

## Some Issues of Urbanisation and Development in Zimbabwe

DIANA PATEL<sup>+</sup>

### ABSTRACT

This paper discusses some aspects of the relationship between urbanisation and capitalism in the developing world, particularly Sub-Saharan Africa. This is followed by a general overview of urbanisation in Africa and an examination of urbanisation in Zimbabwe, focusing on some of the problems associated with rapid urbanisation. Finally, some policy implications relating to urbanisation and development in Zimbabwe are reviewed.

### Introduction

In nineteenth century Northern and Western Europe rapid urbanisation and rural-urban migration coincided with the development of capitalism and rapid industrialisation. African towns, however, did not develop in this way, ie as a response to technological changes which displaced agricultural workers while at the same time increasing an urban manufacturing base. In Africa, industrialisation has not accompanied urbanisation, possibly because the capitalist impulse was weak in raw material producing, export oriented colonial economies. Instead, with the development of peripheral capitalism, there occurred what Castells (1977) has called dependent urbanisation. In addition, the migration of populations from the rural areas to the towns is occurring in a situation of much higher growth rates than existed in Europe. Whereas the annual population growth rate for African countries is around 3 per cent, in Europe during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it was always under 1 per cent. Furthermore, in African countries there is an excess of rural population in relation to the land cultivated and capital available for development, resulting in rural underdevelopment. Rural to urban migration has, therefore, been inevitable. At the same time the urban economies are not expanding rapidly enough to generate productive employment opportunities on a sufficient scale.

This lack of expansion in the urban economy results in a situation of

<sup>+</sup>Lecturer, Dept of Sociology, University of Zimbabwe, PO Box MP167, Mount Pleasant, Harare.

overurbanisation, where rural-urban migration exceeds the absorptive capacity of the urban areas (Todaro and Stilkind, 1981). This is typified by a large and growing number of unemployed and underemployed; a scarcely growing and frequently declining proportion of the urban labour force working in industry; and a size, and rate of growth, of population that is so great that governments cannot adequately provide more than minimal health, housing and transportation services.

Although some peripheral capitalist countries have attained high rates of industrial growth, they are, as Sandbrook (1982) has indicated, unlikely to replicate the development path taken by the advanced capitalist countries. More specifically, they are unlikely to be able to absorb their fast growing labour forces into modern productive activities and create a dynamic internal market which would lead to an increase in the living standards of all classes. Instead, the Third World begins with a set of handicaps inherited from the colonial period which are apparently being perpetuated despite the formal disappearance of colonial empires. Basically, the developing world cannot use the same techniques for economic development as those used by the developed world, since these techniques involved expropriating labour power and natural resources from the underdeveloped world and controlling international markets (Hoogvelt, 1976).

### **An overview of urbanisation in Sub-Saharan Africa**

The majority of the cities of Sub-Saharan Africa were established and grew as a result of imperialism. However, there was in all regions some indigenous urbanisation. For example, along the East coast there were the ports and trading centres of Mombasa, Sofala, Zanzibar and Malindi, some ancient and more recent Ethiopian towns like Askum and Addis Ababa, and, in Southern Africa, there are the ruins of Great Zimbabwe. West Africa had many pre-colonial urban settlements, the largest of these indigenous towns were the Yoruba settlements of Ibadan, Abeokuta, Ife and Oshungo, which had populations of 5 000 or more. These pre-colonial towns were pre-industrial towns, the majority of whose populations were farmers who worked the lands surrounding the towns.

In Sub-Saharan Africa during the 19th and 20th centuries various European colonial powers established urban settlements to serve their economic interests. The exploitation of agriculture and mining necessitated the construction of ports and the penetration of the hinterland by rail and road. Such activities generated urban settlements at ports, market centres, and mining and administrative centres — examples of settlements founded during this period include Harare (then Salisbuty), Lusaka, Kampala, Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi.

It was not until after the Second World War that dramatic urban growth took place in Sub-Saharan Africa. In the 1980s there were only three cities in

the sub-continent with populations of over 100 000, these were Lagos, Ibadan and Omdurman. Then came Kano and Addis Ababa, with populations of approximately 80 000; Dakar, Accra, Luanda, and Mombasa, with populations around 50 000; and Nairobi, Harare, Douala and Kinshasa which were much smaller (Thomas, 1970). In the post-war period it was the capital cities that experienced rapid growth. Lagos, Kinshasa and Ibadan (a regional capital) each grew to a population of about one million by the 1960s, and many others reached a population of half a million. Presently the rate of growth of primate cities in Africa is between 9 to 15 per cent per annum.

