographer, David Harvey (2006: 145), suggests that neoliberalism is a theory of political economic practices postulating that human welfare can best be advanced by the maximisation of entrepreneurial freedoms through institutions characterised by private property rights, individual liberty, free markets and free trade.

The role of the state, therefore, is to create and preserve institutions such as the military, police and juridical functions required to secure private property rights and to support freely functioning markets. Under the new round of global restructuring—the theme of this chapter—the rules of engagement were established through the World Trade Organisation and International Monetary Fund to represent neoliberalism as a global set of rules. All signatory member states agree to abide by these rules or face penalties. The creation of the neoliberal capitalist system has inevitably entailed much destruction, not only of prior institutional frameworks and powers (such as the prior presumed state sovereignty over political and economic affairs) but also of divisions of labour, social relations, welfare provisions, ways of life and attachments to the land (Harvey 2006: 145–146).

So, how has urban planning practice navigated the tidal waves of the shifting and uneven geography of neoliberalism at local level, specifically in the domain of entitlements to peri-urban land resources? The following sections will project recent literature on local experiences in peri-urban land use planning under conditions of neoliberal restructuring in sub-Saharan Africa—with emphasis on Zimbabwe.

2.3 Local Responses to Global Restructuring in Sub-Saharan Africa

Some African peri-urban researchers (Stren 1994a; Simone 2004; Rakodi 1997; Mbiba and Huchzermeyer 2002; Potts 1995, 2007) have traced the knock-on-effects of economic restructuring to the contradictions of unintended material conditions—primarily around entitlements to land and the economy. These African research scholars acknowledge the contradictions or undesirable material conditions buoyed by structural antagonisms in the inadequate land use planning system of peri-urban resources thereby fuelling a polarisation between "winners and losers" (Mbiba and Huchzermeyer 2002: 120; Potts 2013). The majority losers and exploited are the marginalised, the de-institutionalised and the poor households. Arguably, the polarising processes, entrenched by skewed land use planning systems, have largely failed to protect the poor or the "urban de-enfranchised" (Bayat 2000: 534) from exploitation by alliances of the well-connected at all levels of society (Mbiba and Huchzermeyer 2002: 120). In a recent case study on political patronage in the "distributive politics and land-based power dynamics" of Greater Harare, Chirisa et al. (2015): 13 expose the hegemony of the Mugabe-led ruling Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) party government in "manipulating the issue of land grants" (Boone 2013: 382) to housing cooperatives affiliated with the ruling party but excluding those perceived to be sell-outs.

It is thus that a significant impact of the new round of global restructuring in Third World cities is the double process of integration, on one hand, social exclusion and the informalisation of the economy, on the other" (Bayat 2000: 234). In the context of city making processes, global restructuring has spawned one of the most important policy challenges of how urban planning can, particularly in developing countries, respond to the widespread poverty, inequality and the informalisation of the economy at all levels (Mutizwa-Mangiza 2009: 3). A large number of once educated well-to-do middle classes (government employees and students), public sector workers, as well as segments of the peasantry have been pushed to the ranks of the urban poor in labour and housing markets. Thus, in an emerging urban policy landscape, Mutizwa-Mangiza (2009) warns us that "…urban planners and managers increasingly find themselves confronted by new urban forms and processes, the drivers of which often lie outside the control of local government."

Yet equally challenging are modernist imaginaries of the compact city, as socio-spatial change seems to be taking place primarily in the direction of spatial and institutional fragmentation, separation and specialisation of functions and uses within cities. While labour polarisation is accentuating the growing differences between wealthier and poorer areas in the cities of both industrialised and developing countries (Mutizwa-Mangiza 2009: 3). Exasperated by these policy challenges, the UN-Habitat Executive Director, Tibaijuka (2006), has urged upon planning practitioners to develop alternative approaches that are pro-poor and inclusive, and that place the creation of the livelihoods at the centre of planning efforts. However, Tibaijuka's appeal has not been given much consideration (Watson 2009b: 2260) in planning policy circles. In many cases, Watson observes that the inherited planning systems and approaches in the postcolonial era still remain unchanged to suit particular local political and ideological ends, despite that over time the overall context in which the systems operate has changed significantly.

Given the narrative of the new and emerging socio-spatial transformations and the persistent ideological preferences of Northern planning systems, we may reasonably ask: how then is global restructuring influencing the peri-urban space economies of Southern Africa? What strategies do ordinary citizens engage in response to their exclusion from the collective consumption of urban services? The various contributions to this book feature, albeit in small measure, reflect evidence of peri-urban land use change by drawing on recent local planning practices and technologies.

2.4 Peri-urban Agriculture Dominates the Poor Urban Space Economy

A recent study (Mbiba 1994) on the socio-spatial impacts of economic structural reforms on the African city reveals the prominence of urban agriculture as a local contingency response to the widespread and entrenched poverty in African cities such as Harare. The economic plunge and, in particular, the massive decline in formal employment and incomes of the indebted countries such as Zimbabwe after adoption of structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) in the early 1990s (Bond and Manyanya 2002) contributed both to the increase in off-plot urban agriculture and direct rural-to-urban food procurement (Mbiba 1995; ENDA-Zimbabwe 1996; Bowyer-Bower et al. 1996; Masoka 1997). Mbiba (1994) views urban agriculture as "the production of crops and livestock within the administrative boundaries of the city." He identifies peri-urban agriculture as a sub-category of urban agriculture involving the production of crops and livestock in areas outside the city boundary up to a radius of 150 km—economically inclined to the city (Mbiba 1994, 1995).

However, beyond the prominence of agriculture in African peri-urban research, the attention to the rapid socio-economic transformations on the edge of apex cities in the global South seems to be taking the frontier of Third World urban policy studies. Firmly situated in the meta-narrative of contemporary neo-liberalism is a recognition of the fragmented socio-economic growth and spatial expansion of cities in the sub-Saharan African region (Harrison 2003) mainly attributing to the proliferation of informal land use and sprawling high quality middle class housing estates (Briggs and Yeboah 2001: 24) in peri-urban areas.

The rapid sprawl of the African city is inexorably encroaching on distinctly rural agricultural land spaces at the city edge (Briggs and Mwamfupe 2000; Simon et al. 2004; Sebego and Gwebu 2013). The emerging new land-use patterns have important consequences for peri-urban agricultural activities in terms of existing opportunities and policy responses. Therefore, there is need for research that can offer "additional and alternative theoretical policy resources" to help planners better understand the now-dominant urban conditions of informality (Watson 2009b: 2260) in the tidal waves of neoliberal globalisation.

Planners and decision-makers need to re-think policy alternatives that can insert urban agriculture in the built environment while minimizing the socio-spatial and ecological conflicts associated with agriculture. It is the processes and dynamics, rather than the forms, of peri-urban agriculture that demand renewed analysis by focusing on household subjectivities in response to the changing structural constraints as well as the motives and capacities that drive decisions affecting the everyday lives of beneficiaries in the use of space.

In the final analysis, the challenges of mapping and translating peri-urban transformations into plan making processes raise questions of appropriate technological resource mixes taping into global networked information systems. Foregrounding the dynamics of information systems in mapping changing spatial configurations and assemblages over time (Sheller and Urry 2006a, b), the next section highlights an increasingly important role that geospatial cartographies can play in enriching strategic decision-making processes that embed multiple and complex permutations of rapidly transforming peri-urban landscapes.

2.5 Mapping Out a Transforming African Peri-urban Landscape

Although dominant in the large city planning and implementation processes of the global North, the resort to geospatial technologies in framing nuanced understandings of rapidly changing African urban environments is now a reality (Koti 2004). The product of "othering" the non-Western city grounded in the parochialisms of the North (Myers 2011; Robinson 2002, 2006) has been that peri-urban areas, one of the fastest growing yet little understood sectors of African cities, tended to disappear from the intellectual maps of mainstream urban theory

and practice. In most instances of African urban development, land use changes were not adequately quantified due to an overreliance on and the "situatedness" of conventional methods that often ignored the dynamics of volatile land use changes in the fringe areas of a Southern city. Thus, overtaken by imploding urban growth without a corresponding institutional and technical capacity, peri-urban governments in sub-Saharan African countries now often find themselves unable or least prepared to understand their own growth patterns for planning purposes.

Responding to these policy making and implementation challenges, Chirisa, Shekede and Bandauko in this volume relate a case study on how earth observation (EO) can help peri-urban local governments understand and cope with spatial transformation following land use patterns and processes in the context of peri-urban Harare. In particular, they appeal to the usefulness of earth observation (EO) in detecting and quantifying the rates and extent of land uses in peri-urban areas. Their findings shed light on how the cumulative spatial growth of Harare has been propelled by rapid sprawl in the past three decades increasing its built-up area by 13 % per year since 1984. Typical of other African cities such as Dar es Salaam and Nairobi (Briggs and Yeboah 2001: 24), it is hardly surprising that high quality middle class house building continues to fuel the sprawling Greater Harare encroaching on available open space and the precious few wetlands.

Although Africans have often been "represented as passive victims of structural adjustment programmes" (*ibid.*), the generalisation hides the fact that Africans are active agents capable of taking advantage of both local and global circumstances. The liberalisation of trade and foreign exchange in many African countries including Zimbabwe unleashed currency remittance inflows for investment in housing, the increased importation of vehicles, the emergence of real estate property development firms. Meanwhile, central government is overwhelmed by increased volumes of vehicular traffic on the country's roads—most of which are riddled with potholes in the overcrowded in high density suburbia. Admittedly, human agency forces have actively responded to current worsening urban life circumstances and conditions in mobilising the cumulative foreign currency investment flows into expansionist housing schemes fuelling the sprawl of many African cities. However, the question that the dystopic urban demographic and spatial trends bring to surface is: what lines of action remain open to addressing the formidable challenges of bolstering urban growth following the widespread capital flight and dis-investment from the states blacklisted by the Washington Consensus.

2.6 Shifting from Managerial to Entrepreneurial Strategies

In the present economic climate, a central question emerging from unrelenting demands for adequate urban services and facilities to address the needs of imploding populations in the cities of the marginalised space economies such as

Zimbabwe. The urban economist Harvey (1989: 3) writes on need to "explore new ways in which to foster and encourage local development and employment." For Harvey, such an entrepreneurial stance shift from the conventional managerial focus on the provision of services, facilities and benefits for the collective consumption of urban populations.

Given the widening gap between policy inspirations of planners and politicians and the reality of life in impoverished Southern cities: what lines of action are open to African governments and cities alike in responding to the widespread erosion of the economic and fiscal base of many large cities under present conditions of neoliberal restructuring?

Drawing on his earlier works, Harvey (1973, 1982, 1985, 1989) urges urban governments to be more innovative and entrepreneurial, willing to explore all kinds of avenues through which to alleviate their distressed conditions and thereby secure a better future for their citizens. Local authorities should "become increasingly involved in economic development activity directly related to production and investment" (Boddy 1984; Cochrane 1987) instead of preoccupation with management. Demonstrating the dividends of shifting from managerial to entrepreneurial approaches in urban governance, the exceptional growth of the small town of Ruwa on the edge of Harare during the turbulent years of Zimbabwe's economic recession from 2008 to 2012, is a case in point.

By drawing on the synergies of private-public partnerships, a case study of Ruwa by Chirisa and Chaeruka in this volume demonstrates how a proactive packaging the competitive factors of location, corporatism and place marketing can be helpful in confronting the enormous pressures of social and economic change that technological and industrial restructuring can bring to hard-pressed local governments (Blunkett and Jackson 1987: 108–142). Such appeals push to the fore, ethnographic studies on African cities as entrepreneurial projects.

2.7 Conclusion

The chapter recites a growing need for mainstream urban trajectories to incorporate contemporaneity of all cities in the world in framing of cosmopolitan and inclusive city approaches to assist in re-thinking futures of individual cities. In contributing towards this appeal, the thesis of the chapter explores the helpfulness of drawing on current experiences with the political and economic dialectics of the contestations shaping the governance of peri-urban spaces in the indebted poor countries sub-Saharan Africa since adoption of the IMF and World Bank structural adjustment programmes in the mid-1980s. Significantly, the ensuing struggles over contented claims to land in the peri-urban spaces of these countries resonate with the contradictions and conflicts in Harvey's (2006) thesis on the new round of neoliberal capitalist restructuring. Hence the appeal in recent urban and peri-urban literature (Mbiba and Huchzermeyer 2002; Briggs and Yeboah 2001) on the peri-urban for alternative theoretical resources (Robinson 2002, 2006; Simone

2004; Myers 2011; Pieterse 2008; Watson 200) that can converse with the underlying structural forces entailing the new (and sometimes sinister) forms of peri-urban change.

Using the political economy of peri-urban transformations as a lens for reading the impact of social change on cities of the global South, the contributions to this volume largely anchors technical and planning policy responses to peri-urban land use change in Zimbabwe. Therefore, the reader can be advised to note that some of the case studies are epistemologically peripheral to the overall theme of this edition. In the next chapter, the book conceptualises the ascendancy of technical resources in mapping and planning rapid land use changes in a changing landscape of global information innovations.

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Part II
Technological Applications and Solutions

This section has two chapters, Chap. 3 by Chirisa and Shekede and Chap. 4 by Chirisa. This part brings in an interesting aspect of how technologies can be applied to the management of house building in peri-urban areas. Chapter 3 specifically explains how Earth Observation (EO) is applicable land use governance in changing spatial contexts of peri-urban areas.

Chapter 3
Prospects and Problems of Applying Earth Observation to the Management of Peri-urban Harare

Innocent Chirisa and Munyaradzi Shekede

3.1 Introduction

The key to understanding the rapid dynamics of peri-urbanisation lies in generating up-to-date spatial data informing the processes of policy making and the management of cities. With this reasoning in mind, the chapter suggests that information revealing the dynamics of land use is essential for monitoring the complex drivers and effects of socio-spatial change (Forkuor and Cofie 2011). However, in Third World cities particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa, planning data has often been curtailed by the lack of tools and data sets that permit the quantification of land-cover changes in urban environments.

In an era of a tectonic global information terrain, the use of Earth Observation (EO) in conjunction with Geographic Information Systems (GIS) presents urban researchers, policy architects and managers with decision making tools that were not previously available for purposes of urban planning applications (Lo and Yang 2002; Odindi and Mhangara 2012). In particular, simulation models have equipped urban designers with an unprecedented ability to predict future urban trends critical in sustainable urban planning. It is against this background that we explore the utility of earth observation in monitoring developments in the peri-urban landscape of Harare.

The chapter intends to shed light on the spatial expansion trends of Harare as the city spreads into the adjoining commercial and rural farming territories. As a first

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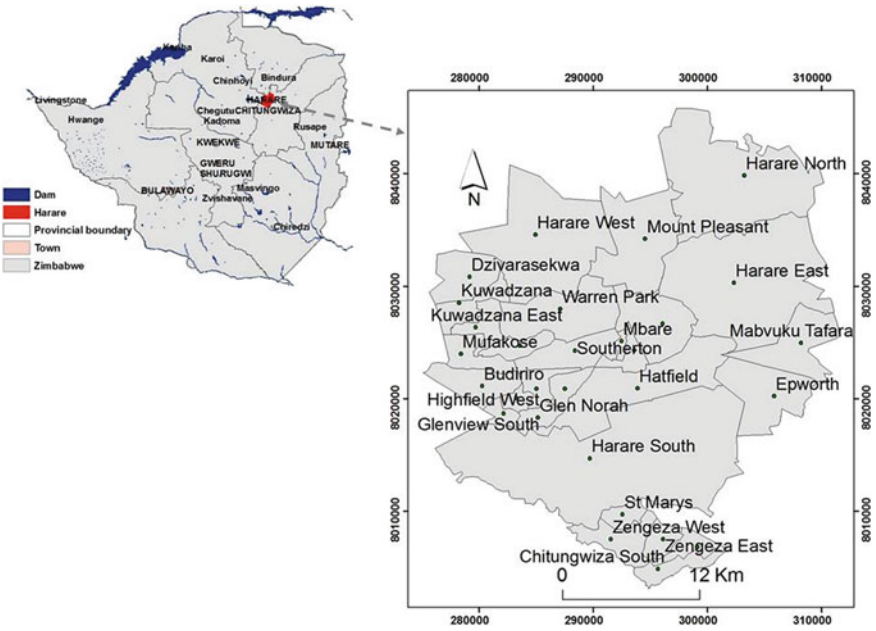

Fig. 3.1 Harare Metropolitan Province

step towards quantifying and understanding contemporary land uses of peri-urban Harare, the section presents an overview of the processes that have led to the profound land use patterns observed in the city over the past decade. In so doing, the chapter demonstrates the utility of Earth Observation techniques in monitoring land use change in Harare metropolitan province. As shown in Fig. 3.1, the expanding Harare metropolitan region covers the City of Harare and its satellite towns of Chitungwiza, Norton, Epworth, Ruwa, Christonbank and catchment areas. The major driver of Harare's growth southwards is the burgeoning population due both in-migration and natural population increase (Zinyama et al. 1993; Toriro 2007; Chirisa 2012). The rapid sprawl of Harare in recent decades has led to "metropolitanisation" (Chirisa 2013) of the capital city; a development threatening the socio-economic and environmental sustainability of the region.

The process of metropolitanisation has triggered challenging demands in infrastructure and services (Myers 2010; Chirisa and Muchini 2011) against a backlash of dwindling revenue and soaring investment costs. Although development proposals to "densify the city built-up area of the City of Harare and its satellite towns have been on the cards," the proposals have not yet seen the light of day owing to technical and financial constraints (Chirisa 2007). Some of the proposals relate to the construction of high-rise buildings that demand huge capital

outlays that Harare municipality, whose economy is ravaged by the episodes of political wrangling and gerrymandering, can scarcely afford. The paradox is that, despite the stalled productivity of the city economy mainly owing to massive de-industrialisation and capital flight, as highlighted in the last chapter, investment flows into the building of high quality middle class housing continue to account for the bulk of the rapid sprawl Greater Harare into adjoining commercial farms and outlying communal land areas. Thus, as a direct consequence of the momentum and complexity of this spatial growth, the cumbersome processes of plan preparation and implementation as provided by the country's Regional, Town and Country Planning Act have made the adoption of computerised planning information systems ideal for expediting development.

3.2 Rationale for Adopting EO in Managing Peri-urbanisation

Arguably, the rapid expansion and increasing complexity of urban areas is often challenging to muster using conventional methods such as personal field observations. The generation of up-to-date data on land cover and land use dynamics using the conventional methods in mapping and aerial photography are expensive, time consuming and cumbersome (Prakash and Gupta 1998; Rawashdeh and Saleh 2006; Odindi and Mhangara 2012). Thus satellite based earth observation techniques seek to overcome these weaknesses.

Generally, traditional methods of collecting demographic data, censuses and maps using samples are impractical for urban management purposes. Hence there is need for the deployment of spatial data gathering systems that can observe, quantify and evaluate the rates of peri-urban expansion allowing adequate lead time for plan preparations. To achieve this, regular monitoring of development, high resolutions of spatial images and the development of change detection algorithms have made remote sensing a viable option for mapping out urban land uses and land cover change (Odindi and Mhangara 2012; Herold et al. 2002).

Moreover, remote sensing has the added advantage of capturing detailed information on the rates and extent of urbanisation while offering up-to-date and cost-effective methods for generating information to support the monitoring of urban management systems (Jensen and Cowen 1999). Although Earth Observation has been applied to several environmental applications, it is only recently that urban studies have recognised its utility in understanding urban areas (Ben-Dor et al. 2009). The coarseness and low spatial resolution of early satellite images such as Landsat MSS (80 m in its four bands) have often been cited as the major reasons for the slow uptake of earth observation in urban studies. However, the emergence of higher spectral, spatial, radiometric and temporal resolution satellite images such as

Landsat TM, SPOT, Quickbird and IKONOS have seen a significant increase in the number of novel tools and approaches aimed at understanding urban environments (Ben-Dor et al. 2009; Herold et al. 2002; Miller and Small 2003; Lucas et al. 2015; Taubenböck et al. 2009). Furthermore, Fritz (1999) has observed that satellite images are indispensable for urban planning in that they provide the detail and accuracy required for the precise monitoring of urban environments and land use changes. These studies have ranged from understanding urban dynamics, infrastructure management, socio-economic assessments as well as the development of models aimed at understanding urban morphology, to those that project future changes in the structure and rates of urbanisation. To be sure, remote sensing has proved invaluable in bolstering the capacity of data-poor regions in sub-Saharan Africa where the accurate planning forecasts are a rarity owing to the lack of reliable information systems (Dong et al. 1997).

In foregrounding the importance of accurate and up-to-date spatial data for planning and decision-making processes, we now examine the importance of earth observation (EO) for mapping the land use patterns and development processes in the peri-urban areas of Harare. We demonstrate how EO can be used to assess land use changes in urban areas as a first step towards understanding urban development dynamics (Masser 2000). Recent studies on the peri-urban areas of Harare (Chirisa 2013, 2014) contend that the rapid expansion of the primate city in the past 10 years mainly ascribes to informality in land governance. Thus, the bulk of the informal land development processes in the country's peri-urban areas has been firmly situated in the country's political economy, in particular, the democratisation of land governance since independence in 1980. It is in this context that EO can be a useful tool for mapping and measuring the current rates of urban sprawl to facilitate realistic forward land use planning. But the question is: what are the conceptual frameworks of engaging Earth Observation technology in addressing the challenges of managing peri-urban land resources sustainably?

3.3 Theory and Practice: EO in Peri-urban Management

The provision of adequate infrastructure facilities and basic services mainly water, roads and energy for peri-urban households is recognised as one of the major challenges associated with peri-urbanisation in the global South (Hall and Pfeiffer 2000; Watson 2009; Allen 2010). As depicted in Box 3.1, the problems of providing of sufficient potable water for Greater Harare exacerbated by the imploding demographic growth continue unabated.

Box 3.1: Harare's water 'market'—the demographic and technical inconsistencies

Harare alone needs at least 1,300 ML of water daily but the current supply per day ranges from 600 to 700 ML, which is approximately half of the demand. This is posing a serious threat to areas in the uppers side of Harare for instance hillside, Mabvuku-Tafara, highlands, Greystone-park and Borrowdale. However, of the 600 L that is being produced by at least 40 % of the water is being lost through uncontrolled leakage.

Source Zimbabwean, the (06 July 2012). City of Harare mid-year service delivery summer analysis 2012. URL: http://www.thezimbabwean.co.uk/news/zimbabwe/59289/city-of-harare-mid-year.html.

Meanwhile the metropolitan area of Harare is expanding into other provinces such as Mashonaland Central, Mashonaland East and Mashonaland West, as shown in Box 3.2. To be blunt, the primate City of Harare is growing faster than anticipated—both in demographic and spatial terms—albeit its traditionally robust industrial base has drowned in the tidal waves of neoliberal restructuring.

Box 3.2: Evidence and Way Forward to an Expanding City

Harare is set to swallow the smaller towns of Norton, Marondera, Mazowe and Beatrice as new boundaries are drawn to satisfy a high demand for land in the city.

- Plans are underway to increase the city's area so that more land could be set aside for housing.
- The Greater Harare Master Plan, prepared in 1992 stipulates that, all most of urban areas immediately outside the city will eventually be incorporated into Harare as the city expands.
- Mashonaland East, Mashonaland West, and Mashonaland Central provinces would have to give up some land to Harare Metropolitan Province.
- There is advocacy that houses must be built going upwards to save space.

Source Daily Mirror (updated 11 December 2009). Harare swallows Marondera Norton. URL: http://www.newzimbabwe.com/pages/harare2.13278.html.

Admittedly, the balanced urban development of Zimbabwe continues to be threatened by the enduring primacy of Harare. The city has far outgrown other cities while accommodating more than half of the country's urban population. It is home to an estimated 5 million people representing nearly twenty percent of the country's total population (HMP 2011; Langa 2012). The upsurge in the population growth of the capital city is attributed to the massive in-migration from the rural areas following the reversal of restrictive measures against the movement of Africans into

the white urban centres since independence in 1980 (Mbiba 1995). Given this scenario, how Earth Observation has calibrated the spatial expansion trends of Greater Harare between 1984 and 2009, is the question we now examine.

3.4 Spatial Expansion Trends of Greater Harare over the Past Three Decades

In order to appreciate the underlying processes of land use change in peri-urban Harare between 1984 and 2009, we first classified Landsat TM images of 1984 and 2009 using the maximum likelihood classification algorithm. We then cross validated the classified maps with Quickbird images housed in the Google Earth domain. The Quickbird images were also used for focusing on specific areas where major land cover transformations have taken place in the peri-urban areas.

