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URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN ZIMBABWE: A HUMAN SETTLEMENT PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract

This paper examines and analyses the historical development of Zimbabwean towns and cities with a view to tracing and understanding policy directions, urban spatial development trends and other factors such as population dynamics that may have led to the development of the present-day urban settlements in the country. The paper observes that whilst pre-colonial cities existed during the golden age of the Munhumutapa dynasty and empire, these had no influence on the modern town and city because they were too distant and their experiences had long been lost by the time the colonial town was introduced in the country, some four centuries later.

Furthermore the paper observes that whilst policy may easily be changed or even reversed, it is a near impossibility to do the same with the spatial physical developments such as buildings and infrastructure – roads, water reticulation, sewerage reticulation and treatment works, railway lines, telecommunication lines and power lines. As a result of these realities the form and structure of our cities has remained to a large extent as originally conceived, designed and developed with perhaps some cosmetic changes in the form of redevelopments and densification of certain sectors or areas and sprawling expansion. This has also led to the many challenges of urban poverty, inadequate housing, inadequate provision of services (potable clean water, energy, and garbage collection) and environmental quality - issues of pollution- the towns and cities are grappling with today typified by Harare and Chitungwiza, which are sited upstream of their water supply sources and as a result pollute them. The paper also notes that the socio-economic policies and political expedience by both the colonial and independent governments have had significant impacts on the morphology (shape, structure and population distribution) of towns and cities of Zimbabwe

Keywords: urban, development, human settlement, population, colonial, services, morphology, demography.

1. INTRODUCTION

The history of urban development in Zimbabwe is directly related to colonialism. Before colonisation the predominant nature of human settlements was entirely scattered and sparsely populated rural settlements with no cities and towns except the long disserted pre-colonial city states of Great Zimbabwe, Khami and Dhlohdlo to mention but only the largest. This is explained basically by two fundamental features of society then, that: population was still very meagre relative to today; and also,

the disposition of economic activities was mainly primary based – farming, very small-mining, limited trade especially in petty kind of commodities.

The thrust of this paper is to trace the trends, policy directions and population dynamics that have led to the development of the present-day urban settlements in the country, plus the resultant impacts of the key drivers of urban growth and expansion, commonly referred to in literature as urbanisation. The primary aim is to show that urban development policies once executed are very difficult to change or reverse. For instance the infrastructural development decisions, of say the direction of growth, sewerage reticulation and disposal and the siting of major land uses are usually made very early, in the development of given settlements. The paper begins by showing the chronological aspects of the history of human settlements in Zimbabwe and then highlights the major landmarks in the development, making an analysis of the different policies shaping the urban terrain in the country. After that, emerging issues in Zimbabwean urbanisation process are explored leading to a logical conclusion of the many challenges urban planners, developers, and managers have to grapple with today. These are challenges of urban sprawl, urban poverty, inadequate housing especially for the urban poor, provision of inadequate infrastructure and services including clean potable water, sewerage reticulation, power supply, garbage collection and disposal, and adequate transportation, at affordable levels.

Simply put the aims of this paper are:

- to provide a historical framework of urban policy trends and resultant morphology, over time;
- to provide an explanation to the form, structure and distribution of urban centres in Zimbabwe;
- to provide a framework of understanding the basis of the urban challenges faced today; and
- to draw lessons and conclusions.

The methodology followed by the researchers included reviews of documents such as policies, plans, councils' administrative reports, books and other similar secondary data sources. Interviews were conducted with expert personnel in the Ministry of Local Government, Public Works and National Housing and also those in the selected urban councils. The authors also drew from their many years experience in spatial planning and development and local government administration.

2. AN OVERVIEW OF URBAN SETTLEMENTS IN ZIMBABWE

Like in most Sub-Saharan countries one cannot discuss urbanisation without making reference to colonisation and its impacts. Colonisation brought with it a new socio-political and economic

dispensation. The mission of the settler was to take occupation of the land and make it his home, by exploiting all the available resources to best advantage. In trying to achieve this they created an administration system that was foreign to the indigenous people, but naturally supportive of this aim. They set up administrative structures and centres and developed supportive infrastructure such as urban centres, and communication linkages in the form of railway lines, roads and telegram lines, (Wekwete, 1992, Zinyama et al. 1993). The new administration also reorganised spatial land use by expropriating prime land from the indigenous people and forcibly moving them in to marginal areas, where the soils were not only sandy and very poor, but also received very low and unreliable rainfall. The same system of land expropriation was used for all urban and mining centres. This spatial reorganisation was enabled by a number of statutes, such as the land apportionment act of 1930, the land husbandry act of 1950 and the land tenure act of 1969.

Development in space has been taking place but with a time dimension. Three principal temporal milestones are noted in the history of urbanisation of Zimbabwe, namely, the pre-colonial era, the colonial era and the post-independence period.

2.1. Pre-colonial towns

The Great Zimbabwe City State

The Great Zimbabwe City State, which is believed to have flourished around, between 1100 and 1500 A.D¹, is one major legacy of pre-colonial towns (Mufuka, 1983). Historians argue a number of replications of the stone buildings (Dzimbabwe), in the country were a direct result of the Great Zimbabwe architecture and the succeeding empire of the Munhumutapa (c 1100 – 1900). This has been highlighted and echoed by such historians as Garlake (1973), Mufuka (1983), and Mudenge (1988). It was built generally from the quest to satisfy the defence, security and religious needs. The town is believed to have been founded by Chigwagu Rusvingo as he set up the confederation of Zimbabwe and decided that its headquarters be “Dzimbabwe”. The hill complex² of the city was home of the spirit mediums, “...whose main duty was to act as the conscience of the confederation (the people) and to

¹ It was built during the period of the Greater Mwenemutapas; during the reigns of Chigwagu Rusvingo, Chidyamatamba, Kangambeu-Kurima-Kwakona, Mombemuriwo, Chibatamatosi, Munembire Mudadi, Nyatsimba Mutota (about 1430AD and Nyanhewe Matope (Mufuka, 1983). Then came Kakuyo Kamunyaka Chisamarenga (1494-1530) – the dark ages -, and lastly King Makamba Manyika (1500-1545) (ibid.)