From 1950 to 1980 Africa's urban population growth rate was one of the highest in the world at around 5 per cent per annum. Africa, however, still remains the least urbanised continent in the world in terms of the proportion of its population living in urban areas, the total population living in urban areas and the number of urban settlements. It is projected that by the year 2 000 an estimated 42 per cent of the African population will be living in urban areas, not far below the projected world total of 51 per cent (United Nations, 1980).

This rapid rate of urbanisation has been due to a number of factors, including changes in the world economy and in imperial policy. For example, in the 1950s the high demand for primary products, and some imperial effort to promote colonial economic development, led to an urban employment boom. During this period incipient industrialisation also played a part in the rural-urban migration. With independence, import-substitution industrialisation received a boost, but manufacturing continued to be dominated by foreign capital and concentrated in the primate cities. Therefore, since external factors still play a major part in determining the expansion and function of African urban areas, political independence has not been able to terminate the situation of dependent urbanisation.

Much of the rapid rate of urbanisation is also due to the considerable migration of people from rural to urban areas as well as a high rate of natural population growth. This is the result of both the rural and the urban pull. Underdevelopment of the rural areas, with an excess of population in relation to land cultivated, has induced people to migrate. It is the abler and younger members of the population, potentially the most innovative and most productive members of the community, who move and this contributes to further underdevelopment of the rural areas. Inter-urban movement of people also occurs, particularly from the smaller town to the larger urban centres, and these movements affect the national urban hierarchy and national integration. Ajaegbu (1979:90) points out that,

"In some cases, these urban-to-urban movements may result in or be consequent on the emergence of primate cities, unbalanced unintegrated national urban systems and/or unhealthy inter-urban relationships; all of

which could be unfavourable to national economic growth and regional development."

Migration is greatest to the largest cities, and although this pattern has its roots in the colonial period it continues after independence. Now, as before independence, there is a concentration of public investment in the capital city, including

"A proliferation of governmental bureaucracies and parastatal organisations, and the construction of symbolic independence buildings, conference centres, parliament buildings, stadiums, schools and usually a university." (Sandbrook, 1982:49).

This building activity in turn gives rise to a construction and employment boom. Furthermore, any foreign investment tends to concentrate its industrial development in the largest towns. However, this capital intensive industrialisation, in the situation of underdevelopment, is able to provide employment for only a small proportion of the labour force generated by this massive rural-urban migration. The living conditions for many people in the cities are so squalid that the rural to urban migration is more a reflection of the dismal life in the rural areas than the achievement of urban economic growth. The problem of uncontrolled urbanisation is very apparent in economies so pre-occupied with industrial 'modernisation', and in economies so biased towards the 'modern' urban sector in their development strategies, that they are unable to satisfy even the basic needs of the mass of the population in the cities and the rural areas. Furthermore, the dependent nature of the peripheral capitalist economies of the developing world has produced a situation where urban and rural economies, rather than being related to one another as an integrated national economy, are more closely identified with activities within the industrialised nations.

The foregoing discussion gives a general impression of urbanisation in Africa but there are considerable variations between countries on the continent. With this in mind the discussion now focuses on Zimbabwe.

### Urbanisation in Zimbabwe

From the time of the colonial occupation in the 1890s until the independence of Zimbabwe in 1980, the urban areas of Zimbabwe were considered the preserve of the white population. The Zimbabwean economy during this period was organised to serve the interests of a settler community that constituted less than 3.5 per cent of the population. Over the years the settlers systematically introduced schemes of preferential land division, differential property rights, job protection, economic incentives, and so on, that effectively precluded black competition. Generally, the fertile highveld was reserved for white settlement, and a network of roads and railways were constructed to facilitate development of their mining and agricultural

industries. Industries which were largely directed towards external markets. The situation of the black population was determined solely by their relevance to and subsidiary role within the settler economy, and, in most cases, those who were not able to work in the white-designated areas were relegated to lowveld reserves.