Figures 3.2 and 3.3 reflect the land cover changes that have occurred in Harare between 1984 and 2009. In the images it is discernible that the bare and built up cropped areas and grassland areas have significantly increased between the two time periods under consideration. During the same period, woodlands have decreased significantly. The results from land cover change detection between 1984 and 2009 show that the vacant land and built up zones have expanded from 4742.37 to 20198 ha which translates to approximately 326 % increase in Harare's urban area over the 25 year period. At the same time, the area under urban agriculture has

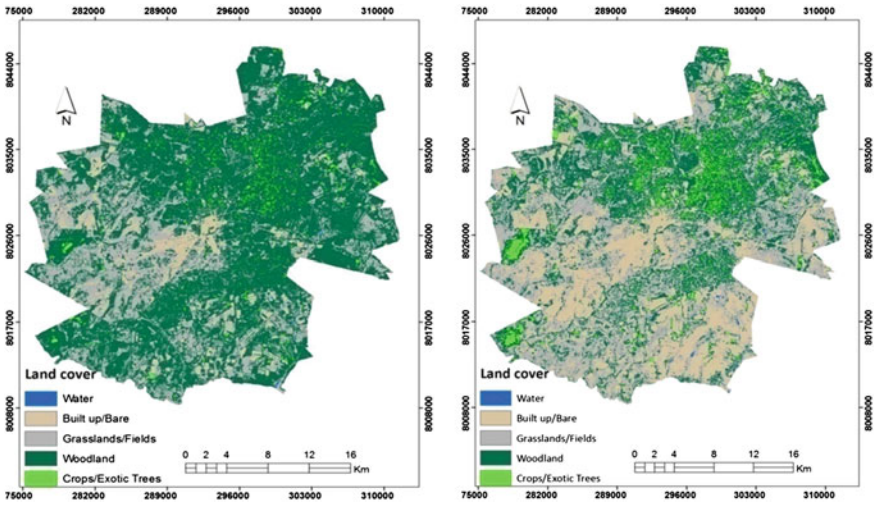

Fig. 3.2 Significant increase in the built-up area of Harare, between 1984 (*left panel*) and 2009 (*right panel*)

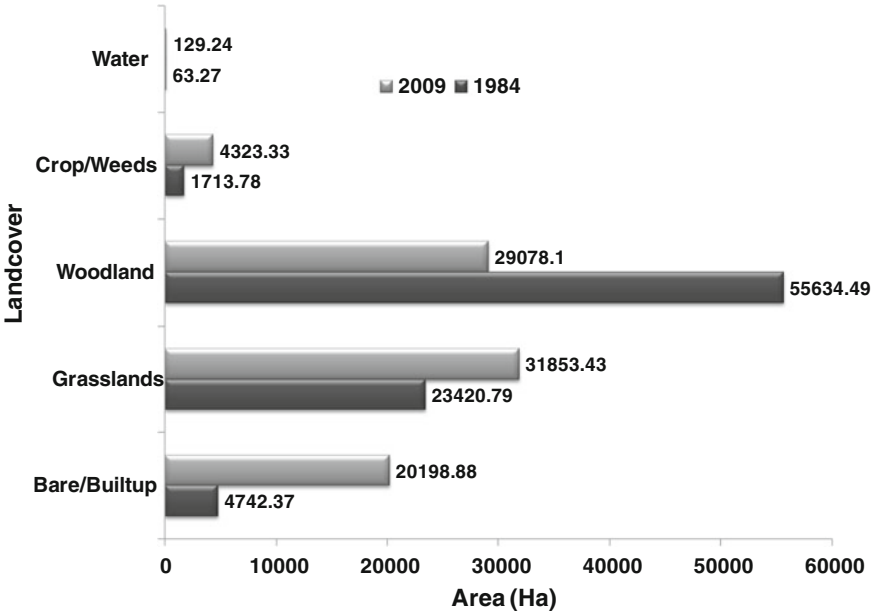

Fig. 3.3 Significant increase in the built-up area in the City of Harare, Zimbabwe between 1984 (*light grey*) and 2009 (*dark grey*)

expanded from 1713.78 to 4323.33 ha. This suggests despite increased uptake of land by residential and industrial areas urban agriculture has increased significantly since 1984. Although using a different base year, UNDP (2003) observed an increase of 5 % per annum in built up areas between 1999 and 2002 while the area under agriculture has increased by 3 % per annum over the same period. These results reveal an unsustainable growth pattern of the city.

At present the development of Harare is characterised by dense construction within the built-up area through infill housing development on open spaces; high-rise development in the city centre; and outward growth in areas with adequate infrastructure to the west, south and east of the city (Mbiba 1995). Most of the new settlements over the period under review occurred in Whitecliff, Epworth and Ruwa. However, the municipality has taken measures to regularise some informal housing developments in Epworth.

Plate 3.1 shows how urban expansion has 'ravaged' the periphery of Budiriro suburb to the west of Greater Harare. Further infilling of open spaces can be observed and is quite common across high-density residential areas. In some instances, these infills are occurring in fragile areas such as wetlands, which may significantly affect water resource availability and ecosystem integrity.

Plate. 3.1 Urban expansion in the peri-urban area of Budiriro suburb located in the western part of the City of Harare in the year 2005 (*left panel*), 2008 (*middle panel*) and 2011 (*left panel*). *Arrows* and *ovals* show areas where residential areas have been established. *Source* Google Earth

3.5 Conclusion

The chapter demonstrates the utility of Earth observation in giving rapid assessment of the urban transformations that have taken place in Greater Harare and peri-urban spaces over the last three decades. Since 1984, the built-up area of Harare has increased by 325 % or 13 % per annum. This transformation is mainly attributed to the increased demand for housing that has seen the City of Harare allocating stands in the peri-urban area as well as in open spaces in areas that were already developed. While this chapter has traced the spatial transformations of Harare, the applications of Earth Observation are quite varied. Harare is growing at an unsustainable rate given its increasingly poor service delivery status. The city population growth is the major threat. In a country where free movement of population has been advanced to showcase what independence means to everybody it becomes increasing difficult to address the problem by promoting rural service centres as was championed by the state in the first decade after independence in 1980. Some developed countries that are relatively smaller, such as the Netherlands, have moved in this direction and they are managing well. Zimbabwe has no option but to plan that Harare begins to expand vertically. This is one way to effectively contain the sprawling tendencies characterising the city towards its sustainable development. Such a process must tap the advantages of using EO and GIS in urban development in order to manipulate variables for quick decision-making and analysis. However, this type of technology in the context of Zimbabwe—taking into consideration the social, economic and political factors—requires considerations of governance and the setting up of the necessary institutions that make these operations possible.

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Chapter 4
Peri-urbanisation and Appropriate Technology in Harare, Zimbabwe: Putting the Grassroots Housing Model to Task

Innocent Chirisa

4.1 Introduction

As highlighted in the previous chapters, albeit the boom in middle class house building industry in a sprawling peri-urban Harare—the differentials in the provision of housing by government reflect a bleak situation for the urban poor owing largely to entrenched fiscal challenges and opposition politics that have gripped the governance of since general elections in 2000 pulled the carpet from under the ruling ZANU-PF party in all urban constituencies of the country. Coupled with a worsening economic situation having eroded the livelihoods of the majority poor households, the question posed is: how are marginalised and impoverished households contending with their housing construction needs?

In addressing this question, the chapter presents case study findings on how Alexander's "Grassroots Model" (Alexander 1973) trepidation levels of households living in poor human settlements can be useful for determining the resourceful of households to construct their own houses from scratch—within their meagre resources in the current conditions of deepening restructuring. The findings case studies were drawn from multi-site visits in peri-urban settlements of Nehanda, Dzivaresekwa Extension, Magada (Epworth), Southlea Park in Harare South and Whitecliffe. The findings reflected that although most of homesteads had already occupied the self-built structures but these homes were not serviced with essential infrastructure and services including water, electricity and roads. An overreliance on blair toilets, shallow wells as domestic water led to the severe outbreaks of cholera, dysentery and typhoid resulting in the loss of an estimated 4,000 lives in Zimbabwe in 2008 and 2009. The epicentre of the outbreak was located in the

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Budiriro low-income high density suburb—on the south-western fringe of Greater Harare. Thus precarious urban life is in the sub-Sharan African countries owing mainly to intensifying worsening conditions of the neoliberal project. Yet, the significance of appropriate technology embedded in the survivalist strategies of impoverished households in place-making is scarcely theorised in the mainstream urban policy studies.

Exploring the vital role that appropriate technology can play in transforming the peri-urban residential spaces of Harare, the chapter traces out the existing patterns of housing and land development needs in peri-urban Harare using Alexander's Grassroots Housing Model (Alexander 1973). In other words, Alexander's model projects the relevance of human agency in mobilising collective actions by poor households as they contend with increasingly worsening governance and economic conditions. More specifically, how then do the marginalised poor households assemble their place making resources in shifting informal housing market conditions, is the question examined in the next section.

4.2 Situating Appropriate Technology in Self-built Housing Strategies

The majority of the urban poor households engage various means of housing themselves—better termed as "self-built housing" yet, the processes of shelter making are complex extending beyond the mobilisation of building materials, essential infrastructure and services. Thus, many low-income households assemble the inputs for their self-built homes incrementally, usually, over many years—a process that Alexander's Model (1973) coins as the "grassroots housing process." The model encapsulates the adoption and application of appropriate technology by low-income groups. Appropriate technology has been depicted as the adoption of low-cost materials in the development of sustainable human habitats, including methods of housing construction and the application of largely labour-based approaches (Share 2012).

Not surprisingly, there is a growing body of some scholars (Basu and Weil 1998; Kyessi 2005; Mara and Alabaster 2008) advocating for indigenous perspectives that can capitalise appropriate technologies in the development and management of housing infrastructure. In many cases, local communities have their own institutional structures designed for implementing appropriate technologies (Kyessi 2005; Elmendorf and Buckles 1980; WHO 2005). Elmendorf and Buckles (1980: 45) contend that human behaviour, however, is no longer viewed only as something to be modified to suit the technology. Instead, human behaviour is now considered an essential resource variable that must be taken into account in appropriate technology designs in order to ensure user participation in system operation and maintenance.

4.3 Description of the Study Area

In response to aggravating economic hardships following the economic plunge of Zimbabwe in the late 1990s (Bond and Manyanya 2002), many residents resorted to self-built housing following the drying up of housing financial assistance in the private banking sector. As a consequence many such housing building projects have become the mainstay of residential development in the peri-urban settlements of Nehanda, Dzivaresekwa Extension, Magada in Epworth, Harare South and Whitecliffe.

As a direct response to the failure of government to provide housing for most of its citizens, a number of housing cooperatives emerged to fill the gap of which most have found land in the peri-urban land (Marongwe 2003; Chipungu 2011; Fu 2007). Incremental housing has largely been advocated for many grassroots advocacy groups in conjunction with the communities themselves. In most cases, superstructures have been built first with infrastructure (water and sanitation, electricity and paved roads) said to follow. Without the basic infrastructure, peri-urban dwellers continue to risk contracting cholera, dysentery and typhoid outbreaks. There is therefore a technological gap in peri-urban areas hence the need for innovations.

Dzivaresekewa-Nehanda housing cooperative is located west of Harare in the same area as Dzivaresekwa Extension. The settlement is a product of the fast-track land reform programme in Zimbabwe in which the rural agenda of rural land redistribution became an urban issue in which housing of the homeless had to be considered. Before seizure by the urban and peri-urban homeless, where Nehanda Housing Cooperative has its houses was part of the farm of a white man engaging in horticulture.

Dzivaresekwa Extension is developed on state land between 1991 and 1995. The original occupants were drawn from Porta Farm hence it was established as a holding camp. Later the Homeless Federation of Zimbabwe under its technical arm, Dialogue on Shelter allotted land to its beneficiaries on 22 June 2011. The whole process began with the pegging of stands in 2009. This was a squatter holding camp. Some of the former Porta Farm squatters were in certain clusters with wooden cabins. The HFP beneficiaries refer to this part of the settlement as "*Kumaskwata*" (vernacular for 'where squatters reside') (refer to Plate 4.1).

Magada is a residential ward in Epworth. Epworth town, located east of Harare, is an informal residential settlement and home to more than 500,000 (Towindo and Mwase 2012; Chenga 2010). The history of Epworth dates back to 1892 when the Wesleyan Methodist church, on philanthropic grounds, permitted some homeless families to settle on its farm. Following the settlement's continued demographic growth, the church handed over the settlement to the government of Zimbabwe which established a local board in 1986 to oversee the regularisation of the informal settlement and its management under a local government commissioner. Slum upgrading schemes began in the mid-1980s (Matovu 2000). Nevertheless, by the

Plate. 4.1 Kumaskwata (*Source* Fieldwork 2012)

1990s the initiative was 'abandoned' as the project funders pulled out. The migrant population of Epworth has continued marked with a rapid sprawl into surrounding commercial farming land.

Whitecliffe emerged as an informal housing community which thrived during the country's infamous Fast-Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) of 2000 (Marongwe 2003; Chipungu 2011). Whitecliffe was originally a commercial farm in Zvimba rural district owned by Semi Levy, a white business mogul in Zimbabwe. The residents in the area argued that during the period of the violent farm invasions Sam Levy unsuccessfully attempted to change the name of the farm by selling the property to an indigenous businessperson. The farm was then sold out for housing development. At the time of the Fast Track Land Reform Programme, some of the country's independence war veterans and a group of homeless urban residents seized and occupied part of the farm under the name Tongogara Housing Cooperative. The late General Tongogara was the chief of staff during Zimbabwe's war of independence from 1970 until his death in 1980. In 2005, the government of Zimbabwe, having spearheaded Operation *Murambatsvina* (vernacular for "Out-With-Trash") embarked on a widespread housing upgrading programme dubbed Operation *Garikayi/Hlalani Kuhle* (vernacular for "Live Well"). Some "*Garikayi*" houses were built on Whitecliffe farm under the hand of the Ministry of Local Government, Rural and Urban Development.

4.4 Research Design and Methodology

The study was based on ethnographic multiple-site visits to the target peri-urban settlements in order to follow the lived experiences of residents and the intersections of their everyday connections, associations, and relationships in place-making (Fig. 4.1). The sites visited included Nehanda, Dzivaresekwa Extension, Magada in Epworth, Harare South and Whitecliffe.

Data on appropriate technology was gathered mainly through interviews and observations. The study used semi-structured interviews to collect primary data on the research participants' experiences, perceptions and practices in housing including the construction techniques they use in housing, the process of basic infrastructure provision and maintenance, the materials and they use and sources of such. Ninety (90) respondents were selected from the peri-urban settlements of Nehanda, Dzivaresekwa Extension, Magada in Epworth, Harare South and Whitecliffe through quota sampling.

Specific to this study, non-proportional quota sampling was engaged of which a quota of nine males and females of defined ages were interviewed hence 90 participants involved (see Table 4.1). The whole idea was to see the patterns of involvement and participation in housing matters from the viewpoints of the peri-urban dwellers.

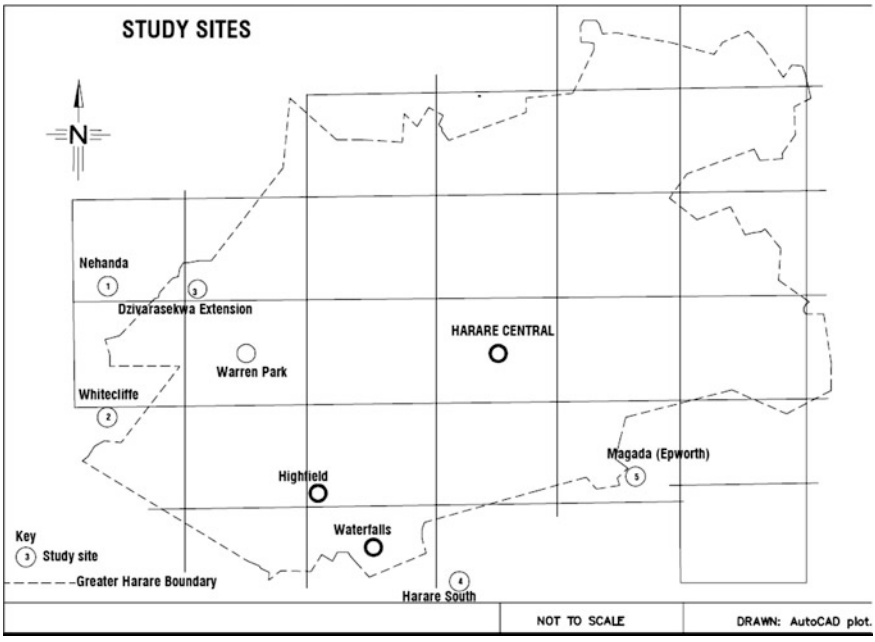

Fig. 4.1 Research sites in peri-urban Harare

Table 4.1 Matrix of participants selected through quota sampling

Peri-urban research site	Male			Female			Total
	Age range	Age range	Age range	Age range	Age range	Age range	
Age ranges	15–24 years	25–50 years	51+ years	15–24 years	25–50 years	51+ years	
Nehanda	3	3	3	3	3	3	18
Dzivaresekwa extension	3	3	3	3	3	3	18
Magada in Epworth	3	3	3	3	3	3	18
Harare South	3	3	3	3	3	3	18
Whitecliffe	3	3	3	3	3	3	18
Total	15	15	15	15	15	15	90

In each age range, 15 participants were drawn while each research site contributed 18 participants. Each age range contributed to 16.7 % of participants though statistics did not matter given the non-probability nature of the study. The study focused on respondents who had lived on site for a minimum of 12 months and long enough to be well versed with the housing experiences in the area. For the groups above fifty, in some places it was hard to come up with the three.

Field observations were also used as a way of collecting data. Pictures were captured on the different kinds of houses, technological-related artefacts and other interesting aspects of the places studied. Interviews involved listening, dialoguing, recording and then decoding hence transcribing and later translation of the messages.

4.5 Results: Research Findings

The results of the study are presented on a case-by-case basis. The findings describe the everyday experiences of the respondents who were resident in the peri-urban settlements targeted by the multi-site surveys carried out from November 2011 to February 2012 respectively.

4.5.1 Harare South, Southlea Park

The study established that the Fast Track Land Reform Programme triggered most of the housing development in Harare South peri-urban informal settlement in the year 2000. Given the background that most of the new settlements have traditionally been farms, a number of households depend on tilling the land to supplement incomes from various sources like employment.

Peri-urban farming is the mainstay of most peri-urban households who use simple implements such as hoes instead of tractors and combine harvesters. This is typical of most urban and peri-urban settlements in Zimbabwe. The enquiry established that house construction in Southlea Park is mainly work-in-progress albeit on land which has no water and sanitation services. There are a number of housing cooperatives and private companies including the Zimbabwe Electricity Supply Authority, OK-Zimbabwe and First Banking Corporation involved in the development of Southlea Park. The built-up area featured gravel roads strewn with potholes thus making access to residential lots cumbersome. Owing to the muddy roads, most commuters complained of walking long distances from their houses to the nearest the commuter omnibus pick-up points.

A number of robbery cases had been reported in the area. The security threat was further aggravated by the fact that there was no street lighting in the area. The practice of peri-urban agriculture saw the maturing maize and unkempt tall grasses being used as cover by robbers. In addition, some residents were concerned about the diseconomies of an increased resident population in Southlea Park. One respondent noted that:

> Our lives are in serious danger from robbers and thieves especially at night. With the increasing population, the responsible authorities should now install sewer pipes as the situation is no longer favourable for us. We are using blair toilets. Most are sited near the boreholes. The drinking water sources are prone to contamination. With typhoid cases increasing, we are afraid that we may contract it. As most people rely on wells as a source of water, we have heard of a number of cases where some of these wells have collapsed with some people even losing their lives. With proper infrastructure in place such cases are unheard of.

The energy problem is a reality in Harare South. The residents rely on firewood as their source of energy for cooking. This has an adverse effect on the biophysical environment. About 1 % of resident households owns diesel run generators while an estimated 6 % owns solar panels. In terms of communication technologies, all the mobile phone service network providers including Netone, Telecel and Econet are accessible to residents.

4.5.2 Whitecliffe

The layout pattern of housing developments in Whitecliffe is chaotic mainly to the difficult terrain characterised mainly with large granite rock outcrops. The hostile topography accounts for sparse and fragmented development of the area despite its proximity to Harare. Narrating his anxiety about the developments in the area, one participant retorted:

> This area is now very different from what it was. This development here is unusual and deviates from the normal stages of statutory development. We remember that houses used to be built only after the stands were serviced with water and sewerage. What is happening here was not at all allowed. As you can see, no attempt has been made to reticulate water

> pipes and very few sewer lines have. We have no idea why these efforts have ceased. To cope, some residents have had to sink boreholes on their homesteads in order to draw water for domestic consumption. Some have raised water tanks to allow water to flow into their houses under gravity pressure. Others have windmills for pumping ground water. What worries me is the positioning of the blair toilets and the deep wells which, in most cases, are too close to each other.

The provision of inadequate educational and health facilities in the area poses another problem for residents as there is one government primary school and a secondary school to service Whitecliffe. However, there are some unregistered schools; the principals have changed the residential use of their homesteads into private schools. These unregistered private schools lack the ancillary services such as children's playgrounds since the stands are too small to accommodate such uses.

The only shops in Whitecliffe, according to the research informants are found at Whitehouse. Otherwise, people have to travel to Harare for the goods they cannot get at Whitehouse. One woman has noted:

> I blame the government's indigenisation policy for the mess we are in. Initially this place had been well planned. However, the *jambanja* (vernacular for "violent and chaotic") land invasions of 2000 through the proper development of the area into disarray. *Jambanja* hijacked and messed up the entire town planning project for the area. The developer hired to develop the area was not sincere as well. He was only concerned about pocketing money and never attended to the priorities of water and sewer infrastructure prior to housing construction. The responsible authorities must impel the private developer to re-consider health standards for a settlement lest we contract cholera, dysentery and typhoid here. The majority of blacks who are private development are corrupt, self-enriching, unscrupulous and inconsiderate to the laid down building standards. As you can see here, people are just hopeful that things will work out. They are busy working together to bring change. We are in the process of buying electrical poles in the hope that one day ZESA might see the efforts we are making in developing the area so that they may provide us with electricity.

Self-help housing initiatives in Whitecliffe resemble a people determined to change their standards of living. This is in keeping with the Grassroots Housing Model where the bulk of the efforts are centred on the beneficiaries of the homes and places themselves. However, there are certain social and moral challenges regarding the developers of the place.

4.5.3 Epworth-Magada

In sharp contrast to the other peri-urban settlements of Harare visited, Magada is a graphic representation of the future African slum city portrayed in the "Planet of Slums" (Davis 2006). The Magada slum settlement is an assemblage with a high population density, substandard roads, houses, and poor and no sanitation in many places. Most of the houses are not on sewer but depend on substandard unroofed blair toilets made of plastic. On average the estimate distance between the nearest toilet and a shallow well is 20 m in most cases. The area is serviced by a maze of dusty winding roads. Most of the housing superstructures are generally of sunburnt

Plate. 4.2 Part of the Magada Settlement depicting the nature of housing typical in the area (*Source* Fieldwork 2012)

mud bricks while the more modern ones are under corrugated iron sheets and asbestos. On top of the roofs are usually some large stones meant stabilize the asbestos and iron sheets stable (Plate 4.2).

The incidences and storylines of the poorly constructed houses collapsing, especially during the wet season, are not uncommon in the area. One young male respondent had this to say:

> We use bricks and cement for construction. People here have been given stands or others are lodging…. As you can see most of the houses are inaccessible. The gravel roads are full of potholes. We use water from shallow wells as we have no alternative sources of water. The water is unsafe; some people have died of water-borne diseases. We buried my sister a few days ago who died after drinking contaminated water. Everyone here uses a blair toilet and our water table is heavily contaminated. As you can see, we do not have electricity; people use paraffin, petrol of diesel fuel generators, firewood and saw dust as their source of energy. For communication, Telecel, Netone and Econet networks are always available. Our government should do something here for us: we need good roads, schools, water and electricity.

Another middle-aged female respondent said:

> Long back people here were just building wherever they chose. Today, stands are acquired through cash payment. The construction materials used by some people to build their houses are very poor. A good number of the buildings cannot withstand heavy rains. Our stand access roads are in a pathetic state. We walk long distances to get a kombi to Harare city or Mbare Musika. It is really tiresome… Our water is from the wells. It is drawn from the shallow wells dug on our homesteads. It is contaminated and is responsible for the

outbreak of stomach diseases. We live in constant fear that our houses and toilets will collapse due to heavy rains. We cannot afford cement and bricks to build stronger structures. For energy, we use paraffin and firewood. The settlement is organic and stands are not properly structured with most of our houses without plans.

4.6 Nehanda Housing Cooperative in Dzivaresekwa

Three flags (Plate 4.3) grace the premises designated for the administration of the Nehanda Housing Cooperative. One is for the cooperative, the other represents Zanu (PF), and the ruling party of Zimbabwe since independence in 1980 and the third is the country's national flag. Across the road to the east is a small shopping centre serviced by some tuck shops. Repeatedly, there is the sound of a grinding mill. Four houses have been set aside as administrative offices. A huge brick house under concrete tiles is accommodation for the chairperson of the housing cooperative. A green water tank services the house and the offices. Other structures on this site are a guarding police post structure, a gazebo is flanked by a yellowish painted alter-like structure with the inscription: "These houses were officially commissioned by His Excellency, The President of Zimbabwe, Cde R.G. Mugabe on 22 March 2008".

Plate. 4.3 The three flags of 'allegiance' to the ruling ZANU-PF Party (*Source* Fieldwork 2012)

Immediately behind the gazebo is a fenced storehouse stocked with building materials. These materials include pipes of different diameters, timber and ridges for roofing. This generally shows how serious the co-operators have been in trying to mobilise resources for the construction of their houses and required infrastructure. The houses in Nehanda Housing Cooperative are well laid out in different blocks on sewer and reticulated with running potable water. However, the roads were still under gravel (see Plate 4.4). Even to date (2013) the situation with the roads remains a serious challenge as nothing much has been done so far to improve the situation.

The existing housing structures in Nehanda are quite modern and under asbestos roofs. The construction of the current network of stand access roads is in progress. However, road construction has taken long viewed from the water basins along the roads. One participant has observed that:

> The roads are poor given that private cars frequently get bogged down in the muddy roads during the wet season. We face many public transport challenges in this place. Commuter omnibuses drop us by the shops and we have to walk more than a kilometre to reach home. This is dangerous especially at night. The roads are muddy and slippery and sometimes we have to wrap our feet in plastics to get out of the houses. Since electricity is important as a source of energy especially for cooking, we desperately need it for street lighting. Without this street lighting, as the situation we are in, safety of residents is compromised. We use firewood, generators, and paraffin. This is unsustainable.

