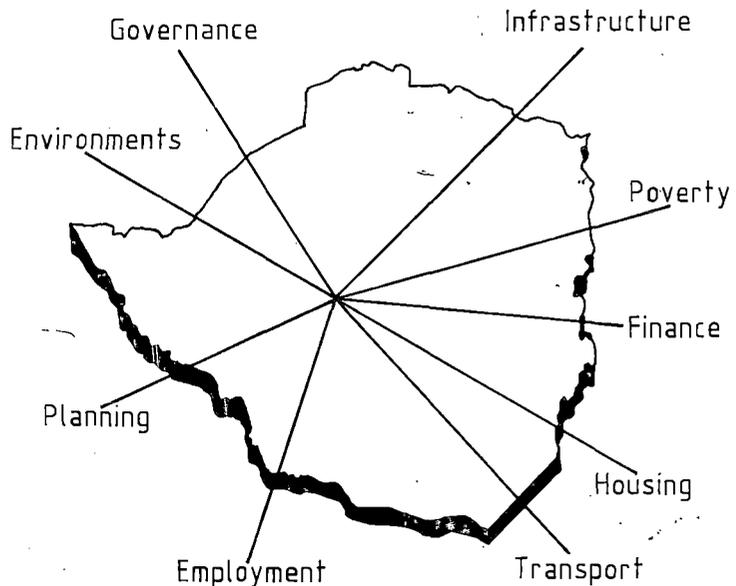




Department of Rural & Urban Planning
University of Zimbabwe

Urban Governance Outreach Program



Material edited from a Conference on
Urban Governance and Management Programme
in Zimbabwe. 10-11 July, 1997 KADOMA RANCH MOTEL

organised by:
Department of Rural &
Urban Planning

sponsored by:
Ford Foundation

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|---|----|
| Acknowledgments | 2 |
| Editorial Foreword | 3 |
| Executive Outcomes | 7 |
| Conference Papers:- | |
| Urban Governance in Zimbabwe- Challenges for the next Millennium K. W Wekwete, Professor: | 16 |
| Urban Governance and Management in Harare S. Tawengwa, Executive Mayor, City of Harare. | 26 |
| Urban Governance: Financing Urban Development in Zimbabwe O. Musandu-Nyamayaro, Consultant..... | 36 |
| Transport Problems in the City of Harare Mr Mupunga, Deputy City Planner, Transport, City of Harare | 49 |
| Urban Governance, Poverty and Housing A. Kamete, Lecturer, University of Zimbabwe | 53 |
| Urban Environments and the Governance Challenge T. Mubvami, Lecturer, University of Zimbabwe | 57 |
| Rural-Urban Linkages J. Z. Mabhege, Regional Planner, National Planning Commission | 68 |
| Rural-Urban linkages in Zimbabwe: An Example of the Development of Infrastructure for Urban Development K. P Murapa, Lecturer, University of Zimbabwe | 73 |
| Decentralisation of Local Government Activity Ms A Ndhlovu, Ministry of Local Government & National Housing | 87 |
| Bibliography | 94 |
| ANNEXURES: | |
| 1. List of Workshop Participants | 95 |

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This Workshop was organised by the Rural and Urban Planning Department of the University of Zimbabwe with funding from the Ford Foundation. The workshop brought together academics and practitioners in urban governance and management and provided an ideal opportunity for productive interaction and exchange on governance issues and challenges facing urban councils in Zimbabwe today and tomorrow.

More importantly, the Workshop provided an opportunity for developing and setting agenda for practical research and for development of critical directions for policy and theory research and formulation.

The University and the Department are grateful to all staff who worked tirelessly to ensure that the Workshop achieved its objectives. In this regard, special thanks are extended to all the participants who took time off their work to come and share their invaluable experiences and views through debate and discussion. The list of participants is annexed hereto.

As these conference proceedings are the first in our Ford Foundation Series, the Rural and Urban Planning Department sincerely believes that our community will continue to support this initiative and the Department's efforts throughout the two year duration of this research initiative.

E DITORIAL FOREWORD

This first edition in the Ford Foundation Series on Urban Governance Outreach came out of a research workshop held at the Kadoma Ranch Motel on 10-11 July 1997.

Presented in the next sections are papers on the proceedings of a workshop, which successfully managed to highlight current, future issues and challenges concerning urban governance in Zimbabwe.

Urban Development, Growth and Governance Issues: Historically, urban local governments in Zimbabwe tended to have wide ranging capacity to provide a broad range of services to their populations. Delivery of these services and maintenance of the related infrastructure was efficient. This was mainly because of the relatively slow rate of urbanisation. Urban settlement growth was kept under check through rigorous and tight development control and control of rural-urban migration.

The changes brought about by national independence created unprecedented service delivery and management and governance challenges. Virtually all-Zimbabwean urban settlements are growing and expanding at an unprecedented rate which raises serious questions of sustainability, environment, infrastructure, poverty and governance. Indeed, the current rates of growth will, by the year 2016, see 50% of Zimbabwe's 11 million people residing in urban areas.

The principal factors behind this rapid urban growth are rural to urban migration and natural population increases. In this regard, the presentation by Mr K P Murapa and Mr J Mabhenge develops scenarios and detailed accounts of the rural-urban linkages and their importance in urban policy formulation and management. While urban local authorities are battling to cope with the increasing demand for urban services, the problem is that of poverty in that the majority of the people who need the services cannot afford to pay for them.

Also clearly showing that the formal sector of the cities has limited capacity to absorb the pressure on it is the mushrooming of the informal sector, housing shortages, declining quality of service provision and an increasing lack of faith in the urban governors by the civic society.

The poor are the hardest hit as they struggle to eke a living in the increasingly hostile urban environment. This realisation calls for immediate policy oriented action from both the local authorities with assistance from central government.

The key lesson that emerged out of the conference is the fact there need not only be bold attempts at provision of adequate infrastructure, employment opportunities and social services for the current population, but also more critically for the projected populations of the urban settlements.

This situation demands that urban local authorities avoid tendencies at fire-fighting approaches to current and future problems but gear themselves strategically towards meeting those challenges in a sustainable manner.

Housing, the Poor and Urban Governance: The issue of housing came under serious focus and discussion. Leading the discussion was Mr A Kamete whose presentation carefully attempted to focus housing into a more practical context. An attempt was made to define who the poor really are as targets for planned housing delivery and their place in the whole matrix of urban governance issues and agenda. Indeed, it is only when such critical aspects are raised that strategies for housing can be more focused, targeted and effective. One of the major questions raised by participants is the need to come up with more contextualized, practical, and operational terms and meaning to "the urban poor", "housing", "affordability" and "low-income" and "housing the poor". It was generally recognised that these critical terms tend to be taken for granted in every day use and this is resulting in targeting failures as well as failure to analyse the problems and options in a realistic manner.

Good Urban Governance: Critical examination and insights into the issue of good governance came from two key presentations by Professor K Wekwete and Mr S Tavengwa. The two presentations explored the core arguments for governance and the key facets of good urban governance.

So clear from both presenters was the message that good governance calls upon both local authorities, the private sector, and the civil society to appreciate the urban problems and for each to take a position and for all of them to engage in dialogue and constant consultation. The objective of such tripartite association is to create partnerships and an environment conducive to interaction that help meet the challenge.

It also emerged clearly that local authorities need to become more enabling, transparent, accountable, fair, just and efficient in the management of their affairs.

In characterising poor governance, the presenters highlighted institutional practices such as lack of transparency, corruption, personalisation of power, lack of accountability, and poor management of the public interest.

Financing of Urban Development and the Governance Challenge: this presentation from O Musandu-Nyamayaro reviewed current urban

management practices, methods and means of financing urban socio-economic infrastructure investments. It raised fundamental aspects and issues regarding sustainability of the current practices. The presentation brought to the fore need for developing a new culture and way of doing business and urban governance in order to effectively respond to current and future challenges of urban development. Some of the major highlights of new initiatives advocated include "corporatisation" (or in simple terms total/ integrated) approach to management and governance to towns and need to develop a new culture of governance integrity systems through services delivery. Regarding the future, some new initiatives for financing urban development were outlined and the presentations left it to the researchers to investigate their feasibility and develop them into practicable instruments for urban governance. The challenge is for urban councils to widen their revenue base, find alternatives to the exhausted traditional revenue sources and find means of providing services to those who cannot afford outright and who make up the majority.

Urban Transport Problems: this presentation by C Mupunga focused on transport problems and challenges that are presenting practical governance and management problems and issues to large urban centres such as Harare. The shortage of resources is undermining effective maintenance of city road networks while increased vehicle population has strained the existing road capacity. These call for innovative instruments to raise revenue for road infrastructure such as toll bridges rationalisation of traffic flow. The implications of city growth on transport and traffic planning and management in Harare were highlighted. Of the possible solutions proffered, the one that caught the imagination of participants is the creation of metropolitan "transport authority". Management solutions such as inner city traffic infrastructure rationalisation were considered long overdue.

Urban Environments and the Governance Challenge: this presentation coming from T. Mubvami highlighted the fundamental environmental challenges urban governors and inhabitants face today and tomorrow. The issues covered in the presentation have fundamental bearing on the quality of living environments, sustainability of living environments and health. The challenge to governors is how to achieve sustainable urban growth and development while managing water, waste, sewer, pollution, deforestation and land in a sustainable manner yet the urban poor cannot afford or have limited access to alternative technologies. It was generally agreed that the times ahead call for greater environmental awareness and development of environmental management programs and systems as well as use of instruments such as, effective policing, EIA's and environmental audits.

Decentralisation of Local Government Activities and its bearing on Urban Governance: this presentation from A Ndlovu provided a critical dimensions to the developments under way to strengthen the local government and

governance in Zimbabwe. The decentralisation thrust has entailed that central government off-loads some its responsibilities such as health and education to councils. The critical issue is that these responsibilities are added without supporting funding assistance while government per capita grants have become non-existent. The challenge for governance is how to deliver services without resources. Under these circumstances, innovative initiatives generated by the workshop include developing partnerships with the communities, informal sector and private sector and to the communities to take an active role in development of their neighbourhoods. In line with this local authorities have begun to explore initiatives such as privatisation, commercialisation and/or partnership in service provision.

In the light of the above, the Department of Rural & Urban Planning therefore takes joy in the fact that the Kadoma Workshop successfully managed to bring together experts and practitioners who blended their rich experiences for achieving the objectives of the workshop. This event and exchange culminated in identification of urban governance and management issues that are very pertinent to forging new and further outreach research initiatives for improving the way our towns are governed and managed.

G. G. Paradza and O. Musandu-Nyamayaro
Editors



WORKSHOP EXECUTIVE OUTCOMES

There were group discussions, which produced the following executive outcomes:

GROUP ONE: URBAN GOVERNANCE, MANAGEMENT AND PLANNING ACHIEVING GOOD GOVERNANCE.

How can we achieve good governance, i.e. improved public management, improved transparency, improved accountability, transparency and trust in the face of our historical and present political structures and practices?

THE LOCAL AUTHORITY AS A FACILITATOR.

How can urban governance, management and planning be facilitative? What are the issues to be considered for urban governance to be good facilitator?

CIVIC SOCIETY PARTICIPATION.

Is it realistic at present to talk of effective civil society participation? What issues should be included in a research agenda directed at reforming urban local government to achieve active people and/or grass roots participation in the urban governance.?

DECENTRALISATION AND AUTONOMY.

In the context of the relationship between central government and local government in Zimbabwe, can there be meaningful structural and practical decentralisation and attainment of autonomy? To what extent can effective autonomy be attained?

LOCAL GOVERNMENT PRO-ACTIVITY.

How pro-active are urban local authorities? How do the local authorities' vision of their areas of jurisdiction relate to existing structural and practical considerations? What issues could be addressed that would facilitate the realisation of this vision?

URBAN GOVERNANCE, MANAGEMENT AND PLANNING : ISSUES FOR THE RESEARCH AGENDA

1. The research should examine existing structures and practises of urban governance in Zimbabwe, and comment on the implications of existing trends on the goal of good urban governance.

2. What form of partnerships is taking place in urban governance? Are they functioning and how facilitative are local authorities to this end?
3. The research should examine the role of the local government forum to determine its effectiveness in the dialogue between government and local authorities. What is the existing situation and what options are there?
4. The research must look at the structure of the civic society, and comment on the effectiveness of existing participatory systems. Who is active and who is not active? Are they groups or individuals and what is the reason for this state of affairs?
5. The research should consider the issues of decentralisation and autonomy in the context of the amended Urban Councils Act, with special emphasis on :
 - a) staff structures and hiring and firing procedures,
 - b) the role of the Local Government Board,
 - c) the role of the Department of Rural and Urban Planning, as well as issues related to the relationship of the local Government Board and the Executive Mayor and his committee.
6. The research should seek to evaluate the present levels of pro-activity in local authorities, constraints and opportunities for both small and large local authorities to be pro-active. To this end the research should establish the level of forward planning and vision of the future that is being practised by local authorities.
7. The research should identify and recommend possible educational programmes directed at increasing the awareness of the population to the concept of good governance, development control etc.
8. The workshop urged the researchers to pay particular attention to the existing structures and systems. It was the general impression that there is adequate legislation and that the real problem related to implementation and participation. There appeared to be a general apathy in terms of civic society participation in urban governance and there also appeared to be lack of political will to implement measures.

**GROUP TWO:
URBAN FINANCE & GOVERNANCE URBAN AND
MUNICIPAL FINANCE.**

How do local authorities view the options on urban finance and municipal finance in the context of good governance? What do these forms of finance refer to and how can local authorities in Zimbabwe ensure their effective and sustainable resource mobilisation in the development of urban areas? Are resources being used effectively?

CORPORATISM IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

Can urban local authorities develop and utilise corporatism, i.e. in terms corporate policies, structures and practices to effectively govern the towns?

REVENUE BASE, COLLECTION AND PAYMENT FOR SERVICES.

The urban poor, revenue collection, payment for services. What issues would the group like to be included in the research agenda?

COST RECOVERY COMMERCIALISATION AND PRIVATISATION.

The issue of cost recovery is topical and important in Zimbabwe. Are commercialisation and privatisation consistent with cost recovery? Is cost recovery consistent with the role of local authorities?

PROJECT FINANCE.

In the context of the problems of financing urban projects, what does the group view as the important issues in the involvement of the private sector in housing and infrastructure development?

URBAN FINANCE : ISSUES FOR THE RESEARCH AGENDA

1. How can local authorities utilise more effectively and efficiently existing municipal finances? What are the sources and how are they presently used. The agenda should also identify and evaluate existing standards or indicators of efficiency, pricing and methods of deciding a given amount of revenue and existing central government transfers. The research should focus on the existing situation, observed trends, future direction before making recommendations for consideration.
2. Evaluate and determine the role the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Local Government Rural and Urban Planning with respect to urban finances collection and utilisation.
3. What exactly is corporatism and how can councils work to achieving corporate systems, structures and practises. What practical measures and changes are required for corporatism to be achieved.

The research should also elaborate and show clearly the impact of corporatism on the role of council as a provider of social services. What does corporatism mean for democracy in urban governance, and what is and how can an appropriate balance be achieved.

4. The research agenda must identify and define the characteristics of the urban poor and comment on how they can contribute to the revenue or other resources for better urban management.
5. What are the existing methods of revenue collection and how effective are they. Evaluate cost recovery methods and practises in Zimbabwe and their impact on the ability of local authorities as urban governors. What new instruments or finance collection mechanisms are possible and could be considered for adoption and use by local authorities.
6. The workshop noted that many of the issues identified for research had in fact been addressed in work done by the consultants Price Waterhouse, and it was necessary to peruse this existing document before proceeding to finalise the research agenda.

GROUP THREE: URBAN ENVIRONMENTS AND PLANNING

URBAN GROWTH AND THE ENVIRONMENT.

Do local authorities in Zimbabwe appreciate the impacts of urban growth on the quality of the urban environments, and what policy issues would the group like to be included in the research agenda?

URBAN ENVIRONMENT MANAGEMENT.

How do the present urban governance structure and practices impact on:-

- pollution control in urban areas,
- solid and liquid waste management,
- traffic management,
- water quality management,
- building stock management, and
- neighbourhood and open space management.

GEO-SPATIAL AND SOCIAL ISSUES.

What issues pertaining to urban environment e.g. social, geographical and spatial, quality would the group like included in the research agenda?

URBAN ENVIRONMENTS : ISSUES FOR DISCUSSION IN THE RESEARCH AGENDA

1. There are many actors and players active and responsible for the urban environments. The research agenda should seek to identify these actors and players, their attitudes and knowledge (real and perceived) about all the important facets of urban environments.
2. the agenda should research the effectiveness of existing legislation on urban environments with special emphasis on industrial processes.
3. The agenda should assess the effectiveness of existing councils, structures and practises, with added emphasis on the local authority's manpower resources (skills, numbers, etc.)
4. Consider the setting up of a local authority environmental studies or research centre, its possible terms of reference, its expertise and the associated costs of establishing and running such a facility. The agenda should also evaluate the effectiveness of existing environment-related programmes being run by the University of Zimbabwe and other educational institutions in the country.
5. On the basis of the issues stated in the discussion guide the group felt that the research agenda should also consider the following matters related to urban environments:
 - a) Air pollution; the sources and causes, available and effectiveness of monitoring and control measures, existing legislation,
 - b) solid and liquid waste management, existing and recommendations for future systems and practises in the light of the need for councils to encourage the participation of other groups in society,
 - c) urban neighbourhood management measures and practises, their application and effectiveness, and
 - d) Urban building stock management and maintenance.
6. It is true that Zimbabwe has a plethora of legislation related to the management of the environment. Unfortunately, it would seem that the politics of enforcement are an impediment to the effective utilisation of this legislation. The research agenda is urged to pay special attention to the problems associated with the enforcement of environmental management monitoring and control measures.

**GROUP FOUR:
URBAN TRANSPORT, URBAN MANAGEMENT & GOVERNMENT.**

In the context of urban transport management in Zimbabwe, is the future of public transport in small capacity vehicles, e.g. commuters and small buses?

MASS TRANSIT SYSTEMS.

Can unified mass transit systems be developed in urban areas in Zimbabwe? What are the real issues that could be researched as they affect urban governance and the development of a mass transit system?

TRANSPORT SUBSIDIES.

Are urban transport subsidies a viable option and what are the issues that affect the adoption or use of subsidies that should be in the research agenda?

URBAN LAND USE PLANNING AND TRAFFIC MANAGEMENT.

Urban land use planning and traffic management strategies - are they complimentary or are they in conflict? Residential areas are being developed on land situated further and further away from the central business district and the industrial areas. Are there any options? What issues does the group feel need to be looked into and clarified to facilitate policy formulation?

BENIGN MODES OF TRANSPORT.