All major investment and industrial development was concentrated in the white sector, which contained approximately one third of the country's population, all the major towns, 50 per cent of the land and contributed around 90 per cent of the GNP (Rhodesia, 1969). The whole structure was carefully reinforced by statutory measures concerning land apportionment, crop-marketing, industrial relations, etc, and produced a society of gross inequalities. Government spending on services was largely directed towards supporting white living standards and facilities in health, education, housing, employment, social security, etc.

From the 1890s there was a demand by the white settlers for black labour in both the rural and the urban areas. The colonisers introduced the Hut Tax in 1896 and the Poll Tax in 1908 to force the blacks to enter the monetary economy. Gradually the blacks moved into the towns and other centres of employment established by the white settlers. In 1950 the Land Apportionment Act was enacted to give effect to the Report of the Land Commission. This Commission had been appointed in 1925 by the new Government of Southern Rhodesia to make recommendations for the permanent settlement of the land question on the basis of racial segregation. The Report (Southern Rhodesia, 1926) stated,

"As the urban areas or towns form part of the European areas, it is the European interests which rightly predominate, but so long as the present system of dependence on Native labour continues, it is to the interest of the European that the Native population in the towns should be contented with its conditions, so that a plentiful supply of labour, both domestic and industrial, may be forthcoming."

All the main urban areas were developed along the line of rail for marketing, industrial, administrative, communication and security purposes, eg Harare, Bulawayo, Gweru, Kwekwe, Kadoma, Chinhoyi, Marondera, Mutare, Masvingo, and at mining extraction points at the head of the railways, eg Hwange, Bindura, and Zvishavane. The two main axes of urban development were established between Harare and Bulawayo, and between Harare and Mutare. As Teedon and Drakakis-Smith (1986:311) observe,

"The urban system *per se* was a creation of settler colonialism. It functioned primarily in a compradore capacity to facilitate the export of various primary commodities and the import of consumer goods. It has always accommodated the majority of the white population, whose urban proportion has steadily risen from 52% in 1911 to over 80% today."

Until the 1940s the majority of blacks in the urban areas were employed as domestic workers and were either housed on their employers' property or in the black housing areas, known as locations, first established under the Native Locations Ordinance of 1906. These locations were clearly separated from the white residential areas; this policy was justified by a concern for the health and security of the white population. During and after the Second World War there was a reduction in the external supply of consumer goods and an increasing demand for semi-processed raw materials, which resulted in the growth of the manufacturing sector and an increased demand for labour. In 1941 the Land Apportionment Act was amended, making provision for local authorities to house their black populations. Provision was also made for the government to provide urban housing for blacks, and for the railways and other statutory commissions to establish and manage townships for their black workers. Despite these provisions, housing for blacks in Harare was limited, and by the end of the Second World War it became clear that the existing facilities and administrative arrangements were not coping with the problem of an ever-increasing influx of blacks into the urban areas.

The turning point was the Natives (Urban Areas) Accommodation and Registration Act of 1946. This legislation obliged local authorities to finance and administer urban black townships, and provided them with the machinery to do so. It also made local authorities responsible for the operation of 'pass laws'. This legislation restricted black residence in towns to land set aside for this purpose and to the duration of employment. Harare's Department of African Administration, established in 1946, embarked upon major housing construction programmes in the 1940s and 1950s. One of the first schemes started by the Department was the provision of 'single' men's hostels for migrant labour. These three and four-storey blocks theoretically accommodated some 960 'single' men in rooms shared by three, four or five workers (Patel and Adams, 1981). Later, some married accommodation was provided, but black accommodation continued to be located on the periphery of the urban areas.

With the growth of the towns and the expansion of wage employment, blacks gradually migrated to the urban areas. Initially they migrated into towns for short periods, i.e. for sufficient time to acquire what cash and goods they needed, returning to the rural areas after such periods. Although some internal migration is due to non-economic factors like rural violence, drought and the desire to break away from traditional role requirements, most researchers agree that the economic motive predominates. Moller (1978) notes that circulatory migration between town and country prevailed until the late 1960s and early 1970s when a situation of 'quasi-stabilisation' (a stay in town during working age, with eventual retirement to the communal lands) emerged and became common. The

Vagrancy Act was enacted in 1960 to regulate the flow of male migrants to town according to the availability of employment. It also served to prevent the accumulation in urban centres of large numbers of unemployed, who were perceived by the colonial local authorities and government to be a threat to civil peace in the urban areas.