Plate. 4.4 Unpaved access roads—muddy in the rainy season and dusty in the dry season (*Source* Fieldwork 2012)

Plate. 4.5 Land for housing development, bath and toilet with plastic sheltering and low-cost energy technologies (*Source* Fieldwork 2012)

Reminiscent of Davis's (2006) *Planet of Slum*s which sets imaginaries on slum architectures, the study established that most of the stands of Nehanda Housing Cooperttive in Dzivaresekwa Extension had already been occupied boasting temporary shelters made of cardboard boxes, polythene plastics and timber boards. The stand owners indicated that they had plans to build their houses using farm bricks that they could afford to buy.

Like their counterparts in Southlea Park, most of the home owners in Dzivarasekwa Extension rely on solar, power generators and firewood for lighting and heating the homes. Dry toilets have been adopted in the area. Ideally, in a dry toilet "…ash or lime is mixed with soil and added to create a dehydrating environment for breakdown and die off of pathogens" (Greywater Action 2007: 1). Such a technology is useful in an area where water availability for domestic use is a major challenge. Plate 4.5 shows the ground upon which housing development is taking place alongside a temporary shelter of plastic used as a bath and toilet by some family and how the households are using technologies like solar panels for energy.

While most households have adopted building technologies which use farm bricks and ash toilets in the area, some households are beginning to shun these innovations. They have been discouraged by the derogatory labelling emanating from their neighbours in nearby Dzivaresekwa and Nehanda.

The foregoing cases show the challenges that underlie the application of the grassroots housing process model in an environment where poverty rather than household choice is the driver of community development. This shows the extent to which certain concepts and their application including incremental development, grassroots approaches and appropriate technology are interpreted. Indeed, different players interpret them differently. The realities of the poor themselves really matter in shaping development on the ground. Some of the technologies that appear appropriate for the low-income groups are in effect very expensive and unsustainable when a long-term perspective is applied.

4.7 Discussion

The chapter has examined service delivery by local planning authorities and the levels of satisfaction based on the narratives of the respondents Harare peri-urban. We have noted the application of technology entails the house building materials being used by peri-urbanites. Most of these materials are sourced locally thereby helping to curtail waste in and around the city as cardboard boxes. In other settlements, bricks and building blocks are fabricated in situ (see Plate 4.6).

The benefit of fabricating cement building blocks on the homestead involved huge cuts in the cost of transport. Therefore, it is not coincidental that most brickfields in general practice are situated in the peri-urban areas of expanding cities in Zimbabwe. So is the innovation in bringing new technology to cut on costs, house building time and assist in quality structures. In Zimbabwe, the Scientific and

Plate. 4.6 In-situ cement block making for house building (*Source* Fieldwork 2012)

Industrial Research and Development Centre (SIRDC) is recommending the use of alternative materials in housing production. As well, model houses and infrastructure are designed by the Ministry of Public Works to bring appropriate technology to the housing sector.

Stemming from this study, the following aspects have been noted, that,

- Urban and peri-urban water and sanitation technologies that are communal (as opposed to individual) are desirable but the urban and peri-urban dwellers themselves are sceptical about these technologies (Mara and Alabaster 2008).
- The peri-urban settlements due to their unplanned nature, including those examined in this chapter, are at high risk of 'breeding' pathogens that cause diseases such as diarrhoea, dysentery, cholera and typhoid (WHO 2005)
- Sustainable peri-urban development that incorporates appropriate technology and anchored in the Alexander's (1973) grassroots housing model of incremental housing development, is one which puts the environment, social group and local availability of raw materials into picture.
- Use of available materials including labour-based technologies is evident. In the studies settlements in peri-urban Harare, materials like used plastic, cardboard boxes and wood are used extensively for housing. They are 'cheap' to get but difficult to maintain in the sense that they have a short lifespan and must be replaced from time to time.

Arguably, the incorporation of appropriate technology in house building design can be helpful to bolster affordability in the context of the volatile land markets of Zimbabwe. The situation of housing in the Harare's peri-urban settlements of Nehanda, Dzivaresekwa Extension, Magada (Epworth), Harare South and Whitecliffe is precarious in the sphere of environmental health. This attributes mainly to the widespread occupation of housing structures without essential infrastructure, specifically water and sanitation, electricity and paved roads.

4.8 Conclusion

Foregrounding the ascendance of appropriate technologies mobilisation of housing materials and assembly chapter has demonstrated the utility of Alexander's "Grassroots Housing Model" (1973) in inclusive residential development projects and place making for the urban poor households under prevailing conditions of volatile land and dried up capitalisation of low-income housing markets. However, in environments of shaped by unchanging modernist planning standards to suit the ends of the ruling elites, the progressive exclusion of the marginalised from city making processes has only helped to fuel slum building in interstitial spaces of Great Harare. These trends elevate appeals for further research alternative models that can attend to the dynamics of everyday life and housing needs of growing subaltern urban populations in re-thinking architectures of house building for marginal communities.

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Part III
Economic Experiences and Livelihoods

This part comprises of the chapter by Livinia Binala. The discussion provides insights into economic survival strategies of peri-urban communities in conditions of the erosion of social contracts between the state and society following the withdrawal of government welfare subsidies to communities. The initiative focuses on how co-operative agriculture has transformed the lives of peri-urban residents, using a case study of Ward 5 in Epworth.

Chapter 5
Irrigation Cooperative as a Strategy of Peri-urban Poverty Reduction: Case Study of Ward 5 in Epworth, Harare

Livinia Binala

5.1 Introduction

The worsening food security situation in most countries of Southern Africa, including Zimbabwe, manifests declining agricultural productivity in these countries as the debilitating effects of climate change and poor land use regimes take their toll on the livelihoods of the majority residents in the impoverished cities.

Recent case studies on various African countries (FAO Policy Assistance Division 2006) noted that sub-Saharan Africa is the only world region where hunger is projected to last until 2026 unless some drastic measures are taken to ensure peace, improve governance and achieve economic development to reverse the trend. The FAO case studies found that nearly 33 % of the population in the African sub-region, about 200 million people, are undernourished while 60 % of these undernourished citizens live in the countries affected by conflicts. This trend is attributed to frequent food crises and famines which are easily triggered by even the lightest of droughts, or floods, pests, economic downturns or conflicts.

Of interest to the volume is how global restructuring is impacting on the productivity of peri-urban areas and what strategies have been deployed in addressing the question of livelihoods in the context of survival. As the main point of departure, we may reasonably pose the question: what is fuelling the worsening of living conditions of peri-urban households of Harare and how has this motivated the involvement of non-governmental organisations?

Bayat (2000: 535) thinks that the erosion of social funds and contracts as well as the welfare systems established by populist governments in the indebted developing countries following structural reforms encouraged "non-governmental organisations to assist with supporting social programmes in order to alleviate economic

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hardships and avert possible social unrest." The study on an irrigation scheme initiative experienced in Epworth discussed in the chapter serves to bear this out.

5.2 Motivation of the Study

Motivated by worsening impacts of a prolonged drought on the livelihoods of many people in 1992, Plan International, a child-centred development non-governmental organisation (NGO) based in the UK, started working with impoverished households on self-help projects in the peri-urban slum city of Epworth. Plan International became involved in projects like water reticulation, brick moulding, sanitation, health, child education as well as training and development of the residents as a way of helping the community to benefit from improved living conditions.

Our knowledge on poverty at household level helps us to conceptualise "different ideas on well-being and the different levels of vulnerability" (Fredericksen 2001). Thus, Fredericksen's observation guided Plan International in implementing its poverty reduction strategies in the Ward 5 of Epworth. Like most informal towns in Zimbabwe, Epworth has been leading in attracting financial aid from donors including Care International, World Vision apart from Plan International. As part of its aid to Epworth, Plan International provided engines, pipes and other accessories to *Kubatana-Kubatsirana* (vernacular for "solidarity is assisting each other") irrigation cooperative that was established in 1994 with a membership of 15 farmers.

On Goal 1 of its Millennium Development Goals, the international community agreed to reduce by half the number of people living in dire poverty by 2015. Globally, millions of people live in extreme poverty thus poverty reduction has emerged as a top priority for governments and international organisations. The target of reducing extreme poverty rates by half was met 5 years ahead of the 2015 deadline. It is also noted that 700 million fewer people lived in conditions of extreme poverty in 2010 than in 1990. Although the global poverty rate at $1.25 a day fell in 2010 to less than half the 1990 rate, globally about 870 million people are estimated to be undernourished (United Nations Millennium Development Goals and Beyond 2015).

Plan International was attracted by the wetlands of the ward as well as how the women were carrying out their tasks in the garden and provided equipment for drawing water from the quarry dam for watering the gardens in Ward 5 Chinamano Extension in Epworth where the study focussed on Kubatana-Kubatsirana Irrigation Cooperative.

The Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF) is viewed as a particular way of viewing the world. It is a strategy used by non-governmental organisations in their fight against poverty. Thus the Sustainable Livelihood Framework influenced the study on the community in Ward 5 by excavating the reasons why people resort to survival strategies and how they can better their lives better using donated

provisions. The main purpose of survival strategies is addressing the physiological, spiritual, political and economic needs in the everyday life of households created by the structural constraints of global economic restructuring. The marginalised households, therefore, engage survival strategies including vending, sand excavation, brick moulding and barter trade. Plan International's assistance to marginalised households in Ward 5 was based on Max-Neef's (1994) Human Scale Development perspective in attending to the social relations of participants, their livelihoods and their environments. With this in mind, the study sought to confirm if this approach yielded positive results for the project beneficiaries. Hence the study was designed to assess the effectiveness of irrigation co-operatives as a poverty reduction strategy by focusing on the Kubatana-Kubatsirana Irrigation Cooperative.

5.3 Theoretical Framework

Poverty is more than what is indicated by a poverty datum line as advocated by Max-Neef (1994) who argues that the wealth of a family cannot be measured by conventional yardsticks. Sen (1976) defines poverty as the deprivation of basic capabilities that provide a person the freedom of life choices. These capabilities include good health, education, social networks, and influence on decision-making that affects one's life. The levels of deprivation, vulnerability and powerlessness in communities or individuals can be used as indicators for measuring poverty.

According to the World Bank definition of poverty, people who live on less than US$1.25 per day live in extreme poverty. This definition typifies the study population in Epworth. Income is important as it allows a person to develop livelihoods. Therefore, poverty from this perspective is a condition with many interdependent and closely related dimensions. Shelter as an indicator of poverty is a basic need, which is of paramount importance for people to have better living conditions. However, its provision by local authorities is a complex process that involves providing shelter in adequate quantities to house the population but also providing habitable units largely within an increasing urban population. The shelter dimension should be capable of meeting the diverse physical, social and even psychological needs of households considering that these needs change over time as household composition changes (Sigauke 2002).

In most cities of the developing world up to one half of the urban population lives in informal settlements following the influx of people from rural to urban areas in search of better living conditions and employment opportunities (Chirisa 2009). However, not all has been well in the urban areas (Chirisa 2009; Sigauke 2002). There was a decline in economic growth that recorded 12 % in 1990/1991 and 39 % in 1995, massive retrenchments and rise in urban poverty following the imposition of structural reform programmes on the heavily indebted Third World countries including Zimbabwe. Consequently, living standards declined as the

urban poor could not afford to pay for their day-day basic needs such as rentals, health care, food and fuel. Therefore, concerns with the sprawling of peri-urban informal settlements and the ever-increasing urban poverty have revealed that:

(a) The majority of peri-urban informal settlements live in unhealthy and life threatening homes and neighbourhoods lacking essential services such as safe water and sanitation and denied opportunities to provide for themselves and their families.
(b) People lack farmland on which to grow crops to get cash and to improve their health.
(c) Urban poverty often involves the denial of rights to shelter, exploitation by private landlords, the daily risk of eviction and a lack of voice and choice to change things for better (Chingarande 2008).

5.4 Description of Study Area

Ward 5 is located in Epworth. a satellite slum town located 15 km south east of Harare the capital city of Zimbabwe. Initially, five hundred households from Seke and Chihota were allocated 4000 m^2 of land for residential and farming purposes in 1950 (Epworth Local Board Strategic Plan 2003–2008). Subsequently, during the peak of the liberation war in the late 1970s there was in influx of migrant refugees driven out of the rural areas where the liberation war had peaked. Add to this the economic refugees who streamed into the country from Mozambique, Malawi and Zambia in search of employment. Administrative problems started in 1982 as many residents had sold their stands and fled to urban areas at independence.

In 1986, Epworth housed a population of 27,400 rising to 114,067 in 2002 and 250,000 in 2009 (ZIMSTATS 2012). In its annual report on 2010, the Zimbabwe Ministry of Health indicated attributed the steep rise in the population to a high birth rate and rural to urban migration estimated at 6.5 %. The upsurge in demographic growth exerted excessive pressure on the few operational public health welfare facilities. Only two clinics that exist in the sprawling slum town serve hundreds of thousands of residents although these facilities are not centrally located in relation to the overall population distribution of the settlement. Ailments such as Acute Respiratory Infections (ARI), diarrhoea, sexually transmitted infections (STIs), and tuberculosis are the most common threats to life in Epworth (Sigauke 2002).

The residents of Epworth Ward 5 subsist on extreme poverty through lack of access to basic services and infrastructure in the form of sanitation, decent accommodation and productive employment opportunities. In a typically marginalised social-spatial peri-urban context, Kubatana-Kubatsirana irrigation cooperative was initiated with purpose of alleviating poverty and the food security situation of the subaltern household. The study was designed to interrogate the effectiveness of Kubatana-Kubatsirana irrigation cooperative as a poverty eradication strategy in

Fig. 5.1 A locality map of Epworth slum city

the ward. In so doing the study conceptualised the level of self-sustenance of beneficiaries of Ward 5 by calibrating the levels of agricultural knowledge acquired and assessing the content of member participation in planning project activities (Fig. 5.1).

5.5 Research Methodology

The study was carried out in ward 5 of Epworth—a satellite of the capital city of Harare in Zimbabwe. Ward 5 was purposively selected since the Plan International project was being implemented in the ward. The project had a total number of 37 beneficiaries of the irrigation project. All the beneficiaries participated in the research project.

The study used different approaches to get information from participants. The approaches included household survey questionnaires and structured interviews to collect data. The key informant interviews were used to gather qualitative data. Household questionnaires were used to collect quantitative data. Qualitative information was analysed by looking at common patterns emerging from key informant interviews. Quantitative analysis was done using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) with results presented in tables and graphs.

The main research constraints included memory lapse of participants. However, the use of key informant interviews was a complementary data collection method specifically designed to redress this limitation.

5.6 Results

In pursuance of its new predatory economic trajectory espoused as a panacea to the socio-economic problems bedevilling the country, and code-named "Zim-ASSET" (Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Economic Transformation) (Government of Zimbabwe 2013), the ZANU-PF led government continues to push for clientelist programmes aimed at promoting economic empowerment through indigenising the economy. One such policy drive is that of development through the enterprise of cooperatives. In anchoring the political ideology of the ruling ZANU-PF party in its own policy imaginary, it is thus that *Kugarika Kushinga* (vernacular for "The good life is an outcome of commitment") Housing Cooperative in Harare was formed. Motivated by an anti-urban bias of the past policy regimes, non-governmental organisations preferred investing in rural development projects but with the shift of focus to "the critical role that cities play in the globalising economy" (Stren 1990: 5) investment is targeting improvements on urban livelihoods. Thus non-governmental organisations such as Practical Action Southern Africa, Plan International and Housing People of Zimbabwe are making in-road in people's livelihoods within the marginalised urban contexts (Sigauke 2002). With this in mind, the rest of the chapter turns to the findings of a study on the impact of an irrigation project on poor households in Ward 5 of Epworth.

5.6.1 Determination of Self-sustenance of Beneficiaries

The social indicators of poverty analysis (Binala 2010) used in the study established that most household heads (84 %) in the sample population comprised female farmers living in Epworth Ward 5. These female household heads were either unemployed or self-employed. Shelter as a social indicator of poverty was assessed and it was found that a sizeable 21(57 %) owned houses with 16(43 %) living in rented accommodation. The details denoting various housing structures owned by the members of Kubatana-Kubatsirana irrigation cooperative in Epworth Ward 5 are shown in Fig. 5.2.

5.6.2 Analysis of Nutrition, Sanitation Facilities and Water Sources

The study question sought to quantify the meals that cooperative members take per day after joining the scheme as compared to the period before joining the project. The study noted that 2(5 %) of the respondents indicated that they could afford three meals per day before joining the cooperative whilst 29(78 %) indicated that they had 2 meals only per day. On reviewing distribution of meals after their taking

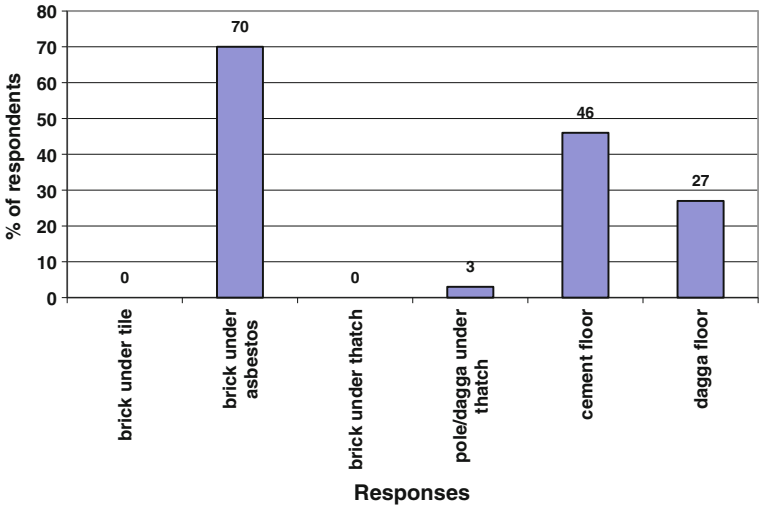

Fig. 5.2 Characteristics of housing structures owned by cooperative members

up membership of Kubatana-Kubatsirana irrigation, the study revealed that 17 (46 %) households could afford three meals per day as compared to 2(5 %) previously. The fact that 1(3 %) indicated that they could have up to more than 3 meals per day shows that Kubatana-Kubatsirana irrigation cooperative had managed to the increase levels of food security in homes through improvements on nutrition.

5.6.3 Sanitation Facilities

Good sanitation helps in preventing diseases such as cholera and dysentery that are caused through pathogenic contamination of streams and dams serving as major sources of water for household uses including drinking and food preparation. According to participants' responses, no household uses the bush system as they all indicated to be using blair toilets, pit latrines and bucket system for waste disposal. Figure 5.3 shows the proportions in terms of the water sources used by the local community.

By the end of 2010, when the study was carried out, there were still some households that were using unprotected wells as their source of drinking water represented by 10(27 %) respondents. This was a major cause of concern as the community was prone to pathogenic diseases including cholera, typhoid, dysentery and bilharzia. It can be concluded that the project failed to address the problem of safe drinking water, as beneficiaries could still not afford constructing protected wells on individual homesteads.

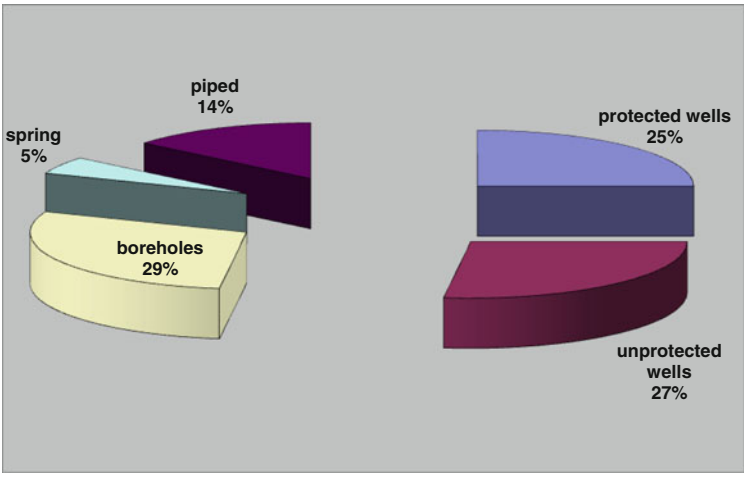

Fig. 5.3 Distribution of sources of water for domestic use by type

5.6.4 Level of Income

The category included those respondents who are married but whose spouses were not gainfully employed thus resulting in households dependent on female bread-winners. The findings of the study revealed that the majority of women farmers, 57 % are selling their produce to locals who come to the garden to buy for resale at various markets. It was also noted that because of the easy access to marketing the farmers are able to provide for their families by paying for their education and being able to clothe them. Apart from the mentioned, the participants are now in a position to own some household assets that they could not afford before, considering their status as they were poverty stricken through this gardening strategy as reflected in Table 5.1.

Epworth Ward 5 farmers no longer rely on others to disseminate news on current affairs. Sigauke (2002) as those who own radios and television sets make use of batteries or solar systems and share with their colleagues. Mostly people gather around shops to listen to radios or watch television programmes. This automatically, has a negative impact on the farmers as they fail to access new information

Table 5.1 Frequency of participation by ownership of asset N = 37

Asset	Yes		No	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Radio	17	46	20	54
T.V.	7	19	30	81
Stove	0	0	0	0
Bed	35	95	2	5
Wardrobe	21	57	16	43

and be able to share new ideas. Their efforts in trying to eradicate poverty through safeguarding the daily survival of their families and promoting development of their communities are hampered. An analysis of the data presented in Table 5.1, the indication is that the paucity of the number of assets owned is a painful reminder of state of deprivation of the Epworth community studied.

5.6.5 *Changes in Household Livelihoods*

Participants recognised the importance and role played by the implemented project in their lives. Farmers are now able to pay for their children's education, buy clothes, feed them and have a shelter over their heads (Fig. 5.4). All these achievements are attributed to the project undertaken under the sponsorship of Plan International.

Another indicator that the project has managed to help beneficiaries sustain themselves is as reflected in Table 5.2 where on average an individual earns $486 per month. These earnings by then were above the threshold of the Consumer Council of Zimbabwe of $400 that could sustain a family of six in a month.

The irrigation cooperative is running as an enterprise through good management and good marketing skills that were achieved through various training programmes that were initiated. The training aided harmonizing all activities as members do what is expected of them as farmers in a cooperative. Agricultural knowledge on soil fertility and plant protection was represented by 25 and 75 % respectively. The

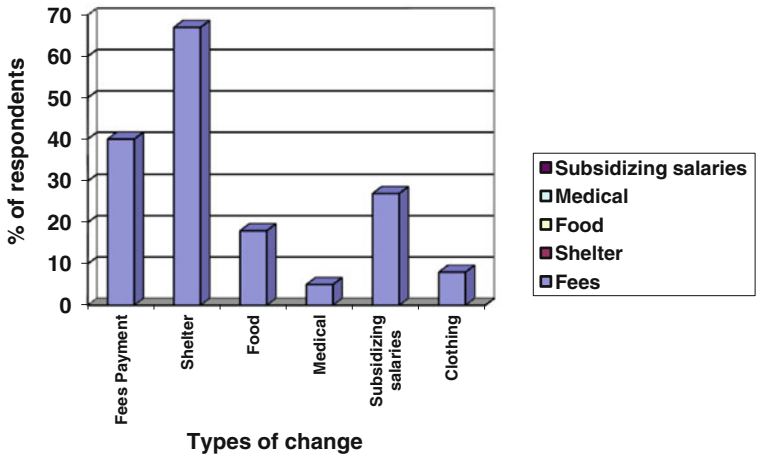

Fig. 5.4 Changes in household livelihoods

Table 5.2 Minimum income per week

Crop	Area cultivated	Output (kg)	Quantity sold (kg)	Income from sales (USD)
Maize @ 0.50 (green mealies)	400 m^2	180	50	25
Irish potatoes @ $7/15 kg pocket		60	30	14
Sweet potatoes @ $5/17 kg bucket		70	6	30
Leafy vegetables @ 0.15/bundle		100	100	15
Cabbage @ 0.50/head		25	10	5
Total		435	196	89

fact that the majority of respondents grow a variety of crops, practice crop rotation and plant protection is a good indicator that respondents have basic knowledge of agriculture that has a positive impact on the yields of the project to help people live better.

5.7 Discussion

The study assumed that poverty alleviation intervention programmes change the well-being of communities for the better. The findings of the study discussed in this chapter demonstrate that Plan International fulfilled the program domains formulated for its operations for social developmental projects in Epworth Ward 5 in areas of food production, water and sanitation. According to Frakishoni (2010), those farmers who received agricultural training appreciated as the courses had to do with proper management of the irrigation scheme. This also helped farmers to exercise teamwork in project planning activities like decision-making, crops to be planted and how to deal with cooperative finances. As an outcome of teamwork, the beneficiary members of community are now self-reliant in fending for their families. Male-headed families have turned into female managed homes. The women are looking after the families with proceeds from the garden sales with husbands being figureheads only as they have no meaningful input into the family upkeep. The results from this study reveal that the majority of the respondents had primary education. Educational level effectively impacted on their employment status hence majority were not formally employed so could hardly sustain themselves. The poverty reduction strategy through the Kubatana-Kubatsirana irrigation cooperative enabled the household heads to be able to provide for their families for a better livelihood.

The study reveals that the Kubatana-Kubatsirana Irrigation cooperative enabled farmers to tackle the vulnerability and powerlessness embedded in the community

of Epworth Ward 5 farmers. The community managed to have good health, education and influenced decision making through participation in the project activities facilitated by Plan International. The same results were experienced in Malawi, Zambia, Eritrea and Ethiopia in the Sub-Saharan Africa. However, it was noted that most Non Governmental Organisations fail to monitor progress on the implemented projects leaving them to the community thereby resulting in their failure. It is also noted that Kubatana-Kubatsirana Irrigation Cooperative has been less successful in achieving its primary objective of acquiring agricultural knowledge. Although some members were trained the majority were not and the group consists of new members who joined after Operation *Murambatsvina* (Clean Out Dirt) in 2005. There is need to have proper record keeping as this is no longer in place as some committee members died or have relocated without proper notice. This made it difficult to compare yields.

