Urbanising Africa: The city centre revisited

Experiences with inner-city revitalisation from Johannesburg (South Africa), Mbabane (Swaziland), Lusaka (Zambia), Harare and Bulawayo (Zimbabwe)

By: Editors
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Introduction

This working paper contains a selection of 7 articles written by participants in a Refresher Course organised by IHS in August 2010 in Johannesburg, South Africa. The title of the course was *Urbanising Africa: the city centre revisited - Ensuring liveable and sustainable inner-cities in Southern African countries: making it work for the poor*. The course dealt in particular with inner-city revitalisation in Southern African countries, namely South Africa, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Inner-city revitalisation processes differ widely between the various cities and countries; e.g. in Lusaka and Mbabane few efforts have been undertaken, whereas Johannesburg in particular but also other South Africa cities have made major investments to revitalise their inner-cities. The definition of the inner-city also differs between countries; in Lusaka the CBD is synonymous with the inner-city, whereas in Johannesburg the inner-city is considered much larger than only the CBD. Contributions in the course were made by participants from the following cities: Buffalo City (East London), Bulawayo, Cape Town, eThekwini (Durban), Harare, Johannesburg, Mangaung (Bloemfontein), Mbabane, Lusaka, and Tshwane (Pretoria).

This working paper presents a selection of seven articles, from five different cities, in four different countries. The paper by Peter Ahmed focuses on the location of poor communities within Johannesburg in relation to selected inner-city areas and public transportation networks. Daniella Sachs paper presents a different take on Johannesburg and focuses on the effects of HIV/AIDS on revitalization strategies in the dense, poverty-stricken, crime infested, inner city residential area of Hillbrow, Johannesburg. William Ndlela takes us to Swaziland and discusses issues around the roles of municipalities in improving inner city economic development with a case study from Mbabane bus station area. Mphangela Nkonge discusses the efforts to make Lusaka city's public spaces public again, whereas Mazuba Webb Muchindu discusses the signs of decay in Lusaka and the challenges the city faces in terms of revitalization. Innocent Chirisa reviews the revitalisation efforts for hostels in Mbara, Harare and reflects on similar experiences in Alexandra, Johannesburg. Linda Magwaro-Ndiweni reflects on the local authority approach to revitalization in Bulawayo.

Rotterdam, December 2010
Alonso Ayala and Ellen Geurts, course coordinators of this refresher course and editors of this Working Paper

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Inner city nodes and public transportation networks: Location, linkages and dependencies of the urban poor within Johannesburg

Peter Ahmad

Abstract

Drawing on practical experiences of almost 15 years working within Gauteng Province and the City of Johannesburg my paper will focus on the location of poor communities within Johannesburg in relation to selected Inner-City areas and public transportation networks.

The introduction notes the historical foundations and spatial legacies of the City (for example, the mining industry, pre and post apartheid doctrines and migration patterns). It acknowledges that these foundations, legacies and future characteristics City are shaped by diverse and complex rationalities that are frequently misunderstood or contradictory. As an example, the paper highlights contradictions and challenges resulting from the conventional, post-1994, housing supply rationale with the demands and needs of low income communities.

A working definition of the "urban poor" within the City is proposed; the definition premised on Household Income and Unemployment Indicators. The paper considers the means and locations available to this group within and around Johannesburg focusing on Inner City buildings and informal settlements. The derived and relative benefits or challenges of these locations are also summarised.

The spatial relationship between the urban poor, selected nodal areas and transportation networks has been analysed utilising GIS and supporting statistical information derived from contemporary data sources. Additionally, the paper highlights a number of the key development patterns and trends that are associated with the informal settlements and the interventions the City is considering implementing to address them. The findings illustrate the stark reality presented within Johannesburg; a reality that continues to afford a marginal existence to the majority of the Urban Poor.

In recent years, the policy frameworks and institutional arrangements employed by the City of Johannesburg have been revisited with a view to addressing, more pro-actively, the accommodation needs urban poor and to augment Inner City regeneration initiatives. The paper concludes with an overview of this emerging policy and thinking, illustrating some contemporary successes and where further efforts and resources are required in the future.

1. Introduction

The City of Johannesburg is one of South Africa's six Metropolitan Municipalities. It remains the prime economic hub of sub-Saharan Africa and the destination of choice for both skilled and unskilled migrant workers from beyond the provincial borders of Gauteng and national frontiers.

The city population is estimated at 4 million citizens. However, this needs to be considered within the context of a 'city-region' population of +/- 9.5 million, which includes the neighbouring metropolises of Tshwane and Ekurhuleni. Of this population, +/- 37 per cent of households are estimated to be living in poverty (Human Science Resource Centre, 2004). As a city and region it remains one of the quickest growing locations globally. Estimates suggest that by 2014 the population of the city-region will exceed 14.5 million (City of Johannesburg, 2010).

It is a city of stark contrasts, hosting extremes of poverty and wealth; sprawling low-density suburbia and high-density formal and informal settlement; formal and informal trade. In comparison to most international cities, it is a 'young' city of just over a century in age. It has a colourful and notorious history, premised initially on mining and spatially and economically structured in accordance with the doctrines of apartheid.

> Johannesburg during apartheid was a two tier city: in the first tier lived whites in residential neighbourhoods heavily regulated but still driven by markets; the second tier consisted in a number of 'black' and 'coloured' townships built within strict borders, that could not normally expand and where the large majority of people were living in rental housing owned by the state.
>
> Whites were living in low-density residential areas, which expanded in far away suburbs well served by a network of highways. Whites consumed a large amount of land per households and were located around the CBD, while blacks consumed much less land in townships located in the periphery in areas specifically

allocated to them. In terms of employment, Johannesburg is also a dominantly monocentric city. Blacks commuted to the CBD by trains, buses and collective taxis. Whites used private cars. (Bertaud, 2001:9)

The inner city of Johannesburg remains the core and historical business node within the city, notwithstanding the periods of economic 'boom and bust' that it has endured.

Since the decline and eradication of apartheid and specifically the dismantling of its legal framework, which precluded non-white occupancy of the inner city, central districts such as Hillbrow and Berea have become a favoured home and destination for predominantly black job-seekers from within and beyond the national borders of South Africa. The proximity to social amenities (such as clinics, schools, support networks) and numerous provincial, national and international transportation hubs are additional attributes that makes the inner city an attractive location. However, the comparatively high unemployment rate and low skills base of many of the migrant job seekers and residents has altered the socioeconomic dynamics of the inner city.

In more recent decades, the inner city has been complemented by numerous satellite business/administrative nodes within the current municipal boundary. The historic monocentricity of the city as described by Bertaud (2001) has transmogrified into a profile that is increasingly polycentric. Within the Spatial Development Framework (City of Johannesburg, 2010), numerous nodes within a conceptual hierarchy classification (defined as Metropolitan, Regional, District and Neighbourhood) have been identified, delineated and monitored.

These nodal points within the city are serviced by one or more components of a hybrid and currently fragmented public transport system premised on bus, commuter taxi, conventional commuter rail, emerging Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) system and rapid Gautrain rail link. The conventional rail infrastructure (57 rail stations are located within the city's municipal boundary) and emerging BRT and Gautrain systems are beginning to shape a strong functional and structural backbone of the city. Potentially, this can reshape the urban form and economy of the city and provide a more versatile and extended movement pattern for the working population, urban poor and job seekers within the city. The development objectives and strategies of the City of Johannesburg's spatial plans are premised on this evolving and expanded public transport system.

Diverse rationalities have historically shaped and continue to determine the city's present and future form and function. These rationalities are not necessarily complimentary or understood by the various actors. There are the opportunities and choices of the 'state' and government politicians and officials: this collective logic captured in spatial, social and financial plans, projects and programmes. The opportunities and choices made by ordinary people, including the poor, manifests in a collection of concurrent spatial and socioeconomic life plans, networks and strategies.

Using the key themes of migration, poverty, access to accommodation and opportunities and shaped by experience of 'state-based' rationality, this paper considers:

- A definition of what comprises the 'urban poor' and poverty in the City of Johannesburg;
- How the urban poor currently access land within the city through formal and informal means with specific emphasis on inner-city locations and buildings;
- How the urban poor relate within and around six selected nodal points and supporting transportation networks, namely, Johannesburg (inner city), Sandton, Randburg, Midrand, Roodepoort and Lenasia[1]; some have become primary locations for the urban poor. Most have, in recent decades, battled with issues of disinvestment and commercial flight, necessitating the need for regeneration and renewal initiatives and programmes;
- Where from a spatial planning rationale – marrying the acknowledged needs and dependencies of the urban poor – accommodation options for this group should be accommodated.

2. Research Analysis: Defining and Measuring Levels of Poverty Within Johannesburg

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[1] Each of these nodes has served as a significant regional administrative centre of Johannesburg and whilst some cannot be considered strictly as an 'inner-city' location per se, all demonstrate a number of the typical characteristics of South African inner cities (for example Cape Town, Durban, Port Elisabeth): an intense mixture of land uses, increased population densities (in relation to the low-density, formal residential settlements of the city), major public transport hubs, formal and informal trading and commercial activities, vacant buildings/plots, etcetera.

In qualifying the location of the urban poor within Johannesburg, two primary indicators have been considered, namely:

- Enumerator Areas (EAs) that have an average household income of less than R3,000 per month *(Map 1)*; [2] and
- EAs with greater than 10,000 persons unemployed *(Map 2).*

Table 1 and Map 3 reflect the salient statistics in respect of 28 locations that reflect *both* these indicators. The data sources for the demographic statistics in this paper are extrapolated from the General Household Survey of 2006 and should not be considered as definitive. One of the primary challenges in South Africa is the reliance on extrapolations of this survey and the National Census of 2001. Given the evident and anecdotal increases in migration patterns into the city and province, the results of the 2011 Census will be invaluable in future studies.

Of the 28 locations highlighted, the average income per household per month is R929 and unemployment is 41 per cent. On average 36 per cent of households in these locations reflect 'No Household Income' (this could include children, students and the unemployed). What is striking from the spatial manifestation of these two criteria is the concentration of poverty and, by implication, the urban poor in the central-west and southern areas of the city, specifically in the greater Soweto and Orange Farm areas. This is reflective not only of the historic racial and spatial divide of Johannesburg, defined broadly by the central east-west mining belt, but also the contemporary economic divide. There are significant pockets of poverty to the north, notably the 'formerly black townships' of Alexandra, Ivory Park and Diepsloot. Joubert Park and Berea (within the Johannesburg Central Business District) are the only inner-city locations reflected within this list; given the high-rise accommodation, typical of inner-city typology, they are also among the most densely populated areas of the city.
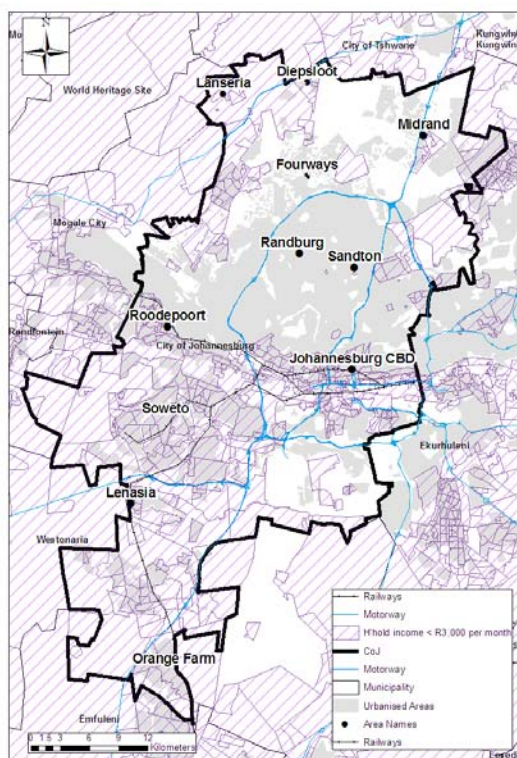
Map 1: Household income less than R3000 per month – Source: Extrapolation of General Household Survey 2006, 'Census Plus' supplied by Knowledge Factory
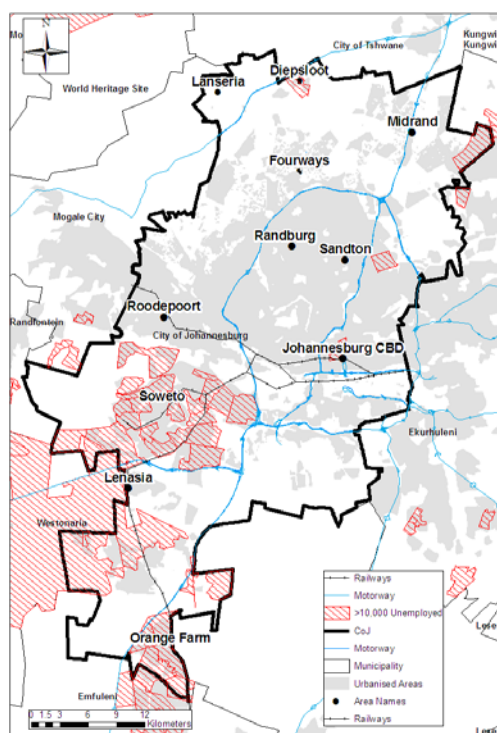
Map 2: Areas with more than 10,000 unemployed – Source: Extrapolation of General Household Survey 2006, 'Census Plus' supplied by Knowledge Factory

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[2] It is accepted that there are inherent challenges using only an average income indicator. Regrettably, data relating to median income levels (per EA) was not available. To add other dimensions to the average income and unemployment indicators, additional fields of information (Households with No Income, percentages of unemployment) have been included in Tables 1 and 3.
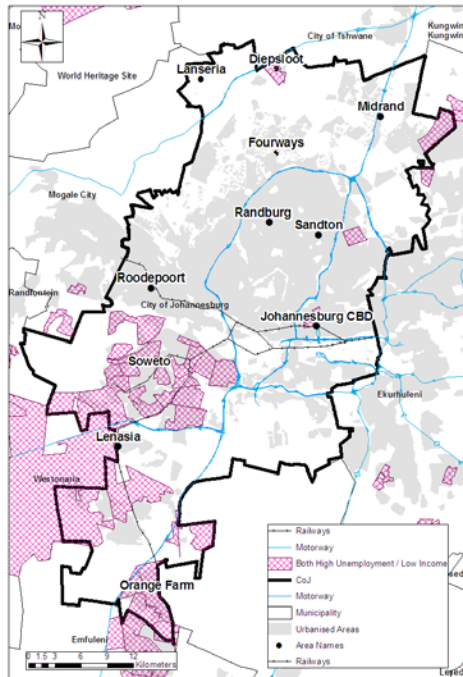
*Map 3: Unemployment and household poverty indicator – Source: Extrapolation of General Household Survey 2006, 'Census Plus' supplied by Knowledge Factory*

Table 1: 'Poverty Areas' defined by <R3000 per household per month and >10,000 unemployed (*ranked in relation to population size) Source – Extrapolation of General Household Survey 2006, 'Census Plus' supplied by Knowledge Factory

Rank*	Suburb	Town	Population	Avg-Income	Employed	Unemployed	% Unemployed	Household	No Income	% Household No Income
1	Alexandra	Sandton	154,327	912	51,312	59,524	39	4,816	55,743	36
2	Ivory Park	Midrand	123,302	722	29,663	50,025	41	2,686	47,469	38
3	Diepkloof	Soweto	108,254	1,027	26,888	46,113	43	1,159	38,163	35
4	Stretford	Orange Farm	73,096	813	14,718	27,608	38	1,374	24,902	34
5	Orange Farm	Orange Farm	68,587	644	12,882	26,831	39	1,519	24,319	35
6	Orlando East	Soweto	64,681	784	17,209	27,714	43	879	23,992	37
7	Dobsonville	Soweto	63,142	1,120	17,421	23,670	37	926	20,034	32
8	Eldorado Park	Lenasia	60,124	1,548	15,049	21,253	35	273	17,640	29
9	Chiawelo	Soweto	52,871	976	14,111	20,792	39	447	17,925	34
10	Joubert Park	Johannesburg	51,134	1,471	22,972	17,468	34	1,041	16,034	31
11	Zola	Soweto	47,747	654	9,143	21,300	45	440	16,692	35
12	Pimville	Soweto	47,718	1,022	12,395	19,286	40	533	16,812	35
13	Naledi	Soweto	45,192	783	9,953	19,941	44	383	15,796	35
14	Protea Glen	Soweto	44,714	1,785	14,827	12,164	27	432	11,677	26
15	Berea	Johannesburg	44,254	1,893	18,892	15,586	35	1,009	13,742	31
16	Jabavu	Soweto	43,865	663	8,495	20,264	46	289	17,027	39
17	Orlando West	Soweto	38,333	879	9,880	16,678	44	426	14,125	37
18	Diepsloot Wes	Midrand	38,275	687	12,589	15,491	40	2,637	14,721	38
19	Emdeni	Soweto	36,778	658	7,854	15,434	42	310	12,752	35
20	Braam Fischerville	Soweto	36,165	763	9,178	14,839	41	1,067	13,442	37
21	Thulani	Soweto	34,576	661	6,993	14,169	41	531	13,001	38
22	Tswelapele	Midrand	31,550	581	8,447	13,665	43	692	13,292	42
23	Dhlamini	Soweto	29,508	760	7,048	12,114	41	631	9,893	34
24	Drieziek	Orange Farm	28,852	633	5,577	11,273	39	594	10,388	36
25	Mapetla	Soweto	25,792	815	5,918	11,874	46	149	10,031	39
26	Dube	Soweto	24,701	907	6,700	10,864	44	231	9,099	37
28	Klipspruit	Soweto	22,688	796	5,244	10,369	46	238	9,177	40
29	Meadowlands East Zone 1	Soweto	21,989	1,057	4,436	10,365	47	251	9,015	41

The selected nodal points of the city considered in this paper, Johannesburg, Sandton, Randburg, Midrand, Roodepoort and Lenasia, have varied relationships with these Poverty Areas. Using the City of Johannesburg's Spatial Development Framework (SDF) defined nodal boundaries as a guide and Geographic Information Systems (GIS) as a tool, distances are approximated between the node and Poverty Areas in *Table 2, Map 4*.

Map 4: Poverty Areas in relation to nodes
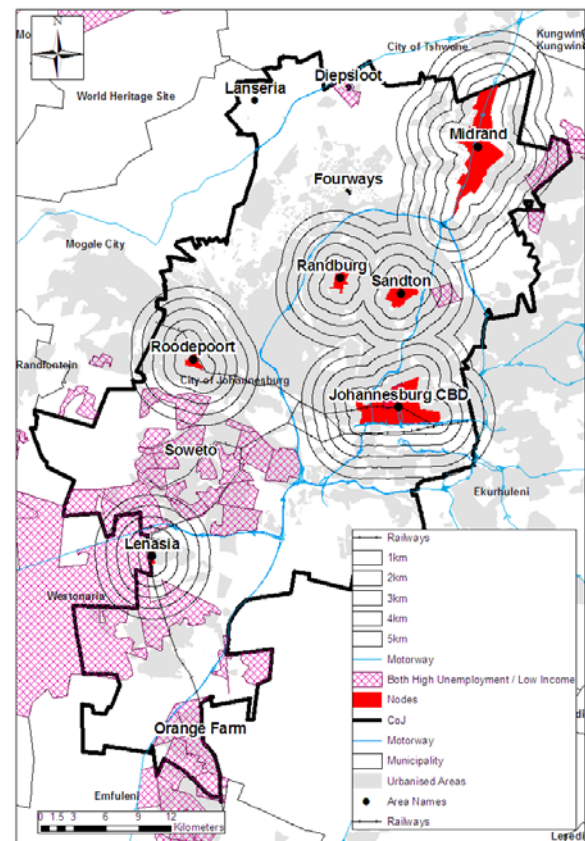
Node	Evidence of Poverty Areas within distance from node (Y = Yes N = No)					
	Internal	1km	2km	3km	4km	5km
Johannesburg CBD	Y	N	N	N	N	N
Lenasia	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Midrand	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Randburg	N	N	N	N	N	N
Roodepoort	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
Sandton	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N

Table 2: Proximity of Poverty Areas to Nodal Points with Johannesburg

Only the Randburg node is exempt from what can conceptually be described as a 5-km 'poverty buffer'. Nevertheless, together with the Johannesburg CBD and Roodepoort, it has been one of the nodal points within the city that has suffered most from urban decay and investment flight in the last decade. Poverty Areas are most prevalent around the Lenasia node (on the northern, eastern and southern boundaries of the node). Sandton has been the primary competitor to the Johannesburg CBD and fastest growing of the nodes in the city. It has become the corporate base for many national and international companies, its emergence accounting significantly to a period of accelerated decline of Johannesburg CBD. Poverty Areas associated with Sandton can be attributed to Alexandra to the east of the node. The densities in Alexandra are among the highest in the city. With the exception of the multistorey hostels and more recent subsidized housing initiatives, this density is single-storey in form. A collection of townships developed in the 1990s lie 4 km to the east of Midrand, including Ivory Park, Ebony Park and Rabie Ridge where these dual indicators of unemployment and low household income are concentrated.

The spatial 'poverty' picture changes significantly if only the criterion of household income (less than R3000 per household per month) is considered as poverty indicator. On this basis, all of the Johannesburg CBD, Roodepoort and Lenasia would be considered to be home for the 'urban poor'. Midrand, Randburg and Sandton are 'exempt', though this does not necessarily tally with anecdotal perceptions, specifically in respect of Randburg. A possible implication of the marked difference between the two indicators of poverty (unemployment and income) is that a low-income, predominantly subsistence informal sector is contributing to employment activity within many locations in the city.

Table 3 indicates the suburbs that reflect this household income indicator and spatially intersect with the subject nodes. Information pertaining to 'Black Male' residents of the suburb has been included for illustrative purposes only; it is not the intention of the paper to explore the gender or racial demographics of the areas in detail.

The spatial picture of poverty is further compounded when considering a cross-border perspective: ***Map 2*** highlights the considerable spatial presence of poverty on the north-eastern and south-western borders of the city (in Ekurhuleni's Thembisa and Sedibeng's Evaton respectively).

Suburb	Node	Population	Avge.	Black Male	No Income	% No
Joubert Park	Johannesburg	51,134	1,471	26,896	16,034	53
Berea	Johannesburg	44,254	1,893	22,655	13,742	51
Hillbrow	Johannesburg	25,773	1,619	13,481	8,347	52
Yeoville	Johannesburg	15,646	2,319	7,350	4,542	47
Johannesburg Central	Johannesburg	15,528	1,591	8,077	4,655	52
Jeppestown	Johannesburg	9,705	1,861	3,835	3,021	40
Bellevue East	Johannesburg	6,547	2,121	3,079	1,961	47
Braamfontein	Johannesburg	6,073	2,001	2,711	2,208	45
Marshallstown	Johannesburg	5,720	1,570	2,993	1,742	52
Benrose	Johannesburg	4,068	910	3,284	1,934	81
Troyeville	Johannesburg	3,703	1,707	1,402	1,193	38
Bertrams	Johannesburg	3,327	1,239	1,239	1,089	37
Doornfontein	Johannesburg	3,309	1,240	1,735	921	52
city & Suburban	Johannesburg	2,924	1,204	1,458	981	50
New Doornfontein	Johannesburg	2,201	1,255	1,189	765	54
Vrededorp	Johannesburg	2,089	2,329	502	527	24
Lorentzville	Johannesburg	1,790	1,797	643	533	36
Judiths Paarl	Johannesburg	1,707	2,197	604	473	35
Fordsburg	Johannesburg	1,685	2,053	555	390	33
Droste Park	Johannesburg	1,639	470	1,558	965	95
Bellevue Central	Johannesburg	1,594	1,923	721	487	45
Pageview	Johannesburg	1,367	2,363	330	344	24
Fairview	Johannesburg	1,273	1,809	517	399	41
Newtown	Johannesburg	1,268	1,904	345	334	27
Jeppestown South	Johannesburg	1,166	1,633	547	417	47
Highlands	Johannesburg	1,040	1,477	415	333	40
Ferreirasdorp	Johannesburg	868	1,430	307	270	35
Oriental Plaza	Johannesburg	812	1,925	285	193	35
Wolhuter	Johannesburg	657	986	360	291	55
North Doornfontein	Johannesburg	617	665	456	322	74
Burgersdorp	Johannesburg	602	2,478	140	134	23
Rand View	Johannesburg	282	2,078	126	83	45
Reynolds View	Johannesburg	192	1,814	78	60	41
Elcedes	Johannesburg	147	956	116	68	79
Spes Bona	Johannesburg	145	1,337	82	58	57
Westgate	Johannesburg	130	2,254	60	28	46
city & Suburban Industrial	Johannesburg	122	810	61	47	50
	Sub-total	*221,104*	*60,689*	*110,192*	*69,891*	*50*
Lenasia Ext 1	Lenasia	12,626	2,822	343	3,136	3
Lenasia Ext 2	Lenasia	6,652	2,148	306	1,827	5
Lenasia Central	Lenasia	1,938	2,730	61	491	3
Lenasia Ext 4	Lenasia	1,519	2,239	77	387	5
Lenasia Ext 6	Lenasia	1,230	2,282	65	302	5
	Sub-total	*23,965*	*12,221*	*852*	*6,143*	*4*
Roodepoort Central	Roodepoort	3,233	2,973	806	681	25
Open Space	Roodepoort	186	2,003	16	50	9
Manufacta	Roodepoort	144	2,549	20	28	14
	Sub-total	*3,563*	*7,525*	*842*	*759*	*24*

Table 3: EA's intersecting with Nodal Areas where average household income per month <R000 – Source: Extrapolation of General Household Survey 2006, 'Census Plus' supplied by Knowledge Factory Knowledge Factory

3. The Manifestation of Poverty within the City

One primary visual indicator of poverty is the informal/irregular/illegal settlements that are characteristic of many emerging countries.

> In most developing countries, the failure to promote efficient housing policies and the dynamics of largely unregulated land markets have resulted in a scarcity of serviced land at affordable prices and in the lack of adequate housing options for the majority of the urban population. This generates a proliferation of forms of illegal land use and development and the widespread formation of illicit settlements. (Fernandes, 2003:236)

Although it can be argued that the City of Johannesburg has a relatively robust and regulated land market in place, governed by extensive town planning, building control and property legislation, it has been suggested that the 'land management systems have become difficult to navigate and only the most seasoned professionals with a great deal of experience have been able to attain the land and the approval that they need' (PlanAct, 2008:14). Consequently, the proliferation and formation of 'illicit', informal settlements alluded to by Fernades (2003) is widely evident within and around the borders of the city.

