Land governance in the context of the New Urban Agenda: Experiences from Harare (Zimbabwe) and Johannesburg (South Africa)

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Abstract
This discussion provides a nuanced analysis of how land governance systems influence the New Urban Agenda in the context of two different African cities, Harare and Johannesburg. Responsible land governance is at the core of achieving the targets of this Agenda and thus Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 11. One of the key components of the Agenda’s vision and that of SDG 11 is the concept of cities for all, meaning “equal use and enjoyment of cities, towns, and villages and seeking to promote inclusivity and ensure that all inhabitants, of present and future generations, without discrimination of any kind, are able to inhabit and produce just, safe, healthy, accessible, resilient, and sustainable cities and human settlements, as a common good. It is within this context that land governance variables such as land corruption, land access, and land planning have become important in achieving the vision of the New Urban Agenda. The paper that is informed by an extensive review of literature argues that land governance is at the core of achieving the targets of the New Urban Agenda. The paper seeks to propose policy recommendations on how the New Urban Agenda can be more responsive to challenges in land governance.

Key words: New Urban Agenda, land governance, land corruption, urbanization
1.0 Introduction
This paper provides a nuanced analysis of land governance within the context of New Urban Agenda in two Southern African countries. The paper uses a desk review to highlight how land governance is at the centre of achieving the New Urban Agenda. At the heart of land governance is the issue of land corruption, which impacts on access and equality within urban spaces. Urbanization is not a sub plot, but rather the main policy narrative for Africa (Freire et al, 2014). The Sustainable Development Goal (SDGs) 11 provides a framework through which nation states are encouraged to make cities inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable. The recently launched New Urban Agenda has elevated the discourse on SDG 11 through providing a framework and a roadmap for the development of cities that can serve as engines of prosperity and centers of cultural and social well-being while protecting the environment. The table below outlines some of the core principles

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<th>Core Principles</th>
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<tr>
<td>Provide basic services for all citizens</td>
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<td>These services include: access to housing, safe drinking water and sanitation, nutritious food, healthcare and family planning, education, culture and access to communication technologies.</td>
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<td>Ensure that all citizens have access to equal opportunities and face no discrimination</td>
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<td>Everyone has the right to benefit from what their cities offer. The New Urban Agenda calls on city authorities to take into account the needs of women, youth and children, people with disabilities, marginalized groups, older persons, indigenous people, among other groups.</td>
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<td>Promote measures that support cleaner cities</td>
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<td>Tackling air pollution in cities is good both for people’s health and for the planet. In the Agenda, leaders have committed to increase their use of renewable energy, provide better and greener public transport, and sustainably manage their natural resources.</td>
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<td>Strengthen resilience in cities to reduce the risk and the impact of disasters</td>
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<td>Many cities have felt the impact of natural disasters and leaders have now committed to implement mitigation and adaptation measures to minimize these impacts. Some of these measures include: better urban planning, quality infrastructure and improving local responses.</td>
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<td>Take action to address climate change by reducing their greenhouse gas emissions</td>
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<td>Leaders have committed to involve not just the local government but all actors of society to take climate action taking into account the Paris Agreement on climate change which seeks to limit the increase in global temperature to well below 2 degrees Celsius. Sustainable cities that reduce emissions from energy and build resilience can play a lead role.</td>
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<td>Fully respect the rights of refugees, migrants and internally displaced persons regardless of their migration status</td>
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<td>Leaders have recognized that migration poses challenges but it also brings significant contributions to urban life. Because of this, they have committed to establish measures that help migrants, refugees and IDPs make positive contributions to societies.</td>
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<td>Improve connectivity and support innovative and green initiatives</td>
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<td>This includes establishing partnerships with businesses and civil society to find sustainable solutions to urban challenges</td>
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<td>Promote safe, accessible and green public spaces</td>
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<td>Human interaction should be facilitated by urban planning, which is why the Agenda calls for an increase in public spaces such as sidewalks, cycling lanes, gardens, squares and parks. Sustainable urban design plays a key role in ensuring the liveability and prosperity of a city.</td>
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As this discourse on urbanization or the New Urban Agenda evolve it is perhaps important to analyze the impact of land governance and more specifically land corruption on the attainment of this developmental milestone. The fight against corruption is supported by the SD Goal 16 which dictates that there is need to “promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels”. It is important to note that existing literature on the New Urban

Agenda, lacks depth on assessing the impact of land governance challenges on the New Urban Agenda. As such this paper provides a nuanced analysis of how land governance systems influence the New Urban agenda in the context of two different African cities different African cities, Harare and Johannesburg. Through the two case studies, we argue that any ambition for urban development (from creating inclusive, resilient, green, healthy, just, smart or liveable cities) can succeed only when (land)corruption is tackled effectively.