5.8 Conclusion

The research findings reveal the need for Epworth Local Board to increase the area of land owned by the Kubatana-Kubatsirana irrigation cooperative farmers in order to bolster output levels through expansion of the irrigation scheme operations through additional land up-take. The findings also point out that the poverty alleviation strategy by Plan International in Epworth Ward 5, was successful as most of the participants are now self-reliant. Male headed families have turned to female managed homes as women are looking after the family from proceeds of the garden sales. Most of the cooperative members managed to send their children to school and increased food consumption from two to three meals per day out of proceeds from the project. The project saw an improvement through acquisition of materials for house building and sanitation.

Although the irrigation cooperative managed to realise its goal of providing better living conditions, it failed on one of its primary objective of providing agricultural expertise to the farmers as some were not trained. The study findings indicate the need for communities to develop a transparent social community register of vulnerable groups, which is updated regularly to assess those who are past productive age if they have any members in their families to assist them. This way the intended goal of poverty eradication can be realised as the families continue to produce and sell for upkeep without having to let the land lie idle for some time.

Ideally, donor-agencies should carry out regular follow-ups on projects that they support to assess their viability and continuity as beneficiaries have the tendency of waiting for the donor to repair equipment and continue providing them with inputs. Most projects fail as soon as the agent leaves the area and when there is no monitoring and evaluation of the project.

People learn through participatory approaches thereby helping themselves to alleviate poverty in households through income generating projects. Therefore, increasing the participation of the affected by selective institutional decisions can assist disadvantaged communities to learn and better their livelihoods borne out by the case of Kubatana-Kubatsirana irrigation cooperative in Epworth Ward 5. Poverty is a complex and shifting phenomenon as an outcome of multidimensional factors, thus no single approach suffices to fully attend to its policy ramifications especially in an era of unprecedented and intensifying social and economic challenges of survival in cities of the global South. An increasingly controversial policy area correlated with the urbanisation of poverty following structural reforms in cities worldwide is the stewardship of the urban environment (Chirisa 2013)—an important thematic area explored under Part IV of this volume.

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Part IV
Environmental Issues

Environmental aspects are increasingly critical preconditions of sustainable peri-urban development in a terrain of changed ecosystems worldwide. Part IV provides scholarly perspectives on inclusive development through greening approaches. This part comprises two chapters, Chap. 6 by Mujere and Chap. 7 by Chirisa, Bandauko and Muzenda. The discourse provides insights into public environmental health planning in the response to challenges of equitable access to water and sanitation facilities in cities increasingly under imploding populations.

Chapter 6
Access to Safe Water and Sanitation in Epworth, Zimbabwe

Never Mujere

6.1 Introduction

According to the World Health Organisation (WHO) health is at the heart of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Although Goals 4, 5 and 6 specifically focus on health, all the MDGs are related to health. In the cities of most developing countries, half of the urban population live in informal settlements. People living in most peri-urban areas live in slum conditions characterised by health risks (Chatiza and Mlalazi 2009). An estimated 879,000 Zimbabweans live in informal settlements where most households have no access to safe potable water, sanitation and transport facilities (DSHZT 2012). At present, the World Health Organisation (WHO) sets the following minimum standards for domestic water supply and sanitation: the maximum distance from shelter to nearest water point should be 500 m; safe water for drinking to be available to every household; and at least 50 % of the households should have a toilet (WHO 2000). Thus, according to the WHO minimum health standards, many millions of the urban poor live in neighbourhoods typically hazardous to their everyday health and living surroundings (Mazhindu et al. 2012: 21).

The chapter examines the access to potable water and human waste disposal facilities for households living under the worsening slum conditions of Epworth—an extensive informal settlement which emerged from the oldest peri-urban "squatter camp" (Chirisa 2012: 23) in Zimbabwe first established in 1892. The chapter argues that as a consequence of the demand for services outstripping supply in most cities of Africa—millions of residents living in these cities are exposed to considerable hazards to their health daily (Mazhindu et al. 2012: 21). This argument militates against a general belief that an adequate delivery of urban basic services in peri urban areas can mitigate most of the health-related challenges faced by

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peri-urban households on the continent as the peri-urban areas continue to absorb migrants (Chanza and Chirisa 2011). The chapter challenges the validity of these two opposing views through the lens of case study findings on the performance of water and sanitation management strategies in Epworth.

6.2 Historical Development of Epworth

Epworth is a peri-urban slum town located 15 km east of the city of Harare and occupies some 3,722 ha of land (Chirisa 2011) strewn with granite rock outcrops. The spatial layout of Epworth is haphazard rendering the efficient reticulation of the settlement with a robust network of water, electricity and sanitary facilities unbearably costly and challenging to maintain.

Since its establishment in 1892, Epworth's development continues to be incremental, informal and mainly residential—without a self-standing and sustainable industrial base to support the exponential growth of the expanding settlement. However, the local board which was appointed by central government to administer the squatter town has managed to regularise some residential sections of the conurbation—with about 6,000 residential stands now regularised (Chitekwe-Biti et al. 2012). The distribution of the residential population is variegated with ward 7 holding the highest population density (Fig. 6.1).

Ward 7 has been named nick-named '*Gada*' (the vernacular for 'free riding') (Muhomba 2008) by the locals, thus occupants are viewed generally as "informal" albeit the constituent population of Epworth constitutes migrant illegal settlers. Table 5.1 reflects the distribution of residential stands in the seven wards of Epworth. Evoking the indigenisation of urban spaces in Epworth, as opposed to the enduring colonial names of streets and places in the old urban centres of post-colonial Zimbabwe, similar places take their names from local chiefs or village headmen.

The history of Epworth dates back to 1892 when the British South Africa Company (BSAC) granted 1,102 ha of farm land to the Methodist Wesleyan Mission. The missionary station subsequently purchased from the sitting commercial farm owners an additional 1,010 and 1,610 ha of land in 1904 and 1908 respectively. About 500 families legally residing at Epworth Mission were allocated about 4,000 m^2 of land each for residential and peri-urban agricultural uses. In July 1983, the Methodist church ceded Epworth to the state. However, the squatter camp of Epworth remained under direct state control until 1986 when central government appointed a local board, Epworth Local Board (ELB) to administer a rapidly expanding Epworth (ELB 2002). The local board included resident commissioners whose mandate was to:

- administer and regulate the growth of the district;
- modernise Epworth and make it into an 'urban settlement';

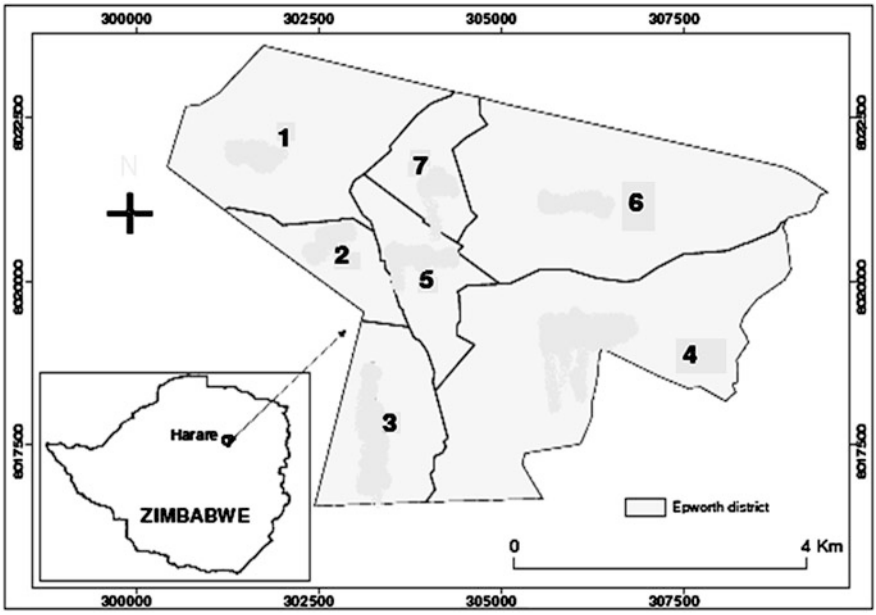

Fig. 6.1 Location of Epworth district and its seven wards (*Source* Chanza and Chirisa 2011: 47)

Table 5.1 Epworth wards and their number of stands

Ward	Name of area(s)	Number of stands
1	Muguta origin	279
	Muguta extension	194
	Makomo origin	343
2	Makomo extension	1,254
3	Zinyengere extension Domboramwari	1,078
4	Zinyengere origin	348
	Chinamano origin	478
5	Chinamano extension	903
6	Overspill	1,049
7	Gada	Not known
	Total	6,000

Source Epworth Local Board (2004: 6)

- upgrade and improve the area that had grown informally;
- design and provide infrastructure services to the residents of the area;
- regularise existing settlements through stand numbering, security of tenure, land subdivision and formulation of context-based development conditions;

- develop the area and properly settle the population; and
- manage the planned development of the whole district (ELB 2004; Chitekwe-Biti et al. 2012).

The Epworth local board set out to upgrade Epworth with tarred roads, piped water, sewer, and electricity at par with other urban centres in the country—a process which would also involve the regularisation of ownership of tenure on land (Chitekwe-Biti et al. 2012).

6.3 Demographic Growth and Housing Development

Epworth's population grew from 20,000 in 1980 to 161,840 in 2012 (CSO 1992, 2003; Muhomba 2008; ZIMSTAT 2013). The present population of Epworth is estimated to comprise 52 % males and 48 % females whereas nearly 70 % of the population lives in informal housing (ZIMSTAT 2013).

The classification of Epworth residents is into three distinct categories based on period of arrival as follows (Gandidzanwa 2003; Muhomba 2008; Chatiza and Mlalazi 2009; Chitekwe-Biti et al. 2012):

- The early settlers reside in Wards 1 and 4. These residents are either Methodist church followers, employees at the Church farms or immediate relatives of the early settlers.
- Settlers occupying Wards 2, 3 and 5 came into Epworth during the liberation struggle and the early independence years (1970s through 1983). During Zimbabwe's liberation war in the 1970s, people moved into Epworth from war-torn rural areas in search of refuge. Immigrants settled wherever they wished without seeking the permission from authorities.
- The last group of settlers occupying Wards 6 and 7 have their places of residence, which were not officially allocated to them. They are seen as the illegal, informal and make almost 80 % of Epworth population.

The residents of Epworth live in various types of housing that differ in terms of security of tenure, stand size, type of structures, building material and quality of construction. Epworth is state land administered by the local board and occupied by a mixture of formal and informal landlords and tenants. About 30 % of the residents have housing stands that were officially allocated to them on lease by the local board. On the other hand, the remaining 70 % of the residents have no tenure on land they occupy. Fifty-one percent of the residents are landlords, 44 % are lodgers and 1 % is neither landlords nor lodgers (DSHZT 2012).

An effort by the local board to regularise the informal areas is underway. However, the majority of informal settlers have to deal with insecurity of an unclear ownership system, which can result in conflicts among households. This can leave families open to eviction. About 80 % of the households have acquired local authority cards and have been assigned stand numbers. However, this process

confers on residents the right to vote, most residents are also using it to prove tenancy (Chitekwe-Biti et al. 2012).

Permanent housing built from brick, mud and asbestos roofing sheets is found in the planned areas of Epworth. In most of Ward 7, and to a lesser extent in Wards 3 and 4, houses range from semi-permanent structures, made of cement and brick, to temporary makeshift shelters, often made with poles, mud or sunburnt bricks. Low-quality building materials pose numerous risks. Poorly built houses are often damaged by rains.

The development of peri-urban settlements is often episodic, responding to events and cycles of political, economic and sometimes cultural changes (Chirisa 2011). Epworth has evolved through organic growth. This was in part to gain from the Squatter Upgrading Scheme adopted at independence in the early 1980s (ELB 2002). Following the 1985 cholera outbreak, the then Ministry of Local Government, Rural and Urban Development (milstarted upgrading the water and sanitation supply under the supervision of the Blair Research Laboratories (BRL) scheme funded under the Ministry of Health and Child Welfare.

In 1986, Epworth farm was gazetted as Epworth Local Government Area and government appointed the Epworth Local Board responsible for administration of the settlement. By 2007, the Local Board was finding it impossible to carry out planned developmental projects because the informal settlers occupied most of the sites earmarked for the projects and this only served to trap the informal settlers in a vicious circle (ELB 2012). In 2008, Epworth housed over 18,000 informal settlers who had settled on school and hospital sites, electricity substations and other areas earmarked for development. Of interest to note is that the officially approved residential stands have not increased in any significant manner from the originally regularised 6,000 stands (Muhomba 2008).

When central government took over Epworth, it helped in meeting the basic shelter needs of the urban poor. Plan International has been undertaking a number of projects such as construction of market stalls, sewer, electricity, water reticulation and shopping centres, tower lighting for two administrative districts, educational sponsorship for 1000 children, started Women's Clubs, provision of book grants for two primary schools and organizing management workshops for women's groups. World Vision collaborated with the Epworth Local Board for the promotion of training management. The Red Cross and Red Crescent Society made provision of toilet kits for residents to construct their own toilets. Help-Age which targeted people over 60 years old provided food grants, services, water toilet construction and clothing (Muhomba 2008).

6.4 Water and Sanitation

When the local board assumed the administration of Epworth in 1986, the settlement lacked urban services including reticulated water and sewerage systems, electricity and waste disposal facilities. On assuming the administration of Epworth,

the local board conducted a socio-economic and land use survey of slum settlement. The results revealed that 71 % of residents used unprotected wells or stream water for their domestic consumption, 94 % used pit toilets or the bush for personal sanitation. The serious risk of well water being contaminated by nearby pit toilets and surface run-off was patent. There were two primary schools, one ill-equipped clinic with one trained nurse, and one police post with four constables.

In physical planning terms, there are sizeable portions of the land in Epworth which are either undevelopable or too costly to service with essential infrastructure such as roads, water and electricity. To compound the problems of difficult terrains, despite that Epworth is located on the edge of Harare—it is detached from the nearest residential suburbs of Harare in terms of shared trunk infrastructure connections. The city's low-density residential areas adjoining with Epworth rely on individual septic tanks (Chatiza and Mlalazi 2009)—thereby rendering the sharing of trunk infrastructure such as water connections with informal Epworth a matter of administrative contestation.

In 1987, the central government embarked on works to upgrade Epworth. The Ministry of Health and Child Welfare, local and international non-governmental organisations installed 290 protected tube wells and 1000 toilets. These partnerships also upgraded water supply and sanitation facilities. Water supply wells were provided at a ratio of one well to ten households. The wells were constructed in public open spaces or next to community facilities, such as schools, market places. Wells were fitted with Blair hand pumps that had low capital cost and low maintenance requirements (ELB 2002; Chatiza and Mlalazi 2009).

In 1996, central government acknowledged that while Harare had achieved total access to safe water supply and sanitation, an estimated 11 % of Epworth households had no access to safe water supply and sanitation (Muhomba 2008). More specifically, Sigauke (2002), Chitekwe-Biti et al. (2012) and DSHZT (2009, 2012) concurred that:

- Some household taps were closed as residents failed to pay water bills to local board
- Some stand owners have sunk wells to supplement water from the water points.
- Residents without wells purchase water by paying monthly to get water from those with wells or from private deliveries.
- Water in wells decreases between May and October each year due to dry weather.
- Communal tapped water points manned by local board attendants are open between 7.30 am and 10.00 am, 11.00 am and 1.00 pm, 2.00 pm and 6.00 pm.
- Long queues at water points are common in the mornings and evenings. One can wait in a queue for more than 30 min.
- Almost 15 % of wells have dried up while 35 % have collapsed.
- The number of households that fetch water from a single well varies from 7 to 40.
- Queues at 55 % of the wells start as early as 4 o'clock in the morning

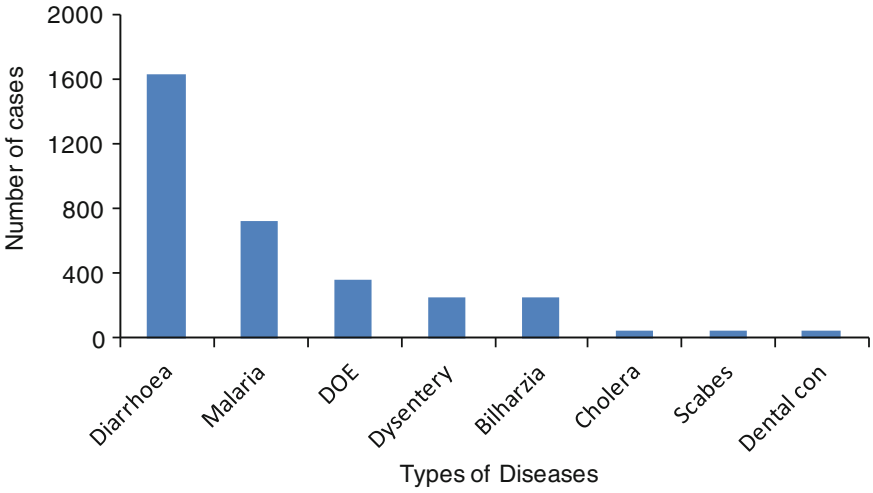

Fig. 6.2 Incidences of unsafe water supply and poor sanitation related diseases (*Source* DSHZT 2012)

6.5 Incidence of Poor Water and Sanitation Related Diseases

The absence safe water, proper sanitation facilities and poor personal hygiene practices expose thousands of households in Epworth to high incidences of pathogenic diseases through contaminated ground water sources and poor sanitation practices. There are three health clinics in Epworth that have proved inaccessible to most resident households (Sigauke 2002). As a result the environmental health of residents is imperilled by pathogenic diseases such as diarrhoea, malaria, dysentery, bilharzia, disease of the eyes (DOE), cholera and scabies (Makoni et al. 2004; DSHZT 2012). Figure 6.2 shows the annual average number of cases of water related diseases in Epworth.

Almost every year diarrhoea cases account for 48 % of the water and sanitation related diseases. While malaria (22 %), DOE (11 %), dysentery (8 %), bilharzias (7 %), cholera (2 %), scabies and dental condition account for 1 % each (Makoni et al. 2004; Chirisa 2011; DSHZT 2012). The problem of disease outbreaks is exacerbated by the lack of sanitary and proper waste management facilities.

6.6 Access to Reticulated Potable Water Supply

Despite efforts by central government and non-governmental organisations to provide potable water for Epworth residents, the problem of accessing safe water for domestic use is an enduring one. Table 5.2 reflects status of water resources in

Table 5.2 Percent distribution of households by main source of water for drinking and cooking and distance (metres)

Source	On premises	<500	500–1000	>1000	Total (%)	Number of household
Piped water inside	1.8	0	0	0	1.8	783
Piped water outside	20.7	6.9	1.0	0.2	28.9	12,880
Communal tap	0.5	3.4	1.2	0.03	5.2	2,319
Well/borehole-protected	22.6	20.4	3.0	0.2	46.2	20,625
Well-unprotected	7.0	6.8	2.0	0.2	16	7,129
River/Stream/dam	0.01	0.2	0.4	0.09	0.7	294
Others e.g. private vendors, springs	0.004	0.135	0.15	0.011	0.3	573
Total	52.61	38.4	8.23	0.75	100	44,403

Sources DSHZT (2012) and ZIMSTAT (2013)

all the areas in Epworth in 2012. As reflected in Table 5.2, almost 10 % of the households cover more than 500 m to obtain their water for domestic use. Thus, the World Health Organisation (WHO) standard levels stating that the maximum distance should be 500 m has not yet been met. Almost 16.7 % of the households rely on unsafe water from unprotected wells, dams and streams. This fails to meet the WHO standard that stipulates that safe water for drinking should be available to every household. The quality of the water from unprotected sources is generally poor.

6.7 Access to Toilet Facilities

Households in Epworth rely on either pit toilets or Blair Ventilated Improved Pit (BVIP) toilets for sanitation. At the schools, multi-compartment BVIP toilets are used. The Bush Pump and Blair VIP toilets are national standards promoted by the government (ITDG 2001; Sigauke 2002). Figure 6.3 shows that more than 39.2 % of the households use flush toilets to dispose of their human waste. Similarly, 38.8 % use unventilated pit latrines, 21.2 % use Blair toilets, 0.14 % use communal toilets while 0.63 % have no toilet facilities to use hence they use the bush as their toilet (DSHZT 2012).

The WHO standard level 1 for sanitation states that at least 50 % of the households should have a toilet (WHO 2002). This level has been satisfied in Epworth. Most (78 %) homesteads have flush toilets and unventilated pit latrine while a few use (0.14 %) Blair toilets built. During the rainy seasons most of the pits collapse and thereby exposing human waste to open air. Residents cover open pits with logs, plastics and soil.

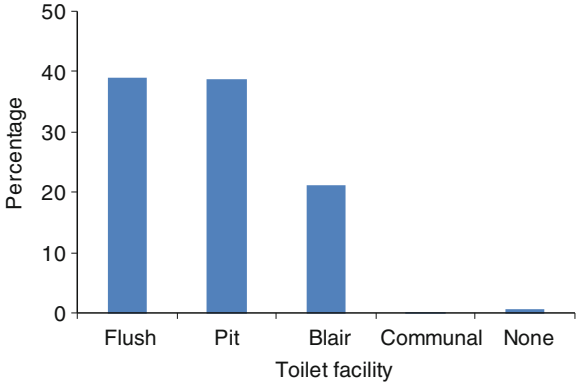

Fig. 6.3 Percent distribution of households by toilet facility mostly used by household (*Sources* DSHZT 2012; ZIMSTAT 2013)

6.8 Discussion

The chapter has acknowledged that urban slums and low-income peri-urban areas in Third World cities continue to grapple with the formidable challenges of inadequate or pure absence of basic services essential for healthy living environments. Empirical evidence shows that peri-urban households are subjected to the numerous health threats mainly ascribing to piecemeal and disjointed approaches to waste disposal and management in marginalised parts of the city. Moreover, the housing conditions in the peri-urban areas of sub-Saharan Africa are a result of dysfunctional land markets (Chirisa 2011).

The chapter recognises that the lack of proper sanitation facilities, safe and adequate water supply in the peri-urban areas of developing countries resonates with the prominent position that the perennial questions of epidemiology, disease prevention and control occupies for attaining the liveability of peri-urban areas in response to imploding urban populations. Apart from children who are subjected to the squalor and pathogens of peri-urban slum environments, the next most adversely affected are their elderly cohorts. Most peri-urban dwellers are poor and cannot afford to buy water from the vendors who increasingly capitalise on the ravages of climate change and the extended droughts. The exponential growth of peri-urban populations—whose demand for services outstrips supply (Chitekwe-Biti et al. 2012) only compounds the problem.

In many ways, the case study on the public environmental health status of Epworth plays out the cumulative health challenges of the peri-urban chaos portrayed in Davis dystopic Third World "planet of slums" (Davis 2006). As a case in point, the seven wards of Epworth differ in terms of household access to tarred roads, shops, toilets, clinics, running water, schools and electricity. Wards 1, 2, 3 and 5 are largely formal while Wards 4, 6 and 7 are predominantly informal. On the whole, 70 % of the households live in overcrowded informal housing structures gleaned from cardboard boxes, plastic, iron sheets and mud brick. What is novel about the slum is the housing mix of mud village huts, some small houses hanging

precariously along contaminated water course and gated up-market residential estates. Epworth is developed on state land, therefore the quality of investment in building permanent structures is compromised by insecurity of tenure on property compounded by frequent evictions and demolition of housing structures by local authorities. Therefore, most informal settlements serve as transitory spaces of residence for floating households (DSHZT 2012).

Almost 50 % of the residents pay rent for their housing structures. The households who occupy un-regularised accommodation are not serviced with individual water connections and sanitation facilities. Although the regularised and planned sections of Epworth enjoy some semblance of urban services, however, the existing services are not reliable.

On the basis of empirical findings discussed in the chapter, there is a case for arguing that as the outcome of the growing demand for public health environmental facilities outstripping supply in the slum settlement of Epworth, the households live in constant danger of exposing their health to pathogenic disease outbreaks. Equally, the availability of essential services in Epworth as the case of the two poorly sited health centres proves, does not necessarily guarantee access for all the inhabitants owing largely to transportation constraints and the associated logistics of indivisibility in time space.

6.9 Conclusion

Most peri-urban settlements in developing countries have not benefited from developments in the nearby cities and towns (Muhomba 2008). This chapter has focused on examining the access and provision of safe water and sanitation facilities in Harare's oldest peri-urban settlement of Epworth. The slum enclave, lying 15 km to the east of Harare city, was founded and established in 1892, when the colonial British South Africa Company granted the Methodist Wesleyan Mission, Epworth farm. The outbreak of diarrhoea and other water related diseases in Epworth is exacerbated by lack of potable water and proper sanitary facilities. Since 1892, peri-urban Epworth has been growing in terms of sprawl. The massive land uptake has been that of residential development. Epworth has continued to receive in-migrants from the subaltern population groups including mainly foreigners from neighbouring countries such as Mozambique, Malawi and Zambia.

Although Epworth is at the edge of Harare it is has not meaningfully benefited from its proximity to the capital city such that it has lagged behind terms of the provision of basic water and sanitation services. The construction of blair toilets and the promotion of safe water failed to improve the health standards of residents because of congested and unsanitary living environment. Research findings show that 16.7 % of the residents use unprotected wells or stream water for their domestic water consumption, 38.8 % used pit toilets while 0.7 % use the bush for personal sanitation (see Table 5.1, Figs. 6.2 and 6.3). There is also a serious risk of pollution of well water by nearby pit toilets and surface run-off.