² The hill complex is situated on a kopje of great natural strength, protected on the sides by great boulders and on the other by a skull-cracking precipice, ninety feet (27m) in depth. On the western side, the only accessible part of the hill, the Zimbabweans constructed fifteen feet (4.5m) thick, thirty feet (9m) high in parts, on top, which was mounted seven conical towers inter-spaced with tall awe-inspiring monoliths. The two entrances were built with meticulous care to the “...point of redundancy” (ibid).

preserve the traditions of the founding fathers, Chaminuka, Chimurenga, Tovera Soro-rezhou and others”(Mufuka, 1983:6). The first clan to take charge of this important role was the Dziva-Hungwe priesthood. The second very important feature of this ancient city was the conical tower (*rutura* – granary) associated with Murenga Soro-rezhou and was a symbol of good harvests, prosperity and blessings of nature. This shrine was given special respect during the festival of the first fruits and that of the harvest, normally end of May. The spirit mediums of Murenga were associated with the conical tower, which was built in the great house (enclosure) in his honour.

After that there was a realisation by Chigwagu Rusvingo that his kingdom could not be built entirely on an economic foundation or force but on a more encompassing force of religion. This became the basis of power for all the succeeding Mwenemutapas (Munhumutapa) and for the entire period of the civilisation of 400 years. After realising that the mobilisation of stones for masonry work was becoming increasing difficulty for the residents, the king instructed through his council, that every visitor to the city had to bring five stones, (Mufuka, 1983). The mystical fortification of the “hill - fortress” was deliberate and meant to create a prosperous and holy atmosphere for ceremonies. Due to a religious mind associated with the holiness of inapproachable places, the pilgrim and the faithful must feel this as they journey to this revered holy place to renew their faith. This explains why the hill complex appears weird and defies logic in its architecture.

It should be noted that, all pre-colonial towns, in the Munhumutapa empire “...the city of Great Zimbabwe has none of the carefully designed public monuments, avenues, assembly and parade grounds of most capitals,” (Mufuka, 1983:17). This is mainly because it was both a political and religious centre, yet it was its religious functions that were overwhelming. Mufuka further notes that there was no religious centre or temple because the, “Shona religion is a matter of personal relationships expressed within a family, living and dead, that does not demand collective public display.”

The city had to a great extent, a sizeable percentage of its population based on agricultural activities such as growing crops, as indicated in the ‘Zunde raMambo’ concept of a community field for the King, and livestock rearing. Many of the citizens were also involved in non-agricultural activities such as construction³ of the city, especially city wall, trades such as pottery by women, stone sculpture and masonry, blacksmithing, priesthood and city and national administration.

³ The construction of the city walls was very demanding for labour. Mwenemutapa Chigwagu Rusvingo (and experienced great mason), realized that the organization of labour was a monumental task. He therefore impressed large numbers of Dziva-Hungwe people to collect and shape stones for his works. Due to their insufficient numbers, a more comprehensive method was employed. This required that all visitors to Great Zimbabwe had to bring three stones to the site of construction. Then, each chief was required to bring people to build a portion of the wall. This would last a year or two, during which time they would have to feed themselves. The construction took five solid centuries to completion of the project.

Other Ancient Towns

The other important but historical towns were Khami and Dhlodhlo.

Historians argue that a number of replications of stone cities in the country were direct influence of the Great Zimbabwe architecture and the succeeding empire of the Munhumutapa⁴ (c1400 – 1900). This has been highlighted and echoed by such historians as Garlake (1973) and Mudenge (1988). It must be noted that during this period the population and population density in the region were too small to be compared to the modern trends and developments. From the words of Mudenge (1988: 12), the “...population of such towns were thought to have been 11 000 people,” and the average population of village that was a subsidiary to the whole town system was about 100 people. He adds to say, “...population density was limited to about 14 persons per square kilometer (based on 25 per cent land usability”. In this strain, the idea of a true urban centre is not fully attractive for further debate. Agglomerations of populations are the greatest measure for urbanity in literature and practice. With pre-colonial cities and towns the Palestinian-Judean definition⁵ as denoted in the biblical texts is implied. Sometimes the definition of urban in the pre-colonial times also took the taste of including those in the hinterland, who had to be ‘called up’ in times of war and had to come to the defence of the capital or palace where the King resided.

As has been observed earlier, indigenous towns flourished for about four hundred years. When the white settlers occupied Zimbabwe in 1890, it was another four hundred years after their demise and abandonment. This explains why European settler towns never had any influence from these ancient towns. In any case their influence would not have been possible with the kind of exclusion that was exercised against the indigenous people by the settlers.

2.2. Colonial times and the urbanisation thrust

In Zimbabwe, the first colonial urban settlements were developed from military forts, established along the route of entry followed by an expeditionary force called the pioneer column, under the British South Africa Company. These „towns” included, Fort Tuli, Fort Victoria [now Masvingo], , Fort Charter [later Enkeldoorn, now Chivhu] and Fort Salisbury [now Harare]. These were the resting points on the route followed by the expedition. In the first years of occupation the focus was on the exploration and the mining of the various mineral wealth especially gold. To consolidate the colonisation process, and the

⁴ A corrupted version of Mwenemutapa

⁵ Compare Joshua 7 verse 3. It says that “And they returned to Joshua and said unto him, Let not all the people go up; but let about two or three thousand men go up and smite Ai and make not all the people to labour thither; for they are but few.” This means that Ai was a very small city with a very small population.

economic activities the settlers established supportive infrastructure, (roads, railway lines and telegram lines as well as urban and mining centres). This established dominance as well as facilitating transport, exchange and trade especially with South Africa. Urban and mining centres were established along racial lines. Africans were not permitted to have freehold title in terms of the urban built environment. Wekwete (1994:35) in Wekwete and Rambanepasi (eds.) postulates that for this reason, "...Africans were forced to maintain a dual existence"... with the rural home and the urban one being based on impermanence. Wekwete (1994 *ibid.*) comes up with a time-stage approach to viewing the chronology of urban development in Zimbabwe as will be shown in the ensuing paragraphs.

The *first stage*, which spans between 1890 and 1939, was the establishment phase of colonial domination with a special thrust of settler speculation and 'sniffing-to-get-the-wind' in terms of where to gainfully invest. In this period the expectations of the whites in mining were frustrated as minerals proved to be scarcer than had been expected. However it was during this period that most mining centres were established especially gold mines. The greater number of the prospectors then turned to farming. In this period a large number of the urban settlements established basically represented service centres for farmers and miners. Such centres as Kwekwe, Redcliff, Kadoma, Chegutu, Chinhoyi, Bindura, Shamva, and Marondera were developed.