Is there a role for benign forms of transport in urban areas. Is the planning and development of appropriate cycle and pedestrian ways an issue that should be on the research agenda? Why? How does this view compare with existing urban local government practices?

URBAN TRANSPORT : ISSUES FOR THE RESEARCH AGENDA

1. The research must identify the transport problems affecting the towns and cities. These problems vary with urban settlement.
2. There is a need to examine the development of mass transit systems. What form they can take? What resources need to be mobilised and who can participate in the planning, development and management of the operations.

GROUP FIVE: URBAN HOUSING.

THE HOUSING ISSUE.

When discussing housing in Zimbabwe, is the problem of the definition of housing? Is it not really the defining of standards? How is urban governance in Zimbabwe affected by housing standards as they pertain to:-

- stand size and land allocations,
- number of households per stand,
- floor space minima,
- minimum level of services to be provided.

LAND USE PLANNING.

There are links between present land use planning strategies and cultures, and effective urban governance. What issues should be included in a research agenda that seeks to examine urban land use planning?

HOUSING FINANCE.

Identify different methods of financing housing in urban areas. What are the opportunities and limitations associated with the different modes of housing provision. What aspect of housing provision should be included in the research agenda and in the reformulation of policy?

URBAN SUBSIDIES.

Are subsidies or transfer payments a feasible option in urban areas in Zimbabwe? Should the rich and the employers house the poor?

URBAN HOUSING: ISSUES FOR THE RESEARCH AGENDA

1. How do we categorise housing and incomes in Zimbabwe. Is the issue housing or is it accommodation?
2. How important is the concept of home-ownership in addressing the housing question?
3. The issue of land allocation, the distortions and implications for urban governance. Is land use planning considerate of the affordability. How significant is planning culture and practises in affecting housing delivery?
4. Need to research sources of housing finances and their utilisation, in the light of the fact there is \$350 million in the National Housing Fund that had not been appreciated by local authorities.

5. There is need to research the various subsidies presently in use and those that are can be considered.
6. The research should look at the difference between the provision of infrastructure and the provision of the superstructure. What are the implications for costs, source of funds and cost recovery measures?
7. What role is civic society (employers, co-operatives and pressure groups) playing in housing provision and what new or improved roles could it play in the future? How do these civic society groups relate with government and what is the role of government in their activities?
8. How is civic society addressing the housing problem and how can their activities be improved upon?

GROUP SIX: RURAL-URBAN LINKAGES

URBANISATION.

30% of the population in Zimbabwe live in urban areas. In developed countries over 80% of the population live in urban areas. Is it realistic to expect that good urban governance can stem the flow from rural to urban areas? How? What are the research issues?

RURAL TO URBAN MIGRATION.

Are rural to urban migrants a problem or a resource? How should they be viewed or treated in the context of good governance? What issues should we real be addressing in any research agenda?

DECENTRALISATION.

According to government, decentralisation does not mean "...dumping of functions without adequate resources and capacity.." From the experience of local authorities in the last few years, are there no contradictions in present government actions and policies? How important are existing structures and practices in affecting decentralisation? What decentralisation issues and reforms would improve urban governance.

COMMERCIALISATION AND PRIVATISATION.

Is commercialisation and privatisation the same as decentralisation? Is it not a way of government deflecting its responsibility and duty to provide resources and/or enable a more equitable distribution of public revenue? What are the real issues that should be in the research agenda?

RURAL -URBAN LINKAGES : ISSUES FOR THE RESEARCH AGENDA

1. The research must analyse the linkages between rural and urban areas. It is also necessary to define in the context of Zimbabwe what is rural and what is urban. The important aspect of any definition is the nature of responsibilities and expectations from rural areas as compared to urban areas.
2. There is a need to determine the extent and type of rural to urban migration, and how this can be planned for or managed, not only in the context of urban areas but in terms national demographic management.
3. Decentralisation is an important component of urban governance, and the research should seek to identify the present decentralisation philosophies as they affect the allocation of responsibilities, functions and resources between central government and the local authority.
4. As an aspect of rural urban linkages, the research should identify, evaluate and attempt to classify the activities of local authorities into what can be termed the core and the peripheral business, with a view to determining what can be done to improve the management of both core and peripheral activities. Within the same context, the research must identify and elaborate on those services and activities that cannot be operated on a commercial basis.
5. The research team should determine the usefulness of the study by the consultants Price Waterhouse as it can assist in defining more accurately researchable issues.

and authority, the inherent aim of the state is enforcing the legitimacy of the existing power and authority structures. Good governance refers to a capacity to provide an environment conducive to development. However this is relative and it requires careful scrutiny of the history, political system and economic outcomes.

Governance viewed from the perspective of centre-local relationships (state-local governments-community), emphasises the notion of creating more "action space" between government and civil society highlighting the attributes of accountability, transparent decision making and community participation. As Swilling (1994) remarks, governance is about "the quality of the inter-relationship" existing in the action space.

Governance at the urban level is part and parcel of the broader governance debate, recognising the urban system as an amalgam of many sub-systems interacting with each other. Governance has to be understood within the realm of urban development processes, which operate locally, nationally and internationally. It has to be understood within the context of the specific challenges of managing the production and distribution of services of the built environment.

The importance of urban governance has been reaffirmed by the world shift in population from rural to urban areas, by the acknowledged importance of cities and towns in the process of economic development and by the increasing recognition of town and cities as key political, cultural and innovation centres. This is the context in which we can engage in the governance debate at urban levels.

Swilling (1994) defined "urban local governance as the realm of relations between and within organisations, operating at the local level in urban areas, with local governments playing some role in governing and managing the urban development process in conjunction with an array of formations with civil society...."

The bottom line is the relationships and the action space created between government and civil society. The distinction between government and governance can therefore be viewed as follows: whereas government (local and central) consists of agencies that make and implement laws and regulations, governance brings in the dimension of "civil society" (public life of individuals and institutions outside the control of the state) and how they interact with the state. Governance is a process, whereas government is a thing.

After broadly reviewing the meanings of governance we now turn to urban governance and its meaning within the Zimbabwean context, and to the challenges that Zimbabwe faces into the next century. Research into governance offers us an opportunity to review the challenge that cities

face through a variety of entry points including that of decentralisation and development administration, and through the examination of the quality of the inter-relationships, which determine the urban systems.

2.0 Urbanisation and the Urban Governance challenge in Zimbabwe

The most recent reviews of urbanisation in Zimbabwe confirm the rapid growth rates of all the major urban settlements which exceed national growth rates (Zimconsult, 1997), which consequently results in the major pressures that Zimbabwean towns and cities face in terms of providing employment, services and infrastructure to cater for the rapid expansion. The review also clearly shows the need for policy makers to accept the reality of rapid urban growth and to plan for it. Macro-economic planning has to embrace the key fact that by the year 2025, over 50% of the Zimbabwean population will be living in urban areas, and that unless productive employment is created, poverty will shift significantly to urban centres, resulting in the usual crises that African cities have found themselves in recent years (Sten 1989).

In terms of governance, it is generally acknowledged that the planning and management to towns and cities since independence has generally been effective. In other words cities and towns have maintained their services relatively well, and local government systems have performed relatively well in terms of delivering services and controlling development and unplanned activities. We could assert that the current model of local government for towns and cities has remained relevant and effective. Any proposal for change and improvement has to acknowledge that fact.

However, governance embraces ideas and concepts, which are broader than government per se. Governance embraces centre-local relationships, inter-relationships at local government levels and the embracement of the notion of civil society and its active participation in decision making. Urban government in Zimbabwe has a historically autonomous structure that is reflected in the Urban Councils Act, and gives political and administrative powers to locally elected entities. This is a positive governance indicator that has promoted relative autonomy in terms of local level decision making. However since 1980 there are indicators of central government wanting to increase control, although not always successfully.

The next important indicator of governance is the interrelationships within local government itself. These relationships include the functioning of the management system (how effective, transparent and accountable is it?) and the relationships with the different clients - communities, private sector or Non-governmental organisations. This dimension has traditionally been viewed as the domain of what is called urban management. Urban management has been associated with improvement of technocratic decision

making geared to improving efficiency and effectiveness. Zimbabwean cities have management systems that have fulfilled the basic responsibilities of urban local government. They collect revenues for land property and services; they control development; they provide infrastructure for development and maintain it and they have developed systems.

What is considered even more significant for governance is the relationship that needs to be developed between what is traditionally local government and civil society. Civil society refers to those interactions that are not formally bound and governed by laws and regulations of government. This is obviously broad and sometimes very ambiguous and might be very difficult to measure or identify. Within the context of what is called traditionally urban local government, this is the realm of public participation in decision making and ensuring that the non-state entities are fully embraced into the picture. This has also become significant in an era when monopoly by governments and local governments in the production and distribution of services is being called into question. All these non-state actors are part of the market (although not formerly embraced in what we call the private sector).

argt The issue of governance for Zimbabwe towns and cities is therefore the issue of ensuring that the way towns and cities are governed supports democratic and accountable management and that partnerships are developed with well managed formations in civil society, who are committed to the principles of trust, reciprocity and defence of citizen interests.

human interests.

This has to be understood at the political level where there is a need to foster the democratic representation and participation; at the technocratic level where there is a call for more efficiency and accountability; and at the economic levels where there is a call for more productive investment, more employment and reduction of poverty.

What are the practical realities of urban governance in Zimbabwe? In short we are asking them to think of their mission and vision, and to project the needs of the citizens in a democratic and accountable way. In particular we are asking them to ensure that they have effective delivery mechanisms of services, sound infrastructure, adopt good planning and decision making, are efficient and robust, and meet socio-economic needs.

3.0 Context of the Urban Governance challenge in Zimbabwe

Urban local government was established formally in 1897 with the passing of the Municipal law which granted specific powers to areas designated municipalities. It is the oldest form of local government in Zimbabwe with well establishment codes and giving cities and municipalities, relatively high degrees of autonomy in terms of land management, service delivery and production of the built environment. (Urban Councils Act 1973).

The nature of local government has changed since independence 1980 with the removal of racial discrimination and democratisation of the local government system. More recently other changes like the introduction of the Executive Mayor have been made, giving more authority to Mayors who were previously ceremonial.

Urban local government in Zimbabwe can be categorised as falling within the traditional liberal democratic model, and enjoying a relative autonomy from central government, which ultimately has the overall control and supervisory powers through the Ministry of Local Government Rural and Urban Development. The nature of centre-local relationships is defined through the powers in the Urban Councils Act that are vested in the Minister. These powers define what the urban local authorities can and cannot do (ultra vires and intra vires powers). Some of these powers are mandatory and some are obligatory, and the centre plays a basic supervisory role.

What does this all mean for urban governance? First we must ask how effective and efficient the system has been? Most assessments would concur that the performance record of all the major urban local authorities has been good. The record can be summarised as follows: - (DAG 1992)

- a) A high standard of water, sewerage and refuse removal infrastructure has been maintained at an adequate standard despite certain constraints.
- b) Revenue and expenditure have been kept up with inflation and some components have continued to perform well in spite of the obvious pressures.
- c) In many ways the lead role of the urban local authorities in the performance of urban functions has been maintained, with some new responsibilities (e.g. primary education) added on.
- d) Whilst government central control increased after independence, centre-local relationships have continued to be positive, allowing for effective checks and balances.
- e) Co-operation and joint ventures with the private sector have significantly increased, particularly in the area of housing and infrastructure development. Public-private partnerships have increased and significantly improved the traditional local government capacity.

The DAG (1992) report which was based on the experiences of Bulawayo and Mutare generated six criteria for measuring effectiveness: technical

competence, efficient use of resources, financial viability, responsiveness to the needs of growth and sensitivity to the needs of the poor.

On all accounts the experience of the two cities was rated effective, although on some scores e.g. sensitivity to the needs of the poor, the local authorities tended to stick to the high standards of delivery, which discriminated the poorest and was also was detrimental to the needs of the informal sector.

The DAG (1992) report concluded that both Bulawayo and Mutare could be judged to be examples of good urban government, which meant: devolution of power to properly constituted local authorities, accountable to the community, with responsibility for managing and exercising advice in a comprehensive range of services, and raising substantial resources locally. This to a large extent is a good indicator of good local governance.

The 1987 Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Taxation, reviewed the role of local government (both rural and urban) and positively concluded that urban local government enjoyed high levels of autonomy and generated a large proportion of their own revenues (up to 90%). This state of affairs is not typical of many developing countries, whose local governments are totally dependent on transfers from central government.

In all the reports and surveys done so far there is therefore evidence of the good performance of local government, measured against a number of key variables. From a governance perspective we could argue that the system has been successful in the technocratic delivery of services and is relatively democratic, but probably has not effectively engaged civil society in the development partnership. In other words the system could be described as top down and supply driven. Such a criticism might sound trivial, but it is important when we consider client responsiveness in a situation where majority of residents are categorised as poor, and whose means of livelihood tends to depend more on the informal sector, than the formal sector. We therefore need to search for new vision, new inspiration and new ways of doing business to address the challenges of the next millennium.

4.0 What should be the ingredients good urban governance into the next millennium?

By the year 2025 it is estimated that 60% of the Zimbabwe population will be living in urban areas (currently 35%), which presents a major challenge in terms of employment provision and service delivery. Indeed 61% of the world's population will be urban and all economies will be operating in a highly globalised economy driven by rapid technological

advances in information technology, capital inflows and trade liberalisation. Cities already constitute the key Nodes for the globalised economy and therefore their capacities and efficiency will have a major bearing on economic performance. What then is the challenge?

First, there is a need for recognition at national levels (macro-economic planning) of the need for clearly spelt out urban development strategies. For too often national decision makers (politicians and central government ministries) are not aware of the importance of towns and cities, which they consider already developed, and therefore tend to focus their energies on rural development. Experience has clearly shown that effective rural development is possible and feasible when towns and cities are considered complementary, and rural-urban linkages are recognised as key factors in the economic development process.

Migration from the rural areas in Zimbabwe still constitutes the major contribution to urbanisation and the transfer of incomes from urban to rural areas is fundamental for the live-hoods of many rural households. The labour migrant system, which was shaped by the colonial economy, emphasised the rural-urban linkages because African migration to cities was considered temporary because at retirement all the workers would return to their villages. This has changed but the pattern is still established.

Urbanisation and urban development should therefore constitute major components of any national development strategy that Zimbabwe adopts. This is currently not the case because of predominance of the sectional model of government (agriculture, industry, and commerce) which fails to take into account the spatial and human settlement consequences of development. It is crucial to recognise that incoming investment is likely to be targeted at the major cities and that cities are the major sites for capital exchange and transfer.

Secondly towns and cities need to develop their own vision of development taking into account the prevailing international trends, to ensure that they remain competitive. City governments and municipalities tend to be inward looking, and the only outside link for them, which is of consequence, is the Ministry of Local Government, Rural and Urban Development. The new vision of the future is that of competing cities, each highlighting what it considers to be its comparative advantage.

The vision of a city must be based on what it considers its resource base and its attractions. Whilst all towns and cities might claim to offer competitive land, rates and water, there are certain unique features that Mutare has compared to Gweru. It is those features that need to be developed and marketed. The role of towns and cities in a globalised economy call for a clear articulation of their role in development naturally and internationally.

In the 1997 World Development report, emphasis has been put on reviewing the role of the State in a changing world. It has been argued that the five fundamental tasks for government are: -

- establishing a foundation of law
- maintaining a policy environment, including macro-economic stability
- investing in basic social services and infrastructure
- protecting the vulnerable
- protecting the environment

These fundamentals are relevant for urban local government that is responsible for creating the local environment for urban development. For example establishing a foundation for law is relevant if investment is going to come to towns and cities.

Local government has traditionally been responsible for control of development, which is crucial for maintenance of land and property values. The Urban local government guarantees title on land and ensures the value of investment. The application of the law in general has been justified in terms of public health, order, safety and security. We could argue that these are also the fundamentals of good governance.

The change that is needed is to clearly define the mandate of urban local government given the present and future challenges. Local governments need to design and manage regulatory systems that help societies influence market outcomes for public ends. This requires a reinvigoration of the local government systems through increasing their resource base to ensure effective rules and restraints, greater competitive pressure and increased citizen voice and partnerships. All these fundamentals apply to the state of local government in developing countries (World Bank 1997).

Thirdly good urban governance requires a greater recognition of the role that civil society plays in providing and managing services, and in the overall process of decision making. Cities and towns in Zimbabwe are changing dramatically economically and socially.

Since 1980 the rate of migration to cities has increased and so has been the nature of urban citizenship, as many African families have acquired property and businesses, which used to be restricted only to Europeans. The immediate implication of the new urban citizenry is that the next generation will be urbanites with limited rural linkages. The towns and cities where they are born will be their 'homes' and they will depend on the resources that cities and towns offer, and depend on the cities for both employment and services. This transition has far reaching consequences and requires creative vision and management. Slums and

squatter areas will not be a creation of recent migrants from rural areas, but will be a legacy of a generation who only know the towns and cities, as their home. Planning for towns and cities ceases to be planning for migrants from rural areas, it becomes an activity of planning for permanent residents and whose livelihoods depend on the urban economies.

There is a crucial need to invest in people and infrastructure, to make strategic investments in health, education and basic services, which reach the majority of the population. It will not be enough for towns and cities to look to central government, because unless the social challenge is met, their viability and fabric will be threatened. Many cities and towns in Africa and other developing countries are experiencing severe decay of their fabric which is a major threat for future and many urban governments continue to see the problem as that of new migrants. They also fail to recognise that the same population whom they allege are responsible for the decay is also the potential entrepreneurs of the future.

It will therefore not be enough to do what traditional urban local government has always been doing - there is a vital need to go further and to consider towns and cities as vital to the national development process. This demands a new perspective and vision about a new urban future.

5.0 Conclusions

The main conclusion emerging from this overview is that the challenge of governance is all embracing. It is about vision, mission, strategies and interfacing the action space between government, private sector and civil society. In Zimbabwe the challenges have to be understood at all levels starting from the local neighbourhood needs up to the international levels. Urban local governments have performed relatively well so far, but their main challenge is to maintain that in future. How are the towns and cities going to cope with the overwhelming demand for employment and services? Are the current management systems adequate to address the future challenges?

The purpose of the governance outreach programme is to promote partnership in research, policy dialogue and innovation. Though the involvement of the key stakeholders the programme will seek to create a framework for finding long term solutions to urban development problems.

The approach to each of the different themes will adopt a participatory methodology that seeks to involve central government, local government, private sector, non-governmental organisations and civil society, in problem identification and problem solving.

The outreach programme should be seen as the basis of a long-term programme of interaction among the key actors in urban development,

seeking to identifying key issues and reaching consensus on solutions. We have to create a laboratory from which solutions can be sought. The solutions required are political, technical, economic, social and cultural.