2.0 New Urban Agenda in the context of Southern Africa
Southern Africa like the rest of the continent is facing a rapidly growing urban population. Price notes that The urbanisation level of 40% in 2010 is expected to reach 60% by 2050 with the number of urban dwellers increasing from 400 million to 1.26 billion. This poses serious policy questions at a national level and land governance systems are largely not geared for this projected population increases. It is therefore imperative for African governments to embrace aspects of the New Urban Agenda that promote four interconnected spheres: urban financial health; urban institutions and governance; physical health, spatial planning and design; political will. Political will is important given that all other issues around planning and governance remain political processes in Africa. The New Urban Agenda recognises that sustainable human settlements can only achieved through decentralised, accountable, citizen driven and financially secure local authorities. It calls for decentralised and locally accountable urban governance embracing increased citizen participation in decisions on issues affecting them; to select and de-select those who represent and those who govern them; and increased fiscal autonomy.

New Urban Agenda views ‘multiple forms of poverty, growing inequalities, and environmental degradation, remain among the major obstacles to sustainable development worldwide, with social and economic exclusion and spatial segregation often an irrefutable reality in cities and human settlements.’ Our focus in this paper is on how land governance is a central question in analysing urban lifewords in southern Africa. The success of the New Urban Agenda depends largely on transforming governance structures so as to ensure democratic participation of citizens in decision making. New Urban Agenda is driven by the:

...vision in the concept of cities for all, referring to the equal use and enjoyment of cities, towns, and villages, seeking to promote inclusivity and ensure that all inhabitants, of present and future generations, without discrimination of any kind, are able to inhabit and produce just, safe, healthy, accessible, resilient, and sustainable cities and human settlements, as a common good that essentially contributes to prosperity and quality of life.

The vision however needs to be understood in a context of urban land corruption, opaque local governance processes, unchecked expenditure and poor service delivery for the poorest in the cities. The city in most African cities remains exclusionary to vulnerable groups especially women, youths and the poorest who are relegated to the informal, peripheries and ghettos of space, livelihoods and knowledge. Our focus in the context of southern Africa is then to understand how we mainstream democratic land governance into how we plan, finance, develop, govern, and manage cities and human settlements, recognizing sustainable urban and territorial development as essential to the achievement of sustainable development and prosperity for all.

http://www.africaresearchinstitute.org/newsite/blog/habitat-iii-critical-opportunity-africa/
Ibid.
South Africa has produced a position on the New Urban Agenda, outlining national priority areas in regards to urban spaces. These priority areas are outlined in the excerpt below which borrows from a report citing Human Settlements Deputy Minister Zou Kota-Fredericks and Department of Human Settlements international relations director Monika Glinzler:

…urban demographics, there is a need for focus on rural dynamics and the acceleration of inclusive growth and employment, while prioritizing youth, education and skills development…HIV/Aids prevention and management, safety for women and liveable city designs, with emphasis on social development and welfare of the elderly…the need for effective administration, support and legislation monitoring; …sustainable planning and design, the improvement of urban land management and urban sprawl and the enhancement of urban and peri-urban food production, as well as addressing urban mobility challenges and improving technical capacity to plan and manage cities. The new agenda should also take the necessary measures to address community-level disaster risks such as poor integrated planning and public information and education programmes. The implementation of the country’s Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act and measures to secure land tenure for the urban poor need to be prioritised.5

These priorities however do not articulate the importance of land governance on the achievement of the New Urban Agenda. Issues such as land corruption, poor and undemocratic planning practices, capture of local government by political elites and lack of accountability mechanisms inhibit even the best of plans. Political considerations become more important than practical plans. In Zimbabwe there is no clearly discernable government position on the New Urban Agenda.

In southern Africa, the New Urban Agenda is ‘obliged to confront, namely the social and spatial legacy of colonial and apartheid cities’ (Turok 2016:11). The historical context is at the heart of how post colonial/apartheid land governance has evolved in ways that continuously exclude the poorest segments of our population. Both Zimbabwe and South Africa have a legacy of parallel and unequal development of urban spaces based on race. This parallel development has morphed into one based on class. The emergent political rich and black business class has in many ways perpetuated the policies of parallel and undemocratic urban governance systems. The majority of the poor are black and in South Africa, Turok (2016:11) argues:

The establishment of bleak dormitory settlements and hostel compounds for migrant workers without any kind of economic base or amenities was a further problem. There was deliberate under-investment in housing, physical infrastructure and social facilities, and blanket restrictions on self-employment and business start-ups. Many of these townships and adjacent informal settlements became concentrations of poverty and exclusion, where miserable living conditions meant hardship, insecurity and crime.