The proliferation and incremental growth of informal accommodation has primarily been facilitated via three conceptual categorizations of settlement formation described by Durand-Lasserve and Royston (2002:5), namely:

> **Unauthorised land development or informal subdivisions . . .** a widespread phenomenon on the fringes of most developing cities. Most often, such settlements have developed on private agricultural land . . .
> **Squatter settlements** . . . found on the urban fringes or in centrally located areas, mostly on public land but also – less frequently – on private land, especially when disputed. These can be the result of an organised 'invasion', or a gradual occupation.
> **Informal rental housing** . . . cover[ing] a wide range of situations and levels of precariousness. Rental is the most common form of tenure in formal as well as in informal settlements. Tenants and subtenants form a heterogeneous group. They can be found in unauthorised land developments, in squatter settlements or in dilapidated buildings in city centres. Backyard shacks, prevalent in some of South Africa's cities, are an example of informal rental housing.

For many of the city's prospective residents, inner-city opportunities facilitated by 'slum-lording' or peripheral opportunities via 'shack-farming' are the only tangible housing options. Conservative, unverified city estimates suggest that more than 200,000 households are located within the first two informal categories; an additional 100,000 of the city's residents are estimated to be living within the informal rental housing categories, mostly in inner-city buildings. Frequently, occupants are unregistered on housing waiting lists or 'non-qualifiers' in terms of the National Housing Code. Non-qualification could be based on one or more criteria which includes an individual being: a non-citizen of South Africa; too young; a previous beneficiary of a housing allocation or a home has been allocated to another member of the household; earnings are too much to qualify for an individual subsidy. Others are below the threshold to qualify for 'bonded'; typically bank-loan based housing or institutionally managed rental housing. These toxic ingredients compound the marginalization and practical, formal options available to many of the city's resident poor and go a long way in defining and shaping their rationalities and survival strategies.

Table 4 (at the end of this paper) considers a theoretical framework pertaining to access to existing accommodation within buildings and is adapted from Zack and Silverman's Hillbrow and Berea recent case studies (Silverman and Zack, 2008). Within this framework, options available to prospective residents of buildings in the inner city are more nuanced than the three-tier land model forwarded by Durand-Lasserve and Royston. These options present a compelling illustration of the difficulties faced by individuals in accessing formal, maintained and contractually managed accommodation.

At one extreme of this theoretical framework, as part of the Better Buildings Programme, a targeted building within the inner city can, in theory, be acquired and developed within certain parameters. These parameters may or may not include the provision of affordable housing. The numbers of opportunities and transactions to date in this option are extremely limited and not practically accessible to the urban poor – either as individuals or as a collective. The first two options considered in the table: the Better Buildings and acquisition of buildings via formal market sale are predominantly reserved for the institutionally and contractually sound – on paper at least – cooperatives, property developers and housing associations active in the city.

At the other extreme, the greatest number and choice of opportunities are available to the urban poor in irregular, subsistence-based arrangements in hijacked, sublet or rented accommodation.

4. Assessing the Location of Informal Settlements in Relation to Opportunity

For the last five years, the city has been monitoring 180 informal settlements located throughout the city (***Map 5***). What is immediately apparent is the close correlation and clustering of the settlements in relation to the defined 'Poverty Areas'. The futility of distinguishing and assessing formal and informal housing, secure-tenure and rented backyard accommodation is best demonstrated in localities such as Ivory Park, Diepsloot, Orange Farm and Alexandra.

Also evident is the scattered location of settlements on the northern fringe of the city, congruent with the peri-urban fringe of the city's growth. This is consistent with the observation noted by Durand-Lasserve and Royston (2002:5) that the 'large-scale existence of unauthorized land development for rent seems more frequent in Cities that are facing the pressure of demand for housing from new migrants with very low income levels'.
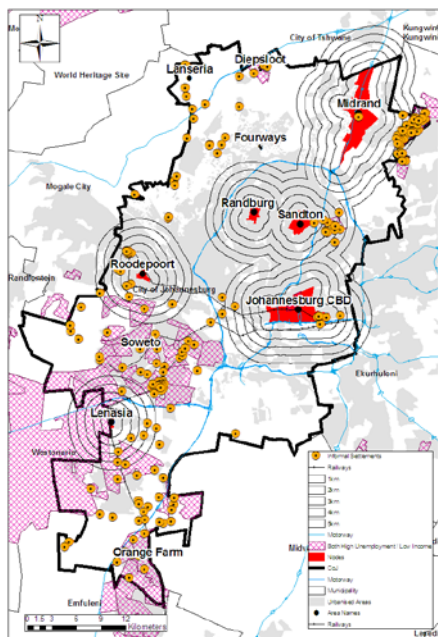
Map 5: Spatial Location of Informal Settlements – Source: City of Johannesburg, Author

In relation to the six nodal points considered in this report, 71 of the 180 settlements are located within 5 km of the nodes (***Map 6***). This represents approximately 60,000 households based on the most recent counts and projections undertaken by the city. In recent 'count' exercises it has been common to find permanently locked 'shacks' (proxy for household) which suggests that they may not be occupied on a regular basis. Accordingly, for the purpose of this paper a conservative two inhabitants per shack has been proposed. This suggests that the informal settlement resident population of these 60,000 households is 120,000.

25 of the 71 settlements that are located within a 1-km distance of the BRT route or Rail station are settlements that are also within 5 km of the six considered nodal points (***Map 7***). This suggests that an additional 46 settlements are reliant on one of the city's most fundamental structuring elements, that is, its movement system. Combined, 117 (65 per cent) of the city's settlements are associated with either a node (5-km distance) or state-sponsored public transport infrastructure (based on a 1-km distance from existing commuter rail or emerging Bus Rapid Transit system infrastructure).

The balance of the remaining settlements starkly reflects the largely marginal and peripheral locations of informality in the city. Settlements such as Poortjie and Dark City at the southern boundary of the city; Diepsloot and the smaller settlements such as Msawawa and Malatjie to the north, typify this marginal existence. Typically, these have been the locations where informal household growth has been most evident in the last ten years.

Arguably, the locations of the mentioned northern settlements are 'better-located' – all things being relative – than settlements in the south given a closer proximity to the economic core of the province and the emerging mixed-use and industrial nodes such as Kya Sands, Lanseria, Northgate and Laser Park. However, these marginal locations share one common characteristic: severely impaired access (in terms of distance, price and time) to state-sponsored public transport infrastructure. The challenges of residents in these settlements are further compounded by this transport constraint: they are distant from the jobs and opportunities of the nodes and limited in the choices and expenses associated with transportation modes.

Irrespective of the location or form that accommodation takes within the city, 'access to squatter settlements [or buildings] is rarely free. An entry fee must generally be paid to an intermediary, or to the person or group who exerts control over the settlement, and sometimes also rent [this is particularly the case re: invaded buildings].' (Durand-Lasserve and Royston 2002:5). Further investigation of the cost differentials between the inner-city building locations, settlements within the catchments of the city's nodes and transportation networks and those on the margins of the city would

significantly enhance state policymakers' and planners' understanding of the choices and strategies adopted by these communities.
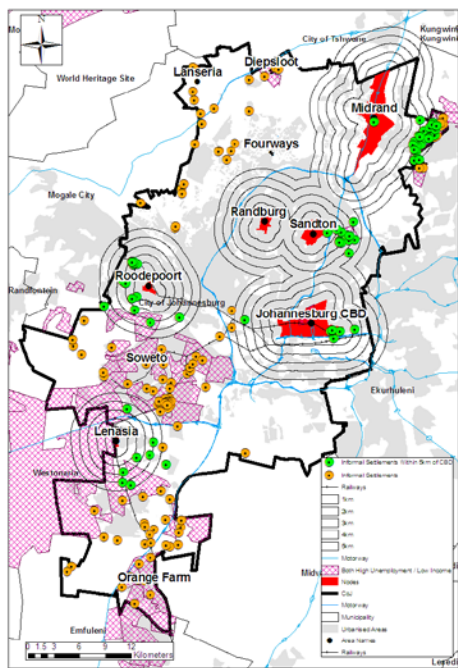
Map 6: Spatial location of informal settlements in relation to nodes source: City of Johannesburg, author
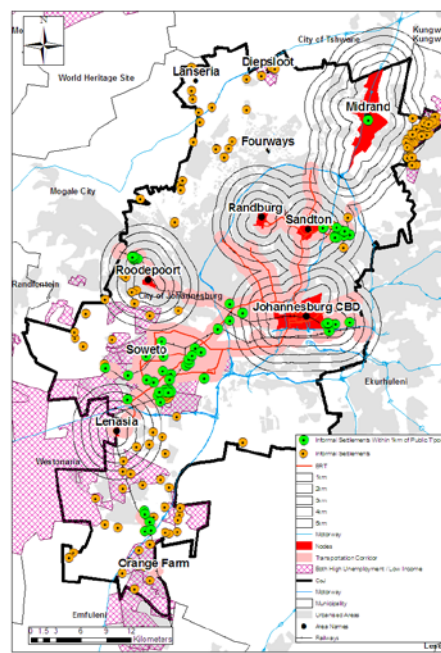
Map 7: Spatial location of informal settlements in relation to rail and Bus Rapid Transit (BRT). Source: City of Johannesburg, author NB: Northern 'Leg' of BRT from Johannesburg CBD still in planning/design process

5. Current State-Sponsored Housing Patterns and the Emergence of the Growth Management Strategy

Since 1994, a disturbing parody of apartheid-spatial planning has witnessed most formal, state-sponsored housing initiatives within the city and province mirroring the more marginal locations of many of the informal settlements or former black townships they seek to serve or complement.

> Ambitious numerical targets, together with comparatively small national budget allocations, have necessitated small housing subsidy benefits, which in turn have driven the need to build on cheap land close to or beyond existing townships with already poor access to employment and commercial centres. . . . In the absence of the political will required to subsidise land in better located areas . . . the simplest and cheapest policy has been to continue locating new subsidised housing on the periphery.' (Behrens and Wilkinson, 2003:156)

The in-situ upgrading of Orange Farm (+/- 30 km from the Johannesburg CBD) and most recent housing project, Lufhereng (+/ 22,000 residential units) to the west of Soweto are prime examples of these peripheral locations: in terms of 'numbers agenda' they satisfy the criteria of green-field, lower-cost land, turn-key site/service/top-structure projects. From a spatial agenda it can be argued that they reinforce the challenges of marginal access to jobs, amenities and public transport. 'Dispersion increases the operational cost of a city by increasing the length of networks. It also increases the use of energy for transport and as a consequence it increases also air pollution' (Bertaud, 2001:20).

Besides perpetuating a marginal urban form, the burden placed on the city's financial models and infrastructure networks further compounds the marginal sustainability of many of the subsidized housing projects and products: they draw resources away from the core of the city and place an increased burden on already depleted and over-extended networks. *Map 8* indicates the key housing projects within and around the city.

One of the logical solutions of a multifaceted approach to accommodation in the city has to be a more aggressive broadening of the formal rental sector that secures a reasonable level of rental, security and quality within good locations within the nodes and public transport corridors of the city. Unless this approach is exponentially expanded, potentially exploitative and hazardous rental models will continue to fill the tangible accommodation void, unabated.

In 2007, to address this key spatial and accommodation dilemma and other strategic development issues (including resource management, limited capital funding and the continued

disjuncture between infrastructure provision and development needs) the city adopted a Growth Management Strategy (GMS). The GMS advocates a more progressive and aggressive accommodation agenda premised on prioritization of public transport corridors linking the north-south and east-west locations of the city and the nodes linked by these corridors.

The GMS spatial plan indicating the priority areas is indicated on *Map 9*. Within the highlighted public transport corridors (a 1-km distance from emerging BRT and existing rail infrastructure), the objective is to increase the intensity and density of land uses and has targeted these areas as the highest priority in terms of city capital investment. An increased supply and diversity of affordable accommodation typologies (based on both rental and secure title) within these corridors is one of the key objectives of the GMS.
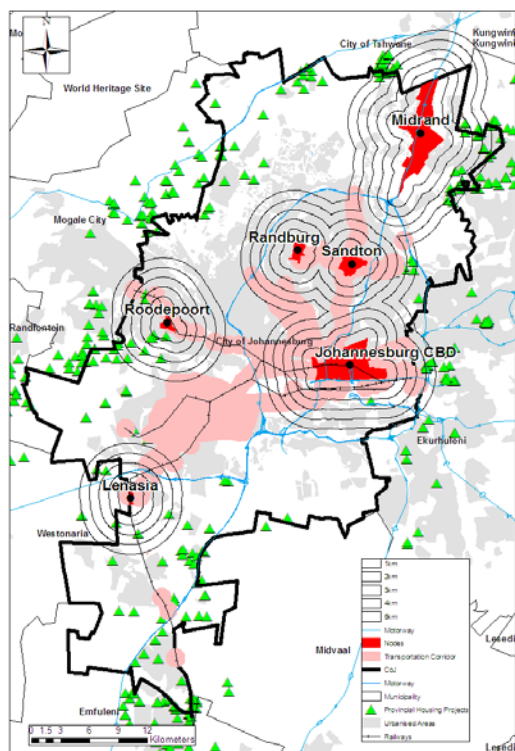
Map 8: Spatial location of planned housing projects circa 2006 – source various
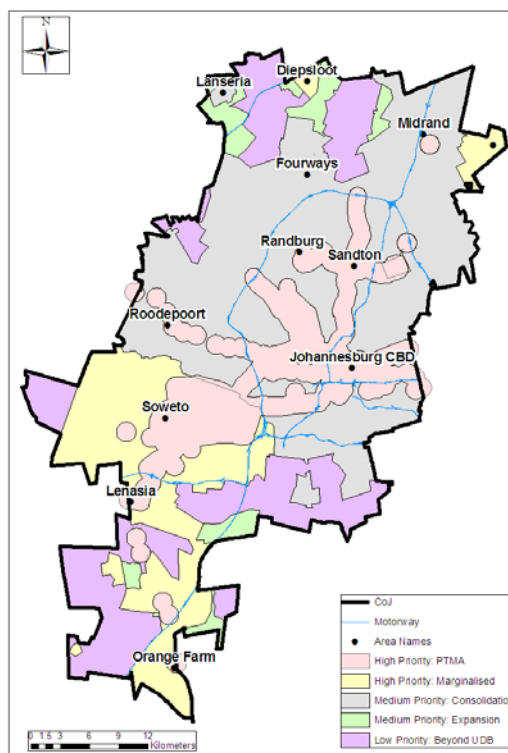
Map 9: City of Johannesburg's conceptual Growth Management Strategy - Source: City of Johannesburg, author

To support this objective the city has adopted an interim Inclusionary Housing Policy to encourage and incentivize the development of more affordable housing stock. Incentives introduced and linked to inclusionary housing components of planning frameworks prepared in support of the newly introduced BRT have included the 'Density Bonus' approach advocated and evidently successful in some municipal administrations of the USA. However, given the absence of national or provincial legislation and the recent global economic downturn, the results of the interim policy introduced in 2008 have been negligible to date. Density Bonus incentives alone are clearly not making a difference to the location and supply of market-supplied affordable housing.

The city has therefore undertaken an extensive study of vacant or partially vacant city-owned land holdings within the public transport corridor with a view to leveraging the land to private-public partnerships with a view to providing more mixed income, mixed use developments in these prime locations. Key roleplayers within these pilot projects will be registered housing associations such as the city-owned, Johannesburg Social Housing Company (JOSHCO) and the independently managed Johannesburg Housing Company (JHC).

Maps 10 and 11 reflect the location of current projects managed by these two housing associations. They present a polar-opposite picture to the spatial distribution of more conventional subsidized housing projects reflected in *Map 8* and highlight the concentration of the projects in Johannesburg's CBD. These are complemented by other existing and proposed projects in nodal locations (Roodepoort and Randburg respectively) that reflect almost 10,000 rental accommodation opportunities and almost 13,000 units in all throughout the city.

Each of these projects has made or is intended to make a significant contribution to broader renewal and regeneration initiatives in the respective nodes. Not only are they incrementally adding affordable and well-managed rental units to these locations, they are significantly enhancing the ambience and aesthetics of the related buildings and locations. Annex A of this report includes a summary of 13 of JOSHCO's projects.

If the city and other state interventions are to make a considerable contribution to housing the poor, or, at the very least, providing accommodation options for the poor, these and other registered, formal housing associations and initiatives need to become the cornerstone of a refocused policy approach to housing.
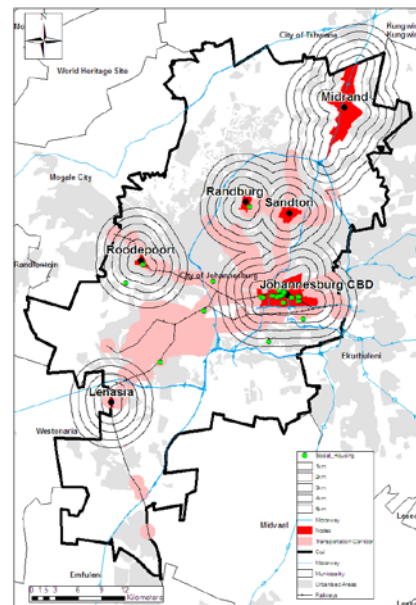
Map 10: Location of Social Housing Projects (JOSHCO / JHC) - Source: Author
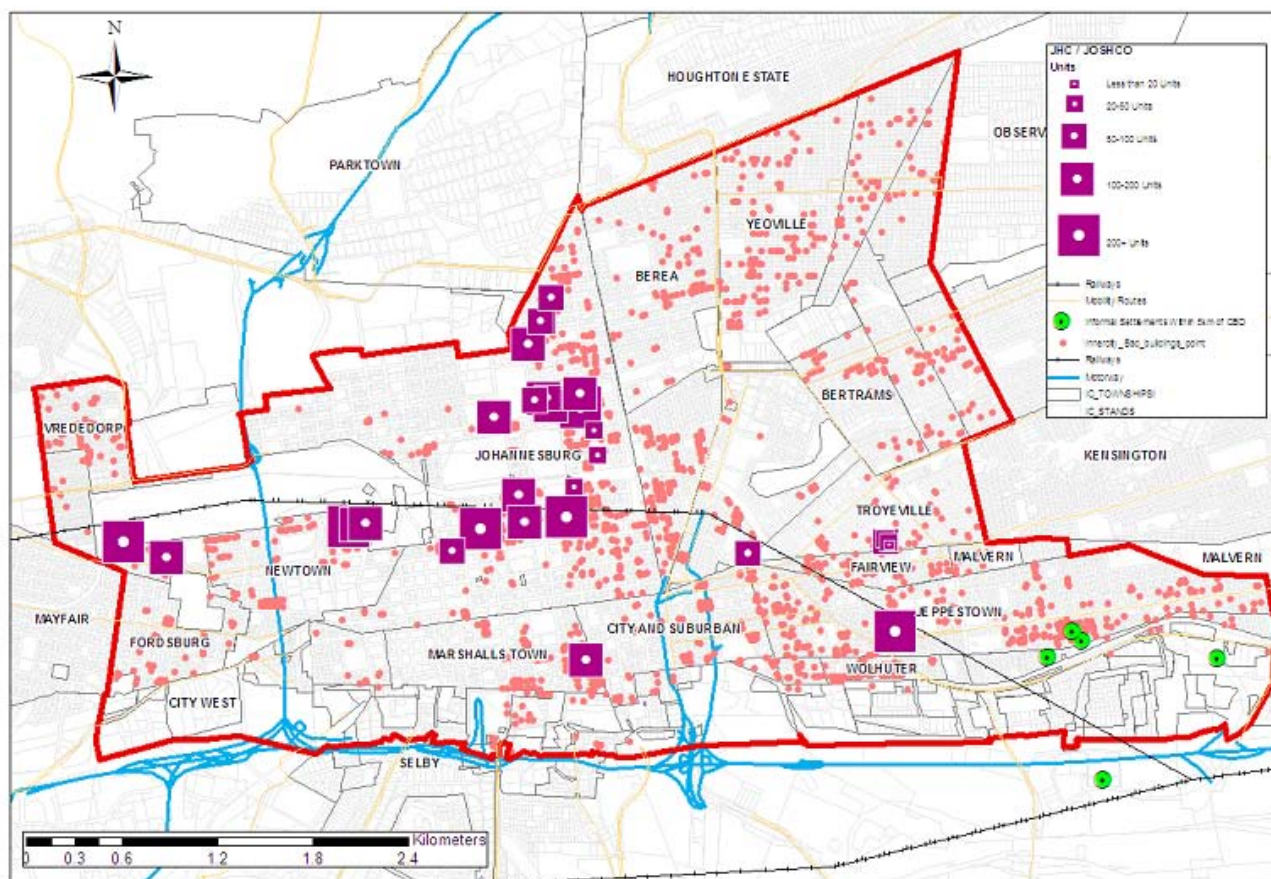
Map 11: Location of social housing projects (JOSHCO / JHC) – Source: author

6. Conclusion

This paper has considered a number of the current realities and constraints faced by both the urban poor and city policymakers and planners. It has concentrated on a number of key factors shaping the decision-making and rationalities of the urban poor and the emerging thinking within planning that seeks to enhance the connection between the state and this group.

The paper's statistical and spatial analysis suggests that many of the city's 'Poverty Areas' and a majority of households within informal settlements have both direct and indirect associations with existing, established nodes and/or public transport networks. What is not clear and requires further research is the relative weightings attributed to these location factors, which shape and determine

individual or family choices of location: cost (of access, rentals), opportunities and convenience (for example social networks, formal housing, jobs, transport), chance, or other less obvious factors.

Additionally, the paper has conveyed the contradictions between the need for access to these opportunities and location advantages and the historical delivery patterns of state-sponsored housing initiatives on the margins or distant from these same aspects. The implications of the post-1994 housing approach of the state for future growth and development scenarios and urban form could not be graver. If the approach continues, human and capital resources will increasingly be focused on addressing the physical indicators of the accommodation and poverty problem. This is likely to manifest in continued *in-situ* upgrading on the periphery of the city and a greater number of evictions, court orders and enforcement activities in relation to the buildings of the inner city. These actions do have a legitimate and important role to play in the managing the city. However, unless balanced, they are likely to detract and divert the limited resources away from considering new and accelerated programmes and projects focusing on:

- An increased number of centrally located accommodation initiatives;
- A restructured and more flexible National Housing Subsidy regime;
- An increased emphasis on design, typology and financial models for new housing forms;
- Enhancement of quantum and capacity of registered housing associations;
- New, innovative public-private partnerships;
- A legislative framework for inclusionary housing;
- Broader, more flexible financing options; and
- More effective and accessible packaging of social and welfare grants.

Human Settlement Minister Sexwale's recent public pronouncements are encouraging:

> When we came into government and moved from housing to human settlements, we said we want to move away from dotting the landscaping with houses. Instead we want to build human settlements where people are able to grow, to work and be part of the South Africa we are building. Tau Village [Pretoria/Thswane CBD] is an example of the partnership we encourage. We call on other private sector partners to invest in projects such and to work with government and communities, in particular, in the inner cities, to upgrade buildings such as these and provide safe and affordable shelter to those in need. (Human Settlements: Minister Toxyo Sexwale, speech 6 August 2010)

Inner-city housing has been placed at the forefront of the National Minister's agenda. How the rhetoric translates into practical implementation and begins to assist the urban poor in providing wider opportunities and in greater numbers will be judged in years to come.

Table: 4: Conceptual framework for inner-city accommodation options

Accommodation Means*	Typical Process/Characteristics*	Challenges*	Beneficiaries of Accommodation	Why Attractive?	Readily available to 'poor' (the unemployed/partially employed/less than R3,000 income)?
Acquiring a building through the Better Buildings Programme	Initiative aimed at attracting private sector investment to refurbish 'bad' or poorly managed buildings and to rent out refurbished stock at an affordable rate	As below re: city Administration Only small percentage of targeted buildings released Consequently, too few affordable units introduced into the market	The Buyer and Prospective Qualifying Tenants Housing Associations (where applicable) City of Johannesburg	As above Facilitates new affordable rental stock via a city Regeneration Initiative Supports an enhanced rates base of the city	No
Buying a building on the market	Conforms to conventional sale/purchase processes and involve the seller and buyer	Typically city administration examples: No existing or current valuation of the property; Outstanding rates, refuse and service charges owing on property. Delay in issuing of clearance certificates Purchase price and market demand dictates number and price of affordable units – not obliged to develop or provide for this market.	The Buyer and Prospective Qualifying Tenants	Formally regulated via current property regulations Medium-Long-term security of tenure	No
Buying a flat through the Sectional Titles Scheme	In terms of the Sectional Title Act, owners establish a Body Corporate that effectively functions as the building's manager (or appoint a managing agent).	Significant problems for management / maintenance and sale / resale of buildings	The Buyer / occupant	Formally regulated via current property regulations Medium-Long-term security of tenure	Highly unlikely

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* Adapted from 'Land Use Management and Democratic Governance in the City of Johannesburg Case Study: Hillbrow', Melinda Silverman, Tanya Zack, 2008

Accommodation Means*	Typical Process/Characteristics*	Challenges[*]	Beneficiaries of Accommodation	Why Attractive?	Readily available to 'poor' (the unemployed/partially employed/less than R3,000 income)?
Renting a flat	Accommodates legal and illegal tenants renting via flats in single-owner buildings and in Sectional Title buildings to rooms in residential hotels, communal housing developments and transitional housing developments	Rentals relatively high R1,500-2,000 per month (private facilities, R700 (shared facilities) Deposits can be up to x4 monthly rental	Occupant and rent collector whether legal or unregulated Housing Associations (whre applicable)	Potential for short-medium term security of tenure – dependent on tenants favourable circumstance Allows for flexibility in favour of the tenant where contracts have been entered into (does not have to be tied to medium-long-term arrangement)	Possibly – dependent on savings / availability cash resources
Renting a portion of a flat or room	Consequence of relatively high costs alluded to above in order to share costs.	Can lead to overcrowding, strain on building resources and abuse of the landlord-tenant system Frequently accommodates vulnerable tenants like illegal foreign immigrants	The sub-leaser Transient workers Unemployed / job seekers (national and international) Destitute	Not necessarily premised on fixed-period contract – as long as rent is paid / no intervention from authorities Still allows lower-end income renters to establish a base from which to seek employment, shelter, social networks etc. Less likely to need / request qualifying criteria like ID, employer's letter, guarantees, deposits etc.	Yes
Occupying a building or 'hijacking' a building	Evolves where residents attempt to take control of a building in the absence of management; or indicates active 'invasions' of run-down buildings where management is absent or weak	Limited / no building management or maintenance Nominal amount of monies are passed over or are wholly withheld from the city re: service costs / rates Propensity for 'hijacker' or 'slum-lord' to intimidate residents into paying rent Non-payment likely to lead to eviction	As above The building 'hijacker' – increases his/her influence / stock and control over the tenants	As above	Yes

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[*] Adapted from 'Land Use Management and Democratic Governance in the City of Johannesburg Case Study: Hillbrow', Melinda Silverman, Tanya Zack, 2008

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HIV Positive Lessons for Urban Revitalization in Hillbrow

Daniella Sachs

This paper has been extracted and adapted from the thesis entitled *HIV Positive lessons for sustainable development* submitted by the author (Daniella Sachs) in partial fulfillment for the degree: Bachelor of Architecture or Master of Architecture [Professional] at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa, in the year 2007.