Some of the major issues to be addressed for Zimbabwean cities and towns will include:

i) Centre-local relationships

The relationships between central and local government are dynamic and need constant reviews. They also reflect the pendulum between total authority (devolution) and deconcentration where local government is simply an extension of central government. There is therefore need to examine the issue of controls by central government and the likely problems that urban local governments suffer from such controls. There will always be need for some central government control to ensure macro-economic stability even in situations where total power is given to urban local authorities.

ii) Managing the Urban Economy

At the centre of managing the urban economy is the management of land, services and infrastructure. Central government is usually responsible for macro-economic issues - balance of payments, monetary policy, trade and the like. Urban local governments are responsible for the physical location of industries, shops, roads and houses.

A key governance challenge is therefore to create a management system that is efficient and effective, and recognises the role that the other actors play in development. In the context of Zimbabwe capacity exists but it needs to be strengthened. There are all the ingredients of good government at local municipal and city levels, which has so far coped with the challenges, but might have problems as the urban centres rapidly grow.

iii) Strengthening local participation in urban development.

This is a major problem of local government that traditionally was designed to supply services and control development. The orientation of municipal/city government's has therefore not been participatory, but relatively authoritarian.

They view their role as to manage and maintain rules and regulation. However, as cities transform economically and socially the need for dialogue with civil society has become very critical. In many African cities failure to effectively dialogue has created major problems of unplanned and unserved towns. Attempts to change this situation have been futile because the structures and approach of urban local governments has been rigid and bureaucratic.

d) **Formal and Informal Employment**

Finally a major issue that needs to be addressed is that of employment (formal and informal). The number of formal jobs that towns and cities generate is very limited and therefore the informal section has become the major source of livelihoods for many urban families. The main challenge is therefore to find ways of supporting this sector to become more dynamic and increase its productivity.

URBAN MANAGEMENT AND GOVERNANCE

S. Tawengwa

Executive Mayor, City of Harare

1. Introduction

It was the British Minister MacMillan who in the 1950s spoke of the irresistible winds of change sweeping across Africa.

In the same vein the social, political and economic upheavals on international arena in the last two decades, especially after the disintegration of the USSR and the demise of the Eastern Block pact have tended to corroborate MacMillan's predictions. Such inevitable changes have transcended from the international to national and of late even filtered down to the local level, local authorities being no exception.

Unlike the pre-1980's phrases such as democracy, human rights, equal opportunities, structural economic adjustment, poverty elimination, sustainable development, to mention but a few have become embedded in almost every Nation's language, whether Developed or Developing.

The scenario, in the Zimbabwean context, has also not spared the urban management and governance systems that have to be continuously in congruence with today's transformed and over dynamic urban society's needs.

For the purposes of this presentation I have preferred dealing with the issue of urban governance first and then proceed to urban management as I feel this is the most logical thing to do, although to a large extent one cannot be divorced from the other.

However, simply evaluation today's urban management and governance performance on the basis of what is obtaining now, and possibly making an extrapolation of that situation into the future without delving into a bit of history is analogous to treating a patient without making a diagnosis of the disease.

2. Brief History on Governance

Urban local authorities in Zimbabwe have always operated within the framework of the Urban Councils Act Chapter 214, (the precursor to the new Urban Councils Act Chapter 29 of 1996 currently in operation) which prescribed the establishment of local authorities and defined the extent of their powers and authority.

What is of significance is the fact that the Act gave the Minister of Local Government ultra vires powers to limit the urban local authority functions

in terms of delegated authority. Naturally this has advantages and disadvantages in the running of the urban local authorities.

For instance, the fact that this lack of total autonomy makes the urban local authorities to be accountable to some higher authority and not to be a law unto themselves, in other words providing checks and balances in the management and governance of the urban local authorities to safeguard residents interest is a distinct advantage.

On the other hand the concomitant bureaucracy and the inevitable political considerations by Central Government, especially in matters of increases in service charges has had adverse effects on the management of urban local authorities. For instance in the past years delays in the approval of proposed budgetary increases resulted in urban local authorities accumulating huge deficits when at times, increases were only approved after proposed implementation dates.

At dawn of Independence two forms of administration existed in all urban local authorities. For Harare it was a case of better services in the areas we have now "baptised" low-density areas where the privileged colonial masters jealously guarded against penetration of their enclaves by the majority blacks being superior areas. These were provided with the best services available at that time and run by Town Management Boards while the majority languished in overcrowded African townships under the Native Administration and subsequently African Administration Department.

One - City Concept

After Independence, in 1980 the One-City-Concept was brought into force, the idea being primarily to effect a single service delivery system by way of deliberately upgrading services in the once-neglected high density areas.

This scenario has regrettably had a bearing on the urban management efficacy in the post-independence era that was now characterised by high urbanisation rates. A strain was inevitably exerted on the poorly planned infrastructure in the high-density areas especially in matters of water and sewer reticulation systems.

Accordingly a lot of time, energy and resources still have to be spent in rectifying problems emanating from past management anomalies at a time they should be concentrated in new developments in line with the new sophisticated society's needs and expectations.

The implementation of the one-city concept also meant provision of services that respective constituencies required, presumably brought to Council's attention through their politically elected representative as enshrined in

the Act. This therefore meant that to some extent development in a particular area depended on the competency, dedication and accessibility of the local representative by their electorate.

Considering that no academic and/or professional qualifications were required and that blacks were new to urban councils, people's participation in local government matters was therefore negated.

In Harare another dimension to ensure participation which is vital for the success and sustainability of development programmes was brought to life in 1987 through the establishment of supposedly apolitical Ward Development Committees that, ideally, included the whole cross-section of the community and the local councillors. The idea was for the communities to decide what form of development they required that was then supposed to be brought to Council's attention through their local councillor.

Regrettably, irrespective of the intentions to ensure mass participation in development being so noble people's interest in active participation in these structures diminished with time, meaning we have reverted to the period just after Independence when the councillor was left as the sole local government representative in the area.

Committees

The urban Councils Act provided (before the new Act) for the establishment of an Urban Council comprised of councillors from different wards from which they chose amongst themselves a ceremonial mayor and haphazardly slotted themselves into the various committees, again without any due regard for academic and/or professional qualifications, let alone relevant experience in related fields. Regrettably, the adulterated performance of misplaced individuals filtered down to the performance of the Council and ultimately to the performance of workers to the detriment of local residents.

The various committees met as required by the Act and waited for consideration and approval of all recommendations at the end of the month, except in extreme cases when emergency meetings were held.

Obviously this bureaucracy affected timeous provision of services adversely, resulting in quite a number of developmental projects not being implemented at the end of the financial year. For instance in Harare \$102 million remained either unutilised in 1993/4.

The old Act also provided for heads of departments who theoretically were supposed to be under the Town Clerk, yet paradoxically he was also a head of department since he ran his own department. This scenario

adulterated the powers and authority of the Town Clerk who therefore was a "toothless dog" when it came to disciplining and supervising his lieutenants. This culminated in different heads of departments running their own show in matters of recruitment and delivery of services in their areas which inevitably meant lack of corporate approach to urban management and governance.

Urban Council Act 29:15 Revised Edition 1996

It is a result of the above scenario, which compromised the quality of service offered by urban local authorities that Central Government introduced reform to promote autonomy of urban local authorities to rejuvenate them so that they, as principal players facilitated national economic, political as well as social objectives.

In a nutshell the new Act ushered in the dispensation of the Executive Mayors to facilitate management and ensure expediency in local government matters on a daily basis. One very important feature of the introduction of Executive Mayorship was the unequivocal stipulation of the qualifications of the Executive Mayor in terms of academic or professional qualification which are -

- A general certificate of education with passes in at least five subjects, including English, at Ordinary Level; and
- either -
- A general certificate of education with passes in at least two subjects at Advanced Level; or
- A post Ordinary Level qualification in any career of profession obtained after pursuing at least two years of studies"

Also of great importance in the new Act is the setting 40 years as the minimum age and the establishment of the term of office as four years, thus ensuring a mature incumbent and continuity in development, something which was totally lacking in the old Act. Yes, some people have argued that the Act is fraught with deficiencies, inaccuracies and contradictions but I want to believe that it is a good working document which, as allowed by Law can either be amended or improved on with time to suit the changing times. Although I must admit that for Harare such problems which have resulted in the "stop-start" situation and created an atmosphere of uncertainty in the position of Executive Mayor. The nullification has tended to dislocate continuity in implementation of projects as originally envisaged when the new Act was promulgated.

It is therefore expedient that if genuine problem areas are identified in the

new Act thy must be corrected at the earliest possible time so that we move forward.

One other important aspect that the new Act brought in is that of the creation of the Executive Committee to assist the Mayor and ensure implementation of policy.

While the Executive Committee is not the supreme body, which still remains the full Council, it must be realised that this Committee is more powerful than any other Committee of Council and for Harare it meets weekly. Yes, I must admit that because Councillors were so used to the old Act, they at one time thought the newly created Executive Committee was usurping the powers of Council and assumed they had been relegated to being mere rubber-stamps of Executive Committee decisions.

But the Act is very explicit on the functions of this important committee namely:

- a) to assist the mayor in the performance of his functions; and;
- b) to supervise and monitor the organisation, operations and affairs of the council with a view to achieving co-ordination, efficiency and economy and, for that purpose, the executive committee may call for reports from the town clerk and direct him to investigate any matters it considers necessary; and
- c) subject to Parts VII and IX, to appoint and discharge senior officials of the council; and,
- d) to administer and control the collection of income and the expenditure of moneys by the council, and
- e) to supervise the preparation by the town clerk of annual draft estimates of income and expenditure for consideration by the council; and
- f) to initiate the making, amendment or repeal of by-laws, and
- g) to report to the council on any matter referred to it by the council, and
- h) to exercise any other function that the council may delegate to it in terms of subsection (2).

In addition the Act has also created vital positions such as Chamber Secretary and spelt out the new roles and authority of the Town Clerk as the chief Executive. The clear structure and delineation of functions now makes it apparent that the Town Clerk supervises the Heads of Departments, and thus making them accountable and ensuring a corporate approach to issues of urban management and governance.

3. Urban Management

The city of Harare has fully taken advantage of the new dispensation ushered in by the new Urban Councils Act and I am happy to say that although I have only been in office for eight months, we have covered a lot of ground as sustained by the practical changes taking place.

But to facilitate objective evaluation on our performance, I want to include the problems that affected the City before and after the new Act came into force from a management point of view.

Urbanisation ①

Like any other capitals of the developing world, the capital's ability to deliver an efficient service that is more customer focused and that more than meets the rate-payer's satisfaction and expectation several hindrances have been encountered, the major one being our inability to match service deliver with population expansion due to rapid urbanisation and natural growth rate.

Put conservatively as many as 600 000 new faces stream to the capital annually either from rural areas or from smaller towns especially in search of employment. Added to this is the expansion of an average 47 161 babies in the last year giving a combined total of 647 161 people every year. Considering that the size of Kuwadzana is 7573 housing units it means Harare must provide 90 times the size of Kuwadzana, every year in terms of housing units, which is definitely out of reach.

To arrest this situation, to some extent development and expansion of growth points and other smaller towns should be encouraged. It is important to promote investment in these areas to create employment opportunities and improve people's standards so that investment flows to other areas.

Dwindling Grants ②

In terms of the agreement between Central Government and Local Authorities the former is supposed to meet 100% of operating costs for provision of health and education services in urban areas but the situation has continued to deteriorate because government itself is also facing financial

hard times. The Capital runs 57 clinics and 2 major hospitals and in the 1995/96 financial year Government provided 5% of anticipated funds which dwindled to 4,16% during the 96/97 financial year and yet our gross expenditure on the health account was about \$160 million.

On education the Council runs 26 primary schools and while our expenditure for the period 1995 amounted to \$15 million Government merely provided a grant of only \$418 000.

To make matters worse urban local authorities have to brace for a take-over of provision of secondary schools if we are serious about the provision of sound education in our area of jurisdiction because Government is failing to cope.

For example in Budiro suburb with a population of over 60 000 and with 3 primary schools, not even one secondary school has been provided.

This trend perhaps is a pointer that local authorities should start making a provision in their annual budgets for the provision of such services without expecting anything from Central Government. New strategies to provide such funds have to be looked at such as levying parents and/or actively facilitating participation of the private sector. In Harare we have acknowledged establishment of private clinics and crèches in residential areas in order to relieve pressure from the City.

Macro-Economic Problems

In order to stimulate economic growth and create the much-needed employment, Central Government introduced the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme. It is generally accepted that positive results have been registered in the economic front as the economy opens up. But it must be realised that this has inevitably been at the expense of high social costs, as people lost employment, inflation levels rose (initially) and the market was characterised by high interest rates which made borrowing for capital projects by the City very expensive. This also resulted in increased poverty, disease and over-crowding all impacting adversely on the City's revenue base.

Strategies

The city of Harare, in order to improve the economic climate of the City, create employment and try to eliminate poverty embarked on several strategies in its quest to provide services.

First and foremost the city recognised the invaluable contribution of the informal sector to the National economy through employment creation, and thereby boosting consumption patterns and living standards. It is in

this connection that we have welcomed informal trading, rejuvenation of the transport industry and promoted the establishment of home industries in all high-density areas which now employ over 4 600 people.

I must however add that our current position is that this should not be done at the expense of other established traders, and also at the expense of security and hygiene. Hence it is City's continued struggle to invite and involve the participation of the private sector because the City on its own cannot finance these projects. The City has decided to start with the Siya-So Home Industry in Mbare where the agreement of intent we have entered into with a Malaysian Company will be put to experiment.

The City has also extended this approach to the provision of housing where our list in excess of 100 000, although we are convinced this is a fictitious figure. The City's ambition is to provide 34 000 services stands annually over a period of five years. The idea is that people should not stay on the housing waiting list for periods exceeding 3 years.

To achieve this objective the City believes its role in the provision of services should undergo a metamorphosis so that it moves from the traditional local authorities role of providing all the basic services, to that of being mere facilitators of development.

Accordingly we have embarked on a multi-sectoral approach to expedite the provision of housing. The City is currently working on the provision of 10 000 stands through housing co-operatives, joint ventures, private sector participation and advance payment schemes.

Also allied to this, and in line with modern trends the City is also looking at ways to either sub-contract certain traditional functions or even privatise them. Here I am looking at functions such as cleansing services.

The final objective is of course the provision of customer-focused services at the least possible cost to the ratepayer.

* Consultancy

It is with this in mind that immediately after my assumption of office we hired professionals to examine thoroughly and critically the operation of the City with the intention of effecting a turn-around strategy for the organisation to improve. We did not want to move ahead blindly and we did not want to do it on our own, lest our prejudices crept in.

We are now in the process of implementing their recommendations and I must admit they made shocking revelations of what we did not know. For example the City discovered that -

- rates were not being collected for most of the new residential developments such as Msasa Park, Donnybrook and Marlborough amounting to \$75 million in outstanding rates. The simple reason was that they had not been issued with certificates of occupation and pursuant to that we have amended our by-laws accordingly to make sure that no property is occupied before it is issued with a certificate of occupation.
- That all in the entire City was owed \$421 million by ratepayers excluding the \$75 million mentioned above.
- That the City owed its creditors \$320 million but held investments of over \$150 million in various banks and institutions.
- That our Central Stores held more than \$3 million worth of absolute stocks.
- That there was general lack of communication between Treasury and other departments, thus making revenue collection and expenditure management inefficient.

I am happy that the consultants recommended a short-term financial reconstruction intervention and also revealed, to our reconstruction invention and also revealed, to our consternation that the City was not getting as much as we thought from its company, Rufaro Marketing where over 60% of revenue generated went of salaries, especially of top officials.

They have also looked at our manpower levels from a professional point of view and made recommendations on how to improve employees attitudes towards work, vital positions that have to be created and strategies that should take us into the next millennium confidently and in a competitive position like other capitals of the developed world.

Conclusion

The city of Harare has a vision in place and with the aid of outside experts and an enabling environment socially, economically and politically we should be in a position to improve our urban management and governance and ultimately provide an efficient service that is customer oriented in accordance with the winds of change blowing across the world.

With the aid of the new Urban Councils Act, the local authority should soon be more efficient, more accountable and more transparent as we continuously strive to move away from the current position of being sole urban service providers to that of being active facilitators.

Commentary

- the amended Act gives only token authority to local authorities as the government still controls and limits the revenue raising options of the local authorities. For example, the 30% limit imposed on tariff increases at a time when the money for service provision had to be borrowed from financial institutions at rates which exceed 30% The delay in the issuing of government directives* to local authorities interfered with local authority efficiency. The new Act creates conflict between the mayor, his committee and those of full council. The roles of the mayor and the town clerk were also ambiguous giving rise to potential for conflict.
- the staff and personnel structures and conditions of engagement and release also restrained local authorities' flexibility
- there was a call for local authorities to become pro- rather than reactive bodies in the management of their towns *
- * there was inadequate consultation between residents and the local authorities on the issues of budgets, rates and levies. The current systems draws resistance from residents towards any essential revenue raising measures taken by local authorities taken by local authorities to which residents feel they were not party to.
- there was need to include the informal sector into the policy formulation exercise
- there was very little research going on in local authorities

URBAN GOVERNANCE: FINANCING URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN ZIMBABWE

O. Musandu-Nyamayaro
Consultant
Hallbank Associates P/L

1.0 Understanding The Issues Of Our Towns.

The towns and cities around us are becoming ever more populous. As a result, the challenges and problems of developing the towns we face today are problems inextricably bound up with the social and economic context of the country. They are becoming ever more complex while governance of the towns is becoming even more complex, difficult and less straightforward than before.

This is because the context is characterised by rapid change, poverty, population growth, macro- and micro- economic instability and general economic decline, as well as governance and management practises and institutions that are not adapting fast enough to the changed and changing circumstances.

The demand for better governance of our towns is becoming more and more pronounced while demand for mobilising more financial resources and their stringent management more and more limited. Yet the demand for services and investments in urban development has never been higher.

This means that the role of experts, advisors, and professionals such as we are should become more adaptive and crafty now, than before, especially in the planning, decision-making. Financial resource mobilisation and implementation processes involving utilisation of those resources for urban development.

In the face of these conflicting trends and demands, better governance is of utmost importance. So too is the ability of the governors and the governed, to recognise at an early stage, all the relevant aspects and effects of the current ways of doing things in municipal finance and the opportunities being lost and those remaining for the future.

Therefore the focus of this paper is on Financing of Urban Development. It will examine the current situation and practice, raise issues, and identify opportunities and strategic options, as well as possible best practices for today, tomorrow and the future. Therefore basic questions are:

- Why Urban Governance, Finance and Development?
- Urban and Municipal Finance the key issue and why?
- How is municipal finance mobilised?