Since all urban areas were designated white areas, black townships were technically located within the white areas, and therefore all blacks living in these townships were living there not as a right but as a privilege. The size of the black urban population (including dependents) was therefore very much a function of the availability of employment and the provision of housing. Accordingly the growth of large 'shanty-towns' or 'informal' housing areas, which are frequently characteristic of cities in the developing world, was prevented until the late 1970s. Between 1969 and 1974, a period during which considerable economic growth was experienced, wage, employment increased substantially. This, in turn, resulted in a rapid growth in urban population. However, while this period was followed by a decline in economic growth until independence in 1980, the urban population continued to grow rapidly. This was due to the inability of the Smith regime to enforce the influx control measures during the latter years of the Liberation War. Evidence of this came with the unprecedented appearance of large squatter settlements in and around various towns, for example, the Chirambahuyo settlement in Chitungwiza had a population of some 30 000 in 1979 (Patel and Adams 1979).

Since the independence of Zimbabwe in 1980, the movement of the black population into the urban areas has increased. This can be attributed to a number of factors including the removal of the influx control legislation; the migration of the families of 'single' men who, as a result of legislative restriction and for economic reasons, had remained in the rural areas; the pressure of population in much of the communal lands; the stagnation of employment opportunities on commercial farms; the fact that average incomes for blacks in the urban areas are much higher than in the communal lands, and opportunities for employment are perceived to be greater in the urban areas; the impact of the drought on the rural areas; and the increased security of urban living resulting from the Mugabe government's extension of home ownership to occupants of formerly publically owned rental housing stock (Patel:1984).

Zimbabwe has had three national population censuses in 1962, 1969 and 1982. Tables 1 and 2 show the populations of the main urban centres of Zimbabwe. Table 1 indicates those urban areas defined as such according to the United Nations definition of an urban settlement (ie a population of 20 000 or more), while Table 2 shows urbanisation in Zimbabwe according to the definition used by the Zimbabwe Central Statistical Office (ie settlements of predominantly non-agricultural populations of 2 500 or

more). Table 2 demonstrates a fall in the level of urbanisation, ie the percentage of the total population urbanised, from 19,88 per cent in 1962 to 18,54 per cent in 1969. This has generally been explained by the under-enumeration of the urban population in the 1969 census (by as much as 17 per cent), because it was conducted during the harvest season when many of the black urban dwellers had temporarily migrated to the rural areas. Between 1969 and 1982, for the reasons already mentioned, the level of urbanisation rose substantially to 25,73 per cent.

The relatively low level of urbanisation in Zimbabwe must be seen against the background of a high population growth rate (see Table 1) which indicates a virtual doubling of the population in the main towns between 1969 and 1982. The present official urban population growth rate (see Table 1) of 5,4 per cent per annum gives a doubling time for the urban population of approximately 14 years. However, the population growth rate of 4,6 per cent per annum for Harare may be misleading because much of the migrational increase of population, on which industrial growth was dependent during the 1970s, was deflected to the satellite city of Chitungwiza, about 28 kms south of Harare. The combined official population figure for Chitungwiza and Harare is approximately 850 000, but, given the overcrowding and the squatting in these areas, a more realistic figure could be 1,4 million, ie just over a million for Harare and 350 000 for Chitungwiza (Patel 1984). Given their close proximity it is highly likely that Chitungwiza and Harare could become a megalopolis in the near future.

An examination of the distribution of the urban population shows a concentration of the population at the top end of the urban hierarchy with 71 per cent of the urban population living in the five largest settlements, and 64 per cent of the urban population in Harare, Bulawayo, and Chitungwiza. Mutizwa-Mangiza (1986) indicates that the rank-size distribution of urban settlements in Zimbabwe shows a primate distribution of the population dominated by the two large cities of Harare and Bulawayo. This concentration of population in a few settlements combined with rapid population increase, and urban unemployment, displays the usual problems of overurbanisation. Over the years there has also been an increase in the number of settlements classified as urban (see Table 2). Between 1962 and 1969 the increase in the number of towns was from 22 to 34, and to 63 in 1982. Nevertheless, this growth of new towns has had little effect on the population distribution by different settlement size categories.