Over the years, the random nature of development in Epworth makes it cumbersome to discern the structure of this slum town in terms of residential differentiation. To be blunt, Epworth is a mosaic of mixed residential densities in space. Epworth has had new informal settlements growing outside the upgraded zone. There is a growing need to address the plight of the urban poor by providing them with basic amenities, which include safe water and proper sanitation facilities.

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Chapter 7
A Case for Inclusive Growth Through Green Economies in Peri-urban Sub-saharan Africa

Innocent Chirisa, Archimedes Muzenda and Elmond Bandauko

7.1 Introduction

The chapter is interested in the contemporary strategies of inclusive growth through greening economies by advocating a case for policies, strategies and programmes that promote sustainable urban growth. Such measures should be cognisant that the unbalanced relationship between population growth, poor land husbandry and the environment in the cities of developing countries has been held to account for the widespread loss of liveable habitats, uncontrolled ecological footprints and greenhouse emissions (Sherbinin and Martine 2007; UN-DESA 2013) in many developing countries.

As a point of departure, the chapter recognises that while most people in Africa live in the rural and peri-urban areas, these people rely solely on traditional biomass fuels for their daily consumption. The women heads of households are the worst affected in providing the daily food and firewood energy needs of their families (Cecelski 2004; GNESD 2008). Over 600 million people in the urban centres of developing countries now live in life-threatening homes and neighbourhoods—primarily in the peri-urban settlements (cf. Chirisa 2010). Uncertain land tenure systems, inadequate infrastructure provisions, low incomes and the marginalisation of the poor residents by local governments persist as the major threats to sustainable peri-urban settlements (Waugh 1990).

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Meanwhile, the socio-economic and spatial processes of peri-urbanisation have been largely held to account for changing the rural into urban life styles of the people living on the outskirts of large cities. The peri-urbanisation processes have tended to propel the agro-based economy towards the manufacturing-dominated economy in which agriculture stimulates employment in the processing of agricultural produce (Annette et al. 2011). This has led to the rapid urban population growth rates and the expansion of towns resulting in changed spatial development patterns, increased costs of land and new urban forms (Webster 2002; Kasanga 1996; Home 2001).

The chapter maintains that greening economies and inclusive growth in Africa can assist in addressing the increasingly chaotic and complex processes of peri-urbanisation on the continent. A green economy has been defined as one that results in improved human well-being and social equity, while significantly reducing environmental risks and ecological scarcities (UNEP 2011: 2). Inclusive growth is essentially resource efficient and socially inclusive by preventing the loss of biodiversity and ecosystem services. While there is no universal definition of inclusive development, the concept, however, is understood to refer to "growth coupled with equal opportunities" (Ali and Zhuang 2007; Ali and Son 2007). It focuses on creating livelihood opportunities by making them accessible to all, not just to the poor.

Put differently, inclusive growth is attained when all members of a society participate in and contribute to the growth process equally, regardless of their individual circumstances. In the same way, inclusive growth is one that emphasizes that economic opportunities created by growth are available to all, particularly the poor, to the maximum extent possible (Ali and Son 2007; Ali and Zhuang 2007). In Zimbabwe, the pursuit of inclusive growth is not a completely new planning strategy—however the political polarisation and fragmentation of society continues to threaten improved governance and productivity of peri-urban resources.

The chapter reviews peri-urbanisation trends in selected African cities by exploring usefulness of greening economy and inclusive growth strategies in bolstering the productivity of peri-urban areas. The major reason for adopting this case study approach is to isolate lessons that Zimbabwe's peri-urban communities can learn from the experiences of similar communities elsewhere in Africa so that policies and strategies for sustainable peri-urbanisation can be designed. But before we look at those experiences, a tracing of current urbanisation trends in sub-Saharan Africa would be in order.

7.2 Urbanisation Trends in Africa

Sub-Saharan Africa is a collection of widely heterogeneous countries and cities with considerable differentiation in their patterns of development. For instance, there are 13 countries with urbanisation levels above 50 %, mostly oil producing countries and middle income countries. Seven countries have levels below 20 % and these include the lowest income countries such as Burundi, Ethiopia, Niger, and Uganda. Waugh defines urbanisation as a process by which rural areas are

transformed into urban areas and which involves the growth of urban populations through the combined effects of migration and natural increase (Waugh 1990). Within the field of critical urban research, the urban phenomenon is considered the dynamic result of a complex process of articulation of interactive and often conflicting economic, political, legal and cultural forces. Through this process cities and rural areas in developing countries have been redefined by the changing nature of capitalism and more recently, by the process of economic globalisation (Fernandes 1998).

Some recent findings (UN-DESA 2013) reveal that rural-urban migration is the most prominent demographic contour of urban growth in Africa and with it—the urbanisation of poverty. As a result, the focus has dwelt on measures to re-direct itinerant movements from cities to rural destinations thereby discouraging migration into cities (Sherbinin and Martine 2007). Tacoli (2011) has noted that attempts to limit urban growth by controlling migration are misplaced for two main reasons. Firstly, migration flows are survivalist responses to shifts in economic opportunities relative to their spatial location. Secondly, most of the urban population growth is the result of natural increase rather than net rural to urban migration (Potts 2012; Kessides 2014). In this regard, the significant contribution of the natural population increase to peri-urbanisation cannot be emphasized. In addition, some policy inducements have also triggered peri-urbanisation (Potts 2012; Kessides 2014; Freire et al. 2015).

A case in point in Zimbabwe is the fast-track land reform programme which spilled over into the chaotic land invasions of the peri-urban areas in 2000 thereby opening the flood gates for the disgruntled poor households and homeless to claim space in the areas near the city. Large informal settlements characterised by incremental housing developments have emerged on all commercial farms surrounding Harare—a direct result of the jambanja (vernacular for chaotic) land invasions. Due largely to the debilitating liquidity crunch in Zimbabwe coupled with the massive unemployment in the formal sector, grassroots self-reliance initiatives have taken the lead in the provision of shelter in the country's peri-urban areas. The incremental mode of housing provision relies on households building their homes using their own resources. Such a mode of housing construction contrasts starkly with the conventional methods of housing supply which is project-oriented. Thus, the grassroots housing movement appeals to local planning initiatives.

In the early 1990s it was became increasingly fashionable that more people started to live in the towns and cities than in the impoverished rural areas—attracted by better living conditions in the urban centres. From that time, the global urbanisation growth rate has risen to 4.5 % per annum in the low-income countries (PUPSRNRSP 1999). The urbanisation process has separated the excess population into the peri-urban, at the periphery of cities where the rural and urban development processes interact (PUPSRNRSP 1999). One major effect of the peri-urbanisation process is the destruction of 'greenfields' as households seek to house themselves and to use wood fuel as a source of energy. In addition, peri-urban agricultural land uses have resulted in deforestation thereby reducing biodiversity in peri-urban ecosystems.

Table 7.1 Population growth in Accra, 1960–2007

Year	Population
1891	20,000
1945	135,000
1960	338,396
1970	636,667
1984	969,195
2000	1,658,937
2006	1,915,983
2007	1,960,462

Source Owusu (2010)

A cross-section of recent studies carried in Accra (Ghana), Nairobi (Kenya), Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban (South Africa), Lusaka (Zambia), Cairo (Egypt), Gaborone (Botswana) and Lagos (Nigeria) play out the socio-economic and environmental impacts of peri-urbanisation in Africa.

7.2.1 Accra

The population of Accra in 2005 was 1.97 million. It was home for one-fifth of Ghana's total population (Boadu 2001) bearing testimony to the primacy of capital cities in most of Africa (Table 7.1).

According to Sherbinin and Martine (2007) the population growth rate of Accra was estimated at 3.4 % per annum within the city itself and up to 10 % in its peri-urban districts (refer to Table 7.2). In one peri urban area, Nima, 54 % of the population thrive on self-employment, in Maamobi it is 50 %. In both neighbourhoods, roughly 30 % of the economically active adults are employed by the public sector, with none in the private sector. The informal sector constitutes 65 % of Accra (Sherbinin and Martine 2007).

Table 7.2 Growth rates of selected peri-urban communities of Accra

Community	Growth Rate (%)	Community	Growth Rate (%)
Anyaa	37.5	Taifa	20.3
Anoshie	32.7	Adenta West	19.1
Tantra	25.9	Dome	16.9
Lashibi	25.5	Sakumono	16.7
Amanfrom	23.6	Ofankov	14.3
Gbawe	22.2	New Achimota	14.0
Ogbojo	22.1	Pokuase	19.1
Ashaley-botwe	21.1	Ashaiman	6.8
Accra City	4.2		

Source Owusu (2010)

Ghana has a National Urban Policy (NUP), which provides a comprehensive response to urban development including the environment and climate change as (Owusu 2010). The urban policy for Ghana has been formulated

7.2.2 Nairobi

Kenya has experienced rapid urbanisation in recent times. This rapid urbanisation has been attributed to the increased population growth of Nairobi (Fig. 7.1, the capital of Kenya (Amenya 2007). Maina (2003) noted the high rate of peri-urbanisation has created problems in the planning of the transforming and fragmented urban fringe in most of sub-Saharan Africa.

Planning often insists on greenbelt policies designed to curb haphazard urban expansion hence sprawl (Abegunde 2011) but the complexities in the peri-urban governance of Nairobi, as in most urban Africa, constitute a formidable challenge to spatial planning (Maina 2003).

7.2.3 Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban

The changing nature of the peri urban zone in South Africa has been viewed as a direct product of its apartheid policies. The cleavages between the country's White elite and the majority African populace are most visible on the urban fringes (Barry 2003)—where most of the slum townships dominate. In keeping with the erstwhile apartheid past, the black population was housed in the slums safely hidden away from the Whites-only enclaves. The post-apartheid era has witnessed bold attempts to manage the enduring tensions between urban and rural spaces. Table 7.3 reflects the proportions of peri urban residents by province and wealth in South Africa. Evident from these statistics, is the numerical disparity between the wealthy and poor in South Africa.

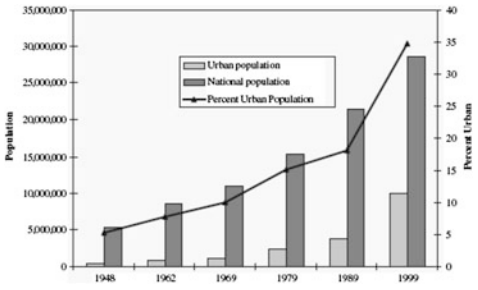

Fig. 7.1 Urban population growth in Nairobi *(Source* Maina 2003)

Table 7.3 Percentage of peri urban dwellers by province and wealth in 2007 in South Africa

Province	Wealthy	Poor
North West	25.0	75.0
Orange Free State	19.6	80.4
Kwa-Zulu Natal	19.1	81.9
South Africa	18.3	81.7
Gauteng	17.7	82.3
Limpopo	12.0	88.0
Eastern Cape	11.4	88.6
Mpumalanga	10.4	89.6
Western Cape	23.4	76.6

Source Matheson (2011)

Barry (2003) argues that although recent legislative, policy and institutional structures address the problem of peri-urbanisation in the new South Africa, the residual threats of the apartheid era remain unabated. The question is how do current transformations play out in other African peri-urban spaces?

7.2.4 Lusaka

The population of Lusaka in 2002 was 3 million with population densities of up to 1500 persons per hectare and average population densities of approximately 150 persons per hectare. Sixty (60) percent of Zambia's urban population resides in low income areas whereas the majority, comprising mainly the poor, resides in slums on the edge of the cities. The World Bank established that 65 % of the country's population are engaged in the informal sector.

7.2.5 Cairo

The annual population growth rate of Cairo is pegged between 2.2 and 3 %. Urbanisation is attributed to the rapid rural to urban migration leading to an average of 4 % annually. In 2008, Cairo's population was estimated at 18 million people (Singerman and Amar 2007). In the past, in-migration was the chief driver of urban expansion. Now it is attributed to the natural population increase. To accommodate this extra population, the incorporation of surrounding villages into the urban set up has become inevitable (DPU 1999). It is estimated that with the increasing urban population, Cairo's housing pressures continue unabated with an estimated 1,000 people migrating to the capital daily.

7.2.6 Gaborone

On gaining independence from Britain in 1966, only 4 % of Botswana's population lived in urban areas (Home 2001; Nkwae 2006). However, the proportion of the urban population increased rapidly to almost 10 % in 1971, 18 % in 1981 and 46 % in 1991. This rapid urbanisation is explained by increased population migration from rural to urban areas in quest of cash employment and a better quality of life. The 1981 Botswana census revealed that half of the country's population lived within a radius of 200 km from Gaborone. By 1991, this radius had shrunk to 100 km. The country's 2001 census confirmed that the urban villages close to Gaborone, notably Mogoditshane, Metsimothlabe, Tlokweng, Gabane and Mmopane—were among the fastest growing settlements in the country despite that the national population growth rate was declining (Nkwae 2006). In an effort to reduce high population densities from Gaborone and its surrounding hinterlands, the government has initiated a policy of decentralising government operations as well as introducing the National Settlement Policy (NSP) (Nkwae 2006). The National Settlement Policy is meant to guide the way in which settlements in Botswana develop for sustainability.

7.2.7 Lagos

Home to more than 12 million residents, Lagos is one of the largest cities in Africa (Sherbinin and Martine 2007). Unlike other African cities, Lagos was the colonial capital of Nigeria yet it now the economic hub of the country's space economy (Sherbinin and Martine 2007) and the West African sub-region. Urbanisation in Nigeria is considered to have been triggered by the country's decaying agricultural sector, the local multiplier effects that the city enjoys and the modernisation of the erstwhile traditional structures guiding land and community development in the country. Commenting on the spatial density and developments in the city, Abegunde tells us that:

> Lagos…is congested with housing development, heavy industries and automobiles. It is suffering from global warming through the depletion of the ozone layer thereby threatening human survival in the new millennium. Despite all the problems, little attention has been given to the distribution of green space in the city as well as beautification to promote its aesthetic value… (Abegunde 2011: 105).

As a direct consequence, Sherbinin and Martine (2007) note that the peri urban settlements of Lagos are proliferating on the wetlands. The poor land husbandry and flooding of these wetlands in the rainy season pose major public health risks to residents. It is estimated that between 1991 and 2002, there was a significant swamp reduction from 20.6 to 1.9 % of the land cover in the Lagos administrative area.

Lowland forests also changed from 7.6 to 0.4 % implying loss of swamp forests to land uses including industrial and residential developments (Sherbinin and Martine 2007).

7.3 Inclusive Growth and Green Economy: Pathways and Strategies

As suggested earlier, the definition of inclusive growth relating to local contexts is problematic. This has been attributed to different interpretations of the concept by different institutions such as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the World Bank. The trickling of benefits down to local communities is has been considered as the *raison 'detre* of inclusive growth. The UNDP (2008: 2) defines inclusive growth by putting emphasis on production and Gross Domestic Product. Thus, all groups of people participate in the processes of growth with everyone benefitting equally from the outcomes of the processes.

In the period stretching 2008–2010 spatial planners in the United Kingdom were challenged to abandon the desk and instead plan with the local communities themselves at grassroots level rather than leaving them out till plan approval. This is an important dimension of the politics of inclusiveness in planning rather than exclusively an economic dimension.

The aim of having a green economy is to enhance human well-being and social equity by addressing environmental risks and ecological scarcities (Stone 2010). Thus, a green economy is the aggregate of all activities undertaken primarily through minimising negative environmental impacts of development. In urban areas, the minimum conditions for attaining a green economy include improving access to basic human needs, promotion of social justice and environmental awareness (PUPSRNRSP 1999; UNEP 2011). Both public and private investments are critical in promoting income and employment growth and preventing the loss of biodiversity and ecosystem services (UNEP 2011).

7.4 Conclusion

The chapter has established that an attainment of inclusive growth through greening economies should be decoupled from social inequities, environmental degradation and climate change already posing serious limitations to growth in sub-Saharan African countries. Moreover in a terrain of the exclusionary tendencies of predatory states, the high dependence of African economies on the extraction of natural resources threatens the achievement of broad-based growth. Moreover, very little headway has been made towards attaining best practices in shaping the governance of peri-urban spaces. The lack of headway can firmly be ascribed to the failure of

mainstream urban trajectories to capture the structural dynamics of inclusive growth through greening economies in the context of contentious development in fragmenting African peri-urban contexts.

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Part V
Emergence, Development and Management of Satellite Towns: Challenges and Opportunities

Part V interrogates the emergence, development and management of satellite towns in the space economy of Zimbabwe. In Chap. 8 Chirisa and Chaeruka examine the phenomenal growth of Ruwa, a peri-urban settlement on the edge of Harare, the capital city of Zimbabwe. The discussion attributes the exceptional of Ruwa to the entrepreneurial stance that the managers of the small town have engaged in attracting private investment through marketing the locational advantages of the locality. Chapter 9 expatiates on the strategy of "old wines in new skins" in promoting the urbanisation of Zimbabwe's space economy through the country's Growth Point policy strategy.

Chapter 8
The Ruwa Exceptionality: Scanning Location, Corporatism and Place Marketing Factors in Peri-urban Development

Innocent Chirisa and Joel Chaeruka

8.1 Introduction

In negotiating the tidal waves of neoliberal restructuring since the early 1990s, the marketing and branding of cities has become an all-pervasive and well-organised governmental activity contributing to the economic and physical transformation of localities for consumption in a global economy (Grodach 2009: 182). Central to the city marketing process is the "construction, communication, and management of the city's image" (Kavaratzis 2004: 58). But what do such processes entail?

The centre piece of Harvey's (1989a) claims in recent years is that urban governance has become increasingly preoccupied with the exploration of new ways in which to foster and encourage local development and employment creation. Such an entrepreneurial stance contrasts sharply with the managerial practices of earlier decades of economic development which primarily focused on the local provision of services, facilities and benefits to urban populations. In response to the widespread disenchantment (particularly in Africa) with the achievements of the "development project" (McMichael 1996) launched under US hegemony, many cities are proactively positioning themselves in competition for global resources in conjunction with private agents and urban elites in order to forge economic growth (Hall and Hubbard 1998; Harvey 1989b). The entrepreneurial city government formulates and implements locational policies aimed at enhancing the economic competitiveness of the locality by identifying, developing and exploiting its place-specific assets that are considered most competitive (Grodach 2009: 182).

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In this context, the chapter examines how the small satellite town of Harare, Ruwa attained its exceptional status of development during the post-colonial era of Zimbabwe when the country's economy took its deepest plunge (Bond and Manyanyiwa 2002) as the state became more "exclusive and authoritarian" (Simon 2010). In particular, the chapter traces out how locational policy investments, corporatism and place marketing can stimulate peri-urban development in depressed national economic landscapes. In order to do so, the discussion will answer the following questions:

- To what extent are the everyday politics influencing growth?
- What lessons can be learnt from an urban centre developing through the privatisation of land?
- How does Ruwa compare with other urban centres whose development is 'dictated' by public and communal property rights?
- What lessons can urban Zimbabwe learn from Ruwa's corporate management policy?

8.2 Theory of City-Branding as a Place Marketing

Globally cities and towns are transforming in terms of management style, land-use organisation and development financing, irrespective of the country, location or economic prosperity. Some scholars have attributed such change to the transferability of technology, finance and ideas in the context of globalising mobilities (Mamvura 2005; Jensen 2007; Chirisa 2012). Although transformation "has become a popular, overused and misunderstood word in organisations in the twenty-first century" (Daszko and Sheinberg 2005: 1) the chapter relates the term to management style, organisation of land uses and mobilisation of financial resources for local development by entrepreneurial cities. This strand of transformation has been the catchword in place-marketing signifying the attractiveness of a locality to capital, residents and tourists. Hence branding of place plays a decisive role in local development and investment. Branding is synonymous with business and market behaviour (Howell 2010) where this literally means 'creating an image' (Mamvura 2005; Jensen 2007).

City branding as a strategy involves the processes of constructing names, images and representations of cities and towns to sell them in terms of the trends, advantages and opportunities as unique attributes. In essence, this involves storytelling and 're-imaging' the city through the construction and reconstruction of "place" identity (Sandercock 2003; Eckstein and Throgmorton 2003). The evocative story-line is designed to appeal to 'consumers of the place and space' including residents, tourists and investors (Selby 2004). The marketing strategy entails creating monolithic, consumer-oriented representations or pictures that reflect the specific attributes of the built environment. Thus, the city or place is represented in images, texts and logos, reflecting specific interventions. City managers are the

builders of the image of the city and are obliged to 'sell' the city to match the tastes of target 'consumers' (Czarniawska 2008).

For Kavaratzis and Ashworth (2008: 163) place marketing is a proactive response creating an enabling environment for a city to survive and prosper in volatile economic conditions. Such conditions include the increased mobility of capital, the easier relocation of economic activity, the radical development of the knowledge-based society and increased global interconnectedness. Such conditions also engender increased inter-urban competition that is evident in today's world, exemplified in the importance attributed to several rankings that are published regularly. Since such conditions vary both spatially and over time, how has Ruwa negotiated its exceptional growth in an uneven terrain of dried up large scale investment in the city making processes of Zimbabwe?

8.3 Place Marketing of Ruwa Within the Growth Centre Policy Strategy

An examination of the growing appeals of agglomeration economies in place marketing can best be understood within the growth pole theoretical framework. The proponents of the Growth Pole Theory (Pred 1966; Olsen 1976; Richardson 1969; Stohr and Taylor 1981; Thirlwall 1994; McCann 2001) assumed that the maturity of an economic node was subject to the existence of a propulsive factor such as the existence of an exploitable mineral resource. This factor had to be autonomous and self-propagating. The exceptional growth of Ruwa may not singularly be explained by the existence of a resource base but rather its proximity to metropolitan Harare. In addition, the private investor attractiveness of the place has largely contributed to its growth. This may have been assisted as well by place branding in the context of commitment to a growth centre policy framework.

The growth centre policy of Zimbabwe focused on the physical development of designated centres through the Public Sector Investment Programme (PSIP) as each of the growth centres was allocated a minimum of Z$160,000 for infrastructure development (GoZ 1981, 1982). At local government level, local authorities in conjunction with the Department of Physical Planning have prepared investment brochures for each of the growth centres (District Service Centres) as information for potential investors (Herald 2009).

Efforts were made to provide housing and related services in order to attract private investment to the rural areas. Ruwa owes her major locational advantages to her proximity to major trunk roads connecting Harare and Mutare. The small town has grown almost symmetrically along Mutare Road, a national and trunk road connecting Harare, the capital city of Zimbabwe and Marondera and Mutare, the provincial capitals of Mashonaland East and Manicaland, respectively. Mutare is also the major eastern border town on the boundary with Mozambique. The railway line from Harare to Mutare and beyond to Beira runs parallel to the trunk road.

Additionally, Ruwa was declared by government as one of the growth points in the mid-1980s thereby drawing large-scale industrial investment to the small edge-city that we discuss the notion of growth points.

Corporatism has gone through the full cycle of boom and bust (Molina and Rhodes 2002; Schmitter and Grote 1997). Although the term has been used to explain policy, institutions and the 'business' culture of the state at national level, the term is now the buzz word in the corporate world of local governance. Siaroff (1999) argues that "…an 'ideal type' of corporatism involves four distinct aspects: structural features, functional roles, behavioural patterns, and favourable contexts." The manner in which local farmers, city government institutions, civil society organisations and the residents have pooled their resources towards boosting the development of Ruwa served as the hallmark of local corporatism. Even when the situation has not been very favourable, the actors have 'fraternised' towards constructing a better place. Ruwa has excelled in engaging private-public partnerships for local economic development through corporate investment strategies with both local and international private investors.

8.4 The Evolution and Transformation of Ruwa

In 1991, Ruwa was proclaimed a local board area in terms of Part 14 of the Urban Councils Act and the Income and Sales Tax Act. This proclamation ceded Ruwa from both Goromonzi Rural District Council and the Urban Development Corporation that had been jointly responsible for its administration. Prior to independence in 1980, Ruwa was a designated Rural Service Centre under the then Whites-only Bromely-Ruwa Rural Council. The principal landholder in Ruwa was Mashonaland Holdings, a group of privately owned companies. In the colonial heyday, Ruwa existed as a little known satellite settlement of Harare. In the mid-1980s, it was upgraded to a Growth Point in terms of the Income and Sales Tax Act.

In the early 1990s, Goromonzi Rural District Council prepared a rural master plan that designated Ruwa as a Growth Point. The post-independence era saw the development of an industrial park in Ruwa. Mashonaland Holdings invested in the development of Ruwa low-income residential suburb (RLB 2007) in order to address the housing needs of the growing population in the town. This private sector initiative dovetailed the implementation of Ruwa's local development plan. On its part, Ruwa Local Board complemented the housing investment with water augmentation and environmental management (Davison 2001). The local plan also saw the development of new suburbs including Elizabeth Park, Damafalls and Chipukutu. These new residential enclaves saw the emergence of wards 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 in Ruwa. During the initial growth of the town, the secondment of specialised personnel to Ruwa by the Urban Development Corporation contributed to the transformation of Ruwa into the commercial and industrial hub that the small town boasts of today. The town planner of Ruwa noted that:

> Prior to independence Ruwa was only a small rural service centre around a place called "*pa"* George. After independence in 1980 independence, the centre was upgraded to the status of a Growth Point thus empowering the local board to collect revenue from the existing properties. Starting from nothing then we now have more than 25,000 housing stands of which 15,000 have been developed while the rest are at various stages of servicing ready for allocation to prospective buyers. After independence, the satellite town of Ruwa witnessed an upsurge in development. In the early 1990s we started to witness the emergence of upmarket Old Windsor and ZIMRE (Zimbabwe Reinsurance Corporation) high income residential communities.[1]

Despite the exceptional economic significance of Ruwa, the small town faces the perennial challenges of providing adequate reticulated water (Svotwa et al. 2007; Hranova et al. 2001; Guvamombe 2012). The small town relies on Harare municipality for its water supply (See Box 7.1).