- How is urban finance (i.e. other) being mobilised?
- Who else could play a role?
- What are the sources? Will they remain viable and sustainable? Is it practice? What are the issues? Options?
- Are any opportunities being lost? How could it be better?
- How will we tell that we have improved governance of financial resources and development investments?

The objective of the paper is therefore to inform, raise issues and stir debate on current practices, issues and opportunities and be indicative of possible best practices.

Accordingly, the paper is organised around six key themes:

- Urban Governance, Finance and Development - Linkages
- Municipal Finance as the key issue
- Municipal Finance System in Zimbabwe
- Municipal Finance Practices and Patterns - past and present, and the future?
- Opportunities and Options for financing urban development and service delivery
- Possible Indicators of best practice?

1.1 Urban Governance, Finance and Development

Urban Governance in this paper loosely refers to the corporate administration, management, control and related decision-making for utilisation of resources of towns by the executive and technical under the direction of the political institutional arms of urban local governments.

However the tendency in every day practice is to limit conception of urban governance to political representation processes of the local Governments. In this paper the conception is extended to the Total Corporate Administration and Management of Towns.

Under this broader sense, it becomes possible to view the mobilisation of finance, its use to achieve urban development goals, its management and what is actually achieved in practice as being influenced by and subject to a number of factors:

- Statute (Urban Councils Act and allied Acts)
- Administrative control by Central Government
- Corporate Policies
- Macro-Economic Environment
- Socio-Economic/Operating Environment
- Local Resource Base
- Political and Social factors and processes

1.2 Urban Finance and Municipal Finance

Urban Finance in this paper refers collectively to all types and sources of finance in the urban economy that is available or applied in one way or another for urban development. This covers finance from municipalities, central government, private sector, non-governmental organisation, donors, individuals and quasi-government.

On the other hand Municipal Finance refers to finance mobilised and utilised by urban local government for achieving a number of developmental goals largely delivery of urban services and investments in social and economic infrastructure.

In Zimbabwe, perhaps like anywhere else, urban development is financed by five key agencies, namely local government, central government, quasi- government, private sector, and the public. However, investments in both public primary social and economic infrastructure are largely financed/funded by municipal finance.

This paper will argue that while municipal finance has been and is the primary and traditional source of urban development, it is time that urban local governments exploited and mobilised non-traditional sources of urban finance resources for social and economic investments and development.

2.0 Municipal Finance in Zimbabwe: The Issues

Very often inadequacy of finance is given as cause of failure by municipalities to make meaningful investments in new social and economic investments, services delivery and maintenance of existing stock of infrastructure and services.

It is very true that urban local authorities face these financial problems. It is also true that urban local authorities are increasingly becoming dependent on borrowing for capital developments.

With the exception of some large towns such as Bulawayo, Gweru and Kwekwe is it not true that the local governments have become rather too "shy" to talk about their "own resources"? and of their capacity to finance infrastructure investments on their own. Why?

Where have the "own resources" continued to go?. (Were the finance reserves of the years 1980 not a pride of the town governors? With increased demand for services and investments and greater responsibilities from decentralisation will financial

recovery succeed without urban governors being more crafty and innovative?

This paper has questions on the "own resources component" of urban councils' finance because it constitutes the traditional and currently primary vehicle of urban, social and economic investments and for any efforts towards sustainable urban development and management.

It also reviews trends in the status of the traditional sources of funds for local authorities and trends in investment practices in Zimbabwe and assesses whether practice points towards sustainable urban development.

The paper argues that one of the key parameters determining the capacity of an urban local government to manage itself towards sustainable development is not only its ability to mobilise its traditional scarce financial resources, plan their allocation and expenditure in a context of fast changing and increasing demands. But those local urban local governments now have to look more and more outside their traditional sources of municipal finance. Thus the focus now should be on urban finance as a wider source for urban development rather than focus only on municipal sources of finance.

We should now begin to ask ourselves more concertedly whether there is a realistic role for the private sector and the public in financing social and economic infrastructure? If the role is there, what opportunities, options and strategies are there?

2.1 Urban Finance System in Zimbabwe: An outline.

The main sources of finance are:

- "Own Resources" levied by councils from beer sales, user charges (fees), supplementary charges, and property tax.
- Loans and Borrowing, capital development loans mainly from central government (General Development Loan Fund, National Housing Fund, and Public Sector Investment Program), as well as borrowing from domestic market in the case of Harare and Bulawayo
- State Grants, mainly per capita grants (these have wilted to nearly nothing over the years).

2.2 Municipal Finance in Practice

a) Scenario depicting municipal finances and practice before 1980

Most councils tended to be viable before independence because of:

- There were less investments in high density areas
- resources were invested only in areas they were raised from
- revenue from private sector did not benefit blacks
- only working class were allowed residence in the towns
- raised finance was not used to improve welfare of residents
- budgets were imposed on residents without consultation
- government could and actually gave grants to councils
- majority of the population had no vote in local governments
- it is for these reasons the towns had 'surpluses'

b) Scenario depicting trends in municipal finance 1980-1992

- There was reform of local government with greater responsibilities given to councils
- demand for services increased tremendously
- more people were allowed permanent residence in the towns (whether employed or not)
- existing infrastructure became overloaded and this meant higher budgets for maintenance/repairs.
- pre-independence surpluses were therefore used up
- there was decline in financial management as budgeting and tariffs became political etc.
- Local government found it difficult to raise revenue, balance books and undertake investments.
- government encouraged local authorities to use own resources for capital projects
- government encouraged local authorities to have cost reduction measures so that they became viable.
- Councils require ministerial approval to raise tariffs.
- Most tariffs became sub-economic
- Councils require ministerial approval to borrow i.e. borrowing powers in order to borrow anywhere
- Borrowing power and tariff approval processes were cumbersome and delayed investments

- Financial status of councils deteriorated and most did not have capacity for own resources for new investments and maintenance.
- Accounts and Audits were behind by as much as 10 years, therefore some councils could not precisely financial resources they actually had and could mobilise.
- Loan repayments were in arrears, meaning they could not have borrowing powers.

c) Initiatives of the Urban II Program

- Government introduced financial recovery planning.
- Financial Performance Plans were introduced as tools for financial recovery
- The LASH has been broadened to be Strategic Plans of need to integrate urban governance.
- Capacity building was undertaken to introduce new culture of technical and financial management.
- The situation has improved,
- Accounts and Audits are being brought up-to-date
- Loan repayment
- Accounting systems have been standardised
- Management culture re-modelled

d) Traditional Sources of Municipal Finance

- Central Government Loans (PSIP/GDLF)
- Donor funds
- VOC and Statutory Grants only for training and computer equipment

e) Issues and Trends

- Each major function must have its own account. Ideally, each account must have a surplus that can be ploughed back and thus finance further development. This has, in recent years, not been happening.
- Revenue: Urban Councils revenues are currently characterised by the following:-
 - ❖ they are largely dependent on non-tax revenues like beer trading, rents, fees, licences, water charges, etc:
 - ❖ 40% plus of the locally generated revenues comes from the high density areas in the form of Supplementary charges and beer profits

- ❖ rates contribute not more than 20% of Councils
- ❖ Councils have in the past kept (before ESAP and Drought) "idle reserves" in some accounts. These are no more as councils are operating on overdrafts.
- ❖ property values on which rates and unit taxes are based are largely extremely low and/or depend on outdated valuation rolls
- ❖ Unit tax system is unfortunately based on the size of a smallholding or farm and not on the productivity of the land
- ❖ Beer surpluses by far the largest source of revenue has suffered from excise duty
- ❖ Urban Councils lose some vehicle taxes due to them to adjoining rural councils which hawk lower rates of tax
- ❖ for socio-political reasons, local charges in the high density residential areas have been controlled
- ❖ Government health and education grants-in-aid have declined.
- ❖ Full responsibilities are coming with decentralisation.
- ❖ Urban Councils are now seeking to exploit opportunities.

Expenditure: the following characteristics are discernible":-

- ❖ Urban councils spend an appreciable amount of their revenue on administration - this is alarmingly so in the case of town councils where the figure is as much as 52%. It is normally accepted that the figure should not exceed 15% of total expenditure. This means that little of their own resources are remaining for development investments and this raises the questions of efficiency and value for money.

- ❖ there is also a high level of loan charges/services, which should ideally not exceed 20% of total expenditure.
- ❖ Deficits in other accounts (high density housing areas) are made up by transfers from the beer account, other surpluses and ultimately from the rate or general account. Ideally each account should even itself.
- ❖ councils are shouldering added responsibilities - e.g. primary schools and expanded health care provision.
- ❖ Although the strategic plans are now taking shape in councils, there is need for making them work as a tool for integrated resource mobilisation, planning and utilisation and move away from fire-fighting practices that have rendered serious cash-flow problems to some large councils such as Harare.
- ❖ In the past there were instances of unbalanced investment in bulk water and sewerage schemes without any corresponding investment in the serving of stands. In the high-density residential sector, the situation has been compounded by more money being made by Building Societies for superstructures (25% of PUPS) without a requisite amount for infrastructure. A superstructure to infrastructure ratio of 2:1 has been suggested. This situation has been improved by Urban II. But we need to consolidate this trend through strategic planning and implementation.
- ❖ There has recently been consistent investment on plant and equipment that in the past necessarily adversely affected capital works, service provision and maintenance work. However, there is need for maintenance planning and programming to ensure sustainability.
- ❖ Budgets and planning for maintaining existing stock of infrastructure is still lowly prioritised in the councils and emphasis is still on new investments i.e. reacting to new demand rather

than maintaining what has already been invested. This will result in serious breakdown of the infrastructure systems and costly replacements in the near future should resources not be allocated for maintenance and rehabilitation.

Borrowing

The Urban Councils Act provides for borrowing for all councils. However, in practice, Urban Councils may only borrow with the approval of the Minister for Local Government. Borrowing can be for capital works, purchasing of property, loan repayments and to cover emergencies.

The minister accords Councils authority or powers to borrow (borrowing powers) after having appraised and analysed council's financial position. Harare and Bulawayo may borrow out of the General Loan Fund and the National Housing Fund).

The objective of this administrative control is to ensure that councils plan, spend and live within their means and more importantly to enable the National Economic Planning Commission and Ministry of Finance to link public expenditure and borrowing to the macro-economic policies and domestic financial markets

Whereas borrowing powers used can be cumbersome, the situation has vastly improved the impact of the Urban II project.

3.0 POINTS FOR DISCUSSION, INDICATIVE OPPORTUNITIES AND BEST PRACTICE INDICATORS FOR FINANCING URBAN DEVELOPMENT AND INFRASTRUCTURE.

(I did not wish to come with answers for the following issues. That could have defeated the purpose of spending so much resources to come here. Were I to do so, I would post the papers to you without the need for a workshop. The answers must come from the workshop).

Corporate Policies, Institutions and Practices

Do the councils have corporate policies that are sustainable and viable with respect to finance mobilisation and investment planning? What capacity building is required? Are the corporate institutions, organisation and human resources responsive to demands of the dynamic issues and operating environment? How can they adapt and be adaptive?

Corporate Behaviour:

Are corporate behaviour/governance practices viable and sustainable i.e. fiscal discipline and related administration, management and human resources? What issues are emerging? Could it be true unless there is capacity building to ensure that the political executive establishment is provided with clear standards for fiscal discipline and strategic planning, the priority practices may continue being dictated or responding to ad hoc investment decisions? How can focused and accountable financial management be achieved?

Local Resource Base:

The traditional source of finance is now wearing thin. What options are there for councils to mobilise and develop internal and external opportunities for finance for investment?

Socio-Economic Operating Environment

The resources base, the people are getting poorer and poorer. How do you councils finance urban development for the majority of people who are poor? Is there a role the poor can play in the equation? The operating environment is dynamic; do we have corporate governance that is equally dynamic and adaptive? How do we get them transformed?

Commercialisation, Privatisation and Contracting Out of Services and Activities

There are current initiatives in councils, some serious and some less so. Examples already in place are a) liquor commercialisation in Harare, Bulawayo b) refuse and waste disposal contracting c) security services contracting d) tending and contracting banking services. Are the emerging patterns and stories of success? Are they emerging patterns and stories of success? Are they sustainable? What are we not doing right? How could it be done better?

Running the Public Entities/Councils on Commercial Principles?

Rather than commercialise and privatise liquor undertakings to run on business lines to create a cash cow, does it not achieve better and sustainable results to run the entire council on commercial principles? Will this not ensure that the services and resources provided that could pay for themselves are well priced to pay for themselves and take full advantage of commercial opportunities?

Running council business on commercial principles is possible for some utilities e.g. water, sewer, roads, professional services or the entire council.

Pricing for Financial Independence?

A key element in the viable and sustainable mobilisation and provision of infrastructure and services is pricing policy and practice. What determines capacity of system to service loans, generate finance and re-finance investments? Are there clear and viable pricing and tariff policies? How are they set?

Successful provision of infrastructure services on full cost recovery/commercial/economic basis depends on establishment of reliable revenue sources, pricing autonomy and judicious use of management instruments such as budgetary transfers. Even when these are in place, there will be no success with poor practices, decision-making and lack of predictability and financial stability.

Cost Recovery and the Urban Poor:

Is there still not a fear in local governments that fully recovering costs will hurt the poor? Who is actually benefiting from subsidies? In practice are the poor not paying higher prices per unit anyway and elsewhere? Full cost recovery may therefore actually help the poor as capacity is built for expansions that benefit them? Is that not so?

Reform for "Corporatisation":

In order to create enabling framework for the above, is reform not necessary for commercialisation, "corporatisation" and pricing for financial independence? Does the Executive Major system not seem to pointing to "corporatisation" of towns? Could there be no financial gains?

Is it unthinkable and impossible to change a municipal infrastructure department into and local authority enterprise e.g. water, sewer, roads, solid waste, in order to increase management and commercialisation efficient and autonomy? This may not necessarily involve giving the entity corporate legal status subjecting it strictly corporate practice, but will operate on same principles.

Using Markets for Urban Infrastructure Development:

Market forces and competition can improve the production can improve the production and delivery of urban infrastructure? Do

we cling to the old belief that infrastructure is best and efficiently provided by local governments? Is there no role for competition, public consortia, individuals, and private sector? Is it impossible to design a regulatory framework and instruments for enabling this rather than ad hoc approaches emerging? In considering whether to unbundled infrastructure investments for competition and for concessions, we need to ask ourselves whether it should remain mandatory that a council actually directly finances, provide and maintain all the infrastructure investments in towns. Is there no case now for tapping more into regional and international capital markets?

Project Financing: Innovative Infrastructure Financing Techniques;

This can be employed to support and accelerate transition from public to private sector risk bearing in infrastructure development. This is simpler with stand-alone projects where local governments can shift from being direct financiers to being facilitators and private entrepreneurs and lenders take a direct role: Examples are concessions such as BOT, BOO and Private-Public Partnerships. The Pungwe Project is one example close by.

4.0 CONCLUSION

Financing and Improving infrastructure investment performance is clearly increasingly getting difficult-politically, technically, organisationally and administratively.

It becomes apparent that without the fundamentals of good urban governance-accountability, creativity, adaptively, a predictable and stable legal framework, openness, and transparency - financial opportunities are not seen, even the best efforts can be ineffective while the little financial resources available are wasted.

In the light of the above, is it not time for a practical deep soul searching? Are the Lap moving fast and clearly enough Reforming Urban Service Provision and Infrastructure provision? Is this going to increase the financial stability and independence of Urban Councils by diversifying revenue sources and reducing the dependence on central government grant/loans? Are Urban Councils inn a position to mobilise new or additional resources to meet service needs?

It has become too clear that central and local government have no capacity to provide and continue to broker the bulk of urban infrastructure. Is Private Sector financing not needed to ease the

burden on government finances, to encourage better risk sharing, monitoring, accountability and management of infrastructure investments? But how? Do we have the will and the political commitment? Local Government political reform?

Key Words/ Phrases:

- Government has cut grants to local authorities while increasing their tax burden.
- Government should adopt tax-sharing policies and assist in the provision of welfare services to enhance local authorities' revenue raising capacities
- Most urban authorities are aware of the problems raised and were trying to institute new revenue raising measures and make existing ones more efficient
- The new act does not give local authorities real autonomy to have freedom to adopt corporate strategies, commercialise and compete in the open market for investment and other resources. Some local authorities were now treating government grants as bonuses and no longer based their budgets on them
- Most councils are financially inefficient as they were in most cases unable to implement full cost recovery measures. The private sector should be mobilised and encouraged to assist in drawing up of development packages
- There is need to clarify the relationship between the ministry of local Government, rural and Urban development and urban Local Authorities
- There is need for a fora on which central government and local government could discuss problems on an equal footing
- There is need to run local authorities as corporate bodies rather than as individual departments
- Zimbabwean civil society needs to take active role and interest in local government management and governance beyond their vote.

TRANSPORT PROBLEMS IN THE CITY OF HARARE
C. MUPUNGA
(Deputy City Planner (Traffic))

1. Introduction

Transport should be used to solve the acute demand of such a service suffered by Commuters, commerce and industry and should NOT be a problem in itself.

However, more often than not, we experience problems created by Transport in terms of breakdowns, accidents, congestion, air pollution etc. These problems are compounded by the fact that, the more we provide Transport services in any given area, the more such problems increase in both intensity and severity.

2. Issues Pertaining to Transport Problem

The following are some of the transport problems that call for special attention in order to redress the situation. These can be grouped into several categories such as:

- a) Vehicles and road network related
- b) Environmental related and
- c) Human behaviour related.
- d) Congestion
- e) Accidents
- f) Peak Hour Problem
- g) Inadequate road capacities



2.1 Vehicle And Road Network Related Issues

a) Peak Hour Problem

The peak hour problem stems from the tidal flow of traffic in which traffic into the City is considerably higher in the morning than in the evening and vice versa. In the public passenger transport sector, the services are also characterised by acute peaking and unidirectional flow or passenger traffic. This puts great pressure on the demand and supply of public passenger transport as it is difficult to provide adequate and efficient services to match this peaking. This problem can be solved by the introduction of one-way traffic flow systems because such one way couplets carry more traffic than can be handled in a two way street.

b) Traffic Congestion

Tidal flow of traffic also creates "artificial" congestion in the road network in most modern cities, motorists drive "bumper to bumper" and drivers become frustrated and weary. The repercussion of traffic congestion is the increase in travel times and increase travel times will result in a need for more vehicles e.g. buses in order to maintain required bus service frequencies. The additional public transport vehicles will add to more congestion and so on.

A solution to the congestion problem may be deemed to be more road works- road widening, or a new route or even a freeway.