Despite the fact that there are no data available on population densities within the urban areas there is a clearly observable difference in the densities of various areas within the large cities. In Bulawayo and Harare, for example, densities vary within the cities between the once white designated suburbs, now known as low density suburbs, and the former



black townships, now known as the high density suburbs (racial residential division has now been replaced by residential division based on class). The growth in the urban population has also brought about a change in the composition of the population; with greater security of tenure in the towns, family residence has increased in the urban areas.

### Some problems of urbanisation in Zimbabwe

The Central Statistical Office (Zimbabwe, 1985) has carried out population projections which indicate that a continuation of the present patterns of natural increase of urban populations and migration patterns would mean an increase in urban population from about 1.9 million people in 1982 to 5 million in 2 000 and 9.6 million in 2 015. This is the equivalent to developing 12 new Harares in Zimbabwe during this 33 year period. This rapid population increase, together with urban unemployment and primacy, gives rise to many problems which are much more acute in the larger centres where a situation of overurbanisation prevails.

One of the most fundamental problems confronting Zimbabwe is that of employment creation. As Sandbrook (1982) has pointed out for other countries, increase in urbanisation is occurring without any concomitant increase in industrialisation. The *Annual Review of Manpower* (Zimbabwe 1983) points out that formal sector employment has declined from 998 333 in 1982 to 965 892 in 1983. In addition, employment has dropped in the productive sectors of the economy while expanding in the public service sector. When the 'formal' sector of the economy cannot provide enough urban and rural employment, and the process of underdevelopment of the peasant economy has rendered it incapable of adequately supporting the entire population, potential wage labourers have to do the best they can to find a means of subsistence. This they find in the largely unplanned 'informal' sector, which is proliferating in the cities of Zimbabwe.

Considerable demands are placed on the urban social and physical infrastructure by the increasing urban population. One such example is in the area of housing where a critical demand for housing is being reached. A demand which manifests itself in spontaneous settlements. In the past the existing housing stock has been able to absorb more people than planned for through overcrowding. Until recently this was sufficient to avoid squatting. Additionally, squatting was avoided through the implementation of influx control measures, which were designed to control population movement to urban areas, as previously discussed. Now overcrowding has reached a state where the existing housing stock cannot absorb additional people. The Ministry of Public Construction and National Housing puts the present low-income housing shortage in the urban areas of Zimbabwe at 965 000 units, and the number of units to be built by the year 2 000 at 2 212 000. This gives some idea of the magnitude of the urban housing problem. In order to

satisfy this demand by the year 2 000, 146 000 housing units will have to be built every year. However, the actual number of houses built in recent years declined from 12 075 units in 1980/81 to only 5 000 in 1984/85, and during this period the cost of providing one low-income housing unit rose from Z\$1 440 to Z\$7 850 (Zimbabwe, 1986b). This situation is compounded by the fact that the cost of low-cost housing is not affordable for approximately 28 per cent of the urban population, who cannot afford even a minimum housing solution (Zimbabwe, 1982).

Overcrowded high density housing schemes generally correlate with poor health. Thus the following conditions are common in these areas: malnutrition, acute respiratory infections, communicable diseases of childhood, tuberculosis, digestive problems, inflammatory and non-inflammatory diseases of the skin, and mental illness (Zimbabwe 1986b). Co-existing with overcrowding is the problem of inadequate refuse collection, and insufficient water supplies and sanitation, which creates further health hazards. Also, with increasing urbanisation, general environmental pollution becomes a problem. Water pollution, noise pollution, air pollution and solid wastes all contribute to a deterioration of the environment not only in the urban areas but also in the surrounding rural areas.

Transport becomes an increasing problem as new low-income housing schemes are sited on the periphery of the cities. Since independence conventional buses have failed to cope with the peak hour demand, and demand is increasingly outweighing the supplied capacities at peak hours (Zimbabwe, 1982). Furthermore, the provision of recreational facilities has been inadequate in the past, and so both old and new housing schemes require an increased provision of these facilities.