Abstract

The objective of this paper is to highlight the effects of HIV/AIDS on revitalization strategies in the dense, poverty-stricken, crime infested, inner city residential area of Hillbrow, Johannesburg. This research will seek to explain why HIV management programmes in the area have not achieved the outcomes expected through an analysis of the complex psycho-social, socio-economic, socio-cultural and sociopolitical impacts of the virus.

Through this investigation the paper will argue the need for the creation of an effective alternative strategy that draws its development lessons from the deadly biological functioning of the virus. The resultant proposal is the creation of a Community Wellness Centre that addresses not only the virus, but the broader issues facing the community as a whole that have been highlighted by the virus. This approach thus seeks to shift the current strategy of dealing with HIV/AIDS only as a healthcare and epidemic management issue, to dealing with the virus as an integral part of a broader sustainable revitalization strategy.

HIV POSITIVE Lessons for Urban Revitalization in Hillbrow

The objective of this paper is to highlight the critical issue of the effects of HIV/Aids on revitalization strategies in the inner city residential area of Hillbrow, Johannesburg. This research will seek to explain why HIV management programmes have not achieved the desired outcomes in Hillbrow, through an analysis of the complex array of issues surrounding the virus. This analysis will be used to build the argument for the need of an alternative strategy that places HIV not as a healthcare management issue, but rather as an integral part of the renewal strategy of Hillbrow. The paper will propose that an effective framework for this strategy can be created by learning *positive* lessons for sustainable urban redevelopment from the biological characteristics of the virus itself.

Introduction to Hillbrow
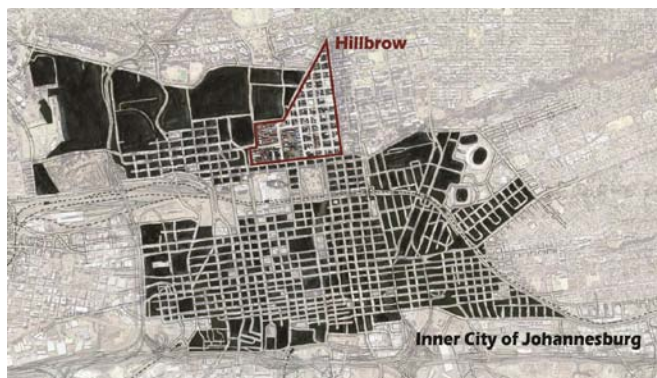
The reputation of Hillbrow has become notorious. It lurks in the dark side of the imagination. An image of tall apartment blocks of broken glass, caged in decay and fear. Overrun with Nigerian drug lords, slumlords, prostitutes and human traffickers. Crossed off the map as a no-go, violent, crime ridden and swarming hellhole. It is a place most suburban *Joburgers* fear to enter, and rumour has it that there are even certain corners such as Kotze corner Quartz Street where even the most foolhardy policeman will not show his face.

In an effort to clean up this not altogether exaggerated image, the city has joined forces with the private sector and many church-based community organizations. The two main revitalization strategies have been based on the improvement of the built environment and urban fabric in an effort to squeeze out crime and slumlording. The *Better Buildings Programme* driven by the Johannesburg Property Company focused on reclaiming and rehabilitating buildings illegally 'hijacked' (overtaken) by slumlords (Garson 2004), while the *EKhaya Neighbourhood Programme* spearheaded by the Johannesburg Housing Corporation sought to draw in the support of property owners to clean up the public urban environment in a bid to make the streets safer, as well as to protect their own investments (Jonews reporter 2005; JHC 2010).

Impact of HIV

This physical revitalization strategy is undermined, however, by the high prevalence of HIV/AIDS in Hillbrow. This is both a result of and an exacerbating ingredient in the tenuous high-density, poverty-stricken area. In 2006, Reproductive Health and Research Unit healthcare workers broadly estimated that at least 30 per cent of the people in Hillbrow were HIV Positive, which was more than double the estimated 14.5 per cent HIV prevalence in Gauteng (IOL/HIV 2007; Dorrington et. al. 2006: 51). The severity of this statistic can only be fully comprehended when it is considered within the context of the area that has one of the highest population densities in the world, estimated at 65,132 people/km (RHRU 2004: 30; Statistics South Africa, 2003: 95).

Researchers attribute the high prevalence of HIV in Hillbrow as being a result of the severe socioeconomic environment, which is characterized by overcrowding, poverty, unemployment, homelessness, low levels of education, and a lack of access to basic services, infrastructure and health care (Planact n.d: 3; Lindegger, Wood 1995: 3, 7; RHRU 2004: 30). Many studies have documented that these indicators of lower socioeconomic status are 'consistently correlated with behaviours that negatively affect health, reduced access to health services, increased disease risk, increased risk of an adverse health outcome, and increased rates of mortality' (Belcher, St Lawrence 2000: 307).

The high level of HIV/AIDS has had a severe impact on the success of revitalization strategies, for its splintering and disruptive effects can be traced concurrently in multiple facets of the fabric of society. Not only is the virus fatal but it also mainly affects the breadwinners of the household who often have both young children and elderly parents to support (Else n.d: 1; Lindegger, Wood 1995: 7).

The consequence is that a complex situation is created where a reduction in population life expectancy levels and the accompanying high costs of care result in a correlated increase of poverty levels within the community. At a social level, the virus not only results in splintered households, but has also created a fractured city where those who are HIV positive are marginalized, thus excluded from the fabric of society through practices of discrimination and ostracization. The virus therefore not only affects economic development, but also threatens to unravel the groundwork inclusionary policies of a democratic model of development that defines the very building blocks of inner-city revitalization strategies (Planact n.d: 3; Lindegger, Wood 1995: 3, 7; RHRU 2004: 30; UNAIDS 2006: 87).

These problems within the context of Hillbrow are compounded by the large number of migrants, legal and illegal immigrants and refugees struggling to maintain their desperate grip on survival in the so-called 'City of Gold,' in whatever way they can. This desperate, survivalist-based social fabric of the urban environment sits constantly poised on a knife edge ready to rip and implode (which it did in 2008 with the violent xenophobic attacks). Thus, one can see that HIV/AIDS does not only exacerbate the already high levels of poverty within the area, but also serves to intensify the underlying, surging current, of social unrest. As Lindegger and Wood emphasize, in their study on the psychological effects of the virus in South Africa: HIV/AIDS reveals and aggravates social prejudices, economic inequalities, discriminatory practices and political injustices (1995 7).

Government Response

In response to this epidemic, the City of Johannesburg has identified HIV/AIDS as one of the priority programmes for the city, and is 'therefore challenged to establish a concerted, integrated effort incorporating all sectors to curtail the spread of the disease, and to provide comprehensive services to all people infected and affected by HIV/AIDS' (n.d: 2, 3).

At a general level, the basic health services provided by the city include clinics, hospices and hospitals that are supposed to provide a combination of education and treatment programmes including (City of Johannesburg n.d: 2, 3):

- HIV/AIDS education;
- Provision of free male condoms;
- Voluntary HIV counselling and testing;
- Antiretroviral (ARV) rollout (albeit at a limited capacity);
- Treatment of HIV/AIDS opportunistic infections like TB and pneumonia, as well as sexually transmitted infections (STIs);
- Support groups for people living with HIV/AIDS;
- Referrals to Home Based Care.

The Johannesburg Development Agency has further developed the Hillbrow Health Precinct (HHP) in conjunction with The University of the Witwatersrand's Reproductive Health and HIV Research Unit (RHRU) in an attempt to deal with the high levels of HIV prevalence in the inner-city neighbourhood. The HHP is bounded by Kotze and Rissik Streets to the north, Joubert Street to the west, Smit Street to the south and Klein Street to the east (GAPP-IODOSA 2004: 1).

The *Hillbrow Health Precinct Development: Project Brief Oct 2006* states that the precinct was conceptualized as an innovative HIV-themed urban regeneration project, the main focus of which was to strengthen existing primary care services for all aspects of HIV, including the establishment of new and novel HIV prevention and treatment services. These services were to be facilitated and supported by a coordinated and integrated team of non-governmental, academic and private organizations (RHRU 2006).

The HHP embraces a variety of existing health services including the National Centre for Occupational Health, the South African Institute for Medical Research, the National Laboratory Service and the Johannesburg Mortuary. Existing services that have been upgraded by the HHP include the Hillbrow Community Health Centre, as well as the RHRU Esselen Street Clinic. This clinic, together with the revamp of the Hugh Solomon heritage building as the RHRU Research & Training Centre, were planned to serve as the combined Centre of Excellence for the prevention and treatment of HIV and sexually transmitted diseases (RHRU 2004: 30; JDA n.d).

The focus of the RHRU Research & Training Centre is both on building the capacity of researchers, health care workers and civil society organizations and on providing support to people living with HIV in the area. This support system is run in partnership with the NGO Community AIDS Response (CARE) and includes counselling programmes, support groups, home-based care training, CBO-management training, and various income generation projects. This initiative is described as a HIV Care or Wellness Centre, for its focus is to provide a support system to those infected or affected by the virus (Jankelowitz 2007: INTERVIEW).

Even though all these actions have been put into place and appear to make all the right noises, the rate of new HIV infections has not dramatically reduced as expected. The Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) note that even though South Africa currently has the largest AIDS treatment programme in the world, many of these programmes (including that of the Hillbrow Health Precinct) have yet to have a significant impact (2008: 2). The following sections will thus explore the broad sociopolitical, psychosocial, sociocultural and socioeconomic effects of the virus, as a means of presenting an understanding of the limited impact of these programmes. It is recognized that this discussion is rather generalized and does not explore the full breadth, depth and complexity of the issues. This is unfortunately beyond the scope of a paper of such limited length.

Sociopolitical Impacts

One of the biggest obstacles facing HIV/AIDS programmes within South Africa is the legacy of AIDS denialism that characterized the Mbeki presidential regime of 1999-2007. Even though 2007 witnessed the launch of a landmark five-year National Strategic Plan (NSP) for combating HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted infections, this contradictory and confusing political legacy has left an indelible echo of doubt within the psyche of the nation. This doubt clouds not only education programmes about how the virus is spread, but also whether HIV does in fact cause AIDS. At an even more damaging level the legacy of ex-President Mbeki and his Health Minister Tshabalala-Msimang has coloured the ARV treatment campaign, labelling the drugs as damaging, and in many cases fatal (SAPA 5/3/2007; refer also to Aegis 2003 and Fredriksson-Bass, Kanabus 2007 for an in-depth analysis of the history, and effects, of the confusing and contradictory political responses to HIV in South Africa).

Psychosocial Impacts

The distrust sown by this sociopolitical milieu is further compounded by the psychosocial effects of stigmatization that seem fused to the very core of the virus. As Mr Justice Cameron highlights: AIDS from the start has existed as a disease of stigmatization, for its first known bearers were members of already highly stigmatized groups – gay men, drug addicts and prostitutes (Walker et. al. 2004: 7).

Although the demographic risk group in Hillbrow is overwhelmingly heterosexual, it includes groups already at high risk such as: foreigners, sex workers and children. Thus the added stigmatization associated with the virus serves to exacerbate the discrimination and ostracization practices facing those already marginalized, stigmatized and dispossessed within the neighbourhood.

Fear of stigmatization has a severe effect on the success of the HHP. For the HIV education and counselling programmes, as well as other HIV-focused services such as: anti-retroviral treatment campaigns and income generation projects, are housed within the HIV-focused RHRU Centre of Excellence. Thus the mere act of entering the doors of either the Hugh Solomon Building or the Esselen Street Clinic means possible stigmatization, as it immediately identifies one as being HIV positive. Within the dense and overcrowded tenuous environment of Hillbrow, this identification has the potential to place those already at risk on the knife edge.

Socioeconomic Impacts

The issues of marginalization and stigmatization are compounded by the socioeconomic and gender-related issues surrounding the virus. These issues place the already high risk group of young African women – who are the poorest, most economically marginalized and least educated sector of the South African population – at 'the bottom of the health pile and renders them particularly vulnerable to HIV/AIDS' (Walker et. al. 2004: 40).

Many women from rural areas and foreign countries come to Johannesburg in search of jobs and end up in Hillbrow, where out of necessity they are sucked into the rampant sex trade industry. Research indicates, however, that it is not only the sex workers who are vulnerable to the spread of HIV but also the numerous women in Hillbrow who are unemployed, or who work in the financially

unstable informal sector (Belcher and St Lawrence 2000: 308). Many of these women are particularly vulnerable to the use of sexual commercialization strategies, where multiple sexual partners are used as a survivalist technique: 'One for rent, one for food, and one for clothes' (Walker et. al. 2004: 40, 42).

These commercialized sexual relationships have an important impact on why government and non-government HIV/AIDS prevention programmes – such as those promoting safe sex – have not been successful. These programmes are reliant on a woman being in a position of power to demand condom use. However, in these relationships a woman is often unable to insist on condom use for fear of losing her livelihood (Beresford 2007: INTERNET; Strebel 1995: 14).

Sociocultural Impacts

In addition to these socioeconomic implications, if a woman does insist on condom use she opens herself up to the possibility of violence. For the use of condoms is tied to a complex set of sociocultural issues within the context of South Africa. At a basic level, many studies have shown that condom use is culturally related to issues of trust. Thus a woman who insists on safe sex practices is often seen as either accusing her boyfriend of cheating or admitting to cheating on her boyfriend. Within the context of sex workers in Hillbrow, insistence on condom use is often seen as the admission to being HIV positive, and thus a sex worker risks her continued livelihood through safe sex practices (Strebel 1995: 14, 16; Walker et. al. 2004: 35).

Meyer-Weitz et al. further point out that the disease is tied to the taboos that regulate sexual intercourse within many African cultures. Diseases that are spread via sexual intercourse are seen as spiritually transmitted traditional diseases (1998: 40, 41). In addition the cultural belief is held that the suppression of sexual desires is not natural and leads to ill health (Meyer-Weitz et. al. 1998: 44; Walker et. al. 2004: 34). Thus one can see at a basic level that the reason so many HIV/AIDS education and prevention campaigns have failed is that they have not taken these cultural beliefs into consideration, for 'if condom use is culturally taboo, then a programme that promotes condoms is unlikely to succeed' (Walker et. al. 2004: 19, 23).

Creation of an Alternative Strategy

It is evident from this research that the current myriad of education, prevention and treatment programmes has been systematically undermined by the sociopolitical legacy of AIDS denialism and the complex socioeconomic, psychosocial and sociocultural issues that are intertwined with the virus in the context of the area. Thus one can see the need to find an alternative effective strategy both to cope with and prevent the spread of the virus.

The research has indicated that for such a strategy to be successful it would need to be a multifaceted approach that addresses not only the spread and treatment of the virus, but also the multiple and complex psychosocial, socioeconomic, and sociocultural paradigms that increase transmission risks. Thus, what is proposed is the need to shift from the current ineffective HIV-focused management strategy to a holistic and cohesive strategy that deals with the complex environment of the community as a whole, and not just those infected or affected by the virus.

The overriding question, however, is how does one create an effective and sustainable urban development model to contain such a multidisciplinary strategy? This paper would like to propose that perhaps the clues to the creation of an effective model can be found by learning development lessons from techniques used by this deadly, seemingly unstoppable virus. For it has not only thwarted our efforts thus far to find an effective prevention and treatment strategy, but it has also thwarted the attempts of modern medicine to find a cure.

Unlike other viruses the HIV virus does not travel in the bloodstream exposed to the body's immune system. Instead, it infiltrates the cells of the immune system, tricking them into either self destructing or attacking each other. In addition to this subversive strategy of infection the virus has also evolved an extensive genetic mutation flexibility that protects it from successful drug treatment (Cichocki 2006; Duplechin, Gay n.d).

In summary, what can be learned from the biological functioning of the virus is that its effectiveness as a killer lies in its:

1. Strong RNA/DNA core;
2. Subversive infection strategy;
3. Rapid genome replication;
4. Ability to transform to its environment;

5. Ability to camouflage itself to fool antibodies;
6. Ability to mutate to avoid new threats to its existence.

From these lessons, one can generate a strategy of a highly effective host cell that reproduces and spreads into the surrounding community. The strong DNA/RNA core of the host cell will be constructed of a unified force of allotropic, traditional, holistic, mental, social grassroots care and economic empowerment initiatives, combined with local government, NGO, CBO, research agencies and academic institutions.

This strategy is based on the idea of harnessing existing resources – it is not about creating something new from scratch, but about the reconfiguration and stitching together of existing resources into an effective holistic system. As the Medical Research Council Position Paper states: 'The most effective way of responding to the epidemic is through partnerships which enable individuals, communities, organisations, government and businesses to all play their role at a local level' (2001: aids flyer).

Thus, the physical structure of the host cell builds upon the foundation set out in the RHRU and JDA HHP precinct plan, in its conceptualization of uniting the different agencies dealing with the virus into an HIV-focused Wellness Centre. However, unlike the RHRU strategy that focuses only on those infected or affected by HIV, this wellness centre will seek to shift the DNA of current HIV management systems into a broader sustainable and cohesive revitalization strategy focused on the community as a whole. Thus the centre will be called a *Community Wellness Centre* for if one called it a **HIV Wellness Centre** one would effectively lock out of a huge portion of society, both those infected and those not, due to the power of, and fear of stigmatization.

The aim of this strategy of uniting the different agencies dealing with HIV within a broader wellness facility is also based on the 'subversive infection strategy' of the virus. This technique allows one to draw the entire community in and thereby allow for, and respect, the anonymity of those that seek it. At the same time the project acts like a net to educate the broader community about health, safe sex and thus HIV. The facility therefore camouflages itself, like the virus, in order to infiltrate the heart of the community to adjust the DNA of community thought and action and thus create positive wellness.

By using a facility that caters for both HIV-positive and -negative people one can start to talk about the possible creation of an inclusionary environment free of HIV-biased social attitudes and stereotypes. For as Mattheyse – an author for the international AfroAIDS network – emphasizes, the cornerstone of such a dream would be to combine the education of HIV-negative people with direct contact with someone living with HIV or AIDS (2007: INTERNET).

The creation of a wellness centre as a strategy of community revitalization also has important impacts on the socioeconomic issues inherent in Hillbrow. Walker et al. note that while the wealthier sector of society has the ability to 'buy' a healthy lifestyle, including adequate nutrition, a good living environment and psychosocial networks of support (2004: 74), those that live in poverty in Hillbrow suffer from social disempowerment and lack of access to wellness facilities, beyond that of the primary health care system, which only deals with those who are already infected or sick. Therefore an important step in combating the socioeconomic issues surrounding the virus is to reposition not only treatment and support systems, but also health and wellness networks in the heart of the disenfranchised neighbourhood.

What also becomes critical in such a socioeconomic focused wellness strategy is the implementation of economic empowerment initiatives. These skills and income generation programmes should be women-focused in order to attempt to shift the gender-biased risk profile. Through the creation of the possibility of economic independence among poverty stricken women, one can begin to give them some power to make safe sex decisions within their sexual relationships.

Broader Implications
This community revitalization strategy has possible impacts beyond the apartment blocks of Hillbrow, for the strength of the virus is also in its rapid genome replication, which one can translate into the development of a replicable mobile element. This mobile element allows one to create an information and care network that is accessible to those in other marginalized, poverty stricken areas. The centre will therefore reproduce to form multiple smaller copies that will mutate to serve the needs of the communities they will clip into.

These smaller 'cells' will retain the DNA coding of the centre by being designed as an adaptable model, and will thus start to produce chains of information that will flow directly into communities and back, thereby generating a system of cross-evaluation models. This chain will

ensure that the effectiveness of the cells is continuously compared, enhanced and perfected; transforming constantly to react to changing needs, like the HIV virus that continuously adapts to its environment, exterior influences and threats.

One can therefore divide the development strategy into 4 phases:

Phase 1: The initial phase of the creation of a cohesive wellness centre focused on HIV will perhaps be the most complex phase to achieve, for it is based on the premise that a cohesive and holistic unification of all the varied agencies is possible. Thus the first step in this phase will be the development of a cohesive training and education strategy that will facilitate the building of partnerships across the different sectors that will be housed within this centre. These sectors will further need to elect a facilitation team that will act as the chain of information flow – to disseminate information across the sectors to keep them up to date, as well as to arrange general meetings to review progress and programmes.

Phase 2: Such a centre has a certain radius of accessibility as well as a certain radius of influence. Therefore, to increase the effectiveness of the centre it is proposed that the centre produce a series of prototypical mobile docking stations.

Phase 3: Will look at expanding this area of accessibility and influence outwards even further to include periphery areas. As one expands outwards the need will arise to have multiple centres based on the original 'host cell', each with its own offshoot mobile docking stations. Because all centres will link back to each other via a database and monthly/twice yearly/yearly meetings, there will be constant improvement on the system.

Phase 4: Will look at expanding this programme to other provinces in South Africa. Each province, like Gauteng, will have a pilot project that will then expand outwards until every person in the country has access to positive wellness.

Conclusion

This paper has sought to investigate the impact of HIV/AIDS on the revitalization of the poverty stricken inner residential area of Hillbrow. This was achieved through an exploration of the broad sociopolitical, psychosocial, socioeconomic and sociocultural impacts of the virus. The complex environment created by these issues was highlighted in an attempt to explain why current treatment and prevention programmes have not been effective in halting the spread of the virus.

By highlighting the complexity surrounding the virus, the paper proposed that a fundamental shift is needed from dealing with HIV solely as a health care management issue, to dealing with it as an integral part of a sustainable urban revitalization strategy for Hillbrow. This alternative redevelopment strategy is drawn from learning positive development lessons from the deadly biological functioning of the virus itself.

The development strategy was thus conceived of as a Community Wellness Centre targeting not only those infected or affected by HIV, but the entire community. The aim of the centre would be to promote physical, mental and socioeconomic wellness in the community through a unified force of grassroots care combined with economic empowerment initiatives and the programmatic amalgamation of existing local government, NGO, CBO, research agencies and academic institutions.

This alternative revitalization strategy has possible application potential beyond the scope of dealing with HIV alone. For the complex psychosocial, socioeconomic, sociocultural and sociopolitical issues highlighted within the text are not formed solely by the virus but rather are exacerbated by it. Thus the virus has become in a sense a focal lense through which one can take another look at the complexity of issues facing revitalization strategies. The virus has highlighted the need to consider a broader, more holistic definition of inner-city revitalization beyond merely referring to the physical upgrade of the built and urban environment, in order to ensure the success and sustainability of interventions within the complexity of such areas.

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Issues around Housing, Enablement and Inner-City Economic Development: Lessons from Mbabane City, Swaziland

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Abstract
The purpose of this paper is to highlight issues around the roles of municipalities in improving inner city economic development. Normally, to a great extent, economic development issues include, among others, policy and enablement. The paper raises questions such as: Whose job is it to revitalize the inner city? What are the issues involved? Can revitalization principles be generically applied without enablement? In attempting to answer these questions the paper uses the old Mbabane bus terminus in Swaziland as a case study to demonstrate the possible problems normally experienced in revitalizing an inner city. The old bus terminus is prime land located right at the city centre. For years, after the buses were relocated, no developments took place at the site. Instead, the site has remained an eyesore in the middle of the city. Many project proposals to revitalize the site have been presented to the municipality and in spite of approval no further developments have taken off. Drawing from literature on enabling strategies and inner-city revitalization principles primarily from Angel (2000), the paper traces the reasons for this state of affairs in Mbabane and concludes by advocating the harnessing of increased enabling roles of the municipality and other actors for inner-city revitalization projects to succeed.

Introduction

Past and current experiences indicate that municipalities are indispensable in ensuring good inner-city redevelopments. First of all, municipalities contribute immensely to ensure a well functioning housing sector and secondly, they have an important role to play in ensuring a vibrant inner-city economic development. A well functioning housing sector is good for the economic life of a city as well a contributing factor to the good image of a city. It means meeting the multiple goals of sustainable development as applied to cities. These goals include meeting the economic, social, health and political needs of people. In the same vein a vibrant inner-city economic development serves to attract business. That said, experience has also taught that no single actor can succeed in carrying out these matters. A host of other stakeholders needs to be mobilized to carry out these functions. This paper, therefore, elaborates upon these issues and considers how they could be applied in housing and inner-city economic development.

The Old Mbabane Bus Terminus

The case study site is located in Mbabane City between Dr Sishayi and Southern Distributor Roads, coordinates 26^0 19 '28.54S and $31^0$08'35.89 E, Swaziland. Mbabane is the capital city of the Kingdom of Swaziland. The city has a population of approximately 82,000 people. The inner city, which has undergone various stages of decay, is in the main comprised of the old bus terminus. This is prime land right at the city centre. Around this site, signs of inadequate infrastructure investments and maintenance on the part of the municipality are visible, such as a gravel dirt road, non-functional street lights, general neglect of any environmental upgrade, etcetera. No credible investments exist at this site and because of the lack of credible investments the owner, who is incidentally a private developer, now uses the site as a public parking lot. At the same time there are people on site who engage in various informal trading activities. These are largely entry-level, low-skill occupations such as hair salons and street vending.

The following picture shows trading and other states of affairs at the old bus terminal.

Picture 1: Entry-level, low-skill trading at the Mbabane Old Bus Terminal

In the Mbabane inner city as a whole there are no residential buildings but only office space and shops. Nobody lives in the inner city, at night only security guards are found there. Davidson and Acioly (1996) call this 'fluctuating densities', whereby the city is virtually dead at night. This is in sharp contrast to other cities, elsewhere, where the urban poor generally reside in the inner city. In most cases, particularly where revitalization has not taken place, inner-city residents live in substandard, crowded housing and unsanitary conditions associated with extreme heat and cold, pest infestation, noise, dust, dampness, inadequate drainage and ventilation.