Box 7.1: A quest for solutions to the Ruwa water woes

It has become a permanent feature for residents to wake up at 2 a.m. to queue for water at shallow and deep wells, throughout the year. Ruwa has always been considered a satellite town of Harare. The town is a fast-growing town with more than 60 ha of industrial area and vast swathes of residential and commercial land. The Chairman of Ruwa Town Council, Mr Phineas Mushayavanhu says:

> Our water supply problem is historical. [There are other challenges including the] need to provide good, pothole-free roads. We need sound health and education delivery for our residents. We also deserve a crime free town replete with tower lights and streets lights. We need to service our housing list By servicing thereby providing affordable stands. We need to do refuse collection. However, the success of all these will not make sense to any ordinary Ruwa ratepayer and stakeholder until the water situation is rectified. Water has to be flowing through the tap of each and every kitchen. … We have been running around looking for funding and fortunately for us, the Public Service Investment Programme (PSIP) has availed to us US$13,5 million for water reticulation for all local authorities. We have managed to get US$43,5 million from that, thanks to intensive lobbying. This is a victory for our small town, for such an amount to come our way… In fact, we had applied for US $3,7 million but all the same we missed by a few hundred dollars but we feel what we got is enough to take through a comprehensive water reticulation programme and even the expansion of our water treatment plant…. Ruwa's traditional water problems started from the time when the local authority was entirely dependent on Harare's water supply route. We relied on Harare's reservoirs at Donnybrook and Venterburg. It emerged that Harare had its own unfulfilled needs and any slight disturbance in Harare severely affected Ruwa, which would go for long periods without water. So when it eventually emerged that Harare would not easily solve its water problems, that Harare was no longer meeting its local demand, much at the expense of satellite towns like Chitungwiza, Ruwa, Epworth and Norton, we went into a Public, Private Partnership to build our own water treatment plant. But such infrastructure needed a very reliable all-year-round supply of water… The dam we

[1]Interview with Mr Chidhakwa Ruwa Local Board Town Planner, 9 November, 2011.

identified for this project was Greenskyes. This Greenskyes also catered for the irrigation requirements of local farmers, it could not late for a year. By September or October its water levels got too low to meaningfully supply any water. Ironically, that is the time when water demand in Ruwa would be at its peak. Then the ordinary Ruwa family is forced to rely on boreholes or wells…. At its peak Greenskyes would be allowing a daily supply of 2,5 mega litres of treated water against a demand of 7,5 mega litres. That situation is far from being satisfactory to even meet half the demand in our town…. The nature of the current project is to pipe raw water from a newly identified, perennial water sup-ply dam 15 km away - Nora Valley Dam. The project has already started with pipes being laid through a company called Waterflo. The water will be move[d] from Nora Valley Dam to Greenskyes Dam which will act as our reservoir throughout the year to allow the supply of in excess of 10 mega litres of water to our treatment plant. The project is moving very fast. Waterflo is an experienced and credible water moving company which has done a lot of irrigation and water supply projects for the Government, individuals and local authorities and they have told us that they are putting up booster pumps along the way to beat the mountains, rough terrain and hills. This will ensure uninterrupted water supply to our holding dam. [Out of the US$3,5 million not all is going towards just a 15 km pipeline] Out of that amount, we need to expand our water treatment plant by building new reactors to receive the increased raw water delivery. Out of that amount we need to build a modern laboratory for quality control. We are currently treating the water manually. We will also need to build more water reservoirs to store treated water so that even if electricity supply is interrupted, the Ruwa residents will not feel the pinch within 24 hours. I want the people of Ruwa to give the local authority two months, at most three months and the water problem will be a thing of the past. Our intention is to get the whole of Ruwa supplied with treated water. Currently, only Zimre is connected to the Harare supply system and is therefore subject to Harare's water woes. Eventually we need to pluck Zimre Park out of Harare.

Source: Guvamombe (2012)

Most residents of Ruwa town are medium-income earners. In the past 10 years or so, the emerging local urban elites, comprising high earning civil servants, businessmen, and those dependent on remittances from the diaspora—have transformed the cityscape of Ruwa. The small town has morphed from a small peri-urban growth point into a modern town constituting upmarket industrial, commercial and residential components. From its founding days, Ruwa was a productive commercial farming area whose contribution to market gardening and other fresh farm products for Harare were considerable (Marongwe 2002, 2003). Today, commercial farming has been replaced by an expanding urban development.

Situated along the transport corridor of Harare-Mutare Road and the Botswana-Bulawayo-Gweru-Harare-Mutare-Mozambique railway line, Ruwa has been upgraded into an Export Processing Zone (EPZ) specialising in manufacturing industry. By 2007, Ruwa had developed twenty-seven commercial and two hundred and fifty industrial stands (RLB 2007). In the same period, 29 % of the employable population in the town was estimated to be in formal employment while 71 % eked out their livelihoods from the informal sector. However, the exceptional growth of Ruwa has not been without considerable caveats. The rapid sprawl of the peri-urban

conurbation has increasingly taken a significant toll on the surrounding rural ecosystems through the advancing ecological footprint—a matter raising the question of property rights.

8.5 Question of Property Rights

The evolution of the spatial structure of Ruwa has been rooted in the fragmented nature of land tenure systems in pre-independent Zimbabwe when Ruwa was established as the Bromley-Ruwa Rural Council. The present town is a product of private investment initiative by TC Hardy Mashonaland Holdings—a corporate company which owns all the private land in Ruwa. More specifically, Mashonaland Holdings owns 99 % of the total land and built-up area of Ruwa town (RLB 2007). Thus, infrastructure provision in the town is private-sector-driven. By extension, individual private landowners had to seek company approval before subdividing their properties. Before that approval, the town was constrained in terms of adequate infrastructure provision. The principal constraints included the shortage of plant and equipment, financial resources and skilled labour. Negotiations between private companies in northern Ruwa and the town council (former local board) have bolstered the provision and management of off-site infrastructure in Ruwa. For ZIMRE Park, the Board engaged National Real Estate in the development of 2,500 medium density residential stands. The developer was also required to provide water and to upgrade the pump station (Odero 2003). The town planner noted that:

> All the land around here was originally privately owned commercial farms. Ruwa town is a result of stands that were created from privately owned land. Since there is growing shortage of land for housing and industrial development in Harare, Ruwa filled this gap by supplying land for industrialists to house their workers. Council is working with private land developers to provide housing. We determine the land use zones. Whoever the developer is if his or her farm is zoned high density it becomes so… Initially, there was nothing, but now there is something.
>
> Ruwa is a satellite town of Harare through providing land for the housing of people employed in Harare. Ruwa high density suburb is the only part of the settlement; the rest of the properties are high value properties. The challenge is that we have to bear the responsibility for water supply, sewer and refuse collection. As you know, Ruwa relies on Harare for its water supply but we have the intention to incorporate Sunway City into Ruwa in the foreseeable future. We are currently negotiating with the City of Harare to provide water for ZIMRE residential park".[2]

An examination of flexible accumulation of resources through place marketing and private-public partnerships serves to demonstrate how the political economy of

[2]Interview with Mr Chidhakwa Ruwa Local Board Town Planner 09 November, 2011.

neoliberal urban space production can help our understanding the exceptional growth of the small town of Ruwa as it shifted from managerialism to entrepreneurialism.

8.6 Politics and Governance

The most dominant factors that boosted the exceptional growth of Ruwa town included:

- the existence of a cohort of enterprising private investors,
- compliance with the EIA development conditions furnished by the Environmental Management Agency.
- administrative accommodation offered to development proposals through the Ministry of Local Government Urban and Rural Development
- direction and management of space by the Department of Physical Planning,
- proactive involvement of the Urban Development Corporation.
- a supportive community comprising residents, local entrepreneurs and informal settlers,
- and the civil society organisations.

The local residents mobilised themselves for housing delivery. Evidence shows that there are some cooperatives in residential areas, which have taken over from private developers after the latter failed to service the land. According to the town planner, places like Sebassa with 400 stands, Grenbrook with ±300, Tawana (±400) and Elizabeth (±400) stands have such cooperatives. In addition, the locals have not organised themselves in caring for the environment in and around the town. It is bodies such as the Natural Resources Task Force composed of the town council (former local board) police, the Zimbabwe Republic Police and the Environmental Management Agency that directly deal with the questions of sand poaching, deforestation and stream bank cultivation.

The city managers of Ruwa recognise that the sustainable way forward in keeping the town 'ticking' rests with the enforcement of legal instruments through environmental planning and the management of sand poaching, natural resources protection and finding lasting solutions to sewage treatment and water supply.[3] To that end, the town has used community visioning as an asset of shaping the town through strategic planning involving the local community.

The town has initiated a programme called 'Enhancing City Diplomacy' geared at engaging the community in managing the town through community participation in planning and management. In addition, Ruwa is practising participatory budgeting, after the Municipal Development Partnership for Eastern and Southern Africa (MDP-ESA) selected it for piloting the initiative in Zimbabwe

[3]Interview with Mr Chidhakwa Ruwa Local Board Town Planner 09 November, 2011.

(UNHSP/MDP-ESA 2008). The government involvement in Ruwa is of little significance, given that there is little state land in the town since most of the land is privately owned. However, government policy on private developers' operations cannot be ruled out completely.

Ruwa acts a model of a relatively better-planned area located in the peri-urban spaces of Zimbabwe. The presence of committed private sector agencies including the Zimbabwe Reinsurance (ZIMRE) holdings, Inter-market Bank, Damofalls to name these few. Furthermore, the significant presence of the middle class households suggests that the residents are keen to maintain the town as an aesthetically pleasing built-up environment. This is a narrative of the operational pathways of city-branding and private-public partnerships in promoting urban development in a stagnating space economy but the question we now turn to is: in what sense has the development of Ruwa been outstanding?

8.7 Is Ruwa Exceptional?

As pointed out earlier, Ruwa was established as a growth point in line with the Income Tax (Growth Point Area) (Ruwa) Notice (1986). From the outset, Ruwa was different from other growth points and satellite towns in terms of quality of the buildings, incorporation of the natural environment, pedestrian and vehicular circulation, arrangement of settlement blocks. The town was established to provide industrial land that Harare, at that particular time, no longer had the full capacity to provide. The other economically based growth points included Gokwe and Gutu-Mupandawana. Industrialists were generally not interested in going far afield into the countryside and beyond the sphere of influence of Greater Harare. In the context of the prevailing investment spatial boundaries, Ruwa was established to cater for a reserve industrial land market. This was very different from other growth points whose statuses were based more on the administrative role that they played than economic potential. In the strictest sense, Ruwa was set up for real economic growth. The major locational advantage of Ruwa rests with its close proximity to the capital city of Harare where it can sample the advantages of global interconnectedness.

Apart from its proximity to Harare, Ruwa benefitted from its new status as a growth point after Mashonaland Holdings and partners had lobbied government for the development of the area. The growth point status helped Ruwa to expand its revenue base through levying tax on private properties. Since then, Ruwa town has been developed on land owned by the private sector (companies, trustees and individuals). It used to be a small by-the-road-side shopping centre and a block of Bromley-Ruwa Rural Council offices surrounded by commercial farms. The farmers collaborated with land developers to subdivide the farms into urban land uses. At the time of the initial development of Ruwa town only 92 ha were state land courtesy of an endowment placement from Mashonaland Holdings. At the establishment and preliminary consolidation from 1996 to 1998 over 3000 ha were in private hands compared to 92 ha of state land. The momentous rise in the

hectarage of consolidated land for urban development was unusual in the severely constrained political economy of Zimbabwe. This observation takes us to our earlier argument on place marketing and exceptional development strategies.

In the case in point, it can be contended that committed private investment was decisive in propelling forward the rapid development of Ruwa town. The local community of Ruwa residents made significant inputs in speeding up the land use planning and transformation of the growing peri-urban centre. Equally, the private sector companies in Ruwa were interested in developing the town since they engaged planning consultants to work with the Department of Physical Planning on preparing the local development plan.

The transparency of the Ruwa Town Council in collecting and using revenue tax on residential, industrial and commercial properties is an increasing rarity in Zimbabwe—as the "systemic consumption of the surplus by the ruling and urban elites is the norm rather an exception" in the arena of most African governments (Arrighi 2002). Therefore, it is hardly surprising that Ruwa council's efficiency in revenue collection endeared it to the local community. However, this was short lived when the disturbances that came with the suspension of council officials following the transfer of water administration in 2004 to ZINWA eroded the bond of trust between the city managers and residents alike (Murinda 2011).

8.8 Conclusions

The chapter has demonstrated the exceptional growth of Ruwa as the town proactively mobilised capital and social capital resources in conjunction with private companies and local residents in negotiating its economic growth (Hall and Hubbard 1998; Harvey 1989b) albeit the severely depressed space economy of Zimbabwe. The small town has registered profound transformations since its inception as a Growth Point in 1986. The upsurge in the infrastructure and real estate development of Ruwa in sharp contrast to other satellite towns in Zimbabwe has mainly been attributed to the creativity of private-public partnerships in the entrepreneurial urban turn. Although the private sector has worked on its own, it sought positive collaboration with the proactive state planning agencies. These public agencies played an instrumental and enabling role in stimulating and shaping the development of the town. To date, the place and town has remained intact and free from dysfunctional urban developments that tend to hinder effective service delivery. In this particular respect, Ruwa presents an image of a middle class town in which development harmonises with the shared vision of its promoters and beneficiary community.

On the contrary, Harare's satellite towns of Chitungwiza, Norton and Epworth continue to grapple with the challenges of informality in planning and the use of land. This informality has provided territorial spaces of conflict and a diversity of populations who do not share common values of development. The chapter exposes how, despite the structural constraints and economic challenges, some collective

understandings have been fostered, over the years between the community and Ruwa Town Council. This is a testimony of how infrastructure development and planned land use have benefitted from a committed and enterprising community. Equally, the expansion of Ruwa has been attributed to its proximity to Harare. The synergies drawing on the commitment of its resident movements, place marketing and the multiplier effects of joint investment have been mainly responsible for the exceptional development of Ruwa. Benefitting from the shared vision of the community, corporate world and aggressive place marketing, Ruwa has positioned itself to become one of the most enterprising towns in Zimbabwe.

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Chapter 9
Establishment of New Satellite Towns in Zimbabwe: Old Wine in New Skins?

Innocent Chirisa, Elmond Bandauko and Archimedes Muzenda

9.1 Introduction

The widespread disenchantment (particularly acute in Africa) with the Western "development project" (McMichael 1996 in Arrighi 2002: 18) under the US hegemony, ushered in the new and growing economic dominance of China in East Asia and beyond. In response to a worsening indebtedness leading to Zimbabwe's economic plunge (Bond and Manyanya 2002) and stagnation (Arrighi 2002), the Mugabe-led government adopted a look east foreign policy stance in order to draw foreign investment from Eastern countries to replenish the gap left by the West. The policy also came as response to sustained political and economic fall-out between the Western governments and the government of Zimbabwe over the chaotic implementation of the fast track land resettlement programme (Moyo 2005). Ultimately, the government formulated a new economic blueprint code-named Zim-Asset (Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation) (Government of Zimbabwe 2013) intended to unlock potential inflows of investment into the country from China and South-East Asian countries.

Thus, in taping potential investment inflows from the Far East, the government of Zimbabwe unveiled its policy intervention towards promoting the development of new satellite towns and recreational centres (Box 8.1). More specifically, the policy strategy intended to alleviate the demand for housing by civil servants and retrenchees from the private sector pushed to join the swelling ranks of the struc-

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turally urban poor. The China Fund International Consortium (CFIC) was established to fund the ambitious house building project in the satellite towns led by Chitungwiza near Harare. The partnership between the government of Zimbabwe and the China Fund International Consortium (CFIC) was commissioned to oversee the implementation of the housing project. Even though the prerequisite inputs such as land and financial capital are in place, the question of planning sustainable development needs addressing.

Right from the outset, it can reasonably be acknowledged that the policy of developing satellite towns is not novel as it has been tried elsewhere and, in some cases, it did not see fruition. More than five decades ago in Britain, the 'New Towns' Programme was a huge success in that the resources and opportunities became available for the beneficiaries. In its policy drive of separate development, the Rhodesian settler government led by Ian smith initiated the development of 'growth points' in the impoverished rural areas to stem the exodus of African rural migrants into white urban centres.

In the mid-1960s, the Ian Smith regime (1965–1979) excised land for the development of townships in Seke Tribal Trust Land to accommodate the growing African population of refugees escaping the war ravaged Tribal Trust Lands (TTLs). These residential low-income townships merged to constitute today's satellite dormitory town of Chitungwiza, some 25 km south east of Harare. In South Africa, the new independent government under Nelson Mandela embarked on a massive campaign and programme for the development of satellite settlements to accommodate its urban homeless under the banner of Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) (Rust 2012). The products of the RDP were human settlements with no substantive economic bases, and typical of "perverse growth" (Arrighi 2002), the programme fostered the migration of people to bigger towns in search of better lives. The long commuting distances from place of residence to work were common cause of concern (Selod and Zenou 2000) especially with new urbanism concepts of smart growth and compact cities to prevent sprawl (Landman 2003; McCann and Ewing 2003).

Central to these narratives of urban sprawl, is the question of whether re-visiting the satellite town policy practised in South Africa will not amount to a replay of the ill-fated growth point policy in Zimbabwe. To answer this question, the chapter reviews recent scholarships on the institutional challenges of implementing programmes that can contain urban sprawl sustainably.

Box 8.1: A partnership to solve a housing problem

The Zimbabwe government and the China Fund International Consortium (CFIC) intend to develop residential properties in different parts of the country as part of comprehensive efforts to provide accommodation to low-income earners—including civil servants. The government of Zimbabwe is also considering building new satellite cities and recreational centres countrywide. In an interview last week, the Secretary for the Ministry of

Local Government, Rural and Urban Development, Mr Killian Mupingo, said housing schemes would be initiated in areas with tracts of idle land.

> We are working hand-in-hand with the CFIC in developing lands that are dormant. Our duty as a Ministry, according to what we agreed on with the company, is to identify the idle lands and those that need to be developed. We intend to use such lands for housing schemes that will cater for low-income earners, especially civil servants. It will, however, be open to everyone else. Most payment plans for the current housing schemes do not cater for civil servants' income.

Mr. Mupingo said other underutilised pieces of land would be used for recreational purposes. He said tourist prime resorts such as Victoria Falls were ideal candidates for such projects. Building satellite cities will also create employment, he added. There are over 1,000 ha of unused State land in Victoria Falls and the surrounding areas. Such lands need to be developed into recreational places for tourists.

Source: The Sunday Mail (25–31 August 2012).

9.2 Contextualising the National Urban Housing Policy Strategy

Zimbabwe's housing and demographic trends are worrisome in rekindling the problem of individual families and communities who have no access to affordable decent housing. The official national estimates put the housing backlog at 1.25 million units (GoZ 2009). With an average family of four, the national backlog translates to 5 million citizens at 41.7 % of the 12 million populations not adequately housed hence lacking decent residential accommodation. Such is a mammoth task facing the Ministry of National Housing and Social Amenities (MNHSA) and its allied sectors. The uncontrolled rural-to-urban migration coupled with natural increase and household (de)formation in the country exacerbated the situation.

In its slum upgrading programme so far, the MNHSA has targeted the upgrading of housing units in Mbare in Harare, Iminyela and Mabuthweni in Bulawayo, Sakubva in Mutare, Mutapa in Gweru, Makusha in Shurugwi, Rimuka in Kadoma, Baghdad in Victoria Falls and Mahombekombe in Kariba. According to Government of Zimbabwe (2009) the idea was to turn dilapidated housing facilities to decent housing units. Besides, the National Housing Delivery Programme of 2004–2008 is said to have availed to citizens in various parts of the country, 320,000 residential units, 92,000 having been divided and allocated on an aided self-help basis.

The heavily politicized Operation *Garikayi/Hlalani Kuhle* (Operation "Live Well") delivered 4,205 complete core housing units and 3,000 housing units at various stages of works-in-progress. The government of Zimbabwe allocated 30 % of the acquired housing land to community based organisations and private low-income housing developers. However, the hostile macroeconomic conditions

—during the country's lost decade (1997–2008)—stifled formal housing funding as both local and international finance bodies grappled with the credit crunch. In all this, the poor who continue to be the hardest hit—were excluded from money lending facilities. Existing community based organisations have called for subsidies on building materials as well as loans for incremental housing development.

There has been a call for developing microfinance institutions to facilitate secondary mortgage markets for long-term housing investment (GoZ 2009). The major housing finance institutions in the country that lost their capital due to the hyperinflationary conditions require recapitalisation as solution towards housing finance challenge. Examples of such institutions include the National Housing Fund (NHF), Housing and Guarantee Fund (HGF) and the Infrastructure Development Bank of Zimbabwe (IDBZ). The absence of offsite infrastructure has been a major hindrance to housing development striking the extent of local authorities failing to establish new settlements. Most local authorities have a sufficient amount of developable land but no site services such as water and sanitation, access roads and electricity. In light of mounting housing backlogs, what alternative policy resources could assist local governments bridge the widening gap between growing demand and receding levels in supply. To narrow this gap, the relatively new Mugabe-led government of Zimbabwe engaged a growth point policy—discussed in the next section.

9.3 Growth Points Policy in Zimbabwe

In the early 1980s, Zimbabwe adopted the growth point planning and public sector investment strategy to reduce the profound rural-urban disparities in the country's space economy inherited at independence. There had always been interdependence between rural and urban development zones (Manyanhaire et al. 2011). However, the concept of growth points emerged well before independence. The Integrated Plan for Rural Development of 1978 designated ten growth centres in the former Tribal Trust Lands (TTLs). The 1981 Growth-with-Equity policy posited that in order for general economic development to succeed at a national scale, the existing regional inequalities in the space economy had to be drastically reduced (Manyanhaire et al. 2009). Urban planning is primarily a post-Second World War practice which several developing countries have only recently adopted in their development policies. By the 1980s, most of the developing space economies were still at experimental stage (Heath and Roberts 1990) hence the adoption of the growth point policy by Zimbabwe was a similar attempt.

Heath and Roberts (1990) laments the disruption of pre-colonial spatial policies with the advent of colonialism. Instead of improving the spatial connectedness of settlements, colonialism worsened the regional disparities in the country (Heath and Roberts 1990). Growth points were central places at the bottom-end of the central place hierarchy that contributed directly to the basic economic and social needs of agricultural producers (Manyanhaire et al. 2011). As a result, the focus was mainly

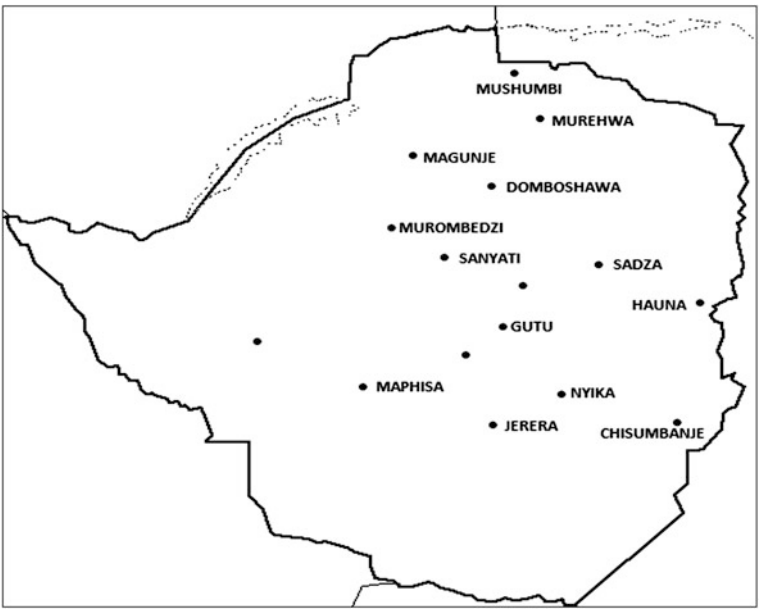

Fig. 9.1 Location of some of the growth points in Zimbabwe (*Source* Authors 2012)

on the provision of infrastructure, the collection and marketing of agricultural inputs, basic agro-processing facilities, social services and low order consumer goods. The major Growth Points (GPs) established in Zimbabwe in the 1980s included Magunje, Murambinda, Murombedzi, Sadza, Chisumbanje, Gutu, Jerera, Maphisa, Sanyati, Mataga, Murehwa, Mushumbi, Mukayi, Hauna, Nyika, Hwedza, Checheche and Domboshawa (see Fig. 9.1).

Additional centres were created in all districts as GPs or District Service Centres (DSC). This implied the spread of economic justice to marginalized areas through pursuing a policy of 'growth with equity' whereas with high population concentration and potential for accelerated economic development. GPs were developed to be self-sustaining, be consumer convenience centres for purchasing commodities, being linkages to national markets, production supply and support centres, agro-and resource processing centres, non-agricultural employment for rural labour and centres of information and knowledge hence offering diversity in economic development. Manyanhaire et al. have observed that:

> Although the lack of an economic base has been cited as the main reason for low investment levels at most growth points, other factors have also been involved. These include lack of title deeds and financial incentives for instance, tax concessions (Manyanhaire et al. 2011: 112).

The general failure of the country's growth point policy has been attributed to a combination of factors which reinforce local, national and international power dynamics and relationships through the inherited inequalities consistent with the

colonial pathways of government in most countries of sub-Saharan Africa. The Growth Point Policy lacked robust monitoring and evaluating agency to oversee its implementation. Conyers (2001) elaborates that Growth Points had been charged with stimulating cumulative growth processes leading to the general economic growth and development of their catchment areas. However, the policy project failed owing to a number of systemic fault lines. One of the fault lines exhibited a decline in economic productivity of the rural space economies as a result of policy distortions in the agricultural sector—the mainstay of Zimbabwe's economy. The monopoly and overbearing influence of local political elites in the actual planning and implementation of plans stalled progress with the growth centre policy project (Manyanhaire et al. 2011).