The *second stage*, Wekwete (1994) pegs between 1940 and 1952. In the post-1945 era, Zimbabwe (then Southern Rhodesia) experienced the growth of the manufacturing sector. The state⁶ became fully involved to catalyse this whole process. As a result a boom in exportation of primary products⁷ was witnessed. The nation proved to be a sound haven for potential investors especially in manufacturing, building and construction. Between 1947 and 1950 alone, it is estimated that the country had influxes of European in-migrants of 5000 per year. The towns of Kwekwe and Redcliff were transformed into industrial towns as the iron and steel industry received immense investment improvement. Also, in the same period, Kadoma and Kwekwe became industrial towns following the establishment of a major cotton research centre, which again had the propulsive force for cotton growing in the hinterland. From this, it is important to emphasise that some centres were a direct response to the core-periphery connectivity as illustrated by the latter examples, while others were unilaterally a direct result of capital injection into industrial growth. Wekwete (*ibid*:33) is not sceptical in resolving that the second phase of colonial development characterised the development of the industrial base while the initial stage was geared towards infrastructure development. In the second stage urban expansion was highly notable. It

⁶ It became the major shareholder in the following corporations: Electricity Supply Commission, Cold Storage Commission, Iron and Steel Industry, Sugar Industry, Industrial Development Corporation and the Rhodesia Railways (Wekwete in Wekwete and Rambanepasi eds. (1994:33).

⁷ Tobacco, chrome, gold, asbestos and others

saw for example, the establishment of the Malbereign suburb after the concept of the Garden City and the Radburn for the Second World War veterans for peacetime relaxation and rejuvenation; and also the subdivision of the Mount Pleasant farm to accommodate white immigrants as well (Davison, 2002). In the other majors urban centres of Bulawayo, Gweru and Mutare similar levels of growth were experienced.

The *third stage* to urban development in Zimbabwe was during the Federation⁸ Epoch (1953 to 1965). Zimbabwe as the country with the federal capital received the bulk of the productive sector investment in the region. Today major urban development in Zimbabwe can be attributed to this phase. For instance, Kariba Dam, the University of Zimbabwe, Harare and Mpilo Hospital, etc were constructed during the period. In terms of private housing, the promulgation of the Building Societies Act in 1951 saw this period reaped gains from this piece of legislation as the demand for housing grew with the growing population influxes in urban centres. We need to be reminded that the urban development being discussed here refers onto the whites as the indigenous people were not accommodated, at this time, in the non-African towns.

The *fourth (and final stage* with respect to the colonial period) was the period between 1965 and 1979. This was a period of the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI). The planning of the economy was based on the import-substitution strategy and there was a lot of inward-looking and introspective approach to economic development. Wekwete (ibid.) attributes the legacy of controls that mark Zimbabwe today to this phase of economic development. He also highlights that the country experienced the highest rate of increased housing stock due to vigorous stand development between 1965 and 1971. It was during this period that the housing for Africans was really embraced. However such stand development apart from providing home to the urban residents, did nothing more that the outward expansion of urban settlements in the country. This also called for more and more other habitat services – potable clean water, power, garbage collection and disposal, public transportation and social services - for the normal functioning of these areas.

2.3. Post-Independence Landmarks

The post independence era (1980 to date) has been marked by vigorous deracialisation of the systems including the urban and rural settlement systems. The one-city concept was one kind of a move to deracialise cities so that the barrier concomitant with the 'evil' of separate development was sterilised. Wekwete in Wekwete and Rambanepasi (1994:36) does not fail to notice something amiss still reigning

⁸ It was a federation between Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) and Nyasaland (Malawi).

in the state of affairs and he comments that "...the physical fabric of the built environment has remained segregated to date, and much more in terms of income and physical characteristics....and the growth of settlements still maintains a segregationist philosophy". This shows the potency of colonial influence on Zimbabwean urban development., reinforced by long- term infrastructure development such as sewerage reticulation and accompanying treatment works, which are very expensive to relocate and or replace especially under circumstances of a failed economy.

3. DEFINITION OF TERMS

Urban centres can be separated from rural settlements or areas largely by population size, density, settlement size (i.e. the compactness of spaciousness of the place), spatial coherence, social heterogeneity and economic diversity.

In Zimbabwe, an urban settlement is defined as a settlement of 2500 people or more, the majority of whom do not engage in primary production activities, such as agriculture and mining.. In other Sub-Saharan African countries, the population that constitutes urban centers is put at 5000 people.

4. DEMOGRAPHIC ASPECTS TO URBAN DEVELOPMENT

As urbanisation began and grew, the population in urban centres also grew. The 1982 Census defined an area as urban if it had a minimum population of 2 500. Opposed to the pre-colonial situation, the colonial period brought about the aspect of population agglomeration into defined areas. With the lifting of controls at independence, urban populations grew by leaps and bounds. This was due to the rural-urban drift that characterised the times. Urban areas were very attractive as they offered better job opportunities as well as social facilities relative to the rural areas (Wekwete, 1992, 1994; Zinyama et al. eds. 1993). It is critical to note that some of the urban centres have grown from the business centre level of today to become major cities and towns as they are known today. Table 1 shows the general trends of the urban population of some selected urban centres in the years between 1936 and 1974. The Table shows that between 1936 and 1946 the cities of Harare, Bulawayo and Gweru's population grew by more than 100%, which translates to 10% per annum. During a twenty year period between 1951 and 1974 Harare grew by nearly five fold (460%), while Gweru grew by 420%, and Bulawayo managed a 380%. The fastest growing town during the period was Kwekwe which grew by five and half fold, i.e. 550%, (27,5% p.a.).

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TABLE 1 - GENERAL TRENDS OF THE URBAN POPULATION OF SOME SELECTED FEW URBAN CENTRES IN THE YEARS BETWEEN 1936 AND 1974.

Urban area	1936	1941	1946	1951	1969	1974
Salisbury (Harare)	20.177	32.008	45.993	75.000	280.000	420.000
Bulawayo	15.322	21.340	33.322	56.000	187.270	270.000
Gwelo (Gweru)	2.165	5.100	7.237	9.800	36.840	51.000
Que Que (Kwekwe)	2.608	3.686	3.860	4.600	18.740	30.000
Gatooma (Kadoma)	1,718	1.564	2.380	4.600	18.740	30.000
Umtali (Mutare)	3.566	4.812	6.549	10.900	36.300	48.000
Totals	45.550	68.510	99.341	161.200	589.480	859.000

Source: Auret (1995)

TABLE 2 - POPULATION ESTIMATES IN MAJOR TOWNS AND CITIES IN ZIMBABWE: 1961/2, 1969 AND 1982

Name of urban centre	Year		
	1961/2	1969	1982
Harare	310.000	386.000	656.000
Bulawayo	211.000	245.000	414.000
Chitungwiza	-	15.000	172.000
Gweru	39.000	46.000	79.000
Mutare	43.000	46.000	70.000
Kwekwe	21.000	31.000	48.000
Kadoma	19.000	25.000	45.000
Masvingo	10.000	11.000	31.000
Chinhoyi	8.000	13.000	24.000
Redcliff	5.000	10.000	22.000
Marondera	7.000	11.000	20.000
Chegutu	7.000	9.000	20.000
Shurugwi	7.000	8.000	13.000
Kariba	6.000	4.000	12.000
Victoria Falls	2.000	4.000	8.000

Source: adapted from Wekwete in Habitat International (1992:54)

N.B.The reason why Chitungwiza has no population entry for the year 1961/2 is that it was not in existence then, only St.Mary;s township had been established by then.