Large areas of Zimbabwean cities still reflect colonial planning traditions designed to promote racial segregation, which no longer adequately meet the demands of urban areas which are doubling in size every 10 to 15 years. In Zimbabwe, colonial vestiges of exclusion are felt in overpopulated high-density areas, which were built for black labor.6 This has created serious

5 http://www.engineeringnews.co.za/article/south-africa-gears-up-for-habitat-iii-needs-to-be-active-in-global-new-urban-agenda-2016-07-20
6 http://www.unrisd.org/80256B3C005BCCF9/HttpNetITFramePDF?ReadForm&parentunid=B96A42795795DEFDC1256FE90056211D&parentdoctype=documentauxiliarypage&netitpath=80256B3C005BCCF9/(HttpAuxPages j/B96A42795795DEFDC1256FE90056211D/Sfile/16-Brown.pdf
problems in terms of service provision, adequate housing and social services in some of these areas which have had to deal with health problems such as typhoid and cholera.7

3.0 Methodology
This study is based on an extensive review of literature focusing on urbanization, land governance, land corruption, housing and New Urban Agenda. Literature targeted included academic journals, books, newspapers, blogs, reports, research studies and magazines. We purposively sampled works that related to the topic and spoke to the research questions guiding this study. This desk review was necessitated by the need provide a holistic picture around the two chosen case studies. Desk research is basically involved in collecting data from existing resources hence it is often considered a low cost technique as compared to field research, as the main cost is involved in executive’s time, telephone charges and directories. The two case studies were purposively chosen to juxtapose an economic powerhouse metropolis (Johanessburg) and a smaller city in an economic malaise (Harare). This juxtaposition is important to highlight how land governance and land corruption is a function of institutions and not economic stability. Both cities are also important in that they have a colonial past which influences urban policies and access to the space within the city.

4.0 Findings
4.1 Case Study 1: Johannesburg City
4.1.1 History and Evolution
Johannesburg was first laid out in the late 1800s following the discovery of an outcrop of gold reef on the farm Langlaate (World Guide, 2016). The first European settlers to arrive in the Johannesburg area were the Dutch Voortrekkers, who helped the Sotho-Tswana people expel the Ndebele from the territory now called the Transvaal Republic (Ibid). Following the discovery of gold beneath the hills of the Witwatersrand area, fortune seekers from throughout the world were attracted. Migrant workers streamed into Johannesburg from rural parts of the country and beyond to work on the gold mines and were accommodated in desolate single-sex hostels within the city’s confines to ensure a steady supply of cheap labour for the mines. Separate suburbs8 were created for black and white residents, over time ensuring proximity to the central business district and amenities for the latter, while the former were expected to live in poorly serviced ‘locations’ or ‘townships’ on the far edges of the city. Later, the “Group Areas Act”9, apartheid-era legislation introduced in 1950, enabled the government of the time to legally restrict the movements of black people in urban areas and demarcate certain residential and business sections in cities for different racial groups.

During the colonialist and apartheid era in South Africa, cities including Johannesburg underwent stringent population controls and forced removals to keep the races segregated, producing highly inefficient, inequitable and environmentally damaging outcomes (NPC, 2012; COGTA 2014; Presidency 2014; Turok, 2015). Townships were characterised by deliberate under investment in housing, physical infrastructure and social facilities, blanket restrictions on self-employment and business start-ups (Turok, 2015). The result of these measures was a “fractured urban form” (Ibid). Natural consequences of such an enforced system then included poverty, crime and social unrest.

7 http://www.zimeye.net/typhoid-the-mbare-hostels-disaster-waiting-to-explode/
9 http://www.sahistory.org.za/article/group-areas-act-1950
In 1994 following the end of apartheid, the new democratic government embarked on a Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) to ensure housing for all. The RDP was meant to build new low-cost housing for residents in former locations, and between the period of 1994 and 2004 more than 1 million units were completed countrywide. By 2013, the South African National Treasury and Presidency estimated that there were 2.8 million such units across the land. However, RDP housing has done little to radically alter the urban landscape and bring about spatial justice in South African cities, particularly Johannesburg which at 1 645km$^2$ is South Africa’s largest city with an urban population of 99.8%\textsuperscript{10} residents (Hendler et al, 2013). During this time ‘service delivery became the mantra’, with more inclusive municipal spatial planning taking a backseat (Turok, 2015). The provision of housing, sanitation, electricity, roads and refuse collection to previously disadvantaged communities was prioritised over quality, integration and location (Ibid). Changes in the way the RDP housing process was rolled out countrywide have also had an impact on urban transformation in South Africa’s cities. Initially, the government favoured private developers to lead the RDP housing process, providing support through a capital subsidy programme, but spiralling building costs and poor workmanship forced a policy rethink (Hendler et al 2013). The responsibility for development was then put at the foot of municipalities, who procured the services of private contractors to carry out the work (Ibid). The results were two-fold: the building of low cost housing continued on cities’ peripheries while local authorities approved high value developments like shopping malls to extract higher rates and taxes to plough revenues back into low cost housing developments (Ibid).