Thus, the growth point policy raised questions about the overriding importance of purely political criteria in the identification of growth centres rather a critical engagement with the economic potential of the proposed localities. Put differently, the identification of post-colonial growth points in Zimbabwe was skewed in favour of political rather than economic considerations. Moreover, a major criticism suggested by Manyanhaire et al. (2011) was that the government of Zimbabwe was over ambitious in designating more that 50 centres as GPs and promoting their development through inexperienced institutions using rigid master plans framed on Northern modernist concepts of little relevance to changed indigenous contexts. Wekwete (1997) located the main reason for the failure of the Growth Point Policy in the trenchant socio-spatial inequalities generated by the dualistic and segregationist policy practices of the country's colonial and racist past. These socio-spatial inequalities remain deeply entrenched and continue to be reinforced by alliances in the local, national, and international power structures and relationships.

The failure of the growth point policy in Zimbabwe seems to call for extensive research on the role of the state in regional development as well as the coherence of national policies towards achieving equity in regional development. A look at the role of a racist policy structures in the evolution of the satellite town of Chitungwiza may serve to illustrate the distinct historical geography of peri-urbanisation in the reproduction of urban space in a separatist colonial setting.

9.4 The Evolution of Chitungwiza

In implementing its separatist spatial development policy project, the white racist government led by Ian Smith established the largest satellite town of Chitungwiza near Harare mainly to house an imploding urban population of refugees escaping the rural areas that had been ravaged by the war of independence from Britain which stretched from 1968 to 1980.

The satellite peri-urban slum town of Chitungwiza also served to decongest the overcrowding primate and capital city of Harare since all urban centres were designated exclusively for Europeans only (Wekwete and Rambanapasi 1994). After

Zimbabwe's independence in 1980, Chitungwiza incorporated a small industrial hub—which has contracted since its conception. The establishment of manufacturing and service industries in Chitungwiza attracted increased number of migrants but without corresponding development of water sources and treatment plants to sustain the rapidly expanding satellite town. It is hardly surprising that the town has now attained the status of prolonged water shortages, severely damaged access roads and chronic sewer blockages spewing out human waste with little abatement. The subsequent expansion of nearby Norton and Ruwa growth points increased the pressure on Harare's water sources and treatment plants after 1980 (Hove and Tirimboi 2011: 63).

On the whole, Chitungwiza lacks a viable or self-standing economic base to support its longterm sustainable growth. To be blunt, Wekwete and Rambanapasi (1994) argue that Chitungwiza is a dormitory town where most people employed in the city of Harare live. Chitungwiza is also characterised by high rate of unemployment due to the economic collapse that continues to grip the country, an expanding informal sector, high commuting costs to Harare and overcrowding. Demographically, the male population dominates the town with also a bulging youthful and unemployed female population. Chitungwiza's dependency on Harare leads to massive daily migration to and from Harare. However emerging from the dormitory status, the town now ranks third. This is in terms of population after Harare and Bulawayo. The economic dystopia confronting the country does not augur well for the future of the congested satellite peri-urban conurbation increasingly deteriorating into a rapidly sprawling slum.

9.5 Policy, Politics and Housing in Zimbabwe

Poor management of offsite infrastructure due to technological, human, and local authorities' incapacities are the major challenges facing the establishment and maintenance of sustainable human settlements in Zimbabwe and many countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. In a number of cases, infill-development schemes have taken shape resulting in unsustainable change of land uses. There has been also gap of land allocation where land is a finite resource. The incorporation of rural land for urban development is often cumbersome thus compromising housing delivery. The overlapping land management responsibility among sectors is one of the bottlenecks crippling housing delivery in the country's major urban centres. Clearly there is need to review statutes on land acquisition whilst creating a one-stop shop for land preparation and plans approval activities so as to avoid bureaucratic red tape in housing delivery and densification practices to reduce urban sprawl may lead to sustainable land utilisation and effective housing delivery.

Land audits have also been suggested with the view to assist in providing updated information on land for housing development (GoZ 2009). The lack of

cohesiveness between legislative instruments and housing policies has been identified as the culprit in delaying progress in house building projects. This can be evidenced by the implementation of housing programmes like the National Housing Delivery Programme lacking in clear supportive frameworks. Such failure to marry policy with practice has been delaying progress (GoZ 2009; Chaeruka and Killian 2009). The current legislative gaps call for revision of legislative instruments, Regional Town and Country Planning Act, Model Building By-Laws, Rent and Regulations and the Land Acquisition Act to suit the current housing delivery system. Crucial among most is the revitalization of growth point development strategy to reduce rural-urban migration, which is increasing housing demand and pressure on services in urban centres.

9.6 Conclusion and Recommendations

The chapter observes that despite the availability of ample land and capital resources, ignoring the underlying planning challenges can prove costly. The chapter identifies the enduring gap between policy conceptualisation and implementation in addressing sprawl prior to and after independence in Zimbabwe. This discussion draws on the variants of the new satellite town policy practices in the United Kingdom, South Africa and Zimbabwe. From this, planning strategies in settlements' establishment are drawn towards finding sustainable solutions to the challenges of addressing housing shortages in Zimbabwe. The case for Chitungwiza demonstrates the need for robust local institutions with a take on innovation. On attaining its current status of municipality, Chitungwiza now owns what were formerly state lands on which it was initially developed. As the third most populous town of Zimbabwe, Chitungwiza can be more proactive by undertaking appropriate land use planning measures to address sprawl and branding its image for sustainable investments in the moribund local industry.

There does appear the need for nuanced studies on low-cost housing development strategies in terms of building materials, funding sources and public-private partnerships in the development of affordable housing for the marginalised citizens. These initiatives should prioritise planning and the appraisal of programmes as a prerequisite for implementation. While the Ministry of Local Government, Rural and Urban Development is justified in its efforts to address the intractable challenges of housing backlogs and homelessness, the trajectory must fall on the structural forces threatening the sustainability of the satellite town policy paradigm. The creation of human settlements without a corresponding economic base has already proved costly as migrants from stagnating satellite towns continue to flood the large cities.

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Part VI
Land Use Policies, Management and Practices in Peri-Urban Areas

The rapid transformations in the peri-urban spaces of Third-World countries since economic restructuring in the mid-1980s have generated calls for alternative policy responses that can articulate the diversity of urban life experiences in these cities against a failure of modernist planning approaches to address the contestations shaping the landscape of these marginal areas. The central theme of this part of the book is to critically assess the relevance of conventional land use policies and management strategies in the peri-urban areas. The discussions shed light on how the multiple and sometimes conflicting land tenure systems of most African countries continue to create land use conflicts thereby distorting the peri-urban land markets. In Chap. 10 Magwaro and Madiro expose the land tenure security problems experienced by peri-urban communities in Bulawayo. In Chap. 11 Chatiza examines the dilemma of structuralist policy initiatives in managing fragmented spaces in the peri-urban residential enclaves of Greater Harare since the land invasions of May 2000.

Chapter 10
The Plight of Peri-urban Communities—A Case Study of Bulawayo, Zimbabwe

Linda Magwaro-Ndiweni and Virginia Madiro

10.1 Introduction

After the independence of Zimbabwe from Britain in 1980, the mounting grievances over failures of the market-based land reforms together with the social crises generated by structural adjustment policies by the mid-1990s (Moyo 2000) ruptured into the Fast Track Land Resettlement Programme (FTLRP) in May 2000. The radical land reform programme sought to reverse the racially-skewed historical processes of accumulation by the dispossession of land and labour power in Zimbabwe which eschewed accumulation by the indigenous black majority citizens undermining their social reproduction (Arrighi et al. 2010). Moreover, the post-independence neoliberal policies failed to resolve the national questions of broad-based development, social inclusion and national integration, including substantive democratisation (Moyo and Yeros 2009) of nation building processes.

Thus Zimbabwe's agrarian question demanded the transformation of the dominant settler-colonial agrarian relations towards a racially and socially equitable structure of access to economic and natural resources by the majority of the peoples enabling them to construct a diversified economy (Moyo and Chambati 2013: 7). Land reform implies restructuring the distribution of land ownership towards a more democratic agrarian structure in order to promote social, economic and political transformation which creates security of land tenure for all (ANC Conference 2007).

In the contested terrain of Zimbabwe's radical land reform, how then is the fragmenting city boundary of Bulawayo shaping the approaches to multiple land tenure systems prevailing in the peri-urban environs of the city? Addressing this

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question, the chapter highlights recent case study findings on the local responses to land related conflicts generated by the diffuse and multiple land tenure systems in Bulawayo peri-urban. The study observed the variegated nature of land use in Bulawayo's peri-urban encompassing mixed farming, residential and commercial tenure systems. The findings noted that each of the land use type has its specific influence on the security of tenure on housing property estates.

In the next section, the discussion portrays the leading social and economic challenges of managing an increasing pressure on essential urban services stemming from the emergence of new communities and needs in peri-urban areas under conflicting allegiances. Equally challenging is the enduring multiplicity of (sometimes conflicting) land tenure systems that seem to exacerbate rather than reconcile the related land resource conflicts.

10.2 The Social and Economic Challenges of Bulawayo Peri-urban

10.2.1 The Provision of Water

Bulawayo is located in a dry climate region unreliable in terms of both surface and underground water bodies. The aridity has affected progress of house building works in Reigate. Due to fragmented administrative boundaries, the reticulation of water and sewer mains to the Bulawayo trunk network has not been possible. The Reigate residential estate falls under Umguza District Council. The legal and political wrangles between the larger city council of Bulawayo and the smaller rural district council of Umguza, which shares boundaries with the city, persist in stalling the development of Reigate. The two local authorities cannot agree upon how the new settlement of Reigate can be managed to benefit the upmarket housing estate. The required sewer and water lines have not yet been connected to the main line serving Bulawayo municipality. The study revealed that the prospective residents of the Reigate housing estate plan to sink private boreholes in order to access water although the costs are inhibiting. However unless Umguza Rural District Council agrees to relinquish its administrative oversight over Reigate to Bulawayo municipality the current house building projects will be handicapped by a lack of water.

10.2.2 Land Administrative Constraints

The Bulawayo master plan, amended in 2002, still exhibits vacant spaces of land within the city built environment—signifying an unwarranted need for the city to encroach on peri-urban areas. According to the plan, most of the undeveloped land

Table 10.1 Land availability within Bulawayo municipal boundary

Land category	Hectares
Land developed	30,800
Land unsuitable for development	3,200
Land available for development	11,800
Land planned for future development	7,300
Land available for future development	4,500
Total land area in the Municipality	45,800

Source Bulawayo Master Plan 2000–2015

parcels are earmarked for housing, commercial and industrial development. The lack of financial investment to implement the master plan has been held responsible for utilised land. However, local urban elites who purchased land in the peri-urban areas of Bulawayo continue to exert pressure on the city council to take responsibility over the affected areas.

The problem of developing vacant pieces of land within the Bulawayo master plan ascribes to private ownership of the same pieces of land earmarked for development. The question of unresolved private land ownership of the land has courted haphazard developments considered incompatible with the planned land use zones. The central government and the city council own areas within the city comprising of smallholdings that are not used productively and could provide valuable land for housing development. However, the current housing policy requires careful planning to allow for new roads and various new facilities, such as schools—which the city authority cannot afford (Table 10.1).

Traditionally, central government and private financial institutions assist local authorities with financial resources development projects in Zimbabwe. This is done through budgetary allocations for Public Sector Investment Programmes from the Ministry of Finance while the Ministry of Local Government and Urban Development disburses the funds to local authorities. Zimbabwe has 28 urban councils and 58 rural councils (Ministry of LG, PWD & UD 2008). One of the sources of finance for urban councils are levies on property, and for rural councils is imposing land development levy on land owners, licensed dealers and permit holders in communal land and mining location.

The city government of Bulawayo faces cash flow problems partly due to its inefficient billing system. There is high recurrent expenditure as a result of a high salary bill which currently stands at 61 % of expenditure (Master Plan 2000). The Rates and General Services, Health, Housing and Community Services accounts have constantly recorded deficits (Master Plan 2000). This scenario reflects the situation that has limited rural, and peri-urban upgrading programmes in Zimbabwe (Chirisa 2010). Urban development projects in the form of land and water provision in peri-urban areas have been facilitated by the Bulawayo City Council using donated funds.

There is no stand-alone legislation for peri-urban development in Zimbabwe. Several legal instruments, contained in the country's Regional Town and Country Planning Act address peri-urban development and management in one way or

another. These legal provisions mainly address development control concerns in both urban and rural areas. A number of city plans refer to peri-urban areas in terms of land use zoning and the control of development.

10.3 The Plight of Bulawayo Peri-urban Residents

The country's land redistribution programme of 2005–2007 influenced by the urban revitalisation drive through Operation *Garikai/Hlalani Kuhle* (Operation "Live Well") played a decisive role towards the rapid sprawling of Bulawayo. Some of the land that was incorporated in the city planning boundary during the land redistribution programme had unclear legal status in terms of security of tenure. This has led to haphazard settlement development in the areas of Rangemore, Manningdale, Reigate, Douglasdale, Montgomery, and Norwood, which form part of Bulwayo's fragmenting and unevenly developed peri-urban fringe. The lack of land designation processes by Umguza rural district council, which has lost its land and people, is one of the reasons why Bulawayo peri-urban interface lags in infrastructure development.

The effects of the haphazard development have revealed the lack of employment and income-generating activities, the limited access to essential services and inadequate housing facilities in Bulawayo's peri urban areas. According to the country's Urban Councils Act, Chapter 29: 15 services should be made available to all residents in an urban setting. Bulawayo city council is financially and resource constrained that it fails cannot efficiently monitor the development of Zimbabwe's second primate urban space on a sustaibale basis. This has led some of the peri-urbanites, particularly informal settlers, taking advantage of such institutional weaknesses and build sub-standard houses thereby reducing quality of living conditions (Chirisa 2010).

10.4 Women and Housing

An understanding of the legislation on town planning and development in Zimbabwe is essential for discerning the complexity of women's housing conditions in urban areas. The poor and inadequate housing facilities only worsen women's vulnerability to violence (UN Habitat 2009).

Women in Umguza find themselves living in intolerable conditions, mainly caused by the fact that they cannot afford to build decent houses. Our study established that 65 % of women in the study area had one or all of their children taken from their care because of their living conditions. According to the study women are often unable to acquire formal housing independently because of their dependency syndrome, 25 % of the widowed and divorced women live with relatives as they made efforts of having a new start to life. In some circumstances,

respondents' said the communities ostracized women who lived on their own, be they divorcees, widows, single women, or married women who are separated from their husbands. Thus by living with relatives they could cope with the situations well. Testimonies from focus group discussions indicated that women often were forced to remain in abusive relationships or face forced separation from their children or homelessness and financial insecurity.

10.5 Insecurity of Tenure

The residents of Bulawayo peri-urban areas own land in various forms of tenure including freehold title, leasehold, resettlement permit, and leases on state land (Table 10.2).

The peri-urban communities surrounding Bulawayo are exposed to the various forms of land administration, which include:

- Land expropriation by the government for exploitation of resources such as minerals i.e. Marange diamond mining.
- Forcible displacement by the government to make way for large infrastructure projects such as dam construction.
- Implementation by private individuals of customs and traditions, which dispossess widowed or divorced women of their homes and lands.

These sometimes unpredictable interventions by the state only serve to drive the constant fear of forced displacement in the midst of uncertainties of insecurity of tenure of the Bulawayo peri-urban communities. The forms of tenure held—whether be it freehold, leasehold, commonhold, resettlement permit, state land or unalienated tenure has limits. They are limited based on their use rights, transfer rights, exclusion and inclusion rights and enforcement rights. These limits hinder attempts towards improving housing conditions in the peri urban areas of Bulawayo. These constraints have tended to stultify long-term planning for the households by distorting prices for land and services in these peri urban areas. To a lesser extent, the forms of tenure have had a direct impact on infrastructure development in peri urban areas. From an economic view point, insecure tenure has negatively impacted on the rate of tax recovery through local taxation on property adversely affecting the development of Bulawayo.

Table 10.2 Land tenure types in peri-urban areas of Bulawayo

Area	Type	Form of tenure
Douglasdale	Plots	Freehold, leasehold, stateland
Montgomery	Plots	Freehold, leasehold, stateland
Umguza (Manningdale, Reigate and Rangemore)	Farming area	freehold, leasehold, commonhold, resettlement permit, stateland and unalienated tenure
Norwood	Plots	Freehold, stateland

The security of tenure on land also affects factors of affordability, accessibility, habitability, availability of services such as schools, hospitals, electricity and water. Security of tenure has impact on value of housing structures. These factors impact on the household's confidence and ability to improve its livelihood. At neighbourhood level security of tenure affects the development of safe and pleasant living environments. These factors are usually silent in the debates around security of tenure. The households in these peri-urban areas experience a highly disproportionate degree of tenure insecurity in sharp contrast with their counterparts in Bulawayo.

10.6 Security of Tenure

One of the most important housing problems associated with urban development is the insecurity of tenure on both land and dwellings on the land. The country's tenure system embodies

> … those legal and contractual or customary arrangements whereby people gain access to productive opportunities on the land. It constitutes the rules and procedures governing the rights, duties, liberties and exposures of individuals and groups in the use and control over the basic resources of land (Thomas 1974: 7).

The security of tenure includes public and private rights as well as both written and unwritten sets of laws. In the broad sense, tenure is also seen as the equivalent to land tenure systems; this way of viewing land tenure concentrates on the relationships between people and land. Land tenure systems include the entire scope of land tenure relationships and are part of the more comprehensive property rights system (Roth and Haase 1998). Thus, land tenure comprises the habitual or legal rights that individuals or groups have to land, and the resulting social relationships between the members of the society (Roth and Haase 1998).

According to the Ministry of Lands, Land Reform and Resettlement (2006) the 99-year leasehold in Zimbabwe provides secure land tenure as long as the lessee continues to meet the terms and conditions of the lease agreement. The lease can be registered as a notarial deed at the Deeds Registry. The lease agreement can be used as collateral for borrowing from agro-financial institutions, so that farmers can invest in infrastructural development on their units. The agreement is subject to the laws of inheritance of the country such that no families can be left destitute at the death of the leaseholder. The heirs should uphold the terms and conditions of the original agreement as well. The agreement also takes cognizance of spouses and women in their own right as it includes them in the lease agreement. The lease agreement is only issued after proper cadastral surveying of the boundaries of the land under leasehold. The land will always remain state property and cannot be disposed of or held for speculative purposes by the (MLLRR 2006).

However with such assurance printed in the laws governing property ownership in Zimbabwe 34 % of the interviewees in the study area who hold such leases, and

40 % who are in the process of acquiring the 99 year lease question the effectiveness of the above mentioned tenure assurances. This uncertainty obtains from the fact that Rangemore, Manningdale, Reigate, Douglasdale, Montgomery, and Norwood are in close proximity with Bulawayo city boundary and the surrounding farming areas. With current boundary shifts of Bulawayo city, the land the households in the peri urban areas of Bulawayo own will be expropriated with compensation on developments. In such a scenario, the respondents considered it best not to invest much on their housing conditions as they saw themselves being displaced any time soon to create way for suburbia developments. For communities in peri urban farming communities in Bulawayo, their current security of tenure rights are limited to the following:

i. User rights: rights to grow crops, trees, make permanent improvement, harvest trees and fruits, and so on;
ii. Transfer rights: upon death of leaseholder to a family member
iii. Lack of clarity on the rights to sell, give, mortgage, lease, rent or bequeath land.

Tenure systems have two important dimensions: property rights definition (security of land rights associated with tenure of ownership) and property rights distribution (to whom these land rights are distributed) (Roth and Haase 1998). Land tenure security is thus the individual's perception of his/her rights to a piece of land on a continual basis, free from imposition or interference from outside sources, as well as the ability to reap the benefits of labour or capital invested in land, either in use or upon alienation.

10.7 Zimbabwe's Land Tenure Systems

The Zimbabwean land tenure system dates back to the colonial era with the arrival of the colonial settlers in the late 1890s. The British settlers established a system that resulted in all land belonging to the British monarch and stripped the indigenous people of their right on land. The successive colonial regimes divided the country into freehold land, state land, and tribal trust lands. At independence in 1980, Zimbabwe adopted a land tenure system, which recognised both public and private ownership of land. To enjoy ownership of property in the case of Zimbabwe the land question always comes up. It is possible to own a dwelling and enjoy the rights of use to that dwelling, however full ownership of the dwelling and land will still need to be achieved for a family to protect itself.

The various types of tenure, including the registered title, can be secure or insecure depending on social, legal and administrative institutions in a given society. This section discusses land tenure forms in Zimbabwe. These land tenure forms have direct impact on the security of tenure of one's dwelling and social progression of societies. Without tenure of land in the form of title deeds, one cannot secure title deeds for the dwelling. This leads to an assumption that 89 % of

peri urban households are tenants. This is explained fully in the proceeding discussion describing the forms of tenure systems currently operational in Zimbabwe.

10.7.1 Freehold Tenure

When an individual has a freehold title on land, the individual owns the property (land and house), has all the responsibilities, rights and privileges that are bound with the property. This form of tenure ensures that ownership of land can be passed from one person to the other through the transfer of title deeds. The owner of freehold title has full security over his property and has the right to sell the property. However, the freehold owner is obliged to seek approval from the responsible authority in terms of subdivision and consolidations according to Sect. 22 of the Regional Town and Country Planning Act (Chapter 29: 12). Freehold tenure ensures that the owner may invest wholly in his/her land, develop it to its maximum use and also apply for loans, mortgage the property and use the property as collateral security, for investment purposes.

10.7.2 Leasehold Tenure (Resettlement)

The leaseholder pays a sum of money to the landlord in return for the right to occupy the property in the form of a house or land. There are various forms of leases given to lessees in Zimbabwe. These leases differ in terms of the conditions and the owner of the land for example local authorities offer a lease period of up to 99 years, the Ministry of Local Government Rural and Urban Development offers leases of up to 25 years, and the President who has the jurisdiction over all state land 99 year leases. Short term leases give a false sense of security. The lease does not have title deeds such that application for loans is difficult. After expiry of the lease, the land reverts back to the owner be it the President or Ministry, sometimes the lessee may be allowed to renew the lease.

10.7.3 Commonhold Tenure

Communal tenure is the form of ownership or use of land (communal) in areas once referred to as Tribal Trust Land and became communal land after 1 February 1983 according to the communal lands act Chapter 20: 4. Usually local leaders, chiefs and village heads who have been mandated to manage all communal lands by the president, grant this form of ownership. This form of tenure allows the inhabitants

to use the land (plough, till, build their homes), but when the government is in need of the land to develop projects like dams, mining and expansion of cities, the inhabitants will be relocated and only paid for the developments and not the value of the land or ancestral ties.

10.7.4 Easement

An easement is a right to use the real property of another without possessing it. In Zimbabwe, the permitted kinds of uses are limited to rights of way, and rights concerning light, air and water. If the land owner wishes to close the pathway or road, the leasee has to get consent from the local authority or from whomever the easement is vested in. In Zimbabwe, individuals have the rights to pass through private properties, drive without enjoying any benefits from the piece of land they are passing through, like eating fruits.

10.7.5 Resettlement Permit

The tenure of resettlement permit is a form of tenure where resettled people have the right to develop and use the land for a certain period of time defined in the permit. The resettled people may use the resettlement permit as collateral for accessing loans from banks, and funds and inputs from the government. A resettlement permit is also regarded as an offer letter, which is issued by the Ministry of Lands. Resettlement hold tenure expires at the end of the permit period which is usually 99 years.

10.7.6 State Land

State land is a form tenure system concerning public land. All state lands are administered by the urban state lands office in the Office of the President. The urban state lands office mandates the Department of Physical Planning to oversee all applications made on state land in terms of subdivision and lease. The Department of Physical Planning is mandated to approve or disapprove all applications for subdivision, site planning of uses including schools, clinics and hospitals thus promoting harmonious land use and as well as ensuring accessibility of social uses to everyone in the community.

10.7.7 Inalienable Land

This refers to land that cannot be sold, exchanged or donated. Such land usually belongs to the state and is set aside for game reserves, tourist attraction centres, and heritage sites. These lands cannot be privatised although individuals and the state through enacted statutes can manage them.

10.8 Conclusion

The administrative contradictions and antagonisms playing out Bulawayo's tenuous peri-urban landscapes typify the plight of peri urban communities in Zimbabwe in their quest for improved life chances since the early 1990s. The revelations of recent exploratory studies point out that if a household does not hold tenure rights on the land occupied that also affects the ownership of properties thereon. The insecurity of tenure negatively impacts the provision of urban services, and consequently the life chances of the peri-urban households. Thus the lack of political commitment of local leaders to promote inclusive development serves to complicate the situation of the excluded living in the marginalised spaces of the city.

Specific actions to address these obstacles should be taken at all levels of the Bulawayo city government to ensure that peri urban communities can exercise and enjoy the right to adequate housing, and affordable living conditions through support of participatory self-reliance projects. This resonates with the goals and principles of providing adequate shelter and sustainable urban development as set out in the UN-Habitat Agenda (UN General Assembly 2001). Bulawayo city government authorities need to support alternative housing delivery and management arrangements, such as housing cooperatives managed by the peri urban beneficiaries themselves. The city authorities

There is need to undertake measures such as the provision of adequate social or public housing particularly for peri-urban households who cannot afford houses on the open market. Such housing initiatives can be complemented by the provision of incentives to private sector developers to build and provide affordable and aesthetically appealing housing units for the marginalised who reside in the peripheral areas. If peri-urban communities are to have access to adequate housing, basic services must be made available. Such services should consider sustainable access to potable water and sanitation facilities, primary and secondary schools, healthcare facilities and sufficient electricity for household use. Of critical importance in the area of housing is the promotion of the right to self-governance. This includes recognition of the cultural customs, traditions and land tenure systems governing the existing peri-urban communities. The Bulawayo city government must also ensure that the poor peri-urban households are actively involved in the city making processes in promoting resilient development strategies.