A better solution might well be to relieve the original cause of the congestion by use of traffic management techniques such as the following:

- Provision of a properly structured hierarchy of roads comprising access roads, local collectors, local and district distributors, arterial roads, including multi-lane, and dual roads, limited access freeways and separated junctions.
- Traffic Controls:-regulations including speed and weight limits, parking and stopping restrictions etc.
- Enforcement: Investment in sophisticated signal systems or in improved roads will be wasted if the necessary regulations for control of traffic are not better enforced.

c) Inadequate Road Capacities

The present road network in Harare is failing to cope with the vehicular traffic because they were never planned to take huge volumes of traffic. Road junctions and intersections reach over-saturation levels almost throughout the day.

To increase road capacities, it has been planned to introduce a number of one-way traffic flow coupler. In other roads it becomes necessary to remove-street car parking in order to increase road capacities.

Junctions/intersections widening will also be necessary where the existing road geometry does not allow increased capacities without investing huge sums of money.

2.2 Environmental Related

As vehicular increases so do such environmental detriments as

1. noise
2. safety
3. visual intrusion and
4. air pollution

- i) Traffic noise is often increased when heavy goods vehicles are allowed to pass through residential areas or city centres. Weight restrictions should be imposed on roads that pass through such areas. For example in Harare, before a weight restriction is imposed a traffic survey count is carried out and if 10% of the total vehicle using that particular road is heavy goods vehicles the weight restriction is therefore imposed.
- ii) in order to increase traffic safety especially within CBD, pedestrian malls where no vehicular traffic is allowed should be introduced.
- iii) Visual intrusion is often caused by abnormal-loads and heavy goods vehicles carrying containers. Such vehicles should be routed away from areas where the visual intrusion is evidently unwelcome, e.g. residential areas and areas of heavily trafficked roads.
- iv) **Air Pollution**

Although vehicular traffic is not the only source of air pollution in Cities, they certainly contribute more than 50% of air pollution experienced in these areas.

Strict regulations on gaseous emissions from vehicular traffic will help reduce pollution. "Aged" vehicles should be removed from the roads as such vehicles will emit exhaust gases in abundance if not properly maintained.

2.3 Human Behaviour Related Issues

- i) Youthful drivers tend to get carried away when on the steering wheel. To them speeding is synonymous to perfect and safe driving. Yet the opposite is true.

- ii) On the other hand "seasoned" motorists i.e. those in their sixties tend to be too careful on the road and they can easily create "artificial" traffic congestion resulting in adverse repercussions such as accidents.

3. POLITICAL DECISION ON TRANSPORT MATTERS

Decisions made by politicians sometimes contribute to the total transport problems experienced in Cities. In Harare the introduction of Commuter Omnibuses, although it was a noble idea and has actually relieved some transport woes suffered by Commuters to a certain extent, has created untold traffic congestion.

Until recently, the City Centre of Harare was deteriorating very fast in terms of commercial viability and other related activities due to the presence of Commuter Omnibuses. Shops were either closing or relocating to quieter and less congested places like the suburbia.

4. CONCLUSION

All in all transport problems can be solved if concerted is applied by all whose responsibility it is to plan and manage traffic in the City. Whatever measures are implemented in this regard, they must be cost effective.

URBAN GOVERNANCE, POVERTY AND URBAN HOUSING

A. Kamete

Lecturer, Rural & Urban Planning Department

Introduction

URBAN HOUSING IS a key element in any system of urban governance by virtue of its fundamental role in human socio-economic activities. It is now generally acknowledged that housing possesses the following important attributes, in addition to its widely acclaimed attributes as a basic need and a fundamental human right:

- 1.** It is the single largest investment most households will ever make in any urban setting. Housing is thus an asset and an important aspect of wealth creation and empowerment for a significant proportion of the urban populace.
- 2.** Housing is both a product and a process in the urban arena. As a product it has a material value, whose transaction forms a distinctive and telling commodity in the real estate market. In addition it also has the features of a social good. As a process it possesses the unique characteristics of both a consumptive and productive activity. This has made it an area of both public and private interest.
- 3.** It is perhaps the most regulated activity in the urban arena. Public intervention in housing has been an area of intense debate in the past two decades. There have been shifts in perceptions, product types and delivery systems.
- 4.** Housing is one of the few areas where perceptions and definitions matter, and thus raises financial, economic, technical, political, social, psychological and moral questions.

The above stipulations point at the fact that urban housing is critical in urban governance because it raises all questions related to governance; it involves political and social institutions and processes; and incorporates all the features of transparency, democracy, efficiency, public participation, accountability, democracy and reciprocity which issues are critical in urban governance (see Olowu and Akinola, 1995: 20).

The Unique Position of Urban Low-income Housing

The preceding discussion, takes on special significance when applied to the section of the urban community commonly referred to as the low-income groups. It is among the low-income community that we find that perennial challenge to professionals and politicians, which to them can be an opportunity, an anathema or a thorn in their side, namely, the amorphous and heterogeneous "urban poor". Unfortunately for the urban managers (hereafter called the governors) this intractable group forms by far the majority of the urban population in Zimbabwe's cities. A recent study estimates that at least 54% of the urban population are at least poor, their total income falling below the total consumption poverty line (TCPL) of Z\$2 554.86 (MPSLSW; 1996).

Housing for the urban low-income groups has become one of the critical yardsticks by which professional and political competence is judged. As such it forms a joy and an embarrassment for the urban governors and the institutions they represent and/or operate in.

It being the centre of human socio-economic activities, housing is an area, which can generate a lot of debate as regards the survival of urban low-income communities, and the sustainability of urban systems. In short housing comprises one of the key causes and symptoms of good and bad governance.

The Urban Poor, The Governors And Housing

The urban "poor" have often been viewed in one or both of the two perspectives: as a helpless lot who should be assisted and/or a nuisance whose activities need to be closely monitored and/or controlled to safeguard the prosperity and order of the urban areas. With time this has come to be a self-fulfilling prophecy. Urban governors and managers have taken it upon themselves to "help" the poor and to protect the city from them. With regards to housing the so-called substandard structures, slums and squatter settlements form the vices of the poor, whereas public housing, subsidies and building codes form part of the help given to the poor.

It is in this vein that the housing interventions (through urban planning and management instruments) by the "rulers" in local government (on the advice of their technical/professional staff?) should be viewed. The approach adopted can be downright hostile. This happens especially if the poor are viewed as a nuisance, who for example, flout planning, health and safety regulations and endanger the prosperity, lives and/or comfort of other urban residents. In this view, illegal subdivisions, backyard shacks and unauthorised structures and other violations of bye-laws are generally frowned upon as problems that should be eradicated in the name of good

urban management to create a prosperous and liveable urban system through an acceptable and standard housing environment.

At other times, this same group (the poor) is regarded as pitiful, helpless, benign and trusting. They are perceived as lacking the necessary intellectual, material and financial resources to help themselves. In times of disasters they are offered "relief" like social security and a freeze in rents, while in normal times the rulers offer them "development aid", which in urban housing comprises subsidies and technical assistance. Paternalistic approaches are adopted to help this group of deprived people.

Benevolent to s.
In recent years penetrative insights have been made into the conditions of the urban poor. Some established views and practices have been questioned and doubted. (see among others Turner, 1976; Payne, 1977; Hardoy and Satterthwaite, 1989). The emphasis on governance has led to further questioning of established perceptions and practices. The idea of an all-knowing, democratic, transparent, accountable and benevolent local government institution has been challenged especially in its dealings with the poorer sections of the urban community (Hardoy and Satterthwaite, 1987; Wisner, 1988).

benevolence Urban Governance and Urban Housing: The Questions

It is clear from the foregoing discussion that the charting of the poor-governor relationships from an urban housing and urban governance perspective requires a multifaceted task that includes, among other things,

- the precise identification of the urban poor and the governors in general and how this spills over into housing;
- the nature of urban poverty and the activities and characteristics of the urban poor on the nuisance-resource and asset-liability continuum;
- institutional practices and modes of local governance by the urban local authorities in the face of urban poverty and the urban poor with respect to low-income housing;
- and the extent to which the urban housing problem is a structural creation.

In operationalising the above themes, the study needs to incorporate a range of issues and activities that revolve around the relationship between the governors and the governed. In this respect the study takes us through the whole spectrum of urban sub-systems as we examine the aforesaid relationships. This covers:

a. **Urban low-income Housing**

This examines such issues as problem search, filtration and definition with respect to adequate and acceptable housing, its planning, delivery, management, use and adequacy.

b. **The urban low-income residential environment:**

Issues to be looked at include use, abuse, affordability, pricing, cost recovery, participation, the ruler-ruled relationship, structures of governance and procedures, civic action and institutional responses.

c. **The urban environment**

Important here is the recognition that the housing activities of the poor are not localised but incorporate the urban poor/urban environment interaction, mutual effects, the poor-governor interaction and effects.

d. **The activities of the urban poor and the corresponding institutional responses**

The housing micro-economic and social environment, survival and livelihood, the informal sector, institutional regulatory and statutory framework, institutional practices in "relief" and "development" form part of the focal points of analysis as also do control, repression and implications.

e. **Urban governance, housing the urban poor**

This forms the study's conclusive evaluation. It is only through such an exhaustive investigation that urban housing, poverty and governance are comprehensively tackled and firmly placed within a policy-dialogue framework.

URBAN ENVIRONMENTS AND THE GOVERNANCE CHALLENGE

T. Mubvami

Lecturer

Rural & Urban Planning Department

Urban Environments and Governance

The concept of governance entails the understanding of a set of rules made by society and all its institutions. These rules are approved by all groups and embrace values of that society. Governing or ruling is therefore supposed to follow a set of conditions as shown in table 1. These include efficiency, accountability, transparency, responsiveness to the needs of the public, pluralism in society and should offer choices to the governed.

Viewed this way, governance is two-faced. There are the governors - in urban areas this is the council- which is supposed to enforce the rules and ensure that the conditions for good governance are met. On the other hand are the governed - the people who consume local authority services. There is supposed to be communication between the governors and the governed if the conditions of good governance are to be met. The governed population may participate in civic affairs through a number of ways including grassroots civic organisations which may act as pressure groups.

The relationship between urban local governments (the governors/ leaders) and urban societies (the citizens) is supposed to be marked by dialogue whereby responsible citizens are supposed to participate in the socio-economic and political affairs of their society by making relevant inputs. This means that in the attempt to regulate, formulate policies, projects, and the allocation of resources the rulers should be in dialogue with the citizens whose needs the rulers are taking care of as shown in figure 2. A breakdown in the communication results in serious problems relating the needs and aspirations of the urban society. These may relate to the provision of inappropriate housing, shortages, transport problems or very poor urban environments. This dysfunctional relationship between the rulers and the citizens then constitutes bad governance.

Those who are on the receiving end of this relationship are usually the urban poor do not usually who participate in civic affairs. It has been argued that bad governance results in the impoverishment of the citizens. Their economic activities will not be supported. The rulers may fail to create enough opportunities for the citizens

hence enhancing their state of poverty. On the other hand poverty may also result in bad governance through lack of participation and corruption.

Why urban environments are important.

Creating sustainable urban environments is very important for three main reasons.

1. Sustainable cities are fundamental to social and economic development. The role of cities and towns in stimulating development is now being recognised. Towns and cities are supposed to build diversified and dynamic economies which raise productivity, create wealth and jobs provide essential services. This way cities become engines of economic and social advancement, which is essential for national economic growth.
2. Environmental degradation obstructs the development contribution of towns and cities. The development potential of most cities and towns is being threatened by environmental deterioration - air and water pollution, and resource depletion. These problems impose extra costs on business and industry. The inefficient use and depletion of natural resources raises input prices and operating costs throughout the economy and deters new investment. Heightened risks from environmental hazards have the same effects. Cities and towns have to find better ways of balancing the needs and pressures of urban growth and change with the opportunities and constraints of the environment. This calls for good governance.
3. Environmental deterioration is not inevitable. The problems of deterioration are not an inescapable result of urbanisation and economic change. The fundamental challenge to urban managers has to do with good urban governance i.e. learning how to plan better and more effectively manage the process of urban development, avoiding or alleviating problems whilst realising the positive potentials of city growth and change. New and more positive approaches to urban management can help to mobilise and effectively apply local resources of all kinds.

Rapid population growth which has not been matched by good governance to provide services and other economic opportunities has resulted in the severe deterioration of urban environments in most Third World cities. The concern for the deterioration of the

urban environment has given rise to what has been termed the "brown agenda" (Bartone, 1992). This agenda has concerned itself with a number of environmental manifestations of bad governance which include:

1. the lack of potable water in urban areas,
2. sanitation and drainage problems,
3. inadequate solid and hazardous waste management,
4. uncontrolled pollution of the air, water and land from various sources,
5. accidents linked to congestion and over crowding and,
6. the occupation and degradation of environmentally sensitive areas.

The major challenge of rapid urbanisation will be therefore to create or enhance urban governments and societal institutions and relationships between them that are able to dialogue and produce rules with legitimacy and which enhance values sought by individuals or groups within societies in as far as the provision of services are concerned. This approach will ensure sustained urban growth while solving the environmental and social problems emanating from the concentration of people. The rapid deterioration of urban environments has been worsened by the poverty prevailing in these urban areas which has forced people to further abuse the environment and worsen an already worse situation. Underlying causes of urban environmental deterioration have been well identified by Satterthwaite et al as:

- a) the pervasive lack of public awareness of urban environmental problems and unwillingness of urban local authorities to address the problems.
- b) poor urban governance which includes weak institutional capacity in planning as well as the management and operational aspects of urban service delivery, jurisdictional conflicts, lack of effective public education in environmental issues, lack of effective community and private sector participation in the planning and implementation of urban environmental services.
- c) inadequate regulatory and economic policies that do not provide the necessary basis for comprehensive environmental management
- d) insufficient knowledge and understanding of the extent, impacts and processes of environmental degradation.

The above causes point to the urgency research into the governance issues surrounding urban environmental problems. This includes trying to understand the nature of participation, interaction, accountability, transparency in matters relating to urban environmental problems. In most third world cities environmental problems have not been given the profile which they deserve considering their impacts on the urban population.

In order to fully understand the urban environmental problems, indicators have been developed which can be used as a basis for a framework for in-depth analysis of urban environments environmental issues. Table 1 below gives an insight into some of these indicators. The indicators are measurable facets of the environment which can then be compared with society's desired state and how the system is reacting to these indicators (signs of bad or good governance)

Table 1: Urban Environmental Indicators

| CATEGORY | VARIABLES |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| 1. Level of pollution | Air quality, water quality, noise levels, waste disposal, ground contamination |
| 2. Type of landuse | The pattern of built and open land, the mix of uses, the extent of land vacancy and dereliction. |
| 3. The building stock infrastructure | Its fitness for purpose, condition, the process of land renewal and conservation |
| 4. The type of townscape | The design of buildings, landscaping, traffic management, litter and vandalism. |

Source: OECD (1990).

The above framework attempts to give a holistic approach to understanding urban problems and a framework for devising solutions. Other approaches have looked at the urban environment as a resource, as a hazard, and as the ambience to which man has to adapt. (Bradley et al, 1990). In this approach, it is only the second tier, i.e. urban environment as a hazard which is of very grave concern to environmentalists. All the negative connotations of urban environments i.e. pollution and the generation of wastes are included in this tier. This has brought to the fore the need for taking urban environments seriously.

Zimbabwe has not been spared from these manifestations of bad urban governance. The introduction of the structural adjustment programme has worsened the situation as people have had to abuse the urban environment to supplement their meagre earning or make a living from it due to economic hardships. The main environmental problems include air pollution, water supply, waste disposal, traffic congestion, squalid housing conditions, and the general lack of basic facilities in urban areas. There is also a problem of operation and maintenance of the basic services provided by local authorities.

Governance and the Effects of Built-up areas on the Environment

Most urban environmental problems result from the way urban settlements are planned and organised. There is a general symbiotic relationship between settlements and their environments which normally exists in situations of good governance. If this is not realised, the result will be the above mentioned problems which are manifestations of bad governance.

Urban areas, draw heavily on natural resources like water, forests, soils and other natural materials. Urban activities in return for the natural resources release wastes, which if not properly managed, affect the vitality of the settlements through pollution, which disturbs the biological, geological and chemical cycles necessary to sustain the settlements.

Built-up areas can result in excessive deforestation of areas around them. Inhabitants from these settlements usually do this for firewood purposes. At times this is done to create little plots for agricultural purposes. Zimbabwe's urban settlements are characterised by small agricultural plots on the edges of built up areas. Some of these plots are too close to rivers and streams and this has resulted in the heavy siltation of the rivers and streams. This is threatening the very survival of the settlements. On the other hand the urban settlements are characterised by pollution -both domestic and industrial. This has created unhealthy conditions, in urban areas.

Environmental protection and improvement of the quality of life have become integral components of development plans. In urban plans, these

manifest themselves through programmes in public health, safe water supply, sanitation, soil conservation, industrial hygiene, forest and wildlife protection. These plans and programmes are meant to ensure sustainable development of the settlements through harmonising development efforts with the environmental capacity of natural systems.

Governance and the Main Urban Environmental Problems Affecting Zimbabwean Urban Settlements.

Zimbabwe has a population of 10.41 million which is growing at a rate of 3.14 percent annually. About 33 percent of the population lives in urban areas with two-thirds residing in Harare and Bulawayo which are the two largest cities in the country. Poor governance in the urban areas has resulted in the main urban environmental problems are discussed below.

i) Water and Air Pollution

Levels of water pollution in rivers and lakes supplying water to Zimbabwean urban settlements have been increasing steadily. Most dams and water courses supplying Harare have been heavily afflicted by the water hyacinth and other types of pollution. The ineffectiveness of Harare City Council and pollution policies in dealing with urban environmental problems was demonstrated by the recent death of fish in Lake Chivero and the sulphate sludge problem downstream of the lake which have been reported extensively in newspapers.

Air pollution is slowly becoming a serious problem affecting urban areas. Some parts of Zimbabwe's urban areas have been affected by air pollution from cars and emissions from industries. The scant research available on this aspect puts lead concentrations to be high along certain traffic corridors. This has been attributed to the use of unroad worthy vehicles and also the use of unleaded petrol. Excessively high concentrations have been recorded along Simon Mazorodze Road in Harare and the Harare Road in Bulawayo.

ii) Waste management

All urban areas in Zimbabwe have regular collection services. Uncollected waste accumulates in drains, roads, and open spaces, thereby posing a health hazard to inhabitants. About 45% of all urban households enjoy regular waste collection, which is disposed of through sanitary landfills and crude dumps. (Rakodi, 1996) Other research results put collection levels in the urban areas of Zimbabwe at about 90%

However, this hides the fact that most of these dumps are not properly managed and problems of contamination may exist. The efficiency of collection methods and other social issues still need to be addressed.

iii) Water Supply

The urban population of Zimbabwe enjoys a high degree of connection to services like water connection, sewerage and electricity. These services are critical in creating a healthy environment. The availability of potable water close by will improve hygiene and therefore the risk of disease. Water is one of those resources in Zimbabwe which has been least exploited. The vulnerability of urban settlements to water shortages has been exposed by the recent droughts. Water rationing has been introduced as an interim measure in most urban areas. However, this has tended to compromise the very sanitary reasons on which the principles of the provision of potable water are based. Questions of the quality of the water and other issues related to affordability of the water have been raised and no solutions have yet been put forward.