Black people comprise 76.4% of the city’s 4.4 million residents\textsuperscript{11}, yet many still live on the outskirts of the city, having to endure long, complicated daily journeys often via unreliable transport to work and other more centrally located amenities. Turok (2015) notes that “many workers now spend between 20% – 35% of their income on commuting”, which is exceptionally high by international standards (OECD, 2011; NPC, 2012). At a national level, it could be argued that effective urban transformation in South Africa has been hampered by the absence of one integrated urban plan, with the post-Apartheid government responding instead through different policies and programmes, where all sorts of competing ideas and proposals gain traction (Turok 2015: SACN, 2014: COGTA, 2014). In addition, South Africa’s ruling party, the African National Congress (ANC), has tended to see cities ironically as “sites of historic privilege” and less of a priority for transformation than rural areas.

4.1.2 Urban dynamics

The City of Johannesburg’s Spatial Development Framework (SDF) 2040\textsuperscript{12} notes that “post-apartheid housing delivery has exacerbated apartheid spatial development patterns by building housing in areas far from economic activity”. In relation to the above, the framework states: “Continuing to meet development demand in this manner not only exacerbates existing socio-economic disparities and spatial inequality, it also places significant pressure on the natural environment and increases the cost of infrastructure provision.” To address these challenges, the framework seeks to create a spatially just world class African city able to accommodate 7 million people by 2040, where development centres around the existing inner city linked to efficient public transport networks. These networks would then connect to mixed use (residential and commercial) sub-centres. Existing issues that the framework hopes to address include increasing pressure on the natural environment, urban sprawl, spatial inequalities and

\textsuperscript{10} http://www.statssa.gov.za/?page_id=1021&id=city-of-johannesburg-municipality
\textsuperscript{11} http://www.statssa.gov.za/?page_id=1021&id=city-of-johannesburg-municipality
\textsuperscript{12} https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B6d8vNtQ0MHvU2t00UphMDZ2cnc/view
the job-housing mismatch, as well as inefficient residential densities and land use diversity. According to the framework, “the proposed compact polycentric model concentrates growth in a compact urban core around transformation areas and key urban and transit oriented development nodes”. Therefore, the spatial vision of the SDF 2040 is a compact polycentric city. Here the Inner City would form the strong urban core linked by efficient public transport to dense, mixed use (residential and commercial), sub-centres, situated within a protected and integrated natural environment. The figures below have been extracted from the SDF Framework document\(^{13}\) (page 13)

While the City of Johannesburg does not have a dedicated budget line for the implementation of SDF 2040, its capital budget for 2016 – 2019\(^{14}\) is strongly geared towards meeting the framework’s goals. It projects a spending plan of approximately R28.3 billion (US$2.1 billion) over the next three-year period. Approximately R6.5 billion (US$483 million) of the capital budget will be funded by the City and R2.9 billion (US$215) from grants and public contributions.

4.1.3 City planning in the context of New Urban Agenda


In terms of the New Urban Agenda\textsuperscript{15}, adopted in 2016 by world leaders who committed to eight high level goals to improve the sustainability and resilience of the world’s cities, the City of Johannesburg’s spatial planning vision for the future offers pause for thought. The high crime rate in Johannesburg\textsuperscript{16} is a major factor affecting the gendered experience of life in the city as well as equal opportunities for all residents. Poorer women who rely on public transport and who come from informal settlements and townships are naturally more exposed to crime in general and sexual crimes in particular than wealthier, middle class women living in suburbs (Todes et al 2016)\textsuperscript{17}. Preliminary findings from a study “Mothers in the City”, undertaken by the South African Research Chair in Spatial Analysis and City Planning, show that women residents find the city unsafe and difficult to navigate and travel in - particularly with young children (Dinath et al, forthcoming). As a result women tend to stay close to home, reinforcing the association between domesticity and gender. The lack of publicly funded or subsidised child development centres, cheap and easily accessible public transport and unequal distribution of good schools also mean that women are faced with difficult decisions about where to locate their household (Todes et al, 2016) While the city’s SDF 2040 emphasises the importance of a resilient and sustainable city, the current emphasis on curing urban sprawl and moving towards a more compact city could drive up land prices and rentals in the formal and informal markets, and thus “be exclusionary” towards the very residents whose lives the city’s framework is aiming to improve (Todes et al, 2016).

4.1.4 Governance and informal settlements

While the new democratic government has sought to address apartheid-era urban settlement patterns through its National Housing Policy, which gave rise to the Reconstruction and Development Programme, other legal provisions – such as the Upgrading of Informal Settlements Policy – have been ignored\textsuperscript{18} – to the detriment of many residents. While informal settlements\textsuperscript{19} have been in existence in and around cities like Johannesburg since its beginnings, their numbers have shot up in recent years, pointing to an ever-increasing demand for housing among the urban poor. In the case of the Slovo Park Informal Settlement in the City of Johannesburg, a community waited 20 years for government to make good on its promises to upgrade the area to formal housing, only to be told it was going to be evicted and relocated a further 11km from the main city centre – the community’s source of work. The graphs below have been extracted from a World Bank study: Economic and Social trends in South African townships and informal settlements\textsuperscript{20} (page 85):