The population figures in the same urban centres continued to rise over the years beyond 1982. Table 3 shows the 1992 and 2002 population figures in most of the major towns.

The observed trends from the Tables have been accompanied by a number of challenges like housing shortage (Auret, 1990, GoZ, 1991), general space constraints (Zinyama et al eds.(1993), transport blues (GoZ, 1991), environmental problems (pollution and degradation (Moyo, ed. 1991), to name but a few. It is therefore important to look more closely into some of the policy measures and strategies that have been put in place to deal with the problems (as well as to tap on the opportunities put forward) by urbanisation in the country.

TABLE 3 - THE 1992 AND 2002 POPULATION FIGURES IN THE SAME MAJOR TOWNS

Name of urban centre	Year	
	1992	2002
Harare	1 184 169	1 903 510
Bulawayo	621 742	676 787
Chitungwiza	274 035	323 260
Gweru	124 735	141 260
Mutare	131 367	170 106
Kwekwe	74 982	93 608
Kadoma	67 267	76 173
Masvingo	51 746	69 993
Chinhoyi	42 946	49 603
Redcliff	27 994	32 346
Bindura	21 456	38 001
Marondera	39 384	52 283
Gwanda	10 807	13 184
Chegutu	30 122	42 959
Zvishavane	16 071	35 128
Shurugwi	6 029	16 866
Kariba	21 039	24 210
Victoria Falls	15 010	31 519

Source: GoZ (1992;2002)

5. PLANNING AND POLICY ISSUES RELATED TO URBAN DEVELOPMENT

5.1. Policy Developments

The colonial policies as already alluded to were restrictive, in terms of population movements, especially on the part of the black populations. Such measures allowed control of the growth of urban populations. But one thrust also in the colonial policy was to try and bring 'development' into the rural areas. The colonial growth point policy was one policy to this effect. This was supposed to enhance the policy of separate development. The practice was adopted at independence but now with a different underlying principle and focus.

At independence, the Department of Physical Planning (DPP) was tasked to locating focal points⁹ of urban development by making provision for infrastructure development and treating the whole matter as a matter of urgency. Development of the growth points in the post-independence era, GoZ (1991) asserts, "had to be done in so short a period that it had to be visible to the rural population as a matter of urgency". This was the Growth Point Strategy. In principle, the plan is to identify potential areas for economic growth, which would curb rural-urban drift and facilitate decentralisation of economic activities

⁹ In all 55 Growth Points or District Service centres and 450 rural service centres were identified and selected. The centres were then graded as to fit the seven-tier national system of settlements i.e. villages, business centres, rural service centres, district service centres, growth points, towns and cities (GoZ, 1991)

in pursuance of the "growth with equity" policy. Zvobgo¹⁰, was quoted as saying in 1982: "... rural service centres and district rural service centres form the linchpin of our strategy to redress the imbalance between the rich and poor areas and bring about a better life for all," (Paradza and Mukondiwa, 2005). The implementation of the Growth Point/ Rural Service Centre Strategy was geared towards the translating the Growth with Equity (GWE) Policy into a spatial reality, i.e. concretisation of the abstraction.

5.2. The Growth Pole Strategy: Shifting Perceptions

Moyo –ed.- (1991:54) defines a growth point as "...a centre with an identifiable resource base capable of stimulating specific production and marketing activities." Wekwete (1988, 1994) indicates that *growth points* (GP) are of two types – rural and urban. Examples of urban growth points are Ruwa and Chitungwiza. Both are satellites of Harare, the Zimbabwean capital. Rapid and sustained growth should be the trademark of this spatial order, which is actuality, is the midpoint between the lower and the

Box 1. Growth Point Stagnation and decline

Once touted as the fastest growing Muzarabani growth point at one time, the area had enticing rates and stand prices, which encouraged investment in the town. However, soon came the urge by the powers that be at the centre to peg ridiculously exorbitant rates and prices, which scared off investors and left those already established contemplating folding down.

An official with the Mutasa Rural District Council in Manicaland Province, under whose jurisdiction Hauna Growth Point in Honde Valley falls, confirmed that there was low industrial investment at the centre there is no manufacturing going on. "Things such as bottle stores

higher order centres. The economic base, substantial backward and forward linkages with the adjoining hinterland through processes of vertical and horizontal integration, plus provision of alternative but viable investment opportunities – all these – give the growth point splendour and continuity (Wekwete, 1988, 1994; GoZ, 1991). Nonetheless, the above outlined GP features have remained in more theory than turned into a reality. Most of the GPs were 'created' with no resource base thrust aspect at all. Of such phenomenon are the typical GPs that have been stagnant in growth, unattractive and the kind, Wekwete (1988) has labelled as of "low potential" (see Box 1).

¹⁰ The then Minister of Local Government and Town Planning Dr Eddison M Zvobgo

Wekwete (1988) identifies two types of rural district or growth centres, namely, the high potential centres (HPC) and low potential centres (LPC). An HPC is a centre that has a wide range of low order and high order services, which include strong administrative infrastructure. Examples are Murewa, Mutoko, Gokwe, Gutu-Mupandawana, Chisumbanje and Sanyati. On the other hand, an LPC is one that was elevated by the post-1980 designation. Wekwete foresaw that the future of the LPC depended on the "...continued public investment support." LPCs have thus limited economic potential and, in essence, are the majority in numbers in the country. Rural service centres were meant to bring cheaper goods and services to rural people and reduce the need for them to travel to major rural for basic necessities such as groceries, household goods, agricultural inputs and banking services. A centre should at least be able to meet the basic requirements that place a settlement in harmonious congruency with its environment and give the inhabitants a 'hospitable' and less constraining milieu (Box 2).

Box 2: How are rural based centres selected?