Reasons for Inner-City Decay in Mbabane
The inner-city decay in Mbabane can be attributed to a number of structural and policy changes that have taken place within the city over time, including failures in the planning and land monitoring roles of the municipality. Firstly, from personal communications with the planners, it is clear that the traditional master planning system is to be blamed for this. The plan is very rigid and non-responsive to certain paradigms of economic development such as inner-city revitalization. Secondly, it has been a question of inappropriate policies. At policy level, the thrust and focus of development in the city, as in any developing country, has been on the periphery, particularly low-income housing processes that are municipality driven and World Bank funded. This policy has been pursued in complete disregard of the need for inner-city development. The consequence of this has been the general neglect of the inner city. Coupled with this was the development of new economic nodes such as the Swazi Plaza and the New Mall to the south-east of the city. The construction of a new bus terminus next to the new busy malls resulted in buses and taxis having to relocate to this new site. Consequently, the prime site of the old bus terminus was sold to an entrepreneur. The new owner unfortunately has not embarked on site development for close to ten years now, despite submitting some good development proposals for the site. Although there are many reasons given for the failure to develop this prime inner-city property, mostly it is because of general neglect, sometimes speculation and inequitable application of building regulations have been suspected. However, since the entrepreneur is capable of developing the site, the main problem preventing this is the issue of finding alternative accommodation for the vendors currently using the site. The municipality demands that the owner provide alternative accommodation for the informal traders operating at this site. On the other hand, the owner argues that it is not his role to find alternative accommodation for people trading in premises within the city as this is the role of the municipality. Based on this case, which basically is a land issue, three main actors are identified with varying power structures and decision-making tiers. These are the municipality, the developer and the central government. These are elaborated on below.

Role of the Municipality in the Housing Market
Knaap (2004) has stated that in a well functioning housing sector, local governments have the following major areas of concern: i) land planning, ii) land market monitoring, iii) provision of infrastructure for development, iv) regulating land and v) housing development. These concerns are those that make it possible for local government to make an optimum contribution towards improvement of housing stock and enhancement of housing production and housing options in a city.

The last two are referred to by the World Bank as enabling interventions on the supply side of the housing market. Land planning and land market monitoring are on the demand side of the market.

Angel (2000) defines a well functioning housing sector as one that meets housing needs in an efficient, equitable and sustainable manner while freeing resources and energies to meet a host of other important needs. From this perspective he points out that in order to understand the housing sector we must examine the policy environment of the housing sector in pursuit of policies that matter to dwellers, builders, lenders and government agencies concerned with housing. From this definition it is clear that it is extremely difficult to get a model of a well functioning housing sector because of the emphasis on housing needs of the various stakeholders in the housing sector. Housing needs and desired housing outcomes differ considerably among the stakeholders. From the dweller's point of view housing needs may be the actual home, whereas the housing needs for local government could be the provision of infrastructure, land availability and regulated building developments and for lenders could be the question of more mortgage loans. The World Bank (1993) agrees with Angel's view that to understand how the housing sector works one must look at it from a number of perspectives, the five most important being the housing consumers, the housing producers, housing finance institutions, local governments and central governments. From this case it is clear that the different levels of decision-making and different perspectives of housing needs by the main actors make it difficult to apportion blame to any particular role player.

Consequently, it can be argued that there is no well functioning housing sector because of this multistakeholder and multiperspective nature of the housing sector. Logically, for an issue that involves so many actors it is difficult to come up with common ideologies, particularly when it comes to the meanings attached to housing. So, for the actors in the housing sector, a well functioning sector is, first and foremost, one that meets housing needs in an efficient, equitable and sustainable manner. However, what are common to all the stakeholders are the three basic requirements as given by the World Bank in their definition of a well functioning housing sector.

The World Bank (1993) defines a well functioning housing sector as one that is productive and efficient, using resources to get the best housing for the funds expended, responsive to the needs and resources of all segments of the population, including the poor, enabling them to be adequately housed at reasonable prices, environmentally sound (that is accommodating growth without damaging consequences for the natural environment). These form the guiding principles for a well functioning housing sector around which an enabling intervention can be modelled by all stimuli in the housing market. Because the housing sector operates as a market, forces of supply and demand apply, with the usual government interventions where there are signs of market failure. In trying to stimulate supply and demand each actor based on its own definition of housing needs invokes its own enabling interventions.

The three major functions for local government are now discussed, starting with its role in land as the planning institution and monitor of the land market. The planning role of the local government for urban growth and land use including housing needs is indisputable. This is about urban growth management and planning in a municipality. It is the duty of the local government to develop a master plan. A master plan will normally specify land uses, including areas earmarked for developments into residential housing. To carry out this plan intelligently, it is necessary to 'see all the components of the puzzle' (Knaap 2004) for which local government is well positioned in terms of information on housing capacity needs, being close to the people, more discretionary powers, guaranteed local tasks and the defender of local interests (Daemen 2004). The local government is able to classify which sites are developable and which ones are un-buildable. The more developable sites available in a city, the higher the demand for developments. This monitoring role of land markets is about knowing which parcel of land is available and putting it on the plan. In contemporary urban management the use of Geographical Information Systems (GIS) makes it much easier to monitor urban land markets. It acts as some form of land monitoring system that tracks land as it moves through the development process rather than collecting data as a one-time task (Knaap 2004). GIS capability allows overlay maps to be built and analysed electronically to identify various land parcels upon which to develop housing. In Swaziland this is the case. The Municipal Council of Mbabane developed a master plan in 1999 through a widely consultative process. In this master plan, parcels of land available for various kinds of developments including housing are shown explicitly. The city is in the process of acquiring GIS application to enhance this.

Land planning and land development monitoring is linked to what Angel (2000) calls a property rights regime. Having secured land tenure stimulates demand for housing, both in its own right and also because it helps to establish collateral for formal housing loans. The World Bank (1993) states that a well established system of property rights, secure and transferable land ownership make land

and housing desirable as collateral for financial institutions. To borrow from Daemen (2004), local government is the most innovative and effective level to stimulate housing demand by planning land for housing. It is in the local government's interest, particularly in trying to meet its revenue needs, that a clearly defined, fair, stable and enforceable system of property rights in land and housing exists. This is to ensure that land and housing can be transferred through enforceable agreements as well as used as collateral for mortgage loans. The land must be in the hands of the right people, those who can pay property tax so that the local authority can continue to function. Therefore, continuously monitoring land enhances the ability of the local government to analyse changes over space and time, infer from the trends the effects of land on housing policies and thus develop more precise and accurate forecasts (Knaap 2004). This was obviously not the case in Mbabane, as all efforts were directed towards developments on the periphery.

The last role of local government in a well functioning housing sector is liberalizing land and housing development regulations. This is again stimulating the supply side in the housing market. These enabling regulations must be aimed at all players in the housing sector (dwellers, financiers, developers, building materials, businesses) by simplifying their relationships and procedural issues in a way that is sensitive to the economic situation of each actor (World Bank 1993). With the lowering of standards and waivers it can be hoped that this will positively impact housing development, land market development, housing finance development and housing as a local tax base, low price distortions and public sector involvement. This particular enabling strategy is very useful to the urban poor, who are often hard pressed when it comes to urban regulatory systems resulting in a shortage of the supply of housing and high prices.

When standard requirements are too high the cost of building becomes high as well and very few people are able to reach those standards, particularly the urban poor. As a result, the World Bank proposes a three-pronged housing regulatory reform targeting the urban poor. These are land use, building standards, compliance and squatter tolerance. The challenge for local government is to allow the relaxation of the long-embedded building codes, creating a broad range of development options and flexibility while at the same time retaining control so that the poor can afford housing.

It requires a complete paradigm shift on the part of local government, which is often very difficult. Certainly in Swaziland, success has been realized with this system during the low-income housing processes in the city periphery spearheaded by the World Bank. What was done was that the process of authorization was rationalized and people were provided with model building drawing plans with highly reduced specifications. On evaluation it was found that whereas the system is good it requires a lot of communication with the concerned people for them to take advantage of the offer. Further, there were some other mistakes made, for example the plans authorization costs did not change. Charges for approving a building plan are the same no matter the location of the development, rich areas or poor areas. This is an area where perhaps some improvements can be made in Swaziland. Giving free drawing plans, reducing the costs for the authorization for poor areas and shortening the authorization process would go a long way towards improving the housing situation. Such relaxations of regulations and standards have not been practised in the inner city, unfortunately.

Enabling the Housing Market

Enabling means creating an environment in which the housing sector can function well and where all the actors are in a position to invoke corresponding enabling strategies at the same time (otherwise it would be futile for others to even begin). It requires a coordinated effort from all angles, which is often very difficult to achieve. The World Bank (1993) cautions that, in trying to invoke mitigatory enabling measures, care should be taken to avoid intervening in ways that disrupt markets. Therefore, an enabling strategy is one that allows each actor to perform its role in the most efficient manner possible (World Bank 1993). Depending on the interests of individual actors in the housing sector, their role is either promoting the supply side or the demand side of the housing market.

Another enabling action by local government in a well functioning housing sector is stimulating the supply side of the housing market by providing infrastructure for residential land development (World Bank 1993). Infrastructure is the aggregate of all facilities that allow a society to function. In a city there are two types of infrastructure, namely technical or productive infrastructure (public transportation, telecommunications, water, electricity, sewerage and so forth); the other type of infrastructure is social infrastructure (schools, health facilities, sport facilities, etcetera). In the same vein there are two aspects to infrastructure provision. One is the provision, which usually involves a capital element, the other is maintenance.

The question often asked is: Who should provide infrastructure? It is very difficult to find answers to this question. Some writers, for instance Knaap (2004), argue that the role of local government is to

monitor and maintain infrastructure and provide general urban services. The role of providing infrastructure belongs to developers. As to who is a developer can also be debatable because in my view a local government can also be a developer, depending on whether the area being developed is a private one or not. It has been argued that housing is a merit good (Angel 2000) and therefore it is considered legitimate for local government, as it would for central government, to provide intervention in the case of a merit good. The maintenance of infrastructure is a routine job of local governments, although some local governments do it using a number of partnership arrangements. Even if the capital project for infrastructure provision is done by a private developer, the oversight during construction is provided by the local government and subsequently infrastructure maintenance becomes routine. It therefore becomes logical and justifiable for the owner of the old bus terminal to expect that the local authority carry out proper upgrades around the old bus rank and further provide the requisite alternative accommodation for the vendors plying their wares at the site.

The other question often asked is: Whose interest does the provision of infrastructure serve and how can it influence the supply of housing? In Swaziland, as elsewhere in the developing world, the primary motivation for local governments to invest in infrastructure is not necessarily the people and their housing needs, but the desire to get more people on board who can pay property tax and thus to increase their revenue. Availability of infrastructure such as water supply reticulation, waste water facilities and electricity attracts developers in an area to invest in housing and depending on the capacity of the infrastructure the spatial pattern of an area can be significantly changed with more up-market housing developments coming up in well capacitated sites. Also, if serviced sites are in short supply, the price of land becomes high, which in turn causes a decrease in demand, which means less and less development takes place, which is bad for any local government. With improved infrastructure the local government can hope for an increase in development activity meaning more revenue for the city. The most important question is: Who should bear the cost for infrastructure provision? Nshiyama in Angel (2000) argues that those who benefit must bear the costs. These are people such as adjacent land owners whose property prices rise from the infrastructure. This is in line with the popular concept of cost recovery in projects. In Swaziland distinguishing between who benefits and who does not has been a grey area. As a result, a uniform fee is charged per plot without considering proximity to the infrastructure. Cost recovery, as in most developing countries where it is applied particularly when undertaking slum upgrading projects, has proved to be difficult in Swaziland. What seems to be the case is that most poor people still fail to take advantage of infrastructure provision. The implication points to some need for further interventions, such as aligning infrastructure provision to other interventions aimed at assisting people to realize their housing needs.

Enabling: Inner-City Economic Development

In order to support economic development of the inner city, the local government should focus its attention on a number of policy areas. Wigmans (2001) asserts that these are policies to increase information provision about market opportunities of the inner city, supporting consumer organization so as to demand responsive services, increasing the capacity for consumers to pay for services, giving access to resources and credit, tax exemptions, deregulation and subsidies. He states that the other policy areas are security, land, infrastructure, building costs, capital, employees' skills and attitudes. In this connection therefore, the local government could serve as the marketer; welcoming, courting and assisting companies and clearing the sites for companies to build on in the inner city, including providing clean-up waivers, reducing the time for permit processing, increasing inner-city building renovations, maintenance, repair and or conversions. The scope for an enabling environment by the local government is very wide. However Porter (1997) proposes four key policy goals to stimulate economic development in inner cities, namely:

1. Directing resources to the areas of greatest economic need;
2. Increasing the economic value of the inner city as a business location;
3. Delivering economic development programmes and services through mainstream, private sector institutions;
4. Aligning incentives built into programmes with true economic performance.

Enabling and Economic Development Concepts

Before further discussing each of the main policy areas, it is proper at this stage to turn to defining the two concepts in question here, that is, enabling and economic development. Economic development as given by Porter (1997) with reference to the inner city is defined as 'the creation of jobs and sustainable business activity that benefit disadvantaged inner city residents'. Also of importance in

inner-city economic development are improved housing, health care and schools. Taking the point further he argues that economic development in an inner city will come only from recognizing and enhancing the inherent advantages of an inner-city location and building on the base of existing companies while dealing frontally with the disadvantages of inner cities as business locations. This has implications for local government in that it must make sure that an assessment of the inner-city problems is made and the challenge is to work with the existing companies in doing this, thereby developing a vision for the future of the city. On the other hand, the local government must find ways of trying to create an enabling environment to take advantage of the positive aspects of inner-city areas such as advantages arising from its strategic location, integration with regional clusters and unmet local demands and human resources. At the same time, the local government must work on shortcomings that cause disinvestment by the private sector in the inner city, namely failing to maintain and improve infrastructure, failing to provide public safety, raising taxes excessively and creating costly regulations (Porter 1997).

Another writer, Couch (1990), refers to economic development as the process of increasing investment where it has declined, increasing employment where it has declined, increasing consumer expenditure and increasing population or densification. Porter suggests a particular view in order to achieve economic growth. He says there is need to focus on the inner city as part of regional economies rather than treating inner cities as separate independent economies (citywide and regional connections). Otherwise, economic activities in inner cities will not be sustainable. In the case of the inner city in Mbabane it is evident that the economic development potential of the inner city has been ignored.

The Concept of Enablement
The concept of enabling is very broad and means generally moving away from the role of being a direct provider of services and finances towards that of creating and improving the environment for better business action. Porter (1997) defines it as a role focused not on direct intervention and heavy reliance on operating subsidies to attract companies, but on creating a favourable environment for business for example, improving the public school system, training workers, upgrading infrastructure and streamlining regulations. Another view of enabling is that offered by Wigmans (2001), who states that enabling policies imply positive interventions to advance the capacity of consumers or providers to participate in the market, to make and to exercise choices.

Enabling roles operate both on the demand and supply side of the market. Enabling policies anticipate and seek to avoid market failure by reinforcing the capacity of actors in the market (consumers and producers) to enter and operate in the market. By taking cognizance of the factors that influence competitiveness of the urban economy, local government can model its enabling role properly. These general factors are divided into economic factors (factors of production, infrastructure, location, economic structure and urban amenities) and strategic determinants (local government effectiveness, urban strategy, public-private-partnerships and institutional flexibility), according to Van Dijk (2004). The role of the local government in inner-city economic development could be, in Van Dijk's view, invoking enabling strategies to improve competitiveness of the inner city, which could range from providing land and infrastructure to the local government developing innovative enabling policies. Van Dijk's analysis of competitiveness is broader than Porter's, who stated that in particular the competitiveness of inner cities falls into four areas being strategic location, integration with regional clusters, unmet local demand and human resources.

This section will now discuss how housing can support inner-city economic development. To understand this contribution a closer look at the definition of economic development as alluded to earlier on and housing now becomes useful. The American Economic Development Council (AEDC) defined economic development as the process of creating wealth through the mobilization of human, financial, capital, physical and natural resources. From this definition it can be deduced that wealth can indeed be created by housing construction as people can get jobs as labourers whether in constructing new residential houses, doing renovations, conversions or rebuilding inner-city areas and thus contributing to the gross national product (GNP). Inner-city renovations have the potential to generate employment directly in construction and indirectly in micro enterprises, tourism and construction-related activities. Banks, too, can gain as developers would take out loans to carry out revitalization projects. Physical resources such as land will be taken over by the private sector for purposes of redevelopment. Porter's definition supports this argument. He defines it as 'the creation of jobs and sustainable business activity that benefit disadvantaged inner-city residents'. Stone (1993) points out that businesses have been supported by the elite and middle-class consumers seeking a

more exciting downtown and attractive, centrally located housing. Which means that once housing in the inner city is well developed and other entertainment facilities are put in place, not only will people with low incomes find jobs, but middle-income earners and the elite will also start coming back to the now attractive inner city. Unfortunately, this does not apply to Mbabane.

Stone (1993) goes on to state that in many cities redevelopment strategies have been successful in creating a revitalized core. The numbers of people working have increased and tourists and suburbanites have patronized the refurbished hotels and restaurants in the renovated shopping districts. By improving the housing stock in the inner city the local government can take advantage of the professional middle class, who easily get torn between the attraction of the peaceful comfort of living in the suburbs and the excitement of a hectic, and often too expensive, urban life. A revitalized housing stock, whether it is for business enterprise, offices or residential apartments, offers tremendous benefits both economically and socially. Although inner-city life can have certain adverse health effects, for instance psychological health problems, urbanism, microbial hazards, physical and chemical hazards, urban life does confer certain benefits such as readier access to health care and education facilities, and financial and social services. Community life can be rich and fulfilling, the urban environment is diverse, stimulating and full of opportunities, according to Hardoy et al. (2001).

Invoking enabling housing strategies can actually improve the potential offered by inner cities. The literature has identified at least 18 areas of concern (enablers) that local government can focus on in order to improve the economic development of inner cities. These are: improving the public school system; upgrading infrastructure; streamlining regulations; training workers; land provision; security; getting business people, entrepreneurs, and investors to assume leadership roles; clearing business sites; marketing (welcoming investors, courting, organizing trade missions for the city, providing logistical information for new firms, etcetera); clean-up waivers for new firms; reduction and simplifying of the permitting process; increase subsidy provision on maintenance, repairs and conversions; easy rezoning of land to allow residential and retail development; tax exemptions and subsidies; training; consultative advise; retreat from ownership and regulation of production; offer business support services and information provision.

Looking at the Swaziland case study it is clear these inner-city revitalization strategies cannot all be applied. Infrastructure provision seems to hold much promise. Acioly (2005) has argued that high densities of people can support the provision of services. A high intensity of people can support the local supply chain and infrastructure can be provided at lower unit costs. Improved infrastructure and well maintained roads and services will attract more investment in housing and more businesses and investors will come to the city. Housing promotes compactness, and a compact city is claimed to be economically viable.

In general terms, Porter 1997, Acioly 1999 and Thomas, 2001, who each carried out an analysis of some major city experiences on revitalization including Glasgow, Rotterdam, São Paulo, Rio and Curitiba, have proposed the following instruments and programmes for a successful revitalization programme:

- Government to be in driving seat of process-capital spending;
- Incentivizing the private sector through flexibilization of zoning and land use regulations;
- Intense public participation;
- Three approaches to revitalization (conservation, rehabilitation, redevelopment);
- Develop and assign precincts;
- Creation of jobs that benefit disadvantaged inner-city residents;
- Recognizing and enhancing the inherent advantages of an inner city location (Porter 1997);
- Involve corporations in inner city issues;
- Mix-use land development approach (Acioly 1999);
- Local Authorities (LA) to take the lead and overhaul their business attraction operations (Thomas, 2001);
- Both LA and local stakeholders to have role to play;
- Public Private Partnerships for generation of additional funding.

Conclusion
In conclusion, this paper has highlighted the policy areas and vital roles played by municipalities in improving the inner cities' economic development. The Mbabane municipal council experience provides important lessons on types of problems usually encountered in rebuilding central city economies. Such problems range from the inability of the municipality to take into account the

locational advantages of inner-city areas to a government that assumes a passive role in municipal matters. The literature reviewed in this paper provides useful lessons on how to tackle these problems. These experiences show that a continuing long-term working partnership between the private sector, the local municipality and the government is required. The private sector can mobilize its economic power to increase the competitive advantage of inner cities. It cannot, however, do the job alone or by working as individual businesses. It was also discussed how housing can support inner-city economic development by generating employment and providing an aesthetic inner city that attracts investors, the middle class and the elite back into the inner city. A few enabling strategies were then discussed as they pertain to the city of Mbabane in Swaziland. Enablers that were found to have the potential to enable inner-city revitalization in Mbabane were infrastructure provision, incentivizing the private sector through flexibilization of zoning and land use regulations and densification.

Recommendations

The Mbabane inner city is plagued by inadequate maintenance and the lack of new provision of infrastructure. As a result the inner city is run down, buildings are old and roads have potholes. One way for the municipality to solve the problem could be through partnership with some private firms to maintain the infrastructure and also invest in some capital projects for new infrastructure, such as environmental upgrades of the roads near the old bus terminal which could attract more businesses back into the city. The other enabling strategy could be to clear business sites in readiness for investors to start on construction. As an enabling act the municipality can also consider the provision of subsidies for maintenance, repairs and conversions of inner-city buildings as a project to revitalize the city. In this way old buildings could be painted and given a face lift. The spin off from this could be experiencing investors coming back to the city and hence a better economic development of the city.

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Staking a Claim – Making Lusaka City's Public Space Public Again

Mphangela Nkonge

Introduction

Compared to other cities in the world that experienced decline which then sparked a city response in the form of revitalization and regeneration efforts, Lusaka City's present need for redevelopment comes from the exponential growth the city has experienced. Not only as a result of population growth but also in its physical form as a result of increased activity in the commercial and residential sector. Lusaka City struggles to translate this positive economic growth into positive social outcomes for its inhabitants, rendering its current path of development unsustainable.

Cities in Western Europe, the USA and South Africa have for many years sought to use regeneration as a tool to attempt to achieve a more sustainable urban development and to use this tool to create more vibrant and liveable cities. A city such as Lusaka that is striving 'to develop into a middle income country' through economic development initiatives, has to ask key questions as it pursues this development. What does a sustainable and liveable city look like? How can the positive economic outcomes translate into positive results for all who access the city?

As a consideration of these themes of sustainability and liveability in the context of redevelopment and regeneration, this paper focuses on the threads that hold the numerous pockets of development: that which is 'accessed by all' – its public space. It tries to capture how Lusaka City expresses itself through its public space.

Problem Definition

The paper identifies as a problem the fact that the opportunity presented by the economic growth evident in Lusaka City is not reflected in its urban fabric and more specifically its public space. The current development of the urban fabric is incoherent, taking place in exclusionary pockets of development whose benefits are enjoyed by a privileged few.

Objective

The objective of the paper is to show that Lusaka, through selected elements of its public space, is a city of exclusion. The following discussion is also intended to show, through the review of the literature, that the sustainable ideal that includes creating an inclusive city can be achieved using public space.

Conceptual Framework

What Is Public Space?

There are numerous viewpoints that help to provide a working definition of what public space is, though as Minton (2006) highlights it is a difficult concept to define as there are few spaces that are truly public. An attempt will, however, be made to provide a working definition that creates a context in which the spaces in Lusaka can be considered.

Most literature, in a simplistic and somewhat crude way, describes public space as a space that is 'accessed by all'. Woolley et al. (2004), for instance, describe it as a space that is open to all regardless of gender, age or ethnic background. Francis (1988) goes further and highlights the collective aspect of public space, describing it as 'common ground'. The social dimension and role that public space plays is also brought forward in attempts to define it. It is seen as a place that allows social interaction, a place where a city's inhabitants can come out of their private enclaves and have conversations in the public realm (Minton, 2006). This makes public space significant in an urban context as it holds together and connects the different elements in the private realm and works like a balancing tool of the private and built form (Schjetnan, 2006).

From a historical viewpoint Minton (2006) traces the concept of public space back to Ancient Greece and states that during this time the embodiment of public space was seen through spaces such as parks, markets, public squares and streets. Dating back to these times public space is seen as a place where democracy is played out and where citizenship can be expressed (Minton, 2006). In ancient times it is where public voting took place. Schjetnan (2006) asserts how these spaces can determine how equitable and democratic a city is. In this context of democracy and citizenship, public space is described as a place that allows a city's residents to have access to the city regardless of background or economic status (Woolley et al., 2004) and the extent to which this happens declares

how democratic or equitable a city is (Schjetnan, 2006). A further understanding of public space would lead to looking at access and ownership and as Minton (2006) states, for public space this is usually associated with government.

Schjetnan (2006) sums up nicely the view of public space that this discussion would like to put forward:

> Public open spaces are democratic city spaces par excellence; one place belonging to and for everyone. Streets, boulevards, cultural facilities, public gardens, squares, parks and nature reserves constitute a vacuum, a negative space that gives its form, organizes, structures and embellishes the city, allows it to breathe and live.

Public Space in the Context of Urban Regeneration
In the context of urban regeneration strategies public space plays a key and vital role in achieving quality urban environments. Cities like Johannesburg have identified this in their regeneration strategies and have made improving public space an integral part of the city's redevelopment (City of Johannesburg, 2005). In a report commissioned to review literature on the value of public space, Woolley et al. (2004) show that there is great benefit in investing in public space. It promotes good health, both mental and physical, in so far as it provides space for physical activity and mental relief from the built form. This is a point that Chiesura (2004) also puts across in her research on public parks in the urban environment. Woolley et al. (2004) show further that public space is crucial for the development of children, it gives them access to play and this enables them to gain a range of positive social skills to prepare them for adult life. Unfortunately, and as Woolley et al. point out for the UK, there are increasingly limited options for children to play freely in safe and well managed environments. Another aspect already highlighted above when looking at the definition is that public space provides a social dimension to the development of urban space as it allows communities to interact; provide a sense of place; make decisions together (Woolley et al., 2004). Finally and as also indicated above, public space links the different aspects of the urban environment together. Woolley et al. emphasize the aspect of mobility and show how public space reconciles the different forms of transport – an important aspect for any regeneration strategy.

Public space provides various avenues for public policy to use the space as a tool to create sustainable urban environments and encourage socially cohesive communities. This should be the ideal norm but as the next section indicates the reality plays out differently.

The Loss of Public Space to the Private Realm
Winkler (2009) draws attention to how free market strategies have formed a basis for urban regeneration policy and how the private sector is now the favoured avenue through which regeneration is established. Her research on the strategies implemented for Johannesburg City's Vision 2030, inform her critique on this free market approach that focuses economic growth at the expense of social development. She calls for 'a more inclusive, redistributive and active approach to regeneration', an approach that does not view the city's ills as elements that need to be sanitized and one that does not involve the public sector being 'mere agents' of the private sector. Winkler's critique of the regeneration approach used in Johannesburg is based on the basic premise that the 'purpose of planning is to promote social, economic and spatial justice'.