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\textsuperscript{15} https://habitat3.org/the-new-urban-agenda/
\textsuperscript{16} http://www.crimestatssa.com/index.php
\textsuperscript{17} http://wiredspace.wits.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10539/21057/Spatial%20futures%20paper_Final%20draft.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y
\textsuperscript{18} “Ground-breaking informal settlement ruling: upgrading policy is binding and must be obeyed”, http://seri-sa.org/images/MelaniHighCourtFINAL.pdf
\textsuperscript{19} http://www.upgradingsupport.org/content/page/part-1-understanding-your-informal-settlements
4.1.5 Corruption

Corruption, which impacts all strata of government in South Africa and rural and urban areas alike, seriously threatens to undermine the gains that have – or will be – made towards achieving a more spatially just, accessible, sustainable and resilient Johannesburg. As Mkhize (2015) notes: “… administrative entanglements, corruption, legal battles, legislative and administrative loopholes, and misalignments in the frameworks of different spheres of government can all work against coherent approaches to spatial management on the ground.” Access to urban land as well as the provision of housing on that land has become a hotly contested topic among political parties vying for support during recent local government elections and in certain cases has even prompted illegal land invasions in and around the city:

Magni (2015) argues that certain contradictions and conflicts over how city municipalities in South Africa intervene in relation to urban land can also be key drivers of corruption. The complexity of the interventions carried out, combined with increased value of city land (because of high demand and limited supply) and poor policing of commercial crime, results in a high potential for corruption. For example, residents in an informal settlement in the Greater Johannesburg Metro have revealed how they had paid up to R25,000 (US$18,500) to secure more permanent housing in a nearby residential development, only to find that the units had been sold to other buyers. Affected residents’ attempts to stand their ground and seek justice have so far come to naught (GroundUp, 2017).

Another example of a young male resident suffering from epilepsy was cited by community members. James Mncwango, was kidnapped in April 2016 because he resisted efforts to remove him from his mother’s home in the area. “He resurfaced several weeks later and laid criminal charges against the culprits. A few days before his case was to be heard in court, he

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was kidnapped a second time, and has not been seen since. His mother’s shack was burned after the kidnapping and a new house has been built in its place, given to someone else,” GroundUp reports. King Sibiya, head of the Lungelu Letho Human Rights Foundation, which has received a raft of complaints about this case, says: “It is time for the government to put a stop to all evictions until such time as we can reform the legal process so that people cannot be thrown arbitrarily onto the streets. Constitutional protections against arbitrary deprivation of property are meaningless in situations like this. Most people being served with eviction notices have no idea how or where to enforce their legal rights, and this is something that is happening at every level in South Africa.”

4.2 Case Study 2: Harare Metropolitan City
4.2.1 History and Evolution
Harare is Zimbabwe’s capital and largest metropolitan city with a total population of more than 2.8 million people (Chirisa et al, 2015). Harare evolved out of the colonial system and as such its present day outlook and governance reflect its colonial evolution and birth. Munzwa and Jonga (2010) argue that in most Sub Saharan countries, one cannot discuss urbanization without making reference to colonization and its impacts. Colonization brought with it a new socio political and economic dispensation (ibid). This section of the paper will trace the history and evolution of Harare from its colonial birth. The Pioneer Column, a mercenary force organized by Cecil Rhodes, founded Harare in 1890 as a fort. Originally named Fort Salisbury, it was declared a city in 1935 and became known as Salisbury until 1982 (ibid Zinyama et al (1993) argues that, Harare is that type of colonial city founded on the philosophy and practice of separate development. As in many other African cities, Harare was specifically built to host the influx of people, which were moving to the city as labor force for the growing economy during the colonial period (Mlambo (2009) as cited in Wania et al (2013). Wekwete (1994) states that the era which spans between 1890 and 1939, was the establishment phase of colonial domination where the settlers speculated about the investment opportunities around Salisbury, now Harare

As argued by Patel (1988) the white community methodically introduced schemes of preferential land division, differential property rights, job protection and economic incentives that effectually precluded black competition (Patel, 1988). As such the city planning at that time was done considering the racial division of the Rhodesia community comprising of native black Africans and the white settlers. The fertile Highveld was earmarked for white settlement, and a system of railways and roads were constructed to facilitate development of mining and agriculture (Patel, 1988). All key investment and development of industry was concentrated in the white sector, which constituted about one third of the country's population, all the major towns, 50 per cent of the land and contributed around 90 per cent of the GNP (Rhodesia, 1969). The entire arrangement was prudently protected by legislative measures concerning land apportionment, crop-marketing, industrial relations, and created a society of gross inequalities (Patel, 1988). The first settlement for African workers was established in 1892, and legislation in 1906 allowed the designation of separate black residential areas, and made it compulsory for all African workers not living at their place of work to live in these locations (Brown, 2001). In 1907, some 20 ha was allocated for the first African township at Harari (now Mbare), 3 km south of the city center