The criteria for the selection of, especially the rural based centres as following:

- existing or potential sound economic base;
- availability of a reliable source of water supply;
- availability of suitable land for urban development;
- accessibility to and from other centres and the hinterland in general;
- accessibility to major communications;
- the standard and range of existing development; and
- general accessibility by the people of the areas as represented by their councillors.

Source: GoZ (1991:3)

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congruency with its environment and give the inhabitants a 'hospitable' and less constraining milieu (Box 2).

The driving engine for the development of the rural service centres has been predominantly the government. It has been the sole provider of the infrastructure both social and physical. In terms of economic drive, again government has taken the lead through its state-operated corporations like the Grain Marketing Board, Cotton Marketing Board (now Cottco), Tobacco Marketing Boards, and a host of other parastatals. This is in terms of the agro-based settlements.

5.3. Urban physical planning and development

The physical expansion of urban settlements is the outcome of economic, institutional and social forces. As urban areas harboured industrial and services actors so they acted as magnets for labour. This development translated into physical development of these centres. Institutionally, legislation like the Land Husbandry Act of 1951 acted as prime movers of the landless Africans into urban centres. In direct conflict to this development were other legislation like the 1931 Land Apportionment Act and the Native (Urban Areas) Act, the 1969 Land Tenure Act, the African (Urban Areas) Accommodation Act, the Africans (Registration and Identification Act), and the Vagrancy Act. These made it very difficult for the African to move to towns. In urban areas, Africans were restricted to certain designated areas – locations. Housing demand grew and increasing urban labour saw cities expanding outwards and upwards. Among some of the earliest African locations included Mbare, Highfield, and Kambuzuma, in Harare (see the forthcoming subsection). In Bulawayo it was Makokoba, Nguboyenja, Mzilikazi and Mpopoma townships. Munhumutapa and Ascot were the first in Gweru, whereas for Mutare and Masvingo it was Sakubva and Mucheke respectively.

6. AFRICAN LOCATIONS: DEVELOPMENT AND EXAMPLES

Mbare

Originally Harare, Mbare was established in 1907 on the site of the original native location, south of the CBD. In 1972, its population was estimated to be under 34 000 of which two thirds were 'single' men accommodated in four large hostels. Houses for married persons to rent were six types ranging from two-roomed flats to six-roomed semi-detached houses whose rentals ranged from a minimum of \$5 up to a maximum of \$18,50 per month. For the people of a higher income bracket, home ownership schemes were commenced in 1963, with either a freehold or a 99-year leasehold tenure. The original communal lavatories were replaced by individual house ones, as late as 1972-76.

In Bulawayo, Mpopoma township was developed to provide a 99-year leasehold on mainly four-roomed semi detached houses, with lavatories outside the house. A sprinkle of three to four storey walk-up flats was provided in the township, as rental accommodation.

Kambuzuma

Kambuzuma started in 1964. It is less than five miles from the CBD of Harare. As the response to African population 'explosion' government decided to experiment with both site-and service and buy-and-extend schemes with the aim of providing home ownership schemes for the African middle income group. The 620-acre scheme was to build the nucleus of a house on a plot of 2.800 sq. feet comprising a living room, kitchen, water closet and shower with a metered water supply and water-borne sewerage reticulation. Electricity was to be installed by the purchaser. The core house was sold for two hundred and seventy-five pounds. An initial deposit of ten pounds was required and repayments were to be made over thirty years. When full payment had been made, freehold title was given provided that the house had been extended by a minimum of two rooms within a period of ten years. The would-be purchasers were required to earn a minimum of sixteen (16) pounds a month. If extensions were not done as required (first ten years), the agreement would be cancelled; the monthly repayments were taken for rent and the house transferred to another purchaser. By the end of 1966, Kambuzuma was fully developed, with a total of 2 365 houses.

Glen Norah

By 1971, the number of Africans in known accommodation was 249 000. Thus, in an attempt to reduce the burden of housing the ever-increasing African population, government came up with yet another strategy. This new scheme developed for Glen Norah required that large employers of labour could build and lease houses to their African employees. Companies could build Six thousand houses with infrastructure being provided by government. The scheme had a slow start due to government conditions on married persons being the only eligible tenants and the non-involvement of building societies. By May, 1973, 4 500 houses had been built and only 1 000 of these had been leased by industrialists and the balance was handed over to the municipality so that it could lease to deserving tenants who were on its long waiting list.

Marimba Park

This was a 766-acre high class African Township, some ten miles from the CBD. It was established in 1961 to cater for the demand for low-density high-cost housing by Africans in the higher income bracket. The original scheme had only two-acre plots; later smaller plots were sold with a building close of ten

thousand pounds. Then later, even smaller plots were sold and also had a similar building close. The scheme was very successful.

Other Townships

Highfield, a former government township, also had a similar scheme to the one of Kambuzuma but designed for lower income groups while at Dzivaresekwa it was a site and service scheme. In July 1972, the then Minister of Local Government and Housing revealed that they were 32 home-ownership schemes with a total of 734 plots operated by local authorities throughout the country.

Although the 1969 Census Report indicated that the number of African domestic servants living in European areas in Harare exceeded the number of whites, under the Africans (Urban Areas) Accommodation and Registration Act, employers of these servants could accommodate by their employees on these stands or on council-owned land in the townships but could not accommodate their dependants as they were forbidden.

7. HIERARCHY OF SETTLEMENTS AND URBANITY IN ZIMBABWE

The structure and performance of a centre are critical in the study of settlements in Zimbabwe. The subsequent outline is an attempt to capture the characteristics of the low to medium settlements found in rural Zimbabwe.

Business centres

Business centres are the lowest level in the hierarchy of settlements comprising basically of some very few shops, five on average. It is normally the very local entrepreneurs who own these shops. They offer the daily convenience goods like sugar, milk, tea, and bread. Business centres are found, in terms of situation, by the roadside. They offer recess service to bus travellers. Next and higher than business centres are the rural service centres.

Rural Service Centres (RSC)

Rural Service Centres (RSC) were designed to integrate the functions of the lower order settlements (consolidated planned village and business centres). As a rule of thumb, each service centre thrives on a threshold support of 10 000 people "...none of whom may travel more than 20km to the nearest service centre" (GoZ, 1991:3). The rural service centre operates as the headquarters of the WADCO, in most cases. It is the focal point for localised facilities such as secondary school, primary health care, ward development centres, local markets, village units, etc. Containerised in the RSC are also centres of rural infrastructure development for instance, roads, water supplies, and telephones, to name these

three. They are concentrated at the RSC but linked to the surrounding hinterland. RSC, in addition, is the collection and distribution point of agricultural commodities and inputs. Nevertheless, the existence of a rural service centres is "...unlikely to have any significant impact on areas outside their immediate hinterlands" (ibid.). In this respect, RSC are subject to little, if any, growth if not total declination. Their importance, however, should not be understated given how they bring relief to the local populations in terms of the distance coverage they have to undertake in order to get services. The next higher level institution is the district business centre in the hierarchy.