Most of these problems have afflicted the urban poor. This is because the governance set-up favours the high income groups. There is still very little participation in civic affairs by low income families. Grassroots institutions are only beginning to emerge in the urban areas. There have also been problems of enforcing some of the rules by the urban governors. Some of these rules are inappropriate for the existing socio-economic conditions.

From a conceptual point one of the solutions which has been put forward in order to solve the above problems is the need for strengthening governance (Cardiff Workshop, July 1992). The suggestion is that there should be institutional reorganisation to reflect the complex nature of environmental problems as well as the concerns of the affected population. This may take the form of new agencies which should be able to 1) mobilise public support for environmental problems, 2) develop managerial, operational, technical and financial capacities of urban environmental agencies responsible for planning and implementing urban services and 3) establishing clearly defined jurisdictional arrangements that take into account the inter-sectoral nature of urban environmental problems.

Another solution that has been posed relates to the need for improving policy interventions. Researchers suggest that when establishing policies, there is need to consider the severity of each problem i.e.. its health and economic cost implications, relationship to other problems and the available instruments and institutions for achieving the policy objectives. Economic instruments can reduce excessive reliance on regulation and investment.

The improvement of information and understanding of urban environmental problems is important in developing countries like Zimbabwe. It is therefore important to create an information base on urban environmental problems i.e. their nature, extent, impacts and processes involved before appropriate solutions can be put forward.

One of the main problems in the urban areas of Zimbabwe is that not enough data exists on these various aspects of the urban environment. The extent of environmental degradation and the costs of rectifying the situation are not properly known. It is there necessary to carry out research into the above environmental problems which are threatening the sustainability of cities in Zimbabwe. The main assumption is that local authorities are failing to manage the urban environment.

The Case for Solid Waste Management and Water Supply.

The current research initiative is meant to look into the extent of environmental problems in the urban areas of Zimbabwe. It will use the examples of waste management (both domestic and hazardous types) and water supply and sanitation as in-depth case studies. The thrust of the research will be the search for economic instruments and other policies which can be used to control the negative urban environmental problems emanating from the above mentioned problems.

The main reasons for selecting these two research areas are that:

1. The two are the most under-rated urban environmental problems in the urban areas of most developing countries.
2. They have ripple effects on the economy and can affect the health of urban population.
3. If properly managed, solid waste and water supply can be a source of wealth for both the urban local authorities and the citizens.

Uncollected refuse and its uncontrolled disposal are a nuisance health hazard to urban residents. Accumulation of refuse in stormwater drains and sewers can cause or aggravate urban flooding. Similarly using economic instruments for managing the supply and demand of water has not been seriously looked into.

The research will have a number of objectives. These include:

- a) determining the main sources of water pollution in the urban areas of Zimbabwe and the contribution of wastes.
- b) identifying the areas affected by the problems of water pollution and how this has affected water supply and identifying areas affected by waste removal.

- c) identifying those members of society who are affected by these environmental problems and how they have adapted to the problems.
- d) appraise the institutional set up and its effectiveness to deal with the problem.
- e) appraise the role of the public and the private sector in solving the problems.

Research Questions

The research will attempt to answer a number of questions:

- i) which is the most appropriate method of waste collection? How best can community resources be utilised - through utilising the informal sector or appropriate technology? Can waste collection be indigenised? It may be necessary to compare the traditional western methods of waste collection with the 'appropriate technology' approach which relies more on informal sector technology.
- ii) what are the environmental impacts of the various methods of waste disposal currently in use? How can the problem of dump leacheates be controlled? How can the current practice of site disposal sites be improved?
- iii) what are the economics of waste recycling? Are there any barriers (cultural or social) that affect solid waste recycling in the urban areas of Zimbabwe. How can demand for recycling be created in the urban areas? Is there any role for indigenous companies to play in waste recycling and if so how can this be further encouraged? Which are the markets for recycled products - local or regional? Can this have an impact on the unemployment problem?
- iv) what are the gender issues in solid waste management? - attitudes of women to solid waste and neighbourhood cleanliness.
- v) Is there any demand for the use of solid waste for urban agriculture? Can urban communities in Zimbabwe be mobilised to start composting co-operatives? What types of waste materials can be used for these purposes.

- vi) what is the present institutional set-up for solid waste management in Zimbabwe? How is the service being managed and is there any scope for privatising the service? What will be the impact of the privatisation of the service on the urban environment and the fiscus of the local authorities? Will this stimulate more employment or create unemployment?

For water supply the research will look into issues of quantity and quality, costs of supplying the water, the networks and their efficiency, institutional set-up and effectiveness and conservation issues.

It is very important to look at the research in terms of its findings on helping policies that try to stimulate urban economies. As a result questions relating to employment creation in managing waste management become important. Issues of indigenisation and privatisation will be weighed against each other in terms of encouraging efficiency and creating employment. The role of the local authorities and the communities themselves will also be critically examined with a view of identifying the best policies for managing solid wastes.

The research questions are meant to give indications within urban local authorities which relate to efficiency, accountability, transparency, public participation, gender, partnerships and options and choices in managing urban environments.

There has been a general feeling among the city fathers and other leaders that environmental problems are problems of developed countries and not developing countries and that these are largely rural problems in developing countries. The research will therefore aim at identifying the problems and demonstrate their gravity.

Key Words/ Phrases:

- there was conflict the urban poor and the provision of public transport. This was exacerbated by the fact that land-use planning in cities tended to locate new low cost schemes further away from the city centre
- local authorities have not done enough to address the historical imbalances in the provision of low income housing and transport. There were affordability problems and it was difficult for people to walk long distances
- need to research on the informal sector and harness capabilities that can be developed

- need to build capacities of urban local authorities to enable them to meet the challenges of increased responsibilities and competition
- housing subsidy should be introduced
- promote more high rise and semi -detached housing to curb urban sprawl
- reintroduce transport levy in order to attract the private sector to participate in public transport provision
- need to identify and harness the contribution and capabilities of the urban poor

RURAL - URBAN LINKAGES

J. Mabhenge
Regional Planner
National Planning Commission

1.0 Introduction

- 1.1** The 1992 Population Census Report shows that of the 10 412 548 persons in Zimbabwe, 31% (3 187 720 persons) lived in Urban Areas, while 69% (7 224 828 persons) lived in rural areas. With an average annual population growth rate of 3,14%, the 1997 population projection stands at 12 153 257 persons.
- 1.2** In this paper, rural areas are those areas in Zimbabwe under the jurisdiction of the 57 Rural District Councils including National and Game Parks, while urban areas are those human settlements with a population of 2 500 persons or more. Thus, Communal Land, Small Scale Commercial Farming Areas, Large Scale Commercial Farming Areas, Resettlement Areas, National and Game Parks are Rural Areas, while cities, Town Council Areas and Mines (large) are Urban Areas.
- 1.3** Studies show that Zimbabwe has a dual economy. The urban and the rural economies interact linked by trade and commerce, communication networks, labour migration, and capital distribution among other linkages.

2.0 Land And Natural Resources

Rural land distribution consists of Communal land (State Land), Small-Scale Commercial Farming Area (Leasehold), Large-Scale Commercial Farming Area (freehold/private property) and National and Game Parks (Stateland) Urban land distribution consists of Municipal land (owned by the Council), Town Council/Urban council Areas (Urban State land), Mining Area (Private Property), and Growth Centre and Business Centre Areas (Rural State land).

The hinterland of urban land is generally rural, and for an urban area to grow, this land has to be purchased from the state or private owners. The unit cost of the rural land is much lower than the unit cost of urban land. This, the rural land, which is relatively cheap, is needed to expand urban areas, and linking the rural and urban areas. Kuwadzana, Budiro, Hatcliffe, Glen Norah, Glen View and Dzivarasekwa in Greater Harare are examples. Also to be noted in this respect is the Chitungwiza expansion and Epworth.

2.1 Labour/Manpower

Skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled manpower is found in both urban and rural areas in varying proportions. There is also specialisation in both sectors. However, the rural areas do not have the capacity in most cases, to absorb their manpower leading to labour migration skewed in favour of the urban areas. Some of the labour force movement is induced by differentials in wages and salaries with urban remunerations being greater than rural remunerations for the same type of service rendered. In the rural areas, the informal sector needs urban market to sell commodities like door frames, window frames, pottery, stone carvings and household articles. The market gardeners and horticulturalists in the urban market need the rural areas for consumption of their commodities thereby establishing a solid rural-urban linkage.

Besides, rural areas harbour a large pool of underemployed and unemployed manpower ready to accept and take up urban jobs at lower remunerations than their urban counterparts. Thus the urban employer is able to generate more profit by engaging the services of the less expensive but otherwise equally competent rural manpower providing another rural-urban linkages.

2.2 Capital

Rural areas generally have abundant natural resources such as minerals, water, unpolluted air, wild-life all in their natural state; unprocessed. If costed, the capital created is immense. These resources are needed in the urban areas to sustain industries needing raw materials. Processing units in urban areas have to liaise with the rural producers for raw materials. Thus the rural areas provide, indirectly though, jobs to the urban folk by exporting their raw materials to the urban areas for the urban people to process, thereby creating jobs in urban areas, and then selling the finished goods to the rural people, among other consumers. This forms a vital link between rural and urban areas.

However, if parameters on measuring wealth/capital are based on money (M1, M2, M3, M4 etc), then the urban people are, other things being equal, wealthier than the rural people. The relatively poor rural folk need money to provide social service infrastructure, economic infrastructure and to uplift their wellbeing. The money market is located in urban areas and is controlled, generally, by the urban people. Price changes, producer price determination, wage, salary and market price determination in general, is done by the urban people, and the rural people, less sophisticated as they usually are globally, support the motives to show solidarity with their urban folks.

Capital transaction between urban and rural areas are reciprocal and symbiotic. The rural people provide raw and unfinished capital inputs to

the urban populace who need it to create jobs for themselves and to create finished products for sale to the rural people, among other consumers, to create more capital. The rural people, therefore need this linkage since generally, they do not have the capacity and capital to add value to their raw materials.

2.3 Entrepreneurial Skills

Management and utilisation of natural resources requires knowledge in balancing activities. The rural people have knowledge of the natural environment while urban people have knowledge of the changing environment. Combining both expertise results in optimum utilisation of available resources. Thus while harnessing water, ground water in particular, and constructing bridges in rural areas is necessary, the rural people often do not have the skills and they need assistance from the skilled urban manpower to accomplish the tasks. Furthermore, there is need to manage accomplished tasks to make the operations viable and sustainable. The rural people again need the urban experts to assist in running the programmes effectively and efficiently.

2.4 Other Linkages

The above four (4) linkages are basically economic. Rural and urban areas also have social, political, cultural, commercial, philosophical and religious linkages binding them together.

Socially, urban people have strong ties with rural people. Most elders traditionally reside in rural areas. These elders have a wealth of experience in traditional social life. The younger generations usually in the urban areas, often visit their elders in the rural areas to consult on social and traditional issues. The rural elders know how to appease ancestral spirits in times of turmoil such as during drought when they brew traditional beer acceptable to the ancestors. Professor Gelfand in his renowned "Shona Traditions", shows numerous Shona traditions which these rural elders follow to bind and reinforce society. This therefore, is a link between rural and urban people.

Politically, the pattern of running a government is determined at grassroots level. With 69% of the populations of Zimbabwe being rural, it is imperative that the political leaders, often residing in urban areas, ought to satisfy the needs of the rural people, who happen to be the majority in a democratic election (one man one vote) in order to win any election.

Another interesting link falls under rural-urban/urban-rural migration. The richer the person, the higher the chances of residing in the urban areas, and the poorer the person assuming the person is rational, the higher the

chances of residing in the rural areas. So after retirement, people often decide to return to the roots to die there and be buried beside the ancestors. The trend increases the number of geriatrics migrating rural-ward thereby increasing the dependence ratio in the rural sector (urban-rural migration).

On the other hand, there is a significant drift of people, especially the rich and the young, from the rural areas into the urban areas. The former may increase urban employment (if they decide to invest significantly in the productive sector), while the latter (the young) will increase the number of the unemployed in urban areas (while reducing the number of unemployed persons in the rural areas).

This rural-urban/urban-rural migration pattern is vital in order to cement rural-urban linkages. The rural young migrate to urban areas to mix with the urban young in the urban areas and they share traditional and cosmopolitan culture resulting in cultural dissuasion. The outcome is a relatively balanced culture of the future generations. Furthermore, this rural urban/urban-rural migration has great influence on ekistic development especially the quality of dwellings. The nearer the urban centre a rural area is, the better the chances of modern development. Dwellings will have cement floors instead of dagga; iron/asbestos/tile roofs instead of grass thatch; diamond mesh/barbed wire fences instead of thorn branches, decent household furniture instead of tree trunks and stone pillows; China and metal kitchen utensils instead of clay pots, spoons and plates, and above all decent sanitary facilities instead of the bush latrines.

Besides, as rural areas within the urban periphery become urbanised, their acceptance of the urban survival techniques enables expansion of the urban area into the hinterland, thereby facilitating decongestion of urban centres. This linkage also facilitates industrial, residential and commercial decentralisation of the urban areas and attracts investment in the hinterland/Ruwa and Chitungwiza are examples. The move also delays urban centre decay by promoting urban-rural migration of people in the productive age groups, a vital rural-urban linkage. In the long-run, the urban development process trickles down beyond the hinterland to growth centres further linking rural-urban integration.

3.0 Summary and Conclusion

Rural and urban areas complement each other. The rural sector provides raw materials, cheap labour force, less adulterated customs and traditions and cheap land to the urban sector. On the other hand, the urban sector adds value to rural raw materials, is a ready market for rural reproduce, provides managerial skills to the rural people and gives guidelines to the running of rural affairs.

The urban Authorities have authority in their revenue base. They collect levies, rents, vehicle registration fees, and licenses among others. The Rural District Authorities have limited access to their locally generated revenues and heavily depend upon the Central Government through Grants and Loans. This difference is being looked onto in order to redress the situation.

RURAL - URBAN LINKAGES IN ZIMBABWE : AN EXAMPLE OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF INFRASTRUCTURE FOR URBAN DEVELOPMENT

P. Murapa

Lecturer

Rural & Urban Planning Department

Introduction

Like elsewhere in the Developing world, Zimbabwe's most visible manifestations of the economic decline of the eighties and nineties are showing in the growing urban crisis and unprecedented rural decline. Rural areas are suffering extensive losses in terms of people and skills due to migration, environmental degradation and inadequate physical and social infrastructure. Urban areas are being continuously flooded with increasing number of rural migrants and job seekers, adding great pressures on the almost stagnant and deteriorating city economies and thus exacerbating poverty, unemployment and declining services.

In the given circumstances, Zimbabwe has opted for the revitalisation of the rural economies by giving priorities to agriculture and allied activities. In the process has been recognised that the development of small towns would be essential for agricultural growth and modernisation, industrial and commercial development and strengthening of sectoral linkages. Small towns are expected to function as mediators of forward and backward linkages to local production. Dynamic small towns endowed with efficient physical, social and organisational infrastructure are seen as constituting a major requirement for attracting private sector participation in rural development. By serving as focal points of production, distribution, services and jobs, small towns can contribute greatly towards the achievement of balanced spatial development by also serving as instruments for restraining migration to already problem ridden large towns and cities.

In order to effect this strategy, Government has acted on the absence of attractive industrialisation decentralisation incentives. The absent incentives have been seen two ways : it is lack of infrastructure and lack of financial incentives. Development of infrastructure would make the small towns attractive to industry and enable local authorities in those areas to offer integrated selling packages. The type of infrastructure provided included roads, water and sewerage reticulation as well as electricity and telecommunications. Financial as well as electricity and telecommunications. Financial incentives were to attract new investments from large urban areas and foreign corporations. The incentives included tax exemptions on sales tax on the purchase of equipment and exemption from paying income tax for the first five years.

This paper is an outline of Zimbabwe's experience at planning of physical, social and supportive infrastructure to facilitate rural-urban interactions. The Zimbabwean experience shows how difficult it is to stimulate positive rural-urban linkages by means of physical infrastructure and financial incentives alone. Other factors - historical skills, entrepreneurial characteristic of the rural population, technology, etc - have to be brought into play analyzed and made use of.

The paper is in 5 sections. Section 2 will give a background to the pattern of economic development and thus demonstrate the urban-rural gap and lack of linkages between the two. Section 3 will look at trends in urbanisation and again show that the major growth has been experienced in large urban areas which have little relationship with rural areas. Urban-rural interactions are more visible in small towns but these small towns have experienced negative growth in Zimbabwe suggesting that more work still needs to be done to realise the positive aspects of the role of towns in rural development. Section 4 will examine the nature and origins of urban-rural relationships in Zimbabwe and outline the Government policy measures adopted as interventions in those relationships. Finally, Section 5 will draw together the useful lessons from Zimbabwe and suggest a way forward.

2. The Pattern Of Economic Development

For a developing country, the Zimbabwean economy is highly diversified. Its foundation rests on:

- rich mineral resources
- a strong agricultural base
- a developing manufacturing sector
- a well developed transport, commercial and financial infrastructure

In 1990 the Gross Domestic Product was estimated at \$4 414 million (1980 figures) (NDP 1991). This represented an average growth rate of 3.2% per annum for the ten-year period from 1980 to 1990. The growth rate was lower than the planned 4.3% per annum growth mainly due to the shortage of foreign exchange for operational and maintenance purposes, low levels of new investments, and, the effects of droughts in 1982-4 and 1986-7.

Between 1980-1990, 209 000 new jobs were created on non-agricultural sectors (NDP 1991) but in spite of this seemingly good performance, unemployment is on the increase and has assumed alarming proportions in urban areas and is a cause of concern. It is estimated that an average of 300 000 school leavers per annum are joining the job market (CSO

1993). In the meantime, incomes that had fallen in the mid-eighties are beginning to rise. The table below shows the trend in incomes from 1974.