Kamete (1999) notes that it was illegal for blacks to own property in colonial cities and towns, requiring the construction of rented accommodations for this race. Rental housing was provided to ‘allow blacks to be temporary sojourners, who would retire to the black reserves after their useful life as providers of cheap labour expired’ (ibid). It is important to note that
the city was not only framed and planned from racial lines but also from gender bias as women were restricted from urban centers and confined to rural areas. Chirisa (2010) notes that during this period, Harare was a city for black men employed as cooks, gardeners and cake takers. (Zinyama et al. 1993). Brown (2001) highlight that the shortages of African African housing was becoming acute and, by 1935, an increase in squatters living just outside the city led the government to identify a second township for 2500 people on the state-owned Highfield Farm, about 8 km south-west of the city centre. By 1935 Salisbury obtained city status though it had a population of below 20 000 (Muronda, 2008).

The period after 1940s saw some changes in the outlook of the city of Salisbury. The end of the Second World War, changes in the legal and policy framework regulating land and urban development as well as changing demands of the colonial economy inspired these changes. Brown (2001) notes that the pace of development increased after the Second World War with an influx of new settlers from Europe. Mlambo (2008) argues that the white population grew slowly but steadily in the first 50 years of colonisation. In 1891, a year after the arrival of Cecil John Rhodes' Pioneer Column, there were approximately 1 500 Whites permanently resident in the country (ibid). By 1904, the population had risen to 12 596, while in 1941, the Rhodesian White population stood at 68 954 (ibid). To accommodate the growing white population new suburbs were designed according to imported planning fashions of the time, illustrating the ‘garden city’, ‘neighbourhood’, and Radburn design concepts (Davison 2000 as cited in Brown 2001). Resultantly there was the establishment of settler populated suburbs such as Malbereign based on the Radburn garden city concept and Mount Pleasant farms. The economic demands of the settler community are best summarized by Wekwete (1994) who argues that the period between 1940 and 1952, was an era of Salisbury expansion and intensification. During the post-1945 epoch, Zimbabwe (then Southern Rhodesia) witnessed the development of its manufacturing industry and the government became supportive of the initiative (ibid). Hence, the manufacturing industry lured high urban expansion just as during the British industrial revolution experience.

In terms of the policy and legal framework, there was the introduction of the Land Apportionment Act and the Urban Areas Accommodation and Registration Act. Patel, 1988 notes that the amendment of the Land Apportionment Act in 1941 gave local authorities the mandate to provide housing for the black population. There followed an introduction of the Urban Areas Accommodation and Registration Act (Number 6 of 1946) which stipulated that blacks who were employed could be permitted into towns and cities and this allowed local authorities to set aside urban land to accommodate the workers (Musekiwa, 1993). Estimates of the Africa population in Salisbury place the figure at 22 126 in 1936, 28 119 in 1941 rising to 45 993 in 1946 and to 75 249 in 1951(Yoshikuni, as cited in Raftoplos 2014). The increase in population witnessed an expansion of the town size and professionals from the colonial country and other European countries came in numbers to initiate the process of development (Muronda, 2008). In 1951 the first International Airport was built in Salisbury (www.icaz.org.zw/CPI/cpi.htm) enhancing mobility of production factors.

Post-independence, the Government had the task of coming up with policies and strategies to amend the inequalities in the provision of housing. Consistent with this, the government adopted policies that included Homeownership, National Housing Fund, Housing and Guarantee Fund and Aided Self Help (Moyo, 2014). The Homeownership policy was introduced in 1982 by the new government as an attempt to assist the formerly disadvantaged blacks, though the demand for housing in urban areas continued to increase (Ibid). The National housing fund was also established in 1982 to support the Homeownership (Ministry of Local
Government and National Housing, 1999) but the funding was inadequate. Housing cooperatives also emerged in the late 1980s to cater for housing provisions and these continue to be in existence. However the rapid decline in the country’s economy between 1998 and 2008 affected the economy and this had a direct impact on housing developments in Harare. The government has taken some corrective measures that intend to provide housing for urban dwellers. For instance, under the Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation (ZimAsset), the government intends to provide 330000 housing units by the year 2018. There has been the introduction of the National Building Society (NBS), which was launched in 2016 to provide affordable loans to thousands of low-income earners.

### 4.2.2 Population

Understanding population dynamics is important for planning purposes, as information is disaggregated to physical subdivisions such as provinces, districts and wards (ZIMSTAT, 2012). The population of cities and towns has rapidly increased over the years due to urbanization. Urbanization is the population shift from rural to urban areas and it involves a lot of processes with one of the key processes being urban planning which is a technical and political process which controls the development and use of land. As such urban planning and politics are always an intertwined process. In the region, rates of urbanization are rapidly increasing with the percentage of urban dwellers expected to reach about 65% by 2060 and most of these urban dwellers will be below the age of 25 (Chirisa et al, 2015).