District Service Centres (DSC)

District Service Centres (DSC) offer "...similar but higher level services..." (GoZ, 1991:4) compared to those provided for by RSC. They function as district (see Figure 1) administrative capitals, co-ordinating and integrating the services available at the lower order centres in the district.

Additional services and infrastructure are available in proportion to the requirements of the whole district – district hospital, administration offices, police station, and information centres (Wekwete, 1994; GoZ, 1991). To curb rural-urban migration district service centres harbour some small-scale industries, in addition to agro-processing industrial units. The centres are meant to the expansion of the economic base of the district.

Growth Points

Mazhindu in the (Sunday Mail, 10 July 2005) affirms the rationale for the establishment of growth points that:

"Concomitant to the policy expectations of growth with equity, Government proceeded to formulate the growth point policy which saw the revamping of the weakly articulated national settlement hierarchy into a spatially and functionally integrated seven-tier settlement hierarchy which would help in attracting and steering both public and private investment in rural development and the provision of basic and higher order services to the marginalized agro-based rural communities. In the same vein, Government envisaged development strategies which would stimulate the productivity of individual regions, particularly in those centres that had not yet achieved minimum levels of investment of some degree of intersectoral integration that would allow them to enjoy economies of scale."

and others are a combination of factors. Most of these towns and centres have had a blend of government as well as private enterprise. The observable pattern is embedded in the history of the country from the days of colonialism. Mazhindu relates, in the Sunday Mail (10 July 2005) that industrial location in Zimbabwe, "... was strongly influenced by the participation of the state in the provision of infrastructure and in the actual setting up of industries."

Cities

Cities have evolved following a pattern of primacy. Harare, formerly Salisbury was, at one point the only city, which explains also its nature of being the capital city of Zimbabwe. Then Bulawayo became a second city. Gweru and Mutare followed as cities. Masvingo, Kwekwe and Kadoma were next in line and these got their city status well after independence.

8. THE MORPHOLOGY OF THE ZIMBABWEAN CITIES AND TOWNS

The spatial form and structure (morphology) of the Zimbabwean towns and cities as they appear today was by and large created by the inception designers. As in other Sub-Saharan countries, almost all towns and cities that were established during the colonial era have many common features. In Zimbabwe more than 95 percent of the Central Business District (CBD) of these centres was laid out on a gridiron pattern. The alignment of roads (streets and avenues) runs in a north to south and an east to west direction respectively. The specific alignment of roads in given towns was always adapted to the respective site conditions and topography. The industrial sites were generally located to the south-west of the CBD, with low density (high income) areas to the north and the high density (low income) areas to the west. This was in compliance with the prevailing south-easterly winds.

9. EMERGING ISSUES TO URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN ZIMBABWE

A number of emerging issues can be noted on the urban planning terrain of Zimbabwe. The following are some of the highlights in this direction:

The New Towns

With the continual 'discovery' of valuable minerals in the country, like platinum, gold and diamonds e.g. in Murowa, Zvishavane and Marange, it is most likely that new towns are on dawn. This is especially due to the multiplier effect that normally transcends these ventures. Normally this follows with the establishment of the supporting infrastructure including roads, educational, health and commercial facilities. Housing development is, as well, among the necessary infrastructure making space. It should however be noted that the mining activity does not lend itself to urban development unless the mineral

is processed locally and is a magnet to other industries as was the case at Kadoma, Kwekwe, Redcliffe and Zvishavane, to mention but a few.

Government Policy

Some new towns that are appearing on the horizon have emerged as responses to the indicative planning done by Government. For example, with the 2010 World Cup soccer tournament in perspective, the Government has embarked on a policy to upgrade some border posts, particularly Beitbridge, to town status. This is a positive development in line with implementing the policy framework by the name of the New Economic Development Priority Programme. This is believed to be inclusive of the private sector, unlike in the past where national development policies were purely state-engineered and state-driven. The settlement hierarchy policy, that saw the identification and development of District Service centres and Growth Points, seems to be creating new towns such as Chiredzi, Gokwe and Lupane, the Provincial capital of Matabeleland North.

Environmental challenges

Cities and towns have become the quandary of environmental challenges like pollution (land, air, water), and degradation of the resources as 'ruralisation' of certain cities has become a trite development. The challenge of space contestation, siltation of water bodies like lakes and dams, and the clearing of forests and bushes thus creating a disturbed urban ecosphere accompany engagements like urban agriculture in major cities. This is in a bid by the increasing urban populations to alleviate themselves from the shackles of urban poverty.

Urban sprawl

Because of the very generous plot sizes, particularly in low and medium density areas and the high levels of urbanization in the country towns and cities are generally 'bursting at the seams'. For example, Harare is developing towards and is now merging with Ruwa in the east, Epworth in the south-east, Chitungwiza in the south and Norton in the west. In consequence the city boundaries have been adjusted several times, since 1980. However as a result of the dwindling resource base to service the ever expanding spatial area, most of the major urban centres, including Harare, Bulawayo, Gweru, Mutare, Kwekwe and Masvingo have been forced to have introspection. They realised that a policy of densification was feasible and quite attractive, although its down side is the accompanying requirement of infrastructure upgrading, especially sewerage and water reticulation. The accompanying planning challenge is that of maintaining the character of given neighbourhoods. If the densification of Ivine Suburb in Gweru in the late 1980's which resulted in public outcry, is anything to go by, then the implementation of this policy has to be handled with care.

Economic hardships

Urban centres in Zimbabwe can best be described now as marked by sickening misery due to increased urban poverty. These hardships explain the increased rate in crime, the resort by urbanites to the ventures of the informal sector, and, in the case of housing the manifestations of alternatives like multi-habitation, squatter camps and informal land subdivisions. Another new phenomenon that is emerging in the Zimbabwean cities and towns is what the man on the street terms the “ruralisation” of urban centres brought about by the ever worsening shortages of electricity, potable water as a result of rationing and the general shortages of basic commodities which has led the average urbanite to literally subsist. He has to grow his own food, fetch water from unprotected sources and find fuel wood from wherever, usually municipal or state land, causing untold land degradation.