Similarities can be extracted from Winkler's analysis above for regeneration policy in general and public space more specifically. Minton (2006) talks of a 'quiet revolution' that has seen the emergence of a private-public space model in the development of public areas where the free market actively plays a role in controlling and defining public space. Francis, (1988) in his early offering on the changing values of public space, highlights how privatization has caused an alteration in the public landscape. The folly of this being that privatization is advanced by private interests that want more control over space users and behaviour. Francis laments that the spaces have evolved into spaces that are not truly public and therefore not accessible as developers seek increasingly to control space. Minton (2006) takes this analysis of privatization of public space further and points out how the main feature of these 'private-public' spaces is to govern the behaviour of the users. She goes further to offer criticism similar to Francis (1988) of public space's ability to inhibit public access and displace social problems to their neighbouring 'ghettoised enclaves'.

Further reflection of public space provided by facilities such as shopping malls and sports centres amplifies the discussion above on the 'commodification' of public spaces and facilities. Lloyd and Auld (2003) touch on this extensively as they discuss the connection between leisure, public space and quality of life. They express the idea that these facilities run on a commercial basis, for example, retail facilities such as shopping malls and sports facilities are 'legally capable of excluding socially

stigmatized and disruptive elements'. Therefore, they are not truly public and the access of the city's inhabitants to these spaces is limited and in turn leads to limited opportunities for the city's inhabitants to have access.

The trends described above contrast greatly with the discussion on the inclusive and cohesive ideal in the urban environment that public space can help achieve. It brings to the fore concepts of inequality and exclusion where inequality is 'seen to relate to one's economic status and access to resources' and exclusion 'relates to the degree of integration encouraged in society and one's access to participation in public life' (Lloyd and Auld, 2003). Exclusion and inequality reflect differences in the urban environment that, if allowed to continue, lead to restrictions and polarizing of groups of city inhabitants, limiting their ability to decide where and how to live (www.inclusivecity.com).

This brief overview of the literature on public space provides a contextual framework and sets the background for the subsequent discussion of Lusaka City's public space. Before looking at specific elements of the city's public space, a brief analysis of the existing status of Lusaka City in general will now follow.

Situational Analysis
Lusaka City – Incoherent Development

> Churches, hotels, schools, banks, museums, libraries, a swimming bath and 'neighbourhood centres' of small shops and post offices. These were all in his mind, and, in carrying out his ideas, the Government has never lost sight of the fact that this nucleus of offices and houses will one day become the city of manifold activities that he imagined. Every step in its development can be most carefully regulated. There is no reason why ugly houses, slovenly shops and garages, overcrowding or, in fact, any of the evils that characterize a city of undirected growth should ever arise. (Bradley, 1981)

The present reality of Lusaka's current urban form contrasts greatly with the vision of the city's colonial planners. The city's development has reached a stage where it is far removed from the well regulated ideal imagined by its forefathers. The uncontrolled growth the city experiences indicates a city that struggles to follow a clear urban development path that would lead it to assume the status of a functional and inclusive city.

In an analysis carried out on the expansion of Lusaka's built up area from 2000 to 2007 (MLGH et al., 2009), it was observed that major changes had occurred in the city's structure. The study shows evidence of sprawl in the north, central-east and south-west areas (figure 1). MLGH et al. documented the land use change of the city between 1999 and 2000 and the report shows that major changes occurred in the formal and informal residential areas and the rural small holdings areas. The percentage increase recorded in the analysis of the aforementioned areas, as a percentage share of the total area of the city, accounted for a change from 35 per cent to 54 per cent. The analysis proceeds to highlight further that the largest change in the abovementioned areas is exhibited in the urban fringes where mostly low-density residential development has taken place and that accounts for a 21 per cent share increase. MLGH et al. contrast this increase in residential land use with a decrease in what is classified as natural/unutilized land. This land in the urban fringe shows an astounding percentage decrease of 47 per cent to 11 per cent (2009).

Figure 1
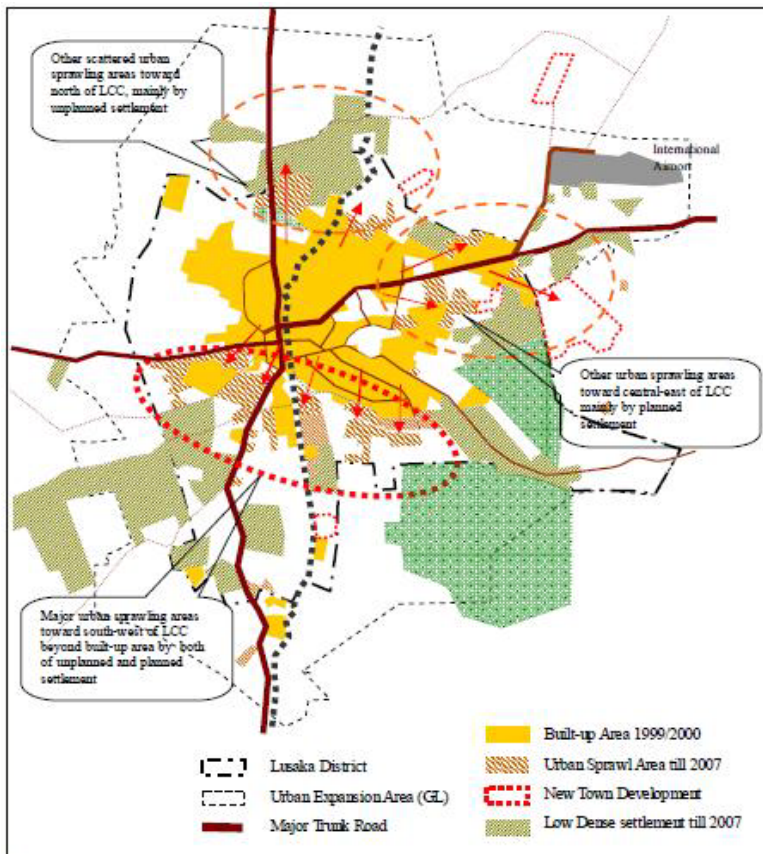
Urban Sprawl In Lusaka City – An illustration of the sprawl that has occurred in Lusaka City
from 1999 to 2007
Source: (MLGH et al., 2009)

This evidence of sprawl, a major indicator of change in the city's form, is not restricted to the residential sector. Increased demand in the commercial and light industrial sectors has caused a major shift from the traditional central business district to other areas of the city. Market updates prepared by one of the leading real estate agents in the country (Knight Frank, 2010a; Knight Frank, 2010b) indicate demand in commercial and retail space and underlines the limitations of the city's current urban fabric as a driver of demand for prime modern accommodation. Knight Frank's report (2010a) predicts that the city will continue to develop towards the south which is fast becoming a node for office, retail and light industrial development. This report further highlights major developments in the retail sector and the increase in development of retail centres in the suburbs of the city (figure 2). The increased activity is evidenced by new developments around the city including Manda Hill Shopping Mall, approximately 21,000 m^2 of retail space and recently completed Cairo Road Mall, which comprises approximately 3,200 m^2 of office and retail space (Knight Frank, 2010a).

Figure 2

New Retail Developments in Lusaka

Left Photo: Cairo Road Mall, Cairo Road, Central Business District, Lusaka; Right Photo: Manda Hill Shopping Mall Under Construction, Great East Road, Rhodes Park, Lusaka
Source: Author's own

Increased activity in Lusaka's real estate sector is a key indicator of positive economic growth and as highlighted above for the property sector, the city is a key destination for investment. On a macroeconomic level, the Country Report for Zambia prepared by the Economic Intelligence Unit (2010) indicates signs of economic growth including an increase in real GDP which is forecast to rise this year as a result of increase in agricultural production and mining activity; and also a decline in the fiscal deficit as a result of an increase in mining revenue and also a predicted success by the Central Bank of Zambia in achieving price stability during 2010 and 2011. The report (Economic Intelligence Unit, 2010) forecasts real GDP growth to be at what it states is a reasonable 6.5 per cent in 2011.

Lusaka City is one of the largest urban districts in Zambia and presents a 33 per cent share of the nation's total urban population (MLGH et al., 2009; UNHabitat, 2007). The changes in the city's structure and form alluded to above have been attributed to the pressures that the city's growing population exerts on its physical form. The Urban Development Plan (MLGH et al., 2009) highlights that the city's population grew from 761,000 people in 1990 to 1,085,000 in 2000 and to a further 1,385,000 people in 2007. This increase of approximately 600,000 people has occurred over a period of 17 years. Further statistics provided in the Lusaka Urban Profile (UNHabitat, 2007) indicate that the annual population growth rate in the city was 4 per cent during the 1990-2000 period compared with a national growth rate of 2.9 per cent for the same period. UNHabitat (2007) accredits this increase to, among other things, increased migration into the city due to the economic status of the city.

Both the formal and informal sectors have contributed to the changing urban landscape in Lusaka. Formal activity takes place in an environment where there is limited supporting infrastructure which poses a challenge for private enterprise and individuals and their efforts to meet their varying needs. The Economic Intelligence Unit Country Report (2010) highlights as hindering factors, among others, the development of private enterprise, the failed efforts to improve infrastructure and undertake public infrastructure projects at the required scale. The Knight Frank market updates (2010a; 2010b) also hint at the importance of this infrastructure provision for future development of the real estate sector. Further still, the Urban Development Plan (MLGH et al., 2010) draws attention to Lusaka's constant struggle to deal with its increasing urban infrastructure needs and highlights the physical evidence of this struggle. A good example that highlights this limitation is the congestion of the main spinal roads of the city (figure 3).

Figure 3

Long queue at Kafue Roundabout
Photograph: JICA Study Team

Traffic at Kafue Roundabout
Photograph: JICA Study Team

Congestion in the Inner City
Left Photo: Long queue at Kafue Roundabout; Right Photo: Traffic at Kafue Roundabout, both photos taken in the central part of the city
Source: (MLGH et al., 2009)

The Local Authority, through JICA, carried out a comprehensive analysis of the transport network in Lusaka City and its effects on the development of the Urban Development Plan (MLGH et al., 2009). The transport network has mainly focused on motorized transport and has not changed significantly in the last 40 years. MLGH et al. highlight that in 2001 there were 181,000 registered vehicles in Lusaka

out of a total of 250,000 registered vehicles nationwide. At the time Lusaka City accounted for 84 per cent of the total number of registered vehicles. The resulting effect has been congestion on the roads; limited development of pedestrian facilities such as walkways and limited coverage, especially for public transport (MLGH/JICA, 2009).

The informal sector, as already mentioned above, is a major contributor to the changing form of the city and this is especially evident in the residential sector. In breaking down the challenges Lusaka City faces, the Urban Development Plan (2009) highlights the 'unimproved living environment', which is broken down into problems related to the city's housing and supporting infrastructure. Tembo (2007), in her research on commercial developer activity in the low-medium income housing sector, shows that the informal sector has over a 30 year period, (which she documents from the 1970s to the early 2000s) played a major role in contributing to the housing sector – specifically by producing more than three times the number of units produced by the formal sector. The recent Knight Frank market updates (2010a; 2010b) indicate that shortages in the low- to medium-income formal residential segments continue to persist as evidenced by the continued demand for this type of housing – providing a ripe environment for the informal sector to thrive in.

Lusaka City's development takes place mostly as a result of the efforts of private enterprise and individuals meeting their various accommodation needs. In contrast with this form of development is the inadequacy of the infrastructure that supports it. Against the backdrop of the earlier highlighted increase in economic development and the change in the city's form there lies a detachment between this increased growth and the threads that hold the individual occurrences of development together – public infrastructure, open space, social and recreational facilities. Herein begins the discussion and focus of this paper: the inadequacy of public space provision and the negative effects it has on the city and its inhabitants.

Lusaka's Public Space

The treatment of public space in Lusaka can be linked, as Nchito (2009) has done, to the policy of the day at any given period during the city's life. Nchito shows how the city's public space has gone from a period of control as a result of the colonialists desire to exclude and allow only a select few to patronize the space to the post-independence period that removed any barriers to access and reached a point of 'liberalization' that has given access to anyone that has the ability to utilize the space. Lusaka City's public spaces present an urban environment of exclusion and inaccessibility, themes that become clearer as these spaces are discussed hereinafter.

For purposes of this discussion, limited elements of the city's public space are presented and the focus is on the central area of Lusaka City, although references to other parts of the city shall be made.

Public Markets

There are five areas designated as markets in the central area of Lusaka out of a total of 57 recognized markets in the entire city (Nchito, 2009). These markets specifically, are COMESA Market, which brings traders in the COMESA region together to trade their various goods; City Market, which is located behind one of the main bus terminals in the city; the New Soweto Market, recently constructed; Soweto Market, an informal market; and the Town Centre Market, located in the central part of the CBD. Figure 4 below highlights the areas under discussion. As indicated above, four of the markets mentioned have been formally provided by the local authority and in some cases with the assistance of donor funding, for instance the European Union funded the New Soweto Market (Changala, 2010).

Through her study on informal trading spaces in Lusaka Nchito (2009) draws attention to several problems the spaces present that render them places of exclusion and to a certain extent make them inaccessible. Firstly, she shows how the informal sector has organized itself to provide solutions as a result of the limitations of formal sector initiatives. These areas of economic activity display an interesting interplay of formal and informal activity. The existence of informal within the immediate vicinity of the formal is amplified in the case of Soweto Market which adjoins City Market and the New Soweto Market (see figure 4). From the visual image, it is easy to get a sense that the informal sector contributes greatly to the city development, a point already raised earlier in the discussion.

Figure 4
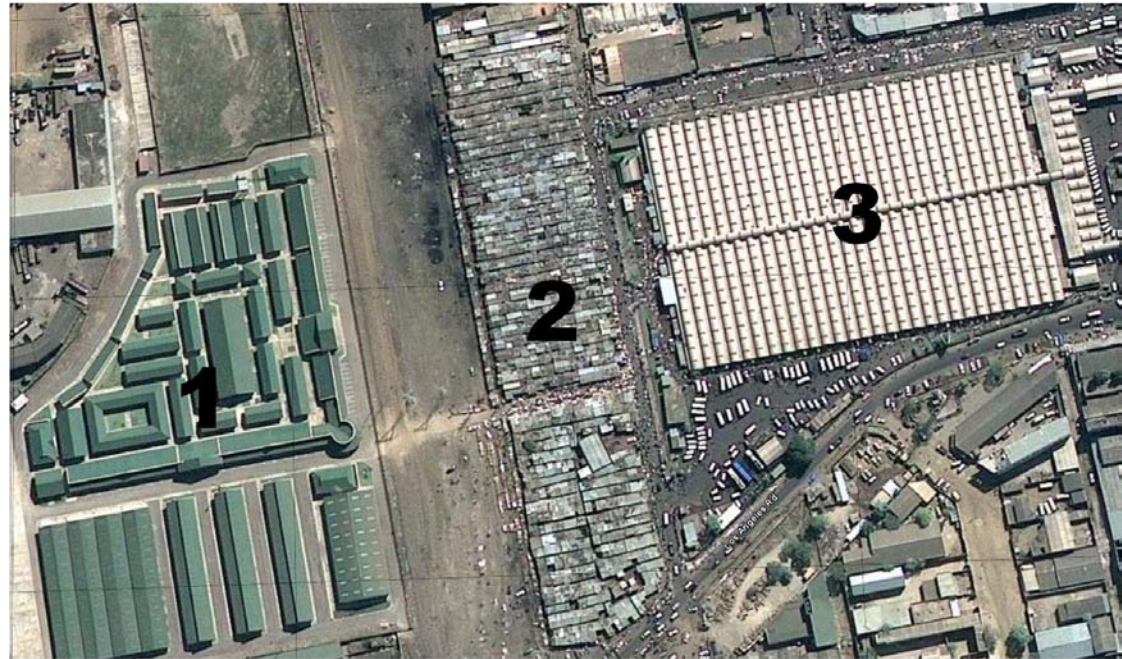
Lusaka City Public Markets – Location of Lusaka's markets within the city centre
Left: Aerial view of City Centre *Right:* Aerial View of Soweto Market, new and old showing the clear difference between formal and informal activity
Key
   1. New Soweto Market   2. Soweto Market (informal)   3. City Market 4. Town Centre Market 5. COMESA Market
Source: Maps - Google maps

The informal market's existence arose as a result of traders being pushed out of existing trading space to pave way for the construction of the New Soweto Market and also as a result of the inability of many to access the facility and to pay the rent required to be there. The provision of formal trading spaces has resulted in the discrimination of who patronizes the new market infrastructure, which is unfortunately based on ability to pay, social status, gender and political inclination (Nchito, 2009). Entrance of the formal sector through groups such as the civil servants that have the ability to pay exacerbates the problem of exclusion and discrimination as the vulnerable are pushed further out.

In addition to the above points she raises, Nchito further draws attention to the congestion and location of the markets, which discourage potential buyers who prefer easier options to access to goods. There is a constant battle by traders to be closer to the demand, evident by the vending in the streets, and as a result of the status quo many individuals feel left out and marginalized, as the new developments benefit only a select few (Nchito, 2009). The tug of war between the formal and informal continues to be played out through street vendors who spill onto the streets as a result of, what the authorities say, is limited trading space (www.lusakatimes.com, 2009). The authorities constantly struggle with solutions to the problem and often send out conflicting policy views. On the one hand you have the government courting street vendors with the creation of the 'Vendors' desk at State House, which sent out a message of tolerance during the former President Chiluba's era in the 1990s (Nchito, 2009), on the other hand public statements are made declaring that the practice should be eliminated (lusakatimes.com).

Open Space and Recreation
Open spaces in Lusaka City are either absorbed into the built areas by private entities that are able to pay and influence their development, left unmanaged and dilapidated, or fall into the hands of individuals that use them as places of enterprise that benefit their individual needs. Active, vibrant and safe places for children to play and families to rest and interact are conspicuously missing in the city's fabric. The Kids' Play Park in Northmead area is a good example of this. The Park was entrusted to the hands of a local celebrity and was designed to offer a safe place for children to play and also to be used as a centre for other educational programmes (www.times.co.zm, 2005). Since its inception in 2003, the park has not opened its doors to the public or, to judge by the current level of inactivity (figure 5), has not reached its intended users.

Figure 5 – Lusaka's Public Space

Lusaka's Open Spaces - Kids Play Park, Great East Road, Northmead, Lusaka
Source: Photos Author's own

There are clear contrasts between the existing open spaces that are still considered 'public' and within the control of the local authority and space held in private hands. The recent development of retail facilities in the city's suburbs has seen the provision of improved public space. Observations made earlier on the development of the retail sector have shown the increasing demand for retail facilities that provide the 'Shopping Mall' culture. These developments have done much to provide the public with variety in terms of places to socialize and interact beyond their private limits – provision of facilities such as coffee shops, restaurants, cinemas, etcetera (figure 6). The demand certainly seems to be able to support developments such as Manda Hill, the management of which embarked on

extensive investments to expand the retail centre from a 22,180-m^2 facility to a 41,391-m^2 mall, comparable to larger centres found in the neighbouring region (mandahillmall.com).

Figure 6

Lusaka Retail Developments – Public Space at Arcades Shopping Centre, Great East Road, Lusaka
Source: Taken by the author

These centres, however, offer 'commodified' public space that supports the commercial function that they are developed to serve (Lloyd and Auld, 2003). They support a suburban lifestyle that is enjoyed by a small percentage of the city's population. Further commodification of public space is evidenced in other areas of the city where open space is available but held in private hands in the form of recreation facilities, for example Chainama Hills Golf Club, Polo Club (MLGH et al, 2009). The Urban Development Plan draws attention to the limited recreational facilities that the city has and how this poses a challenge to its development.

Reflections
From the elements of Lusaka's public space looked at, one sees aspects of exclusion and inequality emerging. This contrasts greatly with the development vision of sustainability that the city wishes to pursue. The Urban Development Plan document (2009) outlines the development vision as: 'Stimulating the sustainable, environment friendly and economically strong development of Greater Lusaka, to attain the community hope and opportunity, by providing a world class and competitive business and living environment by the year 2030.'

The literature supports the view that good quality public space contributes greatly to addressing sustainability in urban environments (Chiesura, 2004; Lloyd and Auld, 2003; and Woolley et al., 2004). There is also an agreement that the development of these spaces as a way of enhancing quality of life is often overlooked during the process of regeneration or redevelopment. Lloyd and Auld point out (as Chiesura did to some extent in her analysis of the role of urban parks) that a focus on economic growth reduces the possibility of an equally weighted social response of improving the quality of life for urban residents other than that provided by private investment. It gives the sense that this alone is not enough to achieve more positive social outcomes. Winkler (2009) also argues this very strongly.

The examples provided in analysing public space in Lusaka point to a disengagement on the part of the public sector in taking responsibility for public space, a point Nchito (2009) raises. What is interesting to note, as Nchito highlights, is how the government detaches itself from this responsibility by consistently failing to provide a design response that is able to match the needs of the majority of inhabitants. She goes further to document how in the case of open space the informal sector has taken this opportunity created by the void the government leaves to pursue its own business objectives. The results are seen in the city's physical form – limited opportunities for good-quality public space and growth motivated by individual developer interests not connected in a cohesive way.

Missed Opportunities
The economic growth the city has experienced and continues to experience should provide positive outcomes for the city, but in reality and quite unfortunately this does not manifest itself in its current

form. It comes down to simple things like providing a safe place for pedestrians to walk and cyclists to ride; providing an experience of culture where one feels connected to the development of the city; developing a city that respects the users regardless of background or status. Lusaka City struggles to use its public space as tools of inclusion and translates liberalization and 'enabling' to mean passing all responsibility to the market. This sends a sad message to the inhabitants of the city, the majority of whom struggle daily to make it through the day.

It is disheartening to see the loss of opportunities that the city's public space presents: a children's play park that has never been opened for its intended purpose and lies in the hands of a local celebrity, and markets that prevent the vulnerable from supporting their families.

Moving Forward

In the redevelopment of Lusaka City's urban form a consideration of alternative approaches that embrace a more inclusive move towards urban development is needed. As Winkler (2009) suggests there is a need to engage more inclusive policies rather than policies that provide a disconnect between equity in the social environment and the pursuit of economic growth. In focusing on Lusaka City's public space this paper has shown that this disconnect does exist in the city.

As this space is not dedicated to looking at alternative approaches, mere highlights of alternative thought in literature will be made as suggestions for consideration for Lusaka. They certainly form a basis for future research efforts in trying to formulate better policies with regard to redevelopment of the city.

A starting point and an approach already considered in the Urban Development Plan (MLGH et. al, 2009) would be to view public space as a network of places specifically arranged and organized within the context of surrounding developments. The challenge with the implementation of this is the extent to which the users accept and participate in its formulation. As already viewed from the preceding analysis, Lusaka City's current space does not function well in terms of providing access to all and also in encouraging community ownership.

'Place Attachment' as suggested by Minton (2006) seeks to provide a strong sense of place and identity and involves engaging the community so as to inform the development agenda or goal of a community. Minton highlights a number of projects in the UK where this has led to successful redevelopment projects such as the Tate Modern Gallery in London.

An alternative focuses on translating and achieving the aims of the inclusive city into a physical form and suggests specific design criteria that include functionality, context sensitivity and equitable impacts (www.inclusivecity.com). These criteria are to be used within the context of an inclusive policy framework aimed at presenting a more progressive planning policy that provides a balance between 'community good' and the 'right to develop'.

As highlighted above, there are several alternatives that can be explored and a select few have been mentioned here. They present several avenues of opportunity that exist to give Lusaka City's urban environment a turnaround that would enable its inhabitants to enjoy its prosperity.

Future Research Avenues

In moving forward and concluding this conversation on Lusaka's public space it is important to consider future avenues for research that can be used to gain answers that can inform the direction of development. Firstly, what tools can be used to channel the positive economic growth that Lusaka city is experiencing and what lessons can be learnt from other cities that have achieved better social outcomes in their development agendas? Another aspect that can be considered for future research is the role of participation on the part of the city's inhabitants (individuals, professionals, civil society) to inform development. To what extent does participation take place and does it make a difference? What avenue is the best to achieve more positive social outcomes of development and what tools can be employed to achieve this?

Conclusion

In conclusion, the development of the city has to reach a certain level of sustainability. Public spaces are important as a sense of pride and unity can be expressed through these spaces that are 'collectively' owned. Providing this sense of place is important to try to help counter the negative aspects of the city. It is clear that the current development of Lusaka does not promote a sense of community but a 'survival of the fittest attitude' where the vulnerable are left to fend for themselves, sometimes in deplorable and saddening conditions.

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Mazuba Webb Muchindu

Abstract

This article examines the signs of decay in Lusaka and the challenges the city faces in terms of revitalization. This is in spite of the numerous advantages Lusaka has, such as being centrally located and having a good market for retail and wholesale businesses, financial services, fast foods, restaurants, education, entertainment, health services, housing and so forth, which the paper argues have not been fully utilized. The article notes that, although some developments are taking place in the inner city, such as the construction of new buildings, the scale of development remains low compared to the demand for infrastructure and various services in the inner city.

The decay and low scale of development is attributed to the economic problems the country has gone through since the 1970s and a lack of appreciation of the importance of cities to the economy, especially by the government.

Introduction

Lusaka, the capital of Zambia, is a relatively small but thriving city with a number of advantages, particularly in the inner city. As is characteristic of most inner cities (Porter, 1995; 1997), these include its central location and the large consumer market for retail and wholesale businesses, financial services, fast foods, restaurants, education, entertainment, health services, housing and so forth. Lusaka dominates the country's urban system and accounts for 32 per cent of the total urban population in the country. Between 1990 and 2000 the population of Lusaka grew from 991,225 to 1,432,401, which translates into an annual growth rate of 3.8 per cent. The GDP share of the city is estimated to be around 50 per cent or more, based on VAT revenue in the city and Zambia as of 2005. The economic activities of the country are concentrated in the capital city (CSO, 2000; MLGH, LCC and JICA, 2007). However, these advantages have not been fully utilized. Although some developments are taking place in the inner city, such as the construction of new buildings covering a range of uses such as office space, residential accommodation, shopping, entertainment and so on, the development has been on a low scale compared to the demand for infrastructure and various services in the city.

In addition to the low scale of development, there are signs of decay of the physical state of the infrastructure and a decline in economic and social activity in Lusaka, particularly in the central business district (CBD). This is a cause for concern and a wake-up call that revitalization is an issue that Lusaka, like other cities in southern Africa such as Johannesburg, must seriously start looking at.

Apart from the challenges in the city centre, Lusaka also faces the problem of the existence of unplanned settlements just adjacent to the city centre. This presents a whole range of different challenges to the development of the city because of the enormity and complexity of the problems in these settlements.