Factors contributing to the increase in population in urban areas include changes in the economy and natural population growth (Patel, 1988). According to the UN Habitat of 2010 and 2012, cities are human objects that are developed and modified over a period of time according to perceived needs and values. Since cities provide better employment, shelter and services there is a massive influx of people from rural areas in search of better living conditions. Since the colonial period there has been an increase in the population of urban dwellers into cities such as Harare. The movement of the black population into urban areas has been accredited to the removal of the ‘influx control legislation’ which saw women who were once left in the rural areas move to towns where their husbands were being employed (Patel, 1988). The table and graph below show the population increase in Harare that has taken place over the last few decades since independence.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population Size (million)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1982-1992</td>
<td>828,567</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992-2002</td>
<td>1,485,615</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002-2012</td>
<td>1,896,134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012-Present</td>
<td>2,123,132</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The number of people residing in urban areas in Harare increased from 26% in 1982 to 31% in 1992, 35% in 2002 and dropped to 33% in 2012. The drop in the percentage of people residing in urban Harare was attributed to the harsh economic challenges that most people were facing coupled with the increased unemployment rate. The rate of urbanization is estimated to have a 2.3% annual rate of change during the 2010-2015 period.

In Africa, rapid expansion and commercial development coupled with population pressure in the region’s urban space has steered the deterioration of the urban environment as growth is unmatched with the supply of the much-needed amenities (Mpofu, 2013). Between the period of 1980-1990, Zimbabwe was distinctive for not having unplanned housing in most of its towns and people sincerely had access to clean water and proper sanitation (Potts, 2011). With changes and introduction of new policies such as the Zimbabwe’s Economic Structural Adjustment program (ESAP) that had an impact on wages and incomes there were occasional steps by the government of Zimbabwe to help the urban poor manage (Ibid). Some conciliatory modifications were made in practices concerning housing standards thus the development of backyard shacks to cater for the increasing population. Housing provisions in Harare started to decline in the year 2000 from an annual rate of 15000 and 20000 units between 1985-1995 to a paltry 5000 units in 2000 (Muzondi, 2014). According to the IDBZ Housing sector policy report of 2016, there is a housing backlog of 1.25 million.

### 4.2.3 Spatial Planning

Spatial planning refers to the techniques and approaches that are used either by the private or public sector to influence the distribution of people. Spatial planning is important before there is a transformation of rural land into urban land for housing, commerce and industry. Additionally, it is important for the planning of public utilities, recreational centers such as parks and peri-urban agriculture; as such facilities are neglected or further transformed into housing plots. In the past three decades since its independence in 1980, Zimbabwe has changed significantly in physical and spatial terms (Sokwanele, 2013). Land settlement patterns have changed and the spatial design model, which basically saw urban development as a series of towns servicing former colonial masters, is now derisory for long term planning as the planning was used as a means of controlling and suppressing minority groups (Yiftachel, 1993).
Over the years planning in Harare has become poor with illegal settlements mushrooming in the once pristine city. There has been a rise in the illegal settlements and the city fathers have also completely lost control due to the complete collapse of the rule of law (Financial Gazette, 2015). According to the Implementation Guide of 2014 to the National Housing Delivery Programme that was launched by the Ministry of Local Government, Public Works and National Housing, blame falls on the government whose overall responsibility of supervising the management of state land has failed in respect of:

• Acquisition of private land, developed or undeveloped for urban state purposes
• Coordination of development controls on urban state land reserved or allocated to local authorities and user ministries
• Planning, designing and approval of layout plans on state land
• Facilitation of boundary extensions by local authorities.

Power has been centralized in the above-mentioned bodies and local authorities have in due course become ineffective in finding new land to house people on their waiting lists (Financial Gazette, 2015). The city of Harare has scant public infrastructure and this limits its capacity to incorporate the land to be under control (Chirisa et al 2014). Political dynamics are also at play because with Zanu PF having lost most urban seats to the opposition (MDC), it is trying to gain political mileage by allowing disarray in the housing system. According to the Combined Harare Residents Association, there is haphazard allocation of residential stands and this is mainly done for political convenience while entirely ignoring proper land use and management.

Housing cooperatives have emerged in Peri urban Harare with the majority of them being purported to be Zanu PF supporters (Chirisa et al, 2014). The cooperatives include Whitecliffe, Southlea Park, Caledonia, Hatcliffe to mention but a few. Caledonia which is partly a product of the fast track land reform and partly a product of Operation Garikai/Hlalani Kuhle of 2005 is ill developed with 70% of the structures made from plastic, timber boards and sun burnt bricks (Ibid). Hatcliffe, which was also affected by operation Murambatsvina of 2005 possibly, faces the dilemma of ill structured developments. However the same government that pulled down houses gave them permission to rebuild houses and construct roads possibly as a move to gain popularity and support (Ibid). As a result, electoral pressures on those who regulate resources and legally enforce rights make planning a very complex process, which is continuously exposed to compromise (Potts, 2011). In turn poor planning is affecting service delivery in Harare as will be discussed in the paper.