In the last chapter, Kudzai Chatiza recaptures the policy responses to the dilemmas of peri-urban transformations and land use demands playing out in Greater Harare.

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Chapter 11
Analysing Policy Responses to the Dilemmas of Peri-urbanity and Land Management in Zimbabwe: A Case Study of Harare

Kudzai Chatiza

11.1 Introduction

The problematic of conceptualising the "peri-urban" since the 1950s has spawned a range of sometimes conflicting policy practices in different parts of the world (UN-Habitat 2008). Yet, the dominant Western urban policy trajectories have enduringly underplayed cities in the Third World countries (Myers 2011; Robinson 2002, 2006; Pieterse 2010) where the majority of people live and the most profound transformations are taking place (Hall and Pfeiffer 2000; Roy 2009: 820). Against a background of an overreliance on Northern planning approaches in managing cities of the global South, the chapter critically examines some of the policy dilemmas of these strategies in peri-urban land management practice in Zimbabwe—using evidence from recent case studies on Harare and Epworth.

11.2 Situating Peri-urban Harare

Harare, the capital city of Zimbabwe, is the epicentre of a rapidly expanding metropolitan region called Greater Harare. As highlighted in earlier chapters of this volume, the administrative boundary of Harare metropolitan province incorporates its satellite settlements which include Epworth, Chitungwiza and Ruwa to the east, Norton and Darwendale to the west, and Christonbank to the north.

Since the early 1990s, when the Zimbabwean government accepted its own package of the International Monetary Fund-prescribed structural adjustment reforms, Greater Harare has grappled with intensifying claims to land related entitlements in the peri-urban areas. These claims have resulted in sometimes

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violent disputes between state apparatus and local residents in the contestation for space. The structured planning policy interventions to stem these contestations have been implicated in propelling an increasing fragmentation of institutions and land uses within the city and outlying settlements.

The chronic conflicts prevailing in the outskirts of Harare continue to fuel tensions over unclear land ownership mainly prejudicing the poor households who have no voice. These tensions have widened to encompass difficulties in accessing urban basic services such as housing, potable water supply and sanitation facilities. Moreover, the enduring claims of citizens over rights to the city, implicit in their shifting political allegiances, seem to be adding to the challenges of regulating the new forms of informality across all sectors of the urban economy. Thus the chapter intends to trace out the difficulties of managing conflicts involving access to and utilisation of resources in peri-urban Harare.

The major difficulties characterising the contestations in the peri-urban settlements of Harare pertain to the inability of municipality to levy beneficiaries for service delivery, increases in informal developments and the mistrust between local politicians and peri-urban households. Equally, the expanding city Harare, registering an estimated population of 3 million, faces the ambitious task of addressing the growing population demands on the increasingly limited provisions in basic infrastructure including potable water and electricity. As long as these bottlenecks persist, so Mpofu (2012) and Chirisa (2011) suggest, Harare city will continue to experience administrative challenges constraining its economic growth.

11.3 The Evolution of Epworth and Incidence of Insurgent Planning

Epworth's history dates back to the late 19th century when the British South Africa Company granted some 1102 ha of land to the Methodist Wesleyan Mission in 1892. In 1904, the Mission acquired Glenwood farm measuring 1010 ha in size. In 1908, the church purchased Adelaide farm 1610 ha using financial contributions from the prospective resident population. This resulted in some 500 families legally residing at Epworth Mission as each household was allocated about 4000 m^2 for both residential and agricultural uses. By 1929, a settlement whose development was based on an incremental, informal and non-commercial development model (Chatiza and Mlalazi 2009) had emerged. The liberation war between 1966 and 1979 further stimulated further population influxes into the urban centres in search of refuge. These influxes generally created a market for 'urban land' in Epworth and other peri-urban areas of Harare.

In 1986, the Epworth Local Board was established through a government instrument to regularise the existing settlement and to manage the planned development of Epworth (Chatiza and Mlalazi 2009). From 1983 the Government of

Zimbabwe embarked on its first slum upgrading project in Epworth. A cohort of original Epworth residents, victims of the liberation struggle and post-independence home-seekers from Harare and other areas have been instrumental in shaping the governance of Epworth. Post-independence Epworth has experienced different phases of development. In the mid-1990s, residents, like any other Zimbabweans who experienced the adverse effects of the economic structural adjustment programme found socio-economic solace in Epworth. The post-2000 period saw the rise of social movements associated with the proliferation of informal settlements on the edge of major cities such as Harare and Bulawayo.

The lessons from Epworth concerning the establishment of a local board and the capacity of local communities to control local government institutions are essential for understanding the management of peri-urban areas. The emergence of informal authorities dubbed slumlords in Harare's peri-urban areas after post-2000 land invasions created both opportunities and challenges for the city in the domain of service delivery. In the case of Epworth, an association was formed in 1991 following the episodic demolitions of 'illegal developments' spearheaded by the state. The association challenged the legality of Epworth Local Board and successfully interdicted the holding of local government elections in 1999 arguing that some 13,093 households in the informal settlement had been rendered homeless (Chatiza and Mlalazi 2009). A third dimension to the understanding of peri-urban areas relates to institutional arrangements for development planning and implementation.

The Harare peri-urban zone encompasses areas within the administrative boundary of the city and those outside it but relying on the city for basic services like water, sewerage and economic opportunities. The peri-urban settlements relying on Harare for services that fall within the administrative boundaries of the rural local authorities of Goromonzi (Caledonia, North East Harare, outside Mabvuku and Tafara) and Zvimba (Whitecliff and Rydale Ridge, to the West of Harare, South of Bulawayo Road) are cases in point. In the present circumstances, some peri-urban settlements pay their allegiance either to Harare municipality while others align themselves with the relevant adjoining rural district council. Arguably, these peri-urban settlements with ambiguous allegiances serve as residential havens for the Harare migrants unable to find suitable accommodation in the city. The ensuing land use pattern of urban sprawl characterises other African cities in the region such as Lusaka in Zambia (Chatiza 2007), Gaberone (Sebego and Gwebu 2013) and Maputo (Jenkins 2009).

How the spatial and institutional needs generated by sprawl have evolved in the country's largest slum settlement of Epworth have been addressed over time is the question examined in the next section. The chapter draws on a study undertaken by Chatiza and Mlalazi (2009) between 2009 and 2010 in Epworth to address the needs of the expanding informal satellite town—both in terms of sprawl and demographic growth.

11.4 Research Design and Methodology

The study set out to provide conceptual and practical ideas for framing an appropriate methodology of estimating human settlement needs. Focus on estimation was justified on the basis of its capacity to inform policy by focusing on stakeholder planning efforts towards improving the life chances of poor households in Epworth. The study noted that the conventional methods of estimating demand are "often incomplete, lacking in transparency and flow from limited conceptualisations of needs and often exclude views and aspirations of the urban poor" (Chatiza and Mlalazi 2009).

The motivation of the study was a general dissatisfaction amongst lobbyists of pro-poor urban and local authority administrators alike with waiting lists that were considered unreliable. The lists are maintained by local and central government authorities who at times ignore them when allocating land or housing units (Chatiza and Mlalazi 2009). The growing irrelevance of waiting lists is also seen in reduced entry onto the lists and non-renewal by the home-seekers as the urban poor rely on community-based land and housing access approaches. Chatiza and Mlalazi (2009) argued that an acceptable set of methods would improve housing policy and practice for example enabling the poor to organise themselves in providing for their own infrastructure. This approach would be helpful considering that Zimbabwe is rapidly urbanising in a context of rising urban poverty (Government of Zimbabwe 2006; Kamete et al. 2001; UN-Habitat 2007). In recognition of the structural weaknesses of traditional approaches, the study aimed at providing a suitable methodology for qualifying and quantifying human settlement needs.

The conceptualisation of urbanisation in the study on Epworth went beyond demographics. It embraced the complex issues of urban economics, food security, environmental resources and governance issues including local authority legitimacy in a context of social and political polarisation. This is because urban areas are sites of socio-economic and political opportunities but also centres of intense social conflicts and exclusion (Ramirez 2002; Mabogunje 1990; Simone 2001). While noting the pressure exerted on poor service delivery systems by new immigrants, the study noted that the urban poor have a role to play in the provision of some services such as shelter, roads, water and sanitation. The inability of planners and other urban local governance actors to mobilise the urban and peri-urban poor reflects the systemic failure of existing systems (Potts 1995, 2006; Freidberg 2001).

Interestingly, the need to harmonise the diversity of disparate land uses in the context of multiple legislation has had a bearing on peri-urban land management in Zimbabwe as revealed by the experience in Epworth.

11.5 Peri-urban Problematic of Multiple Legislation on Land Use Management

In a landscape of diverse land uses driven by multiple and sometimes contradictory legislation on land use, the management of emerging peri-urban areas in Zimbabwe is problematic. Peri-urban areas are to be understood in the discourse as "transition zones" characterised by land-use conflicts between the extensive, mainly agricultural land uses, on one hand and the urban, industrial, commercial and more intensive land uses on the other hand (Marongwe 2003; Iaquinta and Drescher 2000; Clough 1996; Freidberg 2001).

In order to harmonise and rationalise land uses in Zimbabwe, the country's planning legislation, rooted in its British colonial history (Marongwe et al. 2011) is framed to promote economy, orderliness and amenity in the development of the built environment. Thus the country's land use planning and development control framework is corroborated by government policies and directives on urban land and national housing provisions for the different socio-economic groups (Marongwe et al. 2011; Chanza and Chirisa 2011). In the interests of promoting functional urban environments, the country's post-colonial government enforces modernist planning interventions in addressing peri-urban development questions in Zimbabwe (Marongwe et al. 2011). However, the aspirations of various interest groups continue to grapple with a number of technocratic and political expectations. Such expectations continue to reside in the excessive political and economic pressures exerted on a formal urban planning system that no longer suits the changing circumstances (Potts 2006; Marongwe et al. 2011; UN 2005).

In both Harare and Epworth, disruptions in the processes of local development plan preparation and implementation have been attributed to the constraints eroding the financial and operational capacity constraints of local authorities to deliver on the government's election promises rather than the soundness of planning procedures. It is this technical and administrative 'bottleneck' that saw peri-urban land use changes becoming more rapid, informal or unplanned and poorly regulated in Zimbabwe's post-2000 period. Thus in an inexorable March of uneven peri-urban development and the changed political expectations, disharmonies generated in the land uses have intensified. As a consequence, the responsibility of managing the space and the peri-urban transition shifted from central and to local government institutions in various social formations including the hegemonic ZANU (PF) party which has ruled the country since independence in 1980.

Typically, the peri-urban areas of Zimbabwe as in many other countries of sub-Saharan Africa act as 'sponges' that absorb those urban residents and socio-economic activities forced to migrate out of city cores due to high costs of living and survival there (Potts 2010). Similarly, the establishment and growth of Epworth and Chitungwiza before independence and Ruwa thereafter conforms to this role that peri-urban settlements play by providing housing for the city outward migrants. Epworth provided refuge for citizens who fled the rural areas at the height of the liberation struggle. Since independence, however Epworth has also served as

the destination for people migrating from Harare who cannot afford formal houses and other services (Chatiza and Mlalazi 2009; Butcher 1986; Chanza and Chirisa 2011).

11.6 Key Contestants on Peri-urban Land and Urban Services

The most intense conflicts over land in peri-urban areas have involved both the local authorities and their residents (Chirisa 2011). Epworth is one of the most significant cases regarding conflicts over access to land. A recent conflict has led to demolition of homes in Epworth. This has involved a state-owned enterprise (Sunway City, a subsidiary of the Industrial Development Corporation) and at least 200 Epworth residents in the Overspill area (News Day 2012). Despite the land being formally designated industrial local institutions with alleged connections to ZANU PF still facilitated the sale of the land. The informalisation of land sales shows the extent of institutional 'grey-ness' that has persisted in parts of Epworth. The land was sold for varying amounts resulting in 'beneficiaries' building homes considering the land access to be genuine and therefore secure in terms of land tenure. In this case, the contestants are at once Sunway City and the local institutions such as housing cooperatives by the poor on the one hand and beneficiaries against the local institutions on the other. The law courts that authorized Sunway City to evict the residents by virtue of being the de jure owners of the land as well as Epworth Local Board and central government are also parties to the land contestation. Media reports indicated that some of the 'beneficiaries' lost as much as USD10,000 invested in both land purchases and home construction excluding costs associated with social and economic dislocation.

About 65 % of the residents of Epworth are considered as informal settlers (Parliament of Zimbabwe 2011) with the intensity of informality being highest in Ward 7. The reference—Parliament of Zimbabwe—used is a Committee report produced following public hearing sessions in Epworth. However, courtesy of a 2009 Council Resolution on regularizing all settlements and supporting upgrading, Epworth Local Board in partnership with central government and the alliance of Dialogue on Shelter and the Zimbabwe Homeless People's Federation has initiated a process of lobbying and advocacy for sheltering of peri-urban poor. This has progressively eased tensions between the local authority and residents of Ward 7 and other informal areas in the fast expanding slum growing town. The 2009 Council Resolution allowed the local authority to register residents and to collect levies and other charges as part of initiating tenure security, building local authority capacity and enhancing its legitimacy while structuring municipal finance anew.

Land and service challenges are interlinked. They affect formal institutions and ordinary citizens. In Zimbabwe's most recent urban history, some of the struggles over urban land have involved central government on one-hand and landowners and

property developers on the other. While land reform related conflicts have been prominent recently, there have been low profile conflicts and cases of high-level corruption relating to urban and peri-urban land (City of Harare 2010). Central government has also been in land related conflict aside of land reform related issues. After Operation Murambatsvina in 2005, the government of Zimbabwe built model houses on privately owned land to the west of Harare at Whitecliffe prompting the company to approach the High Court which ruled the government project illegal (The Standard July 3, 2005). In some cases, private developers have been in conflict amongst themselves over illegal land sales in peri-urban areas. A case in point is that of Nyarungu Estate and the Remainder of Subdivision A of Stoneridge to the south of Harare. In this case, Jetmaster Properties and Pinnacle Property Holdings sued other companies and individuals. This is illustrative of the contests over peri-urban land that often results in individual home-seekers losing their investments.

The contestations for land in peri-urban areas of Harare have largely arisen from what Marongwe et al. (2011) refer to as institutional gaps, loss of capacity to address a wide range of peri-urban land management challenges of unreliable land information systems and the poor coordination of stakeholder planning institutions. The rapid shifts in land use from rural to urban have been accompanied by institutional fragmentation thereby raising questions about allegiance and the capacity of neighbouring local councils to provide for the emerging communities. The next sections are case study findings on recent planning experiences in the peri-urban settlements of Greater Harare reflecting, in particular, land use conflicts and the loss of land claims by the poor in recent years.

11.7 Physical Planning Experiences in Peri-urban Harare and Epworth

In approaching the fragmented and incremental nature of rapid sprawl triggered by the Fast Track Land Reform Programme in 2000, Harare deployed a number of statutory local development plans incorporating the adjoining peri-urban farms into the city administrative boundary. At least 100 farms within and outside the city of Harare boundary ranging in size from 10 to 7000 ha (Marongwe 2003) were excised. The ownership of the farms included local authorities (Harare and Chitungwiza), central government, indigenous and white farmers, agro-industrial enterprises and properties covered by bilateral investment protection agreements.

The types and intensity of land uses on the 100 farms varied. Although some of the occupied private farms were relinquished to their former owners, the new settlers remained on some of the properties where they built their own low-income homes. Further efforts to excise an additional 72 farms have not yet reached fruition. There does seem to be a lack of legal clarity regarding tenure on some of the occupied farms and developed for housing around the city without the formal

processes of incorporation being concluded. Thus a number of local agency movements mushroomed in the contested peri-urban areas and assumed the official structures of housing cooperatives. As reflected in the next section, these housing cooperatives, guided by government physical planners, have regularised developments on some of the occupied peri-urban farms.

11.7.1 Hopley Farm

Hopley is one of the peri-urban areas covered by Plan Number 31. Hopley has seen rapid residential development in a planned area as well as an unplanned portion of the settlement. High Glen Road to the North, Masvingo Highway to the West and Harare's main cemetery (Granville) to the south bound the area. In 2009, a conflict arose between residents, on one hand, and the City of Harare and central government, on the other. More than 200 families on Hopely farm were threatened with eviction by the government.

Central government cited failure to pay administration fees by those formally allocated land while the local authority argued that lack of proper water, sanitation and housing facilities in an overcrowded area posed health threats. The disenchanted occupiers sought legal assistance from civil society organisations that included the Zimbabwe Lawyers for Human Rights, the Combined Harare Residents Associations and Amnesty International. The protesting residents also focused on a citywide campaign against forced mass evictions targeting residents of informal settlements in peri-urban Harare.

In recent years the election geography of Hopley has revealed sharp cleavages between the ruling Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) and the opposition Movement for Democratic Change-Tsvangirai (MDC-T) in play out harassments among the residents during election times. It is known, for example, that some of the residents of Hopley are 'political agents' of ZANU-PF especially in Harare South. This may explain why an MDC-T Council felt it should evacuate residents from the constituency as part of erasing the 2008 peri-urban political torture bases. On hindsight, the poor urban residents mistrust the intentions of government intervention following the government-led Operation *Murambatsvina* (Operation "Out-With-Trash") of May 2005 which caused loss of property and life.

Whether regulating development should be subordinated to direct provision of services is another issue of concern in peri-urban development. In other words, should authorities stop guiding and controlling development through evictions simply because they have failed to provide an alternative and do not deliver services? In the context of Zimbabwe, it is public knowledge that service provision especially in the housing sector has moved beyond direct public sector provision. This is because communities seeing the gap in government-provided services have established their own ways for that provision. Reasons for such a shift in approach include lack of capacity on the part of the public sector contrasted with evidence and recognition of the sustainability of citizen-based options considered to be more

inclusive and use resources effectively. As such, the Hopley case shows how unsuitable land use regulations, uncoordinated local institutions, land ownership and patterns of development particularly in peri-urban areas shape settlements and the delivery of services.

11.7.2 Snippets from Ward 5 Epworth

Ward 5 is one of the areas referred to as 'Extension' in Epworth largely because of its proximity to an area where early arrivals in Epworth popularly referred to as 'originals' are found. In most instances, extensions are located in areas where originals had their gardens and grazed their livestock. Since the war of liberation targeted mainly rural areas, many people were forced into towns in search of refuge. Epworth extensions absorbed these war refugees throughout the early 1980s up to the time the Methodist Church handed over the settlement to government in 1983. The survey on which the following findings are based was conducted in 2010 and covered 205 households. Officially, the ward has about 900 stands but some of the stands have up to 20 households who have accessed land on which to build their own homes. As a result, some lodgers own land and houses in Epworth.

The respondents were generally residents of neighbourhoods with relatively long periods of stay. For instance the largest age-group clusters were 31–40 years of age (25.2 %) and 51–60 (22.8 %) and in terms of property ownership there were more owners (73.2 %) than lodgers (26.8 %). More men (55.1 %) than women (44.9 %) responded to the questions regarding access and availability of services alongside how they mobilise themselves into providing water and sanitation for their needs.

The survey revealed a serious lack of access to basic services a shown in Table 11.1.

The study also showed that informal and poor neighbourhoods lack access to housing provided through the public or formal channels. The findings of the study revealed that the respondents used the methods outlined in Table 11.2 for securing their accommodation.

An important point to note is the dominance of market-related solutions in terms of securing housing by the poor residents of Epworth. A related point is the sizeable portion of council-aided access, which though it may relate to previous periods provides an indication of the kind of targets that could be set for the public sector. In terms of space adequacy and tenure security, the findings painted a picture of

Table 11.1 Access to basic services

Service type	% with access	% without access
Electricity	17.1	82.9
Water	54.7	45.3
Direct road access	14.2	85.8
Sanitation	16.6	83.4

Table 11.2 Methods used by informal Epworth residents in securing their accommodation

Method	Percentage of respondents (%)
Buying from the market (former owners)	41.4
Simple searches for rental accommodation	14.4
Council allocation	9.8
Purchase of land from the local council	9.3
Inheritance from deceased family members	8.8

Table 11.3 Performance rating of services by respondents

Service	Low (%)	Below average (%)	Average (%)	Above average (%)	High (%)	Total (%)
Health	22.7	48.5	24.3	–	4.5	100
Refuse removal	37	39.7	9	–	14.3	100
Water	47.2	15.5	21.8	10.6	4.9	100
Roads	26.2	21.4	35.7	13.1	3.6	100
Education	16.2	39.7	33.3	6.3	4.5	100

satisfaction. From the survey, half of the respondents indicated feeling satisfied. It is possible to interpret this as an indication of the reality that the respondents were mainly owners. The evidence shows that tenure security may also subsist in unplanned, under-serviced and over-crowded areas.

The survey showed the poor status of services indicating the poor performance of service providers itself a reflection of micro and macro-economic conditions as well as the creeping problem of institutional corruption. Table 11.3 shows the ratings on the performance in provision of specific services by the residents of Epworth.

11.8 Myths and Prejudices Stalling Effective Urban Governance

Certain myths have been perpetuated about peri-urban land access and its development. One is that such land is free and those seeking it tend to abandon formal schemes for peri-urban land freebies. The experiences from Harare and Epworth prove otherwise. Market forces, not necessarily administered by formal real estate developers and public authorities are at play and beneficiaries place their confidence in such transactions. The challenge is that those managing the transactions do not always have established and working relationships with public authorities which are essential for pooling resources for delivering public services. Moreover, the misappropriation of funds in cooperatives involved in land and housing and other social

movements like youth and women savings' clubs have been registered in Zimbabwe in recent times (Zindoga 2012). Most of these are found in the peri-urban areas. In recognising that substantial financial resources can be found in peri-urban areas signifies a potential for developing new urban governance models.

Another myth is that peri-urbanites pride in informal land use practices, squalor and that they detest regulation. The existence of slumlords acting as gatekeepers and constraining the intervention by authorities and other stakeholders largely perpetuates this myth. It is important to separate gatekeepers from the real people and at the same time to explore ways of working that reduce unnecessary gate keeping. In recent years most informal settlers and peri-urban residents have experienced various forms of land-related harassment including eviction and demolition of property by government. It is unsurprising, therefore, that these residents harbour mistrust towards government. This is, however, not about taking pride in informality and detesting regulation but rather a response to a particular form of regulation and citizen-authority interaction.

In the words of one Epworth Ward 5 resident, "…it is not true that we do not want good things." It can be argued that claims purporting that peri-urbanites can endure the squalid conditions are inaccurate. These myths have entrenched a perspective amongst planning authorities that justifies either ignoring or often violently evicting peri-urban dwellers (UN 2005). Formal legislative institutions have repeatedly been used to demolish peri-urban settlements, thereby disrupting the livelihoods of the marginalised without alternative means. Such interventions have denied peri-urban dwellers their right to the city (Chirisa 2011). Thus an overreliance on modernist planning initiatives denies the urban poor their rights to the city forcing them to be resentful of authorities. A new model is therefore required to address the challenges of trust and the institutional capacity prevailing in urban Zimbabwe. The statutory pre-requisites for planning and servicing of land proposed for development prior to occupation has precluded the search for sustainable peri-urban development.

11.9 Conclusion

The democratisation of Zimbabwe's neoliberal urban space seems caught up in clashes between external and endogenous structural forces that continue to fragment society thereby eroding potential space for the growth of the country's urban economy since the new round of global restructuring in the early 1990s. These clashes manifest themselves in the new and emerging socio-spatial geographies of transformation in the country's peri-urban areas—featuring land use conflicts, property boundary disputes and demolitions, evictions and rent-seeking behaviours.

The chapter has discussed cases that show multiple conflicts in land uses and the variegated ownership patterns. The conflicts seem to have complicated the access of the poor household access to urban spaces, basic services and economic opportunities. Since independence in 1980, many Zimbabwean urban residents have

relocated from the inner city to peri-urban areas as a response to repressive and elitist urban governance policy frameworks. The chapter has also highlighted how flexible governance approaches can positively contribute towards the democratisation of peri-urban space through support of inclusive urban spaces.

It has been noted that peri-urban areas experience the fastest growth managed by a multiplicity of both formal and informal institutions. Questions regarding how urban finance affects planning practice and policy have been raised (Bond 1999). This is because the way of financing in cities significantly affects the manner in which they are planned. The extent to which the current urban planning approaches in Zimbabwe have questioned the currency of restrictive colonial methodologies remains in doubt. The United Nations Commission on Operation *Murambatsvina* raised its doubts about the bottlenecks caused by planning legislation (UN 2005).

The modernist planning ideologies that enduringly inform teaching and research in the planning schools in Zimbabwe need to be revisited. This is because even in Southern African countries where land occupations at the scale witnessed in Zimbabwe recently have not occurred, peri-urban conflicts are insufficiently understood and poorly managed. As a result, urban planning policy and practice has remained elitist by remaining silent on the marginalised urban poor. The evictions witnessed at Churu farm and elsewhere in all the major urban centres of Zimbabwe during Operation *Murambatsvina* of 2005, among other lower profile evictions, disrupted the livelihoods of many households. The iron-fisted interventions in the form of demolitions of housing properties of the marginalised poor were also wasteful in terms of their hard-earned resources. Thus it can be argued that a neoliberal planning system that justifies such waste of resources through the "creative destruction" (Harvey 2006) of innovative technological mixes and attachments does not seem to evoke inclusive African city futures. How hegemonic neoliberal city making processes in sub-Saharan Africa can wear a human face is a paradox that deserves further engagement in critical theory.

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