This paper examines these challenges in relation to the instruments and policy framework that have been used and also attempts to give reasons why these instruments and policies have not been very successful.

The paper will start by giving a socioeconomic background of Lusaka, followed by the institutional and policy framework for urban development in Lusaka and Zambia. Then the paper will look at the signs of decay that are present in inner-city Lusaka and other difficulties the city faces with regard to its development. It argues that the decay and low rate of development in the inner city is mainly due to the protracted period of economic problems the country has gone through since the 1970s, and the lack of appreciation of the importance of cities to the economy, especially by the government. The paper ends by drawing lessons from inner-city revitalization that other cities in the region and other developing regions can learn from, particularly the need to put the development of cities at the top of the national or city development agenda.

In this paper, the inner city is defined in a broad sense, with the area extending beyond the CBD. Hence both the CBD and the area outside will be looked at in this article. Other key words are inner-city decay and revitalization. Inner-city decay is understood as 'the process of physical, social and economic deterioration that confronts cities and central neighbourhoods'. Inner-city revitalization, on the other hand, refers to 'an urban renewal approach that intends to reverse the process of physical deterioration and social and economic decline that prevents urban areas and their inhabitants from being an integrated part of the current urban development process' (Acioly, 1999:9).

Socioeconomic Background of Lusaka

Lusaka City is the capital of Zambia and is located in Lusaka Province, in central Zambia. It is the economic, cultural and transportation centre of the nation. It shares boundaries with Chongwe, Mumbwa, Chibombo and Kafue districts. Along with the Copper Belt Province, Lusaka is one of the most urbanized areas in Zambia, with a population of 1,385,000, and a density of 3,300 persons/km^2, according to the Central Statistical Office (CSO). There are two indigenous ethnic groups in the city, namely the Solis and the Lenjes, both of which are still found. Poverty levels in the city are quite high, at 52 per cent. But compared to the overall poverty levels in Zambia, which are around 73 per cent, Lusaka actually has the lowest poverty levels of all the provinces in Zambia. Notwithstanding, most households in the city suffer from chronic poverty and live in informal settlements (CSO, 2000).

The city is the major centre of all economic activities in Zambia, accounting for about 4,000, or 50 per cent, of all establishments (about 7,900) in Zambia as of November 2007 according to the CSO. Although there are no official data on the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) by region, the GDP share of the city is estimated to be around 50 per cent or more, based on VAT revenue in the city and Zambia as of 2005. Despite the concentration of economic activities or wealth (value-added) in the city, the urban economic structure is still dominated by the informal sector. Of the estimated labour force of 470,000 in the city in 2005, the informal sector accounted for 192,000, or 41 per cent, of the labour force, followed by the formal sector (190,000, or 40 per cent) and finally the unemployed (88,000, or 19 per cent) (CSO, 2000).

However, employment in the formal sector has increased from 122,000 in 1999 to 199,000 in 2005. This is attributed to the recent deregulation and privatization policies of the government, which have improved the city's foreign and domestic investments during the period 2000 to 2006. About 60 per cent of the total investment is concentrated in the city, and its employment creation is estimated to be about 28,000 during the period mentioned (CSO, 2000; MLGH, LCC and JICA, 2009; U-HABITAT, 2007).

Institutional and Legal Framework for Urban Development in Zambia

To provide a clearer context of development for Lusaka, it is also necessary to look at the institutional and legal framework for urban development in the country.

The Ministry of Local Government and Housing is the main body responsible for development in both urban and rural areas in Zambia. Some of its functions include regional and physical planning, valuation of property, provision and regulation of the water supply and sanitation, facilitation and provision of infrastructural services, the coordination of local government administration, and the regulation and provision of social amenities such as housing. At provincial level the MLGH performs its functions through the provincial Department of Physical Planning and Housing (MFNP, 2002).

At district and municipal levels councils play a key role in terms of development. The functions of local authorities include the enforcement of building standards, planning and regulation of land use and new developments, the management of upgrading schemes, and the allocation of land. LCC's efforts in the development of the city are supplemented by community-based organizations (CBOs) like Resident Development Committees (RDCs), especially in the peri-urban areas of the city and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). The Lusaka District Development Coordinating Committee is the forum where the council collaborates with local stakeholders on development issues and programmes. Its membership comprises representatives of the council, government departments that operate in the city, NGOs, CBOs, and other stakeholders in the development of the city (UN-HABITAT, 2007; World Bank, 2002).

In terms of legal framework, the 1991 Local Government Act provides the institutional framework for the administration of local councils in Zambia, while the Town and Country Planning Act (Chapter 475 and Revised Chapter 283) provides a framework for planning and control of development in the main cities and towns of Zambia. In addition, the Public Health Act CAP 291 helps the enforcement of building regulations and the curbing of public nuisance (Ibid, 2007).

For unplanned settlements, the institutional and legal framework differs slightly. The principal law for guiding developments in squatter settlements is the Housing (Statutory and Improvement Areas) Act CAP 194, not the Town and Country Planning Act. Housing (Statutory and Improvement Areas) Act CAP 441 gives powers to the Minister of Local Government and Housing to declare any informal settlement an Improvement Area. Only then does an area that started as an informal settlement come under the jurisdiction of a local authority in terms of development and service provision. Land rights in Improvement Areas are conferred through the issuance of an occupancy licence. The occupancy

licence does not confer title to land but mere occupancy rights to a dwelling or house on a piece of land for a 30-year period, which can be extended (Sichone, 2009).

It must be noted that the above institutional and legal framework has certain challenges that may impede development in the inner city. Some of these are discussed under the reasons for decay and limited growth below.

In practical terms, urban development is facilitated by city development plans. In the current development plan for 2006-2011, the city's vision is to have 'a world class, economically strong, green, and friendly city by the year 2030 . . . a modern and thriving capital city, symbolizing the whole country and functioning as a national and regional centre for policy, culture, science, technology, education, economy, and international trade' (MHLG, LCC and JICA 2009:96).

Development is further driven by other national development strategies such as the Vision 2030 which is a blueprint for Zambia's goal to become a middle-income country by 2030.

To realize these goals, government and LCC have employed various approaches, including public-private partnerships (PPPs) in a number of recent developments, for example in the construction of Kamwala market (Ibid, 2009). Lusaka has also relied on bilateral and multilateral agreements entered into by central government with different donor countries and international organizations in its efforts to develop the city. This has resulted in the implementation of programmes such as the sustainable cities programme with the assistance of SIDA, and the design of the current city development plan with JICA's assistance.

Signs of Inner-City Revitalization and Challenges

There are also a number of encouraging developments in Lusaka, such as finding new functions for land no longer in use. One example of this is the Levy Park Junction (junction of Church Road and Kabelenga Road), which used to be the premises of the Public Works Department. After a period of disuse it has now been cleared and in its place a K3.7 billion complex is being built which will comprise offices, residential accommodation, etcetera (http://www.daily-mail.co.zm/). Modern office blocks for corporate clients also continue to be built, for example the refurbishment and expansion of Food Fayre restaurant, which now houses the Fayre group as a whole on Cairo Road. Moving from the city centre eastwards, more developments can be seen, such as the Zamtel office buildings on Church Road; the Pyramid Plaza just next to the Southern Sun Hotel, in which, among others, the Banc ABC and World Bank (Zambia country offices) are accommodated; Elucida House just next to the Addis Ababa roundabout, etcetera. Shopping and entertainment facilities have been provided through the various shopping centres constructed on Kafue Road with Down Town Shopping Mall being the closest. It can therefore be concluded that the capital city is gradually undergoing a facelift (http://www.daily-mail.co.zm/). These investments are largely private-sector driven and are a demonstration of the potential the inner city has, and the contribution that the private sector can make to inner-city revitalization in a liberalized economy (GRZ, 2006; Zimba, 2010).

In spite of the above developments, the scale or level of development remains low compared to the demand for infrastructure and various social services in the inner city. For instance, while there is a high population growth in Lusaka, there has not been a corresponding effort to provide matching services in the expanding areas (UN-HABITAT, 2007). In addition there is lack of modern and accessible office accommodations, as most buildings in the inner city are old; traffic continues to increase leading to congested roads not to mention the poor state of most roads; housing demand continues to outpace supply with a large portion of housing in the country being informal and poorly serviced or not serviced at all; the water reticulation system is old and inadequate; land delivery is slow – and the list goes on (GRZ, 2002; GRZ, 2006; http://resources.knightfrank.com/; http://wescomproperty.com/lusaka.html).

Also, most of the new developments with a few exceptions have tended to move away from the inner city. This development may be welcome to some degree in that it is helping cater to the various needs of residents in the suburbs. However, the danger is that there is a possibility of losing focus on the inner city, resulting in serious decay in years to come if precautionary measures are not taken regarding the present trend of development.

Signs of Decay

Apart from the above challenges, signs of decay in the inner city are visible, particularly in the CBD. Office occupancy is low, for example, in a number of old buildings in the city centre, such as Findeco, Zimco and Indeco Houses. It is also common to find lifts not working or to hear of water problems in a number of these old multistorey buildings. Such occurrences have on certain occasions made LCC

contemplate closing down some of the buildings. The National Housing Authority (NHA), for instance, has been cautioned previously because of a lack of water in their building, Zimco House (Times of Zambia, 6 July 2009). Property developers have also made similar observations – that there is generally a shortage of modern offices with easy access and secure parking in the CBD.

> Demand in this sector is presently dominated by users wanting new space rather than older accommodation. Incompatibility with modern office user requirements is rendering the balance of CBD inventory obsolete. The key requirements are open plan flexible space, good parking, proper power, trunking for communication, and expansion capabilities. (http://resources.knightfrank.com/)

This lack of good-quality office space in the city centre has caused small to medium companies to relocate away from the city core (http://wescomproperty.com/lusaka.html). A good example is that of QFM, which has moved from Indeco House to a new building on Addis Ababa Drive. Zain Zambia also moved recently from Central Park in the CBD to their new office building on Addis Ababa Drive. A number of new organizations have also preferred to set up their offices away from the CBD, eastwards near two of Lusaka's popular shopping malls – Arcades and Manda Hill. Reasons given in the case of QFM include the fact that 'the town centre is terribly congested and has no parking space, coupled with traffic jams to and from work, among other reasons' (http://www.dailymail.co.zm/media/news/viewnews.cgi?category=19&id=1273559861).

Other signs of degeneration can be seen looking at the state of some buildings in the city centre. Two multistorey buildings in the heart of the city provide a very good example of this. One building at the junction of Katondo Street and Freedom Way remains incomplete from the 1990s. The other, Society House on Cairo Road, stands in a state of ruin awaiting rehabilitation after fire ravaged almost half its floors in 1998. The city is also slowly losing some of the social vibrancy it used to have, as can be seen from low attendance rates in once very popular movie halls in the city centre like Plaza 3, 20th Century and Empire Cinemas. Some of them, like Plaza 1 and 20th Century, have actually been closed.

Among other reasons this can be attributed to the lack of a proper mix of land use in the inner city. The CBD, for instance, is predominantly meant for commercial activities with very little in terms of entertainment. In the immediate surrounding area residential accommodation can be found but to a very low extent. This makes the city core devoid of any social activities after working hours and on weekends and public holidays. Unfortunately, some of the little residential accommodation available is being lost due to conversion of use from residential to commercial, especially in Rhodespark (Chisala, 2010).

Compounding the problems being faced in the inner city is the high rate of sprawl in Lusaka which, driven by the high demand for housing in the city, has seen entirely new neighbourhoods being built on the outskirts of the city within a few years (Kelly, 2010). These include Chalala to the south-east of the city centre, and the area between Avondale and Ibex Hill to the east of the city centre. Some of the reasons explaining this uncontrolled urban sprawl are the use of an old and spatially limited planning system, inadequate development control and the expansion of the city outside of planning areas (MLGH, LCC and JICA, 2007). If unchecked this could have an adverse effect on the vibrancy of the city in future as investments begin to be concentrated in outlying areas. Examples are many of how city sprawl has led to the degeneration of the inner city, especially among North American cities (Acioly, 1999); and other parts of the world including Johannesburg. In Johannesburg economic decline, the gradual movement of the black population to the inner city, physical decline of infrastructure and racial stereotyping led to the exodus of the white population and businesses away from the inner city, and to the deterioration of the inner city. 'In response to these changing conditions, the Johannesburg city council (1991-1993) and later the Greater Johannesburg metropolitan council (1995 onwards) developed an evolving set of local economic development initiatives to reinvent, re-image and remarket the Johannesburg inner city' (Bremner, 2000:187). This is the kind of response also required in Lusaka, but does not unfortunately seem to be the case, as will be shown later.

Just adjacent to the city centre is another scene presenting a whole different set of challenges, making revitalization efforts more difficult because of the magnitude and complexity of the problems involved. These are unplanned settlements. If we look at the inner city as the area surrounding the CBD, it can be argued that portions of Chibolya, Misisi and John Laing form part of the inner city in Lusaka. These are places that have developed in a disorderly manner from the beginning, but have been allowed to grow to an extent that it has become a very big challenge to take corrective measures, and they are expanding at a faster rate than the rest of the city. Currently:

. . . over 35 unplanned settlements have been regularized as 'Improvement Areas', but the challenges remain enormous. They are generally characterized by inadequate shelter, a lack of services, and inadequate waste management. Lack of essential infrastructure and inadequate access to clean water and safe sanitation facilities and services make the residents of unplanned urban settlements vulnerable to epidemics. (UN-HABITAT, 2007)

Attempts have been made to upgrade them but with very little success. In Chibolya, for example, the refurbishment of the water infrastructure is one of the major developments to have taken place. Blocks of shops are also being constructed on Los Angeles Road, which will offer the people of Chibolya better shopping facilities and employment opportunities. A shopping centre will soon be opening on the same road, while Chibolya residents also stand to benefit from the newly reconstructed Soweto Market. The challenge, however, is how to make these few opportunities accessible to local residents and how to improve the living environment with decent housing, roads, schools, open spacesand so forth in such settlements. A description of Chibolya by a reporter from the *Post* newspaper gives one a fair idea of these challenges:

Here, the hour hand of development seems to have stood still for decades. Walking into Chibolya is like stepping into a distant past. Despite being one of the oldest townships in Lusaka, many basic amenities still elude the residents of Chibolya, most of whom live in squalid brick houses with piped water and electricity still a dream. Most of the houses have neither distinct design nor colour while others look abandoned and on the verge of collapse as if living up to the township's name Chibolya which means an abandoned house or town in Bemba. (http://www.postzambia.com/post-read_article.php?articleId=14014)

Map 1: showing Lusaka's inner city
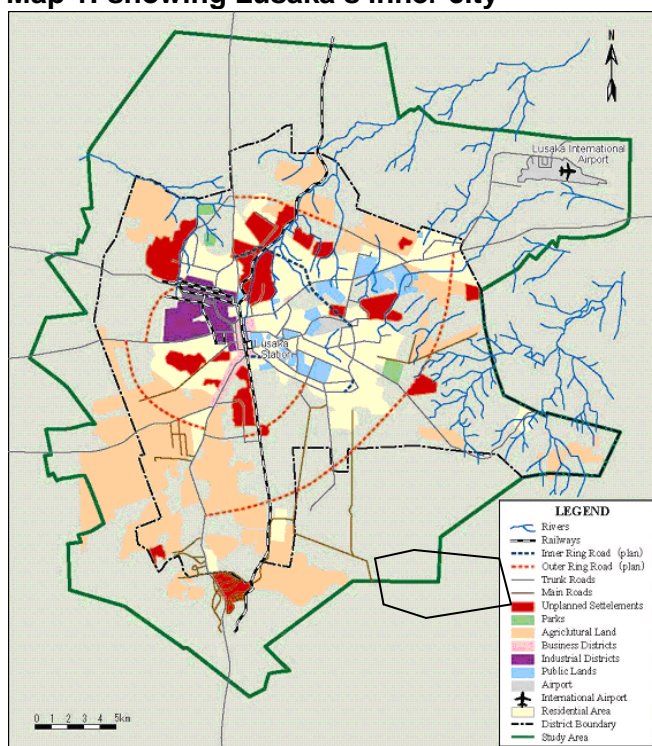
Source: Lusaka Comprehensive Urban Development Plan, 2009
The hexagon is a rough representation of the inner city. Between the rail line and the western border of the inner city is the CBD.

To provide essential infrastructure and services in informal settlements requires significant financial resources. Unfortunately, the Lusaka city council (LCC) has no resources for the development of Improvement Areas. In addition, upgrading informal settlements also requires additional land for resettlement for those whose houses have to give way to roads and other socioeconomic infrastructure (UN-HABITAT, 2007). The thought of demolition is something that makes residents quite uneasy because they do not trust the authorities to compensate them. They are actually known to threaten authorities whenever they get wind of such upgrading plans (ibid.).

The presence of unplanned settlements very close to the inner city makes the city generally unattractive and contributes to the decay of the inner city in the sense that a significant proportion of

street vendors, street children, beggars, etcetera come from these settlements. Chibolya, for instance, has been described as 'the forbidden city', where drug dens abound and:

> . . . in broad daylight, men sit and smoke marijuana, or weed as they call it, while trading in the same . . . There is no visible sense of guilt in the eyes of the men there about the illegality of their activities. Neither do they express any fear of the authorities such as the Drug Enforcement Commission (DEC) or the police. But apart from the weed, there are other hard drugs that have now found their way onto Gaza Street such as cocaine. The cocaine, however, is sold under the table. The cocaine reportedly comes from Tanzania, while some is said to come from a local hospital . . . Muggings are also rife here . . . Some phones stolen on the streets of Lusaka end up in Chibolya where they are sold cheaply . . . You can find anything – bullets, guns, drugs . . . Just anything you can think of. (*Zambia Daily Mail*, 6 September 2010)

It can also be argued that unplanned settlements compete for resources with the conventionally planned parts of the inner city. In the past few years more attention seems to have been directed at unplanned settlements as can be seen from the numerous upgrading programmes by organizations such as CARE International and JICA, among many others. For instance in the early 1990s a whole community leadership and grassroots participation structure was designed by CARE International, and the Ndola and Lusaka city councils called Residents Development Committees (RDCs) to focus primarily on problems in unplanned settlements with little or no focus at all on the inner-city neighbourhoods. As Bopp and Bopp (2001:1) observe, 'owing to the development challenges in peri-urban settlements, surrounding cities like Lusaka and Ndola international NGOs and donors working closely with both Ndola and Lusaka city council concentrated their efforts on programmes focused on peri-urban infrastructure development and poverty alleviation'. It must be noted that this does not mean that no attention should be given to unplanned settlements but the point is that they divert considerable attention and resources from the conventionally planned inner city.

Reasons for Inner-City Decay and Limited Growth

Two major reasons can be given for inner city decay and the limited success in developing the inner city and the adjacent unplanned settlements. These are the economic problems the country has gone through since the 1970s, and the lack of appreciation of the importance of cities to the economy, especially by the government.

Economic Problems

As a developing country, Zambia has experienced economic problems for a long time, leaving the country without sufficient funds to implement large-scale urban development projects without donor aid. These economic woes began in the 1970s, mainly because of the fall in copper prices and high oil prices. It must be noted that Zambia's economy is largely dependent on mineral exports, particularly copper, which contributes between 30 to 40 per cent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and about 45 per cent of government revenue (Mwanakatwe, 1994). With such dependence on one sector, the country is therefore very vulnerable to shocks in the mining industry. This was the case when copper prices began to decline in 1974 due to the world recession. The mining sector's contribution to the economy was drastically reduced, for example: the government's revenue from mineral taxation fell from K339 million in 1974 to K59 million in 1975, K12 Million in 1976 and to zero in 1977 (Ibid, 1994). In response to this crisis a number of measures were implemented, among them a drastic reduction in recurrent expenditure. As Mwanakatwe observes: 'Strict control of recurrent expenditure has often the effect of reducing in real terms funds available for various services . . . provided by the government, including such important services as education and health, as well as roads maintenance' (Ibid, 1994:116). As a result many roads in towns and rural areas were left in a state of disrepair. Sometimes drugs were not available in the hospitals and basic sanitation services could no longer be provided in some parts of the country.

The situation became so dire that Zambia was virtually bankrupt by 1991, with an external public debt in excess of $7 billion. At the beginning of the 1990s, the country qualified to be listed among the poorest of the poor people of this world (Ibid,1994:129). Given such a scenario, the little available resources had to be spread over many competing needs, some of them very urgent, such as health care. Projects requiring huge expenditure such as infrastructure development in the inner city of Lusaka therefore become a farfetched dream, leading to the stagnation of development in the inner city and decay.

In addition, Zambia's economic problems are to some extent self-inflicted on account of poor economic management and misuse of public funds. Concerning economic mismanagement, Zambia

has failed to diversify its economy and move from being over-dependent on mining, in spite of much rhetoric, since independence (1964). Also, successive governments have come up with policies that have been quite harmful to the economy. For example, Kaunda's populist socialist policies of giving subsidies in the 1970s and 1980s are said to have put a heavy burden on the country's revenue base. Similarly, Chiluba's carefree embrace of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) in the 1990s had dire consequences on different sectors, including urban development due to, among other things, massive cuts in public expenditure. Now that copper prices have risen to unprecedented levels, Banda's tax regime for the mining sector seems to be denying the country revenue, due to the small contribution the mines are making to the national treasury, accounting for only just over 1 per cent of the revenue collections by the treasury (*The Post*, 12 November 2010). The above policies have all resulted in limited funding of various sectors, including urban development.

Exacerbating the problem is the high rate of misuse of public funds by government officials, especially since the 1990s. This is proven by the prosecution of high-profile government officials from the Chiluba era, including Chiluba himself, after his presidency, for abuse of office. The vice has continued in Banda's time with numerous reports of cases of misapplication of public funds in different government departments, including those concerned with urban development. For instance, according to the latest Auditor General's report on the Road Development Agency (RDA), an institution responsible for the care, maintenance and construction of public roads in Zambia, in the period January 2006 to September 2009, RDA over-committed government by over K1 trillion through various contracts. The agency also did not fully account for over K19 billion given to it by the National Roads Fund Agency (NRFA) for various road activities during the period 2004 to 31 December 2009 (*Times of Zambia*, May 26, 2010; TIZ, 2009).

Corruption is a serious obstacle to development in Africa or any society for that matter. According to the African Development Bank (AfDB): 'Africa is losing in excess of US$ 300 billion annually through corruption, an amount higher than donor and aid flows' (*The Post*, 26 November 2010). Some of the consequences of corruption include increased costs of access to goods and services and infrastructure development by as much as 20 per cent. This is particularly crucial for a country like Zambia because since about 2005 the country has been recording steady economic growth. For example, from 2006 to 2008, real Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth averaged 6.1 per cent (GRZ, 2009). With more prudent use of resources, Zambia is capable of undertaking the big development projects that are required in cities like Lusaka to reverse the decay in the inner city and allow the city to grow, while still being able to provide other social services in the city and the rest of country.

Lack of Appreciation of the Role of Cities in National Development
To explain this, I will look at the importance government attaches to running councils and other agencies concerned with urban development. Looking at the state of councils in Zambia, including the LCC, it is doubtful whether government attaches much importance to their work. For a long time, the LCC and other councils in the country have operated under a lot of difficulty, characterized by inadequate budget allocation and late disbursement of funds by central government. As a result, it has been found that the LCC spends a big portion of its revenues on emoluments, leaving only a small portion for the provision of social services let alone large-scale projects (MLGH, LCC and JICA, 2007:6).

Also, government has been very slow in providing measures to improve the functions of councils. The decentralization policy, for instance, which is meant to promote autonomy at the local authority level, particularly fiscal autonomy, has dragged on for a long time. These challenges have resulted in poor service delivery by the councils, the LCC included. Subsequently, this has undermined the LCC's credibility and esteem among residents. 'Most residents have also lost interest in the affairs of the city. They . . . loath to pay levies, user charges, and even rates, because they cannot see any benefits arise from these payments' (MLGH, LCC and JICA, 2007:6). In addition, highly qualified people are reluctant to work for the LCC and other local authorities.

Furthermore, the administrative system in place for running councils renders councils' position worse. It is a system that UN-HABITAT (2007) has described as a weak mayoral arrangement, whereby the mayor is elected from among councillors and not by the citizens at large. This makes the mayor feel more indebted to the councillors who elected him that to the residents in the wards who are the original voters. The system is also shunned by educated residents who might be better qualified and more knowledgeable about the role of cities in development and better able to help turn the fortunes of the city around. In the end, the capacity of the council to steer development is limited even more. In spite of all this, the government has been very slow in introducing the necessary reforms.

Compounding the situation, especially in recent times (since 2001), is the fact that Lusaka has been under the control of opposition political parties. This has in a way disadvantaged the city in

terms of development because there is a tendency for the ruling party to deny development to areas that support the opposition in order to gain political mileage by portraying them as failures (www.postzambia.com/).

In the light of the above it is not by coincidence that the general rate and scale of development in Lusaka remains very low in spite of the immense opportunities the city has to develop.

Conclusion

In conclusion I would like to point out perhaps the major lesson Lusaka can share with other cities in southern Africa and other regions of the world – the need to put inner-city revitalization and the development of cities in general at the top of national development agendas. Looking at the current situation in terms of the development of Lusaka, one wonders whether the city has been given the level of importance it deserves, particularly by the central government. This is in spite of the big contribution the city makes to the development of the country as a whole. The city could benefit more by taking deliberate steps to raise the scale of development in the inner city. With the proper focus, it is possible to mobilize and direct the required resources to step up developments in the city. The role politicians have to play in setting the right tone is vital, starting with the head of state. It is of crucial importance that the local authority is given sufficient power, both financially and in terms of decision making. Equally important is the role the local authority has to play, since it is responsible for the development of and service provision in the city. The difficulties under which the LCC operates are appreciated, but it is capable of influencing a considerable degree of development in the city by engaging the private sector. In Johannesburg and other cities where full-scale inner-city revitalization has taken place, separate bodies have been set up specifically to address the issue of revitalization, thereby giving the process sufficient attention. This is the kind of commitment needed in Lusaka and many other cities if meaningful revitalization and development are to take place.