INCOME PER HEAD
Constant (1980)

| Year | Z\$ |
|------|-----|
| 1974 | 515 |
| 1979 | 410 |
| 1980 | 488 |
| 1981 | 470 |
| 1982 | 470 |
| 1983 | 445 |
| 1984 | 440 |
| 1985 | 465 |
| 1986 | 450 |
| 1987 | 445 |
| 1988 | 455 |
| 1989 | 460 |
| 1990 | 480 |

Source: CSO 1990

In terms of sector contribution, the following was the pattern in 1990. Gross Fixed Capital Formulation (GFCF) by Industry and Sector of Ownership

Cumulative 1991 - 1995 in \$ million at constant 1990 prices

| | PRIVATE SECTOR | PUBLIC SECTOR* | TOTAL | % |
|---|-------------------|-------------------|--------|-------|
| Total | 10 542 | 6 611 | 17 153 | 100,0 |
| 1. Agriculture | 1 076 | 1 000 | 2 076 | 12,1 |
| 2. Mining | 1 337 | 52 | 1 389 | 8,1 |
| 3. Manufacturing | 3 345 | 137 | 3 482 | 20,3 |
| 4. (1+2+3) Productive Sectors | 5 758 | 1 350 | 6 947 | 40,5 |
| 5. Electricity & Water | 1 051 | 50 | 2 401 | 14,0 |
| 6. Construction | 602 | 1 250 | 652 | 3,8 |
| 7. Housing & Urban Development | 1 151 | 50 | 2 401 | 14,0 |
| 8. Distribution Hotels and Restaurants | 1 065 | 1 717 | 1 115 | 6,5 |
| 9. Transport and Communication | 650 | 400 | 2 367 | 13,8 |
| 10. Education | 115 | 243 | 515 | 3,0 |
| 11. Health | 100 | 137 | 343 | 2,0 |
| 12. Public Administration | - | 188 | 137 | 0,8 |
| 13. Defence | - | 37 | 188 | 1,1 |
| 14. Other Services & not allowable | 50 | - | 87 | 0,5 |

*not included are non-GFCF expenditures such as purchasing of land for resettlement, financial investments, pre-investment studies, research projects and exploration.

Manufacturing has been the greatest contributor to the GDP. However, between 1980 and 1990 its performance has been disappointing partly because manufacturers have been denied adequate levels of foreign exchange to import capital equipment, spares and raw materials, partly because both domestic and regional demand has been weak and perhaps most disturbing of all because the sector has lost some of the entrepreneurial solidarity, flair and technical expertise that was its strength during the sanctions years. Output only grew at only 2.7% annually since 1980. Since the introduction of the Economic Structural Programme, new incentives and capital have been injected into the sector, and changes should be felt in the late 1990s.

Agricultural share of the GDP was 12.1%. However, the sector plays a very significant role in the economy. First it is a major employer. When 750 000 peasant farmers are included, agriculture employs upwards of 105 million people (35% of the workforce) and provides a living for at least more than two thirds of the population. Secondly, the sector contributes more than 40% of total exports. Thirdly, it feeds into other sectors especially the agro-allied industries. Agro-processing is one of the largest industries in Zimbabwe. According to Riddell (1990) the formal food, beverages and tobacco industry employed 39 200 people. In addition it is estimated that there are around 60 000 small food processing industries (with less than 50 employees but an average employment of only 1.85) according to a recent of small enterprises in Zimbabwe (GEMINI 1991). Finally, there is a large number of rural vendors and retailers trading in farm products and livestock and according to GEMINI there are around 75 000 enterprises with a likely employment of 140 000.

Zimbabwean agriculture has been frequently cited as one of the few success stories in sub-Saharan Africa, but this must be qualified since value added has been growing at only 3% a year barely keeping pace with population growth. The real success story has been the dramatic increase in the peasant sector's contribution to crop sales - up from \$12 million (4.5% of total) in 1980 to more than \$300 million (22% of total) in 1990 (NDP 1991). Small farmers produce more than half of the cotton crop, about 60% of the maize delivered to the Grain Marketing Board, the bulk of the sunflower crop and a large proportion of burley tobacco. But virginia tobacco, beef, horticulture, wheat, soya beans, coffee and tea are still dominated by the 4 200 or so mainly white commercial farmers.

Mining contributes to only 8.1% of GDP and accounts for a mere 5% of the employed workforce. Its strategic importance lies in its foreign currency earnings. In 1990, mining exports, excluding steel, accounted for 43% of exports (compared with 40% for agriculture and 18% for manufacturing). However, the sector is subject to fluctuations caused by fluctuations in world prices.

Other important sectors are transport, energy and the construction industry. Transport and energy have experienced slow growth partly due to finance shortages and obsolete equipment. The construction sector's contribution has not significantly risen, rising from 2.3% in 1980 to 2.6% in 1985. Employment in the sector rose from 42 200 in 1980 and peaked at 51 100 in 1982 before falling to 44 800 in 1985. The average annual growth rate in employment between 1980 and 1985 was 1.2%. The rate rose to about 5.4% for the period 1985 to 1990. The sector's share of non-agricultural employment was 6.25 in 1980 and fell to 5.8% in 1985 before rising again in 1986 onwards to 5.9% and finally falling in 1990 to 3.8% (NDP 1991).

In summary, during the last ten years, the economy experienced many setbacks and advances. Investment in the productive sectors declined. Elsewhere they have not achieved results to the desired extent.

3. CHARACTERISTICS OF URBAN GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT

3.1 Demographic Characteristics

In 1901 Zimbabwe had a population of only 710 000 people. In 1992 this population has grown to 10.4 million, an increase of almost 15 times in 90 years (see Table 1 below).

| YEAR | 1901 | 1910 | 1920 | 1940 | 1950 | 1960 | 1969 | 1982 | 1992 |
|------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| POP (1000) | 710 | 880 | 1130 | 1420 | 2730 | 1040 | 3840 | 5134 | 7473 |

Source: CSO, 1961, 1969, 1982, 1992 Censuses

The comprehensive censuses are those of 1962, 1969, 1982 and 1992. Using the figures in these censuses, the Central Statistical office (CSO) has estimated using high, medium and low variants that the population of Zimbabwe will be 24.9 million by the year 2032. However, these projections are most probably under estimates as in 1986 CSO has estimated that the 1992 population of Zimbabwe would be 9.98 million yet the actual Census has revealed a population of 10.4 million. The national population has been growing at 3.2% p.a. (CSO 1992).

3.2 Urbanisation Levels

For the purposes of this paper and generally for planning purposes in Zimbabwe, they take definition of urban from the 1982 Census. The 1982 census defined an urban area as a place with 2 500 or more and with above 50% of them engaged in non-agricultural activities. This is

generous compared with the 1969 censuses that had defined as "urban" any locality with at least 150 people, the majority being adult males employed in non-agricultural activities. The 1992, census, which is still to be published in full, is silent on the definition of urban.

In 1962 they urbanised only 16.6% of the population. In 1992, only 30 years later, the population of Zimbabwe increased 2.5 times from 4.1 million to 10.4 million and the urban populated increased by 4.2 times from 0.68 million to 2.84 million, making Zimbabwe 27.3% urbanised. The United Nations estimated that in the year 2025 Zimbabwe's level of urbanisation will stand at 54.1% and that 17.65 million of the 32.66 million people will be urban dwellers. This means that in only 35 years time the number of people to be accommodated in urban areas will be 1.7 times larger than the total population of Zimbabwe today. The above picture is represented in the Table 2 below.

TABLE 2

| SIZE CLASS | No. of URBAN SETTLEMENTS | | |
|------------------|--------------------------|------|------|
| | 1969 | 1982 | 1992 |
| 2 500 - 4 900 | 12 | 30 | NA |
| 5 000 - 9 999 | 9 | 13 | NA |
| 10 000 - 19 999 | 6 | 7 | (5) |
| 20 000 - 49 999 | 5 | 8 | (7) |
| 50 000 - 99 999 | 0 | 2 | 3 |
| 100 000- 499 999 | 2 | 2 | 3 |
| 500 000 + | 0 | 1 | 2 |

Source : CSO, 1985, Table III, p. 57 with update Notes: NA = Not Available

() = under estimate as complete statistics are not available.

3.3 Distribution of Urban Settlements

Table 3 below shows the distribution of urban population in major towns in the years 1962, 1969, 1982 and 1992.

TABLE 3

| TOWN | 1962 | 1969 | 1982 | 1992 |
|----------------|------|------|------|-------|
| Harare | 310 | 381 | 656 | 1 184 |
| Bulawayo | 211 | 245 | 414 | 620 |
| Chitungwiza | - | 15 | 172 | 274 |
| Gweru | 39 | 46 | 79 | 124 |
| Mutare | 43 | 46 | 70 | 131 |
| Kwekwe | - | 31 | 47 | 74 |
| Kadoma | 19 | 25 | 45 | 67 |
| Hwange | 20 | 20 | 39 | 42 |
| Masvingo | 10 | 11 | 31 | 51 |
| Chinhoyi | 8 | 13 | 24 | 42 |
| Redcliff | 5 | 10 | 22 | 27 |
| Marondera | 7 | 11 | 20 | 39 |
| Chegutu | 7 | 9 | 20 | 30 |
| Shurugwi | 7 | 8 | 3 | 16 |
| Kariba | 6 | 4 | 12 | 21 |
| Victoria Falls | 2 | 4 | 8 | 17 |
| Bindura | - | - | - | 21 |

in thousands
(000's)

Source: CSO - 1992, 1969, 1982, 1992 census.

The dominance of Harare and Bulawayo is evident in the four inter-censal periods. In 1962 and 1969 the two main urban centres accounted for more than 70% of the total population. The dominance has continued till 1992 except that if Chitungwiza, a dormitory town that is about 25km from Harare, is considered as a separate town; then there is relative decline in terms of the share of the two main centres that is the urban hierarchy as a whole.

Between 1969 and 1982, the growth of Chitungwiza accounts for the highest urban growth ever experienced between inter-censal years - a 20-70% p.a. growth rate. However, Chitungwiza was and remains heavily linked and dependant on Harare for its economic survival. The town was created to house black urban workers who could not be accommodated in Harare.

Zimbabwe also has a well balanced urban system. Mutizwa-Mangiza (1986) concluded that the 1982 census showed a larger than expected second city and relatively undersized settlements from the third size of city downwards. The significant aspect of the urban pattern is the development

of towns/corridors along the line of rail. The most developed corridor is the 450km rail between Harare and Bulawayo. This corridor contains the towns of Gweru, Kwekwe, Redcliff, Kadoma, Chegutu and Norton. Their economic bases are diversified and include mineral processing (Gweru and Kwekwe) agro-based industry (Kadoma and Chegutu), textile industry (Kadoma) and paper and packaging (Norton). They have all recorded high urban rates in the last decades, doubling in size every ten years.

The second major corridor is the Harare-Mutare corridor that is around 240km. Mutare, the fourth largest city is found in the Eastern part of the country on the border with Mozambique and represents the gateway to the sea. The axis contains the towns of Rusape and Marondera, both of which have experienced high urbanisation rates and are located in agricultural regions. The third major urban concentration area is around Chinhoyi-Bindura and is a rich agricultural zone. Its dynamism tends to decrease with the distance from Harare. The rest of the towns are scattered around the country and these include Masvingo, Chiredzi, Victoria Falls, Kariba, Gwanda, Zvishavane and Shurugwi.

Outside the major towns described above are many small settlements. The number of these settlements was 12 in 1962, doubled to 23 in 1969 and doubled again to 46 in 1982 (CSO 1986). In 1992, the number is expected to be about 60 (CSO 1992). Up to 1980 small town development was very much linked to the European sector of the economy, whose infrastructure was attuned to secondary town development (Wekwete 1987). The adoption of the post-independence rural growth centre strategy has stimulated rapid rural urbanisation, supported through the public sector investment programme (Mutizwa-Mangiza, 1986). These centres represent urbanisation based on provision of services, commerce and very limited industrial development. In the communal areas in the main source of urban growth has been the deconcentration of the various central government functions to district level. These government functions have helped these centres by creating the minimum thresholds for other urban functions - commerce, banks, and other services.

The spread of urban development has become an asset for national development. The scattered towns have helped in absorbing a proportionate share of the rural migrants and thus created a desegregated demand pressure for such urban services as water supply, public transport and housing, but in themselves have not stimulated the growth of rural areas.

4. RURAL-URBAN LINKAGES

The colonial Government desire was not to create positive rural-urban linkages. No urban areas were to develop in the rural areas. The black

labour force was politically forced into wage employment in urban areas while keeping the family back at the rural homestead. Rural areas were drained for labour resources and all rural production relations in exchange for remittances which enabled rural dwellers to buy manufactured urban area goods. As Rasmussen (1992) observes "the country was thoroughly colonised and the foundation of the present structures was a deliberate consequence of clear political desires."

Before colonization, the black population had undertaken some mining production and processing of gold, copper and iron. The population was therefore able to produce hoes, picks, salt, etc. for their own use. The settler invasion in 1890 crushed this tradition (Arrighi 1973). Arrighi (1973) further observes that the arrival of the British South Africa Company created a demand for labour to work in the mines and commercial farms. In order to get the black population to work in these mines and farms, the company introduced a "poll tax" and expropriated blacks from 755 of the best land in the country. The incomes earned by working in the mines and urban areas were used to purchase European products which were seen to be new or of better quality. The results of this process were disastrous and as Arrighi (1973) concludes: -

"The African peasantry underwent an unlearning process by which they gradually lost their ability to produce non-agricultural goods". Rasmussen (1992) added:

"A nationally uniform demand structure was gradually created where all former regional or local consumer tastes and traditions were substituted by a desire for a completely new set of goods".

These early steps were to be further consolidated by further land expropriation and introduction of discriminatory prices for farm produce where white farmers were paid more than black farmers for the same product.

Some changes occurred though after the second world war. Fearful of National Party take overs in South Africa, foreign capital moved to Rhodesia. This capital generated an industrial structure of large-scale, mechanised factories. The new factories needed a certain quality or literate labour force. It also required a larger stability of the labour force in jobs and residence than was required in agriculture or mining. The answers to this challenge were an expanded education programme for blacks and tolerance to permanent black residence in urban areas. Conditions were, however, set:- blacks would have no access to manufacturing skills and would not be allowed to go into business in urban areas. The only place where blacks could operate business was in Business Centres in rural areas. This business was only limited to trade and transport and not extended to manufacturing. As Riddell (1988) observed.

"...it was not the shortage of capital that provided an insuperable barrier to the establishment of black manufacturing enterprises..... rather the cause has to be found in the prevention from operating in towns".

The years of the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) saw the further consolidation of white urban development and maintenance of the African rural areas as labour reserves for urban employment, mines and large-scale farming. As sanctions became to bite, foreign investment shrunk and Government introduced a comprehensive system of foreign exchange controls favouring domestic manufacturers as well as a freeze of capital outflow from foreign companies. This move left most of the market growth for Rhodesian capitalists who gradually merged into larger conglomerates producing a wide range of products needed in the sanctioned economy. As Rasmussen (1992) observes:-

"...manufacturing went up from 20% in 1965 to 25% of GDP in 1974 with unprecedented rapid growth rates. In geographical terms Harare and Bulawayo accounted rather constantly for 75% of industrial production, whereas some medium sized towns like Kwekwe (steel), Gweru (textiles) and Mutare (tea, food products, wood, pulp) expanded rapidly...."

However, it soon became clear that this model of development would not hold for long. The commercial sectors would not be able to employ the rapidly growing African population and the liberation war heated up and introduced its own demands. The liberation war caused the emigration of whites from the country and emigration of blacks from the war ridden rural areas to the towns. A new strategy was required. The rural areas and small-scale agriculture had to be developed but within the controlled dualistic racially based system.

The new strategy was not based on any altruistic motives. There was still a fundamental conviction that the growing African population should remain in their own areas where they rightly belonged instead of overcrowding the towns where 90% of the whites resided. In order to keep these Africans in the reserves, income and job opportunities had to be created in the rural areas. The strategy would also, in the long term, gain the white economy. Although, in the short term, farm and non-farm production would increase in the rural areas and thus complete with the white sector, in the long term the rural areas would provide a market for the increasingly important white industrial sector. The strategy was basically a way of overcoming demand constraints of the economy, without mixing blacks and whites.

Non-farm activities were to be promoted in newly identified Rural Growth Points. In 1969 the Tribal Land Development Corporation (TILCOR)

was established to oversee the development of these new "rural towns" Tilcor's approach was to identify those centres whose hinterland had either an irrigation scheme for cash crop production and a proven track record of high sales to the Grain Marketing Board. Seven such centres (Maphisa, Sanyati, Jotsholo, Jerera, Hauna, Checheche and Mataga) were selected. The plan was that Government would develop infrastructure and this infrastructure would be used by the African entrepreneurs to create a total of 375 000 jobs (Rhodesia 1978).

This plan never got implemented because Government was changed in 1980. However, the plan was adopted by the new Government with minor modifications especially in its underlying assumptions and beliefs. The new Government created a seven-tier settlement hierarchy of :- cities, existing towns, growth points, district service centres, rural service centres, business centres and villages. Cities and towns would receive no priority treatment because they were self-sufficient. Growth Point definition would be inherited from the previous regime and only be applicable to those centres with a resources base. District and Rural Service Centres would be an innovation with the former hosting administrative offices of new democratic institutions and the latter supporting the agricultural community with outlets for inputs and outputs, basic social services like health and education and improved water supplies. Business Centres would, as before, remain as trading centres and village patterns would remain unaltered.

The post-independence (1980) implementation strategy remained the same as the pre-independence one : Government would develop the infrastructure and the private sector would use that facility to create jobs and better products. Between 1980 and 1990 a total of Z\$82 million was set aside for such infrastructure (GOZ 1990). The money was spent on internal roads, water reticulation, bus termini, offices and staff housing and in some centres, sewerage reticulation. However, only \$20 million of this money has been spent as the programme was reviewed when no immediate results were seen.

The post-independence strategy has not been very successful in fostering positive rural-urban linkages. Most centres did not succeed because they did not have any large hinterland growth potential, some of the centres being chosen according to geographic centrality in the districts (Wekwete 1988). The employment generation capacity also remained limited. Before the implementation of the strategy the Whitsun Foundation (1980) had observed that the 1978 Rhodesia Government report had been over optimistic. Their anticipation was that only 40 - 50 formal jobs could be created in each of these centres, amounting to 15 000 (compared to 375 000 forecast in 1978). A later assessment by the World Bank in 1983 further down-graded the expectations of job creation to a maximum figure of 2 000 for rural agro-industries, construction and informal activities (Gasper 1989). These figures put into doubt the assumption that rural

industrial growth would automatically follow establishment of physical infrastructure. Financial incentives introduced in 1987 have not worked well either. There may be need for making specific considerations about how decentralised industrial growth may occur.

For successful development of rural-urban linkages, it appears that two questions should have been posed and answered at independence. First, how is the problem of an skewed urban system, caused by a racial division of agriculture and industry, going to be dealt with? Secondly, how has the whites' de facto monopoly of industrial skills, managerial and entrepreneurial capacity going to be democratised. These two questions together point to the island of the Zimbabwean industry in the sense that there is neither black control over industry in general nor is there much industrial activities in places where the majority of the population live. The first question has been partially answered by the Growth Point and Rural Service Centre strategy in that new industrial areas have been suggested in former black areas. The second question remains problematic despite the intensive technical training courses launched by Government immediately after independence.