Urban growth frequently means the acquisition of good farming land in the peri-urban areas for further urban development. This, in turn, leads to conflict over urban and agricultural demands on natural resources or arable land, water and forests. Simultaneously, increasing urbanisation accelerates the need to increase food production per agricultural worker, because it increases the proportion of the population not producing its own food. Political pressures exerted by urban populations have in the past led to subsidies and taxation of agriculture. This pressure is exerted to maintain a food policy that keeps producer prices low, and so keeps urban food costs down. Increasingly, government policy has tilted towards higher producer prices and the reduction of subsidies (Zimbabwe 1986c). Generally, cities are becoming more 'modern' in their patterns of consumption than in their patterns of production, and there is the danger that the urban poor will become more and more marginalised while, at the other extreme, a small increasingly wealthy elite develops.

The Government of Zimbabwe clearly recognises these problems. The

**Transitional National Development Plan 1982/83 — 1984/85** (1982:56) states that because of the rapid growth of both the total population and the urban population, "unless there is planned population distribution there will be chaos and confusion". A further commitment to the need for a national urbanisation policy was made in the **First Five-Year National Development Plan 1986–1990** (Zimbabwe, 1986a). Here it was acknowledged that the policy of minimising the rate of rural to urban migration through the establishment of new urban settlements at the lower end of the urban hierarchy, in the form of growth points and district and rural service centres, had been beset by problems such as lack of finance and the absence of attractive decentralisation incentives for the establishment of industry in the small urban centres.

### **Policy implications**

From the preceding discussion of issues of urbanisation in Zimbabwe, it is apparent that Zimbabwe is faced with problems of rapid urbanisation, primacy and overurbanisation. There is clearly a need for a redistribution of the population if a greater percentage of the population is not to become concentrated in the two primate cities, and the existing problems exacerbated. Since independence in 1980 the Government of Zimbabwe has indicated in policy statements (Zimbabwe, 1981) that its priorities lie in integrated rural development projects, with the aim of redistributing resources to the mass of the population and increasing the country's agricultural base. This integrated rural development strategy may assist rural migrants to return to the rural areas. This policy needs to be encouraged, since the economic and social costs of maintaining surplus labour are much greater in the urban than in the rural areas.

If people are to be persuaded to return to, or remain in, the rural areas there has to be a redress in the imbalance between the urban and rural areas. Within a national policy framework of growth with equity the strategy of growth points and service centres is part of the decentralisation policy. This strategy proposes a seven-tiered national system of settlements, consolidated villages, business centres, rural service centres, district service centres, growth points, towns and cities. The aim is to bring education and health services, small-scale processing, repair, commercial activities, etc to the communal lands through the development of service centres. Significant progress has been made with the development of infrastructure in the district centres and a number of growth points. However, this policy requires widespread government and private investment and the rapid evolution of a land policy. The development of growth points has been slow and the government has indicated its disappointment at the inability of these growth points to attract industry into their areas. To attempt to solve this problem the government wishes to pursue the following objectives during

the first five year plan period (Zimbabwe, 1986a:21):

- (i) Establishment of the Urban Development Corporation which will assist and provide technical assistance to local authorities in urban development;
- (ii) Improving local authorities' capacity to implement urban development programmes through acquisition of new construction equipment and refurbishing of existing ones;
- (iii) Creation of attractive conditions for industries to operate in growth points;
- (iv) Directing more funds to growth points and service centres for infrastructure development in order to create conditions necessary for further investment which would result in additional employment opportunities; and
- (v) Encouraging urban local authorities to undertake industrial and commercial projects in order to broaden their revenue base.

In order to be viable, growth points clearly need to be based on available and potential local resources and needs, for example the processing of locally produced raw materials for agro-industrial activities. It is hoped that this national settlement strategy, as well as improving the long-neglected rural areas, will help solve housing and other problems in the urban areas by reducing the rate of rural to urban migration. Further, it is hoped that land-starved populations from some of the congested communal lands will be absorbed into the newly developed small urban centres.

Simultaneously, the existing towns and cities must accelerate local investment (government, municipal and private) to cope with the present as well as the projected increase in urban population, and to prevent the inherited racially divided society being replaced by a society clearly divided on a socio-economic basis. Efforts must be made to integrate the low-income population into the urban environment and not allow their further marginalisation. The rising urban land prices are tending to push the new low-income housing schemes further out to the periphery of the city, where transport costs are high, job opportunities scarce and there is lack of access to services such as clinics and schools (Patel, 1984). Government has recently encouraged the formation of urban co-operatives and income generating municipal enterprises (Zimbabwe, 1986b). These could be focused more specifically on food production, by encouraging agricultural activities on presently idle peri-urban land, since with an increasing level of urbanisation food production and distribution becomes a critical issue.