Governance and Urban Councils

The development of these cities has brought a number of challenges. These challenges differ from city to city, town to town or municipality to municipality depending on population size, industrial development size, location, and nature of infrastructure, city policies (resolutions), bye-laws and other considerations.

The independence of Zimbabwe in 1980 brought with it (as already noted) rapid development of its towns and cities that influenced regular changes of policies and other legislation. After 1980, the need to create responsive and mobile local authorities became one of the focal points of government reform programme. Mobile councils are those institutions that have the capacity and ability to change and respond to the demands of the stakeholders. While Zimbabwe made progress in improving the general standard of living, many urban dwellers still live under conditions that are offensive, demeaning, demoralizing and debilitating. The provision of goods and services by urban councils is ineffective and inefficient. The lack of transparency corruption and general mismanagement in these institutions has influence experts to call for the implementation of good governance in such public institutions. Shanoon, et al. (2002:310) repose that urban poverty has not persisted but it has increased. The current urban councils’ problems range from municipal councils financial bankruptcy, inability to develop and maintain existing infrastructure like roads, sewer, water, electricity, housing, etc, inefficiency of the transport system, environmental pollution and degradation and fail to attract investment to create job opportunities. In an article entitled, „Critical factors influencing urban development in Zimbabwean cities and towns: Reflections on issues of urban governance, 2009”, (not published), Wellington Jonga and Killian Munzwa (2009) argue that the role of local government is to look at all interests of the population, plan and coordinate activities of the city, supply services such as, water and transportation, deal with municipal finance and regulate the behaviour of the major actors and urban markets and focus on the major issues identified by the population and pay attention to the most important problem, that is, the

further development of the urban economy. The critical problems confronting cities world-wide include lack of employment opportunities, spreading homelessness and expansion of squatter settlements, increased poverty and a widening gap between the rich and poor, growing insecurity, deterioration of building stock, services and infrastructure, improper land use, rising traffic congestion and pollution, lack of green space and an increasing vulnerability to disaster, all of which have seriously challenged capacities of governments (van Dijk, 2006, Keiner, et al., 2005).

Keiner, et al. (2006:231) expresses that good governance according to the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UNESCAP 2004), has the following characteristics, "It is participatory, consensus oriented, accountable, transparent, responsive, effective and efficient, equitable and inclusive and follows the rule of law. It assures that corruption is minimized, the views of minorities are taken into account and that the voices of the most vulnerable in society are heard in decision-making. It is also responsible to the present and future needs of society".

Jonga and Munzwa also quote Keiner et al. (2006) who stressed that Sub-Saharan African towns and cities face challenges that include rapid population growth unaccompanied by industrialization or economic growth, lack of economic dynamism, governance failure, severe infrastructure and severe deficiencies, inadequate land administration, poverty and social breakdown. Tact, diplomacy, patience and politeness attributes that are not common in many of the public offices today will be a compulsory feature of the urban councils offices. Jonga and Munzwa further state, "The serious shortage of finances will impact on any reforms that may be adopted. The resuscitation of infrastructures and provision of clean water and adequate housing, all depend on the availability of funds. Therefore the urban councils have to reform their financial systems in order to create more revenues, eradicate corruption and general financial mismanagement and so on. The introduction of new forms of budgeting like, performance budgeting and participatory budgeting may be of benefit to the communities and other stakeholders. Recently the involvement of the stakeholders and communities is a good principle of good governance because the intended beneficiaries will become part of the decision-making".

Shannon, (2002: 310) expresses, "Water supply, pollution and waste removal represent problems that will require very expensive solutions during a time of limited governmental resources. Economic trends may create new problems and limit our (councils') ability to respond to them". In Zimbabwe the failure to observe the principles good governance especially from the year 2000 to 2008 and the economic and political situation deterioration has contributed to the unemployment, environmental pollution and destruction, non development and maintenance of infrastructure, shortages of urban transport, inadequate supply of water, etc. Environmental pollution and inability to supply clean water in urban

areas has created diseases like cholera. The Cities of Harare and Chitungwiza are facing acute shortage of water. In the website, <http://www.radiovop.com/>, (HARARE, May 18 2009), Germany is said to have availed a 10 million Euro package to help Zimbabwe rebuild its failing water reticulation system. The same website also states, "Prime Minister Morgan Tsvangirai wrote to our government requesting for support in water purification, said Ingolf Dietrich, head of the division for Southern Africa in the Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development". Government of Zimbabwe; World Health Organization (WHO) reported in the Zimbabwe Situation on 24 May 2009 that Cumulative cholera deaths were 4 276 of which 2 627 are community deaths.

On 29 May 2009, <http://www.voanews.com/> reposed that clean drinking water has become a matter of life or death for many Zimbabweans in the past nine months as a deadly cholera epidemic has swept the country, claiming more than 4,200 lives from some 97,000 cases though tapering off since its peak in February. The website, <http://www.voanews.com>, also argues that while the number of new cases reported each day has dwindled, cholera continues to claim lives by the scores on a weekly basis. And the World Health Organization has warned that the epidemic could surge when summer arrives with higher temperatures and more rain. It is further stated that the authorities have sought to educate the population on how to purify water, that is, boiling for at least 10 minutes, adding small amounts of chlorine, or dropping in water purifying tablets like Aquatab or adding Water Guard, a dilute solution of 0.75% sodium hypochlorite developed by the U.S. Centers for Disease Control with funding from the World Bank. The website indicates that since December 2008, U.S. consumer goods giant Procter & Gamble has distributed 4 million packets of PUR, also developed in conjunction with the CDC, a powder which not only makes water safe to drink but turns muddy water clear by precipitating suspended particles. .

One of the crucial elements of good governance is the collection, accountable and transparent management of public funds (municipality funds). Currently because of the political deterioration and the economic melt down, almost all the cities are suffering from budget deficits or inadequate financial resources for development, general administration and infrastructure maintenance. For the city, to borrow the city administrations have to be creditworthy. Creditworthiness is an attribute that is attained through the development of good financial management like, proper budgeting, control of funds, periodic accurate reporting, properly written books of accounts

Urban councils as political institutions must tolerate diverse opinions. If these diverse political opinions and freedoms are suppressed, news beliefs and behaviours are hindered and it means the valves to

release the pressure of change will tighten to the disadvantage of development agents in the urban communities. This will stifle visions for future developments.