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Inner-City Revitalization and the Poor in Harare: Experiences, Instruments and Lessons from Mbare

Innocent Chirisa

Introduction and Background

This paper critically examines the subject of inner-city revitalization in Harare. It attempts to shed light on the processes that have left the poor somewhat negatively affected by such programmes. The paper primarily adopted a desktop research. However, to buttress the theoretical debates, some field observations were also done, making use of photography. By and large, the purpose of the paper is to proffer a historical analysis of the city of Harare, its expansion and the situation of Mbare, the case study used herein. The article concludes that political polarization compounded by economic crisis in the country is the principal reason for 'delays' or impasses regarding upgrading and inner-city revitalization projects in the city. In this paper 'inner city' is taken to describe that part of the historical and original city that has now deteriorated into a kind of 'ghetto'. This is attributed to the fact that in colonial Zimbabwe, the British colonizers implemented a dichotomous urban framework whereby the African population had its own 'core' separate from the white core (Zinyama, Tevera and Cumming, eds., 1993). This paper concentrates on the African core. In a bid to relate the story of Mbare, reference is made to South African practice, particularly the Alexandra Renewal Project (ARP). Relative to the situation of Mbare, the ARP is a 'best practice' exemplar. It is argued that political polarization and economic crisis are the major reasons for failure in Mbare. The political impasse and an ailing economy have been the recipe for this failure in that the subject of renewal has been mentioned, but funding and implementation are lacking. This is unlike the South African situation, where they have 'spoken and have acted'.

Establishment and Development of Salisbury (Now Harare)

Harare was founded on 12 September 1890 as Fort Salisbury, in honour of the British Prime Minister at that time. It is the type of colonial city founded on the philosophy and practice of separate development (Zinyama et al, 1993; Brown, 2002; Toriro, 2008). When the whites arrived in Zimbabwe, their final destination was Harare Kopje (Chikowore, 1993). The kopje had the advantage of giving a panoramic view of a wider area and hence was a strategic point of defence against possible attacks by the Shona 'natives' living in the vicinity. Also, down the valley from the kopje was the Mukuvisi River, which became the source of water for the new alien population. Later on, that same population had to find 'drawers of water and hewers of wood' from among the native Africans. A new job market thus emerged, with Harare becoming a magnet attracting the 'lucky' Africans. Eventually, a sizeable number of Africans became servants in the same place. Most of the British, however, while dearly loving having their chores done by the black natives, were not equally comfortable co-existing with them, sharing the same 'habitat'. They therefore established houses for the natives in a place called Harare, now Mbare, so that the servants could 'commute' to work and retire to their newly built homes at the end of the work period. (Box 1; cf. Vambe, 2007; Zinyama, Tevera and Cumming eds., 1993). Accommodations for blacks were for men only. Women were left in the rural areas. Thus, in its earliest days, Harare was a city for black men employed as cooks, gardeners and caretakers. These men were not, however, meant to live out their lives in the city. They were supposed to live there while they worked, after which they would retire and die in their rural homes; they were temporary citizens of the city. Explaining why the black Africans were excluded from the housing financial sector, Kamete (1999) has mentioned that it was illegal for blacks to own property in colonial cities and towns, requiring the construction of rented accommodations for this race. He categorically stresses that this 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' (Kamete, 1999:91). The legal instrument providing the energizing force to this effect was called the Native Location Ordinance of 1906. In subsequent years the municipal government (local authority) established a number of native locations in Salisbury, mostly of high density character, including: Mbare in 1907, Highfield in 1935, Mabvuku in 1952, Mufakose in 1959, Rugare in the mid-1950s, Dzivaresekwa in 1961, Marimba Park in 1961, Kambuzuma in 1964, Tafara in 1967, Glen Norah in 1971, Glen View in 1979. Postcolonial locations established include Warren Park in 1981, Kuwadzana in 1984, Hatcliffe in 1984 and Budiriro in 1988. (Zinyama in Zinyama et al., eds., 1993:23).

It must be stressed that in light of the evidence provided in the previous paragraph, from the Kopje area the city began to expand outwards, with black housing being the south and west and white housing generally to the north and east. Important to note as well is that the country was under British domination for 90 years (1890-1979). Labour demand due to increasing colonial investment was the principal reason behind urban expansion. Vambe (2007) mentions the boom in the manufacturing industry in Salisbury in the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s in Rhodesia. This demanded stabilized inflows of controllable labour. Specifically, major and immense development of Harare took place from 1953 to 1963 in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, of which Salisbury was the federal capital. For the same period (the 1940s and 1950s), Zinyama (1993:21) documents that:

> The number of blacks in employment in Harare (including the peri-urban areas) increased by about 136 percent between 1941 and 1951 from 32,000 to 75,500. At the 1962 census, the total number of blacks in Harare had increased to 215,810. The increased population led to a growing shortage of housing in the designated black residential areas despite the stringent influx control regulations and the fact that many workers were accommodated on their employers' premises.

To curtail this trend the municipality of Harare responded by rethinking developing upwards. In Mbare, hostel construction began in 1946. The idea was to accommodate 'single' males, with up to six people sharing a room (Zinyama, 1993). Zinyama records that by 1961 the hostel construction programme for Mbare came to an end. Five clusters, each comprising several three-storey blocks, had been built, with a total capacity of 23,000 people. There is no doubt that the five clusters mentioned by Zinyama are Matapi, Nenyere, Shawasha, Mbare and Materereni hostels (cf. Shumba, 2010). Shumba estimates the population in these hostels might be about 30,000 (see table 1), but the author of this paper is of the opinion that the correct figure must be in the range of 140,000 to 160,000, given that the average household size in Zimbabwe is about 6 to 7 persons (see table 1).

Table 1: stocktaking: hostels in mbare, number of blocks and the estimated population

NAME OF HOSTEL	NO. OF BLOCKS	APPROXIMATE POPULATION
Matapi	14	9,120 people
Nenyere	13	7,644 people
Shawasha	12	7,056 people
Mbare	9	2,400 people
Matererini	10	2,500 people

Source: Shumba (2010:8)

It is critical to note the state of the political economy in the 1990s and how that led to increased informality in cities and towns in the country (Brown, 2002). This analysis will include some of the explanations given by the government as to why restoring the order of colonially set standards was necessary. Such arguments led to the destruction of informal businesses and houses in 2005.

Deteriorating Economy, Informality and Slum Clearance
In the years of economic reforms, the period of Economic Structural Adjustment Programme – ESAP (1991-1995) households faced increasing costs of living. This forced many households to find alternative sources of income as many breadwinners were retrenched. One coping strategy adopted by residents in the hostels was to commoditize the small space of their rooms in return for rent as income. As economic hardships have increased from the 1990s, commoditization of rooms and increased 'lodger' recruitments have been noted. This has also been done for mercy and sympathy, especially for victims of Operation Murambatsvina (also known as Operation Restore Order). The government's ambitious and ill-focused campaign in 2005 for restoring urban Zimbabwe to the heyday of aesthetically pleasing 'planned' cities and towns was, to a great extent, a misfired bullet; it left many urbanites homeless including those from Mbare. It cost some 700,000 Zimbabweans their homes or livelihoods or both (Tibaijuka, 2005; cf figure 1).

Figure 1: Map Of Zimbabwe Showing Areas That Were Affected By Operation Murambatsvina

The orange colour on the map shows those areas that suffered most in terms of both the intensity and extensity of Operation Murambatsvina demolitions. The map illustrates that the area worst affected by Operation Murambatsvina was Harare. Within Harare, one of the worst affected areas was Mbare. A microscopic approach might be necessary to analyse the situation.

In effect, Mbare was the epicentre of the destruction. The operation targeted 'unsanctioned' housing developments, slums and informal micro-enterprises. ICG (2005:1) records the following as the effects of the wholesale 'slum clearance' by the government as of 7 July:

> 92,460 housing structures had been destroyed, affecting 133,5345 households at more than 52 sites; some 700,000 people in cities across the country have lost either their homes, their source of livelihood or both; an estimated 500,000 children were forced out of school or had their education seriously disrupted; at least six people, including four children, were dead as a result of demolitions and prolonged exposure to cold; and some 2.4 million persons – 18 per cent of Zimbabwe's population have been directly or indirectly affected.

The official justification for Operation Murambatsvina, in the words of ICG (2005:3), was that the urban poor and informal traders were the main factors leading to the 'deteriorating of standards of health, housing and other services', as well as the high crime rate in the urban centres. The subsequent campaign effort, after the 'clean up' crusade, was termed Operation Garikayi/Hlalani Kuhle in 2005, meaning 'live well' and it was aimed at relocating the populations adversely affected by the earlier campaign to public housing mainly constructed in designated peri-urban areas. Under Operation Garikayi no services were provided for water and sewer installation as required by the local authorities (Mufema, 2008). It was a political move by the government in areas like Whitecliffe, where no site inspection was done. In its thrust, Operation Garikayi would lead into the peripheralization of the urban poor, away from opportunities.

A Closer Look at Mbare with Specific Reference to Hostel Life

In 1980, when the country attained its independence, Harare was dubbed the 'Sunshine City' because of its neatness and aesthetic appeal, irrespective of which areas (white, Asian and coloured, or black) one was referring to. Restrictive colonial controls had managed to keep hordes of possible migrants to the city at bay. However, independence effected 'the opening of gates', which saw huge influxes of rural migrants into urban centres (Zinyama, Tevera and Cumming, eds., 1993; Herald, 12 April 2010). It should be stressed that although the trend had started during the war, when women and children started to move into town to join their husbands and fathers, in light of the war situation in the rural areas then it was quite restricted. When the doors were opened after independence the city experienced a population explosion. Little by little lodger accommodation increased. Bachelor flats now also began to house women and children. The government adopted some homeownership policies in terms of which some of the former council housing was sold to sitting tenants, particularly detached houses in places like Mbare (see box 1) and Highfield.

The capacity of most high-rises was greatly surpassed, leading to the deterioration of standards and the quality of housing. In some cases, in certain hostels, occupancy rates for single rooms could go up to two or three households, hence a great compromise even to the *hunhu/ubuntu* values in this case of cohabitation/multihabitation (cf. Shumba, 2010). PM (2000) cites a research by *Dialogue* on Shelter for the Homeless in Zimbabwe, which states that more than 50 per cent of families in Mbare are on the council's housing waiting list and have been for an average of nine years. In Table 1, a synopsis is given of the numbers of places and storey blocks and the estimated population in these flats in Mbare as of 10 April 2010 (Shumba, 2010). For example, Matapi hostel is made up of 14 blocks of three-storey flats. The average number of rooms on each floor is 70, implying that each block contains about 210 rooms, and hence the total number of habitable rooms in the area is about 2,940. However, in some blocks the ground floor was shared by housing, shops, beer halls and gyms. This is typical of Blocks 1, 7 and 5, respectively. Due to viability challenges to these ventures, however, there have been conversions of use, with these spaces being divided into rooms to house the excess population. Important to note is how the population in Matapi hostel has surged from a static population size of about 3,000 males in 1980 to a fluctuating population of between 24,000 and 30,000 (a mixture of men, women and children). This is a case of outright overpopulation.

The issues of vandalism of the housing blocks are such that the majority no longer have shower taps. Residents believe that thieves have stolen these items to sell them in nearby markets such as the former Siyaso, in Magaba. Toilets are messy and much of the time blocked. The kitchens have also been partitioned to house more people. The city of Harare recently resolved to demolish Matapi flats, but due to political tension between the city council and some officials in the local government the demolition process could not be carried out and people continue to live in potentially dangerous conditions. Plates 1, 2 and 3 indicate the characteristics of some hostels in Mbare today. The plates show the state of Matapi habitations and buildings and also a glimpse of everyday life.

Fig 2: DECOMPOSING 'WET AREA' OF ONE HOSTEL   **Fig 3: POTHOLES FILLED WITH RAINWATER**

Residents share communal bathrooms and kitchens. The hostel is in a messy state. Thereare many public health risks to residents.

Fig 4: LET THEM PLAY!

These children are playing in one part of a hostel (cf. McIvor, 2001). Before independence, the children were not allowed, let alone found in Matapi; the area was reserved for 'bachelors' only.

Upgrading Hostels in Mbare – A Project That Has Overstayed the Agenda?

The Herald (25 March 2010) cited the Mayor of Harare, Mr Muchadeyi Masunda, speaking at the Fifth World Urban Forum held in Rio de Janeiro in March 2010, the theme of which was 'The Right to the City: Bridging the Urban Divide'. He spoke about why 58 hostels in Mbare warranted upgrading saying:

> No one in their right minds can deny there is a human rights dimension. Anybody who gets into a city should expect a roof on their head, potable water, a reasonable means of transport, jobs, education and access to health. We need to revisit the housing estates in existence. This is where the 58 Mbare hostels come in. They are not habitable. They are not fit for human habitation. The hostels are a source of concern and an embarrassment for me as mayor and knowing that we have our own citizens living in squalid conditions.

But it must be clear that the discourse about upgrading the hostels is not new (box 2; cf. *Financial Gazette,* 8 August 2002). The major sticking point has been striking a balance between what to do with sitting tenants and where to find an alternative habitat in the midst of financial constraints.

Box 2: What Options Are There in Upgrading Mbare Hostels?

'At independence the bans on families were lifted. But the hostels remained, and with the huge investment in building were allowed to remain. Families moved in, the dormitories were informally subdivided, council officials looked the other way as gross overcrowding took place, and the urban slum we now have was created. There was always the intention to move the families in the hostels into new decent housing and then "do something" about the hostels. But as families moved out more families poured in, and so nothing was done. There have been many ideas about what to do with the hostels, from bulldozing them to converting them to proper flats. The problem for 30 years has been two-fold: what to do with the families already living in them and then where to find the money for conversions. And every year that passes sees the hostels become tattier and an even greater health hazard. The council has no option but to start acting; it cannot ignore the problem forever. No modern council created the disaster, but that does not mean they have no responsibility for inaction. But all the critics have to realise that there is a severe human problem, as well as the planning disaster. Families cannot just be chucked out with nowhere to go. We would suggest that as a first step all those in the hostels are registered, and that no new people are allowed in. This would, at the very least, stop the problem getting worse and as families move out to better homes, reduce the overcrowding. Those in the hostels should all be on the municipal waiting list for low-cost housing, most probably stands in new schemes, so that those with a little money can at least be moved.'

Source: *The Herald* (12 April 2010)

The upgrading of Mbare hostels, or Mbare High Density Area, could benefit a lot from lessons drawn from certain projects elsewhere. Particularly, a piecemeal approach should be avoided and an integrated approach applied. The Alexandra Renewal Project (ARP) in South Africa is rich with nuggets useful for an upgrading and revitalization programme.

Alexandra Renewal Project (ARP) – An Experience from South Africa
According to Sinwell (2005), the Alexandra Renewal Project (ARP) was funded R1.3 billion by the South African Government. Rabinowitz (2009) argues that the ARP is one of eight urban nodes that form part of the South African government's Integrated Sustainable Rural Development and Urban Renewal Programme announced by President Mbeki in his State of the Nation Address to parliament in 2001. The idea was that it was to be undertaken over a seven year period from 2001 to 2008. The primary object of the project was to socially, economically and physically improve the Alexandra community. Sinwell explicitly points out that the central goal of the ARP was for the people to participate in their own development. This was in support of the South African post-apartheid development policy framework that emphasized community participation. Furthermore, Sinwell gives a brief history of Alexandra, which is located in the north-eastern part of central Johannesburg and covers an area of about 1.5 square miles. He states that the settlement was formerly established as a 'native township' in 1912, although people had been living there since 1904. In 1948, under the apartheid regime, Alexandra fell under the control of what was then called the Department of Native Affairs. Sinwell observes that throughout its history Alexandra experienced much underdevelopment, neglect and severe degradation. This became more pronounced in the 1980s. But the settlement is known to have a strong history of community participation, local civic movement that ran in opposition to the top-down and racist development that was imposed on Alexandra residents by the apartheid government. By 2005 Alexandra was the home of approximately 350,000 people. This means that it was the most densely populated township in South Africa. The township thus knew severe environmental degradation and had over-populated schools and a general lack of access to basic services such as health care and police protection.

A United States Aid (USAID)'s technical input into the ARP in 2005 noted that successful urban renewal depends on the demand and supply processes that work within a city (Brockman, 2002). It noted that the demand side would be determined by

> . . . the ability of the City of Johannesburg to retain local expenditure and to attract spending from outside. This can be the demand for industrial production or the output of the service sector. Efforts to promote Alexandra aim to attract new investment, for example the development of Pan Africa with an emphasis on sustaining new economic activity to the area. This represents an economic promotion focus. Supply side covers the investment needed to improve existing infrastructure, the redevelopment of land into its most productive use, investment in people with increased and appropriate training. This is a focus on poverty alleviation. (Brockman, 2002:7)

Furthermore, Brockman (2002:8) hypothesized that the basic principles for setting up and implementing the Alexandra Renewal Project (ARP) were 'an intergovernmental collaboration between the national, provincial and local spheres. It is both an inter-governmental and inter-sector project.'

An important dimension contributed to the ARP by Urban Age (2004) is that it was supported by a joint project management team so that the issue of accountability to a joint political and administrative structure provided a clear operation framework to enhance the philosophy behind the project. More succinctly, Urban Age (2004:1) affirms that the ARP 'is not a housing project but rather an urban renewal project that aims to bring together social, economic, physical and institutional factors into a coherent integrated strategy.' This is noted as recognition of the complexity and connectivity of challenges. Indeed, the goals of the project cut across the spectrum of the physical, economic and social, namely:

- Unemployment reduction;
- Aesthetization and creation of a healthy and clean living environment;
- Urban services provision at an affordable and sustainable level;
- Creation of urban safety through reducing crime levels and violence;
- Upgrade existing housing environments;
- Creation of additional affordable housing opportunities; and

- Decongest households.

Discussion

The similarity between the Alexandra Renewal Project (ARP) and the Mbare hostel upgrades lies in the histories of the two settlements, which both came out of the philosophy of separate development. Black nativity was stressed in both. Alongside this history one can see how both settlements were subjected to different forms of the 'tragedy of the commons' traps. In South Africa, hostels were mainly a result of the apartheid policy and overcrowding was mainly a problem in the last years of apartheid and the first years of democracy. In this time, political control was relatively weak; particularly local government (Wilkinson, 1998). But HSRC (2003:19) has summarized the state of Alexandra in these words:

> Alexandra's history is one of rapid urbanisation. People in search of employment in the city have flocked into Alexandra from rural areas in South Africa and neighbouring countries, dramatically overloading an infrastructure already under strain. Congestion in informal settlements, in the hostels and along the banks of the Jukskei River has made living conditions stressful, unhealthy and dangerous. As . . . Alexandra's history reveals, overpopulation and lacking infrastructure remain the key problems the township is facing.

For Zimbabwe, overcrowding came with democracy. It must be stressed that the plight of Mbare's hostels mainly surfaced in the postcolonial period when the municipal authority lost the 'reins' to deal with the over-urbanization factor characterized by demographic upsurge and less maintenance of the hostel facilities (Shumba, 2010).

The major difference between Alexandra and Mbare lies in the governments' approaches to dealing with the matters of squalor, segregation and racial division after the advent of democracy. The years around 2000 saw some development regarding the urban renewal agenda. It was in this period that South African local government grew stronger again. The issue of hostels got more positive attention from national government. Many hostels, being local government rental units in the past (Watson and Malcolm, 1999; Wilkinson, 1998), suffered from the weak local government structures. With the first elections for (new) local governments in 2000, the situation improved (Tomlinson, 1999; Miraftab, 2003). In Zimbabwe, on the other hand, and in Mbare in particular, the government 'ignored' the deteriorating situation from political independence in 1980 until some ten years later. The situation became starkly topical. The reason to attempt to redress the worsening situation became obvious. The matter was spoken of in a narrow sense – that of rehabilitating or upgrading the settlement structures. Moreover, the discussion was government-spearheaded and within its confines. This is to say that the city council together with the relevant government ministries did not generally think of involving other key players – the private sector and the interested international organizations. When the economy began to decline from 1997 and the opposition came in, focus shifted. The government concentrated more on battling the opposition MDC party. Operation Murambatsvina made the situation even worse on the ground. In effect, this operation was in every way destructive to the tenet of a holistic urban renewal programme in which matters social, economic and physical had to be addressed. The operation concentrated on the physical aspect of city beautification by removing 'dirty' elements. Instead of Operation Murambatsvina giving the government an edge, it deepened the crisis. Both the international community and the opposition strenuously refuted its essence and operationalization. Because the international community echoed the same sentiments as the opposition, the opposition party was described as 'conniving' with the enemies of the state. Polarization emerged in a number of dimensions. The period 1999-2009 can be labelled as a 'lost decade' for Zimbabwe. Matters of real concern including housing were not adequately addressed, but just used as campaign points in the manifestos of the political parties. The adage 'When two elephants fight, it is the grass that suffers', is valid to explain the Zimbabwean situation. Neither did the economy come to the rescue of the situation. As the galloping inflation raged on, critical societal and sectoral programmes were dropped. It became a matter of addressing matters of 'bread and butter' by both the government and the citizens. On this point, I assert that it was the political upheaval and economic meltdown in this decade that made urban renewal projects real phantasms. Whatever could be done was more in rhetoric than in practice.

Contrary to the Zimbabwean situation and the plight of Mbare, the South African politico-economic environment has been very enabling and supportive. In this framework, the ARP issue was tabled as soon as the democratic government came to power in 1994. The matter received not only the political nod but also a supportive and healthy economy. The project was highly integrative in its

approach, including addressing issues of master planning, housing, sewer and sanitation, water supply, electricity and crime. Perhaps the intergovernmental approach closed all possible 'dark points' for impasses and disagreements. While, in the early days of democracy, South African housing policy might have been more in favour of eradicating informal settlements (of which Alexandra consists in a large part) than 'upgrading', a strong lobby not only by the NGOs and researchers but also by political players has today changed the scene. Improvement, upgrading and revitalization have now become the norm; demolitions have lost favour (Wilkinson, 1998; Miraftab, 2003). Alexandra was ahead of this discussion. This is probably due to its prime location; it is next to Sandton, which can be referred to as the 'new' CBD of Johannesburg. Simultaneously, this is a hotspot of crime and violence, both of great significance in the formulation of the ARP (cf. HSRC, 2003).

The question then is what may or may not work in Zimbabwe – not everything that worked in the ARP would be generalizable. First, Zimbabwe still has to create an environment that allows for the growth of the economy. Since the advent of the Global Political Agreement (GPA) and the subsequent emergence of the all-inclusive government, the political parties involved have continued with their 'historical' bickering and going in circles. A number of policies actually repel investment in the country, such as the Indigenization Policy, which requires foreign investors to cede 51 per cent of their capital in favour of the indigenes of the country. This has left potential and existing investors on weak ground in making meaningful investments. Though South Africa has some policies of a similar type, such as the Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) policy, it has been the chief magnet for investors in the past 15 or so years. From another angle, the current talk of elections in 2011 makes the situation even worse, as elections in the last 10 years or so in Zimbabwe have been characterized by massive political violence and post-election instability. In this regard, Zimbabwe continues to suffer from such shocks and aftershocks, implying uncertainty. And when things are uncertain, essential matters are often left unattended. Urban renewal projects are treated as unworthy of attention. They need a peaceful environment. Peace, stability and certainty are key aspects and primary factors for meaningful socioeconomic development. The ARP in South Africa is a good lesson for Zimbabwe.

A range of project outcomes were expected to include master planning, housing, sewer and sanitation, water supply, electricity, and crime reduction. From this holistic approach, Mbare hostels have a number of lessons to learn. Specifically, the following points are noted that the municipal and central government need to address:

- Promote multistakeholder processes in order to foster joint action and effectual teams;
- Increase economic growth and stabilize the economy at the national and subregional levels so that urban poverty is effectively attacked;
- Be committed and put the plans on the table; political will implying depoliticizing the upgrading process while fully supporting it in terms of the budget;
- Embrace all the physical, economic, sociocultural aspects that go with urban renewal;
- Reconsider the CBD for accommodation, as a decongesting measure for the hostels and related areas;
- Find meaning for a local and context-based revitalization process for the promotion of urban sustainability.

Conclusion

The Mbare hostels upgrading project, though not yet implemented, has helped to reveal that polarization of a crisis situation is the chief reason for delays in upgrading and implementing inner-city revitalization projects. Specifically, it has been noted by way of an analysis of the Operation Murambatsvina mooted by government, that slum clearance is not inner-city revitalization. Such an approach must be augmented by other steps, including making alternative space available for sitting tenants. Furthermore, the politicization of upgrading projects is costly; politicians always use such opportunities to gain political mileage and it is therefore necessary to take a depoliticizing stance if meaningful results are to be derived. In addition, inner-city revitalization, overall, should be done with a 'human face', otherwise sending people away from 'opportunity points' may have short-term benefits. The poor will find their way back in. Unfortunately, most upgrading projects result in gentrification.

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Resuscitating a Poor Neighbourhood: A Local Authority Approach to Revitalization

Linda Magwaro-Ndiweni

Abstract

The political upheavals and economic decline have accelerated the inner-city decay of Bulawayo. Neighbourhood revitalization strategies have emerged as an important new initiative in developing countries. The Bulawayo city council is involved in the inner-city revitalization of Makokoba. Makokoba is a densely populated neighbourhood in the inner city of Bulawayo. Bulawayo city authorities recognize the multifaceted potential of the inner city and as such have included revitalization of Makokoba as one of its urban development strategies.

The Bulawayo city council is committed to working in partnership with the community and stakeholders. The local authority itself is lacking in both private and public financing requirements. The stakeholders and the residents are focusing on small interventions that will bring life to the Makokoba neighbourhood.

Revitalization is measured by the physical appearance of an area and the ability to provide social amenities, and a pleasant environment that attracts people. Thus, by developing residential and commercial real estate the authorities eliminate blighted properties, create jobs for the community and form social amenities.

Fig 1 and 2: map of Bulawayo and image from the CBD

Introduction

Background

Makokoba, a congested neighbourhood in the inner city of Bulawayo, has served high-density residential and commercial activities for low-income families for many years. Makokoba has experienced an influx of poor families and increasing population density. Obsolete buildings have become homes for the poor. The demand for accommodation is high, leading to exorbitant rentals. Property owners have no vacancies in their buildings and rooms.
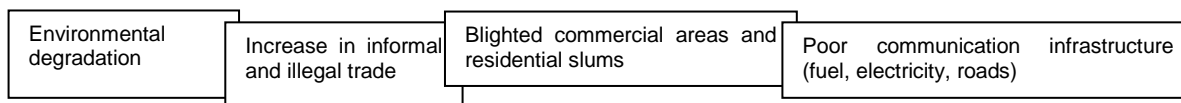
Housing conditions lack the provision of individual facilities, especially toilets and water. The actual dwelling units have been subdivided and these subdivisions pose an immediate threat to human health and safety: the current water and sewer infrastructure cannot cope with the increased population. The existing sewerage treatment works are chronically overloaded at the moment and they are already operating at full capacity.

Deteriorating social structures have allowed increases in levels of crime, prostitution, alcoholism, drug abuse and vandalism of public property.