5. CONCLUSION

The politically imposed division of labour in the pre-independence era has cemented a strong division of labour between towns and rural areas. The exploitative forces of the large towns cause a draining of the rural areas. The best young resource persons leave for the cities and capital is transferred to the cities through the banking system and through sale of city goods in local branch outlets. However, as Rasmussen (1992) observes, it is not only this spatial division of labour which causes the drainage towards the cities, it is exacerbated by the organization of the banking and educational system. First, aside from primary and secondary schools, the educational system is highly concentrated in large towns and cities. Technical training institutions, accountancy courses, etc. are largely absent in the rural areas. This precludes close interaction between enterprises and education institutions in terms of tailoring education for the needs of small scale industries. Secondly, the local capital circulation system is vertically organised, embracing only branches of large banks, whereas local credit unions and savings institutions are largely absent.

There could, however, be some advantages, though limited, that could be reaped from this out migration. The return of city workers with industrial skills together with remittances of urban remunerations to the rural family could form a strong basis for rural industrialisation and lead to more positive urban-rural linkages. Unfortunately some of these young returners are keen to start something but lack capital and institutional support to do so.

Turning now to policy initiatives and the theme of this paper, there is no doubt that the considerable infrastructural investments in the Growth Points and Rural Service Centres have improved the situation for small businesses operating in these areas. Most of the district centres have experienced a substantial growth in public sector offices and services, and in retail and wholesale outlets as well as hotels and small "booking rooms" (Gasper 1989). However, the formal industrial sector does not seem encouraged to establish branches in the growth points or district centres neither by the provision of physical infrastructure nor by tax exemptions. Except for some development at Ruwa 25km from Harare, no other Growth Point has experienced formal industrial growth. Chitungwiza, with a population of 250 000, 35km from Harare and declared a Growth Point, has difficulties in attracting industries. The growth points and district centres seem to become increasingly dominated by commercial outlets for manufactured goods from cities, which effectively capture and erode the market for local industries.

There are then other options beyond mere provision of physical infrastructure that will promote rural industrialisation. The first option may be to change attitudes and accept that large industries will not be attracted to these areas. Instead more effort should be directed towards supporting local enterprises. The agglomeration dynamic are likely to remain stronger in the large city than in a small town.

A second option may be to work on changing the conditions of demand in the rural population. Augmenting rural incomes or increased rural differentiation might enhance the demand for a more specialised range of goods among the upper layers of the farming community.

DECENTRALISATION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACTIVITY

A Ndhlovu

Ministry of Local Government & National Housing

This paper focuses on decentralisation as it has applied to local government in Zimbabwe with specific reference to the urban local authorities. It has been prepared and is presented within the context that decentralisation as it refers to urban councils has gone beyond the mere transfer of functions from central government to the local level, to a point where the same local institutions are now expected to transfer given functions to other sectors that may be in a better position to perform them. This is especially so, given the prevailing (changing) economic climate.

1. Background

Decentralisation efforts in independent Zimbabwe date back to 1980, when various legislation were enacted to establish democratically elected institutions at the grass roots level. Institutions, such as Urban, Rural and District Councils were established as autonomous bodies within the framework and parameters set by Central Government, and were to varying degrees, given responsibilities to perform specific devolved and/or delegated functions, as a means of ensuring the provision and maintenance of services and infrastructure at that level.

The varying degrees of empowerment, coupled with divergent levels of capacity to perform functions devolved to them, meant that some functions remained the domain of sector ministries and government agencies, who performed these directly, on behalf of ailing authorities, with special reference to the rural based councils. This caused a sometimes unnecessary overlap of functions between central government agencies and the (mainly rural based) local authorities.

Further, the decision on the part of Central Government to embark in the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme in 1991, and subsequent reforms such as the Public Services Reforms, and programmes such as the deregulation programme meant that more functions, powers and resources would have to be transferred from the centre to the lower tier institutions. In some instances, changes in the economic climate coupled by an amount of pressure from major donors have seen decentralisation go beyond the transfer of functions from government to its lower tier structures. The term privatisation has cropped up, as efforts are made to transfer certain operations to those that are best able to provide them more efficiently and effectively.

2. Urban Local Governance in Zimbabwe

The Urban Councils Act, Chapter 214 of 1980, was amended in 1995 to provide for greater accountability, efficiency and effectiveness in the management of urban areas. Among others, the resultant Urban Councils Act (Chapter 29:15) for the creation of the post of Executive Mayor, who would be elected by a majority of the electorate. The Executive Mayor would ensure and be accountable for the proper administration of council affairs and the efficient and timeous delivery of goods and services to the ratepayers and other residents of urban areas.

The functions and powers of the Urban Councils, in relation to those of central government are outlined in the second schedule of the Urban Councils Act, (Chapter 29:15). While the same authorities are largely left to perform their functions with limited intervention from Central Government, the situation is somewhat different in the case of Rural District Councils, most of whom still lack the capacity to perform most of their functions, causing central government to continue intervening where need arises, to ensure that rural communities are not disadvantaged.

3. Decentralisation in the Zimbabwean context

Decentralisation entails the transfer of responsibilities from the centre to the local or grassroots levels. It may be provided for in both policy and the law, and its accomplishment is seen and understood as a process and not an event. It is a process that allows for greater participation on the part of the community, in the decisions that affect their lives directly on one hand, also ensures increased accountability, transparency, efficiency and effectiveness in the delivery of goods and services on the part of local institutions. In the case of Zimbabwe (with reference to local authorities), decentralisation and its related terms have over the years been applied on a continuum depending (among others) on the extent to which given functions, powers, and resources are transferred in real terms.

Terms that have been applied have included deconcentration, devolution and delegation. In recent times however with the changes that have been influenced largely by socio-economic reform under the ESAP, the term has tended to embrace privatisation and/or commercialisation, especially in the urban areas.

3.1 Definition of terms

- a) Deconcentration limits itself to the passing down of administrative discretion to local offices of central government ministries specifically to deal with a range of cases. The term is not very relevant to local authorities

as it involves the dispersal of agents of central government to the lower echelons. This is demonstrated through the establishment of provincial and district office of central government sector ministries.

- b) Devolution entails the broad delegation of decision making powers to local authorities, allowing them to take full responsibility within their respective areas of jurisdiction with minimal reference to central government. This includes the delegation of financial powers as well as the authority to design and execute local developmental projects and programmes. It involves the transfer of resources, tasks and decision making powers to the lower tier structures i.e. local authorities, which are largely of wholly independent of central government and which are democratically elected.
- c) Delegation can refer to the assigning of specific powers and responsibilities to given institutions, who will perform the same on behalf of Central Government.
- d) Privatisation on the other hand, can be seen as the transfer of specific powers and responsibilities to private entities, who will operate in a manner that seeks mainly, to promote economic gain.

Through reform, efforts have been made to adopt a mode of decentralisation that is democratic, participatory, accountable, and more responsive to local needs and decision making processes. Such a system has pre-empted greater devolution of responsibilities, functions and roles from the centre to the local level. However, the implementation to decentralisation can be brought about and/or influenced by various objectives. These objectives, depending on various factors such as the prevailing climate, can be political, administrative or economic.

4. The case of Urban Councils

In case of urban councils, the term commercialisation is used largely to refer to the efforts being taken to improve the efficiency and cost effectiveness of services currently provided by the same local authorities, by introducing economic values into their operations. This involves considering alternative means of delivering and managing local authority services. Alternative in the sense that where a given operation or venture has proved to be a financial burden over the years, the council is encouraged to investigate other methods that can be used, to turn the venture into one that can generate some form of income. A Task Force for the Commercialisation of Local Authority services has been established at the

national level, to make relevant policy recommendations and facilitate, as well as monitor the progress of the implementation of the commercialisation strategy in urban local authorities.

4.1 Options in Commercialisation

In discussing commercialisation, two main options have been suggested by consultants hired in 1996 to carry out a pre feasibility study on commercialisation of urban local authority services. On hand, is the option that 'commercialisation could involve retaining services within the local authority but operating as self contained business units that are accountable for clearly defined financial and performance targets'.

On the other hand is the option that commercialisation could involve 'the complete disposal of an activity and its assets through outright sale of privatisation'.

Between the two options are a number of options with varying degrees of externalisation of services, such as:-

- contracting out all or part of a service to a third party,
- leasing (or renting) of assets to a third party,
- establishing a wholly owned company which is owned by the local authority but operates as a fully commercial and largely independent organisation or,
- creating joint ventures with other foreign or local agencies or organisations.

4.2 Points considered by urban councils in commercialising

In the same manner that the implementation of decentralisation at national level can be influenced and therefore determined by certain objectives, commercialisation (as a form of decentralisation) of local authority operations can also be determined by the same. Its success however could among others, depend on the following factors:-

- i) Objectives for and difficulties faced by each service;
- ii) Potential benefits to be achieved from commercialisation;
- iii) Extent of control local authorities wish to retain over the standards, levels and prices of services.

4.2 Progress of date in commercialisation

The response of urban local authorities to the options under commercialisation has been positive, with most having made indications already on the areas where they would want to commercialise certain functions. Some have already gone ahead and have contracted out certain

functions. Areas where functions have already been commercialisation either thorough contracting out or leasing include:

- refuse collection and removal;
- road maintenance and construction;
- Land surveying;
- liquor outlets;
- legal services;
- valuation services;
- vehicle maintenance;
- grass cutting;
- the running of creches; etc. etc.

More recently, one major city has decided to commercialise the provision of water. In this regard, they have opted for the 'Delegated management of water and sewerage service', where the council will retain ownership of, control of and responsibility for water and sewerage, but will delegate the management of the services to a private company through normal tender procedures. A feasibility study has been completed in this regard, and the results provided in this particular case, show that savings of up to Z\$40 million could be realised even if current tariffs remain constant for the next eight (8) years. More councils are expected to opt for this option once the benefits have been carefully considered.

5. Expected benefits of decentralisation efforts

Given the efforts being made by both the government and the local authorities to shed off and/or transfer certain functions to institutions that are viewed as better able to provide the same, the following are some of the benefits that will hopefully be achieved:-

- increased efficiency and effectiveness a competitive society, efficiency here minimising costs, and maximising benefits. Increased effectiveness focuses on planning.
- greater transparency with reference to the manner in which services are provided;
- cost saving in the part of the local authorities
- better delivery of services as local authorities will take on only what they can manage given the limited resources; by resources here I refer to manpower, expertise, finances, etc. In other words, what can best be provided and/or managed by the private or commercial sector should be left to that sector to provide, while local authorities work

at providing an enabling environment for the efficient and effective delivery of goods and services. If implemented well, this should ensure the provision of quality services to an empowered electorate that is becoming more and more demanding.

- Given that it provides for greater efficiency and effectiveness as defined, it could actually at the end of the day benefit those who would wish to attract investment to their areas of jurisdiction as the quality of infrastructure provided will hopefully improve.
- With terms such as indigenisation coming in, it provides for the promotion of the indigenous people, who can (depending on their abilities), be contracted to provide certain services.
- Hopefully, the resultant competition will provide for lower unit costs to residents of local authority areas of jurisdiction, who are composed mainly of the tax burdened urban poor.

6. Concluding Remarks

That decentralisation is viewed as a process implies that its implementation period, though constantly monitored, can be taken as indefinite. As local authorities develop in terms of capacity, more and more functions will be decentralised or transferred to them. In the same vein, their ability or decision to pass on some of their functions through any form of commercialisation is seen as a process that has to be thought out and implemented carefully. Decentralisation therefore, does not entail the dumping of functions without adequate resources and capacity, and while it is not a panacea in itself, it is believed that it can if implemented in a systematic and co-ordinated manner, yield substantial economic, social and political benefits for the nation as a whole. In this regard, certain factors need to be taken into account, one being the fact that relevant institutions must be accountable, and must have adequate resources, thus the need for capacity building efforts.

The Ministry of Local Government, Rural and urban development therefore recognises that the building of capacity in both rural and urban local authorities is crucial to the achievement of an effective and efficient decentralised system of local governance in Zimbabwe. To build capacity in urban local authorities the

Government of Zimbabwe has, with the support of the World Bank, been funding the infrastructural and institutional development component of the Urban II project. In this case, the capacity building efforts are meant to create an enabling environment to allow sector ministries to transfer some of their functions to efficient and effective local authorities. The same capacity building efforts are further meant to ensure that plans and projects conceived at the local level are implemented without undue reference to the national level.

Key words/ phrases

- need to delineate urban areas to curb urban sprawl
- develop rural centres to curb migration
- more research on rural-urban linkages to facilitate more accurate and relevant projections

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Bartone, C. (1992): Environmental strategies for Developing Countries, Paper presented to Workshop on Planning for Sustainable Urban Development, Cardiff.
2. Burgess, R. (1985): The Limits of State Self-help Housing Programmes. *Development and Change* 16: 271-312.
3. Butcher, C. (1989) Low-income Housing in Zimbabwe: A Case Study of the Epworth Squatter Upgrading Programme. RUP Occasional Paper No. 6. Department of Rural and Urban Planning, University of Zimbabwe, Harare.
4. "Census 1992: Zimbabwe National Report," CSO, November 1994.
5. Cheema, G (ed) (1986) Reaching the Urban Poor: Project Implementation in Developing Countries, pp. 163-179. Westview Press, Boulder and London
6. Cole, J. (1976) Poverty, Inequality and Development. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
7. Davidson, F. and Payne, G.K. (1983) The Urban Projects Manual. Liverpool Planning Manual 1. Liverpool University Press, Liverpool.
8. Dwyer, D.J. (1975) People and Housing in Third World Cities: Perspectives on the Problems of Spontaneous Settlements. Longman, London.
9. Devas, N. and Rakodi, C. 1993, Managing Fast Growing Cities. Longman
10. Development and Administration Group (DAG) 1992 Case studies of Bulawayo and Mutare - Good local government Birmingham, U.K
11. Hardoy, J. Cairncross, S. and Satterthwaite, D. 1993, Urban Environmental Problems in Developing Countries, John Wiley..
Hardoy, J. Cairncross, S. and Satterthwaite, D. 1993,
12. Hardoy, J. and Satterthwaite, D. (1989) Squatter Citizen: Life in the Urban Third World. Earthscan, London.

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

- | | | | |
|-----|---------------------|---|--|
| 1. | S. C. Tawengwa | : | City of Harare |
| 2. | Mr J. Mutongwizo | : | City of Harare |
| 3. | Dr O. L. Ndoro | : | City of Harare |
| 4. | Mr B. H. Masanzu | : | City of Harare |
| 5. | Mr Kanyepi | : | City of Harare |
| 6. | Mr M. Mubvumbi | : | City of Harare |
| 7. | Mr Mupunga | : | City of Harare |
| 8. | Mr Thema | : | City of Harare |
| 9. | Mr M. N. Ndlovu | : | City of Bulawayo |
| 10. | Mr J. Khumalo | : | City of Bulawayo |
| 11. | Mr J. Nyoni | : | City of Bulawayo |
| 12. | Mr Gusha | : | Municipality of Masvingo |
| 13. | Mr Nhemachena | : | City of Gweru |
| 14. | J. T. Mika | : | City of Gweru |
| 15. | J. Nantambwe | : | City of Gweru |
| 16. | Mr Marerwa | : | City of Gweru |
| 17. | Mr Mugadze | : | Redcliff Municipality |
| 18. | Mr Mutasa | : | Redcliff Municipality |
| 19. | Mrs Chagwiza | : | Redcliff Municipality |
| 20. | Mr Zimunya | : | Norton Town Council |
| 21. | Mr J. Mlilo | : | Gwanda Town Council |
| 22. | Mrs D. Ganyaupfu | : | Gwanda Town Council |
| 23. | Mr Aisam | : | Municipality of Chegutu |
| 24. | Mr Chiridza | : | Rusape Town Council |
| 25. | Mr Kamba | : | Rusape Town Council |
| 26. | Mr Musuwo | : | Municipality of Marondera |
| 27. | H. M. Makombe | : | Municipality of Marondera |
| 28. | E. Musara | : | Kwekwe City |
| 29. | J. Mawere | : | Kwekwe City |
| 30. | Isser | : | Kwekwe City |
| 31. | A. Chakanetsa | : | Kariba Town Council |
| 32. | W. Mujiri | : | Kariba Town Council |
| 33. | M. Mupukula | : | Kariba Town Council |
| 34. | M. Chidimu | : | Kadoma Municipality |
| 35. | Mr Chaneta | : | Kadoma Municipality |
| 36. | Mr Sauramba | : | Kadoma Municipality |
| 37. | Mr Matonhodze | : | Kadoma Municipality |
| 38. | Professor K Wekwete | : | UNDP |
| 39. | Ms A Ndlovu | : | Ministry of local Government and National Housing |
| | Mr Munzwa | : | Housing the People Zimbabwe. |

| | | | |
|-----|----------------------|---|---------------------------------|
| 40. | Mr Dambe | : | Civic Forum |
| 41. | Mr Aisam | : | Civic Forum |
| 42. | O. Musandu-Nyamayaro | : | HallBank Associates |
| 43. | Professor Materu | : | Municipal Development Programme |
| 44. | Mr George Matovu | : | Municipal Development Programme |
| 45. | Mr Dohwe | : | Centre For Built Environment |
| 46. | Mr D. Moyo | : | Old Mutual Properties |
| 47. | Mr Chapotera | : | US Aid Representatives |
| 48. | Mr Mabenge | : | Planning Commission |
| 49. | Dr P. Chiroro | : | University of Zimbabwe |
| 50. | Mr T. Mubvami | : | University of Zimbabwe |
| 51. | Mr A. Kamete | : | University of Zimbabwe |
| 52. | Mr M. Mambo Moyo | : | University of Zimbabwe |
| 53. | Mr P. Murapa | : | University of Zimbabwe |
| 54. | Mrs C. Davison | : | University of Zimbabwe |
| 55. | Mrs G. Paradza | : | University of Zimbabwe |
| 56. | Mr. T Mbara | : | University of Zimbabwe |
| 57. | Mr Mafigu | : | University of Zimbabwe |
| 58. | Ms S. Madziyire | : | University of Zimbabwe |
| 59. | Mr C. Pritchard | : | University of Zimbabwe |
| 60. | Mr Chifamba | : | The Herald and Sunday Mail |



This work is licensed under a
Creative Commons
Attribution – NonCommercial - NoDerivs 3.0 License.

To view a copy of the license please see:
<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/>

This is a download from the BLDS Digital Library on OpenDocs
<http://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/>