The observations of Jonga and Munzwa in the paper, 'Critical factors influencing urban development in Zimbabwean cities and towns: Reflections on issues of urban governance, 2009' argue, "It is necessary that the communities and central government be reminded that by their very nature, local authorities are non-profit making organizations that can readily access funds from the open market. Their clientele especially in Africa and other Third World Countries by and large are the poor to the middle- income members of the society, who would struggle to repay a loan with high interest rates. In this regard government should increase its obligation of providing cheap money to the local authorities for the provision and maintenance of service and infrastructure. The Public Service Investment Programme (PSIP) allocations should be responsive to the increasing demands of local authorities. The citizens demand service delivery from local authorities but they do not reflect their support in the allocation of resources and by the liberalization of tax revenues".

Keiner et al (2006) summarized in a dramatic way the issue of good governance when they argued that the main challenge for sustainable urban development is to establish good governance. Governance is based on the idea of the „social contract” (Rousseau, 1762), in which government and authority are determined through a mutual contract between the authorities and the governed; this contract implies that the governed agree to be ruled only so that their rights, property and happiness are protected by their rulers. Once rulers do not properly uphold the rights, liberty and equality of everyone, the social contract is broken and the governed are free to choose another set of governors or magistrates”. It is therefore important to question, 'Are the urban problems in Zimbabwe so extreme that the cities and towns need to change there rulers?' Then, 'Would the new rulers do a better job?' These questions are difficult to get specific answers. What the authors can only portray is the opinion that the politics, governance and institutional behaviours had terribly deteriorated in the urban centres in Zimbabwe. Therefore, this deterioration is an important milestone in the historical development of the towns and cities of Zimbabwe that needs mention because redesign or re-engineering of the management and functions of these institutions is needed today and not tomorrow.

10. CONCLUSIONS

The main conclusion of this research are the following:

The history of urban development in Zimbabwe is long and quite packed with a lot of detail. A close scrutiny of the history will reveal quite a number of issues and foci. From the foregoing paragraphs the following general lessons and conclusions can be drawn, that:

- The history as in similar sub-Saharan African countries is marked by a number of policy orientations e.g. communitarian, in the pre-colonial era, capitalist, in the colonial times, socialist in the first years of independence with regard to social development policies which have changed and continued to oscillate around segregation, collaboration and confrontation. Therefore both the socio-economic space and the accompanying spatial and morphological development can easily be aligned to the policy-orientation of the different political regimes over time.
- The history is a combination of market, state and social factors. The market forces relate to the various investment thrusts ranging from agriculture, mining, tourism and manufacturing. These have had a multiplier effect on the different urban economies in various ways and varying degrees, thus an explanation for continued urban physical expansion on the majority of the bigger centers. The state has had intervention strategies for the sake of 'safeguarding public and national interests'. This is observable throughout the whole longitudinal period from pre-colonial, through colonial and post-colonial times. However, the definition of public interest depended much on the type of government in power at the time (regime). For example, during the colonial period, the term "public interest" referred to the interests not of the majority of the public, but rather to those of the white minority, because the white colonial government was promoting and protecting the interests of the colonialists - the white people.
- Cities and towns continue to develop and at independence a whole lot of assortment in the post-1990 period emerging. In addition, they are also set to expand. The most remarkable sector related to this development is the housing sector. Housing has always been a hot issue. Entrenched in the adequate housing debate are the legal, institutional, planning and market issues. Even colonial governments were very much involved in the housing question of the urban centres as seen by their various housing interventions throughout the colonial period e.g. the creation of townships and locations, and site and service schemes.
- The settlement hierarchy of Zimbabwe is a very interesting subject in the urban development study for the country. This is because, enmeshed in this hierarchy are the explanations for the size, growth and dynamics defining the various urban centres in the country. The demographic patterns in the centres offer us a great deal of appreciation in terms of highlighting why certain areas have attained or failed to attain a certain standard status like a city status, town status, etc. This hierarchy was an attempt by the independent government to harmonise the urban spread over the geographic and socio-political space, in terms of the

developmental impacts of towns and cities on the rural land scape. Furthermore, the policy was also to achieve socio-political regional balance in the general spread of these settlements in terms of their tricle-down effect on the urban-based goods and services.

- Urban centres have come with a lot more challenges than ever known in the past. Environmental challenges are one of the most despicable phenomena for urban Zimbabwe. This can better be understood in terms of the varous forms and types of impacts, urban centers (built-up areas) may impose on the natural-rural environments. In the first instance, these centers consume rural environments and change them into urban, second they survive on the resources from the rural areas, such as water, electricity, resources for commerce and industry and even the construction industry, including housing. This dependence is more sgnificant in developing economies, such as Zimbabwe, where because of electricity shortages, most of the urbanpoor depend on fuelwood for their cooking and warming fuels.
- The concept of a 'unitary town or city' where residential areas are not segregated (in the past, by Colour) and now by economic wealth are likely to remain a pipe dream. Can Zimbabweans achieve this as the Batswanas or the Ethiopians? The challenge here is deeper than the Master and Local plans are deemed to represent. This is because the implementation of these plans has resulted in the current unacceptale urban morphlogy. It would appear that something more than these plan represent is required. Perhaps a more fundamental socio-political and cultural change, if these unitary towns are going to see light of day. But the big question is who is going to be the driver of such a fundamental socio-cultural engineering feat and morphological architecture?

11. RECOMMENDATIONS

The main recommendations are:

- Mabogunje (1992) assets that while, "the colonial era may have ended its legacies of authoritarian management and citizen marginalization in the decision-making process remains firmly in place". It is therefore recommended that the urban management structures should borrow heavily from the local (African) management systems in order to improve both public participation and accountability.
- The authorities and the general public have to appreciate and accept that urbanization is here to stay, and going by the world and even regional experiences, all nations are urbanizing. There is therefore need to adopt realistic and appropriate urbanization strategies

for the nation, by being positive first and being prepared to deal with the urban challenges as they come in a realistic and holistic manner. For instance addressing the question of urban sprawl at both policy and practical/ implementation level will require that similar challenges of infrastructural services – clean potable water, sewerage reticulation, public transport – be addressed too.

- The settlement hierarchy including the growth point strategy deserves further scrutiny and the development of appropriate support at the highest level. Fambirai (2007) has observed that the majority of third world cities do not specialise and usually have no economic base. He argues that the country's future towns should be based on economic bases and that they should specialize. On the basis of this argument he suggested (wildly perhaps) that the country's future capital city may be one of such resource-based centres. More seriously Fambirai's (ibid) point is that there is really need for a scientific re-evaluation of what makes these towns and cities tick, in order to re-establish and relaunch their socio-economic and spatial redevelopment in a manner re-engineered for the twenty-first century.

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