The neighbourhood is no longer attractive; informal traders tout in any vacant space. The commercial district has lost its mix of businesses (small, medium and large businesses), good appearance and cleanliness. The subdivision of shops in order to create flea markets is the norm. The informal traders lack space from which to operate, thus they invade any open space they can find

(verandas, street corners, pavements); they lack business training and capital. Due to limited finances and the unavailability of loans, low-quality products have flooded the markets.

The country's political turmoil and decline in economic productivity have played a role in inner-city decay. Below is a summary of the situation in Makokoba:

Environmental degradation	Increase in informal and illegal trade	Blighted commercial areas and residential slums	Poor communication infrastructure (fuel, electricity, roads)

International law, relations and politics play a pivotal role in inner-city development. At any level of politics it is the poor who suffer. If a way could be found to correct international relations, the inner-city revitalization of Zimbabwe would be at a higher level. All of this is incomprehensible without looking at the circumstances that led to the city's decline.

The Decline of Bulawayo

The political struggles within the country made the city ungovernable, resulting in noncompliance with rules and principles governing the utilization of resources. Poor governance structures and corruption affected social service delivery and the status of infrastructure such as roads, drinking water, electricity, telecommunications, education and health care. The affordability, availability and accessibility of services were beyond the reach of many citizens. The coverage of services was limited as many operators closed down.

Bulawayo City was hit by a decline in economic activity resulting in the disappearance of the manufacturing and industrial basis, creating a loss of industrial employment of up to 90 per cent (Ndlovu, 2008). When multinationals and national companies closed because of viability problems, the city was affected. The viability problems faced were electricity power cuts for 24 hours which halted production, water rationing which affected production, unavailability of fuel: disturbing the production chain (from producer to manufacturer to market) (The Business Diary, August 2010). The government restricted imports and placed high tariffs on the buying of foreign merchandise. Price control regulation stopped industrial and shop operations. Providers and retailers could not sell products above the gazetted price. Many people were retrenched, throwing many into abject poverty. The inner city presented opportunities for informal trading and the vending business grew in leaps and bounds. In a time when the heads of the family were retrenched and rendered economically ineffective, many women became more enterprising.

From the view of the poor, informal trading has become desirable because it is profitable. Unlike agriculture, informal trading plays a role in poverty reduction and is capable of creating jobs that absorb most of the unemployed urban population.

Fig 3: street scene

Purpose of the Paper

The political upheavals and economic decline have accelerated inner-city decay. In such a scenario the city authorities are trying to nip the problem in the bud. This publication seeks to appreciate the activities being carried out in Makokoba by different stakeholders in the revitalization of Makokoba. It also seeks to describe the community and partner-sponsored revitalization process. It also puts emphasis on the need to nip the problem in the bud, so that inner-city revitalization can be successful. Countries recovering from war or any forms of instability surely need an injection of capital; this paper seeks to explain the importance of local authorities and residents in revitalizing their own communities where finances are unavailable.

The city council formulated a plan to reorganize Makokoba by:
- Establishing a strong and sustainable neighbourhood economic base;
- Ensuring the availability of land to meet the needs of residents of Makokoba for future development;
- Ensuring provision is made for adequate housing and social facilities to make Makokoba attractive and friendly;
- Ensuring that adequate and appropriate physical infrastructure is provided.

This will result in creating a sustainable neighbourhood and facilitate neighbourhood safety, attractiveness and competitiveness. Different projects to be carried out will create employment and facilitate recognition of the informal sector as vital to the city's economic development.

The Context of Revitalization

In the 1960s and 1970s it was believed that urban planning and housing development could solve social problems (Needham, 2007). The emphasis on physical structures saw low-standard parts of older housing in central parts of larger cities being demolished. Demolition was partly aimed at improving the housing stock and also at creating space for developments in the central city (Latham, 2000). This functionalism approach lost sight of social processes. In the early 1950s and 1960s mass construction of identical units through industrialization of housing, monofunctional areas linked by straight and wide roads, centrally located shopping zones and distant industrial parks epitomized ideal urban planning (Porter,1995).

Since the advent of urbanization cities have been in search of an image, and venerate any sign of urban prosperity. Inner-city decay and revitalization strategies are high on the political agenda. How can cities undergoing decline be detected? How can social cohesion be achieved? And which tools should be used to transform inner-city decline? These are the questions that policymakers and city planners face daily. Beyond making new streets, new buildings and new facilities, cities are also transformed by policies that attract new inhabitants, who create diversity or homogeneity.

Definitions

The definition of 'inner city' is the parts of a city in or near its centre (Collins Dictionary, 2000). These areas have been under the spotlight in recent years because they are associated with urban poverty and substandard housing. Inner-city revitalization is defined as an approach to reverse on-going physical deterioration, social deterioration and economic decline that excludes urban areas and their inhabitants from the city-wide urban development process (Accioly, 2008). It recaptures the local economies, derelict land and obsolete buildings by integrating them into the local urban physical, economic, administrative and political systems in place. Inner-city decay is the decline in the economic and social resource base for specific areas within the urban ecosystem (SDI).

Urban regeneration, according to Couch (1990), is trying to improve the quality of life and bring back employment, consumption and investment to urban areas. However, Holcomb and Beauregard (1981) say urban revitalization involves progress, growth and the infusion of better economic activities into declining cities.

The life and roles of cities are changing; they are in a state of continuous change. This process of change occurs in response to wars, disasters, political and economic changes. Clark (1989) says inner city decay is an indicator of the deterioration of the financial, economic, social and political fabric of a city.

Neighbourhood Revitalization

The aim of neighbourhood revitalization is to mend two characteristics of a neighbourhood, its social fabric and physical environment, without displacing the residents (Hernandez, 2001). Both are interdependent and important. Improving the physical environment involves the 'core' that is its commercial activity, housing stock, transport and infrastructure access, and recreational places that make the community attractive to residents and visitors (Hernandez, 2001). Improving the social environment of the neighbourhood involves improving the quality of life, that is, the satisfaction in the residents' everyday lives. This broad view of revitalization recognizes that neighbourhoods are not stagnant (Rogerson and Rogerson, 1997).

Neighbourhood revitalization is used in the community development field. Latham (2000) argues that revitalization efforts improve population composition, housing and city property tax base, he describes two types of neighbourhood revitalization: incumbent upgrading and gentrification.

Incumbent upgrading is when the poor residents participate in renovating the housing stock and in tackling the social needs of the neighbourhood. Since the residents lack the resources to take on revitalization on their own, the public sector contributes significantly in the form of subsidies that improve the social and physical conditions of the neighbourhood. Public finances are used to renovate and restore public housing, provide assistance to small business and to prevent crime and drug abuse. This type of revitalization is led by community-based organizations and non-governmental organizations, which source additional capital for this purpose.

Gentrification happens with little or no intervention from the public sector. It comes into place through the initiatives of middle- and upper-income families. These people buy distressed properties and renovate them using their savings or mortgages. These translate into attractive neighbourhoods, which will attract high-income groups of society. However, the increase in property taxes result in better public services, for example refuse collection, water supply and better infrastructure in the form of street lighting and good roads. These services and infrastructure will result in rising property values and rents. In this process the poor living in the neighbourhood cannot afford the rising rents and have to move out. This also affects business; new business moves in to serve the needs of the new residents. Commercial prices hike along with the residential values. Residential gentrification is followed by commercial gentrification, as the new businesses make the neighbourhood attractive this encourages more housing gentrification. Through this process the community is revitalized and liveliness is regained with little public funding.

This process comes at a cost: the displacement of the poor and middle- and low-income families. Therefore gentrification as a revitalization strategy does not solve the problems that affected the neighbourhood. Even though public funds are not invested, gentrification is not efficient. Poverty and major causes of neighbourhood decline are not solved and do not disappear.

Revitalizing Makokoba

Availing Land
According to Hernandez (2001), economic development is vital to promoting wealthier and stronger neighbourhoods, thus assisting the revitalization of the physical place and human capital. Revitalizing the neighbourhood context entails addressing the diverse needs of its residents and land is one of them. Bulawayo city council is committed to working in partnership with the community and stakeholders in the revitalization of Makokoba.

Ensuring that land is available for the needs of the residents is critical – without sufficient land to meet its varied needs Makokoba will suffer from overcrowding, an inability to attract investment and pressure upon the natural environment. The objectives and strategies of inner-city revitalization need to ensure that there are sufficient quantities of land for residential, commercial, industrial, social and recreational and other uses. Makokoba is well positioned and presents numerous advantages, Porter (1997) asserts this by saying: 'The actual competitive advantages of inner cities fall into four areas: integration with regional clusters, strategic location, human resources and unmet local demand.' This is the reason that it is necessary to fully utilize the available land within Makokoba.

There is an overriding need within the city to promote development and investment. Land speculators should not benefit at the expense of the public good. A punitive tax is needed that will assist in bringing vacant land into proper use and obviate the need for an expensive and premature necessity to acquire additional land around the city.

Land available in Makokoba

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

Significant areas of Makokoba are capable of densification through voluntary subdivision by the owners and appropriation of vacant and open spaces. One way to encourage this process may be to provide incentives. This option possesses its own merits and problems. The chief difficulty is that it requires a considerable financial outlay and administrative change. In a period of economic difficulty and in the absence of a national physical plan to guide these more visionary ideas, it would be difficult to pursue them. While the idea of densification to make a compact city is attractive from the perspective of urban development, there are no clear national guidelines to follow. The need to establish major new infrastructural facilities and the problems sourcing municipal finance make the option less feasible from a practical point of view.

How residential and commercial real estate development have met the goals of neighbourhood revitalization

The assistance from the NGOs, CBOs the private sector and the residents has seen Makokoba physically improving and economically developing. According to Porter (1997) the private sector, which should play a pivotal role in inner-city economic development, is just beginning to acknowledge this potential and has already begun investing. Though the scale is not significant, the residents appreciate the effort being made. The benefits of the commercial and residential real estate development have improved the neighbourhood through:

Commercial Accommodation

Small Business: Small businesses require a range of different types of land. Some prefer to be located in the commercial centres while others prefer to be located in the industrial areas. Others prefer to be located within the residential areas. The current activities reflect the varying needs of the small businesses. Provisions are being made to ensure that there is enough space to rent. Consideration has been given to emergent businesses which require basic structures and land on which to build such structures. The provision of industrial incubators is an endeavour which has enabled aspiring entrepreneurs to start up and engage in manufacture and service operations.

Informal Business: Informal traders and other informal enterprises operate on street pavements and corners. While this general trend is likely to continue, the authority is allocating land at commercial centres and residential areas where informal activities can take place without major investment and with little regulation and control.

Current Activities
The city council is providing an enabling environment for the informal sector in Makokoba in an effort to ensure improved income for participants and potential transitions to the formal sector for the most successful. Specifically, the council is:

a) Designating appropriate sites for informal traders, in consultation with informal traders and the formal sector. The activity areas are in the neighbourhood shopping centre and other commercial areas. Consideration has been given to other public areas such as hospitals, libraries and schools. The designated sites are provided with basic infrastructure such as water and toilets.

b) Making an effort to develop enterprise training for the informal sector traders, in consultation with other interested parties such as NGOs, donors and private companies. The training programmes are aimed at ensuring that informal sector traders have the necessary skills to ensure long term sustainability and where possible a transformation to the formal sector.

c) Establishing Enterprise Zones for informal manufacturing and service activities that do not impact negatively on the surrounding industrial and residential areas. Basic infrastructural facilities such as water, electricity and toilet facilities have been provided to ensure compliance with public health regulations.

Residential Accommodation
Renovation and reconstruction of the Makokoba housing stock has taken time to gain ground because of the financial constraints. A central focus of housing policy in Bulawayo is directed at the need to provide low-cost housing. The city council is still developing and exploring ways in which to assist and facilitate meeting the needs of the majority of households seeking a separate dwelling. Among the options being explored under this policy are:

- Commissioning research studies into ways of providing basic housing, affordable to the poor residents of Makokoba;
- Entering into partnership with housing finance and housing development companies;
- Further development of site and service schemes;
- Provision of rented accommodation;
- Further development of core houses.

This policy is critical to the long-term success of the revitalization strategy because the success of any revitalization strategy is observed through the physical environment, especially attractive housing

stock. The issue of providing the type of housing that is affordable to the majority of households requiring a separate dwelling, and in sufficient numbers, requires considerable attention. If it is not solved then Makokoba faces the prospect of large, illegal shanty areas being developed.

Methods of accelerating house construction, renovations and upgrading rates in Makokoba need to be actively pursued with the aim of adequately meeting housing needs. The housing policy requires the development of strategies aimed at accelerating house construction in a rapid manner. Accordingly, the city council should consider all manner of mass housing construction and upgrading and how to bring this about as rapidly as possible.

Current Activities
Improvement of defective housing stock such that:

- Houses which have structural defects are being demolished and replacement units provided;
- All houses that are using communal toilets are being provided with internal toilets and internal water taps.

Houses in Makokoba were built to low construction and amenity standards. While house improvements have been undertaken in the neighbourhood there still exist some houses that continue to fall below the standard. Depending on their condition, other sub-standard houses will be demolished or improved in accordance with the policy. Sub-standard housing creates a poor standard of living and can affect public health. It is the right of everyone to expect to live in decent accommodations.

An effort is being made to develop vacant residential stands in Makokoba. New housing layouts have been developed to complement the neighbourhood, with significant degrees of self-sustainability in terms of employment, shopping and social facilities. These layouts will encompass the policy of mixed housing in a flexible and sustainable manner.

The areas designated for the densification of Makokoba will be developed in a way to create a sense of identity and to avoid social disaggregation. Makokoba will provide housing of all types in carefully arranged layouts that allow a degree of social mix but recognize social and economic realities. The supportive framework for such a layout includes land allocations for employment-generating activities of all kinds, shopping zones from district to local size and social infrastructure to meet education, health care and community needs.

The colonial legacy followed by an increased social stratification has led to an acute separation of classes and races in Makokoba. This may threaten long-term sustainability by undermining social harmony. While it is neither desirable nor possible to force people of different status and backgrounds to mix, it is possible to ameliorate the current extreme spatial separation of housing types.

How social facilities have met the goals of neighbourhood revitalization

In collaboration with the Ministry of Health, the city council has ensured that resources are allocated to construct and equip existing and proposed health facilities. The responsible authorities are working on making sure that Mpilo Central Hospital in Makokoba and clinics in the ward have good facilities and appropriate qualified and support staff. In particular provisions have been made for:

- Expansion of Mpilo Hospital to meet future population growth by creating a new paediatric wing with the assistance of the Republic of Japan;
- Additional local clinics to meet future population growth;
- Hospice facilities.

Adequate and appropriate health care facilities will ensure the popularity of Makokoba, which will be known as a health zone or district. Makokoba houses one of the main referral hospitals of the country. The residents are employed to do menial jobs and the quality of life of the local people improves. An improvement in the health facilities of Makokoba would also ensure increased productivity rates and help stimulate the local economy.

Land for public open space was set aside in the form of urban parks for relaxation and recreation. They have facilities that require some expense in terms of upkeep. In other areas the management of the land is kept to a minimum to ensure ease of access, the maintenance of footpaths and the clearing of litter and other rubbish. The provision of public open space is a vital amenity for the

community. Many people who do not participate in sporting activities nevertheless require space to undertake passive leisure pursuits.

The provision of public open space has assisted in creating a pleasurable environment that breaks up the monotony of built-up areas. An NGO called Zimbabwe Development Trust has taken the initiative to restore parks and instigate clean-up campaigns in Makokoba to bring about security and improved aesthetics. Small part-time job opportunities open regularly and the residents find something to do. The major clean-up campaigns have been carried out by NGOs and the private sector.

Entertainment facilities have been planned to be placed at commercial centres subject to approval by the local authority. Within the neighbourhood the development of restaurants, entertainment and other ancillary uses will be permitted in the business zones subject to the approval by council.

Entertainment facilities in Makokoba are provided by the private sector and are therefore demand driven. In an effort to meet the needs of the private sector, the local authority facilitates the provision of such facilities by ensuring that their location is accessible and the sites available are attractive. However, entertainment is a vital part of community life and also provides income for the city council in the form of rates and licence fees.

Attempts at enforcing law and order are supported through the following measures:

- Encouraging the formation of Neighbourhood Watch Committees;
- Provision of sites for the location of police stations.

The city council, through local councillors and its various links with residents, has encouraged the formation of local watch committees. These watch committees act under the rules and guidance of the Zimbabwe Republic Police. The rising incidence of crime in Makokoba is a reflection of several social and economic factors. These factors are unlikely to disappear in the foreseeable future and this requires that special attention is paid to the safety and security of local residents. Samara (2005) argues that there is a tendency to want to fight crime in a short term, and to want to appear tough on criminals, without looking at the state of affairs in the economy and neighbourhood. However central to neighbourhood revitalization is, security is a consequence of development and insecurity an indication of the absence of development.

The involvement of local communities in maintaining surveillance and other activities to deter and apprehend criminals in their areas, in association with the police, is an important way of combating crime. However, the police must be available to all local communities and to be seen to have a presence in their areas. A local police station or post is vital for all areas and land been made available for such developments.

How physical infrastructure has met the goals of neighbourhood revitalization

The city council is sourcing finance that will ensure that sewerage treatment facilities are at all times commensurate with the needs of the residents of Makokoba and keep pace with the expansion of new development. Landman (2006) points out that the physical realm is the most important part of our cities, it is the greatest part were human interaction and contact takes place, such that keeping a healthy and clean environment is vital. The completion of the proposed southern augmentation works and the construction of new works to serve the north-west of the inner city will help to improve the city's system of sewerage treatment. However, these developments will only assist in meeting current shortfalls. There is a need to plan for facilities that will be able to cope with the anticipated expansion of the city to the north and east.

Physical infrastructure provides the foundation blocks for economic development and a good quality of life. The provision of a secure and safe supply of water is an essential basis for neighbourhood revitalization. A plan to address this issue along with the provision of an adequate and good quality sewerage system, effective waste disposal and plentiful supplies of sustainable energy resources is required. There is also a need to address the provision of an up-to-date and reliable telecommunications system that is able to meet the demand.

The city council is trying to educate the residents of Makokoba to ensure that water is consumed in the most efficient and effective way possible and to this end will support water conservation measures and water recycling.

Water conservation is being supported through:

- Improving water leakage detection and speedy remedies;
- Replacing old and defective water piping;
- Encouraging water conservation through water pricing;
- Imposing rationing and restrictions when water supply levels fall below a two-year supply provision;
- Promotional campaigns;
- Education in schools, workplaces and institutions.

The city council is facing viability problems since it is the only utility company involved in refuse collection. The sanitation and hygiene awareness programmes facilitated by World Vision are helping keep Makokoba clean.

The residents, in collaboration with the Zimbabwe Electricity Supply Authority, have ensured that all new dwellings have the capacity to be connected to an electricity supply. The unjustified power cuts in this neighbourhood have been corrected and a timetable has been supplied to make the residents aware of this.

Environment is used in its broadest sense to include the natural and built environment. Makokoba's built environment is very critical, as it forms the basis of people's perceptions about the community. The whole centre of Bulawayo needs to be improved to ensure a better image of Makokoba. Without effectively tackling decline in the surrounding neighbourhoods, spill-over effects will render the actions worthless. Visitors and potential investors' image concerning Makokoba will be derived and influenced by the surrounding neighbourhoods.

Stakeholders in revitalizing Makokoba

Residents
The residents of Makokoba first initiated the need to control growth of their neighbourhood. They staged demonstrations, accusing the authorities of failing to adequately supply services. They were worried about the uncontrolled subdivisions of shops, market stalls and residential houses. They called on the city authorities to provide land. Working with different partners, the residents of Makokoba have managed to restore their parks, create space at points that had been invaded by hawkers and also have managed to control the bursting of cisterns. Their living environment is steadily improving and some of the lodgers have managed to move out of these areas to other suburbs.

The Private Sector
The Private sector within and around Bulawayo plays a large role in the revitalization of Makokoba. This sector has resources such as finance and manpower skills that are being utilized to ensure that development takes place in the impoverished neighbourhood. In the past the private sector has been marginalized in public planning, being seen as a sector that seeks only to undertake business ventures in the city. However, there are some factors that have begun to change this attitude. In the first place a reduction in public expenditure has reduced the ability of the local authority to undertake key infrastructural investments, which is holding up development. In addition, the private sector itself is increasingly realizing that its long-term sustainability is closely related to the success in meeting social and community needs. The private sector has participated in revitalizing Makokoba by:
- Joining with the local authority and other agencies in forums and committees that are aimed at discussing the problems being faced by Makokoba and giving advice on possible solutions;
- Contributing resources to assist through microfinancing, to ensure a growing and dynamic community within which to operate businesses;
- Providing capital resources towards assisting in the developing of physical infrastructure, housing and other community needs on a long-term basis;
- Providing specialist advice, equipment and other resources to some community organizations, small businesses and the informal sector to ensure the development of community-focused development programmes, promoting enterprise skills and assisting the development of the small business sector.

The Non-Governmental Organizations

The NGO sector is playing a role similar to that of the private sector, except that its activities tend to be more oriented towards social and community and non-profit activities. They work in close partnership with the city council and other agencies in Makokoba developmental programmes. The NGO is closely involved in meeting recurrent needs other than capital. The major areas of involvement include addressing social and welfare provision, skill training, community development and capacity building. The major areas of involvement are those local authority and community organizations that lack resources.

Central Government

Central government departments are playing several important roles in ensuring a better and marketable Makokoba. Some of the roles in which the central government departments are involved include:

• Providing policy guidance within a national and provincial perspective;
• Maintaining services for which central government remains responsible, bearing in mind that the process of decentralization may devolve these functions to the local authority over time;
• Joint partnership with other agencies to discuss problems facing the inner city and contributing in deliberations to design some possible solutions.

Community Organizations

Community organizations play a vital role in providing an important communication channel between the implementing agencies and the residents of Makokoba (Khosa and Naidoo, 1998). Through the community organizations, effective consultation and participation in the revitalization process is effectively undertaken. The community organizations are being encouraged and given added responsibility so that they can be a useful channel for effective public participation, though in addition it may provide community resources to the development process. Community organizations have undertaken several roles aimed at developing self-help enterprise projects to encourage economic activity as well as meet a wide range of social needs.

Winkler (2009) agrees that revitalization achievements in South Africa have been achieved because of participation of the private sector, non-governmental organizations, residents and community organizations. This is true for Makokoba, the players took the lead. This shows what can be done when NGOs and stakeholders are energized and are allowed to enter into partnership with local authorities (Winkler, 2009). The management of the whole revitalization process is critical in the urban management field. The ability to think and act strategically is important. In an effort to ensure the success of revitalization strategies the financial and human resources that the local authority has are crucial and should continuously be capacitated and trained in current trends of management.

Conclusions

Neighbourhood revitalization can occur negatively when the poor are displaced. Therefore there is a need to raise the income and wealth of the residents so that they can afford to live in the revitalized neighbourhood. Poverty alleviation should be the ultimate goal for inner-city revitalization. Physical improvements and housing developments alone cannot revitalize the inner city without displacing the poor. Thus an economic development strategy is an important component of revitalization efforts. Without it the poor residents may be the victims of a revitalization strategy with good intentions but poor results. So, neighbourhood revitalization strategy compels the improvement of the community in combination with economic improvement of the existing poor residents.

Neighbourhood commercial zones are local engines of economic development and indicators of community vitality. All that random activity of informal trading needs to be brought to well designed and strategically placed areas of commerce. If these traders are well housed and well located people will come to them, they will not have to move everywhere. This creates areas that provide necessary services and products at one location, which will make Makokoba more attractive to its residents and other citizens. The commercial zones reduce capital leakage and traders will pay rates and taxes formally. The commercial zones are engines of self reliance, since the businesses in the neighbourhood are small and resident-owned and employ the locals.

While there is a need to separate polluting industries from residences, there is also a need to ensure that commercial accommodation is well related to where people live, in order to minimize the distance of commuting to work, which can become costly. By recognizing the nature of activity of

informal traders, the planners acknowledge the needs of informal trade. With this realization the planners have categorized the types of activities present in the inner city and their needs.

Employment patterns have changed markedly over the years. It was assumed in the 1990s that formal employment would remain dominant as an employment category. It is now clear that even if Bulawayo experiences economic growth, informal employment will remain a major, if not a majority type of employment for most of the labour force.

The amount of land allocated has ensured that various economic activities can be accommodated formally or informally. This is based on assumptions related to the density of the workforces in the various economic sectors. The small and medium business sector is vital to the future growth of the economy and the creation of jobs and premises is an essential component of that development.

Intervention through improved information, and collaboration between agencies has played a role in ensuring that the demand and supply of premises is kept in some balance. SMEs are making a large contribution to the local economy of Bulawayo. The major advantage of SMEs is that they are less costly to establish but have a higher rate of employment, as they are mostly labour intensive. The support for SMEs is in line with government policy, which is aimed at stimulating the participation of the local people in the business sector. The encouragement of new start-up businesses and the expansion of existing SMEs is crucial to the long-term health of the local economy.

Equipping people with a broader, generic set of enterprise skills that enable them to survive in a harsh economic climate will assist those in the informal economy to improve their incomes and in some cases to develop formal businesses. The Bulawayo urban strategy for Makokoba recognizes the linkages of business growth and economic development. The interdependency between business and residents is an important component to successful economic development and the success of the neighbourhood's viability.

Maintaining and developing residential and commercial real estate properties is necessary to revitalize a neighbourhood and its commercial area (physically, economically and socially). Revitalization is measured by the physical appearance of an area and the ability to provide social amenities, and a pleasant environment that attracts customers. Thus by developing residential and commercial real estate the authorities eliminate blighted properties, create jobs for the community and establish social amenities.

Local authority partnerships with the private sector, NGOs, CBOs and the residents are relatively young in neighbourhood revitalization, and have experienced most of their growth during the period 2000-2008. In the relatively short period from 2008 to 2010, when the Government of National Unity was formed, these partnerships have successfully confronted inner-city problems that have existed in the city for too long. These partnerships have been more effective than previous development approaches amid limited resources and finances. They have shown the potential and success of community-based efforts and local accountability when combined with a self-sufficient and entrepreneurial approach to development. This is a powerful and sustainable way to revitalize communities.

There are large areas within Makokoba that are not used productively and could provide valuable housing land. A policy of densification requires careful planning to allow for new roads and various new facilities. Local development plans provide a way of planning and encouraging the densification of these areas. Specific subdivision applications and processing provide an additional detailed planning tool.

Housing development alone is not sufficient to revitalize neighbourhoods. Neighbourhood revitalization also depends on the creation of jobs for the community and formation social amenities.

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