5.0 Discussion
5.1 Corruption and New Urban Agenda
High rates of urbanization in Harare and Johannesburg have been accompanied by complex land governance challenges for both cities over the past decades. While the population size of Harare (1.5 million) and Johannesburg (4.4 million) differ significantly, the number of citizens in both cities account for an average 8.7% of the total population\(^\text{27}\). In Zimbabwe, urban land has become a tool for political patronage used by the ruling elite to ensure reproduction of political power, amidst a growing population of urban dwellers. Urbanization, city planning and land use policies in the Zimbabwean case study is dictated by politics instead of the more natural and technical issues. The Harare case study brings to fore evidence on the ruling party virtually creates and inserts cities and towns for political purposes in defiance to the principle of responsible and sustainable city planning. The result of this has been the mushrooming of

informal and uncoordinated informal settlements, rise in urban poverty and unemployment as well as poor social service delivery. Both the New Urban Agenda and Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 11\textsuperscript{28} make reference to the need for making “cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable” by 2030. While these are noble goals, they cannot be achieved without responsible land governance and addressing land corruption and equitable land planning. Zinnbauer (2016) further notes:

…effective, sustainable accountability and integrity initiatives require involving local communities along the entire governance chain, from policymaking and budgeting to monitoring and in some cases even the co-provision of services. This is a necessary condition so that urban plans and policies are not captured by small elites, that budgets are responsive to community needs, and that implementation of public works and services does not line the pockets of corrupt officials and service providers.\textsuperscript{29}

This process however needs to be instilled within a framework that promotes public participation in all decisions around urban planning and land governance.

\subsection*{5.2 Policy Implication of the New Urban Agenda}

The case studies show that land governance and in particular land corruption have an important role in any plan for urban development especially in the global south. The place of corruption within the New Urban Agenda is stressed in the Habitat III issue paper that articulates how corruption is one of the major scourges within urban spaces whilst calling for transparency in urban governance.\textsuperscript{30} The policy implications of the New Urban Agenda are thus focused on ensuring participatory urban governance with downward accountability and openness. In this vein, Zinnbauer (2016) argues that:

…a cultural shift around corruption is required to make a difference, demanding change on all levels: training, education, awareness, incentives, monitoring. Endemic corruption typically feeds on a vicious, self-reinforcing circle. Citizen are resigned to thinking that nothing can be done about it and fail to report corruption, thus creating a culture of impunity that emboldens the corrupt and further entrenches mistrust and disengagement in government. Raising public awareness about the dismal consequences of corruption and offering easier ways to report it can make a big difference. However, this process needs to be aligned with a commitment by the political leadership to root out corruption, instil a sense of professional ethics, and recruit and promote civil servants on the basis of merit and integrity. Third, new tools, technologies and partnerships to assist in devising integrity policies and collective action are coming online in greater numbers. “Open cities” initiatives, for example, use ICTs on many levels to enhance the transparency of local bureaucracies, from community mapping to budget tracking to asset/income disclosure of local officials.\textsuperscript{31}

It is thus imperative in this context to discuss how urban spaces in southern Africa respond to challenges posed by corruption especially in land governance. There is clear need to build up political will to fight corruption. Without these efforts, the New Urban Agenda will remain a distant dream for the majority poor in cities across the global south.

Fighting corruption is thus a major policy initiative within the New Urban Agenda. Corruption, if not combated has the potential to railroad any progress towards agreed goals. Cibrario (2016) argues that:

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{28} http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/sustainable-development-goals.html
\textsuperscript{29} http://citiscope.org/habitatIII/commentary/2016/02/corruption-new-urban-agendas-elephant-room
\textsuperscript{30} http://www.dialogues.habitat3.org/file/498393/view/542867
\textsuperscript{31} http://citiscope.org/habitatIII/commentary/2016/02/corruption-new-urban-agendas-elephant-room
\end{footnotesize}
Coherent, effective, enforceable transparency and accountability regulations and measures, addressing all actors and stakeholders, are needed to prevent and halt corruption and unethical practices in the implementation of the New Urban Agenda, both at national and at local level, including in public procurement procedures. The details of public procurement contracts should be public and accessible to enable transparency, accountability and proper evaluation. This must include adequate measures for proportional and effective sanctions, public seizure of profits and gains attained through corruption and unethical practices and the protection of whistle-blowers, their families and communities from harm and retaliation.\(^3^2\)

Johannesburg and Harare have shown through this paper, the need for a coherent plan for accountability. What is also required is the need to separate politics from planning; ensure transparency in budget, expenditure and procurement.

7.0 References


Sokwanele. (2013). Time is now for Spatial and land Use Planning and Rebuilding the land administration system in Zimbabwe, Commercial Farmers Union of Zimbabwe.