Is it still possible to stimulate both the industrial urban and the rural sector? Perhaps the time has come to give relatively less to the cities. Unless there is a much greater investment in agriculture and rural non-farm enterprises, Zimbabwe may be unable to solve its pressing urban problems. If the rural areas do not prosper the migrant flow will continue and the cities

will deteriorate. We cannot force people to remain in the rural areas. In relation to the rural areas, cities have had a head start in development. Unless urban-biased policies are gradually dismantled rural areas will never become attractive alternatives to the main urban areas. However, eliminating the urban bias in development requires a great deal of political will. For example, rural/urban income disparities should be minimised, further urban investment should be curbed, etc. National leaders will need great courage and political will to make a strong commitment to change. Primate cities cannot continue to capture a disproportionate share of the economic pie. Thus, paradoxically, to help the cities development must be focused on the rural areas.

Finally, if the government is to translate urban policy statements into detailed plan formulation and implementation, it is important that the base line data on the populations involved and other relevant information is available. For example, without base line data how can one confidently make the following type of statement,

"It is expected that by the end of the Plan period, the present urbanisation level of 22.0 per cent will have increased to 40.0 per cent, and that the concentration of urban population in Harare and Bulawayo will have been reduced, thus leading to an acceptable pattern of population distribution throughout the country." (Zimbabwe, 1986a:21)

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TABLE 1: POPULATION OF URBAN AREAS WITH ANNUAL GROWTH RATES IN 1962/69/82

	POPULATION			Annual Growth	Annual Growth
	Year 1962	Year 1969	Year 1982	Y62-69 %	Y69-82 %
Total Zimbabwe	3 857 470	5 099 840	7 546 071	4,1	3,1
Zimbabwe urban areas	801 850	989 540	1 962 343	3,1	5,4
Municipalities	714 850	849 030	1 673 057	2,5	5,4
Towns	78 980	126 980	268 553	7,0	5,9
Over 500 000 people					
Harare City	310 360	364 390	656 011	2,3	4,6
Population 100 000-499 999					
Bulawayo City	210 620	236 320	413 814	1,7	4,4
Chitungwiza Town Council	N/A	14 970	172 556	N/A	20,7
Population 50 000-99 999					
Gweru City	38 480	46 170	78 913	2,6	4,2
Mutare City	42 540	41 970	69 621	0,2	4,0
Population 20 000-49 999					
Kwekwe Municipality	20 810	31 890	47 607	6,0	3,3
Kadoma Municipality	19 280	24 980	44 613	3,8	4,6
Hwange Local Board	20 000	20 190	39 202	0,1	5,2
Masvingo Municipality	10 420	11 380	39 202	1,3	7,9
Zvishavane	15 710	15 820	26 278	0,1	4,1
Chinhoyi Municipality	7 830	13 360	24 322	7,9	4,7
Redcliffe Municipality	5 200	8 580	22 015	7,4	7,5
Marondera Municipality	7 820	10 940	20 263	6,5	4,9

(SOURCE: Zimbabwe, Report on Housing and Urban Development in Zimbabwe: Public and Private Sector Partnership, 1986:19).

TABLE 2: URBANISATION IN ZIMBABWE: OVERALL CHANGES, 1962-1982

Size Category	1962				1969				1982			
	No	Pop	% of urban pop	% of total pop	No	pop	% of urban pop	% of total pop	No	pop	% of urban pop	% of total pop
100 000+	2	520 980	68,12	13,51	2	600 710	63,54	11,78	3	1 242 381	63,99	16,46
10 000 - 99 999	7	167 540	21,91	4,34	11	281 490	25,54	4,74	17	506 470	26,03	6,46
2 500 - 9 999	13	78 220	9,97	1,98	21	103 230	10,92	2,02	43	192 759	9,33	2,55
Total Urban	22	764 740	100,00	19,83	34	945 430	100,00	18,54	63	1 941 610	100,00	25,73
Total pop in Zimbabwe	3 857 470				5 099 840				7 546 071			

(SOURCE: Mudzwa-Mangiza, 1986:145)

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